

ABBREVIATIONS

- Acquisitions*, 1961. A. L. Freundlich, *Renaissance Art Acquisitions 1961*, George Peabody College for Teachers. Nashville, Tennessee, 1961.
- Allentown*, 1960. W. E. Suida and Fern Rusk Shapley, *The Samuel H. Kress Memorial Collection of the Allentown Art Museum*. Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1960.
- Atlanta*, 1958. W. E. Suida (with notes by Reginald Poland), *Italian Paintings & Northern Sculpture from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, Atlanta Art Association Galleries. Atlanta, Georgia, 1958.
- Baird*. Thomas P. Baird, *Dutch Painting in the National Gallery of Art*. Washington, D.C., 1960.
- Birmingham*, 1952. W. E. Suida, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*, Birmingham Museum of Art. Birmingham, Alabama, 1952.
- Birmingham*, 1959. W. E. Suida, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*, Birmingham Museum of Art. Birmingham, Alabama, 1959.
- Broadley*. Hugh T. Broadley, *German Painting in the National Gallery of Art*. Washington, D.C., 1960.
- Columbia*, 1962. Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi, *Art of the Renaissance from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*. The Columbia Museum of Art. Columbia, South Carolina, 1962.
- Cooke*. Hereward Lester Cooke, *French Painting in the 16th-18th Centuries in the National Gallery of Art*. Washington, D.C., 1959.
- Denver*, 1954. W. E. Suida, *Paintings and Sculpture of the Samuel H. Kress Collection*. Denver Art Museum. Denver, Colorado, 1954.
- Einstein*. Lewis Einstein, 'Looking at French Eighteenth-Century pictures in Washington', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XLVII, 1956, pp. 213-50.
- El Paso*, 1961. Fern Rusk Shapley, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*. El Paso Museum of Art. El Paso, Texas, 1961.
- Evans*. Grose Evans, *Spanish Painting in the National Gallery of Art*. Washington, D.C., 1959.
- Gaya Nuño*. Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *La Pintura Española Fuera de España*, Madrid, 1958.
- Houston*, 1953. W. E. Suida, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts of Houston, an Introduction to 36 Paintings*. Houston, Texas, 1953.
- Kansas*, 1960. W. E. Suida and Robert L. Manning, *Catalogue of the Samuel H. Kress Study Collection at the University of Kansas*. Kansas, Missouri, 1960.
- Kindlers*. *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon*, 1-v, Zurich, 1964-71.
- Martin*. John Rupert Martin, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, Part I, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, London-New York, 1967.
- Masterpieces*. Huntington Cairns and John Walker, *Masterpieces of Painting in the National Gallery of Art*, Washington, D.C. New York, 1944.
- Memphis*, 1958. W. E. Suida, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*. Brooks Memorial Art Gallery. Memphis, Tennessee, 1958.
- Memphis*, 1966. W. E. Suida (revised by Michael Milkivich), *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*. Brooks Memorial Art Gallery. Memphis, Tennessee, 1966.
- Miami*, 1961. W. E. Suida and Fern Rusk Shapley, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection: a catalogue of European Paintings and Sculpture*. The Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery of the University of Miami. Coral Gables, Florida, 1961.
- Missouri*, 1961. Fern Rusk Shapley, *Valuable Art Collection for University*. Missouri, 1960.
- New Orleans*, 1953. W. E. Suida, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*. The Isaac Delgado Museum of Art. New Orleans, Louisiana, 1953.
- New Orleans*, 1966. W. E. Suida (revised by Dr. Paul Wescher), *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*. Isaac Delgado Museum of Art. New Orleans, Louisiana, 1966.
- Pageant*. Huntington Cairns and John Walker, *A Pageant of Paintings from the National Gallery of Art*. Washington, D.C., 1966. 1-II.
- Panofsky*. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, 1-II.
- Ponce*, 1962. Julius S. Held, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection of Italian and Spanish Paintings*. Museo de Arte de Ponce. Ponce, Puerto Rico, 1962.
- Ponce*, 1965. Julius S. Held, *Museo de Arte de Ponce Fundacion Luis Ferré. Catalogue I: Paintings of the European and American Schools*. Ponce, Puerto Rico, 1965.
- Portland*, 1952. W. E. Suida, *Handbook of the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Paintings of the Renaissance*. The Portland Art Museum. Portland, Oregon, 1952.
- Post*. Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1938-58, 1-XIV.
- Raleigh*, 1960. W. E. Suida and Fern Rusk Shapley, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection: North Carolina Museum of Art*. Raleigh, North Carolina, 1960.

- Réau. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, Paris, 1955-59, I; II, 1-2; III, 1-3.
- San Francisco, 1955. W. E. Suida, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*. M. H. De Young Memorial Museum. San Francisco, 1955.
- Seattle, 1954. W. E. Suida (with notes by Richard E. Fuller), *European Paintings and Sculpture from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*. Seattle Art Museum. Seattle, Washington, 1954.
- Seymour. Charles Seymour, *Art Treasures for America, Samuel H. Kress Collection*. London, 1961.
- Stange. Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, Berlin-Munich, I-XI, 1934-61.
- Suida. William E. Suida, *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection Acquired by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation 1945-1951*, National Gallery of Art. Washington, D.C., 1951.
- Suida-Shapley. William E. Suida and Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection Acquired by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation 1951-1956*, National Gallery of Art. Washington, D.C., 1956.
- Thieme-Becker. Ulrich Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, 1910 f., I f.
- Treasures. Huntington Cairns and John Walker, *Treasures from the National Gallery of Art*. Washington, D.C., 1962.
- Tucson, 1951. W. E. Suida, *Twenty-five Paintings from the Collection of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation at the University of Arizona*. Tucson, Arizona, 1951.
- Tucson, 1957. W. E. Suida, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection at the University of Arizona*. Tucson, Arizona, 1957.
- Tucson, 1961. R. M. Quinn (Version Española de Renato Rosaldo), *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*. Tucson, Arizona, 1961.
- Walker. John Walker, *National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*, New York, n.d. [1963].
- Washington, D.C., 1945. *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection*, National Gallery of Art. Washington, D.C., 1945.

GERMAN SCHOOL

XV-XVIII CENTURY

MASTER OF ST. VERONICA

The artist was active in Cologne in the first third of the fifteenth century (possibly c. 1405–40). The stylistic identification of this master is based upon the *St. Veronica with the Sudarium* (Munich, Pinakothek), usually dated between 1420 and 1430, formerly at the church of Saint-Severin in Cologne. He was the outstanding painter in Cologne between the time of Master Wilhelm (recorded from 1358 to before 1378) and that of Stephan Lochner (active c. 1430 to 1451). The master's oeuvre seems to originate in the extremely delicate, refined manner and technique of the International Style as seen in K2000, and then moves toward a more generalized, less subtle approach.¹

K2000 : Figure 1

THE CRUCIFIXION. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1390), since 1954. Tempera on oak with original engaged frame. Cloudlets, angels' wings and haloes are incised or punched on gold ground. Painted surface: 16½ × 10 in. (41.0 × 25.4 cm.). With frame: 18½ × 12¾ in. (46.0 × 31.4 cm.). Unidentified collectors' seals and the number A5322 (both on printed label and written in crayon) are on the back, which was originally coated with a layer of rust-colored paint. The letters INRI at top of cross are the Latin abbreviation for 'Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews' (John 19: 19–20). The inscribed haloes are so damaged as to preclude secure transcription. Presumably the central inscription reads JHSU, at the right S. JOHANNES, at the left SALVE REGI[N]A MA[TER].

The paint surface has a large, very deep crackle pattern as it did not adhere closely to the support. Many small losses at lower left and right of the cross including area of the kneeling figures. The monk's face has been restored.² *Suida-Shapley*, pp. 126–7, Cat. No. 48. Reproduced in color in *Broadley*, p. 15.

Seen against a gold ground, this mystical vision of the Crucifixion includes the standing, mourning Virgin at the left and St. John the Evangelist at the right. Though the upper part of the cross is seen frontally, parallel to the picture plane, the base is placed obliquely, turned sharply to the right – a convention of contemporary Cologne painting. Longinus, in sumptuous, medieval knightly garb,

kneels to the left of the cross, his praying hands enclosing the lance, which is parallel to the cross and near the wound in Christ's side. Four diminutive flying angels hold chalices to catch drops of the Holy Blood from the wounds of the dead Christ. A fifth angel flies above the monk, arms folded against breast in grief. Globules of blood are seen on the young, tear-stained faces of Mary and John, who stand immediately below Christ's hands. Blinded after piercing Christ's side, Longinus's sight was restored by the Holy Blood, and he was venerated as the first Gentile to recognize the divinity of Christ.³ The Kress panel's emphasis upon the Holy Blood and Longinus's lance links it to devotional subjects executed in Germany, where the Holy Lance was a major relic, incorporated in the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire, revered at Cologne, Aachen, Prague, and elsewhere.⁴

A young Carthusian monk, depicted kneeling to the right of the cross, his hands folded in prayer, probably had this small devotional altarpiece placed above a *prie-dieu* in his residence. This was presumably the Charterhouse of St. Barbara at Cologne, the city where the founder of the Order, St. Bruno, was born. Established in 1334, the Charterhouse was extremely well endowed by the early fifteenth century by which time its prosperity and patronage were comparable to that of the Duke of Burgundy at Dijon.⁵ The Kress panel probably reflects an order like the Duke's to his painter Jean de Beaumetz, calling for about twenty-five panels showing the Crucifixion with a kneeling Carthusian, to be placed in monks' cells.⁶ The Carthusians shown in the two remaining Dijon panels bear a very strong resemblance to one another. It may be that K2000, like the Dijon series, is not intended to portray a specific monk. The young, kneeling figure is probably a generalized image of individual Carthusian devotion. Such an interpretation is strengthened by the strong physiognomical correspondence between the youthful St. John and the monk. K2000 is approximately contemporary with the Cologne monastery's extensive building campaign of 1391–1405, at which time Duke Wilhelm von Jülich (1360–1408) made a large donation for an antependium; the German Duke may also have been the donor of the devotional panels in the individual monastic cells.⁷ K2000 may date from c. 1407, when King Ruprecht placed the Charterhouse under the protection of the Holy Roman Empire.⁸ Another *Crucifixion* (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery) of approximately the same size as K2000 has many of the same stylistic and symbolic features, and was also painted for a Carthusian institution.⁹

K2000 was first published and attributed to the Veronica Master by Lühgen, who saw the panel's style as moving away from late fourteenth-century linearism toward a new concern with illusionism characteristic of the Cologne master.¹⁰ In 1923 Förster regarded K2000 as by an unidentified painter active 1380–90, but linked the *Crucifixion* with the Munich *Veronica* and with a series of thirty-five scenes from the Life of Christ (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), all generally accepted as works by the Veronica Master. He noted the survival of High Gothic form in the depiction of Mary and John.¹¹ In the same year, Schaefer maintained the Cologne origin for K2000, but neither by the Veronica Master nor the artist who painted the *Virgin and Child with the Sweet Pea* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum), occasionally identified with the Veronica Master. He concluded that K2000 is by an otherwise unknown follower of Master Wilhelm.¹² Although placing his discussion of K2000 with that of the oeuvre of the Veronica Master, Schweitzer viewed it in 1930 as a highly problematic school piece of c. 1400 by an individualistic, uniquely gifted master who may well have been active in Aachen rather than Cologne – the author of a *Trinity* (Münster, Landesmuseum) and the paintings on the *Karlschrank* (Aachen).¹³ In the following year, Förster accepted the Veronica Master attribution.¹⁴ These views were repeated by Vollmer.¹⁵ In 1938, Stange considered K2000 as fully consistent with the style of the Veronica Master's *Calvary* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum), but, as first recognized by Förster, the slight differences in color and form are to be explained by an earlier dating for K2000, closer to the mode of the late fourteenth century.¹⁶ Suida-Shapley dated the *Crucifixion* 1400–10 (pp. 126–7). In 1957, Förster once again placed K2000 among the early works of the Veronica Master.¹⁷ Suida-Shapley's dating was accepted by Seymour (p. 18). Förster, in 1961, dated K2000 shortly before the *View of Cologne with the Martyrdom of St. Ursula* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum), which can be reliably dated 1411–12.¹⁸ Pieper dated K2000 c. 1400, as the Veronica Master's earliest known work, reflecting the origins of his style in the courtly art of the Duke of Berry at Bourges and that of the Duke of Burgundy at Dijon.¹⁹ K2000 is more delicate in color and concept than the bulk of the oeuvre associated with the Veronica Master. The St. John recalls polychrome sculpture of the fourteenth century. Schweitzer's doubts as to a Veronica Master attribution to the *Crucifixion* may perhaps prove correct, but, as that scholar recognized, this does not diminish the great beauty and importance of the painting as a major example of early fifteenth-century Lower Rhenish art.

Provenance: Carthusian monastery of St. Barbara in Cologne (?), commission c. 1407 (?), dispersed after 1794. Dr. Richard von Schnitzler, Cologne as early as 1921, lent to Cologne, *Kölnischer Kunstverein*, 1922, Cat. No. 60. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1954, exhibited – Cologne (Wallraf-Richartz Museum) *Kölner Meister der Spätgotik*, 25 Mar.–28 May 1961, published on an unnumbered, unpaginated catalogue insert.

References: (1) For the life and works of the Veronica Master, see Klaus-Heinrich Schweitzer, *Der Veronikameister und sein Kreis*, Bonn, 1935; H. Reiners, *Die Kölner Malerschule*, Mönchen-Gladbach, 1925, pp. 32 ff.; Otto H. Förster, 'Um den Meister der Veronika', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, xix, 1957, pp. 225–52. (2) For the appearance of K2000 prior to recent conservation, see Förster, *Die Sammlung Dr. Richard von Schnitzler*, Cologne, 1931, pl. 1. (3) See Réau, III, 2, pp. 812–15; Albert Bühler, 'Die heilige Lanze, ein ikonographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Kleinodien', *Das Münster*, xvi, 1963, pp. 85–116. Augustine interpreted the water and blood which sprang from Christ's side from the lance wound (John 19:20–3) as the emerging sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. Thus the angels' gathering of blood in chalices in K2000 may prepare for the Mass. (4) Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 85 ff. (5) See Otto Braunsberger, 'Die Kölner Kartäuse', *Stimmen der Zeit* (Katholische Monatschrift für das Geistesleben der Gegenwart), 1918, pp. 134–52; J. J. Merlo, 'Kunst und Kunsthandwerk im Kartäuserkloster zu Köln', *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 45, 1886, pp. 1–26; Paul Clemen, *Die kirchlichen Denkmäler der Stadt Köln*, by L. Arntz, H. Rahtgens, H. Neu, H. Vogtz, Düsseldorf, 1934, pp. 137–77. (6) For panels ordered for the Charterhouse of Dijon, see C. Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon*, Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1898, I, pp. 44–5; Charles Sterling, 'Œuvres retrouvées de Jean de Beaufort, Peintre de Philippe le Hardi', *Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky*, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, Bulletin IV, 1955, pp. 57–82; Henry S. Francis, 'Jean de Beaufort: Calvary with a Carthusian Monk', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Nov. 1966, pp. 329–38; for later examples in Northern Europe, see R. van Luttervelt, 'Schilderijen met Karthuizers, uit de late 15de en de vroege 16de eeuw', *Oud-Holland*, lxxvi, 1951, pp. 75–92. For a major earlier Lower Rhenish composition, see the *Crucifixion with Canon Hendrik van Rijn* (Antwerp, Musée des Beaux-Arts). (7) There is documentation for the antependium in Cologne, *Historisches Archiv, Kartäuserkloster, Repertorium und Handschriften*, no. 9, fol. 41 verso. Information courtesy of Dr. Wegener, Stadtarchivassessorin, 8 Jan. 1969. (8) Braunsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 135. (9) The panel came from the Chartreuse de Champmol (Dijon). For its Cologne links, see J. de Coe, 'De unieke voorstelling van de "Jozef-kousen" in het veelluik Antwerpen-Baltimore van c. 1400', *Oud-Holland*, lxxiii, 1958, pp. 186–91. (10) E. Lühgen, *Rheinische Kunst aus Kölner Privatbesitz*, Leipzig, 1921, p. 63. (11) Förster, *Die Kölnische Malerei von Meister Wilhelm bis Stephan Lochner*, Cologne, 1923, p. 41. (12) Karl Schaefer, *Geschichte der Kölner Malerschule*, Cologne, 1923, p. 10. He erroneously described the Kress panel as containing two kneeling donors. Possibly Schaefer confused K2000 with another work attributed to the same master. (13) Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 70. (14) Förster, *Die Sammlung Dr. Richard von Schnitzler*, *op. cit.*, p. 21, Cat. No. 1. (15) Thieme-Becker, xxxvii, pp. 343–4. (16) Stange, III, pp. 56–8. (17) Förster, 1957, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 252. (18) Förster, *Das Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Köln*, Cologne, 1961, pp. 13–14. (19) Paul Pieper, 'Meister der hl. Veronika', *Kindlers*, v, pp. 667–9.

FRANCONIAN SCHOOL

Mid XV Century

K1857 : Figure 5

THE MIRACULOUS MASS OF ST. MARTIN. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.45.6) since 1960. Mixed technique on finely woven canvas on pine. $36\frac{1}{2} \times 32\frac{3}{4}$ in. (91.7×83.2 cm.). The panel has several vertical splits necessitating some restoration before acquisition; the dark background may perhaps be a later addition; old scratches are through face and hands of Martin and acolyte. There are pentimenti for the mitre slightly to the right of the present position; most of the straight-edged elements of K1857 have been incised, preparatory to painting. Cradled at unknown date.

Allentown, 1960, p. 86 (as Franco-Rhenish, c. 1440). Reproduced in color in George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, 1954, plate XIV.

A Roman legionary of Hungarian birth, Martin was converted c. 356, and became the apostle to the Gauls and founder of French monasticism. He was elected Bishop of Tours in 370 and died in 397. He became a patron saint of France,¹ revered throughout Europe, where more than 4000 churches were named after him. His Miraculous Mass does not appear in the first accounts of the saint by Sulpice Sévère and Gregory of Tours, but was described by Jacobus de Voragine in the mid-thirteenth century: 'Wide was his pity for the poor. Once when he was on his way to the Church for some solemnity, a naked beggar followed him, and Martin ordered his archdeacon to clothe the poor man. But the archdeacon being in no haste to do this, Martin went into a closet, gave his tunic to the beggar, and bade him be off at once. When the archdeacon admonished him to set out for the solemnity, he said, speaking of himself, that he could not go until the poor man had received a garment. The archdeacon could not understand his meaning, because, since the saint was outwardly covered by his cape, the other could not see that he was without a tunic; wherefore he pleaded that the poor man was no longer there. But Martin said to him: "Let a tunic be brought, and the poor man will no longer need to be clothed!" At this the archdeacon went into the market, and bought for five pieces of silver a cheap, short tunic called a *paenula*, an "almost-nothing"; and snatching it up, he came and threw it angrily at Martin's feet. The saint put it on secretly, and found that the sleeves came only to his elbows, and the hem to his knees; and so he went to celebrate the Mass. While he was engaged in the sacrifice, a globe of fire appeared above his head, and was seen by many; therefore he is said to be equal to the Apostles."² K1857 shows the Mass at the time of the elevation of the Host, when a miraculous flaming orb or *oriflamme* suddenly appeared above Martin's head, symbolizing both the ardor of his charity and the manifestation of the Holy Spirit to the bishop-saint, who, as apostle to the Gauls, parallels the first Apostles at the moment of the Pentecost. The size of K1857 suggests its function as the major member of an altarpiece that may originally have extended somewhat

further to the left and right so as to complete the design of the altar and the surrounding space. Such slightly greater horizontality (together with the possibility of wings or other additional scenes) would have echoed that of the actual altar below. Supposition of some reduction in size for K1857 is substantiated by loss of its original borders; the present dark-colored background may be a later addition, obscuring changes ensuing from the isolation of K1857 from its original context. The subject of the Miraculous Mass, especially that of St. Gregory, became current in the later fifteenth century with the new concern for Eucharistic devotions. The priestly garments worn by St. Martin at the moment of the elevation of the Host symbolize the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross: the pearl-studded cross on the chasuble and the appliqué rectangle on the alb refer to the Crucifixion and to the nail block tormenting Christ on the road to Calvary. Similarly, the purple coloring of the altar masonry may refer to the *lapis purpureus* of the Stone of Unction.³ The kneeling deacon, holding Martin's episcopal crozier in the right hand and a missal in the left, wears a dalmatic of green brocade like that of St. Martin with an alb beneath. A missal on a stand is on the altar to the left of the chalice. Martin's episcopal mitre is seen at the extreme right of the altar near a cupboard containing cruets, an oval box, a bound book, and a larger vessel below. K1857 may have been commissioned for an abbey church, as the life of the saint was so concerned with the development of monasticism in Northern Europe. One of the few other contemporary examples of this subject, the Jacomart Baço Altarpiece, was painted for the monastery at Segorbe (now in the Museo Provincial, Valencia).

K1857 was regarded as a work of the French School of c. 1440 at the time of purchase in 1951 but was catalogued as Franco-Rhenish, c. 1440 by Shapley, on the basis of 'the calm gravity of the faces' and the style of the painting on the altar. The painting includes an unusual triptych placed upon the altar depicting four female saints adoring the Virgin and Child: Barbara and Ursula (or possibly Christina) are on hinged panels at the extreme left and right, with Dorothy and Mary Magdalene to the left and right of the Virgin on the central, fixed panel. The triptych, with its *Schöne Madonna* central group, was probably designed by the painter of K1857 in a deliberately archaizing manner. The row of fleurs-de-lis crowning the painted altarpiece and bordering the paintings within may allude to the association of St. Martin with France. His *oriflamme* – emblem of the flaming purity of his charity – was seen immediately in front of the fleur-de-lis, later symbol of the kings of France. The possibility of a Franconian origin for this panel may perhaps be reinforced by the fact that the traditional pilgrimage center of the Franks was the sepulchral shrine of St. Martin at Tours. The work of an accomplished master, *The Miraculous Mass of St. Martin* shows the lucid stereotomy first established by the painting of Campin in Tournai and soon emulated throughout Northern Europe. The anonymous master of K1857 may have been trained by an artist of the generation of Hans Multscher or Konrad Witz or himself be their contemporary. The forceful simplicity of the composition,

with its emphasis on clearly defined space and an austere, direct approach, recalls the somewhat linear abstract manner of the artists of Lower Franconia, around Würzburg and Bamberg. However, these characteristics are also to be found in the art of Westphalia, the environs of Geneva, and elsewhere. The oblique placement of the altar is often seen in Upper and Middle Rhenish art, where architectural elements are similarly disposed as a space-creating device. As closely related comparative material has not been found for K1857 the possibility of other regions for its origin should not be excluded.

Provenance: Liechtenstein Palace, Vienna.⁴ New York, Frederick Mont and the Newhouse Galleries Inc. (as French School, c. 1440). Kress acquisition 1951.

References: (1) Réau, III, 2, pp. 900 ff.; A. Leçoy de la Marche, *Saint-Martin*, Tours, 1881, p. 348; Joseph Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1943, cols. 509–12. (2) *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, translated by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, London, 1941, pp. 669–70. The scenes from Martin's life immediately preceding the miraculous Mass, *Martin and the Poor Man* and *Martin with the Archdeacon and Cloak*, are shown in early fifteenth-century embroidered roundels at the Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyons. See Margaret B. Freeman, *The St. Martin Embroideries*, New York, 1968, pls. 12, 13. (3) Nicolas Choniate, *De Manuele Commeno*, Lib. VII; Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 139, cols. 571 ff. Cited by Mary Ann Graeve, 'The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio's Painting for the Chiesa Nuova', *Art Bulletin*, XI, 1958, pp. 223–38. The unusual rectangular hanging studded with stars of pearl is one of two *angularia* first used in the fourteenth century. Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Munich, 1924, II, pp. 84 ff. (4) According to the curator of the Fürstliche Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie Vaduz, Gustav Wilhelm, K1857 was Inventory No. 14955, and was kept in the depot of the family palace in Vienna, where it was recorded in 1885.

JOHANN KOERBECKE

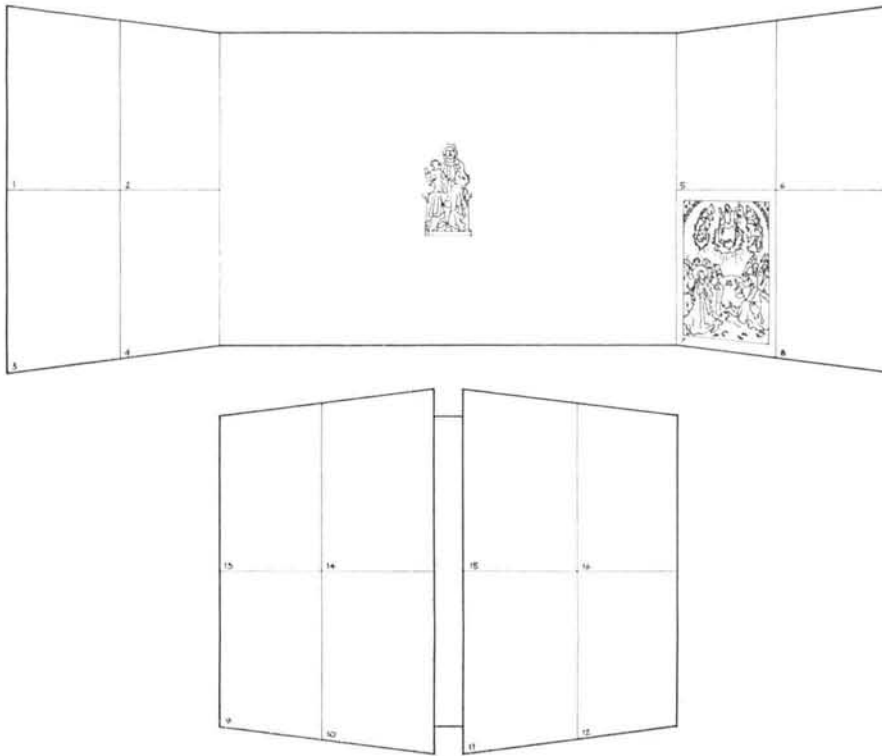
The artist was probably born in Munster in the first decade of the fifteenth century (1407?), where he died on 31 July 1491. His identification with the painter of the High Altar and other works for the Cistercian monastery of Marienfeld at Munster was made by Nordhoff.¹ First recorded at Coesfeld in 1432, Koerbecke was already a property owner at Munster by that date. A house listed as his in 1471 was sold by the prosperous painter's second wife after his death. His son and grandson were also artists. An outstanding North-west German painter, Koerbecke combined realistic elements from early Netherlandish art and from his predecessors: Meister Franke, Conrad von Soest, and the late work of Stephan Lochner. Pieper suggested a Cologne residence for Koerbecke c. 1450.² The painter's vigorous manner has an unusual emphasis on the linear,

which is related to the powerful engravings of the Master E. S. With the Master of the Schoeppinger Altar and the Master of the Life of the Virgin (Iserlohn), both of whose junior Koerbecke may well have been, a new, highly expressive art was brought to Westphalia. Hans Bornemann has been proposed as a major influence on Koerbecke.³ Little is known of Koerbecke's art prior to the Marienfeld Altar, his major, most monumental achievement, to which K2156 belongs. The Passion cycle on the wings of an altar from Langenhorst (Munster, Landesmuseum) may be an early work.

K2156 : Figure 6

THE ASCENSION. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1528), since 1959. Mixed technique on oak. Gold ground, with extensive tooling for haloes, flames, rays, etc. $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ in. (92.6 × 64.8 cm.). Numerous pentimenti in the drapery of St. Peter. Much of the composition lightly incised. An old photograph (No. 603–30/a, Frick Art Reference Library) shows that K2156 was formerly much overpainted throughout the central vertical section to obscure losses caused by split (along old join?). The original color of the clouds has turned to dark green. Cradled. In 1957 and 1958 blisters secured with aqueous adhesive; slight restoration above head of apostle at extreme left and elsewhere by Modestini. Reproduced in color in *Broadley*, p. 17.

Christ appears immediately above the curved rock of the Mount of Olives, which was believed to have borne his unerasable footprints. He looks to the lower left, where the kneeling figures include the praying Virgin (the only one to have a halo) embraced by St. John. They follow Christ's charge from the cross to view each other as mother and son (John 19:26–7). Five Apostles are behind them. Peter, most prominent of the Apostles, kneels in the right foreground, nearest the rock, with Paul and four others behind. The rectangular panel is given an arched format by the cloud-rimmed spandrels at the upper left and right, occupied by tiny angels. K2156 shows Christ of the Ascension (Luke 24:50–3; Acts 1:9–12), seated in the clouds, blessing Mary and the Apostles. ('... he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight', Acts 1:9). Christ holds the triumphal red banner cross of the Resurrection, with which he opened the Gates of Heaven for the Just – those who died before him and were brought by him from Limbo to Heaven. The Just appear in half-length in two cloud crescents to the left and right of the central cloud, upon which Christ is seated. They include, to the upper left, from top to bottom: Aaron, with flowering branch, St. John Baptist (Lamb), Moses (Tablets of the Law and horns), David (crown and harp); an elder with a sword is at the upper right, Gideon (with fleece below), followed by two elders without attributes.⁴ Koerbecke's composition of K2156 is close to those of the *Last Judgment*, where Mary is similarly placed. In German cycles of the Life of Christ, the depiction of the Ascension is often followed by that of Pentecost, which took place ten days later, but in Marian cycles, such as the Marienfeld Altar,



Text Fig 1 Reconstruction of the *Marienfeld Altar* by Johann Koerbecke (see κ 2156).

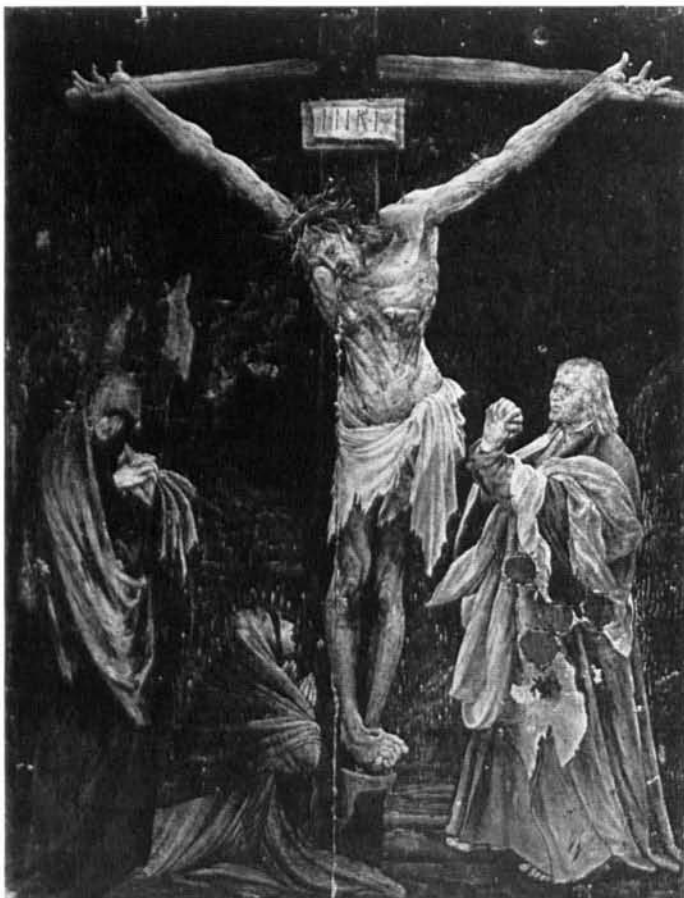
- 1 *Presentation of the Virgin* (Cracow, Muzeum Narodowe).
- 2 *Annunciation* (Chicago, Art Institute).
- 3 *Nativity* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum).
- 4 *Adoration of the Magi* (lost).
- 5 *Presentation in the Temple* (Münster, Landesmuseum).
- 6 *Christ and Mary Enthroned in Heaven* (Rhineland, private collection).
- 7 κ 2156.
- 8 *Assumption of the Virgin* (Lugano, Thyssen Collection).
- 9 *Arrest of Christ* (Dortmund, private collection).
- 10 *Flagellation* (location unknown).
- 11 *Mocking of Christ* (Münster, Landesmuseum).
- 12 *Judgment of Pilate* (Münster, Landesmuseum).
- 13 *Road to Calvary* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen).
- 14 *Crucifixion* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen).
- 15 *Entombment* (Münster, Landesmuseum).
- 16 *Resurrection* (Avignon, Musée Calvet).



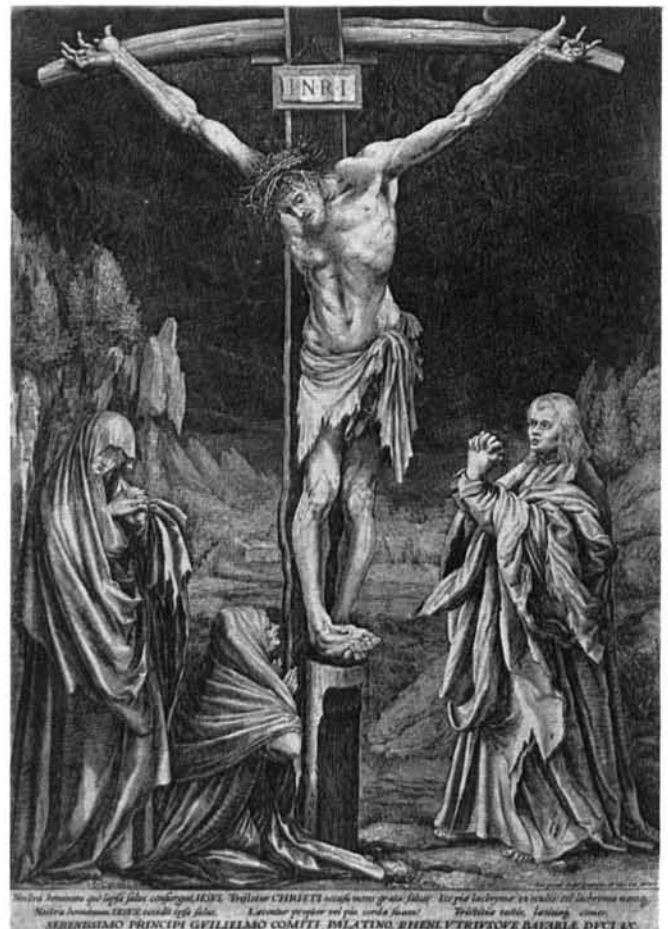
Text Fig 2 Reconstruction of the *Last Judgment Triptych* by Tyrolean Master, c. 1500. Center is κ 1878. Wings are in the Ruzicka Stiftung, Zurich.



Text Fig 3 Detail of *Lot and his Daughters* (c. 1835) by Albrecht Dürer: the artist's monogram.



Text Fig 4 *Small Crucifixion* by Grünewald (c. 1938) before restoration of 1922.



Text Fig 5 Reproductive print by Raphael Sadeler after the *Small Crucifixion* by Grünewald (c. 1938).

the Pentecost is often omitted or conflated with the Ascension, which was then placed next to the scene of the Assumption of the Virgin. This is true for K2156, where the tongues of flame and the animated gestures of some of the Apostles suggest the gift of tongues of the Pentecost. An even more elaborate depiction of the Ascension than K2156, by the Master of the Heilige Sippe (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum), has a similar conflation and juxtaposition.⁵ The *Ascension* is one of sixteen panels painted for the wings of the High Altar of the Cistercian Abbey Church at Marienfeld. Both the abbey and altar were dedicated to the Virgin. According to Sommer, a small wooden, originally gilded statue (dating from the 1430s or early 1440s) of the seated Virgin and Child, 60 cm. high, still at Marienfeld, was originally placed in the middle of the altar, whose central section was a large gilded reliquary shrine (see Text Fig. 1 for a reconstruction).⁶

Seen when the altar was open, the statue and many relics were flanked by wings with four scenes from the Life of the Virgin at either side, painted on gold ground. When closed, the wings showed eight Passion scenes against a naturalistic background. A partial payment to Koerbecke was given in 1456 'since the panels on our highest altar were finished'.⁷ Installed on 6 February 1457, the altar was consecrated on the following 25 January. Restored in 1516-17, and again in 1533-34, the High Altar was dismantled and replaced between 1661 and 1681, and described shortly thereafter by Pater Hermann Hartmann in an abbey chronicle.⁸ The wings were sawed through, separating the front and back panels.

On 20 February 1804, a year after the abbey was secularized, 320 paintings were removed for auction, including those of the High Altar (Cat. Nos. 147-62). However, the latter were withdrawn upon the recommendation of a government inspector, the painter Johann Christoph Rincklake, with four other pictures, destined for the Berlin Academy.⁹ Instead, the sixteen Marienfeld panels were dispersed. K2156 re-emerged in 1912. For the past fifty years scholars have tried to reconstruct the original appearance of the Marienfeld Altar. Of these, the most recent, that of Pieper, is convincing and is the major source for Text Fig. 1.¹⁰ When open, the upper left panel in the left wing would have shown the *Presentation of the Virgin* (Cracow, Muzeum Narodowe); the right, the *Annunciation* (Chicago, Art Institute) including the arms of the donor Abbot Arnold von Bevern, and those of Munster and the Cistercian order; to the lower left the *Nativity* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum); at the lower right, a lost *Adoration of the Magi*. The upper left panel of the right wing showed the *Presentation in the Temple* (Munster, Landesmuseum); to the right *Christ and Mary enthroned in Heaven* (Rhineland, private collection), K2156 at the lower left, and the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Lugano, Thyssen Collection) to the right. The outer panels are: the *Crucifixion* and *Road to Calvary* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen); the *Arrest of Christ* (Dortmund, private collection); *Flagellation* (location unknown); *Resurrection* (Avignon, Musée Calvet); *Mocking of Christ*, *Judgment of Pilate*, and *Entombment* (Munster, Landesmuseum). According to Sommer, the *Resurrection* was on the outer side of K2156 whereas Pieper placed the

Judgment of Pilate there. Stange listed the *Ascension* as among the last panels painted for the altar, and showing remarkable development from the far more conservatively oriented scenes starting the Marian cycle. He saw K2156 and the adjacent *Assumption* as bringing a new and never-to-be-equalled monumentality to Westphalian painting.¹¹ This panel and the series to which it belongs forms a major monument of West German painting of the 1450s, showing a vigorous style based in part upon Netherlandish art.

Provenance: Part of High Altar installed in 1457 for the Cistercian Abbey Church at Marienfeld, Munster; dispersed 1803. Charles Léon Cardon, Brussels, exhibited - Brussels, *Exposition de la Miniature*, Mar.-July 1912, Cat. No. 2051, as 'Anonyme (École de Souabe XVe siècle)'. Rudolf Chillingworth, Nuremberg (sold Lucerne, Galerie Fischer, 5 Sept. 1922, p. 21, Cat. No. 47). Exhibited - Zurich, Kunsthau, Sept.-Nov. 1921, *Gemälde und Skulpturen 1430-1530*, Cat. No. 46, presumably lent by Rudolf Chillingworth. Munich, Julius Böhler (1934, *Ausstellung Altdutsche Kunst*, Cat. No. 38, p. 12). Zwicky Collection, Basel-Arlesheim, exhibited - Bern, Kunstmuseum, *Gemälde und Zeichnungen alter Meister; Kunsthandwerk aus Privatbesitz*, Oct. 1944-Mar. 1945, Cat. No. 11; Munster, Landesmuseum, *Westfälische Maler der Spätgotik 1440-1490*, 20 June-30 Sept. 1952, Cat. No. 57. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1957.

References: (1) J. B. Nordhoff, 'Kunstzustände eines reichen Klosters um 1700', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, v, 1882, p. 307; *Bonner Jahrbücher*, LXXXVII, 1889, p. 137; *Kunst- und Geschichtsdenkmäler Westfalens*, II, 1889. For a recent resumé of the Koerbecke biography, see Paul Pieper, 'Westfälische Maler der Spätgotik 1440-1490', *Westfalen*, xxx, 1952, pp. 77-132, 93-4, Cat. No. 57; Stange, vi, pp. 14-15. All known documentation published by Johannes Sommer, 'Johann Koerbecke: Der Meister des Marienfelder Altares von 1457', Diss., Bonn, 1937. (2) Pieper, *op. cit.*, p. 94. (3) Harold Busch, *Meister des Nordens: die altniederdeutsche Malerei 1450-1550*, Hamburg, 1940, p. 68, Cat. No. 200. (4) 'Aaron' may possibly be Elijah, Jeremiah, or St. Joseph. The unidentified elders may be any of the following: Elijah, Jeremiah, Jacob, Enoch, or Zachariah, all of whose lives or prophecies anticipated the Ascension. For the identification of the Just and the iconography of the Ascension, see S. Helena Gutberlet, *Die Himmelfahrt Christi in der bildenden Kunst*, Strassbourg, 1934, p. 165 ff. See also Réau, II, Part 2, pp. 582-90. (5) Lotte Brand, *Stefan Lochners Hochaltar von St. Katharinen zu Köln*, Freiburg, 1938, pp. 63-5, points out that both K2156 and the Nuremberg panel are based on the lost wings of Lochner's *Presentation Altar* (central panel, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum). (6) Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 18. (7) Marienfeld Inventory of 1456, Munster Archives, quoted by Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18. (8) Published by Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18. (9) *Archiv der königlichen Regierung zu Münster, 1803-1809*, published by A. Wormstall, *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens*, LV, 1897, pp. 46 ff. (10) Early attempts were misled by Nordhoff's misreading of the

Hartmann chronicle. (Burkhard Meier, 'Mitteilungen des Landesmuseums', *Westfalen*, III, 1911, pp. 110-12; Walter Hugelshofer, 'Der Hochaltar von 1457 des Klosters Marienfeld in Westfalen', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LX, 1926-27, pp. 179-84, reconstruction on p. 180.) These erroneous reconstructions assumed that the central subject of the altar was a Crucifixion. In 1926 Hugelshofer had located nine of the original panels and four years later identified five more. (Hugelshofer, 'Koerbecke und der Marienfelder Altar von 1457', *Der Cicerone*, July 1930, pp. 371-6.) Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 21, located one additional panel and provided a reconstruction, taking into account the original central gilded shrine, which, with slight modifications by Pieper, remains definitive. Pieper, *op. cit.*, p. 93, largely based on Sommer, wrote that the open altar measured approximately six meters across, with each wing 210×150 cm. (II) *Stange*, VI, p. 18. He included on p. 16 a reconstruction of the altar following that of Pieper.

GERMAN MASTER Active c. 1465

K2091 : Figure 8

ROYAL SAINT WITH RING [St. Oswald, King of England]. Chicago, Ill., D. and A. Smart Gallery. Oil on slightly warped oak panel. Punched and incised halo on gold ground; some forms also incised. $20\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. (52.0×17.1 cm.). Inscription (probably a prayer) in white on a red ground along bottom is illegible as lowermost section is lost. Cut at bottom; $\frac{1}{4}$ in. wooden strip added all around. Pentimenti in elbow of right arm indicate initial lower placement. Fairly well preserved; several losses, scratches at upper left. Label on back: *Aus der Fürstliche Gallerie in Wien.*

K2091 may depict the popular, heroic St. Oswald, King of Northumbria, born c. 605 and baptized at Iona, where he went into exile. Described by Bede as 'handsome in appearance and courteous in manner', Oswald was known for his charity and venerated for powers of miraculous healing. His cult was brought to the Continent by missionary monks from Iona. He was especially revered in the South German region, the Tyrol, Switzerland, and Styria, where his relics abounded and where K2091 was probably painted.¹ The graceful yet realistic rendering of the saint-king in royal fur-trimmed garb, holding a sceptre and ring, suggests the work of an artist active in South Germany who was trained in Cologne. K2091 has some affinities with scenes from the *Legend of the Finding of the True Cross* painted in Cologne toward the middle of the fifteenth century (Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, and Munster, Landesmuseum).² The figure's stance and attire are deliberately old-fashioned, deemed appropriate for a seventh-century saint. His pose is found in early fifteenth-century models popularized by engravings of the Master of the Playing Cards. The slender panel was probably part of the left section of an altarpiece composed largely of standing figures also shown against a gold background. Oswald (?) holds the ring, which a crow (his more common attribute) brought the princess to whom he was

engaged; the ring is also the emblem of Edward the Confessor. Toward the later fifteenth century it became customary to show Oswald with the ring alone. Suspended from his chain is an order freely based on that of St. Anthony (which was extremely active in Cologne) but with a Maltese cross instead of the Tau Cross of St. Anthony.³

Provenance: Liechtenstein Schloss Seebeinstein in Lower Austria, since c. 1850, when K2091 was brought and inserted in the chapel panelling.⁴ New York, Schaeffer Galleries. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) Donald Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, Harmondsworth, 1965, pp. 260-1; *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Rome, 1957, IX, cols. 1290-5; Joseph Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1943, cols. 471-5; Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1926, II, pp. 480-1; Réau, III, 2, pp. 1013-14. The saint may perhaps be Edmund, another saint-king whose attribute was also an arrow. See Attwater, *op. cit.*, p. 109. (2) Attributed by *Stange*, v, figs. 16-19, to the Master of the Vision of St. John (named after panel of this subject in Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum). (3) Paul Ganz, 'Die Abzeichen der Ritterorden', Part 2, *Archives héraldiques suisses*, 1905, pp. 52-67, p. 55. A magus resembling K2091 wears the order in the *Adoration* by a German Master of c. 1460 (Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art); the painting is attributed by *Stange* to the Master of the Vision of St. John (v, fig. 15). (4) Information from Gustav Wilhelm, Vaduz, letter of 13 Jan. 1969.

HANS PLEYDENWURFF

Pleydenwurff was probably born in Bamberg c. 1420; he died in Nuremberg in 1472. His forceful, blunt style combines the sculptural qualities of Early Netherlandish painting with the graphic, realistic, expressive characteristics of German art. The leading artist of the important centre of Nuremberg, Pleydenwurff was master of Michael Wolgemut (who was to be Dürer's teacher). His oeuvre epitomizes the forthright, clear-cut style of Southern Germany in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

Circle of HANS PLEYDENWURFF

K1993 : Figure 7

ST. LEONARD. Raleigh, N.C., North Carolina Museum of Art (GL 60.17.63), since 1960. Mixed technique on heavy canvas on panel (probably pine), cradled at unknown date. $48 \times 19\frac{1}{8}$ in. (121.9×48.6 cm.). Incised double halo inscribed SANCTVS LEONHARDVS. An arboreal motif, incised on the gold ground at the sides, was originally completed at the top (in a now missing section of the panel), probably arching over the head of St. Leonard, echoing the circular motif of his halo. Painting of brocade

in relief, possibly due to impressing a textile upon the damp gesso.¹ The uppermost register of the brocade is rendered in an unusual combination of silver and gold. The panel is cut at top (possibly at the sides) and at the bottom. Many small losses; considerable restoration.
Raleigh, 1960, p. 128.

Little is known of Leonard, a sixth-century hermit saint who was probably born in Limoges and widely revered as a patron saint of prisoners. Literary sources concerning his life begin in the eleventh century. He was especially beloved in Swabia, Bavaria and Austria. K1993 shows him holding his attribute, fetters, suggesting a freed prisoner.² He is tonsured, in brown monastic garb. The book under his arm is another saintly attribute, indicating his founding of a monastery. Leonard was especially associated with the Benedictine order, which commissioned many paintings from Nuremberg artists in the second half of the fifteenth century. The work stems from the left section of an altarpiece, the figure of St. Leonard facing toward the central subject, probably also standing against a brocade and gold background. Ernst Buchner attributed the panel to Pleydenwurff.³ He compared it to depictions of St. Dominic and St. Thomas, related to K1993 in format and style, now known to be the outer wings of the Altar of the Three Kings (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum), and generally accepted as an early work of Pleydenwurff, dated c. 1460, painted for the Lorenzkirche in Nuremberg.⁴ K1993, while close to Pleydenwurff's art, lacks a certain incisiveness characteristic of him, which makes it unlikely to be autograph by Pleydenwurff. The less resolute modeling of *St. Leonard* may be due to its subsequent vicissitudes.

Provenance: Private collection, London. New York, David M. Koetser. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) Suggestion of Justus Bier. (2) Joseph Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1943, col. 460; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, VI, 1934, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, col. 509; Réau, III, 2, pp. 799-800; 'Leonardo di Nobile', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VII, cols. 1198-1208. (3) Certificate signed and dated Munich, 19/VI/56 in Kress Archive. (4) Eberhard Lutze, Eberhard Wiegand, *Katalog des Germanischen Nationalmuseums zu Nürnberg, Die Gemälde des 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Nuremberg, 1937, pp. 148-9, Cat. Nos. 129, 130.

AUSTRIAN MASTER Active c. 1480

K1856 : Figure 4

THE NATIVITY. Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum (E-951), since 1954. Mixed technique on fruitwood, on gold ground. $25\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{3}{4}$ in. (64.8×47.7 cm.). Probably considerably cut down at top and sides. False inscription IVM (supposed monogram of Israhel van Meckenem, the fifteenth-century engraver) removed after 1931. Restoration in face of Virgin and other areas; cradled, cleaned and restored, blisters secured 1952-53 by Modestini.
Denver, 1954, p. 62, Cat. No. 27.

The Nativity (Luke 2:8) takes place before a ruined building; Mary kneels at the left, looking down to three kneeling angels, who raise the nude infant toward her. Joseph, holding a candle, stands at the right.¹ The ox and ass are above at the upper left. A seated shepherd is in the landscape at the upper left corner, looking toward the golden sky yet shielding his eyes. The landscape may, according to Suida (*Denver*, 1954, *loc. cit.*), represent a specific lower Austrian locale. Aspects of the composition, symbolism and style of the *Nativity* recall Hugo van der Goes' *Portinari Altar* (Florence, Uffizi), where the Romanesque architectural elements refer to the world before Christ and where the angels' vestments indicate their role as participants in the Mass.² The three angels at the lower right of K1856 also wear albs, customarily the attire of acolytes or minor ministers at a Solemn High Mass. They seem to elevate the newly-born Christ Child as the sacrificial Host toward the kneeling Mary. The unusual emphasis on the cloth below the Child probably refers to the Corporal of the Mass.³ K1856 is close in style and facial types to several of the nineteen panels from the *High Altar of the Schottenstift* (Vienna).⁴ At the time of purchase, K1856 was attributed to the main master of the Viennese series, a leading Austrian painter, whose somewhat naive, Schongauer-based mode was typical of late fifteenth-century Austrian painting. The painter of K1856 may have been trained in the studio of one of the several masters contributing to the Schottenstift cycle. The *Nativity* relates to Schongauer's engravings and may have been very freely adapted from B.5, also belonging to a series of scenes from the Life of Christ or Mary. A similarly placed single shepherd with an angel above is shown in the Schongauer engraving of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (B.4). Stange has pointed out the unusually graphic character of the Kress painting, which may perhaps explain the rationale behind the added Israhel van Meckenem monogram. He viewed K1856 as an early work of c. 1480-90 by the unknown master who painted an *Adoration of the Magi* with the arms of the Binden family (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) from the last decade of the fifteenth century; however, this association is not entirely convincing.⁵

Provenance: Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, before 1931.⁶ New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1951 - Rush H. Kress residence, New York, 1951-54.

References: (1) The divine light surrounding the new-born Christ was so brilliant 'that the sun was not comparable to it, nor did the candle that St. Joseph had there, give any light at all, the divine light totally annihilating the material light of the candle...' Brigitta of Sweden, *Revelations*, trans. by H. Cornell, *The Iconography of the Nativity of Christ*, Uppsala, 1924, p. 12. (2) Panofsky, I, pp. 134-40. (3) See M. B. MacNamee, S. J., 'Further Symbolism in the Portinari Altar', *Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963, pp. 142-3. (4) See Otto Benesch, 'Der Meister des Krainburger Altars', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, VII, 1930, pp. 120-220, esp. pp. 165 ff. (5) Stange, XI, p. 51, Cat. No. 108, as

'Meister der Anbetung mit dem Bindenschild'. (6) A. Kronfeld, *Führer durch die Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldesammlung in Wien*, 1931, p. 149, Cat. No. 741; as by an unknown master of the Franconian School with an unclear date, probably 1476.

THE MASTER OF THE ST. BARTHOLOMEW ALTAR

Of North Netherlandish origin, training and style, the Master of the St. Bartholomew Altar (so named after a large triptych for the church of St. Columba, Cologne, now Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) was the outstanding painter active in Cologne from about 1480 to c. 1510.¹ Probably born in Holland in the mid-fifteenth century, the artist may have first been trained as a manuscript illuminator in Utrecht. He illustrated the *Hours of Sophia van Bylant*, of c. 1475 (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum), for a family in the environs of Arnhem, where his altarpiece (Arnhem, Gementemuseum) for the St. Antonius or St. Catherine Gasthuis still remains. K2114 was probably painted for a church in Arnhem, on the Rhine near Cologne, just within the Dutch border, in the diocese of Utrecht. Stange suggested that the artist was a Carthusian monk, since three of his major Cologne commissions were linked with this order.² Following in the tradition of the manuscript illuminations of the North Netherlandish Master of Catherine of Cleves, the Bartholomew Master's art is close in style to that of Geertgen tot Sint Jans.³ Like the latter, the Bartholomew Master may have been servant painter to the Order of Saint John, whose Netherlandish chapters included Arnhem, Utrecht and Nijmegen as well as Geertgen's Haarlem.⁴ Several of the Bartholomew Master's paintings were formerly thought to be by Lucas van Leyden, and K2114 at one time bore a false monogram of that artist. Among the major painters of the generation before Dürer, the St. Bartholomew Master is often designated 'the Crivelli of the North' since his oeuvre, with its exceptionally exacting technique, is characterized by remarkable animation, brilliant, richly decorative detail, and an unusually sharp, sculptural realization of form. He is known to have been a designer of embroideries (Utrecht, Aartsbisshopelijk Musea) and probably of precious metalwork as well.

K2114 : Figure 10

THE MYSTICAL BAPTISM OF CHRIST WITH FOURTEEN HOLY HELPERS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1630), since 1956. Mixed technique on oak. 41 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 67 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (106.1 × 170.5 cm.). Extremely thinly painted with much preliminary drawing visible. Partially obliterated inscription on banderole between head of Christ and God the Father: HIC EST FILIUS MEUS DILECTUS IN QUO MICHI CONPLACUI ('And lo a voice from heaven, saying,

This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' Matthew 3:17). A false Lucas van Leyden monogram was removed before 1914. Considerable losses in paint surface of angel at lower right foreground; abrasion in Christ and St. John Baptist; small losses in upper arm of angel at left foreground and in drapery of St. Elizabeth at upper right and elsewhere. Many large and small scratches in central foreground area, through angels at lower right and left and over right leg of Christ. By 1954, the original oak support had been planed down to a thickness of $\frac{1}{8}$ in. and mounted upon an oak panel $\frac{7}{16}$ in. thick. Cradled in 1954 by Modestini; restored by him in 1955.

Suida-Shapley, p. 124, Cat. No. 47. Reproduced in color in *Pageant*, 1, p. 105.

An unusually large, horizontal composition devoted to a rare subject, K2114 shows the Baptism taking place on a formalized, verdant outcropping in the foreground, seen against an encircling sky and gold background.⁵ Christ, in three-quarter view, stands knee-deep in a small, steep-sided pool of the Jordan, his hands raised in prayer. Christ is censured by a cherub at the left. Kneeling on the right bank, clad in a camelskin, St. John pours the vessel of Jordan water over Christ with his right arm, his left raised in blessing. A kneeling, praying angel, on the left bank, wears a cope with a morse showing the Virgin and Child enthroned and holds Christ's robe over his arms. Smaller angels in the left and right foreground, clad in semi-liturgical garb, celebrate the Baptism by playing the lute and the vielle. God the Father and the Holy Ghost as a dove appear at the upper centre. The Father wears a crown crested with orb and cross, his robe drawn back by attendant angels in albs and crossed stoles, each holding a lighted taper; his arms are raised in consecration, with the maniple of the Mass on his left wrist. He presides over the first sacrament of the Church, Baptism, introduced by St. John. The inscribed banderole surrounds the Holy Ghost. The sacrament of Christ's mystical Baptism in Heaven is witnessed by seven male and seven female saints, a variation of those of the same sex and number customarily selected and designated the Fourteen Holy Helpers. Their presence may symbolize the Church (the congregation of baptized souls), which, theologically, was wedded to Christ at the moment of his Baptism.⁶ Their semicircular disposition suggests an architectural metaphor for the Church, presided over by the priest above, God the Father. Kneeling in a great crescent of blue and white clouds, against a gold background, the Fourteen Holy Helpers enclose the central subject. From left to right are seen: Dorothy holding a basket of roses and a single carnation; Christopher with a staff sprouting a rose and the Infant blessing and holding an orb; Andrew with the X-shaped cross; Jerome in cardinal's vestments; Catherine wearing a crown and holding the wheel and sword of her martyrdom; Augustine raising the emblematic arrow-pierced heart and an episcopal crozier. He wears a bishop's mitre and cope (whose embroidered orphreys include a standing Virgin and Child) fastened by a morse with the Throne of Grace; Agnes holding a martyr's palm and lamb; Francis displaying the Stigmata; Lucy holding the martyr's palm, her

neck pierced by a sword; Elizabeth of Hungary clad as a nun, with three crowns; the Magdalen in fashionable attire, holding the unguent jar open; a bearded Anthony Abbot wearing a red cap and holding a crozier with a blue Tau cross on his robe; a small Apollonia holding the forceps and tooth at the upper right; George in armor kneeling upon the vanquished dragon, and holding his plumed helmet. The special grouping of Fourteen Holy Helpers was first generally established in the fourteenth century, but only became widespread in the second half of the fifteenth. Each saint was responsible for some special healing or other relief, turned to in times of great need.⁷ In K2114 only SS. George, Christopher, and Catherine belong to the regular Fourteen Holy Helpers, although SS. Francis and Dorothy are occasionally included.⁸ In his discussion of the iconography of K2114, Pieper wondered whether the Baptist should not be included with the encircling saints as a fifteenth member, removing the configuration from any link to the concept of the Fourteen Holy Helpers. He finds the programme of the *Baptism* more Netherlandish than German in character.⁹ The columbine, placed prominently in the foreground, is linked to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, chastity, healing, and fertility. The other flowers in the foreground also have medicinal qualities.¹⁰ K2114 is especially close in style, spirit, and presumably in date, to the same master's equally mystical depiction of *Christ and the Doubting Thomas* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum), which includes similar depictions of saints and music-making angels. The *Thomas Altar* is dated close to 1500, and was donated to the Cologne Charterhouse by Doctor Peter Rinck, whose will was made in that year. Like the *Baptism*, this altar refers to a large number of saints as it was dedicated to thirteen holy figures. Other works by the Bartholomew Master also have multiple dedications, usually dictated by adjacent relics. Schaefer placed K2114 in the Bartholomew Master's mature style¹¹; Brockmann emphasized Dutch and Flemish influence in the work of the Bartholomew Master while proposing a date in the 1480s for K2114, relating the depiction of St. Dorothy to the *Madonna with the Carthusian* (von Schnitzler coll.).¹² Reiners saw it as earlier than the *Thomas Altar*, which he described as a later, more successful work¹³; Ring cited the Arnheim provenance of K2114 as evidence for the North Netherlandish origin of the master.¹⁴ Her argument, which originated with Friedländer,¹⁵ has been further substantiated by Steingraber¹⁶; Boon accepted the Arnheim origin of the Kress panel, and expanded these views in 1961¹⁷; vom Rath related K2114 to the Bartholomew Master's *Crucifixion Altar* of c. 1501 (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum), because of a similar censing cherub in both. He dated the *Mystical Baptism* between 1499 and 1501, placing it later than the *Thomas Altar* (c. 1499), which he viewed as more conservative than K2114.¹⁸ Stange designated the *Mystical Baptism* a major work by the Bartholomew Master, dating K2114 in the mid-80s, and suggesting a special journey to the Netherlands for its execution.¹⁹ Pieper followed vom Rath's placement of K2114 near the *Thomas Altar*.²⁰ In 1959, he was more tentative about the 1500 date for K2114 and its location

between the *Thomas* and *Crucifixion* Altars. He reconsidered Stange's dating of the *Mystical Baptism* several years before the *Thomas Altar* and proposed a date of c. 1495. He pointed out that K2114 was a single panel without wings, intended for a specific site where the unique thematic combination of the Baptism with the Fourteen Holy Helpers would have been appropriate.²¹ The same scholar believed K2114 to have been painted while the Bartholomew Master was still resident in the Netherlands, viewing it as a forerunner of the baroque style of the *Thomas Altar*.²² Pieper pointed out that the Baptist and music-making angel in the *Bylant Hours* (Wallraf-Richartz Museum, p. 150) on the page dated 1475 with the portrait of the owner's deceased husband Reynalt van Homoet resemble the same figures in the *Mystical Baptism*.²³ In the same publication Vey placed K2114 after the *Thomas Altar*, which he dated 1490–1500, but most likely 1495–1500.²⁴ Wallrath dated K2114 before the *Thomas Altar* on the basis of the armor style in both, placing the latter c. 1495 and implying a date of c. 1490 or earlier for the Kress panel.²⁵ Walker (pp. 110–11) placed the panel c. 1500. Arguments for a date close to 1500 may be supported by the increasing popularity of the half-length, vignetted holy figure in the last decade of the century in the graphic arts.²⁶ The painting was listed in the Bryas Sale (see *Provenance*) as coming from the Cathedral of Arnheim. However, Arnheim, in the diocese of Utrecht, could not have had a Catholic Cathedral. The most prominent religious institution in Arnheim, the Order of St. John, was established there c. 1310.²⁷ The Order, closely connected with extensive art patronage in the North Netherlands, probably commissioned K2114 for the High Altar of its church, the Sintjanskerk or Groote Kerk, dedicated to the Baptist and the major church in Arnheim. Rebuilt after a fire and re-dedicated in 1470, the church was torn down in 1817.²⁸ The *Mystical Baptism* may have been given by Johan van Hatstein, Commander of the Order from 1486 to 1497.²⁹ It is a major work by one of the most brilliant masters active in Northern Europe in the later fifteenth century.

Provenance: Count Jacques de Bryas, Paris (sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, *Catalogue des Tableaux Anciens . . . Provenant de la collection de M. le Comte Jacques de Bryas*, 6 Feb. 1905, p. 11, Cat. No. 20, 'Cette oeuvre, du plus grand caractère, et dans le plus admirable état de conservation, provient de la cathédrale d'Aarnheim, édifice gothique qui fut au XVII^e siècle désaffecté du culte catholique'. Purchased by Kleinberger). Richard von Kaufmann, Berlin, exhibited – *Ausstellung von Werken alter Kunst. Aus dem Privatbesitz von Mitgliedern des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums-Vereins*, May 1914, Cat. No. 92, as lent by Frau von Kaufmann. (Sale, Berlin, *Die Sammlung Richard von Kaufmann*, 4 Dec. 1917, No. 132, at Paul Cassirer, catalogue by M. J. Friedländer. Purchased by O. Henkell.) O. Henkell, Wiesbaden, 1918.³⁰ New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) For recent biography, see K. G. Boon, 'Der Meister des Bartholomäusaltars: Seine Herkunft und der Stil seiner Jugendwerke', pp. 13–19, and Paul Pieper, 'Der

Meister des Bartholomäusaltars', pp. 20-43, both in *Kölner Maler der Spätgotik* (Catalogue prepared by Rolf Andree, Helmut R. Leppien, and Horst Vey, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, 25 Mar.-28 May 1961). Hereafter referred to as *Kölner Maler*, 1961. (2) Stange, v, p. 72. (3) See Frans Dülberg, *Die Leydener Malerschule*, Berlin, 1899, p. 39. (4) See E. A. van Beresteyn, *Geschiedenis der Johanniter-Orde in Nederland tot 1795*, Part 2, *Van Gorcum's Historische Bibliotheek*, 1934, pp. 63-8. For Geertgen and the Haarlem Commandery, see James E. Snyder, 'The early Haarlem School of Painting', 2, *Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1960, pp. 113-32, 125-6. (5) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 295-304. (6) For the Antiphon for Lauds on Epiphany; see Isa Ragusa and Rosalie Green, ed., *Meditation on the Life of Christ*, Princeton, 1961, p. 47, pp. 114 ff. For the standard fourteen saints: Achatius, Giles, Barbara, Balsius, Christopher, Cyriacus, Denis, Erasmus, Eustachius, George, Catherine, Margaret, Pantaleon, Vitus, see: Joseph Braun, S.J., *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, II, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1924, pp. 494-565; Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, II, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1926, pp. 469-74; Georg Schreiber, *Die vierzehn Nothelfer in Volksfrömmigkeit und Sakralkultur. Symbolkraft und Herrschaftsbereich der Wallfahrtskapelle vorab in Franken und Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1959, Schlern-Schriften, No. 168; Ferdinand Geldner, *Nothelferverehrung vor, neben und gegen Vierzehnheiligen*, In: 89. Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg, Jg. 1948, Bamberg, 1949, pp. 36-47. Special Masses for the Fourteen Holy Helpers were printed in the Cistercian prayer book of Johann Prüss (Strassburg). St. John Baptist was added to the Helpers in fourteenth-century England (p. 38) and Masses were printed for Fifteen Holy Helpers in the later fifteenth century (p. 43). Arnheim, in the Diocese of Utrecht, may have followed the Mass for Fifteen Holy Helpers printed for that diocese in Leyden in 1514; Saint Magnus was added to the conventional group (p. 39). (7) Schreiber, *op. cit.*, p. 30 f. (8) J. Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1943, col. 197. (9) See also P. Pieper, 'Das Stundenbuch des Bartholomäus-Meisters', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXI, 1959, pp. 97-158, p. 156, and *Kölner Maler*, 1961, p. 27, who points out that the Fourteen Holy Helpers relate to the Passion and Salvation - implied by St. Francis's Stigmata and the Magdalen's ointment jar. (10) For the columbine, see Rolf Fritz, 'Aquilegia: Die symbolische Bedeutung der Akelei', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1952, pp. 99-110; Ingo Krumbiegel, 'Die Akelei (Aquilegia). Eine Studie aus der Geschichte der deutschen Pflanzen', *Janus. Archives internationales pour l'Histoire de la Médecine et la Géographie Médicale*, Mar.-Apr. 1932, pp. 71-92; Robert A. Koch, 'Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar', *Art Bulletin*, XLVI, 1964, pp. 70-7. (11) Karl Schaefer, *Geschichte der kölnen Malerschule*, Lübeck, 1923, p. 19. (12) Harold Bockmann, *Die Spätzeit der kölnen Malerschule: Der Meister von St. Severin und der Meister der Ursulalegende*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1924, p. 53. (13) Heribert Reinert, *Die Kölner Malerschule*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1925, p. 182. (14) Grete Ring, 'Die Gruppe der heiligen Agnes', *Oud-Holland*, LVI, 1939, p. 39. (15) M. J. Friedländer, 'Neues über den Meister des Bartholomäus-

Altars', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, III-IV, 1926-27, pp. 174-82. (16) Erich Steingraber, 'Ein neu entdecktes Werk vom Meister der Bartholomäusaltars', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXXVI, 1964, p. 224. (17) K. G. Boon, 'Eenige opmerkinge naar aanleiding van vroege nederlandse Schilders', *Oud-Holland*, LVII, 1940, p. 98. (18) Karl vom Rath, *Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars*, Bonn, 1941, p. 58. He repeated this opinion in *Thieme-Becker*, XXXVII, p. 35, where he dated K2114 c. 1500. (19) Alfred Stange, *German Painting XIV-XVI Centuries*, London, 1950, p. 25; Stange, v, p. 66. (20) P. Pieper, 'Miniaturen des Bartholomäus-Meisters', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XV, 1953, pp. 135-56, p. 154. (21) Pieper, 1959, *op. cit.* Note 9 above, p. 155. (22) Pieper in *Kölner Maler*, 1961, p. 27. (23) *Ibid.* (24) Vey in *Kölner Maler*, 1961, p. 91. On p. 86, Vey suggested a date of 1490-1500 for K2114. (25) Rolf Wallrath, 'Kölner Maler der Spätgotik . . .', *Kunstchronik*, XIV, 1961, pp. 149-60, p. 155. (26) Outstanding examples are the many pages in the Hartmann Schedel *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493, and the two *Heiltumbücher* printed in the same city by Hans Mair and Hans Sporer in the same year, including depictions of the Fourteen Holy Helpers. (27) Beresteyn, *op. cit.*, p. 63. (28) *Ibid.*, pp. 63-4. (29) F. A. Hoefler and J. S. Van Veen, 'De Commanderei en der Orde van St. Jan in Gelderland', *Gelre. Vereeniging tot Beoefening van Geldersche Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Mededeelingen*, XIII, pp. 277-332, pp. 286-96, 'De Commanderei van Arnheim'. A topographical view, showing the church, is reproduced on p. 287. The altars are listed on p. 288. The church appears to have been turned over to Protestants in 1808 (p. 294). Should K2114 not come from the St. Janskerk, it may have been painted for the Eusebiuskerk or for the fourteenth-century St. Walburgiskerk, which has a baptismal chapel. The panel may have been in such a chapel or near the north door (close to the font) of the church. See *Kunstreisboek voor Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1965, pp. 188-92; R. Steensma, *Vroomheid in hout en steen, middeleeuwse Kerken in Noord-Nederland*, Baarn, n.d., p. 25, for location of baptismal fonts. (30) 'Kunstmarkt Versteigerungen', *Der Cicerone*, x, 1918, p. 26.

TYROLEAN MASTER, c. 1500

K1878 is the work of an artist active in Allgäu, a region now divided between South-eastern Germany and Austria. While a brilliant colorist and a master of calligraphic, decorative line, the painter reflects a provincial, conservative tradition and a certain lack of originality, shown by his dependence upon print sources for several of his figures.¹

K1878 : Figure 9

THE LAST JUDGMENT. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61-44-32), since 1955. Oil on canvas on pine, mounted on cradled mahogany panel by Modestini in 1954. 57½ × 34½ in. (146.4 × 87.3 cm.). The

opening of a join through the left arm of St. John Baptist and smaller splits and losses have necessitated some in-painting. K1878 was originally in an elaborate engaged frame, whose removal after 1906 may have caused some damage along the edges, especially at the top. Also removed was the depiction of a bishop saint with a kneeling donor at his feet, painted on the back of K1878, described as a work by another hand.² The canvas does not extend to the top of the panel, stopping just above the innermost line of Christ's halo. Cleaned and in-painted by Modestini in 1954. Generally well preserved.
San Francisco, 1955, p. 78.

K1878 depicts the Last Judgment, 'When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then he shall sit upon the throne of his glory' (Matthew 25:31).³ Shown in regal red, against a gold background incised with a textile pattern, Christ appears as Judge (Revelation 20:11–15) enthroned in a mandorla surrounded by a multitude of minute red music-making figures, with the orb of worldly dominion at his feet. The lily of Misericordia (shown as an iris)⁴ is to the left of his head on the side of the Saved; the double-edged sword of Justice is on the right – the side of the Damned. Christ's right arm is raised heavenward, blessing the Saved, his left points down toward Hell. An angel in each upper corner holds two Signs of the Passion: the Scourge and Column of the Flagellation at the left, the Cross and Crown of Thorns and the nails at the right. The Virgin⁵ and St. John Baptist are shown kneeling in a landscape setting in the foreground as intercessors for mankind, symbolized by diminutive figures. An angel at the lower left and another below the mandorla, facing left, trumpet the moment of salvation to two small male figures at the left and center foreground. They rise from their graves while a desperate female figure heads leftward to Hell. Another woman is in the devil's clutches at the upper right. Buchner first discovered that K1878 is the central panel of a Last Judgment triptych whose wings, each sawed in two, are in the Ruzicka Stiftung (Zurich).⁶ For a photographic reconstruction see Text Fig. 2.⁷ The four Zurich sections all measure 61.5 × 39.5 cm. The upper left and right sections of each wing show six of the Apostles seated in the clouds, with a gold background like that of K1878. The lower left panel depicts St. Peter at the Gates of Heaven welcoming the Saved and the lower right a Boschian vista of the Damned in Hell; the demons are copied from those in Schongauer's *Temptation of St. Anthony* (B.10).⁸ K1878 probably functioned as an epitaph or commemorative altar for the kneeling donor formerly shown on the back.⁹ The garb of the Lansquenets at the upper left of the Hell scene points to the possibility of a date in the earliest years of the sixteenth century.

Provenance: General von Fabricius, Kiev (Sale, Berlin, Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auktions-Haus, 4 Dec. 1906, p. 10, Cat. No. 77, pl. II, listed as 'Alt-niederländisch. XVI Jahrhundert'). Unknown Berlin owner c. 1913. Ramón Penn, Contoocook, New Hampshire, c. 1936, lent to the

Busch-Reisinger (Germanic) Museum, Harvard, 1936–38, as Rhenish, fifteenth century. New York, Julius H. Weitzner Gallery. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) Alfred Stange ('Einige Bemerkungen zur allgäuischen Malerei um 1500', *Festschrift Dr. h. c. Eduard Trautscholdt*, Hamburg, 1965, pp. 148–51) has regionalized the activity of the Master of K1878 in the Allgäu on the basis of stylistic correspondence between K1878 and an *Arrest of Christ* (Kreuzlingen, Collection H. Kisters). The latter was originally at the cloister of Ottebeuren (which is in the Allgäu). Sold in the early nineteenth century, it is recorded in the Bavarian state collections inventory of 1822 at Schleissheim Inv. No. 1264, auctioned in 1852, later owned by Kuppelmayer (Munich, 1896, No. 1006). Like K1878, the *Arrest of Christ* has been attributed to an Upper Rhenish or North German master, but Stange believes it to have been painted in the environs of Ottebeuren. The figures of St. Peter in the Kisters panel and in the lower left wing of the *Last Judgment* triptych correspond so closely that both panels must clearly be by the same hand. Stange dated the former c. 1480–90 and the latter c. 1500. Buchner enlarged the oeuvre of the master of K1878 to include a *St. Andrew Crucified*, surrounded by an adoring throng (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, No. 1192) ascribed to an Upper German master active c. 1500 (*San Francisco*, 1955, p. 78). (2) Fabricius Sale catalogue, Berlin, 1906, p. 2. (3) Réau, II, 2, pp. 728–57. (4) The iris and lily were interchangeable in the late Middle Ages. See Robert A. Koch, 'Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar', *Art Bulletin*, XLVI, pp. 70–7, p. 75. (5) Larsen traced the pose of the Virgin to that of the early fifteenth century *Last Judgment* from Diest (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) in 'The Samuel H. Kress Collection at the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco', *Apollo*, LXI, 1955, pp. 173–7, p. 174. Many other representations of the subject could have afforded the artist of K1878 motifs for this painting since most depictions of the theme are narrowly based on medieval forms. (6) Buchner quoted in *San Francisco*, 1955, p. 78. The Swiss panels were published in *Gemälde der Ruzicka Stiftung, Ausstellung im Zürcher Kunsthhaus*. Dec. 1949–Mar. 1950, Cat. Nos. 44–7, figs. XLIX–L, p. 24, as by an Alsatian Master, c. 1480. W. Hugelshofer was quoted as saying that the four panels were originally the inner and outer wings of a triptych. The wing panels were purchased in 1940 from the Zurich dealer Albin Neupert, who had purchased them from three different collections; the left Apostle panel came from the Schönenberger Collection, Frankfurt. (7) A photographic reconstruction was published by Stange, *op. cit.*, p. 274, fig. 97. (8) The unusual presence of St. Florian (in the form of a statue) to the left of the Gates of Heaven, included since he extinguishes flames, provides some further evidence substantiating Buchner and Stange's attribution of K1878 to a Tyrolean painter, since this saint was especially venerated in that region. (9) The Last Judgment, the ultimate act of Justice, was a popular late medieval subject for courtrooms; K1878 may possibly have been placed in a juridical setting.

SOUTH GERMAN MASTER, c. 1485

K1593 : Figure 2

YOUNG MAN IN A RED CAP. Portland, Ore., Portland Art Museum (61.47), since 1952. Oil on parchment on panel. $13 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in. (33.0×24.2 cm.). The number 25 (or 27 or 29) inscribed at the upper left corner. Some restoration in face; cradled in 1948; restored in 1953 following damage. The sitter was initially planned to have a more aquiline nose, larger mouth, and more vigorous expression. Portland, 1952, p. 56, Cat. No. 23.

This depiction of a man in his later twenties is generally consistent with the portrait conventions of the second half of the fifteenth century. Shown in three-quarter view against a green background, the sitter looks to the left through a trompe-l'oeil window frame, his red hat extending to the upper inner edge. The right hand grasps the end of a red *chaperon* – a turban-like headdress hanging over the shoulders, often worn as a sign of official appointment.¹ The hair style and loose lacing of the undertunic collar suggest a date of c. 1485. The sitter wears a segmented pomander on a string.² According to Max J. Friedländer the painting is by a South German, probably Tyrolean artist, active c. 1490. He read the numerals as 29.³ This view was tentatively followed by Buchner.⁴ Portraits of this kind are often found in Swabia as well as the Tyrol. K1593 may perhaps be a late fifteenth-century replica on parchment after a slightly earlier panel painting. Its poor state of preservation and lack of stylistic distinction preclude more specific attribution.

Provenance: Graf von Enzenberg, Schloss Trotzberg.⁵ New York, Paul Drey Gallery. Kress acquisition 1948, exhibited – Brooklyn, N.Y., *Exhibition of European Art, 1450–1500 Presented by the Rockefeller Foundation, Interns of the Brooklyn Museum*, 8 May–8 June 1936, Cat. No. 41, pl. 41, as Tyrolean Master, late fifteenth century. Andover, Phillips Academy, Addison Gallery, *Art of the Past*, Cat. No. 7. Kansas City, Kansas, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, *Seventh Anniversary Exhibition*, 1940, Cat. No. 59.

References: (1) A related pose is seen in Castagno's *Portrait of a Man* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art). (2) See Erich Steingraber, *Alter Schmuck*, n.d., p. 81, fig. 126, for a similar Rhenish example, c. 1470, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. (3) Letter of 17/II/28, Kress Archive. (4) Ernst Buchner, *Das deutsche Bildnis der Spätgotik und der frühen Dürerzeit*, Berlin, 1953, fig. 132, p. 119. He read the numbers as 25. (5) According to Drey brochure.

ALBRECHT DÜRER

Albrecht Dürer was born in Nuremberg on 21 May 1471; he died there on 6 April 1528. He was the son of a goldsmith who first trained him in that craft. He was then apprenticed to the Nuremberg painter Michael Wolgemut for about three years, starting on 30 November 1486. His

travel years began in 1490; Dürer visited Colmar, Basel, and probably Strassburg in 1494, returning to Nuremberg in the same year, when he married. He left for Italy later in 1494, residing in Venice and traveling elsewhere in Northern Italy. Returning to Italy for a second time in 1505, he is recorded in Venice between 1506 and 1507 and his Italian journey may have included Florence and Rome. He went back to Nuremberg in 1507. He journeyed to the Netherlands in 1520–21. Dürer's extensive travels and humanistic associates placed him in closer contact with classical and renaissance art than almost any of his fellow painters. In addition to multitudinous activities as painter, engraver, water-colorist, woodcut-maker, etcher, publisher, pageant master, and court artist, he wrote extensively on art theory, proportion, perspective, and military engineering. The most brilliant of graphic artists, Dürer's masterly prints and drawings and some of his paintings brought together the Northern European and Italian arts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, influencing artists of both of these areas by acquainting them with one another's achievement and heritage.¹

Reference: (1) See Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, 3rd ed., Princeton, 1948; Hans Tietze and Erika Tietze-Conrat, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrecht Dürers*, I, Augsburg, 1928, II, Basel and Leipzig, 1937–38; Hans Rupprich, *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass*, Berlin, 1956–69, I–III. Matthias Mende, *Dürerbibliographie Bibliographie der Kunst in Bayern*, Special Volume, Wiesbaden, 1971, nos. 1407, 1409–11, 2239, 2598–99.

K1835A (recto) : Figures 12, 13

MADONNA AND CHILD. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1099), since 1951. Oil or mixed technique on panel (lime?).¹ $20\frac{1}{8} \times 16\frac{7}{8}$ in. (52.6×42.9 cm.). Painted area: $19\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{5}{8}$ in. (50.5×40.0 cm.). Coats of arms at the lower left and right foreground, the blazoning of the former: Gules a giron argent voided sable from the dexter moving to touch the opposite side of the shield. Crest: the bust of a Moorish woman, the hair braided, dressed in red with a red and silver wreath in the hair and a gold earring. The mantling is gules and argent.² They belong to the Nuremberg family Haller von Hallerstein.³ The arms in the lower right corner, supported by a wild man, cannot be traced, possibly owing to incorrect overpainting added later in the sixteenth century.⁴ Abrasion in cheeks of Virgin; very small loss in masonry section of window at left, parallel with top of Mary's head; generally extremely well preserved. Restored by Modestini in 1950. *Suida*, pp. 190–2, Cat. No. 84. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pl. 73.

K1835B (verso) : Figures 11, 14

LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS FLEEING SODOM AND GOMORRAH. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1099), since 1951. Oil or mixed technique on panel (lime?). $20\frac{1}{8} \times 16\frac{7}{8}$ in. (52.6×42.9 cm.). Painted area: $19\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{5}{8}$ in. (50.2×40.0 cm.).⁵ Inscribed on rock at left center: AD [monogram] (Text Fig. 3). According to Buchner, this is

an autograph, unique, early form of Dürer's monogram, c. 1496, which is related to that on his engraving *Madonna with the Locust* (B.44).⁶ Many small losses in sky area and in daughters' faces; signs of extensive worm-tunneling.⁷ *Suida*, pp. 190-2, Cat. No. 84. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pl. 74.

K1835A

The Virgin and Child are seen slightly from below, in the corner of a rich domestic interior, with a red hanging behind them. An opening at the left shows an Alpine view, a leaded aperture is at the far right. Mary, enveloped in brilliant blue, stands behind a great ledge holding up the nude Child, whose foot rests upon a cushion on the ledge. His right arm plays with her tresses, his left holds an apple away from her. Her brooding, reflective demeanor points to the Passion, as does the elaborate marmoreal setting, which suggests that of the Entombment. Christ's apple intimates his role as the New Adam; his awkwardly raised leg the first step toward Calvary; the enclosed garden to the left, Mary's purity.⁸ This composition with its symbolic references was popular throughout Europe in the fifteenth century, especially in Flanders and Northern Italy.⁹ Related pietistic subject matter in less Italianate form was employed by Dürer for the altar ordered by Frederick the Wise in 1496 (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie). K1835 was understandably misattributed to Bellini when it first became known in 1932, as the brilliant contrast of red and blue and the monumentality of the central group together with the architectural setting suggested the art of Northern Italy, especially that of Montagna and Giovanni Bellini (painters who influenced the young Dürer).¹⁰ Buchner noted the availability of North Italian art to the young Dürer in the region between Venice and Nuremberg.¹¹ The Tietzes discussed the influence of Schongauer's engravings (especially B.29) and stressed the special importance of Antonello da Messina's Venetian altarpiece known as the *Pala da San Cassiano* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) for the genesis of the *Madonna and Child*. They related the landscape elements of K1835A to several of Dürer's works of the 1490s.¹² Friedländer suggested a date between 1498-1502 for the recto, placing its execution between the dates of Dürer's two Italian journeys, with the possibility that Jacopo de' Barbari may have contributed to its Italianate qualities. He noted the similarity of the enamel-like technique and the identical size of both K1835A and Dürer's *Self-Portrait* of 1498 (Madrid, Prado), relating the manner of Christ's holding the apple to that of Eve in the engraving of 1504 (B.1).¹³ Buchner, describing the recto as one of Dürer's most original and noteworthy Virgin and Child compositions, dated it close to the Wittenberg *Adoration of the Magi* (Florence, Uffizi) of 1504 and the *Adam and Eve* (B.1).¹⁴ Waetzoldt believed K1835 to have been executed during Dürer's second Venetian stay (1506-7).¹⁵ The Tietzes dated both the front and back of the panel 1497-98.¹⁶ Panofsky suggested a date of 1498/9 for the *Virgin and Child*, contemporary with the Prado *Self-Portrait* (1498), noting the combination of a Flemish scheme with Italianate monumentality.¹⁷ Winkler char-

acterized the recto as Dürer's most beautiful half-length *Madonna*.¹⁸ *Suida* (p. 192, Cat. No. 84) dated K1835A and B c. 1497/8. Musper, following Tietze, cited Schongauer (B.20) as a major influence, and grouped the *Madonna and Child* with works done in 1497.¹⁹ *Seymour* (p. 210) suggested a date of 1497/8. Dürer's aspirations toward Italian art as evidenced by the *Madonna and Child* were stressed by Longhi, who placed the panel prior to the painter's second Italian journey when his goals were more fully realized.²⁰ Lüdecke proposed a date of 1496-1500, noting qualities of pathetic realism characteristic of this period.²¹ *Walker* (p. 114) followed Buchner's views placing K1835A after 1504, reflecting the *Adam and Eve* (B.1) engraved in that year. Winzinger dated both sides c. 1496.²² Grote gave a date of 1497 for the *Madonna and Child*, the year when Dürer is believed to have done a watercolor of the village where the Haller family (whose arms are at the lower left of K1835A) owned property. He thought the painting was on an altar in the Haller family chapel, and executed after the Dresden Altar (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie).²³ *Broadley* (p. 20) described both sides as executed before Dürer's first Venetian trip. The *Summary Catalogue* (p. 45) dated K1835A and B c. 1505. Benesch regarded a watercolor showing a half-length Virgin and Child leaning over a book, in a niche (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum), as a preparatory study for K1835A.²⁴ The panel was described by Mende as the most Italianate of Dürer's works, dating around the time of his first Italian journey, citing the *Bagno a Cavallo Madonna* (Bagno a Cavallo, Capuchin Monastery) and the *Madonna of the Alps* (Schweinfurt, Otto Schaefer) as other contemporary Italianate works.²⁵

Friedländer's initial dating of c. 1500 for the *Madonna and Child* seems the most advisable, but the possibility of an execution closer to 1505 cannot be excluded owing to numerous correspondences with the woodcut *Life of the Virgin* series (B.77-B.95), all but two of which were completed in that year. It is the most dramatic example of the impact of Venetian Renaissance art upon that of the North and presents an unusually suave, mannered aspect of the young Dürer's art.

K1835B

The verso depicts Lot leading his downcast daughters through a rocky yet verdant landscape from Sodom and Gomorrah. The cities are seen burning in the distance, following the characterization in Genesis 19:28 as resembling 'the smoke of a furnace', represented in much the same way as the fiery vista of Babylon in the background of Dürer's woodcut *Apocalypse* (B.73) of 1498. Lot is at the right, holding a basket of provisions, a staff with a canteen over his shoulder. He wears what was regarded at the end of the fifteenth century as Near Eastern (Turkish) garb. The daughter in the middle holds a coffer, a distaff and spindle, and a staff with a sack; the daughter at the left balances a bundle on her head. Lot's wife is seen from the back, in the middle distance, witnessing the cities' destruction. God's delivery of the righteous Lot and his family had long been interpreted as a prefiguration of Christian

salvation. In the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and in the *Biblia Pauperum* this subject anticipates that of Christ in Limbo, indicative of both God's mercy and deliverance.²⁶ The young Dürer probably understood the subject in its later interpretation, where the preservation of Lot's family was narrowly linked to the Last Judgment, with the salvation of the just and damnation of sinners.²⁷ The front and back of K1835 are in thematic accord as both clearly refer to Redemption. If the young artist always intended to paint a Virgin and Child on the other side of the *Lot*, his initial project for the Mother and Son was perhaps more Gothicizing (as suggested by Benesch). Its present appearance may be modified by North Italian influence following Dürer's return from Venice. Painted *versi* other than altar wings are extremely unusual in Dürer's oeuvre, although they are often seen on the back of contemporary portraits.²⁸

Friedländer pointed out the close relationship of the *Lot* landscape to that of the *Whore of Babylon* woodcut from the *Apocalypse* of 1498 (B.73), and to the drawing of a cliff (formerly Bremen, Kunsthalle) of c. 1497, placing K1835B in the same year or shortly thereafter. Commenting on the problem of dating both sides of K1835, Friedländer, although at first inclined to place the verso earlier than the recto, suggested that both are contemporary, the seeming stylistic differences due in part to varying techniques, contrasting the enamel-like surface of the *Madonna and Child* to the almost watercolor character of the probably very swiftly executed *Lot and his Daughters*.²⁹ Buchner proposed a date between 1496 and 1498 for K1835B, inclining toward 1496/7 in view of Dürer's assumption of the classical monogram (very different from that of K1835B) after 1497.³⁰ The Tietzes, citing several examples from Dürer's prints, paintings, and drawings of 1497–98, dated K1835A and B in those years.³¹ Panofsky viewed K1835B as definitely earlier in date than the recto.³² Suida (1951, p. 192) felt that both front and back may have been painted in 1497/8. Winkler dated *Lot and his Daughters* c. 1495, executed within the same months as the engraved *Penitent St. Jerome* (B.61). He implied that the verso predated the recto.³³ Broadley (p. 22) dated K1835B as contemporary with the front, seeing it as part of a small domestic altarpiece, executed shortly before his first Venetian trip. Stange suggested a date of c. 1498 for the back, relating it to a Dürer panel from the early 1490s.³⁴ Winkler related the style of K1835B to that of early German book illustration. He contrasted the northern character of the *Lot* with the Italianate, Bellinesque aspect of the recto.³⁵ The landscape style of K1835B was related by Longhi to that of Dürer's *Madonna of the Alps* (Schweinfurt, Otto Schaefer collection), which he dated c. 1505–7, during the artist's second journey.³⁶ The technique of K1835B was mistakenly described by Benesch as 'transparent watercolor'. He dated it as contemporary with the *Apocalypse* of 1498.³⁷ The *Lot* has been tentatively attributed by Walter Strauss to the young Altdorfer. He suggested that the monogram could be read as a double A, modeled by Altdorfer on an early form of Dürer's in just the same fashion as Altdorfer based his mature monogram upon a more advanced one of Dürer's.³⁸ Nothing is known of

Altdorfer's art prior to c. 1502; K1835B does not correspond stylistically with Altdorfer's first surviving works. It has also been proposed that the *Lot* might be an addition of c. 1510–20 by an adherent of the Dürer circle, such as von Kulmbach or Schüffelein, working in an approximation of the master's earliest manner.

Although less adroit than the bulk of Dürer's oeuvre, K1835B falls within his very early style, datable in the mid-1490s.³⁹ It is comparable to Dürer's rare book illuminations, such as the title-page of the *Theocritus Opera* (Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1495) painted by the young artist for his friend Willibald Pirckheimer.⁴⁰ Aspects of the composition and figure style of K1835B recall Schongauer's engraved *Peasant Family Going to Market* (B.88), dated shortly after 1470.⁴¹ Dürer was eager to study under the older master, coming to his home in Colmar in 1492, shortly after Schongauer's death.⁴² The landscape sections of the *Lot and his Daughters* are very close to that of a *Saint Christopher* (formerly at Dessau, Museum), probably a very early panel by Dürer.⁴³ Unless one presupposes that the lost frame of K1835 may have had the artist's signature, it is curious that the latter should only have appeared in such a modest, relatively obscure location on the verso, where its placement suggests that the project may have been set aside to be resumed at a later date. The only generally accepted work of Dürer's (other than some of his portraits) not to be signed on the recto is the Dresden Altar, ordered in 1496 (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), which is, significantly, from two different periods: the central panel c. 1496/7, and the wings added about 1503/4.⁴⁴ A similar hiatus may partially explain the disparity between the front and back of the Kress panel which shows a brooding Bellinesque formality on one side and a Northern narrative treatment on the other. The forceful, almost iconic severity of the *Madonna and Child*, with its austere, somewhat classical associations – especially the Cupid-like child – provides eloquent testimony to Dürer's assimilation of North Italian art of the quattrocento. Together with the naturalistically rendered, graphic verso, the panel provides unique insight to the formation of key components of the great master's art. That Dürer's important Italianate *Madonna and Child* was well known to his atelier in the early sixteenth century is documented by Hans Schüffelein's woodcut of the Holy Family (Geisberg 1048, Bartsch 13), where the clumsy insertion of a Joseph at the lower right, offering Jesus an apple, necessitated some modifications of K1835A's composition.

Provenance: Possibly Willibald Imhof the Elder, by 1573.⁴⁵ Possibly Paul von Praun, by 1778 until c. 1801.⁴⁶ Colonel Charles a'Court-Repington (1858–1925) Amington Hall, near Tamworth, Warwickshire, sold to Mrs. Phyllis Loder. London, Mrs. Phyllis Loder, sold 1932 (London, Christie's, *Catalogue of Pictures by Old Masters. The Property of Maurice Ruffer Esq. and others*, 29 Apr. 1932, p. 11, Cat. No. 51, as Bellini, listed with a group of paintings from 'different properties'). According to annotated catalogue of FARL, Lot 51 at the Christie sale was purchased by Vaz Dias. Lugano, Switzerland, Baron Dr. Heinrich von Thyssen-Bornemisza (*Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, 1937,

part 1, p. 47, Cat. No. 127, as the *Madonna Thyssen*, catalogue by Rudolf Heinemann). New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) Friedrich Winkler, *Albrecht Dürer, Leben und Werk*, Berlin, 1957, p. 77, described the technique as oil. Ernst Buchner, 'Die sieben Schmerzen Märia...', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, n.s. 11, 1934–36, pp. 251–70, p. 262, identified the panel as limewood. (2) J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général*, 2nd ed., Gouda, 1884–87, 1, p. 876. These arms were granted to the family in 1433. An addition was made in 1528 in the form of the quartering of the extinct Hallerstein family. The arms here would therefore have been put on before that date (1528). See A. Siebmacher, *Wappenbuch*, Nürnberg, 1856, II, part 1, p. 68, pl. 36. (3) Max J. Friedländer ('Eine unbekannte Dürer-Madonna', *Pantheon*, VII, 1934, pp. 321–4, n. 1) quotes von Botzheim and von Haller that the Haller family arms as shown in K1835A were those of the family prior to 1521. They also seem to suggest that the arms belonged to the donors of the painting intended for a Nuremberg church as, with the exception of the city itself, no arms were depicted with a crown on the helm from about 1500 onwards. The City Council opposed the addition of the crown. These specialists did not notice the crown which is tentatively painted above and over the wreath. The charge of the Haller arms is reversed, within the shield, an occasional practice that was allowed for the sake of symmetry to balance the direction taken by charges in another shield nearby. Friedländer suggested that the somewhat awkward insertion of the arms may have been made by an apprentice. Tietze related the arms to those on the back of *Oswald Krell* of 1499 (Munich, Pinakothek). H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrecht Dürers*, Basel–Leipzig, 1937, II, part 1, 'Der Reife Dürer', p. 15, Cat. No. 130a. The Haller arms have a crown added to the helmet that never seems to have been completed at the left hand side and at the right it looks as though it has been rubbed. Should the arms prove to be by another hand, a likely candidate for their execution would be the author of the heraldic panels in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, (reproduced by Valentin Scherer, *Dürer*, Stuttgart and Berlin, n.d. [1904], p. 406) – two narrow wings with wild men supporting heraldic shields. They are the 'cover' for the portrait of *Oswald Krell* (1499, Munich, Alte Pinakothek). (4) The use of the wild man bearing the arms at the lower right suggests that they belong to a Nuremberg family as this genre was especially popular in that city. Wild men are also linked with weddings in German fifteenth and sixteenth century art. See Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1952, p. 60 and chap. 6 'His Heraldic Role', pp. 176–85. This figure in K1835A has been linked to a Dresden drawing of c. 1500 (Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 323). Reproduced in Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, *op. cit.*, I, p. 215, Cat. No. W142. The format and placement of arms suggest that K1835A was originally painted to commemorate a wedding, judging by a related depiction, the *Behaim Madonna* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Accession No. 1122),

there attributed to a follower of Hans Pleydenwurff. It was painted c. 1486 for a Nuremberg senator and his bride from Augsburg. See *Albrecht Dürer Ausstellung im Germanischen Museum*, Nuremberg, 1928, p. 27, Cat. No. 20, pl. 11. Dürer executed armorial projects for the same family in 1518/20. See Hans Rupprich, *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass*, Berlin, 1956, I, pp. 84–5, Letter No. 30. (5) According to Buchner, *op. cit.*, p. 262, the verso seems to be cut at the top, bottom, and right side. Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 77 followed this view. *Suida*, p. 192, noted that careful examination proves this to be incorrect. (6) Buchner, *op. cit.*, p. 262. Winkler, *loc. cit.*, follows Buchner's view. For early Dürer monograms, see Gustav Pauli, 'Dürers Monogramm', *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 34–40; Lisa Oehler, 'Das "geschleuderte" Dürer Monogramm', *Marburger Jahrbuch*, XVII, 1959, pp. 57–191. (7) See A. C. Cooper photograph (Frick Art Reference Library w.7808) for condition before restoration. According to Rudolf Heinemann, *Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Zurich, 1937, part 1, p. 47, Cat. No. 127, K1835B was long obscured by overpainting. A Cooper photograph of K1835A (FARL Neg. w7808) shows its fine condition. (8) This symbol derives from the 'garden inclosed' of the Song of Solomon (4:12). For Marian symbols see Julius von Schlosser, 'Zur Kenntnis der künstlerischen Überlieferung im späten Mittelalter', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXIII, 1902, pp. 279–338, esp. p. 287. (9) See Colin Eisler, 'Rubens' Uses of the Northern Past: The Michiels Triptych and its Sources', *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bulletin*, Year 6, 1967, pp. 43–78. Although Venetian art is always cited as a model for the *Madonna and Child*, the proportions and pose go back to Byzantine models preserved and emulated in the North as well as in Italy, most notably in a very early fifteenth-century *Virgin and Child* by Jean Malouel (Berlin, Staatliche Museen). (Millard Meiss and Colin Eisler, 'A New French Primitive', *Burlington Magazine*, CII, 1960, pp. 233–40). Dürer's composition was restored to an icon-like setting in an early sixteenth-century colored woodcut by Hans Wechtlin which accentuates the 'first step' posture of the child. (See Winkler, 'Hans Wechtlins "Schöne Maria"', *Berliner Museen – Berichte aus den ehem. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, n.s., I, 1951, pp. 9–11.) (10) Friedländer, *op. cit.*, pp. 322–4. See also Roberto Longhi, 'Una Madonna del Dürer a Bagno a Cavallo', *Paragone*, XII, 139, 1961, pp. 3–9, esp. p. 4. (11) Buchner, *op. cit.*, p. 270. (12) Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, *op. cit.*, II, part 1, p. 15. The landscape view and placement is especially reminiscent of those in three similarly composed portraits of members of the Tucher family of 1499 (*Hans and Elizabeth* formerly at Weimar, Grossherzog. Museum; *Elsbeth* at Kassel, Gemäldegalerie). (13) Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 324. (14) Buchner, *op. cit.*, p. 268. (15) Wilhelm Waetzoldt, *Dürer und seine Zeit*, Vienna, 1935, p. 210. (16) Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, *op. cit.*, 1937, II, part 1, p. 15. (17) Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, 3rd ed., Princeton, 1948, II, p. 10, Cat. No. 25, 4th ed., 1955, p. 42. Not having seen the painting, Panofsky had no definite opinion as to the authenticity of K1835s.

(18) Winkler, 1951, *op. cit.*, p. 11. (19) Heinrich Theodor Musper, *Albrecht Dürer, der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung*, Stuttgart, 1952, p. 214. In *Dürer* (London, 1966) he suggested a date of 1497/8 (p. 14). On p. 74 Musper related the Virgin to the Magdalen in the Glimm Lamentation of c. 1500 (Munich, Pinakothek). (20) Longhi, *op. cit.*, p. 7. (21) Heinz Lüdecke, 'Dürer und Italien', *Dezennium I: Zehn Jahre Veb Verlag der Kunst*, Dresden, 1962, pp. 284-304, p. 292; also his 'Albrecht Dürer und Italien', *Bildende Kunst*, II, 1964, pp. 74 ff. (22) Franz Winzinger, *Kindlers*, II, pp. 160, 166. (23) Ludwig Grote, *Dürer, biographical and critical study*, 1965, Geneva, pp. 25, 49. (24) Otto Benesch, *German Painting from Dürer to Holbein*, Geneva, 1966, p. 19. The drawing is Winkler, no. 142, reproduced in *Albrecht Dürer, das gesamte graphische Werk*, 3rd ed., Munich, 1971, I, p. 168. The drawing is here dated between the middle of 1495 and c. 1499. (25) Matthias Mende, '1471 - Albrecht Dürer - 1971', *Connoisseur*, CLXXVI, 1971, pp. 161-72, esp. pp. 165-70. (26) See Réau, II, I, pp. 115 ff. See also Karl Künstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1926-28, I, p. 82 ff.; Broadley, p. 22. (27) Tobias Stimmer, *Neue künstliche Figuren biblischer Historien*, Basel, 1576, n.p. The scene is accompanied by the inscription: *Genes: XIX. Cap. Vorbild letztes Gerichts*. (28) Panofsky, 1955, *op. cit.*, p. 116. The only comparable examples by Dürer are: the early *St. Jerome* (Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum, Sir Edward Bacon Collection), which has an apocalyptic scene on the verso, and the *Allegory of Avarice* painted on the back of the *Young Man* of 1507 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Here the portrait predates the verso, which has been interpreted as Dürer's rebuke to his stingy sitter. The *St. Jerome* verso is reproduced by Edmund Schilling, 'Dürers Tafelchen mit dem heiligen Hieronymus', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI, 1957, pp. 175-84, fig. 3, p. 179; in color in *Connoisseur*, Mar. 1971, p. 171. (29) Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 322. (30) Buchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 262, 268. (31) Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, 1937, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16. (32) Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1943, II, p. 10, Cat. No. 25. (33) Winkler, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 77. (34) Alfred Stange, 'Ein Gemälde aus Dürers Wanderzeit?', *Festschrift für Werner Noack*, Constance, 1959, pp. 113 ff. (35) Winkler, 'Eine Pergamentmalerei von Dürer', *Pantheon*, XVIII, 1960, pp. 14-16. (36) Longhi, *op. cit.*, p. 7. (37) Benesch, *op. cit.*, p. 19. He may have misunderstood Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 322. (38) Told to writer in 1970. (39) It is also close in style to a diptych of c. 1500, of enigmatic authorship, showing the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen). Now given to the Master of the Sebastian Diptych, the Berlin work has also been assigned to Altdorfer, the early Dürer, and Baldung Grien. See Ernst Buchner, 'Der Meister des "Sebastians-Diptychons"', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, xv, 1961, pp. 171-9, and Wolfgang Kermer, 'Studien zum Diptychon in der sakralen Malerei', Diss., Tübingen, 1967, pp. 114-15, Cat. No. 120. (40) See Erwin Rosenthal, 'Dürers Buchmalereien für Pirckheimers Bibliothek', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, II, 1930, pp. 175-8. Dated by Panofsky, 1948, *op. cit.*, II, p. 161, Cat. No. 1714, c. 1501-4, prior to the death of Pirckheimer's wife, whose arms are included. (41) Accord-

ing to Alan Shestack, *The Complete Engravings of Martin Schongauer*, New York, 1969, p. xi, pl. 1. (42) Panofsky, 1955, *op. cit.*, p. 5. (43) A controversial work, it was rejected as Dürer's by Panofsky, the Tietzes and Winkler. However, the Tietzes and Winkler later came to admit it to the master's oeuvre. See Edmund Schilling, 'Dürers Tafelchen mit dem heiligen Hieronymus', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI, 1957, pp. 175-84 and fig. 5, p. 183. (44) Panofsky, 1955, *op. cit.*, p. 39. (45) The inventory of the art collection of Willibald Imhof the Elder, 1573, included 'a panel of Sodom and Gomorrah Burning, supposedly also painted by Albrecht Dürer' (Cat. No. 6). Information courtesy of Walter L. Strauss, who noted that the phrasing is in strong contrast to the more definite attribution of other works in the Imhof collection to Dürer. Imhof was the grandson of Willibald Pirckheimer, Dürer's closest friend. Strauss did not believe the Washington panel to be that listed by Imhof, because the recto (K1835A) showing the Virgin and Child is not mentioned in the inventory. The arms on K1835A, belonging to the extremely wealthy Haller family, would also seem to preclude ownership by the Imhofs later in the century. (46) K1835 may be the panel recorded by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (*Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in des H. R. Reichs freyen Stadt Nürnberg*, Nuremberg, 1778, p. 476, Cat. No. 239), 'Von einem unbekannten sehr alten Meister: Lot eilet mit seinen Töchtern aus Sodom. Man siehet unter andern auch ein Marienbild angebracht. Auf Holz', as in the Paul von Praun collection. However, in the same writer's *Description du Cabinet de M. Paul de Praun*, 1797, p. 31, the same catalogue number (239) referred to a depiction of *Lot and his Daughters leaving Sodom* by Joachim Patinir. The figures are described as 'decoupées, sans justes ombres, sur bois. Haut. 8 pouces, Larg. 8 pouces. Albert Dürer reçut ce petit tableau en 1521 à Anvers par le Secrétaire de cette Ville'. K1835 might be the panel recorded by Joseph Heller, *Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürers*, Bamberg, 1827, II, part 1, p. 231, 'Eine h. Jungfrau mit dem Kinde sehr vorzüglich. Befand sich noch 1801 in dem berühmten Praunschen Kabinett vor dem Verkaufe desselben an den Kunsthändler Frauenholz'.

ALBRECHT DÜRER

K1702 : Figure 17

A CLERIC, PROBABLY JOHANN DORSCH. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1100), since 1950. Oil on vellum, mounted on canvas. 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 13 in. (42.9 × 33.2 cm.). Inscribed at upper right in pale yellow (with flourishes at either side): 1516, with the classical AD monogram immediately below. Old label on stretcher: No. 114F Ram 119 Albrecht Dürers [sic]. Label from Newhouse Galleries: No. 57737 Portrait of a Man, Albrecht Dürer. Mounted on canvas at an unknown date, probably in the early nineteenth century, impressing a canvas texture upon the vellum. Slight abrasions in drapery at right of neck and in hair at right. Small tears at the left, bottom and top edges of parchment. Stretcher marks along left side and top with

darkening of green background in these areas.¹ A heavy coating of discolored varnish was removed by Isepp in Vienna before April 1934.² The use of vellum as a support for painting seems to have been unusually popular with Dürer in 1516.³

Suida, p. 194, Cat. No. 85. Reproduced in color in *Walker*, p. 119.

K1702 is a bust-length portrait of a man with fair hair, light eyes, square-cut features, in three-quarter view, facing left, against a green background. Window panes are reflected in his eyes. He wears a black *pileus* and black tunic, scholarly garb indicating his possession of a Master of Arts degree.⁴

This portrait was identified as that of Johann Dorsch in the earliest known record of its existence, described by C. G. von Murr in 1778 and again in 1797.⁵ Dorsch, an Augustinian, became a Lutheran, recorded as such in 1524, and is known to have been Pastor of the Protestant Johanneskirche in Nuremberg from 1528–41.⁶ He probably presided at Dürer's funeral, which took place in the graveyard of the Johanneskirche in 1528.⁷ Before the Reformation the Johanneskirche was Augustinian, and was the parish church of both Dürer and his dearest friend Willibald Pirckheimer. Dürer was closely associated with the Augustinian Order throughout his lifetime; the artist's friends Luther, Erasmus, and Link all belonged to it. Dürer visited Link at the Augustinian center in Antwerp in 1520.⁸ Should the Kress portrait prove not to depict Dorsch, it may represent Link. Despite his clerical, rather than monastic garb, the sitter for K1702 could have been a canon of the Augustinian Order since they 'resembled monks insofar as they lived in community and took religious vows; but their state of life remained essentially clerical, and as clerics their duty was to undertake the pastoral care and serve the parish churches in their patronage.'⁹ Unlike the Augustinian Hermits, the branch to which Martin Luther belonged, the Canons were without tonsure. Considerable biographical information concerning Dorsch was given by Heller. Prior to Dorsch's conversion to Lutheranism in 1524 he and the Augustinian Hans Link were close associates.¹⁰

The Dorsch identification, not generally maintained after Heller, was revived by Flechsig. He noted that it went back to an ancient source used by von Murr, and for this reason should be accepted until conclusively refuted.¹¹ Thausing described the Kress painting as a portrait by Dürer of a church officer.¹² Tietze called it *Bildnis eines Geistlichen* ('Portrait of a Cleric'), suggesting that the sitter was an acquaintance of Dürer's in view of the portrait's direct, very personal quality. Subsequent literature mis-translated Tietze's title as 'Portrait of a Clergyman'.¹³ The portrait has also been proposed as that of the Swiss reformer Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531).¹⁴ Winkler, like most scholars, rejected the Zwingli identification, pointing out that Dürer could not have known the reformer until 1519.¹⁵ The portrait was accepted as a work by Albrecht Dürer by all writers until 1866, when Waagen attributed it to Hans

von Kulmbach.¹⁶ The painting was returned to Dürer by Frimmel.¹⁷ Thausing's *Dürer* included K1702, stressing the authenticity of the monogram.¹⁸ Köllitz' *Von Kulmbach* accepted K1702 as a Dürer, rejecting Waagen's suggestion.¹⁹ Thode, in his study of Dürer portraiture, noted that the color and form of the date and monogram of K1702 are close to those on a *Portrait of a Man* (Milan, Borromeo Collection), which is also on vellum.²⁰ Another monograph, by Scherer, also included K1702.²¹ Weixlgärtner's review of Scherer revived Waagen's doubts concerning the authorship of the portrait.²² The Kress painting was retained by Reinach as a work by Dürer.²³ Friedländer included K1702 in Dürer's oeuvre as *Portrait of a Man*.²⁴ Commenting upon the somewhat flat appearance of the Kress portrait, Wölfflin noted that this is characteristic of Dürer's later portraits, none of which compares in quality with his drawings.²⁵ Winkler included K1702 in his *Klassiker der Kunst* volume.²⁶ Following the recent cleaning of the Kress painting, Tietze reaffirmed Dürer's authorship.²⁷ Panofsky noted that just before the time K1702 was painted Dürer had 'A tendency to stress linear calligraphy and two-dimensional display at the expense of volume and perspective...'.²⁸ Musper and Winkler also included K1702 as an autograph work by Dürer.²⁹

This portrait by Dürer is rendered in a rather static, abstract, inanimate fashion which is sometimes found in the master's later works. These qualities are accentuated by the surface immobility contributed to by gluing the vellum to canvas.

Provenance: Praun Collection, before 1778.³⁰ Count Johann Rudolf Czernin von Chudenitz, Vienna, as early as 1821, and until 1950,³¹ exhibited – Nuremberg, *Albrecht Dürer Ausstellung im Germanischen Museum*, 1928, pp. 56–7, Cat. No. 61, as *Portrait of a Clergyman*. Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Mar. 1949. New York, Newhouse Galleries. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) Hans Tietze and Erika Tietze-Conrat, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrecht Dürers*, Basel and Leipzig, 1937, II, part 1, 'Der Reife Dürer', p. 119, Cat. No. 663, stated erroneously that K1702 is vellum laid on panel; followed by Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, 3rd ed., Princeton, 1948, II, p. 18. Heinrich Theodor Musper, *Albrecht Dürer* (trans. Robert Erich Wolf), New York, n.d. [1966], p. 26, listed K1702 as seemingly in poor condition, but this is not the case. Valentin Scherer, *Dürer, Klassiker der Kunst*, IV, Stuttgart, n.d., p. 55, described the support as paper, as did Friedrich Winkler (*Dürer, Klassiker der Kunst*, 4th ed., Berlin and Leipzig, n.d. [1928], p. 416), who suggested that the color of K1702 was added after the execution of the drawing. (2) Tietze, 'Das Dürerbild der Sammlung Czernin', *Pantheon*, Apr. 1934, p. 110, described the freshly cleaned state of the Kress painting. (3) For other examples, see Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, 1937, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 118, Cat. No. 659, *Virgin and Child with a Carnation* (Augsburg, Gemäldegalerie); p. 118, Cat. No. 660, a *Head* (formerly Munich, von Nemes Collection); p. 118, Cat. No. 661, *Portrait of Michael Wolgemut* (formerly

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, wrongly described by the authors as on panel). The latter was long in the same collection as K1702, that of Paul von Praun, and is recorded by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in des H. R. Reichs freyen Stadt Nürnberg*, Nuremberg, 1778, p. 470, Cat. No. 120, along with K1702 (Cat. No. 119). The size of K1702 corresponds to that of a vellum sheet used by Dürer for his *Self-Portrait* of 1493 (Paris, Louvre). This was noted by Winkler, *Albrecht Dürers Leben und Werk*, Berlin, 1957, p. 268. (4) Information communicated by W. Norman Hargreaves-Mawdsley, who cited the garb as conforming with that described in the original statutes of the University of Cologne (1393). See Franz Joseph von Bianco, *Versuch einer Geschichte der ehemaligen Universität und der Gymnasien der Stadt Köln*, Cologne, 1833, p. 406. Mrs. Stella Mary Newton has noted that small buttons or other fastenings should appear on the collar of K1702. (5) Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Description du Cabinet du Monsieur Paul de Praun*, Nuremberg, 1797, p. 14, Cat. No. 119, 'Le Portrait de Jean Dorsch de l'Ordre de S. Augustin, et 1518 [1528]–1541 Curé de S. Jean. Peint en huile, sur parchemin 1516 Haut. 1 pied, 4 pouces, Larg. 1 pied, 1 pouce'. (6) See Wursel, *Diptycha ecclesiae norembergensis*, 1757, p. 302. See Note 10 below. (7) Hans Rupprich, *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass*, Berlin, 1956, I, p. 298. (8) See M. Zucker, *Albrecht Dürer, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, XVII, Halle, 1900, pp. 142–3. See also Hans Rupprich, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 54, 174, 176, 201, 262 and 281. (9) Edward Cuthbert Butler, 'Augustinian Canons', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., Cambridge, 1910, II, pp. 910–11. (10) Joseph Heller, *Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürers*, Bamberg, 1827, II, part I, p. 231. 'Bildnis des Johann Dorsch,* in Oel auf Pergament, 1516, 1 Sch. 4 Z. hoch, 1 Sch. 1 Z. breit, wurde vor mehreren Jahren verkauft. Weise übersah es, und führte es deswegen nicht an. (*Er war ein Augustiner-Mönch zu Nürnberg, trat zu dem neuen Glauben über, wurde 1524 zu Schwabach erster lutherischer Prediger, aber der katholische Pfarrer Hans Link bot alles auf, ihn zu verdrängen, welches auch geschah. 1528 erhielt Dorsch die Stelle als Pfarrer zu St. Johann in Nürnberg, in demselben Jahre wurde Dürer auf dem Johannes-Kirchhof begraben. Er bekleidete dieses Amt bis an sein End, welches 1541 erfolgte. In dem Murr'schen Katalog vom Praunschen Cabinet ist ein Druckfehler: denn es wird gesagt, dass er 1518 Pfarrer bey St. Johann war, welches 1528 heissen muss.)' For Dürer and Link, see Rupprich, *op. cit.*, I, p. 176, line 186 f; p. 201, note 737; p. 262, no. 43 and note 2; p. 281, no. 126 and notes 1, 2. (11) Eduard Flechsig, *Albrecht Dürer: sein Leben und seine künstlerische Entwicklung*, Berlin, 1928, I, p. 411. Panofsky referred to K1702 as 'Portrait of a Clergyman (Johannes Dorsch?)' (*op. cit.*, p. 18, Cat. No. 81). Musper (*Albrecht Dürer, der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung*, Stuttgart, 1952, p. 264) accepted the Dorsch identification; Franz Winzinger listed it as 'Portrait of a Cleric, Johannes Dorsch' (*Kindlers*, II, p. 168). (12) M. Thausing, *Albrecht Dürer; Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1884, II, p. 133. (13) Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, *op. cit.*, 1937, II, I, p. 119, Cat. No. 663. In 1934 (*op. cit.*), Tietze did not

support the Dorsch identification since he found it unlikely that an Augustinian would have been shown in scholarly rather than monastic garb in 1516. This view is similar to that of Heinrich Thode ('Drei Porträts von Albrecht Dürer', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XVI, 1893, pp. 198–219, p. 210), who assumed the sitter to be a resident of Nuremberg. Suida, p. 194, entitled K1702 'Portrait of a Clergyman'. Winkler (*op. cit.*, 1957, p. 268) also disbelieved the Dorsch identification, stating (without source) that he first came to Nuremberg in 1528. (14) See Hans Hoffman, 'Ein mutmassliches Bildnis Huldrych Zwinglis', *Zwingliana, Beiträge zur Geschichte Zwinglis/Der Reformation und des Protestantismus in der Schweiz*, VIII, part 9, 1948, pp. 497–501, esp. p. 497. Hoffman suggested that Zwingli is shown standing to the right of John Frederick of Saxony in a painting at the Toledo Museum of Art attributed to Lucas Cranach which shows the Elector surrounded by reformers and humanists. The resemblance to K1702 is not entirely convincing – the Toledo figure is bearded and has been said to depict Planckfeld. See also *Reformierte Schweiz*, Zurich, 6. Jahrgang, Heft 3, Mar. 1949, K1702 reproduced on title page with the notation that several researchers hold it to be a portrait of Zwingli. The Kress portrait does not resemble the portrait by Hans Asper of c. 1531 generally accepted as Zwingli (Winterthur, Kunstmuseum). Should K1702 prove to be a portrait of Zwingli, the date 1516 is of special significance since this is the first year in which he is recorded as preaching the 'Gospel of the Reformation'. (15) Winkler, *op. cit.*, 1957, p. 268. (16) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, Vienna, 1866, I, p. 298, Cat. No. 28. (17) Theodor von Frimmel, *Wiener Galerien*, Liefg. III, 1883. (18) Thausing, *op. cit.*, p. 133. (19) K. Költz, *Hans Suess von Kulmbach, Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, 1891, p. 82. The Anton Springer monograph (Berlin, 1892) omits the Kress painting. (20) Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 210. (21) Scherer, *op. cit.*, p. 55. (22) Arpad Weixlgärtner, *Die Graphischen Künste*, XXVIII, in supplement, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, No. 3/4, 1905, pp. 68–9, esp. p. 69. (23) Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1905, I, p. 87. (24) Max J. Friedländer, *Thieme-Becker*, X, p. 70. K1702 is not mentioned in Friedländer's monograph of 1921 (*Albrecht Dürer*, Leipzig). (25) Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, Munich, 1920, p. 225. (26) Winkler [1928], *op. cit.*, p. 416. (27) Tietze, 1934, *op. cit.*, p. 110. (28) Panofsky, *op. cit.*, I, p. 192. (29) Musper, 1952, *op. cit.*, p. 264; Winkler, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 268. (30) Recorded by von Murr, *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in Nürnberg*, 1778, p. 470, Cat. No. 119, in the 'Praunisches Museum, Deutsche Schule', as 'Johann Dorsch, Pfarrer zu St. Johannes, 1516. Auf Pergament'. (See also *supra*, Note 5). The collection was begun by Paul Praun (1548–1616) c. 1563, who purchased from Wenzel Jamnitzer Dürers formerly owned by Andreas, Albrecht's brother and heir, one of them possibly K1702. The collection remained in the possession of Praun's heirs until the early nineteenth century when they sold the bulk of the paintings to Hans Albert von Derschau. Frauenholz bought most of the prints and drawings. K1702 may possibly have

been bought by Büttner, the only other buyer of the Nuremberg collection. Names of the buyers were recorded by Wilhelm Schwemmer, 'Aus der Geschichte der Kunstsammlungen in der Stadt Nürnberg', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, XL, 1949, pp. 124–5. (31) According to Karl Wilczek, *Katalog der Graf Czernin'schen Gemäldegalerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1936, p. 34.

MATHIS GRÜNEWALD

The birthdate and parentage of Mathis Gothart Nithart (known as Grünewald) are unknown. He was probably born in Würzburg and died in Halle in 1528.¹ The young artist may have been in Frankfurt c. 1500 when Hans Holbein the Elder was active there, as the Augsburg master's art is an important element in Grünewald's early works. He was in the employ of the episcopal court of Mainz from 1509 until 1526 and resided at Aschaffenburg and Seligenstadt in that diocese. The artist, having sided with the losers in the Peasants' War, left Seligenstadt, when it was re-occupied by the archbishop in 1526, for the free city of Frankfurt. His greatest work, the *Isenheim Altar* (Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden), was commissioned for the hospital and monastery of the Antonites c. 1508–9 and inscribed with the date 1515. At the time of his death, Grünewald was active as a *Wasserkunstmacher* as well as painter and architect. He has sometimes been thought to have also been a sculptor. Almost all his known works were ordered by church officials. Grünewald is among the greatest of all masters of mystical subjects and the leading Northern painter of the sixteenth century.

K1938 : Figures 20, 21

THE SMALL CRUCIFIXION. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1379), since 1953. Oil on linden. $24\frac{1}{4} \times 18\frac{3}{8}$ in. (61.6 × 46.0 cm.). *Titulus* inscribed INRI on painted depiction of paper (?) attached to a block hanging from the cross on a chain.² Minute brushstrokes on the cross, above the chain, to the right, have sometimes been read as *mg* and interpreted as an early Grünewald monogram.³

Suida-Shapley, pp. 98–102, Cat. No. 36. Reproduced in color, *Seymour*, pp. 84, 85, pls. 76, 77 (details); *Walker*, p. 113.

The small, warped panel was assembled from uneven pieces of lindenwood with large knot-holes whose protrusions have disturbed the surface; a vertical split is parallel with the left hip of Christ. Extensive blistering has taken place in the foreground landscape. Although K1938 has very considerable losses which have been in-painted in recent times, the main figural sections are well preserved. For the appearance of the panel partially freed from overpainting in 1922 see Text Fig. 4.⁴ Major areas where the original surface is lost or disturbed include the background between the heads of Christ and the Virgin, circular sections (over knot-holes) in the drapery of St. John below the right elbow, lesser damages in the Magdalen section and at the top. Two restorations took place between the rediscovery

of K1938 in 1922 and 1936. A third, far more thorough cleaning and restoration was conducted in 1938 by Otto Klein at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum (Cologne); the *Small Crucifixion* was shown to be better preserved than previously thought, especially the figure areas.⁵ The panel, freed from over-paint, was now seen to have been brilliantly illuminated through the entire middle ground. The cleaning brought to light many landscape and architectural details close to those in the 1605 print by Raphael Sadeler (Text Fig. 5). An X-ray of K1938 'shows Christ's left thumb bent down against the palm of the hand as in Grünewald's drawing of the *Crucified Christ* of c. 1505 in the Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe' (*Suida-Shapley*, p. 100). The following pentimenti have been noticed in K1938: in the hands of St. John and the Virgin; the head of St. John; his bare foot; in Christ's loincloth. The Virgin's robe is painted over that of the Magdalen, reversing a first design which placed hers behind the Magdalen's.⁶

The huge body of Christ, so heavy that it pulls down the ends of the transverse member of the cross, inclines to the left, where the mourning Virgin stands, her hands clasped in grief. She faces St. John the Evangelist, standing at the right. The mourning Magdalen kneels at the foot of the cross; she is seen from the left, her hands grazing the sides of the cross. The Crucifixion is shown in a mountainous setting with outcroppings at the left and right. The valley between includes a building to the left of the cross. The emphasis upon the supernatural size and suffering of Christ suggests his bearing the sins of mankind. The depiction of the tormented body stems from the *Revelations* of St. Bridget of Sweden; the moment shown is very shortly after the death of Christ, whose open mouth conforms to her description: 'The Crown of Thorns was impressed on his head; it covered half of the forehead. The blood ran in many rills . . . then the colour of death spread . . . after he had expired, the mouth gaped . . . the eyes were downcast. The knees were bent to one side; the feet were twisted around the nails as if they were on hinges; the cramped fingers and arms were stretched.'⁷ In the background is a darkened sky, obscured by the eclipse.⁸

This small devotional panel, probably painted for Canon Caspar Schantz of the Collegiate Church (Stift) of Aschaffenburg, is a major example of the pietistic art of Northern Europe in the early sixteenth century.⁹ Zülch pointed out that the Crucifixion text in the Passion Play of 1493 may also have been a source for the depiction of the subject in K1938. He stated that the artist's interest in the eclipse of 1 October 1502, is shown by its inclusion in K1938.¹⁰ The 1502 eclipse suggested a very early date for the execution of the panel to Weixlgärtner, who proposed the last quarter of 1502, after Grünewald's execution of the Basel *Crucifixion*.¹¹ Huysmans's comparison of the cross in the *Isenheim Altar* to a drawn cross-bow was applied to K1938 by Zülch.¹² This form may perhaps be of special symbolic significance, recalling a well-known image of St. Augustine quoted by Voragine: 'hence he says it himself in his *Confessions* "Thou hast pierced my heart with the arrow of thy love".'¹³ According to Lanckorónska, the

minute ring on the cross is a symbol of faith and fidelity, and the St. John is a self-portrait of the artist.¹⁴ The same writer believed that it is significant that the feet of Christ point in a terrestrial direction – that is, to Christ's left – while the upper part of the body turns heavenward.¹⁵

Until its rediscovery c. 1922, K1938 was known only through a reproductive print made by Sadeler in 1605 (see Text Fig. 5), when the painting was in the possession of Duke William V of Bavaria.¹⁶ Because of its small format, or that of the print, K1938 became known as the *Small Crucifixion*. At the time of its reproduction, the painting seems to have been regarded as a work by Albrecht Dürer.¹⁷ The painter and writer Joachim von Sandrart recognized the panel as by Grünewald when he saw it in the ducal collection in Munich toward the middle of the seventeenth century.¹⁸ Prior to the emergence of K1938 in 1922, it had been assumed that the *Small Crucifixion* had perished in the fire at the ducal residence (Munich) in 1674. Writing two years before the rediscovery of the panel, A. L. Mayer dated it 1503–6 on the basis of the style of the Sadeler print.¹⁹ Schmid dated the composition from the second decade of the century, describing the Kress painting, then obscured by overpainting, as a copy.²⁰

According to Schönberger, in the major study of the Kress panel, K1938 is an early work by Grünewald, dating after the Basel *Crucifixion with Longinus* (c. 1505?), which is about the same size, and before those at Colmar (*Isenheim Altar*) and Karlsruhe.²¹ Friedländer found K1938 to belong between the *Crucifixion* in Basel and the *Isenheim Altar*, but he did not commit himself precisely as to date, accepting the panel as an autograph work by Grünewald on a qualitative basis.²² Feurstein described the picture as a mature work, close to the *Crucifixion* at Karlsruhe, dating it as probably contemporary with the latter (c. 1519/20), and after the artist's *Mariaschneealtar* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Augustinermuseum) and the paintings for Mainz Cathedral. He accepted the identification of K1938 with the 'Small Painting' in the 1527 will of Canon Heinrich Reitzmann.²³ Deusch viewed the Washington panel as an early work, after the Basel *Crucifixion*, anticipating the achievement of the *Isenheim Altar*.²⁴ Burkhard related the work to the Karlsruhe *Crucifixion* but pointed out that the drapery resembles that of a drawing of St. Dorothy (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett), presumably for the lost Mainz Cathedral altar, proposing the date 1519/20 for the *Small Crucifixion*.²⁵ Zülch, writing in 1938, shortly after K1938 had been cleaned and restored for the second time (to reveal a more elaborate landscape, closer to that in the Sadeler reproductive print of 1605) suggested that it was painted c. 1511, just before the *Isenheim Altar*.²⁶ Hürlimann and Deusch placed the panel as contemporary with Grünewald's fixed wings for the *Heller Altar* of c. 1509 but gave another dating of 1511–13 for the Kress panel.²⁷ According to Schönberger, the Karlsruhe *Crucifixion* drawing (which he dated c. 1504–5) 'offers the most important link between the painting at Basel [dated by him c. 1504] and the *Small Crucifixion*, thus establishing the most consistent row of Crucifixions culminating in the painting of the *Isenheim* and *Tauberbischofsheim* Altars'.²⁸

He dated the Kress panel c. 1505–6.²⁹ Weixlgärtner placed K1938 in 1502 on the basis of the eclipse which took place in that year on 1 October. This would make the panel one of the earliest datable paintings by Grünewald. Together with the Basel *Crucifixion*, it is believed by Weixlgärtner to have provided the first indication of a new German painterly style.³⁰ In 1949, Zülch advanced the dating of K1938 to 1512–14.³¹ Dittmann described the panel as probably dating not long after the Basel *Crucifixion* but with a new strength, pathos, drama, expression and spatial realization.³² Panofsky suggested that Dürer's *Crucifixion* (B.24) from the engraved *Small Passion* of c. 1508 was influenced by Grünewald. He cited K1938 as the sort of image which changed Dürer's approach, implying the possibility that the panel pre-dates the print.³³ Anzelewsky reversed Panofsky's view as to the relationship between the panel and the engraved *Crucifixion* (B.24), stating that Grünewald depended upon the print.³⁴ Vogt characterized K1938 as the last of Grünewald's early works.³⁵ In 1957 Vogt, by the placement of the painting in his discussion, seems to suggest a date of c. 1511.³⁶ Suida-Shapley (p. 98) stated that the generally accepted date for the panel is c. 1505–10. The later date is given by Frankfurter.³⁷ According to Winkler, K1938 dates c. 1512. He placed it after Grünewald's major activity on the *Isenheim Altar* and saw the Dürer *Small Passion* of 1508 (B.24) as influencing K1938, as the Christ in Grünewald's painting faces in the same direction as the Christ in the print.³⁸ Ruhmer believed the date to be neither very early nor very late, taking as an example of the first style the Munich *Mocking of Christ* (1503), and for the late the Karlsruhe *Christ Carrying the Cross* of 1526–27. While placing the Kress panel close to the *Isenheim Altar* (c. 1511), he regarded it as stylistically still closer to the *Mariaschneealtar* of 1519 (Freiburg-im-Breisgau), concluding with a date of c. 1519.³⁹ Karl Sitzmann dated the Kress panel c. 1506–8.⁴⁰ Seymour (p. 83) described K1938 as a much smaller and earlier variant of the *Isenheim Crucifixion*. Gasser listed the painting as Grünewald's fourth known work, after the Lindenhart Altar of c. 1503, the Munich *Mocking of Christ* and the Basel *Crucifixion*, and just before the *Heller Altar* wings (Frankfurt).⁴¹ Walker (p. 112) dated the *Small Crucifixion* c. 1505–10. Lanckorónska placed the panel c. 1511.⁴² Winzinger dated the *Small Crucifixion* 'c. 1519–20?', placing it after the *Stuppach Madonna* and before the *Saints Erasmus and Mauritius* (Munich, Pinakothek).⁴³ Cuttler placed the *Small Crucifixion* between 1508–10.⁴⁴

Grünewald scholars have placed the execution of K1938 at widely varying dates, from c. 1502 to c. 1519. As the art of the early years of the sixteenth century is often marked by pronounced archaism, with a vigorous Gothic revival occasionally seen in the art of Cranach, Dürer, and Grünewald, it is often difficult to determine when a work reverting to a traditional, late medieval formula was executed. Schönberger's very early placement for K1938 has often been rejected by subsequent scholars since the cleaning in 1938 revealed a far more complex luminosity and landscape than had previously been discernible. Placement of the panel close to the *Miracle of the Snow* of



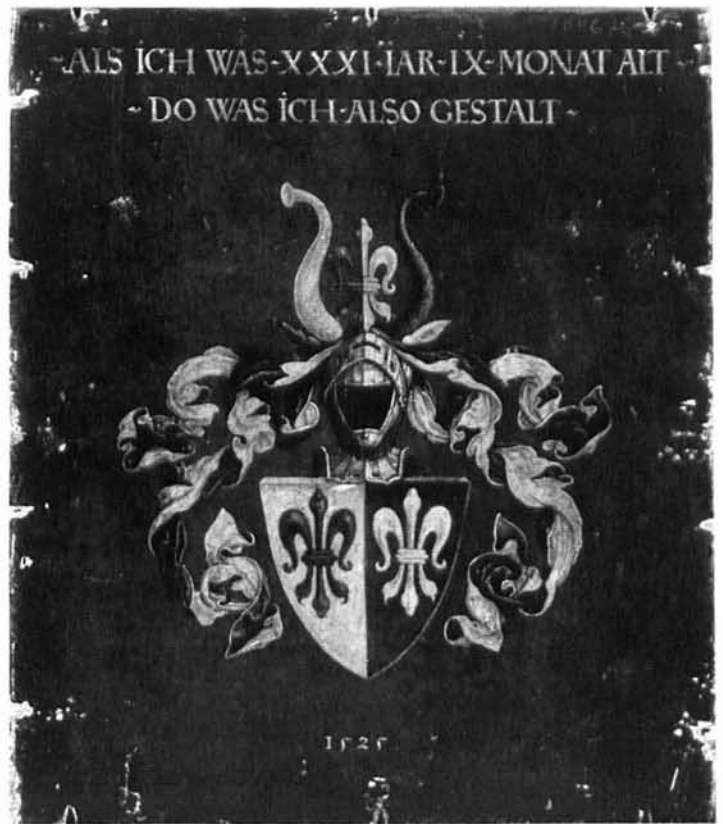
Text Figs 6 A, B *St. Catherine and St. Barbara*, wings of a triptych by the Cranach studio. Brno, Moravska Galerie (see K 1595)



Text Fig 7 *Eliud and Memelia with the Infant St. Servatius*, by Bernhard Strigel. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (see K 2053/4).



Text Fig 8 *St. John on Patmos* by Hans Baldung Grien, companion piece to K 1972. Ex coll. Dr. H. Becker, Dortmund.



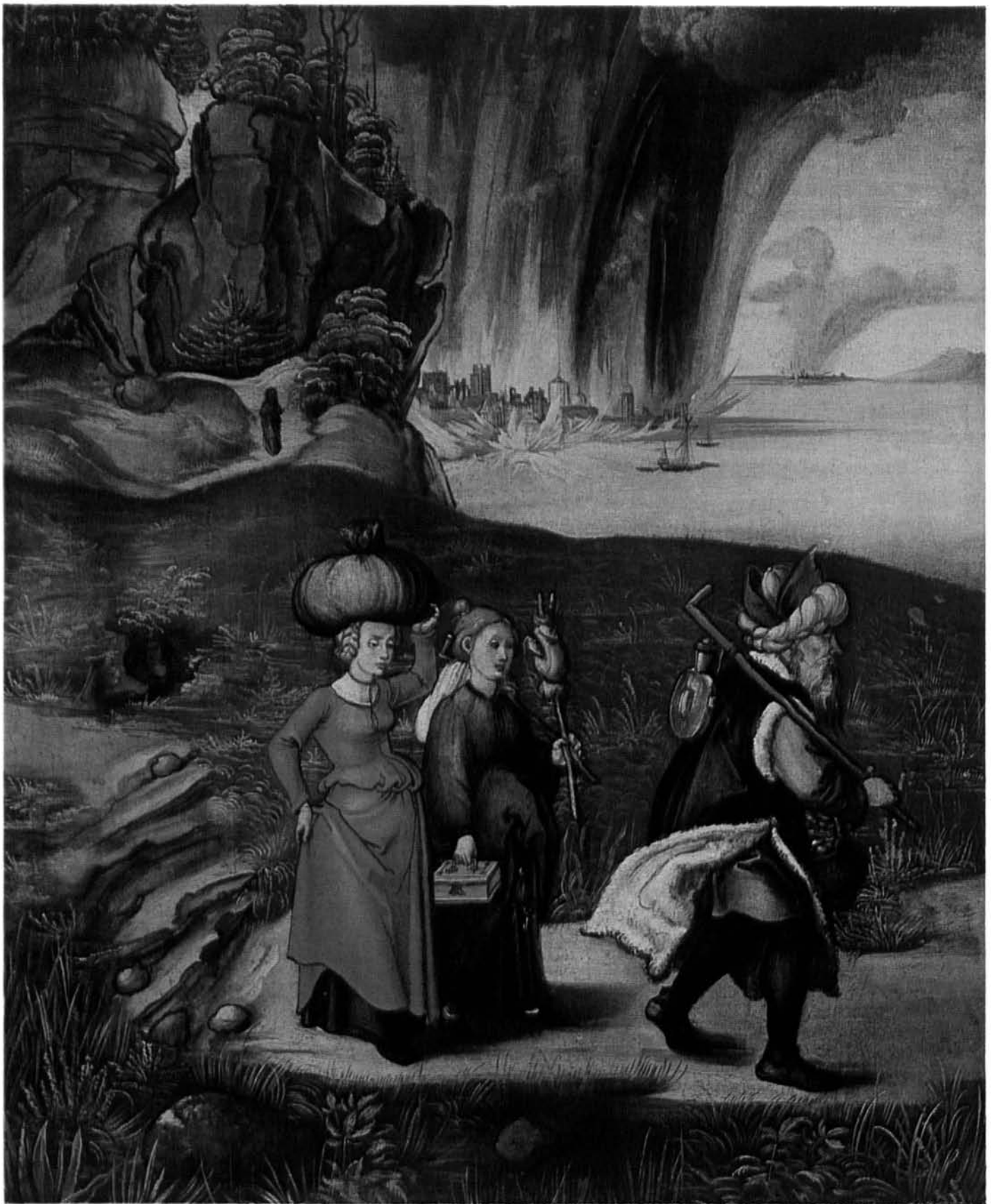
Text Fig 9 *Coat of Arms, verso of Anton Fugger* by Hans Maler (K 1886).



Text Figs 10 A, B *St. Dorothy*, detached reverse of *Virgin Annunciate* by the Master of the St. Marcin Altar (κ 2035) and *St. Agnes*, detached reverse of *Archangel Gabriel* by the Master of the St. Marcin Altar (κ 2034). New York, William Suhr.



Albrecht Dürer: *Madonna and Child* (к 1835А). Washington, D. C. (p. 12)



Albrecht Dürer: *Lot and his Daughters Fleeing Sodom and Gomorrah* (K 1835B). Washington, D.C. (p. 12)

c. 1517-19 (Freiburg-im-Breisgau) seems reasonable. If Zülch is correct in his technical studies of the Kress painting and of the *Stuppach Madonna*, both paintings are executed in a similar fashion. Should the identification of K1938 with the 1528 votive tablet of the Canons Schantz and Reitzmann prove correct (see *Provenance*), this too might argue for a date well into the second decade, as these Canons donated the *Miracle of the Snow Altar* (and possibly the *Stuppach Madonna*) to the Collegiate Church of Aschaffenburg, in 1519. Lastly, the narrow-faced, needle-nosed, vertical emphasis in the physiognomy of Mary and John, while present in the early works, seems intensified in the *Isenheim Altar* and the *Stuppach Madonna*, and in drawings generally placed c. 1516-20 for the Mainz Cathedral Altar. Therefore there is a distinct possibility that the *Small Crucifixion* dates well into the second decade of the century. For copies after the composition of K1938, see Schönberger, who identified twelve.⁴⁵ According to Ruhmer, at least sixteen copies of K1938 were made in the Baroque period, nearly all of them based on the Sadeler print.⁴⁶ Such popularity testifies to the timeless universality of this small, divinely shocking work.

Provenance: K1938 is probably identical with a small *Crucifixion* recorded in 1528 in the estate of Heinrich Reitzmann, a canon of the Collegiate Church (Stift) of Aschaffenburg, apparently inherited by him in 1526 from his colleague Canon Caspar Schantz. These men commissioned Grünewald's Altar of the Chapel of the Virgin of the Snow in Aschaffenburg. Georg Schantz, by inheritance from Reitzmann. The painting probably then became the property of Stift Aschaffenburg from which it was acquired by William V, the Duke of Bavaria (reigned 1579-98) at least as early as 1605.⁴⁷ Landrat Dr. Friedrich Schöne, Essen, from a West German collection, c. 1922.⁴⁸ Franz Wilhelm Koenigs, purchased 1927, exhibited - Berlin, Staatliche Kupferstich-Sammlung, 1929. Düsseldorf, *Ausstellung alter Kunst*, 1929, Cat. No. 27. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans, *Meesterwerken uit vier Eeuwen*, 1938, p. 23, fig. 26, Cat. No. 31. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1939. Heirs of F. W. Koenigs. Kress acquisition 1953.

References: (1) The chief historical source is *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675* (ed. A. R. Peltzer), Munich, 1925. See the major monograph by W. K. Zülch, *Der historische Grünewald: Mathis Gothardt-Neithardt*, Munich, 1938, pp. 11-50, for the artist's biography. For an important recent resumé of the controversial Grünewald documentation, see Alfred Schädler, 'Zu den Urkunden über Mathis Gothart Neithart', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenen Kunst*, 3rd ser., XIII, 1962, pp. 69-74. (2) For the style of this inscription, see Guido Schönberger, 'Mathias Grünewalds "Klein Crucifix"', *Städel Jahrbuch*, II, 1922, pp. 33-52, esp. p. 44. (3) The 'inscription' has been accepted by Zülch, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-6. According to him, the letters are the same color as that of the chain and the form of the 'g' typical for the epigraphy of the early sixteenth century. He included the 'monogram' as the fifth known signature of Grünewald. *Suida-Shapley* (p. 100) describe the letters as 'unlike his

other known signatures. The fact that they are typical of seventeenth-century cursive writing, together with their unconventional location in the composition, suggests that they may have been placed here at the time Sandrart identified the panel. Zülch described K1938 as having been cut from the original engaged frame (p. 325). For a newly-discovered early Grünewald signature see Kurt Bauch, 'Aus Grünewalds Frühzeit', *Pantheon*, xxvii, 1969, pp. 83-98, esp. p. 89, fig. 6 (*Last Supper*, London, Art Market). (4) For an extensive study of the cleaning of c. 1922, see Schönberger, 1922, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6. (5) See Zülch, *op. cit.*, p. 325. According to him, Grünewald's colors included those derived from ground glass, manufactured at Spessart near Mainz, comparable to that used by the artist in painting the glass vessel of the *Stuppach Madonna*. Zülch also pointed out that Grünewald's estate included color made of 'tiny little stones' which he assumed to be pulverized glass. (6) *Ibid.* Zülch, who first noted these changes, nonetheless believed that K1938 was painted rapidly. (7) Grünewald's frequent use of St. Bridget was first established by Heinrich Feurstein, 'Zur Deutung des Bildgehaltes bei Grünewald', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I, Augsburg, 1924, pp. 137-63. The *Revelations* of Bridget were published in Nuremberg by Anton Koberger in Latin (1500) and German (1502). (8) Matthew 27:45; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44 - all reported that from the sixth to the ninth hour the sun was obscured and darkness covered the earth, following the prophecy (Amos 8:9) 'And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day'. (9) Zülch, *op. cit.*, p. 125, characterized it as an *Andachtsbild*. This function is made even clearer by the reproductive engraving by Raphael Sadeler, 1605 (Nagler, xvi, p. 4, Cat. No. 63), whose Latin inscription suggests those of the Stations of the Cross (Text Fig. 5). The engraving has a papal as well as an imperial privilege. It is inscribed: *Nostra hominum quò lapsa salus consurgat, IESVS, Nostra hominum, IESVS, occidit ipsa salus. Tristetur CHRISTI occasu mens grata? salutē Laetentur propter vel pia corda suam? Ite pia lachrymae ex oculis: est lachryma namque Tristitiae testis, laetitiaēque comes. SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI GVILIELMO COMITI PALATINO, RHENI, VTRIVSQVE BAVARIAE DVCI, & c. Raphael Sadeler dedicabat, 1605.* (10) Zülch, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9. (11) Arpad Weixlgärtner, *Grünewald*, Vienna-Munich, 1962, pp. 28-30. (12) Zülch, *op. cit.*, p. 124. For the early fourteenth-century *Crucifixion* formulae to which Grünewald returns, see Fritz Witte, 'Mystik und Kreuzesbild um 1300', *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, xxxiii, 1920, pp. 117-24. Gert von der Osten (*Painting and Sculpture in Germany and the Netherlands: 1500-1600*, Baltimore, 1969, pp. 93-4) suggested that the 'bent cross-beam is an allusion to the cross-bow speeding the martyred body like an arrow upwards to pray for mercy' and that the ragged loincloth refers to the Infant's swaddling clothes and Christ's open hands to those of the *Christus Mediator*. Small silver crucifixes in the shape of cross bows were made in early sixteenth-century Germany as archers' badges. See F. P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages*, Coral Gables, 1970, pp. 304-6, Plate 30b.

(13) *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, translated and adapted from the Latin by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, London, New York, Toronto, 1941, II, pp. 485-6. Such imagery could have been suggested to the artist by the Augustinian (Antonite) canons who directed the monastery at Isenheim and commissioned the Altar. (14) Maria Lanckorónska, *Matthäus Gotthart Neithart*, Darmstadt, 1963, p. 68. She referred to H. Döring and M. Hartig, *Christliche Symbole*, Fribourg, 1940, p. 108. (15) Lanckorónska, *Neithart in Italien*, Munich, 1967, p. 20. (16) A zealous adherent of the Counter-Reformation, he was succeeded in 1597 by his son Duke Maximilian I, so that William could devote himself to the Church. Schönberger, 1922, *op. cit.*, p. 34, suggested that he acquired the panel c. 1597-1601, when the Emperor Rudolph II strove to buy the wings of the *Isenheim Altar*. William's heir, the Duke Maximilian I, also tried to buy the *Isenheim Altar* wings. He purchased Grünewald's *Mocking of Christ* (Munich, Pinakothek) from the Stift Aschaffenburg in 1613, according to Zülch, *op. cit.*, p. 324. K1938 may also have been acquired from the same source. (17) According to F. Niedermayer ('Mathias Grünewald', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, VII, 1884, p. 251) Sadeler received payment for the print in 1605 (court payment records). (18) 'Further his royal highness Duke William of Bavaria of blessed memory, an understanding judge and art lover, had a small *Crucifixion* with Our Lady and St. John as well as a kneeling and reverently praying Mary Magdalen, painted with the utmost care by this hand and he loved it dearly without knowing by whom it was; the same, owing to the marvellous Christ on the Cross hanging so convincingly and resting on the feet, is very unusual, so that life itself could not produce one better and if we muse over it long and patiently enough we find it natural above all other *Crucifixions*. For that reason, by gracious command of the noble duke, Raphael Sadeler engraved it on copper in the year 1605 the size of a half sheet, and afterwards his royal highness Maximilian of blessed memory was mightily pleased when I revealed the master's name to him.' Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-, Bild-, und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg, 1675, part 2, section 3, p. 236. In the Peltzer edition of the text (*op. cit.*, p. 83) von Sandrart refers to 'another' work by Dürer, which suggests that this artist may have been viewed as the author of K1938. Von Sandrart may well have known the engraving by Sadeler, as he was an apprentice in the Sadeler studio. At the time of his discovery of K1938, Grünewald's art had come to be more highly esteemed than Dürer's. Earlier in the century Hendrick Terbrugghen seems to have used the Sadeler engraving as the model for the *Crucifixion* of c. 1624-26 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). See Claus Virch, 'The *Crucifixion* by Hendrick Terbrugghen', *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XVI, 1958, pp. 217, 226. (19) August Liebmann Mayer, *Matthias Grünewald*, Munich, 1920, p. 82. (20) Thieme-Becker, xv, p. 134. (21) Schönberger, 1922, *op. cit.*, Note 2 above, p. 46. For fifteenth-century and earlier comparative sources of K1938, see pp. 39-41. (22) Max J. Friedländer, 'Grünewalds einst beim Bayernherzog bewahrte Kreuzigung', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIII, 1922,

pp. 60-2. (23) Feurstein, *Matthias Grünewald*, Bonn, 1930, pp. 72-4, pp. 115-17. The identification was proposed by Hohbach. (See Note 47 below.) (24) Werner R. Deusch, *Deutsche Malerei des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 16, 26. (25) Arthur Burkhard, *Matthias Grünewald, Personality and Accomplishment*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1936, pp. 49-52. (26) Zülch, *op. cit.*, p. 324. (27) The central section by Dürer is lost; the Grünewald panels are at the Donaueschingen Galerie and Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut. Martin Hürlimann and Werner R. Deusch, *Grünewald*, Berlin-Zürich, 1939, p. ix, p. 49. (28) Guido Schönberger, *The Drawings of Mathis Gothart Nithart Called Gruenewald*, New York, 1948, pp. 22, 26, Cat. No. 2, Karlsruhe Kunsthalle. In the Karlsruhe drawing the feet are seen frontally whereas both twist to the right in K1938. The drawing of the head of Christ and the Crown of Thorns both point to those of K1938. Schönberger concluded that the Karlsruhe sheet is a study for a lost painting, executed between the Basel *Crucifixion* and K1938. (29) *Ibid.*, p. 45. Cat. No. A4 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung) is a seventeenth-century copy after a lost drawing by Grünewald for the Isenheim *Crucifixion* and according to Schönberger an important link between K1938 and the Isenheim *Crucifixion*. The inscription in A4 is placed beneath the beam as it is shown in K1938, in 'the same narrow capitals'. The placement of fingers, less widespread than in the Isenheim work, is closer to K1938. (30) Arpad Weixlgärtner, *Dürer und Grünewald, Göteborges Kungl. Vetenskaps-och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar Sjätte Följden*. Ser. A, IV, no. 1, Göteborg, 1949, pp. 27, 56 ff., 91, 152. (31) W. K. Zülch, *Grünewald*, Munich, 1949, pp. 21 ff., 61. (32) Lorenz Dittmann, *Die Farbe bei Grünewald*, Munich, 1955, p. 120. (33) Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, 4th ed., Princeton, 1955, pp. 146-7. (34) Fedja Anzelewsky, 'Albrecht Dürer und Mathis Gothardt Nithardt', *Edwin Redslob zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1955, p. 294. (35) Adolf Max Vogt, 'Grünewalds Darstellungen der Kreuzigung', Diss., Zürich, 1956, p. 21. (36) Vogt, *Grünewald: Mathis Gothart Nithart*, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1957, pp. 158-9. (37) Alfred Frankfurter, 'Crystal Anniversary in the Capital', *Art News*, LV, 1956, pp. 24-35, esp. p. 26. (38) Comments transcribed by Mrs. Fern Rusk Shapley, 24 Feb. 1956. (39) J. K. Huysmans, E. Ruhmer, *Grünewald*, London, 1958, p. 121. (40) *Encyclopedia of World Art*, VII, 1959, col. 183. (41) Helmi Gasser, *Das Gewand in der Formensprache Grünewalds*, Bern, 1962, p. 16. (42) Lanckorónska, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Wolfgang Brückner, 'Mathis Gothardt Neithardt, genannt Grünewald, in der neueren Forschung', *Kunst in Hessen und Mittelhessen*, III, 1963, pp. 44-65, pp. 50, 64, Cat. No. 5, places K1938 between the Basel *Crucifixion* and the *Isenheim Altar*, c. 1511-12. He described St. John as a variant of the Basel depiction of the same figure. The author accepted the monogram. (43) *Kindlers*, II, p. 802. (44) Charles D. Cuttler, *Northern Painting*, New York, 1968, p. 362. (45) Schönberger, 1922, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-52. The best painted copy appears to be that at the Galerie Donaueschingen, reproduced by Schönberger, p. 49, fig. 13. (46) Huysmans and Ruhmer, *op. cit.*, p. 121. (47) This proposal was first made by Joseph Hohbach in an article entitled 'Grünewalds

400. Geburtstag', *Aschaffener Gesch. Blätter*, xx, 1938, pp. 33 ff. Hohbach's finding is accepted by Feurstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–17. Hohbach's hypothesis has been questioned by Zülch, *op. cit.*, p. 325, Notes 9, 17, 19, and accepted by Ruhmer, *op. cit.*, p. 121. A. Schädler, *op. cit.*, Note 6, cited an article by W. Hotz in the *Frankfurter Allgemeiner Zeitung*, 22 Jan. 1960, stating that recent studies of the Aschaffener Stiftarchiv by J. Kehl substantiate and expand Hohbach's findings. William V probably acquired Grünewald's *Mocking of Christ* (Munich, Pinakothek) from the Stift Aschaffenburg as well. In 1613 he thanked the town for a 'tabula illusionis Christi'. See Zülch, *op. cit.*, p. 324. (48) According to Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Lucas Cranach the Elder was born at Cronach in Upper Franconia in 1472; he died 16 October 1553, at Wittenberg. Possibly the pupil of his father, Cranach's early works are done in the romantic spirit that was to characterize the Danubian School. His travel years were probably spent in the Danube region and in Vienna itself. He first worked for the Elector Frederick the Wise (reigned 1486–1525) on 14 April 1502 in Wittenberg, where he was to spend the rest of his life in the employ of the two successive electors (John and John Frederick). He was ennobled in 1508, the year in which his close friend Luther (eleven years the painter's junior) first came to Wittenberg. Lucas was in the Netherlands the following year. In 1519 he became Town Councillor in Wittenberg and *Bürgermeister* in 1537 and 1540. He attended Luther's wedding in 1520 and the baptisms of his children. Cranach's sons Hans (died 1537) and Lucas (1515–86) were active in the very large studio he maintained. The most prominent painter to the Protestant Establishment and a prolific graphic artist, Cranach played a major role in first illustrating Lutheran imagery. He was also an outstanding master of chivalric landscape and portraiture and produced many paintings and prints of humanistic and romantic subjects.¹

Reference: (1) See Heinz Lüdecke, *Lucas Cranach der Ältere im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, Berlin, 1953, for a thorough biographical treatment of Cranach.

K1853 : Figure 22

PORTRAIT OF A SCHOLAR. Coral Gables, Florida, Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami (61.038.000), since 1961. Oil on poplar. $16\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ in. (41.3×27 cm.). Upper left corner replaced at unknown date; losses along top border; some abrasion, especially in area of ear; cradled by Modestini in 1955; cleaned and restored in 1960. *Miami*, 1961, p. 84.

This unusually sensitively painted portrait shows a middle-aged man in half-length, in three-quarter view, facing to the right. Extremely thinly and delicately rendered, it has an olive-grey background. The sitter wears a doctor's biretta and a lavishly fur-lined 'studying gown' in the

Venician style. He may have been a judge, as his garb resembles that of judges shown in J. de Damhouder, *Pupellorum patrocinium*, 1564.¹

According to Friedländer, K1853 is a relatively early work from c. 1515.² Suida compared the portrait with the *Bürgermeister of Weissenfels* of 1515 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) and the *Gerhardt Volks* of 1518 (Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste).³ Shapley and Suida saw the influence of Dürer on K1853; but thought it more swiftly executed and spontaneous in appearance than characteristic for the Nuremberg master.⁴ Koepplin compared K1853 with the *Moritz Buchner* of 1518 and the *Portrait of a Man* (London, National Gallery) of 1524, suggesting a dating of c. 1520–25, with a *terminus ante quem* of 1528.⁵

Koepplin's more advanced dating seems correct on the basis of the sitter's attire as well as the style. The Kress portrait shows Cranach working with special subtlety, possibly depicting a friend.

Provenance: Dr. J. Goldschmidt, Berlin, 1923 (?).⁶ Private collection, Glasgow. London, Thomas Agnew and Sons, 1949. New York, Paul Drey. Kress acquisition 1951, exhibited – New York, Duveen Brothers, *Cranach Loan Exhibition*, 1960, Cat. No. 114.

References: (1) Information from Dr. W. Norman Hargreaves-Mawdsley. (2) Max J. Friedländer, certificate of 28/IV/50 (Amsterdam) in Kress Archive. (3) Statement in Kress Archive, c. 1958. (4) *Miami*, 1961, p. 84. (5) Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin, 1932, Cat. Nos. 108, 153. Letter from Dr. Dieter Koepplin, Kress Archive, 12 Nov. 1967. (6) Information kindly communicated by Dr. Koepplin.

K2031 : Figure 24

PORTRAIT OF A MAN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1371), since 1956. Oil on beech. $22\frac{3}{8} \times 15\frac{1}{8}$ in. (56.8×38.4 cm.). Inscribed on tablet at upper left corner: 1522. Below: a winged serpent with ring in mouth (artist's device). Grain runs horizontally with a join at the shoulder line; original borders (*barbes*) preserved. Cradled and restored by Modestini in 1955.

Suida-Shapley, pp. 56, 58, Cat. No. 18. Reproduced in color in *Broadley*, p. 31.

For description see K2032 below.

K2032 : Figure 25

PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1372), since 1956. Oil on beech. $22\frac{3}{8} \times 15$ in. (56.8×38.1 cm.). Grain runs horizontally with a join below lower lip; panel preserves original borders (*barbes*). Cradled and restored by Modestini in 1955.

Suida-Shapley, pp. 56, 58, Cat. No. 19.

The male sitter is shown in half-length, three-quarter view, turning toward the right (K2031). His shadow is cast upon the bright green background, as well as that of the frame along the top and the right edge of the painting. The severe

dark garment worn by the subject is relieved by a white collar and slashes in the sleeves. As is characteristic for Cranach, the female pendant (K2032) is smaller in scale than the male, with much more background in evidence. She turns, in three-quarter view, toward the left. Her strong shadow appears to the right, with others cast by the frame along upper and left borders. The sitter is clothed in relatively austere, dark-colored attire, relieved by a gold brocade band at her waist; the sleeves are brownish-red; the only visible jewelry is an inscribed hat medallion. The strong sense of silhouette is enhanced by the elaborate headgear worn by the subjects of both K2031 and 2032.

Both portraits were recorded by Scheffler in 1921 as having been 'recently discovered'.¹ They are included in Friedländer and Rosenberg's definitive catalogue of Cranach's works.² The female panel was published by Winkler.³ It was observed by *Suida-Shapley* (*loc. cit.*) that cast shadows were included by Cranach in paired portraits dated 1534 (Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts).⁴ Talbot proposed that the *Portraits* were probably designed for hanging on either side of a window, as the shadows fall opposite the direction the sitters are facing; four window panes are shown reflected in their eyes.⁵ Koepplin noted that K2031 and K2032 have several features that are uncharacteristic for Cranach in 1522, including the use of *trompe l'oeil* shadows cast by the frame; a somewhat coarse, grainy paint surface, and an unusually flat, unmodulated quality of the portraits. He raised the possibility that the pendants may perhaps be replicas executed by one of Cranach's sons or by an artist outside the Cranach studio, possibly influenced by such Netherlandish artists as Joos van Cleve. These suggestions bear further investigation.⁶

Provenance: Bernhard von Lindenau, Altenburg (Thuringia). Frau von Watzdorf-Bachoff, Altenburg (Thuringia), his niece. Paul Cassirer, Berlin, c. 1921.⁷ Von der Heydt. A. Lederer, Vienna, c. 1932.⁸ New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) Karl Scheffler, 'Kunstaussstellungen', *Kunst und Künstler*, xix, 1921, p. 298. (2) Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 53–4, Cat. Nos. 123, 124. (3) Friedrich Winkler, *Altdeutsche Tafelmalerei*, Munich, 1941, pl. 151 (K2032 only). (4) Friedländer–Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, Cat. Nos. 280–1. (5) Charles W. Talbot, note in Washington National Gallery archive, 1965–66. (6) Verbal communication, Spring, 1968. (7) Scheffler, *op. cit.*, p. 298, listed them in the possession of Cassirer and said that both portraits were recently re-discovered. (8) Information on collections given by H-C. v. d. Gabelentz, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum.

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

K1899 : Figure 15

MYSTICAL CRUCIFIXION WITH THE CONVERTED CENTURION.¹ Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1621), since 1953. Oil on linden. 20 × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (50.8 ×

34.9 cm.). Inscribed at top: VATER IN DEIN HE[N]T BEFIL ICH MEIN GAIST (Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit; Luke 23:46); above cross: I.N.R.I.; to the right of Longinus: WARLICH DISER MENSCH IST GOTES SVN GEWEST ('Truly this man was the Son of God', Mark 15:39). In the lower right corner: a serpent with folded wings (artist's signet) 1536.² Minor losses along bottom edge; several deep scratches near front legs of horse and at lower left; minor abrasions in figures. European cradling; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1953. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 60, Cat. No. 20.

The picture shows Christ at the centre, seen frontally; he looks heavenward, his mouth open in speech. He wears a loincloth, the ends of which flutter to the left and right. The Good and Bad Thieves, who flank Christ symmetrically, are seen from the side with the end of the transverse bar of the cross visible. All three crosses are composed of rough logs, seen against a dramatic, dark, cloudy sky with a rainbow filling the horizon. A richly-clad knight in armor with a broad-brimmed hat trimmed with white plumes is mounted on a white rearing charger and placed at the left between the Good Thief and Christ. His garb is the fashionable German attire and armor of c. 1515–30. He has a German dagger at his right hand, and sword pommel at his left. His mouth open in speech, the knight looks toward Christ, his raised right arm and index finger pointing to him. The barren terrain is rock-covered, its curved contour symbolizing the world; the central crucified figure denotes the perpetual sacrifice of Christ for the salvation of mankind as represented by the Centurion (often confused with Longinus, both of whom were among the first Gentiles to acknowledge the divinity of the Saviour). Rather than representing a specific Protestant ruler of the times, Cranach's Centurion may indicate the role of his powerful patrons in first recognizing the validity of Lutheran doctrine.³ Although the horseman has occasionally been identified as a portrait of one of Cranach's patrons, possibly the Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, it seems more likely that he represents the personification of knightly virtue.

Two types of Cranach composition for the *Mystical Crucifixion with the Converted Centurion* exist. To the first belong K1899, dated 1536, and a more vertical example formerly in the collection of Prince Lippe (Bückeburg), dated 1539.⁴ The other is represented in the Rabinowitz Collection, Yale University Art Gallery, and is dated 1538. Here the Centurion's hat is trimmed with a large ostrich feather on either side, and the Bad Thief at the right is shown almost in left profile. The same composition was used in a painting now in Seville (Santa Escuela de Cristo), also dated 1538. Friedländer described K1899 as probably autograph (Lucas Cranach the Elder) and noted that the figure of Christ relates to that of Dürer's *Crucifixion* of 1506 (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie).⁵ Flechsig believed that the panel was probably a work by Cranach the Elder's son Hans, with the possibility that it could also have been by the then twenty-one year old Lucas Cranach the Younger.⁶ Koepplin related K1899 to the *Crucifixion* of 1538 in the

Chicago Art Institute, attributing both to Lucas Cranach the Younger.⁷ Seymour linked the popularity of the theme of the Crucifixion with the Converted Centurion 'to its power to demonstrate a favourite Protestant doctrine that salvation is the gift of God through grace (see the Centurion's confession of faith). The figures of the two thieves dramatize the alternatives of salvation or damnation.' Seymour believed the Centurion to represent John Frederick (1503–54), Elector of Saxony.⁸ Talbot followed Seymour's Protestant interpretation of K1899,⁹ relating the Centurion to the Early Christian and Erasmian concept of the Knight of Christ, which was also illustrated by Dürer.

This panel dates from the period in the artist's life when an extremely large workshop (including both his sons) was active, producing paintings after Cranach's designs. The execution of the *Mystical Crucifixion* may involve studio participation. It is the first of four known dated examples of this subject, and is definitely superior in quality to the most closely related of the other three, formerly in Prince Lippe's collection.

Provenance: Dr. Demiani, Leipzig, exhibited – Dresden, *Cranach-Ausstellung*, 1899, text by Dr. Karl Woermann, p. 51, Cat. No. 65. Sale, Berlin, Rudolph Lepke Auction Gallery, 11 Nov. 1913, Cat. No. 40. The following private collections given in dealer's brochure: Mrs. Jenö Hubay, former Countess Cebrian Rosa. Mathias Salamon. Alada Feigl (Budapest). New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) This title was first applied to the example of this composition now in New Haven (Yale University Art Gallery) by Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin, 1932, p. 85. It was transferred to K1899 by Charles W. Talbot, Jr., 'An Interpretation of two Paintings by Cranach in the Artist's Late Style', *National Gallery of Art, Report and Studies in the History of Art*, 1967, pp. 67–88, pp. 68 ff. The Kress panel was previously entitled *Crucifixion with Longinus*. (2) A. Giesecke ('Wappen, Siegel und Signet Lucas Cranachs und seiner Söhne und ihre Bedeutung für die Cranach-Forschung', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, ix, 1955, pp. 181–92) believed all paintings with this device to be by Lucas Cranach the Younger, excluding the generally accepted works by Lucas Cranach the Elder after 1537 which have this signet. This thesis has been questioned by Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Zeichnungen Lucas Cranachs d. Ä.*, Berlin, 1960, pp. 9–10. (3) Talbot, *op. cit.*, Note 1 above, pp. 71, 86, n. 15. For the Centurion, see Réau, II, 2, p. 496, and Konrad Burdach, *Der Gral*, Stuttgart, 1938, chap. 5. (4) The provenance given by Friedländer–Rosenberg (*op. cit.*, pp. 85–6, Cat. No. 303) for the *Crucifixion with the Converted Centurion* formerly in the collection of Prince Lippe, Bückeburg, is actually that of K1899. The writers listed two variants, one in a Seville church (dated 1538), the other example dated 1538 in the collection of Count Wilczek. The latter is now part of the Rabinowitz Collection bequeathed to the Yale University Art Gallery. (5) Max J. Friedländer, 'Die Cranach-Ausstellungen in

Dresden', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxii, 1899, pp. 236–49, esp. p. 242, Cat. No. 65. (6) In discussing another *Crucifixion* (R. von Kaufmann, Berlin), Flechsig dated it 1535–40 and ascribed it to Lucas Cranach the Younger, relating it closely to K1899 (*Cranachstudien*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 275, Cat. No. 65, pp. 282, 310). Friedländer–Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 45, did not agree with Flechsig's attribution of the von Kaufmann *Crucifixion* to Lucas the Younger, believing it to be by Lucas the Elder. Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 86, n. 6, also finds Flechsig's opinion unsubstantiated. (7) Statement in Kress Archive. The Chicago painting is Friedländer–Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 302. (8) Charles Seymour, Jr., *The Rabinowitz Collection of European Painting*, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 1961, p. 40. (9) Talbot, *op. cit.*, Note 1 above, p. 71.

Studio of LUCAS CRANACH

K1595 : Figure 26

VIRGIN AND CHILD. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Art Gallery since 1951. Oil on lime. 48 × 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (121.9 × 90.9 cm.). Shield in lower left corner: Per fess sable and argent, two swords crossed in saltire the points uppermost gules (for the Hereditary Office of Grand Marshal of the Holy Roman Empire). Shield in lower right corner: Barry of ten or and sable, a crown of rue in bend vert (for Saxony). The arms are of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony (1463–1525).¹ Cradled in 1948–49; flaking pigment secured and some restoration in 1957 and 1960.

Suida, p. 196, Cat. No. 86. *Tucson*, 1951, Cat. No. 17. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pl. 78.

The Virgin and Child are shown in pensive, sombre mood, Mary in three-quarter view seated on the edge of a wooden frame, holding the nude infant on her lap.² A gnarled tree is at the right and a rocky landscape with a ruined castle at the upper left. The bare foreground is covered with pebbles. Christ's left index finger points down. K1595 is the central panel of a triptych; the wings show St. Catherine at the left and St. Barbara at the right (both Brno, Czechoslovakia, Moravská Galerie)³ (Text Fig. 6).

The panel was placed by Friedländer c. 1514 and given to Lucas Cranach the Elder; he described the painting as powerful in concept and richly colored.⁴ Flechsig dated K1595 c. 1513.⁵ He noted that it cannot readily be placed in the development of Cranach in view of the very large scale of the figures and the unusually severe mood. He related the panel to the *Adoration of the Magi* at Gotha (Landesmuseum), where the Virgin and Child are somewhat similar in sentiment, and found it contemporary with the large altar in the Johanneskirche (by Neustadt a.d. Orla, 1513).⁶ Heyck also commented on the somewhat uncharacteristic qualities of K1595, finding it 'Cranachish'.⁷ Glaser discovered that the painting was the central panel of a triptych, whose wings were then in the Liechtenstein Collection (Text Fig. 6). He dated the panel c. 1513–14.⁸

Friedländer and Rosenberg, following Flechsig's views very closely, dated K1595 c. 1513; they pointed out derivation from Dürer's engraving of 1511, the *Virgin and Child with a Pear* (B.41), and noted that 1513, the year in which K1595 was probably painted, was the one in which Dürer sent several of his prints to Frederick the Wise.⁹ They suggested that the unusually large size and somewhat flat, impersonal execution point to the *Madonna and Child* as being a workshop product.¹⁰

The broad, rather coarse execution of K1595 indicates that it was executed by Cranach's large studio, following the master's preparatory design, c. 1513-14.

Provenance: Painted for the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. Maximilian Freiherr von Heyl, Darmstadt, exhibited - Dresden, *Cranach-Ausstellung*, 1899, Cat. No. 116. Dusseldorf, *Kunsthistorische Ausstellung*, 1904, Cat. No. 214. Frau Direktor Albert Ullman, exhibited - Frankfurt, *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz im Städtischen Kunstinstitut*, Summer 1925, p. 12, Cat. No. 40.¹¹ New York, Paul Drey, exhibited - Kansas City, Missouri, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, *Seventh Anniversary Exhibition of German, Flemish, and Dutch Painting*, 1940-41, Cat. No. 12. Kress acquisition 1948, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961-4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 19.

References: (1) J. Siebmacher, *Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch von Dr. Otto Titan von Hefner*, 1, part 1, 'Die Wappen der Deutschen Bundesstaaten', Nuremberg, 1856, p. 18, pl. 24. (2) Christ points down to the pebbly, arid foreground, possibly alluding to the first steps of the Passion. This gesture is unique in Cranach's many depictions of the Child. The foreground may refer to Golgotha, while the wooden frame on which the Virgin and Child are seated suggests the Entombment; the tree to the right, the wood of the Cross, and the ruined fortress at the upper left to the Old Dispensation. Christ's nudity may also refer to that of the Lamentation. (3) First reconstructed by Curt Glaser, *Lukas Cranach*, Leipzig, 1921, p. 225, who mistakenly refers to the wings as having been cut down. (4) Max J. Friedländer, review, 'Die Cranach-Ausstellung in Dresden', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXII, 1899, p. 214, Cat. No. 116, p. 246. (5) Eduard Flechsig, *Tafelbilder Lukas Cranachs d. Ä. und seiner Werkstatt*, Leipzig, 1900, Cat. No. 17. (6) Eduard Flechsig, *Cranachstudien*, Leipzig, 1900, 1, pp. 98-9, p. 282, Cat. No. 116. (7) E. Heyck, *Lukas Cranach*, Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1908, p. 67. (8) Curt Glaser, *Lukas Cranach*, Leipzig, 1921, p. 225. (9) Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin, 1932, p. 37, Cat. No. 41; the wings are pp. 37-8, Cat. No. 42. Two other Dürer engravings might also be mentioned: B.35 of 1513 in which a similar wooden frame appears and B.43 of c. 1512. (10) Friedländer-Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8. (11) The second edition of the catalogue (1926) listed K1595 as dating from 1513-14.

BERNHARD STRIGEL

Bernhard Strigel was born in Memmingen (Swabia) c. 1460; he died there in 1528. He was the son of a painter; his brothers were also artists.¹ The marked influence of the art of Bartholomäus Zeitblom suggests that the young Strigel may have been associated with that master in Ulm. He served in numerous civic posts in Memmingen. His first known dated work is from 1489 (Disentis). He portrayed the Emperor Maximilian in 1507 and many of his subsequent commissions were executed for the Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna, Innsbruck, and elsewhere. Strigel was resident in Vienna in 1515 and again in 1520. He was employed upon large scale altarpieces, which, as was common for the time, were extremely complex in format, often incorporating sculpture. A prolific artist, many of Strigel's works survive. Born a decade before Dürer, Strigel was the master of a monumental, sculptural style, generally devoid of Italian influence.

K2053 : Figure 18

SAINT MARY CLEOPHAS AND HER FAMILY. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1640), since 1956. Mixed technique on linden glued to panel, recently remounted on mahogany. 49×24 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (124.4×62.9 cm.). Incised on halo at upper left: SANCTA MARIA CLEOPHE. Halo of nude child: SANCTUS IVDAS XPI APOSTOLV. Halo of child to the right: SCTVS SIMON. Halo of standing child at the right: STVS. SANCTVS IOSEPH. Halo of child at the lower left: SANCTVS. JACOBVS. MINOR. ALPHE... Cut down at top; original border visible at left; numerous splits along joints have necessitated considerable restoration, most notable in head of nude infant. Cradled and mounted on mahogany by Pichetto c. 1947. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1954.

Denver, 1954, p. 64, Cat. No. 28. Reproduced in color in *Denver*, 1954, p. 65, and Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 47. For description see K2054, below.

K2054 : Figure 19

SAINT MARY SALOME AND HER FAMILY. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1641), since 1958. Mixed technique on linden glued to panel, recently remounted on mahogany. 49 $\frac{3}{8}$ ×25 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (125.4×65.8 cm.). Incised on halo of seated woman: SANCTA MARIA SALOME. Halo of standing boy at right: SANCTVS JACOBVS MA[JOR]. Halo of boy at lower left: SANCTVS IOHANES. Cradled and mounted on mahogany by Pichetto, c. 1947; a strip approx. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide has been added along right side. Old restoration at back of St. John the Evangelist in left foreground; pentimenti in bare foot at right border. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955.

Suida-Shapley, p. 172, Cat. No. 68. Reproduced in color in Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

'... In the High and Late Middle Ages, the Holy Kinship, as venerated by those who believed in the *trinitium Annae*,²

consisted primarily of the husbands and direct descendants of St. Anne, viz., first, the Virgin Mary, daughter of St. Anne and Joachim and wife of St. Joseph, and her son Jesus Christ; second, Mary the daughter of St. Anne and Cleophas and wife of Alphaeus, and her four sons, St. James the Less, St. Simon, St. Jude and Joseph the Just (who failed to become an Apostle because the lot decided for Barnabas); third, Mary, daughter of St. Anne and Salomas ("Mary Salome") and wife of Zebedee, and her two sons, James the Great and John the Evangelist. It is this "Holy Kinship in the narrower sense" which is listed in numerous mnemonic verses (the best-known in the *Golden Legend* in the chapter on the Birth of the Virgin, 8 September) [which] figures in most pictorial and graphic representations of the subject. Or it appears complete and unabridged so as to do honour to St. Servatius of Tongres whose cult grew to enormous proportions from the beginning of the fifteenth century.³ The Kress panels probably belonged to such an expanded series. The Holy Kinship became an especially popular devotional subject in the later fifteenth century in Northern Europe, following a vision of the Blessed Colette Boilot (died 1447), particularly in Germany, where many elaborate altarpieces of the subject were made. Often large in size, they were for the most part dismantled or destroyed at the time of the Reformation.⁴

K 2053

Mary Cleophas is shown seated on a bench, facing right, with her richly-clad father (his left hand placed upon the end of the wooden bench) opposite her in left profile at the extreme right of the panel, and her husband, in red hat and robe, in the center. Also depicted are Mary Cleophas's four sons: Jude the Apostle, seated on her lap; the Apostle Simon to the right of Jude; Joseph the Just in quasi-priestly (Jewish) garb at the right, reaching up to his infant brother; the Apostle James the Less teasing a dog with his whirligig at the lower left.

K 2054

St. Anne's daughter Mary Salome is seated at the center; the father, Salomas, wearing a hat worn by German Jews in the Middle Ages, is at the left. Salomas's sleeveless overgown, like that worn by Alphaeus in K 2053, may also be characteristic of Jewish attire. Mary Salome's richly garbed husband Zebedee is at the right; her son St. James the Greater stands at the right reading the Bible (one of his attributes). Her other son, St. John the Evangelist, is seated at the lower left writing the Book of Revelation. His attribute, the eagle, is in the foreground. A step or recess is shown at the lower right.

After initial publication in the *Kann Catalogue*, K 2053/4 were included in Weizinger's study of the Strigel family; he identified them as wings from a Holy Kinship altar, works of the highest quality, in good condition, and in the artist's mature style.⁵ Baum dated the panels c. 1520–28.⁶ Otto characterized K 2053/4 as among the finest devotional

works by Strigel, placing them c. 1520. She postulated that the Kress panels are sections from an altarpiece of the Holy Kinship in which the central group showed the Holy Family with Mary's parents Anne and Joachim. In view of the considerable height of the panels she suggested that this central composition was sculpted. Otto proposed the Memminger sculptor Hans Thoman, who had already worked with Strigel in 1515, as the author of the lost group.⁷ Suida (*Denver*, 1954, p. 64) dated the panels c. 1525. Suida-Shapley (p. 172) pointed out that since both Mary Salome and Mary Cleophas face right, the panels probably came from the left side of a large altarpiece such as Strigel's *Holy Kinship Altar* of c. 1505 from Mindelheim (Nuremberg, German. Nationalmuseum), whose movable wings include ten panels depicting relatives of the Virgin.

Stange dated the panels c. 1510, and considered them among Strigel's best works and close to his series of the *Legend of the True Cross* (Metternich family castle, Königswart, Marienbad, Czechoslovakia). He suggested that the lost central group may have resembled that of the *Biberacher Sippenaltar* (Biberach, near Ulm).⁸ Rettich found Stange's dating too early and placed the Kress panels c. 1520, relating them to an *Eliud and Memelia with the Infant Servatius* (East Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Text Fig. 7), and seeing in all these works the influence of Lucas Cranach the Elder and Hans Holbein the Elder.⁹ Otto included K 2053/4 among the artist's late works, finding physiognomical correspondences between them and the diptych of a related subject executed for the humanist Johannes Cuspinian, who in 1515 ordered Strigel to paint portraits of Maximilian and his family in the guise of the *Holy Kinship* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).¹⁰ However, Otto thought the Kress panels finer in concept and technique than those in Vienna. She quoted Buchner's suggestion that Cleophas represents a donor portrait, but points out that the same facial type is often seen in Strigel's work.¹¹ Otto suggested that the *Eliud and Memelia* (Text Fig. 7) originally belonged to the same altar as K 2053/4, where it would have been on the back of one of the Kress panels. The author also proposed that another (lost) panel, which must have depicted Elizabeth and Zacharias with their son John the Baptist, would have been on the back of the other Kress painting.¹² In her proposed reconstruction of the *Holy Kinship Altar* to which K 2053/4 originally belonged, Otto suggested a central sculpture group of the Holy Family with St. Anne, Joachim, Salomas, and Zebedee as shown in the *Hutzelaltar* by Martin Schaffner, dated 1521 (Ulm, Cathedral). Like the depictions of the same subjects in the latter, the Kress panels would have only been seen when the altar was open, the family of Mary Cleophas at the left, and that of Mary Salome at the right.¹³ Otto commented upon the Washington panels' remarkable plasticity and glowing color, a feature which Strigel's art acquired in the fifteen or so years between his depictions of the same subjects in the altar at Mindelheim (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum).¹⁴

Many possibilities exist for a reconstruction of the original altar scheme for which the Kress panels were painted. Although it has been suggested that the central group was

a sculpture in the round, it may well have been in high relief (e.g. the *Sippenaltar* attributed to the early von Kulmbach).¹⁵ A date a few years before Strigel's death in 1528 seems appropriate for the paintings of the great *Holy Kinship Altar* to which the Kress panels belong. All recent writers recognize the new clarity and monumentality of these works, qualities which argue for the most mature and accomplished phase of the German painter's art. The costume in K2053/4, although based upon fashions of various periods, is in large part that of fashionable German attire of c. 1530, which also points to a late date. The gold, textile-like background and some of the exotic costumes survive from the earlier, c. 1505 rendering of the subject at Mindelheim, but the Washington panels are less Gothic, abandoning the earlier concern with eccentric physiognomy, perhaps indicating in Strigel's last years a new, almost Renaissance interest in ideal beauty. Considering its Italian provenance, K2053/4 may prove to have been ordered for a German-sponsored chapel there. In Strigel's day many Northern mercantile colonies formed their own religious societies, subsidizing special chapels for their devotions in Venice, Florence, Rome, etc.

Provenance: Private collection, Florence, sold to London, Thomas Agnew and Son, 19 May 1900, with the participation of Fairfax Murray, presumably the owner's agent, and Haskard (English bankers in Florence). Sold to Rodolphe Kann in 1900. Rodolphe Kann until before 1914 (Wilhelm von Bode, *Catalogue de la Collection Rodolphe Kann*, Paris, 1907, II, nos. 115 (K2053, as *Holy Family*) and 116 (K2054, as *The Virgin Instructing the Child Jesus*). Bromberg Collection, Hamburg. Dr. Emden, Hamburg.¹⁶ Basel, private collection. New York, Wildenstein and Co., exhibited – Kansas City, Missouri, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, *Seventh Anniversary Exhibition*, 1940–41, Cat. No. 56. Indianapolis, Indiana, John Herron Art Museum, *Holbein and His Contemporaries*, 1950, Cat. No. 68. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) See Gertrud Otto, *Bernhard Strigel*, Munich–Berlin, 1964. (2) This material is quoted from Panofsky, I, pp. 495–6, n. 1. See also *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, trans. and adapted by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, London, New York, Toronto, 1941, II, p. 520. Another text, especially popular in the sixteenth century, was Trithemius von Sponheim, *De Laudibus Sanctissimae Matris Annae*, Mainz, 1499. (3) Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige Anna*, Düsseldorf, 1930, pp. 269 f. For the expanded Holy Kinship – beyond the traditional seventeen, enlarged to include the parents of St. Servatius of Maastricht, as shown in the Berlin panel – see M. Lejeune, *De Legendarische Stamboom van Sint Servaas* (Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limburg à Maastricht), 1941. (4) For this theme see Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1925, pp. 217–20; Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 ff., 263 ff. and Réau, II, 2, pp. 141–6. (5) 'Der Maler-Familie der "Strigel" in der ehemals freien Reichsstadt Memmingen', *Festschrift des Münchener Altertumsvereins, zur Erinnerung an das 50. Jahr Jubiläum*, Munich, 1914, p. 143. (6) Thieme–Becker, xxxii,

p. 189, no. 45. (7) Otto, 'Zwei Sippenbilder von Bernhard Strigel', *Memminger Geschichts-Blätter*, 1951, pp. 1–2. (8) Stange, VIII, pp. 144 ff. (9) E. Rettich, 'Bernhard Strigel, Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu Alfred Stanges "Deutsche Malerei der Gotik"', VIII, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xxii, 1959, pp. 158–66. (10) The Emperor is Cleophas; Mary of Burgundy: Mary Cleophas; Philip the Fair; James the Less, etc.; the companion panel shows Cuspinian with his second wife and sons as the family of Mary Salome. Painted in Vienna, Oct. 1520 (Count Wilczek, Schloss Seebarn). The Holy Family with Anna and Joachim and the family of St. John the Baptist are on the verso of the Maximilian group dated 1520 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). (11) For example the *True Cross* series (*Christ Bearing the Cross*), where he is the patrician standing next to Maximilian; and in the *Death of the Virgin* (formerly Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts), as the third Apostle from the right in the foreground. Otto (1964, pp. 48–51) suggests that Salomas (K2054) may possibly be a member of the donor family. (12) Otto, 1964, *op. cit.*, p. 50, Cat. No. 38c. The Berlin panel measures 125 × 65 cm. (13) However, Lustenberger sees the influence of K2053 and K2054 on the depictions of the same subjects in the wings of the *Hutzaltar*. As the resemblance is not close, the dating of the Schaffner altarpiece does not provide a *terminus ante quem* for the Kress panels. (Susanne Lustenberger, *Martin Schaffner, Maler zu Ulm*, Ulm, 1959, Cat. No. 21, pp. 146–53, p. 149.) (14) Otto, 1964, *op. cit.*, figs. 49 and 50. (15) Friedrich Dörnhöffer, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der älteren Nürnberger Maler', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxix, 1906, p. 481, published the *Sippenaltar*. (16) Not recorded in the Berlin, 1931 sale of Dr. Max Emden Collection (Hamburg), nor those of Dr. Herman Emden in Hamburg, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1915. The Bromberg and Emden ex colls. were supplied by Wildenstein.

GEORG BREU THE ELDER

Georg Breu the Elder was born in Augsburg c. 1475 and died there in 1537. He was probably apprenticed in the city of his birth to Ulrich Apt the Elder, in 1493.¹ His early works also show the influence of Hans Burgkmair the Elder, one of the most prominent artists of Augsburg, a major German art center. The painter's travel years were spent in the Danubian region. He is assumed to have made an Italian journey c. 1514–15. First active as an independent master in 1501, Breu's career included works in fresco painting, designs for painted glass, manuscript decoration, printmaking, and fortification design. Many of his commissions were given by the Emperor Maximilian. A prominent Lutheran, Breu acquiesced to the destruction of much of his oeuvre during the Reformation. His son Georg Breu the Younger continued the atelier.

Style of GEORG BREU THE ELDER

K1881 : Figure 27

SAINT GEORGE AND THE DRAGON. Raleigh, North Carolina, Museum of Art (CL 60.17.64), since 1960. Oil on pine. $13\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ in. (35.3 × 35.0 cm.). Fogg Art Museum, label on back: 127.1938, Julius Loeb. An old inscription, formerly on the back 'Albrecht Altdorfer von Altdorf', is recorded in the Herron Catalogue (see *Provenance*). Panel cradled by Modestini in 1957; some restoration. Raleigh, 1960, p. 130.

The painted roundel shows a knight in armor and white plumed helmet upon a rearing charger; both horse and rider are in left profile against a mountainous landscape with a castle at the upper left. A dragon at the lower left is impaled by the knight's lance. A crowned female figure, her hands folded in prayer, a lamb at her side, is seen kneeling in the upper left middle ground. K1881 depicts St. George of Cappadocia, delivering the princess from the dragon.² The roundel is thinly painted and executed with great spontaneity and fluidity, especially in the landscape areas which are rendered in the Danubian style. Although the composition of K1881 is reminiscent of the rectangular depiction of the same subject in an Altdorfer engraving of 1511 (B.55), it is probably taken from the roundel of *St. George and the Dragon* by Schongauer (B.31).

A certificate by Max J. Friedländer, dated Berlin, 24 November 1928, stating that K1881 is a well-preserved painting by Breu the Elder of c. 1520, is described in the 1947 sale catalogue (see *Provenance*) and was included with the painting at that date, but is now lost. A second certificate signed by Max J. Friedländer in Amsterdam, 1 August 1947, repeated this view. Friedländer associated K1881 with a drawing of the same format in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden.³ According to the Raleigh Catalogue of 1960 (p. 130), Breu's depiction of the horse may be based on that in Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* and on the art of Cranach. The latter is also listed as a possible source for the landscape setting. Kuhn questioned the attribution of the roundel to Breu, dating K1881 c. 1520.⁴ This date conforms with the style of the armor which is typical for that year.

While there are several correspondences between K1881 and the oeuvre of George Breu the Elder, the free-flowing Danubian quality of this roundel is not entirely consistent with the work of that master, despite his association with the Danubian School. Its numerous affinities with the art of Altdorfer and Cranach suggest that K1881 was painted by an artist in the circle of Breu who was open to other influences.

Provenance: All the following catalogues listed K1881 as by Georg Breu, c. 1500. London, Knoedler and Co., exhibited – Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Catalogus van de Tentoonstelling van oude Kunst* – July–Sept. 1936, Cat. No. 19. Julius Loeb, exhibited – Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, *The Horse, its Significance in Art*, Apr.–May 1938, Cat. No. 3. Sold, New York, Parke-Bernet, 8 May

1947, Cat. No. 18, from Knoedler and Co. New York, Frederick A. Stern, exhibited – Columbus, Ohio, Columbus Gallery of Art, *The Gothic North*, 1949, Cat. No. 6, listed as ex coll. Charles Loeb, New York; Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, *A Loan Exhibition of German Paintings, 1400–1550*, 1949, Cat. No. 1; Indianapolis, Indiana, John Herron Art Museum, *Holbein and His Contemporaries*, 1950, Cat. No. 9. A. R. Ball, Boston and New York. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) K. Röttinger, *Thieme–Becker*, IV, pp. 594–6; E. Kroher, *Kindlers*, I, pp. 528–34. For the most extensive discussion and illustrations of this artist's work see Ernst Buchner, 'Der Ältere Breu als Maler', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, 1928, II, pp. 272–368. (2) See Réau, III, 2, pp. 571–9 for the iconography of St. George. (3) Neg. no. KK382. The Dresden drawing, there recorded as North German, c. 1500, has several variations from K1881: the horse is differently caparisoned, the knight in three-quarter view, the landscape unrelated. No princess is shown. (4) Charles Kuhn, *Catalogue of German Paintings of the Middle Ages and Renaissance in American Collections*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 66, Cat. No. 276.

HANS BALDUNG GRIEN

Hans Baldung Grien was born c. 1484/5 at Gmünd (Swabia), where his erudite, noble family originated; he died at Strasbourg in 1545.¹ After presumably training in Strasbourg (c. 1500), Baldung Grien was active in Dürer's Nuremberg studio until 1506. His first known dated work is the *St. Sebastian Altar* of 1507 for the Stadtkirche at Halle (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum). He returned to Strasbourg from Halle in 1509, where he married, became a Burger and a master painter. In addition to being an outstanding painter, he was a leading graphic artist whose powerful prints reflected his highly original, forceful aesthetic. His expressive art is characterized by an extraordinary fusion of Renaissance humanism and medieval mysticism.

K1972 : Figure 32

ST. ANNE WITH THE CHRIST CHILD, THE VIRGIN AND ST. JOHN BAPTIST. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1614), since 1956. Mixed technique on panel (probably pine), transferred to masonite. $34\frac{1}{4} \times 29\frac{7}{8}$ in. (87.0 × 75.9 cm.). Inscribed on the throne, to the right of St. Anne's head: HGB [monogram]. Her halo is inscribed: S ANNA; the Virgin's to the right: MARIA; the Baptist's at the left: S IOHANE[s]. When first published, K1972 and its companion piece were shown to be poorly preserved, with numerous splits and losses.² Many losses in background above head of St. Anne, above head of St. John Baptist, to lower left of elbow of Christ, below the lamb, on back of lamb, and drapery of St. John Baptist. Underdrawing visible for arcades at top of throne that were never painted. K1972 was transferred by Suhr from panel to veneered and cradled masonite and restored shortly before 1953. Suida–Shapley, p. 26, Cat. No. 5. Color reproduction in Broadley, p. 33.

St. Anne is enthroned, embracing both the nude Christ Child seated on her lap and her daughter Mary who stands at the right. Mary and her Son jointly hold a fruit. St. John Baptist kneels at the left, pointing downward with his left hand to a nimbed lamb lying on the floor, and with his right to the Christ Child. A landscape is seen through an arcade at the upper left. The representation of the group at the right, especially frequent in Germany in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, is known as the *Anna Selbdritt*.³ Concerned with the genealogy of Christ, this group symbolized the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.⁴ The curious pose in which Jesus and Mary jointly hold a fruit refers to their roles as the new Adam and the new Eve in the redemption of mankind. Their placement before the throne probably refers to Jesus and Mary as groom and bride and to Mary's coronation in Heaven. Mary's hand on her distended stomach may refer to the Virgin Birth. The Baptist's proximity to both Christ as Bridegroom and as the Lamb of God recalls several Biblical passages. His pose, pointing to both Lamb and Christ, refers to John 1:29–30, when the Baptist, seeing Jesus approach him, said, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.' The lamb is symbolic of Christ as the Sacrifice for the Redemption of Mankind. John's benediction of the group at the right recalls his words: 'He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease.' (John 3:29–30).

Pariset first published K1972 and its pendant *St. John on Patmos* (Text Fig. 8). He related the composition of the Kress panel to a small woodcut by Baldung Grien illustrating the *Seelengärtlein* (M. Flach, Strasbourg, 1511). Pariset compared the Virgin to a donatrix in a *Trinity and Mystic Pietà* (London, National Gallery) by the same artist, which he dated 1512, and the Baptist to his depiction in the *Crucifixion* of 1512 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), concluding that K1972 and *St. John on Patmos* belong with works executed by Baldung Grien in Strasbourg c. 1511/12. He noted that the artist was especially concerned with the *Anna Selbdritt* theme between 1510–15.⁵ According to Koch, K1972 and its companion piece, *St. John on Patmos* (Text Fig. 8), were probably painted for the Order of St. John in Strasbourg, for whom the artist also painted the *Mass of St. Gregory* (Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art) in 1511.⁶ Koch dated K1972 in 1511, during the painter's first Strasbourg period.⁷ *Suida-Shapley* (p. 26) followed Buchner's and Koch's suggestions of a dating c. 1511. Möhle observed that the Corot-like landscape of K1972, if by Baldung Grien, is either heavily restored or very unusual for this artist.⁸ Zimmerman followed Koch in dating K1972 in 1511. He further stated that the Kress panel and *St. John on Patmos* (Text Fig. 8, ex coll. Dr. H. Becker, Westfalen) were the wings of a carved shrine.⁹ Oettinger and Knappe dated the Kress panel 1511.¹⁰ Koeplin pointed out that K1972 was extremely rapidly executed, noting that Baldung Grien tended to produce either highly finished, presumably well-paid-for paintings, or much more speedily executed, less expensive ones such as the Kress panel.¹¹

As K1972 and its pendant *St. John on Patmos* are both devoted to St. John – the first to the Baptist, and the second to St. John the Divine – it may well be that they were commissioned by the Order of St. John, as suggested by Koch. The year in which these panels are generally assumed to have been executed is also that of a commission given Baldung Grien by that Order for a *Mass of St. Gregory* now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. K1972 and its companion piece are the same height as the Cleveland picture and could have been incorporated in some common format. A drawing of a standing *Anna Selbdritt* in a landscape setting (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum), attributed by Oettinger and Knappe to Dürer (1503/4), or a similar work, may have been consulted by Baldung Grien for K1972.¹²

Provenance: Village church, Alsace (with *St. John on Patmos*). Dr. Wimpfen, shortly after 1870, purchased from the above (with *St. John on Patmos*).¹³ Siben Collection (daughter of Dr. Wimpfen), Colmar. New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1953, exhibited – Karlsruhe, Kunsthalle, *Hans Baldung Grien Ausstellung*, July–Sept. 1959, pp. 41–2, Cat. No. 15.

References: (1) E. Curjel, *Hans Baldung Grien*, Munich, 1923. A major recent reference for this artist is Carl Koch, *Die grossen Deutschen*, Berlin, 1956, I, pp. 401–14. (2) For a photograph of K1972 before restoration, see F. G. Pariset, 'Deux oeuvres inédites de Baldung Grien', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XI, 1934, pp. 13–23, fig. 2. (3) See Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige Anna*, Düsseldorf, 1930; Réau, II, 2, pp. 75–9; 84–90; 146–8; *Lexikon der Marienkunde*, I, col. 248; Broadley, p. 32. (4) Baldung Grien illustrated the *Anna Selbdritt* in a landscape setting without the Baptist for the edition of the *Hortulus Animae* published by Martin Flach on 2 Feb. 1511, in Strasbourg. See Pariset, *op. cit.*, p. 20, fig. 1. (5) Pariset, *op. cit.*, p. 20. H. Perseke, *Hans Baldungs Schaffen in Freiburg*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1941, p. 49, seems to suggest a later dating than Pariset's. (6) Koch, 'Über drei Bildnisse Baldungs als künstlerische Dokumente vom Beginn seines Spätstils', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, v, 1951, pp. 57–70, esp. pp. 62, 64. Also Koch letter of 26/vi/57, Kress Archive. (7) *Idem*, 'Katalog der erhaltenen Gemälde, der Einblattholzschnitte und illustrierten Bücher von Hans Baldung-Grien', *Kunstchronik*, VI, 1953, pp. 297–302, esp. p. 297. (8) Hans Möhle, 'Hans Baldung Grien: zur Karlsruher Baldung-Ausstellung', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXII, 1959, pp. 124–32, esp. p. 128. (9) Werner Zimmerman, *Hans Baldung Grien, Ausstellung*, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1959, pp. 41–2, Cat. Nos. 14 (K1972) and 15. The Becker panel was sold at Sotheby's London, 8 Dec. 1971, Cat. No. 28, p. 22, fig. 28 (listed as 'property of a gentleman'). (10) Karl Oettinger and Karl Adolph Knappe, *Hans Baldung Grien und Albrecht Dürer in Nürnberg*, Nuremberg, 1963, n. 247, p. 105. (11) Letter of 1968, Kress Archive. (12) Oettinger and Knappe, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 93, n. 22, pl. 125. In the drawing, the Christ Child holds the fruit while his mother folds her hands in prayer. (13) Pariset, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

HANS SÜSS VON KULMBACH

The birthdate of Hans Süß von Kulmbach is unknown; he died in Nuremberg in 1522. His family originated in Kulmbach, Bavaria. The artist's early training is not clear, but probably took place in Nuremberg under Jacopo de' Barbari. An early associate of Dürer's, von Kulmbach could also have been his apprentice. His first works date from c. 1505. He became a Bürger of Nuremberg in 1511. As dated works of 1511 and 1516 are in Cracow, the artist may have worked in that city, or sent his paintings there from Nuremberg as the centers were in close commercial contact. A master of Dürer's monumental style of the first decade of the sixteenth century, Kulmbach was one of the major artists active in Nuremberg in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.¹

K1594 : Figure 23

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.42.6) since 1960. Mixed technique on panel. $23\frac{3}{8} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$ in. (60.7 × 37.5 cm.). Panel cradled by Pichetto in 1949; cleaned and varnished, and some in-painting by Modestini in 1960; some restoration. Allentown, 1960, p. 90.

Mary is seated at the left on a stone block, holding the nude Christ Child on her lap.² He touches the coins in an open coffer held up to him by the kneeling Melchior, shown in left profile in the right foreground. Two Magi in turbans stand in the background holding fantastic goblets: Caspar, at the left, one for incense, and Balthasar, to the right, another for myrrh. The Adoration takes place against a Romanesque masonry wall.³

Bermann dated K1594 c. 1513.⁴ According to Buchner, it belongs to a Marian altar probably dating from the second decade of the sixteenth century, from which four other panels survive: *Annunciation* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum); *Nativity* (Bayreuth, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen); *Ascension* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and the *Death of the Virgin*, a predella.⁵ Kuhn dated K1594 c. 1515, relating it stylistically to the *Adoration of the Magi* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) which he believed to date from that year.⁶ Stadler pointed out that the *Ascension* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) is based upon Dürer's woodcut of c. 1509–11 from the *Small Passion* (B.50), giving 1511 as the *terminus post quem* for the Marian altar to which the Kress and Metropolitan panels belonged. He believed K1594 to have formed part of the wings of a Marian altar which included (in addition to the Nuremberg *Annunciation*, Bayreuth *Nativity*, and New York *Ascension*) four paintings in Leipzig (Museum der bildenden Künste). Approximately the same size as K1594, they show the *Birth of the Virgin*, *Visitation*, *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, and *Pentecost*. Stadler suggested that the central panel may have been the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).⁷ The latter was once inscribed with the date 1514. Winkler pointed out that the artist painted three

surviving altarpieces devoted to the Life of the Virgin: K1594 with the companion pieces first cited by Buchner as one, a group in Bamberg as a second and the Leipzig panels as the third.⁸ In 1961 Strieder dated the *Adoration of the Magi* c. 1512/13, part of a Marian cycle. He described the painting as more developed in style than the Leipzig panels, contemporary with the *Tucher Epitaph* of 1513 (Nuremberg, S. Sebald).⁹ According to Strieder the *Annunciation* and the *Nativity*, recorded in the nineteenth century in Nuremberg, came from the same altar as K1594. He assumed the altarpiece was originally painted for a Nuremberg church.¹⁰

The subjects of the eight panels which, including the Kress *Adoration*, were grouped by Stadler as the wings of a complete Marian triptych do not work out convincingly. There may have been a more complex wing organization for the altarpiece, allowing for the addition of further subjects. K1594 and the other seven panels may have belonged with a now unknown central painting rather than the Vienna *Coronation*. The predella of the *Death of the Virgin* which appeared at the Stallforth Sale together with K1594 and the Metropolitan *Ascension* seems, as pointed out by Stadler, to be earlier in style than the Kress panel and to belong to some other project, contrary to Buchner's view.¹¹ The *Adoration of the Magi* is a fine example of von Kulmbach's mature style. Although very freely inspired by Dürer's woodcut of the *Holy Family and the Magi* of 1511 (B.3), K1594 has an economy and spontaneity characteristic of Kulmbach. Strieder's dating of 1512/13 seems correct.

Provenance: Stallforth Collection, Wiesbaden, with *Ascension* (now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and *Death of the Virgin* (1936, Munich, Fleischmann Gallery) – all three sold 1919 (Helbings, Munich, 1 Oct. 1919, Cat. No. 110). Voltz Collection, The Hague. New York and Munich, A. S. Drey as early as 1928, exhibited – New York, Schaeffer Galleries, *Early German Paintings*, 1937, Cat. No. 15. New York, Paul Drey. Kress acquisition 1948, exhibited – Indianapolis, Ind., John Herron Art Museum, *Holbein and His Contemporaries*, 1950, Cat. No. 43. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, *Meister um Dürer*, 1961, p. 103, Cat. No. 161c.

References: (1) See Ernst Buchner, *Thieme-Becker*, xxii, pp. 92–5; Franz Stadler, *Hans von Kulmbach*, Vienna, 1936; Peter Strieder, *Kindlers*, iii, pp. 775–80. (2) The square seat is symbolic of virtue. See R. Wittkower, 'Space, Time and Virtue', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1, 1937–38, pp. 313–21. (3) A drawing has been regarded by Friedrich Winkler (*Die Zeichnungen Hans Süß von Kulmbachs und Hans Leonhard Schäußleins*, Berlin, 1942, p. 62, Cat. No. 45) as preparatory to K1594: *Adoration of the Magi* (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum). However, the architectural background is in ruins; foliate cartouches are placed at the upper left and right which provide an arch-like enclosure at the top. There are also numerous differences in the depiction of the Magi. It is far from certain that the Budapest drawing was specifically preparatory to the Kress panel. A study of the Holy Family for a painted

glass window donated by Michael Ketzler (Nuremberg) (Frankfurt Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Winkler, *op. cit.* Cat. No. 69) shows the Virgin and Child in a pose similar to that of K1594. Another drawing for the same window (formerly Vienna, O. Bondy Collection, Winkler, Cat. No. 71) shows some similarity with the standing Magi in K1594. (4) Hans Bermann, 'Hans Süss von Kulmbach', Leipzig, 1923, unpublished dissertation, p. 66. (5) Buchner, *op. cit.*, p. 93. In 1936 the predella was in the Fleischmann Gallery, Munich. (6) Charles L. Kuhn, *A Catalogue of German Paintings of the Middle Ages and Renaissance in American Collections*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p. 56, Cat. No. 208. (7) Franz Stadler, *Hans von Kulmbach*, Vienna, 1936, pp. 19-20, Cat. No. 63c. The Leipzig panels were drastically 'restored' in the nineteenth century. Harry B. Wehle and Margaretta Salinger (*A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1947, p. 189), followed Stadler's views, but pointed out that the Leipzig panels differ in style and surface, possibly due to nineteenth-century repainting. (8) Winkler, *Hans von Kulmbach*, Bayreuth, 1959, pp. 69-70. (9) Strieder, *Meister um Dürer*, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 1961, p. 103. See also Kindlers, III, p. 776. The paintings were published by R. von Rettberg, *Nürnberg's Kunstleben, in seinen Denkmälern dargestellt, ein Führer für Einheimische und Fremde*, Stuttgart, 1854, p. 139. (10) Strieder, *Meister um Dürer*, p. 103. (11) Stadler, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 34.

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Hans Holbein the Younger was born in Augsburg in 1497/8 and died in London in 1543. His father, a major artist of northern Europe, had an extremely large studio in Augsburg before moving to Isenheim and then to Berne. Both Hans Holbein the Younger and his brother Ambrosius were first trained in their father's atelier. In 1513-14 the brothers left for Basle and were active as print designers for book illustrations. Hans Holbein the Younger probably went to Northern Italy; he returned to Basle where he married and where his family was to remain. In 1524 he journeyed to France and in 1526 to the Netherlands. From 1526 onwards the major part of Holbein's portraits were executed in England, where he resided from 1526 through 1528 and from 1532 to 1543. He was referred to as a 'royal servant' of Henry VIII in 1537. Best known for his meticulous, restrained yet compelling portraits, Holbein also painted religious subjects, large-scale altarpieces, portrait miniatures and tabletops. He designed frescoed façades in the renaissance manner and works in precious metal. Little is known of his earliest oeuvre, since his portraits from this phase are so closely linked to those by his father and by his brother Ambrosius.¹

Attributed to

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

K1892 : Figure 16

YOUNG MAN IN AN ORANGE HAT. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1381), since 1961. Oil² on linden. 9¼ × 7⅜ in. (23.5 × 18.7 cm.). Painted surface: 8⅝ × 6⅝ in. (21.9 × 16.8 cm.). Several splits and many small blisters have necessitated some restoration. Restored c. 1931³ and by Suhr shortly before 1952 and by Modestini in 1955. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 106, Cat. No. 38 [Hans Holbein the Younger]. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pl. 82.

A young man in an orange hat, his shirt of pink and yellow *changeant* material open at the throat, is shown in bust-length, facing to the right, in three-quarter view. His hair is tousled and his attire suggests informality. A pink flower is stuck in his hat which also has a dark colored ribbon drawn through the slashes in the brim.

K1892 was attributed to Ambrosius Holbein (died c. 1519) when it was in the Rothschild Collection (Vienna), until Baldass published it as an early work by Hans Holbein the Younger in 1931. He related it to the depiction of a young man dated 1518 (Leningrad, Hermitage) by Ambrosius Holbein, but pointed out that the facial expression was unlike that of the latter, closer to Hans Holbein the Younger's portraits of *Jacob Meyer and his Wife* of 1516 (Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung). Baldass placed K1892 as executed by Hans Holbein the Younger prior to the von Hertenstein portrait of 1517 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), describing the Kress painting as Holbein's first portrait with a neutral background, its compositional and coloristic qualities close to the *Youth* of 1515 (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum) signed HH, whose attribution is disputed between the Elder and the Younger Holbein.⁴ According to Schmid, the Washington panel is a work of very high quality, its composition close to works of Ambrosius Holbein, but its modeling superior to the latter, pointing to authorship by Hans Holbein the Younger, but somewhat later in date than suggested by Baldass.⁵ Hugelshofer observed that K1892 follows Hans Holbein the Younger's graphic style of the Basle years, and found that it presents a composition to be followed by German portraits of the Reformation. He pointed out that such images, with their abstract backgrounds, were cheaper in price than those with architectural interiors or landscapes and proposed a date of c. 1520 for the Kress panel, executed by Hans Holbein the Younger after his return to Basle from Lucerne. He indicated that similar models are to be found in drawings by the painter dated 1522 (New York, Morgan Library).⁶ Ganz did not accept K1892 as by Holbein.⁷ *Suida-Shapley* (*loc. cit.*) cited Max J. Friedländer, Paul Ganz, Georg Swarzenski and Jakob Rosenberg as stating that K1892 is a work by Hans Holbein the Younger. Boerlin's Holbein catalogue placed K1892 with the oeuvre of Ambrosius Holbein, but dated it toward the middle of the century. Neither the handling, the *changeant* color, nor the form of K1892 are viewed by Boerlin as characteristic of Hans Holbein the Younger.⁸ Baldass disputed

the above view, re-affirming his original attribution.⁹ The Washington portrait was dated c. 1520 by Seymour (pp. 90 and 202, n. 20), when Hans Holbein the Younger came into contact with Italian art in Basle. He believed that Boerlin's objections to the Hans Holbein the Younger attribution were not conclusive since the uncharacteristic qualities of K1892 might be due to the influence of Ambrosius Holbein upon his brother at an early stage of his career. Most recently Boerlin suggested that the Kress painting is a work contemporary with the art of Tobias Stimmer (1539–84).¹⁰

The portrait, while it has numerous affinities with the styles of both Ambrosius Holbein and his younger brother, is not entirely compatible with the oeuvre of either. Its unusually expressive, emotional quality relates to other artists active in Basle in the 1520s such as the author of a drawing of a *Young Man in Profile* attributed to Hans Funk.¹¹ The sitter's attire also points to a date around 1520. Boerlin's mid-sixteenth-century placement seems too late; but his objections to the Hans Holbein the Younger attribution and his grouping of the Kress painting with Ambrosius Holbein in the Basle catalogue may prove correct. K1892 was intended as a personal record rather than as an official, formal portrait. Its spontaneous, immediate quality is in keeping with the Swiss mode of the first half of the sixteenth century: militant yet romantically independent. The painter was probably active in the environs of Basle in the first third of the sixteenth century, working in a style close to that of Hans Holbein the Younger, but perhaps open to a somewhat freer, more subjective approach often linked to the Danubian School. If by Holbein the Younger, the Kress panel was probably executed within two years after the *Young Man with a Red Beret* (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum), which is similar in form. It is, as noted by Baldass, comparable in handling to the *Jacob Meyer* of 1516 (Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung) but considerably more free in treatment.¹²

Provenance: Baron Louis de Rothschild, Vienna, exhibited – Houston, Texas, Houston Museum of Fine Arts, *Seventeen Masters of Painting*, 15 Jan.–15 Feb. 1950, Cat. No. 20. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1952, exhibited – Basle, Kunstmuseum, *Die Malerfamilie Holbein in Basel*, June–Sept. 1960, p. 134, Cat. No. 92, as Ambrosius Holbein.

References: (1) For the biography of Holbein the Younger see A. Woltmann, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1876. See also Paul Ganz, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein*, London, 1956. (2) According to Modestini. The medium is given as tempera by P. H. Boerlin, *Die Malerfamilie Holbein in Basel*, Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1960, p. 134, Cat. No. 92. (3) Photographs of K1892 before and after a restoration of c. 1931 appear in Ludwig Baldass, 'Ein Frühwerk Hans Holbeins des Jüngeren', *Kunstchronik und Kunstliteratur*, supplement to *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1931–32, p. 61. (4) *Ibid.*, pp. 60–1. (5) H. A. Schmid, *Hans Holbein der Jüngere*, Basle, 1948, I, p. 69. (6) Walter Hugelshofer, 'Die Anfänge Hans Holbeins des Jüngeren als Bildnismaler', *Phoebus*, II, 1949, pp. 60–70, esp. pp. 67–70. (7) Paul Ganz, *Hans Holbein der*

Jüngere, Basle, 1950, p. vii. (8) Boerlin, *loc. cit.* (9) Baldass, 'Offene Fragen auf der Basler Holbein Ausstellung von 1960', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, xv, 1961, pp. 81–96, esp. p. 87. (10) Letter of 22/vii/68 from Peter Boerlin in Kress Archive. (11) Walter Hugelshofer, *Swiss Drawings, Smithsonian Institute*, 1967–68, pl. 28, Cat. No. 28. (12) See Note 9, above. The Darmstadt portrait is reproduced by Ganz, *op. cit.*, pl. 58; the Meyer portrait is *ibid.*, pl. 59.

ALBRECHT ALTDORFER

Born c. 1480, probably in Regensburg, Altdorfer died there in 1538.¹ He was first known to have been active in 1506; several paintings are dated 1507. Active as a printmaker and architect, as well as painter, Altdorfer was one of the major artists of the Danubian School, celebrated for his brilliant romantic landscapes and his extraordinary gifts in working on a miniature scale. Like many artists of the German Renaissance, Altdorfer worked in the devotional and humanistic genres.

Circle of ALBRECHT ALTDORFER

K1849A : Figure 28

THE RULE OF BACCHUS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1110), since 1952. Oil on linden transferred to masonite by Suhr c. 1950. 15½ × 6¼ in. (38.7 × 15.9 cm.). Inscribed² on a broad white band at the top: [H]VI [S]ANAS MEN[T]ES FE[BRIS]/QVVM BACCHIC[A]/TVRBAT ('... oh woe when Bacchic fever confuses the healthy spirit.') Cleaned by Suhr c. 1951; well preserved. Suida-Shapley, p. 20, Cat. No. 1. Reproduced in color as the left wing of a triptych with K1849B and C in Broadley, p. 27.

K1849B : Figure 29

THE FALL OF MAN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1110), since 1952. Oil on linden transferred to masonite by Suhr c. 1950. 15½ × 12 in. (38.7 × 30.5 cm.). Pentimenti of raised arms of Adam and Eve within branches.³ Veneered and cradled; considerable abrasion and extensive worm tunneling on original panel; loss of paint surface to the left of Adam's head; cleaned by Suhr c. 1951. Suida-Shapley, p. 20, Cat. No. 1.

K1849C : Figure 30

THE RULE OF MARS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1110), since 1952. Oil on linden transferred to masonite by Suhr c. 1950. 15½ × 6¼ in. (38.7 × 15.9 cm.). Inscribed on a broad white band at the top: TVNC [D]VRIT[E]R [PA]CTVM/MISCET MARS IMPIVS/ORBEM ('Unity will be hard to achieve when the impious Mars shatters the earth.') Cleaned by Suhr c. 1951; well preserved. Suida-Shapley, p. 20, Cat. No. 1.

K1849, now assembled as a triptych entitled *The Fall of Man*, was originally two wings of a larger work whose central section had been lost by the late nineteenth century. The left wing showed *Adam* (front) and *Bacchus* (back) and the right had *Eve* (front) and *Mars* (back). The wings were later joined so as to form a single panel with *Adam* next to *Eve* on one side and *Bacchus* and *Mars* on the other. After 1930 this panel was sawed through, separating front from back. The latter was then divided, restoring the *Bacchus* and *Mars* to the wing format, placed to the left and right of the *Adam* and *Eve*, which substituted for the lost central panel so as to create a triptych.

The nude *Adam* and *Eve* are depicted after the Fall (Genesis 3:1–13), placed against a dark forest setting with a stag at the centre and a lion at the right. The serpent appears on a bough overhead with the apple in its jaws. Standing before the apple tree, *Eve* holds the bitten fruit toward *Adam*, who braces himself against another tree, the right arm and index finger raised. The mysterious illumination of the *Adam* and *Eve*, stemming from their brilliant naked flesh, is found again on the verso – now seen as the wings – where the aureoles behind *Bacchus* and *Mars* seem to throw light upon their respective panels. To the left and right *Bacchus* and *Mars* are each seated within a brightly colored nimbus of pink and yellow clouds placed against a turbulent sky. A dense crowd of nude male figures, many crowned and girdled in vine leaves, are in the lower sections of each wing. In the *Bacchus* panel some of them hold vessels toward the nude god who, wreathed in vineleaves, pours wine from a ewer, while he holds a vine. Several of the figures below *Mars*, who holds a sword and firebrand, carry swords and seem to be shown in combat.

The subject matter of K1849 has been summarized by *Broadley* (p. 26) as intending to serve an instructive rather than a devotional purpose. ‘... [it] explains the nature of sin and how it originated with the disobedient act of *Adam* and *Eve*, who appear in the central panel, where they seem to be pondering the serpent’s fateful advice. Medieval scholars contended that man was constituted of four mysterious fluids or humors: choler, phlegm, blood, and melancholy. In the first man and woman, who were perfect, those fluids were in equilibrium. But when they ate the forbidden fruit, that delicate balance was upset; and man thereafter was subject to the corruptive influence of whichever fluid dominated his system. If choler chanced to predominate, he tended toward envy, anger, and murder. In the panel to the right, choleric men are shown ruled by *Mars*, pagan god of war, who brandishes a sword and flaming torch. The Latin inscription at the top of the panel observes that it is *Mars* who upsets the World. The panel on the left shows the effect of an excess of phlegm. In this situation, under the influence of *Bacchus*, who according to the inscription “confuses the senses of man”, descendants of *Adam* and *Eve* fall prey to gluttony and self-indulgence.’

Benesch related the symbolism of K1849 to the writings of the German humanist and physician *Paracelsus* (*Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim*, c. 1490–1541) in his

Liber de Epidemiis (*Fragmenta medica ad Praecedentia Referenda*).⁵ The author’s correlation of the inscriptions and the subjects of the *Mars* and *Bacchus* to *Paracelsus* are not entirely convincing. However, there can be little doubt that the imagery of the wings is directly dependent upon one of the innumerable astrological, neo-Platonic texts that abounded in early sixteenth-century Germany. *Stange* and *Winzinger*’s suggestion that the central panel may have been a portrait seems unlikely in terms of the scale of the subjects in the wings.⁶ *Baldass*’ proposal of the *Kingdom of Venus* as the missing depiction is more convincing. In reconstructing the original appearance of K1849, *Baldass* suggested that the various panels were wings of a secular altar like that painted by *Martin van Heemskerck* in 1536 (central panel – the *Forge of Vulcan* formerly in Prague, Nostiz collection; wings – *Vulcan Pointing Out Mars and Venus in the Net*, *Vulcan Giving Thetis the Shield of Achilles*, both in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum); the verso of the *Shield of Achilles* formerly showed a *Caritas*, that of the other wing, *Prudentia and Justitia*). Like the *Heemskerck* triptych, the original format of K1849 had depictions of Biblical subjects on the outside and mythological subjects on the inside.⁷ Whatever the lost central subject may have been, it probably continued the scheme of the wings in having an inscription along the top and a similar composition. K1849 was first recorded by *Friedländer* as an accomplished work in the style of *Altdorfer*, but not by his hand. He dated the panels in the 1520s.⁸ *Benesch* described the panels as the wings of a secular triptych. He characterized the inner depictions as devoted to the evil influence of *Bacchus* and *Mars* on mankind. K1849 is compared with *Altdorfer*’s prints of the 1520s, especially *Hercules and the Muses* (B.28) and the standing *Venus* (B.32) and *Allegory* (B.58). The battling figures are related to *Altdorfer*’s B.38. He noted that it is *Altdorfer*’s only known painting of nudes other than the frescoes of bathers (Regensburg, Historischer Verein), and dated the *Kress* panels in the mid-1520s, close in style to the *Lot and his Daughters* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).⁹ *Hugelshofer* found K1849 to be late work by *Altdorfer*, in a painterly, soft style, of c. 1530.¹⁰ In 1939 *Benesch* dated it before 1526, by *Altdorfer*’s hand.¹¹ According to *Baldass*, the *Kress* panels were painted by *Altdorfer* between 1526 and 1528. He related some of the figures to the artist’s engravings of *Venus and Two Putti* (B.35), the *Knight with Visor* (B.50), and the *Horatius Cocles* (B.29).¹² *Suida-Shapley* (*loc. cit.*) also recorded them as by *Altdorfer*, as does *Stange*.¹³ *Ruhmer* dated the *Kress* triptych between 1515 and 1525 as by *Altdorfer*, suggesting that the *Bacchus* may have been meant to be at the right, and the *Mars* at the left. The *Adam* and *Eve* are described as based on the *Dürer* panels of 1507 (Madrid, Prado).¹⁴ The forthcoming monograph by *Franz Winzinger* will record K1849 as from the studio of *Altdorfer*. He points out the dependence of the *Adam* and *Eve* on the *Dürer* engraving of 1504 (B.1) and relates them to *Altdorfer*’s engravings of *Venus* (B.32), the *Allegory* (B.58), and the *Hercules and a Muse* (B.28).¹⁵

Although certain passages of K1849 – most notably the background of the *Adam* and *Eve* – are painted with the

finesse associated with Altdorfer, many other areas are executed in a coarse, summary manner alien to that master. While the Kress painting is not consistently on a level with Altdorfer's art, it is generally superior to the works of the many known minor masters in his circle.

Provenance: Professor F. von Wieser, Innsbruck, c. 1891. Lacher von Eiseck, Bad Tölz, Oberbayern. Walter Feilchenfeld. Baron Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, Lugano,¹⁶ exhibited – Munich, Neue Pinakothek, *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, 1930, Cat. No. 4. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1951.

References: (1) The principal monographs on Altdorfer are Max J. Friedländer, *Albrecht Altdorfer*, Berlin, 1923; Hans Tietze, *Albrecht Altdorfer*, Leipzig, 1923; Otto Benesch, *Der Maler Albrecht Altdorfer*, Vienna, 1939; Ludwig von Baldass, *Albrecht Altdorfer*, Vienna, 1941. (2) For a study of these inscriptions, see Benesch, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 ff. The reconstructed Renaissance Latin inscriptions as given above are taken from the forthcoming monograph by Franz Winzinger. (3) Benesch, 'Altdorfers Badstubenfresken und das Wiener Lotbild', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LI, 1930, pp. 179–88, esp. p. 184. (4) Bacchus to the right, Mars to the left. See Benesch, 1930, *op. cit.*, p. 184, fig. 5. (5) Benesch, 1939, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 33, 48, Cat. Nos. 71, 72. His reference to the lower figures at the left and right is unconvincing. (6) Alfred Stange, *Malerei der Donauschule*, Munich, 1964, pp. 39, 141, Cat. No. 25. (7) Baldass, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 176 ff., 185, 194, 214. (8) Friedländer, *Albrecht Altdorfer*, Leipzig, 1891. Heinemann quoted Friedländer as dating K1849 after 1525 (*Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Munich, Neue Pinakothek, 1930, Cat. No. 4). K1849 is omitted from Friedländer's monograph of 1923 and from Tietze's of the same year. (9) Benesch, 1930, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–5. (10) Walter Hugelshofer, 'Die altdutschen Bilder der Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz', *Cicerone*, xxii, 1930, pp. 405–14, p. 409. (11) Benesch, 1939, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–33, Cat. Nos. 71, 72. (12) Baldass, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 ff. (13) Stange, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 141, Cat. No. 25. (14) Eberhardt Ruhmer, *Albrecht Altdorfer*, Munich, 1965, pp. 18, 52, Cat. No. 12. (15) Letter of 27/xi/67, National Gallery of Art Archive. (16) Rudolf Heinemann, *Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Lugano–Castagnola, 1937, p. 1, Cat. No. 4.

HANS MALER

Hans Maler was born c. 1490 in Ulm where he died c. 1530.¹ His first known work of c. 1510 is a *Holy Kinship* (Sigmaringen, Fürstlich Hohenzollernsches Museum), close in style to the work of Bartholomäus Zeitblom, who was probably his teacher. Maler seems also to have been active in the studio of Bernhard Strigel. Between 1520 and 1523 he made several depictions of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol and in the following two years executed a number of portraits of Anton and Ulrich Fugger, later portraying their financial associates. While his religious art is not notably accomplished, Maler was a skilled portraitist.

K1886 : Figure 3

ANTON FUGGER. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.46.G), since 1960. Oil on panel (probably pine). 14 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 12 in. (36.4 × 30.5 cm.). False monogram HB (for Hans Baldung) was once visible. Inscribed on back: .ALS ICH WAS. XXXI. IAR. IX. MONAT ALT/DO WAS ICH. ALSO GESTALT. ('When I was thirty-one years and nine months old, this is the way I was represented.') Coat-of-arms below the inscription: Party per pale or and gules two fleurs-de-lis countercharged. Crest: a fleur-de-lis parted per pale gules and or between two proboscids or and gules. These arms are the Fuggers's in their design but the colour red (gules) is used wherever blue (azure) occurs in all other known examples of these arms.² Below arms: 1525.³ (See Text Fig. 9.) Extensively cleaned and repainted at an unknown date; verso is far better preserved. Allentown, 1960, p. 100.

A bearded, moustached man with a receding hairline, wearing informal dress and a netted cap is shown in three-quarter view, facing left. He wears an expensively trimmed, open-collared undertunic and a coat with turned-down fur collar. Anton Fugger, a member of the prominent Augsburg mercantile banking family, was born on 10 June 1493, and died in 1560. He was the son of Georg Fugger whose brother, Jakob 'the Rich', was the founder of the family fortune.⁴ This portrait or the model upon which it is based must have been completed about 10 March 1525 to conform with the inscription on the back. The artist also depicted Anton's cousin Ulrich in 1525 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). Lieb thought K1886 may be based upon Maler's Anton Fugger portrait, formerly in Berlin (von Kaufmann collection) which is dated 10 March 1525 and is very close in size to the Kress panel.⁵ The von Kaufmann panel has more highly developed modeling of the features, which K1886 may also have possessed prior to some drastic cleaning.

The panel was first published by Kuhn as a 'Member of the Fugger Family' with the notation that repetitions of this portrait were fairly numerous.⁶ Lieb characterized K1886 as more bourgeois than the von Kaufmann, Bordeaux, and Karlsruhe portraits of Anton Fugger by Maler, which he described as aristocratic.

Maler painted many portraits of the Fugger family; the one most noticeably corresponding to K1886 in style and format is that of Anton's brother Ulrich, also dated 1525 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). It is probable that Maler was commissioned by the banking family to execute a series of portraits for the family portrait gallery at their castle at Babenhausen, where K1886 or another similar portrait by Maler of Anton Fugger would have been placed. As many members of the same family often wished to have portraits of prominent relatives, it may well be that Maler or an assistant was ordered to produce several modified versions of the more formal portraits. K1886 could represent such a reduction, simplifying the Thun

portrait which is in half-length and includes the sitter's hands.

Provenance: Possibly at the Fugger family castle at Babenhausen, near Memmingen, Ulm. H. Ball, Boston and New York.⁷ Katherine Thomas, Boston (1936). New York, Frederick A. Stern. Kress acquisition 1952, exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961–4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 60.

References: (1) Alfred Stange, *Kindlers*, iv, pp. 264–5. See also Heinz von Mackowitz, *Der Maler Hans von Schwaz*, Innsbruck, 1960 (Schlern-Schriften, xix). (2) The usual form of the arms is given in J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général*, 2nd ed., 1, Gouda, 1884–87, p. 724: 'Parti d'or et d'azure; a deux fleur-de-lis de l'un a l'autre. C.: Une fleur-de-lis partie d'azure et d'or; entre deux proboscides, d'or et d'azure.' Neither the director of the Fugger archives, Dr. M. Gräfin Preysing, nor the author of the book *Die Fugger und die Kunst* (Munich, 1958), Norbert Lieb, have ever seen another example of the substitution of red for blue in the Fugger arms and both suggest it might be a restorer's mistake. (3) The Fugger family was ennobled in this year. (4) For a detailed biography see A. Stauber, *Das Haus Fugger*, Augsburg, 1900, and Lieb, *op. cit.*, pp. 361–5. With his older brother Raimund, Anton ran the family bank and was chief financial adviser to Charles V, who ennobled the Fuggers. In addition to his various diplomatic and mercantile activities, Anton was a patron of humanists; Erasmus dedicated an edition of Xenophon to him. (5) Lieb (*ibid.*, pp. 463–7) has compiled the known portraits of Anton Fugger. Among these the following are closely linked to K1886: Cat. No. 4 (fig. 263). Erlau (near Bodenbach, Bohemia), Fürst Thun-Hohenstein. (Discussed pp. 292–3, 463–5.) Signed and dated 1524. Half-length with dark background and different attire from the Kress painting. The sitter's hands are included. Cat. No. 5 (fig. 264). Formerly Berlin, Richard von Kaufmann collection. (Discussed pp. 293–4, 464–5.) Lieb regards the von Kaufmann portrait (dated 10 Mar. 1525) as the basis for a series of replicas by Hans Maler, the first of which is K1886. Except for a more luxuriant fur collar and the presence of the inscription at the upper left, the von Kaufmann portrait is identical with K1886. Cat. No. 6 (K1886), discussed pp. 294, 466. Cat. No. 7 (fig. 266). Bordeaux, Musée de Beaux-Arts, Donation Duffour-Dubergier, 1861. (Discussed pp. 294, 464–5.) Although Lieb (pp. 299, 466) accepts his Cat. No. 7 (Bordeaux) as an original work, it appears on the basis of the reproduction in his book to be a later copy. Cat. No. 8 (fig. 267). Karlsruhe, Kunsthalle. (Discussed pp. 294–5, 464–5.) Inscribed in front with name Anthony Fugger, age 31, 1525, and arms. Format related to the Kress painting, but with darker background and more space at the top and sides. An enlarged copy on linen is in the Fugger collection at Schloss Wellenburg. Cat. No. 9 Schloss Wellenburg, Fugger Collection. (Discussed p. 296.) An enlarged later sixteenth-century copy on linen of Lieb's Cat. No. 8. Cat. No. 10 (fig. 270). Neuilly, collection Marquis de Vasselot

(Discussed pp. 296, 465.) Half-length figure with broad-brimmed hat; composition extremely vertical in format. This does not seem to belong in this series, differing in composition and physiognomy. (6) Charles Kuhn, *Catalogue of German Paintings in American Collections*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 64, Cat. No. 267. According to Otto Benesch ('Beiträge zur oberschwäbischen Bildnismalerei', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, lvi, 1933, pp. 239–54, esp. p. 244) Gustav Glück discovered a fully signed replica of the von Kaufmann portrait of Anton Fugger (smaller in size than the latter) in America. This must have been K1886. (7) K1886 may be the painting listed as a replica of the von Kaufmann painting in a Vienna private collection by Max. J. Friedländer, *Die Sammlung Richard von Kaufmann*, Berlin, 1917, p. ix, Cat. No. 56.

THE KRESS MONOGRAMMIST (FM or FH?)

Unknown but for this *Adoration of the Magi*, the artist was probably active in Southwestern Germany. Part of the Monogrammist's training may perhaps have taken place in Nuremberg, since Dürer provided a major source for his art; however, the painter could have learned of Dürer's achievements largely through prints and those of the *Kleinmeister*. The Kress panel also shows the influence of Netherlandish art such as that of Joos van Cleve and Lucas van Leyden.

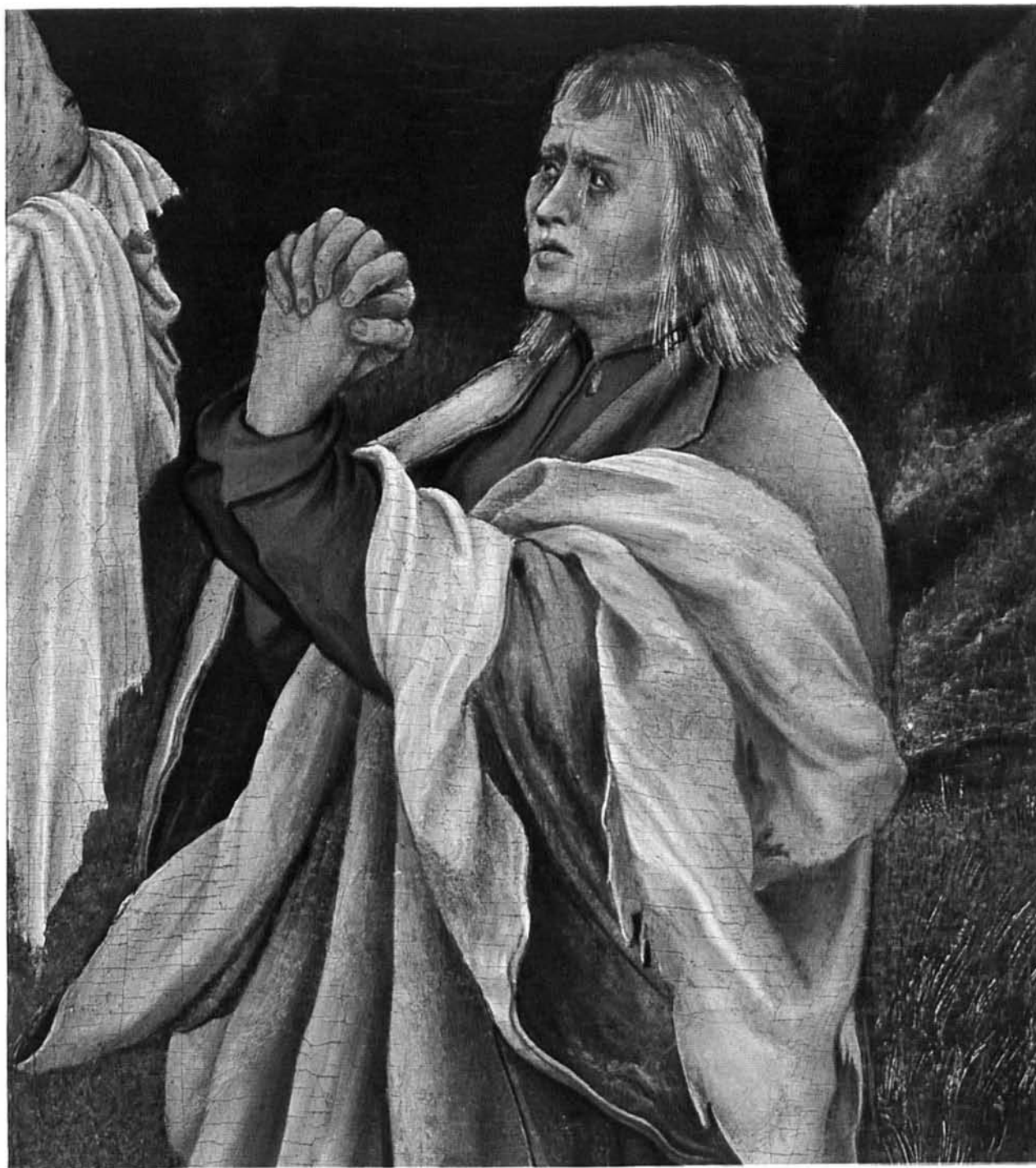
[Heinrich Aldegrever]

K2124 : Figure 31

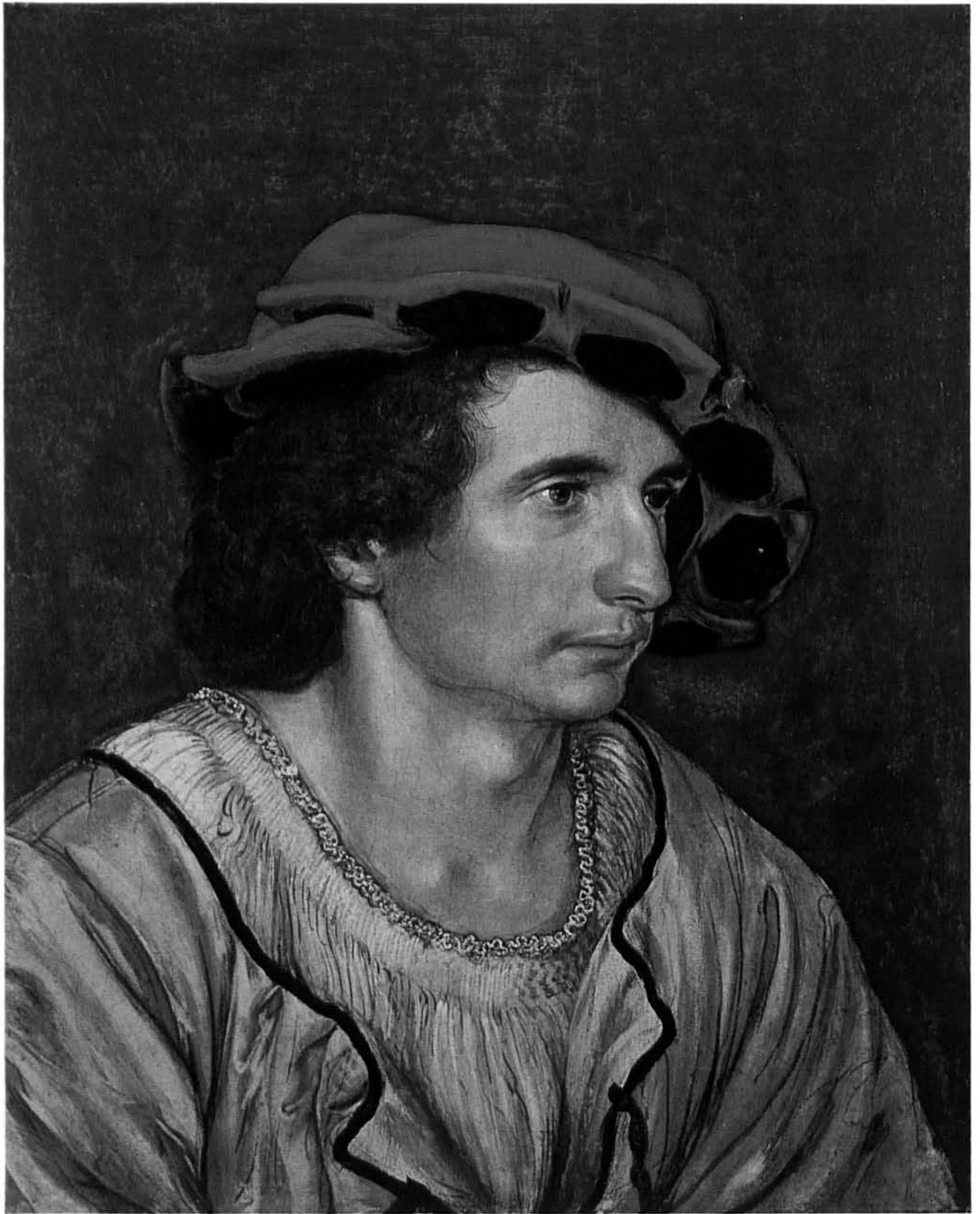
THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.55.6), since 1960. Oil on oak; very thinly applied. 21 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 27 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (54.2 × 69.5 cm.). On the masonry block nearest the steps the initials FM(?) or FH are barely discernible beneath grey overpainting. Some restoration along horizontal split running across panel parallel with top of bowing Magus at center; much underdrawing visible throughout. Seven modern studs on back along original join; some of the faces at sides have been restored.

Allentown, 1960, p. 106 as Heinrich Aldegrever.

The crowded, brilliantly-colored composition shows the adoring Magi (Matthew 2:1–12), accompanied by a vast retinue.¹ The Virgin, seen frontally, is seated before a large ruined building adorned with classical pilasters and swags, suggesting a triumphal arch. A broken column is at the left. A shed built onto the major structure was the scene of the Nativity. Melchior kneels before Jesus holding open a box of coins into which the Christ Child delves. Caspar, a richly dressed figure, bows to the left of the Virgin, holding a vessel for incense. The blond young man wearing a red cap standing between them, looking directly at the beholder, may perhaps be a self-portrait of the artist. Balthasar stands on the steps to the right, holding a covered container for myrrh. Joseph, straw hat in hand, wearing ragged attire and pappas, stands to the right of Mary. A



Mathis Grünewald: Detail from *The Small Crucifixion* (c. 1512). Washington, D.C. (p. 19)



Attributed to Hans Holbein the Younger: *Young Man in an Orange Hat* (c. 1492). Washington, D.C. (p. 32)

large, turbaned figure, seen from the back, stands in the extreme right foreground. A wreathed black in the left foreground holds a lion on a leash. The armed retinue of the Magi with their falconers and hunting dogs are shown at the left and behind the Virgin and Child. The decayed classical setting in which K2124 takes place symbolizes the decline of the Old Law; the column to the left of Mary may represent the one which is listed in Apocryphal sources as at her side at the time of the birth of Christ. The Atlas-supported sundial under the archway is another emblem of the time before Christ.

K2124 is based upon works by Dürer from the first decade of the sixteenth century, especially on the woodcut *Life of the Virgin* (completed before 1506).² It reflects the style of the central panel of the *Heller Altar* (known only from copies) and that of the *Adoration of the Magi* of 1504 (Florence, Uffizi). The frieze-like horizontal scheme recalls that of a Dürer drawing of the same subject of 1524 (Vienna, Albertina) and other later works by the master. The black Magus, the Christ Child with the money box, and the figure of the falconer are from Dürer's woodcut *Adoration of the Magi* of 1511 (B.3). The placement of the artist's monogram is freely adapted from Dürer's in the *Nativity* from the woodcut *Life of the Virgin* (B.85). The kneeling Magus from the *Adoration of the Magi* of the same series (B.87) provided the model for the kneeling Magus, the architectural components, and the source for the horse at the left. The seated dog is taken from Dürer's engraving of St. Eustace (B.57). The Kress panel was first attributed to Aldegrever by Wescher, followed by Valentiner and Stange, who viewed K2124 as probably by Aldegrever.³ Shapley (*Allentown*, p. 106) noted that the painting relates to an *Adoration of the Magi* drawing attributed to Aldegrever formerly in the Wilczek collection (Seebarn).⁴

Paintings by Aldegrever (c. 1502–1555/61) are a matter of controversy; his prints are the only certain aspect of his work.⁵ The monogram discovered on K2124 precludes his authorship of the panel; but it may be contemporary with the works of that master, characterized by a continued reference to and utilization of Dürer's oeuvre. Some of the details of the Kress painting point to derivation from Lucas van Leyden, so that it could well prove to be the work of an eclectic master drawing upon Netherlandish as well as German sources. The use of oak also points away from Nuremberg toward the West. The panel may date from the early years of the second half of the sixteenth century, when a deliberate revival of the art of Dürer and Lucas van Leyden took place. As the specifically identifiable sources of K2124 date c. 1510, the panel must be later in execution.

Provenance: Possibly Arthur Erlanger, New York. Emil Spaeth, New York. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) For the *Adoration of the Magi* see Réau, II, 2, pp. 236–55; Hugo Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1908–9, I–II. The box of coins grasped by Jesus may prefigure his submission to the

arrest. See G. F. Hill, 'The thirty pieces of silver', *Archaeologia*, XIX, 1905, pp. 235–54. (2) Shapley (*Allentown*, p. 106) stated that the artist took 'suggestions . . . from Dürer, choosing from among both paintings and engravings by that master'. (3) All statements in Kress Archive. (4) See Julius Held, 'Heinrich Aldegrever', *Old Master Drawings*, VI, 1932, p. 70, pl. 67. (5) For a recent study, see Rolf Fritz, *Heinrich Aldegrever als Maler*, Dortmund, 1959. For *Adorations of the Magi* formerly attributed to Aldegrever, see *idem*, Cat. Nos. 36, 40.

MASTER OF THE ST. MAREIN ALTAR

This artist was identified by K. von Garzarolli-Thurnlackh as the painter of an altarpiece dated 1524 in the church of St. Marein (near Knittelfeld in the province of Styria, Austria).¹ He was probably trained in Southern Germany and first acquainted with the Danubian style on an Austrian journey. It should be noted that the St. Marein Altar is poorly preserved; only in the physiognomies of the smaller figures can close correspondence with the Kress panels be detected.

K2034 : Figure 38

ARCHANGEL GABRIEL. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.51.6), since 1960. Oil on panel, transferred to masonite² by Suhr about 1953. 53½ × 17½ in. (135.8 × 44.4 cm.). Inscribed on banner: AVE MARIA PLENNIA DOMINUS TECUM. (Hail, thou that art highly [favoured], the Lord is with thee. Luke 1:28). Figure and decorative details lightly incised. Background heavily worked in gold leaf; gold leaf abraded. See K2035 below for description.

Suida-Shapley, p. 24, Cat. No. 4. *Allentown*, 1960, p. 98.

K2035 : Figure 37

ANNUNCIATE VIRGIN. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.52.6), since 1960. Oil on panel, transferred to masonite by Suhr c. 1953. 53½ × 17½ in. (135.8 × 44.4 cm.). Figure and decorative details lightly incised. Virgin's halo tooled on gold ground, on built-up gesso. Background heavily worked in gold leaf; considerable restoration, especially in Virgin's robe; gold leaf abraded.

Suida-Shapley, p. 24, Cat. No. 3. *Allentown*, 1960, p. 98.

The panels were the outer wings of a triptych. The inner sides of the Kress panels (now New York, William Suhr collection) show a standing St. Dorothy (Text Fig. 10A) on the verso of the *Annunciate Virgin* (K2035) and St. Agnes (Text Fig. 10B) on the verso of *Gabriel* (K2034).

The Annunciation (Luke 1:26–38) is shown against a vertical arcade enclosing a window area on gold ground, in the extremely slender format popular in Northern

Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The Archangel Gabriel stands at the right, holding a baton with an inscribed spiralling banner. The Annunciation from the right, unusual in the rest of Europe, is often seen in German art. The angel wears ecclesiastical garb, including the crossed stola. The long-haired Virgin kneels at a prie-dieu, her arms crossed over her breast. She is enveloped in a cloak fastened below the neckline. The Holy Ghost flies above her head, surrounded by incised gold rays like those of the Virgin's halo. An Alpine landscape is seen in the background.

In all likelihood, the lost central panel which the Kress wings covered when the triptych was closed showed a standing Virgin (crowned as Queen of Heaven) and Child (turned to the left) to whom Dorothy, at the left, extended a rose. The omission of the Christ Child, often shown at Dorothy's side, also argues for his inclusion in the adjacent central panel. The decorative motifs at the top and bottom of the standing female saints in the wings would have extended across the central panel. The original frame for K2034/5 probably continued the decorative motifs shown in the arches.

Provenance: According to Suida-Shapley (*loc. cit.*) from the Monastery of Vorau (Styria, Austria).³ New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) Karl von Garzarolli-Thurnlackh, 'Der Maler des Flügelaltares von 1524 in der Pfarrkirche in St. Marein ob Knittelfeld und die Verkündigungsfügel in der Samuel H. Kress Collection in New York', *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida on His Eightieth Birthday*, London, 1959, pp. 171-9. For other works of this master, see p. 177. (2) Garzarolli-Thurnlackh (*ibid.*, p. 171) suggested that the technique of K2034 and K2035 is a mixed one: casein, tempera mixed with a little oil. (3) Presumably Augustinian, as that is the only one recorded by E. Hempel and E. Andorfer, *Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs - Steiermark*, Munich-Vienna, 1951, pp. 300-3.

BARTHEL BEHAM

Barthel Beham was born c. 1502 in Nuremberg; he died 1540 in Bologna.¹ Beham was trained by his elder brother Hans Sebald, who was probably an apprentice of Albrecht Dürer. His first recorded activity is a series of prints made as an eighteen-year-old in Nuremberg. Among the *Kleinmeister* Beham was unusually familiar with antique sources, and painted an exceptional number of nudes and complex classicizing, allegorical subjects. Expelled from Nuremberg in 1524, Beham went to Munich where he was active in the studio of Wolfgang Meielich. Shortly thereafter he became court painter to Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria. In the late 1520s the authoritative portraits for which Beham is best known were first painted.² He was sent by the Duke to Italy in 1540, where he died at the age of thirty-eight.

[Martin Schaffner]

K2172 : Figure 36

PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN [A Schad von Mittelbiberach]. Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum (E-952), since 1958. Oil on panel (pear?). 37 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 28 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (96.3 × 73.3 cm.). Inscribed at the upper left: 1529. Cradled, cleaned, and restored by Modestini 1957/58; generally well-preserved.³

A richly dressed middle-aged woman is shown in three-quarter length against a boarded background.⁴ She wears a white headdress with a gold brocade band and a double veil of fine linen drawn over a stiffly blocked straw foundation with a long streamer running down the right side of her body. The sitter is portrayed in a loose open coat of watered silk with a wide fur collar; her gown has damask sleeves trimmed with velvet bands; she also wears a linen chemise with a buttoned neckband. Among the four rings she wears, the one on her left index finger symbolizes mourning. Her attire is characteristic of Southern Germany in the third decade of the sixteenth century.

K2172 was first recorded by Grüneisen and Mauch as a work by Schaffner.⁵ The Kress painting was also published as a work by Schaffner in the monograph of 1899 on that master.⁶ This attribution was questioned by Friedländer in 1901.⁷ Falk, in a letter to the Denver Art Museum in 1961, first assigned the portrait to Barthel Beham, followed by Löcher, who placed K2172 close to the *Woman with a Parrot* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) and the *Portrait of a Lady* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum), all executed after the artist's phase of Netherlandish influence was over.⁸

As Friedländer noted, the attribution of K2172 to Schaffner was never convincing. The latter is a very weak, inept painter, incapable of rendering the almost glacially impressive Kress portrait. The panel is completely in accord with Beham's talents as a major master of the sixteenth-century monumental portrait.

Provenance: The following listed K2172 as by Schaffner: House of Schad von Mittelbiberach(?), before 1840.⁹ Count von Leutrum Ertingen, Stuttgart, by 1840.¹⁰ Professor H. Freiherr von Haberman, Munich, by 1899, exhibited - Munich, Verein bildender Künstler Münchens, Sezession, *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken der Renaissance aus Privatbesitz*, 1901, p. 19, Cat. No. 138, as a member of the Schad von Mittelbiberach family. Rodolphe Kann, Paris, by 1907, until as late as 1918.¹¹ New York, Jacques Seligmann and Co., Kress acquisition 1957, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961-4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 83.

References: (1) G. Tolzien, *Kindlers*, I, pp. 273-4. (2) August Liebmann Mayer, 'Barthel Beham als Bildnismaler', *Pantheon*, XI, 1933, pp. 1-4. See also L. Fudickar, *Die Bildniskunst der Nürnberger Barthel Beham und Peter Gartner*, Munich, 1942; Kurt Löcher, 'Studien zur oberdeutschen Bildnismalerei des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der Staatl.*

Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg, IV, 1967, pp. 31–84, section on Beham, pp. 49–58. (3) When Max J. Friedländer (review of the 'Ausstellung von Meisterwerken der Renaissance aus Privatbesitz', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIV, 1901, p. 325) saw the panel he noted that it was 'durch einen trüben Firnis unscheinbar gemacht'. Kurt Löcher pointed out that the reproduction of K2172 in the Kann catalogue (see note 11, below) shows soft modeling which is no longer present in the painting (*op. cit.*, pp. 58 and 82, n. 112). (4) Similar dress is shown in the *Portrait of a Woman* attributed to Amberger dated 1531 (Madrid, Prado) with a comparable wooden background. (5) C. Grüneisen and E. Mauch, *Ulm's Kunstleben im Mittelalter*, Ulm, 1840, pp. 54–55. (6) Siegfried Graf Pückler Limpurg, *Martin Schaffner, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, part 20, Strasbourg, 1899, pp. 69 ff. It is listed as Schaffner by Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures...*, Paris, 1918, IV, p. 646 (as Kann Collection, Paris). (7) Review of Munich exhibition (see *Provenance*) in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIV, 1901, p. 325. K. Feuchtmayr, 'Martin Schaffner', *Thieme-Becker*, XXIX, p. 564, questioned the inclusion of K2172 in Schaffner's oeuvre. Susanne Lustenberger (Exhibition Catalogue, *Martin Schaffner, Maler zu Ulm*, Ulm, 1959, Cat. No. 15) included K2172 among the works erroneously ascribed to Schaffner, attributing it to the Danubian School. A letter of 26 Oct. 1953, from Max J. Friedländer to Germain Seligmann described K2172 as generally acknowledged to be an important work by Martin Schaffner. (8) Löcher, *op. cit.*, p. 58. (9) Grüneisen and Mauch, *loc. cit.*, stated that K2172 belonged to the patrician house of Schad and had passed through inheritance from there to the Count von Leutrum Ertingen in Stuttgart. (10) *Ibid.* (11) Wilhelm von Bode, *Catalogue de la Collection Rodolphe Kann*, II, Paris, 1907, p. 19, Cat. No. 114. See Note 3 above.

ANTON WOENSAM VON WORMS

The birthdate of Anton Woensam von Worms is unknown, but was before 1500, probably at Worms; he died in 1541.¹ His father is first recorded in Cologne in 1510, where he was prominent in the painters' guild after 1514. Anton was probably trained in Cologne where he became a prolific graphic artist. The major local book illustrator, he designed at least 549 woodcuts. Thirty-nine paintings are given to him in the Kisky catalogue.² His early works, begun shortly before 1520, show extensive utilization of German, Swiss, and Netherlandish print sources. From 1526 on the artist received many important commissions in Cologne and elsewhere.

References: (1) Eduard Firmenich-Richartz, *Kölnische Künstler in alter und neuer Zeit*. J. J. Merlos neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Nachrichten...; *Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde* 9, Düsseldorf, 1895; Hans Kisky, *Thieme-Becker*, xxxvi, pp. 165–8. (2) Hans Kisky, 'Anton Woensam von Worms als Maler', unpubl. diss., Cologne, n.d.

K1946 : Figure 39

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas Museum of Art (60.51), Kress Study Collection, since 1960. Oil on linden. $31\frac{1}{8} \times 33\frac{1}{2}$ in. (79.1×85.1 cm.). Upper left and right corners painted over to resemble spandrels; probably added to obscure losses in one or both corners. Slightly cut down on right side and now in a frame with a curved top. Cradled at unknown date; cleaned and restored in 1960 by Modestini; some in-painting.

W. E. Suida and Robert L. Manning, 'The Agony in the Garden by Anton Woensam', *Register of the Museum of Art, University of Kansas*, II, No. 4, Mar. 1960, pp. 28–9.

After the Last Supper, knowing of Judas's betrayal, Christ went with three disciples to the garden or grove of Gethsemane (indicated here by the fenced-in, arboreal setting), asking them to pray for him while he went up to the Mount of Olives to pray – he is shown as the kneeling figure in right profile (Matthew 26:30–46; Mark 14:32–42). Christ returned from the Mount thrice, finding the Apostles drowsing each time: Peter is probably the man resting his head on his hand, who sleeps to the upper left. The young long-haired sleeper is Saint John the Evangelist, the one nearest the foreground is presumably Saint James. The Kress panel shows Christ before his last return to the Apostles, when an angel came with a chalice to strengthen him (Luke 22:43). The angel is at the upper right, pointing to Christ, indicating the Eucharist. When Christ returned to the Apostles for the last time, he said, 'Sleep on now, and take your rest; behold the hour is at hand, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners' (Matthew 26:45). The High Priest's men, coming to arrest Christ, are shown at the upper right, in the distance.

Two additional panels for the same altarpiece as K1946 representing subsequent scenes from the Passion Cycle the *Arrest* and *Flagellation*, are at Chambéry (Musée Benoît-Molin) on deposit from the Musées Nationaux.¹

According to Suida and Manning, the composition of K1946 is very freely adapted from Dürer's 1515 print of the same subject (B.19) as well as from South German sources.² Suida and Manning (*loc. cit.*) dated the Kress painting in Woensam's middle period, shortly before 1530 when Netherlandish art was of diminishing importance to his style. Despite their primary emphasis on German sources for K1946, Suida and Manning also pointed to aspects of Gerard David's art as utilized by Woensam. *The Agony in the Garden* reflects North Netherlandish compositional sources, possibly going back to the art of Albert van Ouwater.

Provenance: Arensberg? (see below). Nicholas Roerich, purchased by him in Germany at unknown date³ (sale, New York, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, *Roerich Museum Sale*, 27–28 Mar. 1930, Cat. No. 54, as 'German School, late Fifteenth Century, ex coll. Arensberg'). New York, Schaeffer Galleries. Kress acquisition 1953.

References: (1) See note in *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, xve année, 1964, pp. 173-4. Another *Agony in the Garden* by Woensam was sold in Amsterdam (R. Peltzer Sale, Muller's, 26-27 May 1914). This small panel (12½ × 13 in.) was from a series of the *Passion*; three are in the Bonn Museum and are dated 1524. Although the composition of K 1946 differs, the landscapes are similar in both. (2) Woensam is known to have drawn extensively upon the Dürer small engraved *Passion* cycle (B.3-18) in his own series (Merlo Nos. 308-23). Eduard Firmenich-Richartz, *Kölnische Künstler in alter und neuer Zeit*. J. J. Merlos neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Nachrichten . . .; *Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde* 9, Düsseldorf, 1895. (3) Information from Nicholas Roerich Museum, New York.

ANTON WOENSAM VON WORMS

K 2128 : Figure 40

THE SUITORS OF MARY. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum, since 1960. Oil on oak. 26 × 18½ in. (66.0 × 47.3 cm.). Inscribed on the lower section of the tabernacle: ABRAHAM ISACK IACAB¹ DVO S² [NT] TABOLI ('There are two tablets'.)² The reference to the tablets as well as the letters M and S on either side of the central image of Moses refer to him. The artist's initials T W (Thonis Woensam) appear to the left and right of the head of Moses, and again on a flagstone at the lower left. His name is also painted on the priest's prayer shawl: TVONNI[S] WONS[AM]. Restored by Modestini in 1960. Well preserved.

Allentown, 1960, p. 104.

According to the Apocrypha an angel appeared to the High Priest (when Mary, aged twelve, was in the temple) instructing him to distribute rods to all the widowers in Judea. Whichever man received a sign from the Lord was to be the Virgin's bridegroom. Joseph, the last to be given a rod, had a dove appear upon it. The bird then settled on Joseph's head whereupon the priest selected him.³ Other legends have the dry rod flowering as shown in K 2128 where the branch has turned into a lily (symbol of virginity). The figures of combatants at the upper left and right probably symbolize Discord before the time of Christ, based on Netherlandish prototypes such as the Petrus Christus *Nativity* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art). The Italianate, sarcophagus-like altar, together with the Romanesque architectural setting, symbolize the Old Dispensation, as do Moses' tablets.⁴ The triptych hanging on the temple wall at the upper right has prophets in its wings; Moses before the Burning Bush is the central subject, all prophesying the Incarnation, which is further indicated by the Holy Ghost and Joseph's branch of lilies immediately below.

Shapley (*Allentown, loc. cit.*) found reminders of Danubian painting and North Italian decorative motifs in K 2128. According to Schrader, the panel is an early work by

Woensam close in style but painted prior to the *St. Gereon Altar* (Munich, Pinakothek) of 1520, also noting the influence of Netherlandish mannerist painters of the period, such as Jacob Cornelisz. van Amsterdam.⁵

K 2128 was probably part of a series of scenes relating to the Life of the Virgin and could have been placed next to a depiction of the Betrothal. The subject usually occupies a subsidiary role, relegated to the background of the Marriage of the Virgin – as shown in van Meckenem's engraving of the latter. In the print (B.33) the suitors march around the altar holding their branches; only Joseph's, as in K 2128, has come to life, all the others remaining bare. Both print and painting show Joseph at the right; both have the artist's name inscribed upon the altar, which features the tablets of the Law.⁶ Many of the emblematic components of *The Miracle of the Rod* are found similarly disposed in the works of Joos van Cleve who was active in Cologne in 1515 and may have provided the prototype for K 2128.

Provenance: Sir Charles Douglas, 1882. Lady Margaret Douglas. Lady Seely, Kings Manor, Yarmouth (Isle of Wight).⁷ New York, Mortimer Brandt Gallery, exhibited – New York, Koetser Gallery, *From Van Cleve to Tiepolo*, 1941, Cat. No. 21, where it is noted that K 2128 was recognized as a Woensam by Ernst Buchner. New York, Norton Galleries. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) The association of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob may refer to the Tree of Jesse – the lineage of Christ – as given in Matthew 1:2, beginning 'Abraham was the father of Isaac and Isaac the father of Jacob . . .'. The letters surrounding Moses may possibly be an abbreviation for Matthew, as it is his gospel which begins with the ancestry of Christ. See also Matthew 22:32. (2) Dr. Hugo Buchthal has assisted in interpreting the inscription. (3) For accounts of the 'Suits of Mary', see *The Apocryphal New Testament*, transl. by M. R. James, Oxford, 1924, 'The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew', p. 73; Jacques de Voragine, *La Légende Dorée* (transl. by Teodor de Wyzewa, Paris, 1925, pp. 496-7, text 4, 'The Birth of the Blessed Virgin', CXXIX). (4) Panofsky, I, pp. 136-7. Similar symbolism is found in a depiction of the same subject by Robert Campin (Madrid, Prado). (5) John L. Schrader, 'The Agony in the Garden by Anton Woensam', *The Register of the Museum of Art, The University of Kansas*, II, 1963, pp. 8-16. (6) Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, IX, *Israhel van Meckenem*, Cat. No. 53, pl. 267, fig. 644. (7) The Douglas and Seely ex colls. are according to the Norton Galleries.

JAKOB SEISENEGGER

Jakob Seisenegger was born 1504/5, probably in Lower Austria; he died in Linz in 1567. In 1531 he was appointed court painter to the Emperor Ferdinand I at Augsburg, and in the next year went to Innsbruck and Bologna where he executed a full-length portrait of the Emperor Charles V (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Between 1535 and 1545 he travelled throughout Europe, primarily as a painter

of court portraits, although producing some religious pictures. Seisenegger was a master of official likenesses which, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, had an extraordinarily uniform character, whether executed in Prague, Spain, or the Netherlands. Active in all these regions, Seisenegger, like his contemporaries Stephan van Calcar and Anthonis Mor, produced a portrait style that was at once complimentary and realistic, without strikingly individual artistic characteristics.¹

K1795 : Figure 34

PORTRAIT OF A MILITARY GENTLEMAN. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61–44–33), since 1955. 46 × 34 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (116.8 × 88.3 cm.). Oil on very finely woven canvas. Facial area somewhat abraded; cleaned and restored at unknown date. Varnished by Modestini in 1955.

San Francisco, 1955, p. 80.

A bearded, fair-haired young man is shown in a three-quarter, knee-length view. He grasps the basket hilt of his sword – a Haudegen – with the right hand, and gloves with the left. Richly garbed, he also wears two long gold chains about his neck, probably representing awards for distinguished service. The sitter's attire was first fashionable in Northern Italy c. 1530 and widespread in the succeeding decade. It was especially popular in Saxony and probably dates the portrait between 1538 and 1541. On the basis of the sword, Helmut Nickel dated the portrait c. 1540, noting that its form indicates that the owner held a military position such as captain of a city's militia.²

Wescher suggested that the young man may be a member of the Fugger family on the basis of the sitter's resemblance to the Seisenegger full-length *Georg Fugger the Younger*.³ Löcher did not believe K1795 to be a Fugger, as Johann Jakob, the eldest son of Arimund Fugger (the only member of that family to correspond in approximate age to that of the model for the Kress portrait) did not resemble him.⁴ K1795, when in the possession of Contini-Bonacossi, was attributed to Stephan von Calcar by Roberto Longhi.⁵ Suida ascribed the Kress painting to Hans Mielich.⁶ It was first given to Jakob Seisenegger by Walter Heil,⁷ and so accepted by Wescher.⁸ The Seisenegger attribution is also supported by Löcher, who included K1795 in his catalogue, dating it in the Augsburg years, c. 1540–41, closely related in style to the full-length *Portrait of Georg Fugger* (collection of Dr. Clemens Graf Fugger, Schloss Oberkirchberg, near Ulm).⁹

Provenance: Florence, A. Contini-Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1950, exhibited – Indianapolis, Ind., John Herron Art Museum, *Holbein and His Contemporaries*, 1950, Cat. No. 55, as Hans Mielich.

References: (1) See Kurt Löcher, *Jakob Seisenegger*, Linz, 1962, for a complete biography of the artist. (2) Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan

Museum of Art, letter of 9/viii/68. (3) Paul Wescher, 'Neuerwerbungen des de Young Museums in San Francisco', *Kunstchronik*, x, 1957, p. 311. (4) Löcher, *op. cit.*, p. 45. (5) Certificate in the Kress Archive dated 1950. (6) William E. Suida, *Holbein and his Contemporaries*, Indianapolis, Ind., John Herron Art Museum, 1950, Cat. No. 55. (7) Noted in *San Francisco*, 1955, p. 80. (8) Wescher, *op. cit.*, p. 311. (9) Löcher, *op. cit.*, p. 93, Cat. No. 64.

LUCAS CRANACH THE YOUNGER

Lucas Cranach the Younger was born in Wittenberg in 1515; he died in Weimar in 1586. The second son of Lucas Cranach, he was active in the large Wittenberg workshop first established on a major scale by his father at just the time of his apprenticeship there in the 1530s. Lucas Cranach the Younger continued the production of paintings in his father's popular style after the latter's death in 1553. Like his father, Cranach the Younger also designed woodcuts, and became Bürgermeister of Wittenberg.¹

K2179 : Figure 35

MARTIN LUTHER AND PHILIPP MELANCHTHON. Raleigh, North Carolina, North Carolina Museum of Art (GL.60.17.65), since 1961. Oil on pear. 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 34 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (59.4 × 88.3 cm.). Inscribed at upper left: 1558. Below: serpent with folded wings (artist's device). Original date had been obscured to read 1550 (within the lifetime of Cranach the Elder). Considerable additions to hair of Melanchthon made at unknown date to modify his emaciated appearance near the end of his life. Deep scratch across left side of Luther's head. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1959/60.

Raleigh, 1960, p. 132.

Melanchthon (1497–1560) is shown at the right in a deferential pose, in characteristic *deshabillé*, holding a closed book with both hands.² He turns to the left toward the posthumous image of Luther (1483–1546) who is far larger in bulk, in three-quarter view, facing right, holding an open book (the *Luther Bible*?) with both hands. Both men are shown in half-length, hatless, in academic garb, against a pale grey-blue background in a composition of extreme horizontal format. Melanchthon's tunic (beneath his gown) is in a style fashionable earlier in the century. The sobriety of their attire is relieved by the band of red (Luther) and a red tunic (Melanchthon). Luther was a close friend of the painter's father, who (with his studio) portrayed the Reformer at least forty times. Melanchthon, the theologian, humanist and scientist, is shown frail and ailing, two years before his death.

A certificate by Friedländer described K2179 as an authentic, signed work of Cranach, without specifying which one.³

The painting is generally based upon portraits of these men by Lucas Cranach the Elder, such as the pair dated 1532

(Dresden, Gemäldegalerie);⁴ it has the coarser, more expressionistic quality characteristic of Lucas Cranach the Younger. The immediate models for K2179 are the single portraits of Luther and Melanchthon by Lucas Cranach the Younger, signed and dated 1557 (Hamburg, Galerie H. Rudolph).⁵ The Reformers were often shown together in altarpieces by Cranach the Younger, but the Kress panel is the artist's only known painting devoted exclusively to their portraits.

Provenance: J. Rosenbaum, Berlin.⁶ Hackenbroch, Frankfurt-am-Main. Ludwig Rosenthal (sale London, Sotheby's, 29 Apr. 1937, Cat. No. 108, as dated 1558, by Lucas Cranach the Younger). New York, David M. Koetser. Kress acquisition 1957, exhibited - New York, Duveen Brothers, *Cranach Loan Exhibition*, 1960, Cat. No. 6, listed as Lucas Cranach the Elder.

References: (1) See Max J. Friedländer, *Thieme-Becker*, VIII, p. 58; and also Heinrich Zimmermann, 'Über einige Bildniszeichnungen Lucas Cranachs d. J.', *Pantheon*, XX, 1962, pp. 8-12; T. L. Girshausen, 'Cranach, Lucas, d. J.', *Neue deutsche Biographie*, III, Berlin, 1957, II, pp. 398 ff. (2) For portraits of Melanchthon, see Zimmermann, 'Melanchthon im Bildnis', *Philipp Melanchthon 1497-1560 Gedenkschrift*, edited by G. Urban, Bretten, 1960, pp. 127-30; O. Thulin, 'Melanchthons Bildnis und Werk in zeitgenössischer Kunst', *Philipp Melanchthon - Forschungsbeiträge zur 400 Wiederkehr seines Todestages*, Göttingen, 1961, pp. 180 ff. (3) 16/VIII/54, Kress Archive. (4) Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin, 1932, Cat. No. 252. (5) Illustrated in *Weltkunst*, XXII, 1952, p. 11, no. 21. An earlier portrait of Luther by Cranach the Younger, close to K2179 is dated 1539 (Friedländer-Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 340). Lucas Cranach the Younger's woodcut portrait of Melanchthon of 1560 (B.90) follows that of K2179 in reverse. (6) K2179 is probably identical with the same subject signed and dated 1558, recorded by Thulin (*op. cit.*, p. 190) as formerly owned by the antiquary J. Rosenbaum in Berlin.

HANS MIELICH

Hans Mielich, who was born in Munich in 1516, died there in 1573. He was probably the son of the city painter, Wolfgang Mielich, within whose studio he may have been trained. Toward 1536 Hans Mielich moved to Regensburg, where his work showed the influence of that centre's most prominent artist, Albrecht Altdorfer. He returned to Munich c. 1540, where he probably was commissioned by Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria to travel to Italy. Mielich became a master in the Munich guild in 1543 and its deacon in 1558. He was a painter to the court of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. Although an inventive manuscript illuminator, and sometimes a sensitive portraitist, Mielich's works on a large scale often have a rather flat, static character.¹

KX-2 : Figure 33

A PROTESTANT DOCTOR OF LAWS. Mrs. Rush H. Kress Collection, New York. Oil on panel. 42 × 32 in. (106.7 × 81.3 cm.). Cradled and restored by Pichetto, 1929/30; varnished by Modestini in 1962.

A bearded, moustached, middle-aged man in rich brocade and fur-trimmed legal attire is seated upon a metal throne with a textile back, his crossed arms resting upon a table covered with a cloth of Anatolian design. He holds white gloves in his left, ringed hand, and is seen against a drapery with a now blank *cartellino* pinned at the upper right. The sitter, his body turned slightly to the left, looks straight out at the beholder. KX-2 has been associated with the name Count Ladislaus von Hag² but there is no documentary evidence to support this identification, and no indication of the sitter's being a count in the painting itself. In academic garb, the sitter wears the robe associated with doctors of law or medicine in the later sixteenth century. His cap is definitely Protestant, possibly from the University of Jena.³

Kuhn dated KX-2 c. 1550. He pointed out that the Ladislaus von Hag identification is incorrect, and noted that the painting was at one time in the Talleyrand collection.⁴ According to Contini-Bonacossi, KX-2 has been attributed to Mielich by F. F. Mason Perkins, Adolfo Venturi, William Suida, G. Fiocco, and Raimond van Marle.⁵ Friedländer's cautious view was that Mielich's is the 'best name for this German portrait, painted around 1560'.⁶ The portrait is accepted as Mielich's by Strieder.⁷

KX-2 seems a relatively late work by Mielich, possibly dating well into the 1560s. The attribution may not prove certain, as the somewhat flat, provincial character of Mielich's art is also seen in other artists working in Germany at the same time. The *cartellino* was probably originally inscribed. In view of the Protestant faith of the sitter, KX-2 was probably executed in a Lutheran center.

Provenance: Talleyrand (?),⁸ Holford Collection, London.⁹ Rome, A. Contini-Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1929, exhibited - Cambridge, Massachusetts, *Catalogue of the Germanic Museum, Exhibition of German Paintings, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Harvard University, 1936, p. 11, Cat. No. 21, listed as *Portrait of a Nobleman* by Hans Mielich, about 1550.

References: (1) Bernhard Hermann Röttger, *Der Maler Hans Mielich*, Munich, 1925. For a recent study of Mielich's portrait style, see pp. 66-76 in Kurt Löcher, 'Studien zur oberdeutschen Bildnismalerei des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, IV, 1967, pp. 31-85. (2) A portrait by Mielich, dated 1557, in the Liechtenstein (Eisgrub) collection has also been identified as Ladislaus von Hag (reproduced by Edmund W. Braun, 'Ein unbekanntes Porträt von Hans Mielich', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LIX, 1925-26, pp. 78-80, esp. p. 79). It bears a very slight resemblance to KX-2.

(3) Information communicated by Dr. W. Norman Hargreaves-Mawdsley, Dec. 1968. (4) Charles L. Kuhn, *A Catalogue of German Paintings of the Middle Ages and Renaissance in American Collections*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p. 71, Cat. No. 307. (5) In Kress Archive. (6) Max J. Friedländer certificate in Kress Archive. (7) Peter Strieder, *Kindlers*, IV, p. 524. (8) Kuhn, *op. cit.* (9) *The Holford Collection, Dorchester House*, London, 1927, II, p. 14, Cat. No. 3, listed as *Portrait of an Unknown Man*, German, 1550-1600.

GERMAN SCHOOL, Second Half of XVI Century

K1867 : Figure 41

THE CRUCIFIXION. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1163), since 1953. Oil on poplar (panel thickness reduced in 1953 to $\frac{1}{8}$ in. and mounted on masonite with mahogany veneer). $42\frac{5}{8} \times 16$ in. (108.3 \times 40.8 cm.). Cradled in 1953; cleaned and restored in 1953/4 by Modestini. See K1868 for description.

Suida-Shapley, pp. 84-5, Cat. No. 30.

K1868 : Figure 42

THE DESCENT INTO LIMBO. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1164), since 1953. Oil on poplar (panel thickness reduced in 1953 to $\frac{1}{8}$ in. and mounted on masonite with mahogany veneer). $42\frac{7}{8} \times 16\frac{1}{4}$ in. (108.9 \times 41.5 cm.). Cradled in 1953; cleaned and restored in 1953/4 by Modestini. Slightly less well preserved than K1867 as the splits go through more important sections.

Suida-Shapley, pp. 84-5, Cat. No. 31.

The death of Christ is shown as the lance is plunged into his side (K1867). The eclipse is indicated by the dramatically darkened sky. The rustic cross is placed obliquely; those of the two thieves are at the extreme right. Mary Magdalen embraces the foot of the cross. The Virgin and St. John the Evangelist stand to the right, looking up toward Christ. The Magdalen's rich garb is close to Venetian fashions of the mid-sixteenth century; these were also worn in Northern Europe. Only the forearm and hand of the Bad Thief is visible. The left side of the Good Thief is seen from the back of his cross which runs along the right margin of the composition. The background is occupied by centurions seen against a view of a walled city representing Jerusalem.

The elaborate armor depicted in K1867 is based on late-fifteenth-century models which are here largely misunderstood. This points to a date in the mid-sixteenth century. The shield above the head of St. John is that of a Hungarian hussar (also found in fifteenth-century depictions of the Passion). The dramatic placement of the crosses goes back to a Danubian precedent; the com-

position reverses Cranach's *Crucifixion* of 1503 (Munich, Pinakothek). *The Descent into Limbo* (K1868) shows an Italianate Christ (probably derived from a High Renaissance *Resurrection*). He holds a triumphal banner cross, wears the crown of thorns, and is clad in a loin cloth. His right hand is raised in benediction over Limbo, located at the border of Hell, which appears in the background. Limbo is shown within the ruins of classical antiquity with the Septizonium (destroyed in 1586) at the extreme left and other structures recalling the Baths of Caracalla and the Colosseum at the centre and right. The nude figures of the Just, resident in Limbo until the Descent, are in the lower foreground, led by a powerfully-built, bearded figure, possibly Adam or St. John Baptist as in Dürer's *Small Passion* (B.41). The woman at the extreme right is Eve. A crowned figure to the left may be David or Solomon. Pairs of nude infants (probably representing the Holy Innocents) are on a parapet in the foreground, to the left and right of a centrally-placed reclining male nude who is seen from the back (possibly Abel, the first man to die).¹

Both panels functioned as wings of an altar devoted to scenes from the Life of Christ; if a triptych, the lost central subject may have been a Lamentation. When first exhibited at the National Gallery, K1867 and K1868 were given to Wolf Huber and later assigned to a German master active in the third quarter of the sixteenth century (*Suida-Shapley, loc. cit.*). They believed the painter to have studied the Pontormo frescoes at the Certosa di Val d'Ema and related the 'Adam' to the Laocoön, the putti to Raphael's, the crowned man at the left to Peruzzi, the rising figure in the left foreground to Pontormo, and the reclining central figure to Mantegna. The painter of these panels is astonishingly eclectic, deriving his figures from sixteenth-century Italian and Netherlandish paintings or prints after Roman ruins. Venetian, Roman, and North Italian painting of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is reflected in K1867-8 as well as German early sixteenth-century and Netherlandish mid-sixteenth-century sources. The panels' free handling, the basis for their original attribution to Wolf Huber, represents a later sixteenth-century continuation of the Danubian style and possibly an interest in the art of Tintoretto and Michelangelo. As the Kress paintings were purchased in Breslau, their unknown painter may have been active in Sillesia. However, his style is not characteristic of that region. He could perhaps have originated in Southwestern Germany, where he might readily have absorbed Netherlandish sources before an Italian journey and subsequent activity as an itinerant painter in the more provincial parts of Germany.

Provenance: Presumably from the former Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Breslau (now Museum Slakie we Wrocławin). Sold to Dr. Otto Fröhlich (Vienna) through de Burret in 1916.² Stephan von Auspitz-Lieben, Vienna. New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1951.

References: (1) For the Descent into Limbo see *Réau*, II, 2, pp. 531-7. (2) Information communicated by Dr. Lily Fröhlich, London, in 1956.

MATTHÄUS MERIAN THE YOUNGER

Matthäus Merian the Younger was born in Basel in 1621; he died at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1687. The son of a Swiss topographic printmaker and bookseller, Mathäus was a pupil of Joachim von Sandrart whom he accompanied to Amsterdam. The young painter was introduced to van Dyck in London in 1639 and was active in Paris two years later, where he emulated the French classical masters of the time. He returned to Frankfurt in 1642. He left for Italy the following year and remained there for four years. In 1647 he became a prominent portrait painter in Nuremberg and took over his father's business in 1650. He entered the diplomatic service of several courts, where he was also active as portraitist, printmaker, and painter of devotional and other subjects.¹

K1061 : Figure 43

PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. Lincoln, Nebraska, University of Nebraska (V-358-K), Kress Study Collection, since 1962. Oil on canvas. 54 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 45 in. (138.1 × 114.3 cm.). A cleaning in the early 1930s revealed an inscription with Merian's name on the back of the canvas. Extensively abraded; relined and restored by Pichetto 1936-37; cleaned, in-painted, and varnished by Modestini in 1961. Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, Tennessee, *Permanent Paintings*, Memphis, 1943, n.p.

K1061 shows a gentleman, in three-quarter length, turned slightly to the right, hat in hand, standing against a stormy sky. The left arm and gloved hand rest on a globe-topped balustrade at the upper left corner. He does not wear a wig. His rich, conservative attire was in vogue between 1647 and 1653. The portrait was originally attributed to Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione by Roberto Longhi,² possibly because it reflects the Genoese manner of van Dyck, which was continued by native artists of that city toward the middle of the century. The emphasis upon the cavalier's hat and glove and the great orb at the upper left, all emblematic of high rank and authority, suggest that the sitter was in military or governmental service.

The inscription on the back with Merian's name may well have been placed there by the artist himself, as his *Portrait of Hans Joachim Müller* of 1647 (Basel, Kunstmuseum) bears a lengthy inscription in Italian dedicating the painting to his friend, the sitter. K1061 is close in style to the Basle portrait and Dr. Friedrich Thöne placed the Kress painting at about the same date, earlier in style than those portraits by Merian executed when he was in the German employ of the Swedish Baron Wrangel.³ Certificates from Longhi, G. Fiocco, F. F. Mason-Perkins, Raimond van Marle, Adolfo Venturi attributed K1061 to Merian.⁴

This portrait is a fine example of Merian's rare and little-known portraiture.

Provenance: Rome, A. Contini-Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1930. Given to Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, Tennessee, 1937; returned to Kress Foundation, New York, 1957. Exhibited - Nuremberg, Germanisches National-Museum, *Nürnberger Kunst und Künstler zur Barockzeit*, June-Sept. 1962, Cat. No. A153.

References: (1) W. K. Zülch, *Thieme-Becker*, xxiv, pp. 413-14. (2) Certificate, Kress Archive. (3) Letter of 24/IX/68, Kress Archive. (4) Certificates c. 1933-35, Kress Archive.

ANTON RAPHAEL MENGES

Anton Raphael Mengs was born in Aussig (Bohemia) in 1728; he died in Rome in 1779. The leading German painter in the eighteenth century and a major figure in European art, Mengs was the son of a miniature painter, his first teacher. He went with his father to Rome at the age of twelve, where he copied Raphael and was trained by Italian artists. In 1744 father and son returned to Dresden, where the latter made a reputation as a brilliant portraitist and was appointed court painter at the age of eighteen. He began a second Roman residence in 1746, converted to Catholicism and married an Italian, returning to Dresden in 1749. For the next decade much of his time was spent in Italy, where he became a close friend of Winckelmann who drew him toward a more classical style. He was active in Naples as well as Rome. In 1762 he was the leading painter at the Spanish court. Mengs published many theoretical writings toward the end of his life when he was a figure of international fame and one of the founders of the Neo-classical style.¹

Studio of MENGES, c. 1758-60

K239 : Figure 44

POPE CLEMENT XIII (Carlo della Torre Rezzonico). New Orleans, Louisiana, Isaac Delgado Museum of Art (34.1), since 1934. Oil on very fine canvas. 52 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 38 in. (134.3 × 96.5 cm.). In his left hand the Pope holds a paper inscribed: *Alla Santità di Nostro Clemente XIII feliciter Regnante*. The Rezzonico arms are lightly indicated on the carved finials of the chair back, and on a raised cartouche of the standish with bell at the right: Quarterly (1) gules a cross argent, (2) and (3) azure a tower argent, (4) gules three bends argent, overall a shield or charged with a double-headed eagle sable crowned, or and ensigned with an antique crown.² Some abrasion in face, which now appears flatter than it does in the X-ray. Relined, cleaned and restored in 1933 by Pichetto; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1953.

William E. Suida (revised by Paul Wescher), *The Samuel H. Kress Collection, Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans*, 1966, p. 66.

Carlo della Torre Rezzonico (1693-1769) was born into a patrician Venetian family and educated by the Jesuits. He received his law degree at Padua. After filling important

appointments at the Curia, he became Cardinal-Deacon in 1737, Bishop of Padua in 1743, Cardinal-Priest in 1747, and succeeded Benedict XIV in 1758. The eleven years of Clement XIII's pontificate were marked by constant dispute concerning the question of the abolition of the Jesuit order. Clement died the day before the convening of the Consistory he had called to combat the Bourbon plan to terminate the order.³ Clement XIII is depicted in a columned chamber, in the traditional papal portrait formula established in the early sixteenth century: seated, shown to just below the knee, with a desk at his side. He is clad in regular papal attire, wearing a *veste* covered by a long-sleeved lace-trimmed *rochetto* of white linen with a short fur-trimmed velvet shoulder cape, the *mozzetta*, and the great silken papal *stola* embroidered with gold thread and tied with a golden tasseled cord, with a fur-trimmed velvet *berettino* or skull-cap on his head. The painting is executed in somewhat grayed Venetian coloring.

K239 is one of several portraits of Clement XIII executed by Mengs or his studio. Of these, it is closest to the painting now in Bologna (Pinacoteca Nazionale, datable c. 1758). Presumably an autograph work of Mengs, the Bologna example has the same inscription as K239 and a signature.⁴ The canvas differs in tonality and technique from Mengs' oeuvre. Broad and free in handling and Venetian coloring, the portrait was formerly attributed to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo who was patronized by Clement XIII. As the original painting by Mengs may have been in the Venetian residence of the Rezzonico family (Bianconi recorded this and another in Rome), it is likely that a local artist may have been asked to make a replica.⁵ Mengs had a Venetian assistant in his studio, and it was probably this 'giovane veneziano' who painted K239.⁶ If this portrait is modeled upon the papal portrait by Mengs described by Winckelmann in a letter dated 1 December 1758 as just completed, it is probable that it was painted within the following few years.⁷

Provenance: Général Comte Roquet, Paris (?). Somzée Collection, Brussels (Brussels, *Vente, Collections de Somzée*, part II, 26-28, 30 May 1904, Cat. No. 359 as by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo). The following three collections were given in the Kleinberger Sale of 1932: Vicomte Journin

Aubert, Paris; Hauer Collection, Paris; Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia. F. Kleinberger, Paris (sale, New York, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, *Important Paintings by Masters of the Old Schools collected by Mr. F. Kleinberger, Sold by his Order*, 18 Nov. 1932, p. 90, Cat. No. 58, as by Pompeo Batoni). Kress acquisition 1932.

References: (1) D. Honisch, *Anton Raphael Mengs*, Recklinghausen, 1965. (2) J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général*, 2nd ed., Gouda, 1884-87, II, p. 560. (3) Sidney Smith, 'Clement XIII', *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, IV, 1908, pp. 32-4. (4) Honisch, *op. cit.*, p. 85, Cat. No. 76. Considerably larger than the Kress portrait, it measures 153 × 109.9 cm. A different composition by Mengs is in the Ambrosiana, Milan. In Gripsholm (State Portrait Collection) is a version identical in composition to the Kress and Bologna portraits but with oval format (cut down?), with the Pope facing left, and his right arm raised in benediction. According to Honisch (pp. 141-2, Cat. No. 376) the Gripsholm painting is by a master in the Mengs circle. It measures 114 × 95 cm. Identical with K239 and the Bologna composition is the portrait in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 134.3 × 97.8 cm., except that the Pope's right arm is raised in benediction and the painting is inferior in quality. (5) G. L. Bianconi, *Elogio storico del Cavaliere Anton Raffaele Mengs*, Milan, 1780, in the unpaginated catalog at the beginning of the text and p. 40. Dr. Steffi Röttgen (letter of 6/XI/68) believed the portrait now in the Ambrosiana to be identical with the one listed in Rome by Bianconi. (6) Dr. Röttgen has kindly provided the following extract from Azara-Fea, *Opere di Antonio Raffaello Mengs*, Rome, 1787, pp. 253-4, 'Avvenne poco tempo fa, che mentre in una compagnia di artisti, e di dilettranti si osservavano e lodavano due ritratti dipinti da un giovane veneziano, un pittore de' Barbassori . . . al sentire, che il lodato giovane stava copiando il ritratto di Papa Rezzonico fatto da Mengs disse . . . che dopo quello studio il suo pannello si troverebbe in discapito'. (7) Kurt Gerstenberg, *Johann Joachim Winckelmann und Anton Raphael Mengs*, Halle, 1929, p. 20, discussing the Bologna painting, believed it to have been executed rapidly, as Mengs was about to leave Rome for Naples. Honisch seemed to follow Gerstenberg's view (*op. cit.*, p. 85).

EARLY NETHERLANDISH SCHOOL

XV-XVI CENTURY

ROBERT CAMPIN

Robert Campin, also known as the Master of Flémalle, came to Tournai in 1406 and became a burgher in 1410; he died in 1444. No signed, documented works survive. Dean of the Guild of St. Luke in 1423, Campin had many apprentices in his studio at least as early as 1418,¹ when Jacques Daret was recorded among them. Roger van der Weyden was listed there in 1427. The separation of the oeuvre of the student and his master has long been a matter of controversy. Campin's only dated work, the *Werl Altar* wings (Madrid, Prado), is inscribed 1438. The leading Netherlandish painter active before Jan van Eyck's maturity, Campin created a new style fusing the realistic with the monumental.

Follower of ROBERT CAMPIN

K1646 : Figure 47

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS IN THE ENCLOSED GARDEN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1388), since 1959. Oil on oak in five horizontal sections with very thin preparatory layer of French chalk and glue which has sunk into the wood. $47\frac{1}{8} \times 58\frac{1}{2}$ in. (119.9 × 148.8 cm.). Original borders all around. All saints except Catherine have incised haloes, presumably preparatory to painting in gold.² Inscribed on original or very old frame:

O MARIA CONSOLATRIX	'O Mary, our Comforter,
ESTO NOBIS ADVOCATRIX	'Intercede for us
ROGUAS REGEM GLORIE	'Asking the King of Glory
UT NOS JUNGAT SUPERIS	'That we may rejoin those on high,
DONANS NOBIS MISERIS	'Granting to us, wretches,
POST SPEM FRUI SPECIE	'The fulfilment of hope of seeing him.
QUE REGINA DICERIS	'Thou, who art called Queen,
MISERERE POSTERIS	'Have mercy on us later born,
VIRGO MATER GRACIE	Virgin Mother of grace'. ³

A device called a *Hausmarke* is at the lower right corner of the frame, at the end of the inscription. Sometimes taken to be a sigla or mason's mark, this sign more likely

pertains to the original donor of K1646.⁴ Cradled and partially cleaned and restored, with some in-painting, by Pichetto c. 1947. Restored by Modestini in 1953. Damaged by excessive heat and smoke during a fire in December 1956. Restored c. 1958 by Modestini. The following areas have considerable in-painting: left leg of the Baptist, left hand of Anthony Abbot, both saints' drapery. Several pigments have darkened, notably the vermilion drapery of St. Catherine.

Suida, p. 168, Cat. No. 74. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pp. 13, 15, pls. 9, 11 (details); and George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, 1954, pl. 10.

The Virgin and Child, with four saints, are shown in a garden enclosed by a high masonry wall on three sides and by a building at the left. Mary wears a dark blue, gold-bordered mantle and a lighter blue robe, with a fur garment across her lap. She is seated on a wooden folding stool in front of a rich red, blue, and gold cloth of honor, with a pillow of the same cloth underfoot. Another rich red horizontal hanging with a floral motif is stretched across the entire rear wall. The Christ Child, in a long fur robe and white undergarment, is on his mother's lap. St. Catherine of Alexandria, in a pink robe, is seated at the lower left, on the step of a Gothic portal opening upon a tiled interior. Her attributes are a broken wheel and a sword (the crescent of Islam is on the heart-shaped pommel; figures of Adam and Eve, on either side of the Tree of Knowledge, are incised on the blade). St. John Baptist stands at the upper left in a voluminous green robe, holding a small lamb in his left hand, blessing it with his right. A camel-skin (?) is seen under his robe, above his left knee. St. Barbara, in an orange, fur-trimmed dress, is to the right of Christ in a half-kneeling posture, extending an apple which he is about to grasp. Her attribute, a masonry tower, is in the upper right corner of the enclosed garden. St. Anthony Abbot stands in the lower right foreground, in monastic garb. His hands (one holding a scroll) are placed upon the Tau-shaped stick. A rosary hangs from his belt and the head of a pig, his emblem, is to the left.⁵

K1646 shows the Virgin and Child in a mystical, devotional setting. Mary's pensive gaze seems to anticipate the Passion implied by John's sacrificial lamb ('Behold the Lamb of God', John 1:29-30) and by Barbara's apple, fruit of the Fall, to be received by Christ, the new Adam.⁶

Catherine's book and Anthony's scroll both point to the prophecy of Redemption. The Infant's exposed body may stress the first shedding of his blood in the Circumcision, when he was named Jesus. The enclosed garden alludes to Paradise and is a symbol of Christ as the Lord of all Creation, the plants signifying his mastery of life and death in their role as healing agents. Such a garden also represents Mary's purity, and many of the flowers within its walls are specifically linked to the Virgin in late medieval devotional literature.⁷ The association of Mary with floral symbolism and the closed garden originates with the interpretation of the Song of Solomon (4:12–16). A hymn in Konrad von Würzburg's (died 1287) *Goldener Schmiede* expanded the floral references and provided the basis for Northern European depictions of Mary in a richly floral setting.⁸ An iris similar to that in K1646 is shown in other works by Campin or his school.⁹ Its symbolism is often interchangeable with that of the lily, sign of the Incarnation. Placed next to St. Catherine in K1646, the iris, according to Koch, is an allusion to her martyrdom by the sword as the iris is also known as sword-lily.¹⁰ The haloes composed of golden lines emanating from the heads of Mary and Jesus are very early in style. The tripartite division of Christ's halo alludes to the Trinity. The hangings, seat, cushion, and Mary's rich garb all refer to her Coronation in heaven by her son; the inscription surrounding K1646 also describes Mary as Queen of Heaven and intercessor for mankind. The formal, early fourteenth-century Italian pictorial theme known as the *Sacra Conversazione* is combined with a more intimate subject, the *Paradiesgärtlein* (popular in Northern Italy and Northern Europe in the early fifteenth century), placing the Virgin and Child in an enclosed garden accompanied by saints and angels.¹¹ An important transitional stage between the above and the Kress panel is a Burgundian theme entitled by Troescher *Sacra Conversazione im Throngehäuse*.¹² More hieratic than the Washington painting, this composition places the Virgin and Child in an elaborate throne-like housing and was created c. 1400 by Franco-Flemish artists.

K1646 was first published by J. D. Passavant, who described it as painted in tempera and 'possibly the only remaining pictorial monument of the pre-Eyckian school of painting in the Netherlands', executed by a forerunner of Hubert van Eyck who may also have been his contemporary, and therefore of the greatest art historical interest, worthy of purchase by the Bruges Academy.¹³ In 1839 Spyers attributed the painting to the School of the brothers Van Eyck, as it was found to have been executed in the oil medium. He described the grouping of the figures as close to those of Jan van Eyck, while the coloring suggested the taste of Hubert van Eyck. He pointed out that K1646 may have been used as a model by later masters of the Bruges School such as Memling. Inclined to attribute the panel in its entirety to Jan van Eyck, Spyers related the pose of the Virgin and Child to that of the same group in the *Van der Paele Madonna* (Bruges, Musée Communal).¹⁴ A letter of 13/IX/46 from Max J. Friedländer to Georges Wildenstein described K1646 as a work by the Master of Flémalle.¹⁵ *Suida* (p. 168) listed the panel as 'Master of Flémalle

Studio'. It was suggested by Houben that the master of K1646 was an early eclectic imitator rather than an actual pupil of Campin's, active in Bruges, who executed the Kress panel shortly after 1450. According to him, the Virgin and Child depend upon 'prototypes of different periods', including a lost *Sacra Conversazione* in an interior (known from a drawing, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins); the St. Anthony depends upon the figures in Campin's early *Entombment Triptych* of c. 1415 (London, collection Count Seilern); the iris comes from the right wing of the Werl Altar, dated 1438 (Madrid, Prado). Among Houben's reasons for such a late dating of the Kress panel is his belief that the St. John is 'obviously partly derived' from Roger van der Weyden's *Medici Madonna* (Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut) of c. 1450.¹⁶ Panofsky described K1646 as 'impressive and fairly close to the Master of Flémalle but evidently not executed by himself, it is justly attributed to his studio'.¹⁷ In his reconstruction of the original setting of Roger van der Weyden's *Magdalen Reading* (London, National Gallery), Martin Davies noted that the placement of SS. Catherine and John in K1646 corresponds to that of the Magdalen and St. Joseph.¹⁸ According to Shapley, too much emphasis has been placed upon the role of assistants in the creation of the Kress panel. She did not believe it should be attributed to 'the Master of Flémalle Studio' since 'the master himself has to be credited for the composition and in great part also for the execution of this painting. In some parts, however, it may have been executed by assistants'.¹⁹ Seymour wrote (pp. 12–14) that the panel 'is to be identified with the style of the Master of Flémalle, but in a more precise and sharper vein than we normally associate with him.' Meiss described K1646 as by the same artist working in Flémalle's early style who painted the *Madonna of Humility in an Enclosed Garden* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen; hereafter referred to as the *Berlin Madonna*), and whose oeuvre 'shows softer forms and a more tender sentiment than we know in the work of the master himself'.²⁰ Walker (p. 304) gave the Kress panel to the Master of Flémalle and assistants. Koch described it as belonging to the School of the Master of Flémalle.²¹ Frinta found 'the facial types, hands, and drapery style . . . inspired by Campin's work but the brushwork . . . not identical; therefore, only his assistants can be considered as the author. An impersonal smoothness and unpleasant slickness of the flesh parts painted in pink with greenish-gray shading contrasts oddly with the more daring execution of the garments. Moreover, some anatomical details, such as the veins in John Baptist's legs and the lower eyelids of Catherine, are just cursory additions not organically integrated into the brushwork rendering the forms'.²² Stange described the painting as attributable to Campin or his studio.²³ It was given by Van Gelder to Jacques Daret, to whom he also assigned the *Berlin Madonna*, a diptych of the *Virgin and Child* and *Throne of Grace* (Leningrad, Hermitage), and the *Annunciation* (Madrid, Prado).²⁴ According to de Schryver the Kress panel was composed c. 1420.²⁵

A brass plaque (at Sainte Gertrude de Nivelles), in the earliest style of Robert Campin, dated 1461, has marked

compositional similarity to K1646 and probably reflects a lost painting by Campin contemporary with the Kress panel.²⁶ The location and format of the inscription on K1646 resembles those of funerary reliefs sculpted in Tournai in the first third of the fifteenth century. Campin was familiar with these monuments whose composition may have influenced that of K1646.²⁷ Among the most monumental works in Campin's style, this painting is an extremely important indication of the spatial treatment to which he turned after the completion of his first known panels – the *St. John the Baptist* fragment (Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art) and the *Entombment Triptych* (London, Count Seilern Collection). The gold background seen in Campin's earliest works has been abandoned in K1646 in favour of a far more realistic rendering. Moving away from the decorative late International Style, the artist has returned to the heroic Italian art of the first half of the fourteenth century, combining it with the great Franco-Burgundian sculptural achievements of the second. He has enriched the achievements of the past with the new luminosity and plasticity made possible through using the recently perfected oil medium. The Kress panel is one of the very few Netherlandish panel paintings of such size from the first half of the fifteenth century to have retained its original frame. The painting resembles such Campin panels as the front and back of the *Marriage of the Virgin* (Madrid, Prado) and the *Virgin and Child Appearing to SS. Peter and Augustine* (Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet). The physiognomical types in K1646 are especially related to those of the great *Deposition Triptych* known from a fragment (Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut) and a copy (Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery). The heads of Mary and Catherine in K1646 are close to those of the *Berlin Madonna* and the *Virgin* (right half of the Hermitage diptych) which, together with the Kress panel, were attributed by Van Gelder to Campin's apprentice Jacques Daret. The *Virgin and Child* are shown in similar form in two paintings of the *Holy Family* after Campin.²⁸

The somewhat awkward placement of St. John and St. Barbara suggests that these figures may have been adapted from a lost work of Campin where they were shown in a different context – possibly a representation of an indoor *Sacra Conversazione*. The discord between the figural scale and the architecture also points to such an extrapolation. The absence of a profound excitement and vigorous definition linked with Campin's art, and the use of a less rigorous approach to light and form than his, point to the bulk of the execution of the Kress panel by studio assistants such as the artist identified by Meiss as the Master of the *Berlin Madonna*. Long in a Bruges church for which it may have been commissioned, K1646 provides a valuable indication of the influence of Campin's art upon that of Bruges, as its audacious composition underlies the many renderings of similar subjects there in the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁹

The prominent 'A' at the bottom of the *Hausmarke* may indicate that the donor's first or second names began with that letter; its proximity to Anthony probably signifies that he was the donor's patron saint.³⁰ The conspicuous inscription and its *Hausmarke* suggests that the picture

functioned as an epitaph – a devotional painting placed near the donor's burial place in the church.³¹

Provenance: From a church in Bruges according to J. D. Passavant, who listed it in the collection of Imbert [des Motelettes] in 1833.³² Jonkheer De Potter-Soenens near Bruges.³³ Said to have been in the collection of Comtesse de Oudemard (Oudenaarde?). New York, Wildenstein and Co., Inc. Kress acquisition 1949, exhibited – National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1951. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona, Museum of Art, 1951–53, *Twenty-Five Paintings from the Collection of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation*, 1951, Cat. No. 74. Again exhibited in the National Gallery, 1961. *Art Treasures for America: An Anthology of Paintings and Sculpture in the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 1961, pp. 12, 14, 218, pl. 10 on p. 14, pl. 11 on p. 15, pl. 9 on p. 13.

References: (1) For Campin's life and achievements see Charles de Tolnay, *Le maître de Flémalle et les frères van Eyck*, Brussels, 1939; and Panofsky, I, pp. 149–77. For a comprehensive presentation of biographical data see the first section of Theodore H. Feder's 'A Re-examination through Documents of the First Fifty Years of Roger van der Weyden's Life', *Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1965, pp. 416–31. (2) When published by J. D. Passavant (*Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt, 1833, pp. 348–9), K1646 and its inscribed frame were described as being very poorly preserved, heavily restored and executed in tempera. After the tempera additions were removed, c. 1839 (Jonkheer de Potter-Soenens Collection) Passavant corrected his earlier view as to the technique and is so quoted by G. K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, Munich, 1879, I, p. 1, no. 1. If ever executed, the haloes must have been removed before 1839, as a reproductive print of that date by C. Onghena shows the panel in its present state. Reproduced by F. A. Spyers, 'Beschryving van twee Merkwurdivge Schilderyen uit de School der Gebroeders van Eyck', *Belgisch Museum voor de Nederduitsche Taal – en Letterkunde en de Geschiedenis des Vaderlands*, Ghent, 1839, III, pp. 182 ff., repr. opp. p. 183. (3) This text does not appear in Franz Joseph Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1854, II, 'Marienlieder'. Dr. Eberhard Schenk zu Schweinsberg (letter of 19/x/62, Kress Archive) believed the style of the inscription to correspond with the lettering in Netherlandish manuscript illuminations of 1450–80. (4) For *Hausmarken* see Homeyer, *Die Haus- und Hofmarken*, Berlin, 1870, and 2nd ed., Berlin, 1895. The mark on K1646 is not included in this volume. The *Hausmarke* (*Hauszeichen*) is a linear device belonging to a family and denoting its sponsorship or ownership. It was used mainly in Germany and the Netherlands. The *Hausmarke* belonged to the eldest son, the remaining brothers adding strokes for differentiation. There is a remote possibility that the sign may also be a mason's mark, possibly for a guild chapel, as so much emphasis is placed upon the stonework of the walls and unusually prominent tower. Passavant was not sure whether the sign at the right end of the inscription belonged to the donor of the painting or its artist (Passavant, *op. cit.*, pp. 348–9, pl. 2). The mark is reproduced

by G. K. Nagler, *loc. cit.* The similarity between the device of K1646 and one in a manuscript illumination in the 1485 Ghent edition of Boethius, *De consolazione philosophiae*, published by Arend de Keyser (Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, No. 781) was noted by Dr. Antoine de Schryver (letter of 29/xi/1955, Kress Archive). The Rosenwald Boethius was owned in 1912 by the Parisian book dealer Bélin. According to de Schryver, it was sold by André Hachette in Paris 16/xii/1963 (Hôtel Drouot) and included in the catalogue for *Livres anciens des Pays-Bas*, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, 1960, pp. 32-3, Cat. No. 52. F. de Mély (*Les Primitifs et leurs Signatures*, Paris, 1913, I, pp. 294-5) suggested that the device in the Boethius was that of Alexander Bening or some other manuscript illuminator whose first name began with an 'A'. He described the monogram inaccurately as an 'A' surmounted by a Latin cross. (5) For the iconography of the saints in K1646, see Réau, II, I, pp. 431-63; 2, pp. 295-304 (John Baptist); III, I, pp. 111-15 (Anthony); III, I, pp. 169-78 (Barbara); III, I, pp. 262-72 (Catherine). (6) See Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 32, who bases his interpretation on Song of Solomon 2:3, 'As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste.' According to Broadley (p. 14), 'The apple or quince she [Barbara] offers the Child is an age-old symbol of love alluding to her selfless devotion.' He described the doorway as symbolic, 'recalling Christ's saying, "I am the door. No man cometh unto the Father but by me".' (7) See Lottlisa Behling, *Die Pflanze in der mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei*, Weimar, 1957, pp. 61 f., for the symbolic or healing properties of many of the flowers shown in K1646. For the violet as a Marian symbol of sweetness, purity, love, chastity and virtue (according to St. Jerome and Hugh of St. Victor), see p. 42. (8) *Ibid.*, pp. 22-9; for the following Marian flowers in K1646 see: daisy (p. 27), violet (pp. 28, 41-2), columbine (pp. 27, 36-7, 41, 48; see also K2114 above, the Master of the St. Bartholomew Altar, p. 10, note 10), strawberry (Behling, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 31, 39, 40), iris (p. 38). According to Broadley (p. 14), 'The poppy and perennial daisy allude to eternal rest and immortality; the violet and pink signify Christian humility and love; and the iris and columbine are symbolic of suffering and sorrow willingly borne by the devoted follower of Christ.' (9) It is shown most notably in the *Maria Lactans* (Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut), *Seated Madonna* (Douai, Museum), and *St. Barbara* (Werl Altar, Madrid, Prado). One of the plants in K1646 combines the flowers of the narcissus with the leaves of a medicinal herb, similarly depicted in the Frankfurt *Maria Lactans* (Behling, *op. cit.*, p. 61). Aconite (wolf's bane), a poison plant, is shown next to the marigold, to the right of Mary's cushion. According to Albertus Magnus, aconite countered poison and cured leprosy (*ibid.*, p. 62). (10) Robert A. Koch, 'Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar', *Art Bulletin*, XLVI, 1964, p. 75, n. 42. (11) For early fifteenth-century Northern European depictions of the closed garden see Lilli Fischel, 'Über die künstlerische Herkunft des Frankfurter "Paradiesgärtleins"', *Essays in Honour of Georg Swarzenski*, Chicago, 1951, pp. 85-95.

(12) Georg Troesch, *Burgundische Malerei*, Berlin, 1966, I, p. 158; he illustrated an important example, the central panel of the altar of the Marienkirche, Bielefeld (II, pl. 54, fig. 250). (13) Passavant, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-9. (14) Splyers, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 182-8. (15) In the 1967 English edition of Friedländer's *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Leyden, p. 92, Addendum 152, Nicole Veronée-Verhaegen lists K1646 as 'Master of Flémalle, studio?'. (16) Walter Houben, letter of 3/xii/51, Kress Archive. (17) Panofsky, I, p. 426 (n. 4, p. 174). (18) Martin Davies, *Les primitifs flamands Corpus . . .*, The National Gallery, London, II, Brussels, 1954, p. 177. (19) Fern Rusk Shapley, Kress Archive. (20) Millard Meiss, '“Highlands” in the Lowlands: Jan van Eyck, the Master of Flémalle, and the Franco-Italian Tradition', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6me sér., LVII, 1961, pp. 272-314, esp. p. 277. In n. 10 Meiss observed that the copy of the Cloisters *Annunciation* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) is similar in style to the Kress and Berlin panels but seems weaker. This work was attributed to Jacques Daret by Carla Gottlieb, 'The Brussels Version of the Mérode *Annunciation*', *Art Bulletin*, XXXIX, 1967, p. 56. (21) Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 75. (22) Mojmir S. Frinta, *The Genius of Robert Campin*, The Hague, 1966, p. 118. Like Meiss, he related K1646 to the very early copy of the Mérode *Annunciation* in Brussels (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts), which Frinta found close to Jacques Daret. He compared the Christ Child to the one in the full-length *Maria Lactans* (Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut) and the heads of Mary and Catherine to those in the Brussels *Annunciation* (a very early copy of the Cloisters triptych). According to him, the heads of St. John and St. Anthony 'lack the expressive energy intrinsic in Campin's men.' (23) Alfred Stange, 'Vier südflandrische Marienaltäre: ein Beitrag zur Genese der niederländischen Malerei', *Alte und Moderne Kunst*, XI, 1966, pp. 2-10. Caption to fig. 22, p. 22, lists K1646 as by Robert Campin. (24) All the above are usually given to Campin or his studio. Jan G. van Gelder, 'An Early Work by Robert Campin', *Oud-Holland*, LXXXII, 1967, pp. 1-17. (25) Letter of 20/vi/68, Kress Archive. (26) Reproduced p. 36, fig. 6, Pierre Quarré, 'Plaques de la fondation d'Isabella de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne . . .', *Jahresberichte und Rechnungen des historischen Museums Basel*, 1959, pp. 29-38. (27) See Grete Ring, 'Beiträge zur Plastik von Tournai im 15. Jahrhundert', chap. XI in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, ed. Paul Clemen, Munich, 1923, I, pp. 269-91. (28) One is in Douai and the other was formerly at Le Puy. In the latter, the Child is much like that of K1646, reaching for an apple, the lower part of the body exposed. See Jacques Dupont, 'La Sainte Famille des Clarisses du Puy', *Les monuments historiques de France*, n.s. XII, 1966, pp. 150-7. (29) See Friedrich Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964, 'Vermählung der hl. Katherine', pp. 154-80. According to Hulin, followed by Friedländer (*Die altniederländische Malerei*, XIV, Leyden, 1938, p. 82), the great lost Crucifixion triptych (Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut) was also painted for a Bruges church. (30) Suggested by Houben, *op. cit.* For related remarks, see L. F. van Gent, *Een wereldreis van 2000 luistermerken*, Arnhem, 1944, nos. 19, 21. (31) For such use, see Karl Konrad and A. Ruppel, *Die Hausmarke*, Berlin 1939, 'Grabmal und

Totenschild', pp. 62–8. (32) Passavant, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, pp. 348–9. Ownership given as that of Imbert de Mottelettes by Spyers, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–9. (33) Spyers, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

Follower of ROBERT CAMPIN

K615 : Figures 45, 46

VIRGO LACTANS (recto); SUDARIUM (verso). New York, New York, Mrs. Rush H. Kress. Oil on panel. 11 in. diameter (28.0 cm.) including frame. Inscribed around circular engaged frame of recto: AVE REGINA CELORUM MATER REGES [sic] ANGELORUM [M] ('Hail Mary Queen of Heaven, Mother of the King of Angels').¹ The initials MB joined by golden love-knots are inscribed four times on border of verso. In good condition; has not been restored since acquisition.

Flowers are painted on the front and back of the frame.² Six depictions of Marian flowers separate the words inscribed on the gilded frame (recto) – these include the daisy, carnation, and pansy.³ The thistles on the verso symbolize earthly sorrow and sin; the plant is associated with the Passion of Christ.⁴ Other flowers on the back include the rose, strawberry, and violet. According to Ferguson, the strawberry indicates perfect righteousness (p. 48) and the violet, humility (p. 52). Recto: the blonde Virgin is in bust-length, facing right, nursing the Infant. Seen against a dark-red background, she wears a white headdress and a blue robe, the Infant at her left breast. Golden rays surround their heads. Verso: The Sudarium (an icon-like depiction of Christ's face) on a square white cloth, Veronica's veil is painted in *trompe-l'œil* as if hanging from the back of the dark-colored tondo, 'attached' to the upper corners.⁵ K615 was attributed to Jacques Daret by Weale.⁶ Held ascribed the tondo to a 'Follower of the Master of Flémalle' suggesting that it was originally placed in a domestic setting, probably attached by chains for hanging above the head of the bed.⁷ He related K615 to other devotional tondi with initials linked by love-knots indicating their commission at the time of a marriage.⁸

The composition of K615 recto is probably a reduced, reversed version of a full-length *Virgo Lactans* by Robert Campin (Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut). Some scholars believe the Kress composition to reflect a lost, half-length depiction by Campin.⁹ Campin juxtaposed the *Virgo Lactans* and the Veronica – the subjects of the wings of the great Flémalle Triptych (Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut). Both of these subjects refer to the Salvation of Mankind. The nursing of Christ is recalled by Mary in her intercession at the Last Judgment, often shown before God, pointing to her breast with one hand and to the Judged with the other in a gesture of supplication.¹⁰ The inscribed prayer on K615 is addressed to Mary. The format of K615 refers both to the cosmic dominion of the Lord and to the circular mirror so often understood in the late Middle Ages as an emblem of the revelation of divine will.

This view was popularized in the early fourteenth-century text *Speculum humanae salvationis* ('Mirror of Human Salvation') where the fortieth chapter, devoted to the Last Judgment, stresses Mary's intercessional gesture.¹¹ Many tondi of the same composition (after Campin) survive, the earliest in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art. Of these, ten, like K615, show Mary facing right and nine, such as the Frankfurt *Virgo Lactans*, have her facing toward the left.¹² The recto of K615 may perhaps have been painted by a Bruges master active near the end of the fifteenth century, but its abstract qualities also suggest the possibility of a Northern French origin. The more realistically rendered verso is not necessarily by the same hand; it is less dependent than the recto upon the Campin of the same subject (Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut).

Provenance: A. L. Nicholson, London, 1909.¹³ Sir Edgar Speyer, New York, 1925; purchased from his widow by Drey Gallery, New York, c. 1943. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) Another circular Campinesque depiction of the same subject has the same inscription. See Jan Bialostocki, *Les Primitifs Flamands, Corpus . . . , Les Musées de Pologne*, Brussels, 1966, p. 40, Cat. No. 18 (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts). According to W. H. James Weale, 'A Madonna Attributed to James Daret . . .', *Burlington Magazine*, xv, 1909, p. 180, the inscription is from a 'well-known Lenten anthem'. A related inscription is found on the frame of an early sixteenth-century depiction of the same subject (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) – *Ave regina celorum ave domina angelorum . . .* – from an antiphon of Compline. See Harry B. Wehle and Margaretta Salinger, *A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1947, p. 113. (2) The bare oak, outermost circle of the engaged frame of K615 suggests that the tondo was probably inserted in a larger setting. For a similarly flower-bordered frame, also engaged to a Campin-derived subject close in date to K615, see *The Trinity* (Madrid, Museo Arqueológico), reproduced in Jacques Lavalleye, *Les Primitifs Flamands, Corpus . . . , Collections d'Espagne*, Antwerp, 1953, Cat. No. 1, pl. 1. (3) Linked to Mary and healing properties, the symbolism of these flowers is discussed by Lottlisa Behling in *Die Pflanze in der mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei*, Weimar, 1957. For the carnation, symbolizing the nails of the cross, see Colin Eisler, *Les Primitifs Flamands, Corpus . . . , New England Museums*, Brussels, 1961, p. 51. According to George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, 1954, the carnation signifies pure love (p. 34); the daisy, innocence of the Christ Child (p. 36); the pansy, remembrance and meditation (p. 45). (4) *Ibid.*, p. 49. (5) For the *Virgo Lactans*, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 96–7. For the Veronica, see Karl Pearson, *Die Fronica: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes im Mittelalter*, Strasbourg, 1877, pp. 69 ff. See also K1646. (6) Weale, *art. cit.*, pp. 180 ff. (7) Julius Held, 'A tondo by Cornelis Engelbrechtz', *Oud-Holland*, LXII, 1952, pp. 233–7, esp. pp. 235–6. (8) Held cited a *Man of Sorrows* tondo (Aix, Musée Granet) by Engelbrechtz (*ibid.*, p. 234). Another

tondo with love-knots was in the Galerie Robert Finck (Brussels) in 1962. (9) Friedrich Winkler (*Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden*, Strasbourg, 1913, p. 21) and Max J. Friedländer (*Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924, II, p. 113) share this view. According to Bialostocki (*op. cit.*, pp. 37, 41) a recently discovered triptych after Campin with the *Virgo Lactans* in the center (Brussels, Galerie Robert Finck) supports the above assumption. (10) See Millard Meiss, 'An Early Altarpiece for the Cathedral of Florence', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XII, 1954, pp. 302-17. (11) J. Lutz and P. Pedrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Paris, 1907, pp. 293 ff. (12) See Bialostocki, *op. cit.*, p. 39. K615 is his Cat. No. 118, IIb.20. For another list of similar works see Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 3. See also Mojmír S. Frinta, *The Genius of Robert Campin*, The Hague, 1966, p. 117. (13) Weale, *art. cit.*, p. 180.

PETRUS CHRISTUS

Petrus Christus was born at Baerle (Flanders or Brabant), c. 1410 (?) and died in Bruges 1472/3, a burgher of the latter since 1444. His earliest training could have taken place in a North Netherlandish milieu. He may have been active as a studio assistant of Jan van Eyck (died 1441) and became that master's most distinguished follower in Bruges where Christus was dean of the Guild of St. Luke. His first signed and dated works are the *Edward Grymeston* portrait (Gorhambury, Earl of Verulam) and the *Carthusian* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), both of 1446. The artist was influenced by Robert Campin and Roger van der Weyden, most notably in his *Lamentation* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts), and may have been associated with these masters prior to residing in Bruges. Like Jan van Eyck, Christus received patronage from the many countries whose commerce was linked to that of the Netherlands. He was probably active in Southern Europe where his name has sometimes been identified with that of 'Piero de Bruges' who taught artists at the Milanese court in 1457.¹ Most of his surviving works were discovered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Italy and Spain. Although the chronology of his works is not clear, Christus' final style, as seen in the *Madonna and Child* (Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum) and the *Death of the Virgin* (San Diego, Putnam Foundation), has a lucid plasticity which may have influenced Italian art as well as that of the North.² Despite his somewhat eclectic art, Christus' oeuvre has an original, almost Cubist clarity, making him a leading master of the mid-fifteenth century. His seven dated works range from 1446 to 1457. The largest number of his paintings are now in the United States.

PETRUS CHRISTUS

K488A/B : Figures 48, 49

DONOR AND DONATRIX (triptych wings, inner sides). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1367/68), since 1956. Oil on oak. Each panel 16½ × 8½ in. (42.0 × 21.6 cm.). Extremely narrow strips of wood are added to the left side of K488A and right side of K488B; these are covered by their frames. Inscriptions on a woodcut (or possibly drawing) on the wall refer to Christ and to Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, who is seen in full-length in white monastic garb, wearing a crown and holding crowns in her outstretched arms.³ Text on prayer-book is illegible. The donor's arms (on a shaped shield suspended from the wall by a red cord at the upper left) are: Or a chief gules with silver foliate decorative spiral.⁴ The donatrix' arms (on a shaped shield at the upper left) are: Per pale gules and argent, on a chief or a demi-eagle naissant sable. They belong to the Vivaldi family of Genoa.⁵ K488A (Donor): the head was 'spotted with small holes the size of pin-pricks' before recent restoration.⁶ Some areas of old, discolored inpainting; vertical join through ear. K488B (Donatrix): well preserved; vertical join near donatrix' elbow. Restored by Pichetto c. 1938.

Suida, p. 170, Cat. No. 75. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pp. 70-1, pls. 63-4.

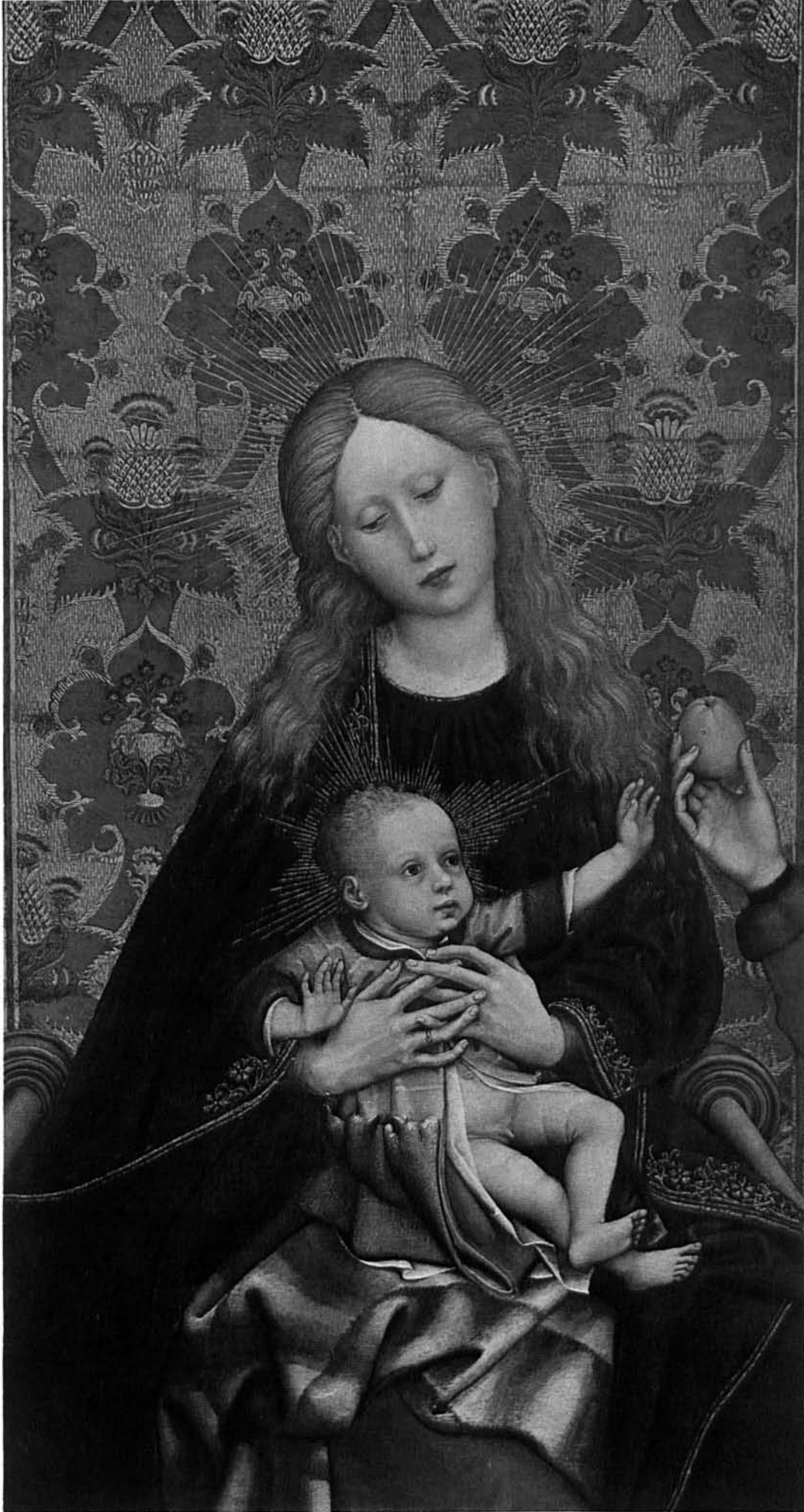
First distinguished as navigators in the thirteenth century, the Vivaldi were one of the largest families belonging to the Genoese nobility. Linked to mercantile rather than political interests, the Vivaldi were moneylenders and traders, especially active in Northern Europe and Spain. Many Vivaldi were members of the Italian colony in Bruges at least as early as the late fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth.⁷ Antonio Vivaldi was a major Bruges banker in the 1420s and later, lending money to Philip the Good; Lazzaro Vivaldi, an important Genoese merchant, resided there at the same time.⁸ The kneeling donor in the left wing (K488A) faces to the right, in three-quarter view, hands joined in prayer, his pattens removed, on the floor to the left. His dark, rich, full-sleeved robe is fur trimmed. A very long red *chaperon* is over his shoulder. His attire indicates an official position, probably in the court of the Duke of Burgundy where he may have had a clerical or humanistic role.⁹ He kneels on the threshold of a vaulted anteroom; behind him two steps lead up to a courtyard at the left, where a hilly landscape is seen above a brick crenellated wall. The main edifice is continued to the left where a wooden door is seen with three blank shields and two pairs of windows above, arranged one over the other. The same floor, paved in pink and gray, is seen in the foreground, in the raised area behind and on the other wing. The donatrix in the right wing (K488B) is in a rich, gallery-like room with inlaid marble panels, and wears a red velvet, fur-trimmed gown. She wears her hair under a small, close fitting, peaked helmet-like head-dress embroidered with lozenges of pearls centered with red circlets, edged by a gold and black ribbon which also fastens the coiffure around the ears, all of which is covered

by a white veil.¹⁰ She kneels facing to the left, on a very small dark-green carpet, before a stone prie-dieu with a book open upon it. The lady is parallel to a wall at the left with a colored woodcut of St. Elizabeth of Hungary attached with sealing wax placed just below the donatrix' heraldic shield. A landscape with a V-shaped formation of birds in the sky is seen through the rectangular aperture which is at the upper right. A Romanesque arcade with contrastingly colored colonettes forms part of the window-like form. It is placed above a wall with rectangular insets of differently colored stone similar to that of the *Virgin and Child with a Carthusian Donor and Saints Barbara and Elizabeth* (New York, Frick Collection). The tiled floor is similar to that in K488A.

Friedländer certified the authorship of K488A/B as Petrus Christus' from c. 1460, and included them in his corpus.¹¹ Longhi described the panels as 'undoubtedly very important works by Petrus Christus.' He noted 'strong Italian influences in the perspective and sense of volume'.¹² Burroughs wrote 'the costumes point to a date in the '60s . . . in which the glazes are applied in the same, sure manner as in the *Portrait of a Monk*' (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).¹³ Suida (p. 170, Cat. No. 75) identified the subject of the woodcut as St. Elizabeth of Hungary, suggesting that the donatrix' Christian name was the same. He compared her features to those of the female portrait by Petrus Christus in Berlin (Staatliche Museen) and noted that the landscapes in K488A/B recall those in dated works by Christus (1452 *Annunciation* and *Nativity*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen). According to Frankfurter, the lost central subject of the triptych was probably a *Nativity* or *Adoration* executed c. 1460. He pointed out that such small altars commemorated the birth of a child, also indicated by the youthfulness of the donors whom he believed to have been recently married as the arms of both are displayed with equal prominence.¹⁴ Broadley (p. 20) suggested that as the Kress portraits were discovered in Genoa they 'may have been among the many Flemish paintings enthusiastically collected by Italians during the fifteenth century.' He proposed that the lost central panel showed a Madonna and Child. Seymour (p. 72) dated the panels c. 1460, stressing the early, influential role of Petrus Christus' art in Italy. It was suggested by Levenson that the Kress wings belonged with a *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Jerome (?) and Francis* (Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut). The panel, an Italianate *Sacra Conversazione*, measures 46 × 44 in. and is probably dated 1457 (for this reconstruction see Text Fig. 17).¹⁵ Cuttler related K488A/B to the Christus *Portrait of a Young Man* (London, National Gallery), noting the artist's interest in 'correct perspective'.¹⁶ Arguing for the location of the Kress panels on either side of the one in Frankfurt, Lane pointed out that about 4.6 cm. were cut from the left side of the latter – the absence of this area would explain some spatial discrepancies. She also suggested that the original frame would have taken up the difference in size between the central panel and the wings – 4 cm. in height and 5.4 cm. in width. The scholar observed that 'the treatment of the floor in all three panels is identical, with the orthogonals leading to a point centered

in the base of the virgin's neck. Secondly, the light source comes from the left foreground in each of the three panels . . . the red brick ballustrade [sic] on the terrace behind the male worshipper . . . has the same shape and decoration as that visible through the door in the Frankfurt panel to the right of St. Francis. The continuous space of the triptych extends also to the landscapes, which exhibit similar sunlit, cloudless skies and a green and brown hilly terrain. Furthermore, a descending slope visible through the window in the right wing appears to complete the hill begun in the scene behind St. Francis in the Frankfurt panel'.¹⁷ Lane further commented that the absence of patron saints in the Kress wings was found in another donor panel by the same artist (London, National Gallery) and that the saints in the presumed central panel, the Frankfurt *Sacra Conversazione* – itself an Italian theme – were mediating with the Virgin and Child for the donors, who witness this intercession from the wings.¹⁸

The central panel to which the wings belong may indeed be the Frankfurt painting or a related depiction of a Virgin and Child Enthroned in a setting with interior and exterior views.¹⁹ On the basis of the wings' size, the central panel must have been almost square in shape. This format, while it does not preclude an Annunciation (appropriate for a childless couple), is better suited to a more static subject. The awkward spatial and figural relationships found in the reconstruction of the triptych to which the Kress wings belonged (Text Fig. 17) need not argue against the correctness of this assemblage. Some Bruges diptychs and triptychs from the second half of the fifteenth century showed such discrepancies, probably due to some delay between the execution of the central and the side panels – the latter sometimes produced to go with a pre-existing main painting. The still Eyckian Frankfurt panel could have been ordered from Christus in Bruges, possibly by Dario Vivaldi, and the wings added later, perhaps painted by Christus during his Italian residence. The artist's name does not appear in Bruges archives between 1452–63, suggesting that he may well have been in Italy during these years – a 'Piero de Bruges' was recorded at the Milanese court in 1457 and this name has often been linked to Christus.²⁰ Many of the artist's paintings recently belonged to Italians, who probably inherited them from Christus' Italian patrons.²¹ As noted by Lane, 1457 is also the date on the Frankfurt panel to which the Kress donors apparently belong. Like his great associate Jan van Eyck, Christus could already have gone to Italy relatively early in his career. An unpublished *Nativity* in a Swiss private collection signed and dated 1452, shows Italianate qualities. Iconographic reasons may also argue for a probable combination of the Kress panels with the Frankfurt *Sacra Conversazione*. The donatrix' patron Saint Elizabeth was linked to the Franciscan Order, whose founder is seen nearest K488B if the latter is placed to the right of the German panel. The rose is central to the miracles of Elizabeth and is held by the Virgin, and a rose motif is worked into the border of the carpet. The gaufered gold edging and other details of the binding of the donatrix' book are repeated in the book held by the saint nearest the donor wing in the Städel



Follower of Robert Campin: Detail from *Madonna and Child with Saints in the Enclosed Garden* (c. 1466).
Washington, D.C. (p. 46)



Hans Memling: Detail from *The Presentation in the Temple* (к 2088). Washington, D.C. (p. 57)

painting. In each pair of donor and saint a devotional book is to be found, in one case held by the donatrix, in the other by the donor's patron saint. The Kress panels are outstanding examples of portraiture by the leading master of Bruges at mid-century, probably executed c. 1457, and, as noted by Longhi, already indicating Italian influence upon the Netherlandish artist.

Provenance: Said to have been purchased from a Genoese family. As the arms in K488B are those of the Vivaldi, the panels may have been acquired from the Genoese donatrix' descendants. Florence, A. Contini-Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1937. Exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1951.

References: (1) See Germain Bazin, 'Petrus Christus et les rapports entre l'Italie et la Flandre au milieu du XV^e siècle', *Revue des Arts*, II, 1952, pp. 194-208. (2) For the problem of his chronology see Otto Pächt, 'Die Datierung der Brüsseler Beweinung', *Belvedere*, IX-X, 1926, pp. 155 ff.; Panofsky, I, pp. 308-14. For Christus' oeuvre see Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I (notes and comments by Nicole Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, 1967. Also, Charles Sterling, 'Observations on Petrus Christus', *Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, pp. 1-26. (3) The print does not correspond exactly with those of the same subject in W. L. Schreiber, *Holzschnitte mit Darstellungen der männlichen und weiblichen Heiligen*, III, Leipzig, 1927, p. 85, Cat. Nos. 1407-8 M, most of which include an elaborate nimbus. For Elizabeth of Hungary see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, IV, Rome, 1964, cols. 1110-22. (4) Arms identified by Jessie McNab. The only Flemish family known to bear these arms are the Van Meghem, given in the roll of arms of the herald Gelre (1370) as one of the Grand Vassals of the Duke of Brabant; little is known of them in the fifteenth century. The sitter may be of another origin, as such arms are recorded as borne by families in other European countries. The bare shields above the doorway in the background may originally have been painted with arms. A recent discussion of the heraldic elements is found in Barbara G. Lane, 'Petrus Christus: A reconstructed triptych with an Italianate motif', *Art Bulletin*, LII, pp. 390-3, pp. 391-2. (5) V. Spredi, *Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana*, VI, Milan, 1932, p. 958. (6) Alan Burroughs, *Art Criticism from a Laboratory*, Boston, 1938, p. 250. Photographs by Reali (Kress Archive) show the panels before restoration. The medium of K488A/B is sometimes described as emulsified tempera. The present frames, with their curved tops, cover the upper corners of the paintings. (7) For their general financial activity see Jacques Heers, *Gênes au XV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1961, pp. 114, 120; Alberto Magnaghi, 'Vivaldi (Ugolino e Guido)', *Enciclopedia Italiana*, xxv, Rome, 1937, pp. 524-5. Of the family resident in Genoa only Dario Vivaldi is known to have traveled to the Netherlands. I should like to thank Florence de Roover and Jacques Heers for sharing their knowledge of Bruges-Genoa financial ties with me. Percevallo de' Vivaldi, banking partner of Benedetto Lomellini (another prominent Genoese family trading with the Netherlands) was listed in the Bruges trade in a letter of 21 Sept. 1392. See Raymond de Roover,

Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges, Cambridge, 1948, p. 280. A Cattano Vivaldi was in Bruges in 1394. See Eugenio Lazzareschi, *Libro della Comunità dei Mercanti Lucchesi in Bruges*, Milan, 1947, p. 211. (8) See de Roover, *op. cit.*, pp. 314, 347. Other members of the Vivaldi family in Bruges were Marco, Piero-Antonio, and Valerio (also known as Valeriano). Information courtesy of Florence de Roover. See also Joseph Marechal, *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van het Bankwesen te Brugge*, Bruges, 1955, p. 49. An A. Vivaldi, Genoese merchant, was recorded in Antwerp in 1489. See J. A. Goris, *Études sur les colonies marchandes méridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, Louvain, 1925, p. 394. Reference courtesy of Dr. A. Schouteet, Conservator, Stadsarchief, Bruges. (9) His garb is similar to that of the kneeling author on the frontispiece of the *Chroniques du Hainaut* of 1446-48 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 9241) and that of Jan de Witte, advisor to Charles the Bold and Burgomaster of Bruges (in the triptych dated 1473, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts). For figures in clerical garb whose attire corresponds to that of the Kress donor, see L. M. J. Delaissé, 'Les "Chroniques de Hainaut" et l'atelier de Jean Wauquelin . . .', *Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky*, Brussels, 1955, pp. 21-56, figs. 1-2, 7. The kneeling figure with the book is identified as a cleric of the Duke of Burgundy on p. 37. According to W. Norman Hargreaves-Mawdsley, the sitter's attire indicates official status. He noted French influence in his garb and that in Germany, from 1420 onwards, a red chaperon was worn over a black gown by persons of 'academical dignity, lawyers, and even schoolmasters'. This is also true in Italy (see the kneeling man in Joos van Ghent's *Rhetoric* (?), London, National Gallery). Similar attire is worn by the donor in the Roger van der Weyden *Lamentation* (London, National Gallery). Clerics customarily received a very small tonsure. Whether or not the Kress donor had such is unascertainable as the head has been somewhat restored; some clerics seem to have been allowed to marry. (10) Stella Mary Newton (Kress Archive, 5/IV/67) dated this headgear as fashionable from 1400 to the late 1430s and placed her dress not later than 1450. (11) Letter of 21/IV/27, Kress Archive. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, XIV, Leyden, 1937, p. 79. The same is repeated in the English edition (Brussels, I, 1967, p. 104). (12) Kress Archive, 1937. August Liebmann Mayer followed Longhi's views. (13) Burroughs, *op. cit.*, p. 250. He believed the date of 1446 inscribed on the [*Carthusian*] *Monk* to be incorrect, placing the painting at least a decade later. This is highly unlikely. (14) Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'Interpreting Masterpieces; Twenty-four Paintings for the Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, XXI, 1951, pp. 82-129, esp. pp. 100-7. (15) Judith Levenson, 'Petrus Christus and the Rational Use of Space', M.A. Thesis, New York University, 1965, pp. 35-45. (16) Charles D. Cuttler, *Northern Painting*, New York, 1968, p. 133. (17) Lane, *art. cit.*, pp. 390-1. (18) *Ibid.*, p. 393. (19) For two examples of this group attributed to Christus see Friedländer, 1967, *op. cit.*, pls. 88 (Madrid, Prado) and 89 (Madrid, private collection). See also the Boutsian *Virgin and Child with Angels* (Granada, Capilla Real). In both of these, the upper part of the throne resembles the masonry in the right wing (K488B) which is

Eyckian in source (*Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor*, New York, Frick Collection) as is the landscape vista with birds in flight. Christus' *Virgin and Child* (Kansas City, Nelson Gallery – Atkins Museum) has a floor similar to that of K488B, as does the Frankfurt panel. (20) F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Pittori lombardi del quattrocento*, Milan, 1902, pp. 89, 217. (21) See Germain Bazin, 'Petrus Christus et les rapports entre l'Italie et la Flandre au milieu du XV^e siècle', *Revue des Arts*, II, 1952, pp. 194–208; C. de Mandach, 'Un atelier provençal du XV^e siècle', *Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, XVI, 1909, pp. 196–9; Lane, *art. cit.*, pp. 390–3.

DIERIC BOUTS

Dieric Bouts was born in Haarlem c. 1406 and died in Louvain in 1475.¹ He established himself in the university center by 1447 and one of his major works, the triptych of the *Institution of the Eucharist*, still remains at the church of St. Pierre. This painting, dated 1464, is the first surviving Northern European painting to employ one-point perspective. Bouts's profoundly expressive, austere figures, his mastery of landscape, especially evident in *The Entombment* (London, National Gallery), and his brilliant portraiture (*Man in a Red Hat*, dated 1462, London, National Gallery) make him one of the greatest Northern masters of his day.

Circle of DIERIC BOUTS

K1897 : Figure 56

DONOR PORTRAIT. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1618), since 1956. Oil (transferred from panel to masonite, with veneered and cradled back). 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 in. (25.6 × 20.4 cm.). Wooden strips $\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide added all around; considerable abrasion; restoration in area of hair, ear, chin, and background at upper right; vertical join about 1 in. from right side; background has been extensively restored. Restored by Modestini in 1955. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 42, Cat. No. 12.

The donor, facing right, his hands joined in prayer, is shown to just below the waist. Clad in a red fur-trimmed coat, with a black scarf over the right shoulder, he is seen against a dark background.

When K1897 was exhibited in 1906 as by Jan van Eyck, Friedländer noted that the background was overpainted and that the panel was originally part of the left wing of an altar. He characterized K1897 as a good Netherlandish work of c. 1450, close to the art of Dieric Bouts, especially in the rendering of the hands and the uncompromising expression.² In 1925 Friedländer described the portrait as worthy of Bouts's hand and catalogued it as an autograph work.³ Baldass related the heads in Bouts's *Erasmus Altar* (Louvain, S. Pierre) to K1897, placing the Kress panel among Bouts's mature works of 1460–65, executed before the *Madonna* (Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut) and the *Male Portrait* of 1462 (London, National Gallery).⁴ In Schöne's Bouts monograph, the Kress panel was tentatively

given to an artist to whom the scholar assigned a series of paintings formerly accepted as Bouts's, most notably the *Arrest of Christ* (Munich, Pinakothek). He also noted strong influence from Hugo van der Goes, suggesting that the Kress painting may be by yet another master, perhaps the artist who painted the half-length *Virgin and Child* (John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art) of c. 1470.⁵ Winkler followed Schöne's views, describing the artist of the Kress donor as similar to Bouts and Van der Goes, but not on their level. He also found K1897 close to the Johnson panel, noting that both placed curious emphasis on the structure of the knuckles.⁶ The panel was attributed to Dieric Bouts by Bach, who dated it c. 1460.⁷

The mannered treatment of the hands of K1897, as suggested by Winkler, points away from Bouts's authorship. Schöne's observation that the *Donor* is by an artist close to both Bouts and Van der Goes is convincing. The portrait probably dates c. 1470 and was painted by an artist active in Ghent or Louvain.

Provenance: John Osmaston, Osmaston Manor, Derby, exhibited – London, Royal Academy, *Exhibitions of works by the old masters and by deceased masters of the British school*, 1879, p. 41, Cat. No. 218, as by Jan van Eyck. Alfred Brown, Brighton, exhibited – London, Art Gallery of the Corporation of London, *Works by Flemish and Modern Belgian Painters*, 1906, Cat. No. 4, as by Jan van Eyck (Cat. by A. G. Temple). New York, M. Knoedler and Co., exhibited – Denver, Colorado, Art Museum, *Art of the Middle Ages*, 10 Dec. 1950–11 Feb. 1951. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) Wolfgang Schöne, *Dieric Bouts*, Berlin–Leipzig, 1938; *Dieric Bouts*, Exhibition Catalogue, Brussels–Delft, 1957–58; Max J. Friedländer, 'Dieric Bouts and Joost van Gent', *Early Netherlandish Painting*, III, New York, 1968. (2) Max J. Friedländer, 'Die Leihausstellung in der Guildhall zu London...', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIX, 1906, pp. 573–82, esp. p. 574. (3) Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, III, Berlin, 1925, pp. 106–7, Cat. No. 107. (4) Ludwig Baldass, 'Die Entwicklung des Dirk Bouts', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s., 6, 1932, pp. 77–114, esp. p. 93. (5) Wolfgang Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, 1938, p. 166, Cat. No. 48. K1897 is p. 170, Cat. No. 54. He also suggested that the Kress portrait may be by the same hand as the donor fragment in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), there attributed to Bouts, which is given to Ouwater in more recent literature. (6) Friedrich Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964, p. 254. (7) Otto Karl Bach, 'Art of the Middle Ages', *Denver Art Museum Quarterly*, Winter, 1950, pp. 7–8.

HANS MEMLING

Hans Memling was born in Seligenstadt (near Frankfurt); he died in Bruges in 1494. He may have been trained in Roger van der Weyden's studio in Brussels, linked to the

latter by Vasari, before buying the right of citizenship of Bruges in 1466. Friedländer suggested that he may have been in Roger's studio when the *Columba Altar* (Munich, Pinakothek) was completed, before 1463.¹ He is listed as a free master of the painter's guild in Bruges in 1468, about the time of his first certain work, the *Donne Triptych* (London, National Gallery). Perhaps the most successful Bruges artist of the 1470s and 80s, Memling was a brilliant technician, producing an extremely large oeuvre. Many of his commissions were for Hanseatic and Italian members of the mercantile colony of Bruges, where much of his work remains. Memling's works are readily recognizable, although only one of his paintings is completely documented (*Floreins Triptych*, S. Jans-hospitaal, Bruges, dated 1479). The *Annunciation* (New York, Metropolitan Museum, Lehman Collection) probably dates from 1472 and the *Moreel Altar* (Brussels, Musées Royaux) from 1484. The *Nieuwenhove Diptych* (1487, Bruges, S. Jans-hospitaal) shows Memling's quiet mastery of the portrait. Memling was dependent upon the traditional art of Bruges, especially that of Jan van Eyck: he united it with the more fashionable, later works of Van der Weyden, also incorporating Italian Renaissance ornament in his last works. His panoramic panels in Lübeck (1491), Munich, and Turin and the Reliquary of St. Ursula (Bruges, S. Jans-hospitaal) display his ability to bring together elements of Netherlandish art from the International Style of c. 1400 to his own day.²

References: (1) Max J. Friedländer, *Memling*, Amsterdam, n.d. [194?], p. 10. (2) For more detailed biography and corpus of Memling's oeuvre, see Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, vi, Berlin, 1928; Ludwig Baldass, *Hans Memling*, Vienna, 1942.

K1840A/B : Figures 51, 50

ST. VERONICA HOLDING THE SUDARIUM; THE CHALICE OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST IN A NICHE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1125), since 1951. Oil on oak. 12¼ × 9½ in. (31.1 × 24.2 cm.). Original borders all around on front and back of panel. K1840A: generally well-preserved; small losses in sky area; rays in Veronica's halo are rubbed;¹ slight restoration in lowermost part of red dress. K1840B: although well-preserved, the surface is much darkened due to discolored varnish and to discolored old restoration (just above top of chalice, in niche; in other areas). K1840 was originally placed to the right of a panel showing *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (Munich, Pinakothek No. 652) identical in size (Text Fig. 14). They must have been separated before 1819, when the Munich panel was acquired by King Maximilian I of Bavaria. An X-ray of the reverse of the Munich panel shows a skull facing left in a masonry niche, which would have been turned toward the head of the serpent in the chalice depicted in K1840B.²

K1840A: reproduced in color Seymour, p. 63, pl. 56. K1840B: in color in George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, 1954, pl. xi.

St. Veronica, in a landscape setting, is richly attired in a fur-trimmed red dress and blue cloak, wearing a white turban-like headdress surrounded by golden rays, with a white cloth under her chin. She is shown in an almost kneeling pose, looking down at the *Sudarium* – the white cloth miraculously imprinted with Christ's face – which she displays with both hands.³ A small pool is in the middle-ground at the left, from which a road winds to the right into the background where a fortified castle is seen. In the apocryphal 'Acts of Pilate', Veronica is identified as the woman whom Christ freed from the issue of blood (Matthew 9: 20); but she was associated by Eusebius with a divinely wrought image of Christ. The legend of that sacred portrait was developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; toward the end of this period, the saint is described as 'receiving the miraculous image of Christ's features when she wiped his face with a cloth on the road to Calvary.' Known as the *Sudarium*, the portrait was the first devotional image to which indulgenced prayers could be said; Pope John XXII (early fourteenth century) promised 10,000 days' indulgence for recital of the hymn *Salve sancta facies*, for which several earlier popes had already given lesser remission.⁴

On the reverse (K1840B) is a late medieval golden chalice with a six-lobed base and a jeweled knob at the centre, placed within an arched masonry niche, painted as a *trompe l'oeil*.⁵ The chalice with the serpent is the cup of poison from venomous reptiles given to St. John the Evangelist, perhaps by the High Priest Aristodemus of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, acting for the Emperor Domitian. The High Priest said that he would follow John's faith if he could drink the liquid without harm. After the Apostle made the sign of the cross over the cup, he drank its contents safely. Living serpents were then found at the bottom of the cup. In some accounts, the Evangelist was then exiled to Patmos.⁶

The Kress panel was ascribed to Memling by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in 1872; the picture had been listed as the Netherlandish master's in the Demidoff sale.⁷ Friedländer included the panel in his Memling studies of 1921 and 1928 when he noted that the *Veronica* was similar to the one depicted on the exterior of Memling's *Floreins Triptych* (Bruges, S. Jans-hospitaal), but not copied from the latter.⁸ In 1928 Friedländer related the Munich panel to a reference in the *Anonimo Morelliano* recording a small diptych painted by Memling in 1470 seen in the early sixteenth century in Padua, in the house of Pietro Bembo.⁹ It showed St. John Baptist in a landscape with a lamb and the Virgin and Child in a landscape setting. Valentiner first suggested that K1840 may have been the companion of the Munich *St. John*.¹⁰ Heinemann proposed that the Kress panel with its German companion piece formed the diptych listed in the *Anonimo Morelliano*.¹¹ The *Veronica* was not linked with the Munich *St. John* by Bazin, who dated the latter c. 1470 and reproduced the Kress panel considerably later in his text.¹² Baldass dated the K1840 before the *Floreins Triptych* (Bruges, S. Jans-hospitaal, 1479).¹³ K1840 was placed in the early 1470s by Krönig.¹⁴ The landscape in K1840A was

described by Frankfurter as 'mild Flemish countryside near Bruges, whose castle is silhouetted on the horizon . . . [Veronica] is dressed as a devout Flemish *bourgeoise*, her headdress indicating a novitiate in an uncloistered order.' He suggested that Veronica may be a portrait of the donor, represented in the guise of her patron saint, datable c. 1480.¹⁵ Sterling did not believe that the Munich *St. John the Baptist* was the companion piece to the Kress panel since the verso of K1840 shows the chalice – symbol of St. John the Evangelist. As Veronica is in a landscape setting, Sterling suggested that the companion panel would have shown St. John the Evangelist on Patmos. He regarded the Munich *St. John* as part of the diptych in Pietro Bembo's collection. In view of the similar dimensions of the Kress and Munich panels, Sterling suggested that Memling painted two small *pendant* diptychs, one devoted to the Baptist and the other to the Evangelist.¹⁶ Broadley (p. 22) thought that the chalice side (K1840B) 'was originally associated, probably in a small private altarpiece, with a panel devoted to St. John [the Evangelist]'. Seymour (pp. 62–3) described K1840B as 'one of the earliest manifestations of still-life as a complete and almost independent genre of painting in the north', calling the devotional image held by Veronica 'a kind of metaphor, in saintly legend, of the art of painting itself'. According to him the chalice, symbol of St. John the Evangelist, 'possibly points to the man who ordered the painting, more likely a private individual whose given name was John, than the Bruges hospital'. Cairns and Walker (*Pageant*, I, p. 84) dated K1840 c. 1480, describing it as probably the right wing of a diptych. Kermer believed that K1840 and the *St. John the Baptist* probably belonged to the same diptych, due to their identical size, and their corresponding figure scale and landscapes. He noted that the rocky outcroppings, the plants in the foreground, the trees in the background, the meadows and the horizon line are alike in both panels. Moreover, the stream in the Munich panel is continued to the upper left of the seated Veronica.¹⁷ According to Kermer, K1840B was contemporary with the *Veronica* side, but possibly executed by a studio assistant; it was only visible when the diptych was closed, as customarily the right wing of fifteenth-century diptychs was closed over the left. In this event, the skull on the verso of the *St. John* (unknown to Kermer) would have hung against the wall. He noted the Eyckian style of the *Chalice* side, describing it as being without parallel in the art of the fifteenth century. Kermer dated the Kress panel after 1475.¹⁸ Commenting on the curious fact that the Evangelist's chalice is shown without any adjoining representation of that saint, Kermer related the chalice to the later fifteenth-century's concern with magic, 'Dämonomania', to the vessel's miraculous powers of exorcism.¹⁹ The donor of K1840 may, according to Kermer (p. 187), have been a member of the Hospital of St. John in Bruges (for which Memling executed many paintings). He proposes Jan Floreins, who, since 1488, was Haushofmeister of the Hospital and in this role was the only member allowed to pour wine.

Baptism and the chalice are often linked by Christ (Matthew 20:22–2; Mark 16:17). Memling showed the two St.

Johns in the central panel of the *St. John Altar* (Bruges, S. Jans-hospitaal; 1479), the Baptist at the left and the Evangelist at the right. The two saints also appear on the wings of the altar commissioned by Sir John Donne (London, National Gallery), and are the patron saints of Jan van Eyck's *Altar* (Ghent, St. Bavo), completed in 1432. Small votive altars commissioned by donors named John may often have involved both the Baptist and the Evangelist. They are shown in the *Braque Triptych* (Paris, Louvre) by Roger van der Weyden. Like K1840, the triptych also includes the Veronica, next to the Evangelist and opposite the Baptist. Both the *Braque Triptych* and K1840 with its companion piece have a skull painted on the outer side of the left wing. A skull is also shown on the back of the right wing of Jan Gossart's portrait diptych for Jean Carondelet (Paris, Louvre) of 1517. Possibly the skull seen by X-ray on the verso of the Munich *St. John* may have been accompanied by or have referred to a text of meditation on vanity and death from the writings of St. Jerome as quoted on the *Carondelet Altar*. A strong argument for the Kress panel's belonging to a diptych rather than a triptych is the fact that the images on its exterior and the exterior of the Munich panel would turn away from each other, the profile of the skull facing left, away from the serpent head which faces right, if they were placed in a triptych format. The combination of the seated St. John at the left and the Veronica at the right is seen on the exterior of Memling's *Floreins Triptych* (Bruges, S. Jans-hospitaal). In the latter work, the Baptism takes place in the background of the St. John panel in a rock pool which is continued in the Veronica panel. The same pool in the Munich companion piece to K1840 probably also refers to the place of the Baptism, while the winding road leading away from the pool in the Kress *Veronica* may refer to the Way to Calvary where the *Sudarium* was created. As suggested by Kermer, K1840 may well have been commissioned by Jan Floreins. Most writers place the Kress panel a few years earlier than the *Floreins Triptych* (1479), whose Veronica and John are close to K1840 and its *pendant*. K1840 and the Munich panel are more fresh and immediate in treatment than the above, where Memling works in the decorative style associated with his later oeuvre. The date of c. 1470 (given in the *Anonimo Morelliano* for K1840 or a very similar work of Memling) seems reasonable, since the panel resembles the style of the *Donne Triptych* of c. 1468 (London, National Gallery). The Kress panel, with the *St. John in the Wilderness* has, as noted by Krönig, a clarity recalling the art of Geertgen tot sint Jans. The Munich painting is still inscribed with a false 'signature' giving it to Geertgen's great master Hugo van der Goes.

Provenance: Prince Nicolas de Démidoff, San Donato (near Florence), (sale, Paris, *Collections de San Donato*, 1870, p. 139, Cat. No. 204). Private collection, Florence. Berlin, Paul Cassirer. Berlin, Matthiesen Gallery. Baron Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano-Castagnola, exhibited – Munich, Neue Pinakothek, *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, 1930, p. 66, Cat. No. 222 (Cat. by Rudolf Heinemann). New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1951.

References: (1) For the original appearance of the rays, see the companion piece to K1840, *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (Munich, Pinakothek) (Text Fig. 14). (2) Information courtesy of Dr. Gisela Goldberg, Curator of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (Munich). (3) For Veronica and the Sudarium, see Karl Pearson, *Die Fronica: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes im Mittelalter*, Strasbourg, 1887. He notes that in Memling's *Veronica* on the exterior of the *Floreins Altar* (Bruges, S. Jans-hospitaal), the artist shows the Byzantine representation of the face of Christ, omitting the crown of thorns and other indications of the Passion which were often included in the early fifteenth century in the West (pp. 110-11, Cat. No. 59). This is also true for K1840. See also Réau, III, 3, pp. 1314-17. (4) Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff.; see also Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, Åbo, 1965, pp. 32 ff.; Wolfgang Kermer, 'Studien zum Diptychon in der Sakralen Malerei von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts', Inaugural-Dissertation for Ph.D., Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen, Neukirchen-Saar, 1967, pp. 185, 292-3, n. 35; pp. 139-41, Cat. No. 139. (5) See copper-gilt chalices in Brussels (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) and Ecouis (*Orfèvrerie Religieuse et Civile, Exposition Retrospective d'Art Industriel*, Brussels, 1888, pl. xx; Jean Taralon, *Treasures of the Churches of France*, New York, 1966, pp. 34-5). A similar chalice is held by St. John the Evangelist in the inner right wing of Memling's *Donne Triptych* of c. 1468 (London, National Gallery). (6) See *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, trans. and adapted by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, London-New York-Toronto, 1941, I, pp. 58-64; and Heinrich Detzel, *Christliche Ikonographie*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1896, II, pp. 143-4. (7) J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1872, p. 299. (8) Max J. Friedländer, *Von Eyck bis Breugel*, Berlin, 1921, p. 188; *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VI, Leyden, 1928, 'Memling - Gerard David', p. 125, Cat. No. 46. (9) *Der Anonimo Morelliano (Marcanton Michiels' Notizia d'opere del Disegno)*, ed. Theodor Frimmel, Vienna, 1896, p. 20. 'In casa di Misser Pietro Bembo. El quadretto in due portelle del San Zuan Baptista vestito, cun lagnello che sie de in un paese da una parte, et la nostra donna cun el puttino da l'altra in un altro paese, furono de man de Zuan Memegolino, l'anno 1470, salvo el vero.' Although the Kress panel shows the Veronica rather than the Virgin and Child, it may nonetheless have been part of the diptych seen by the Anonimo in Padua, as not all his descriptions are accurate. (10) William R. Valentiner, *Unknown Masterpieces in Public and Private Collections*, New York, 1930, I, p. 37. The anonymous author of 'La Vie artistique à l'Étranger', *La Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, LVIII, 1930, pp. 415-22, esp. p. 415, accepts the reconstructed diptych as does August Liebmman Mayer, 'Die Ausstellung der Sammlung "Schloss Rohoncz" in der neuen Pinakothek, München', *Pantheon*, VI, 1930, pp. 297-321, esp. p. 308. (11) Rudolf Heinemann, *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Lugano-Castagnola, 1937, p. 104, Cat. No. 281. (12) Germain Bazin, *Memling*, Paris, 1939, pls. 4, 12. (13) Ludwig von Baldass, *Hans Memling*, Vienna, 1942, pp. 20, 42. He did not believe it to be part of the Padua diptych. This view is followed

by the catalogue *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century, Art and Civilization*, 1962, p. 144. (14) Wolfgang Krönig, 'Geertgens Bild Johannes des Täufers', *Das Münster*, VII-VIII, 1950, pp. 193-206, esp. p. 198. (15) Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'Interpreting Masterpieces: Twenty-four Paintings from the Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, XXI, 1951, pp. 82-129, esp. pp. 102, 111. (16) Charles Sterling, *La Nature Morte, de l'antiquité à nos jours*, Paris, 1952, p. 27, n. 33. (17) Kermer, *op. cit.*, p. 140. (18) *Ibid.*, pp. 140-1, pp. 186-7. (19) *Ibid.*, p. 16. For fifteenth-century hymns, prayers and folk-lore concerning the Evangelist's chalice see Kermer, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-4, n. 42.

HANS MEMLING

K2088 : Figures 52, 53

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1389), since 1956. Oil on oak panel, cradled at an unknown date. $23\frac{1}{2} \times 19$ in. (59.8×48.30 cm.). Original borders on all sides except right edge. Very well preserved; minor losses in head of Anna, drapery of priest and of St. Joseph; some losses at the top; $\frac{1}{8}$ in. round dull spot on third column from left. Restored by Suhr prior to acquisition.¹ *Suida-Shapley*, p. 148, Cat. No. 49. Reproduced in color in *Art News*, LV, 1956, p. 34 and in *Pageant*, p. 83.

Standing at the extreme left, Joseph holds a wicker cage with the pair of sacrificial pigeons (Luke 2:24). The Creation and Fall of Man are shown in stained glass quatrefoils in the lancet windows behind him. At the center, Mary holds the Christ Child out to Simeon, the just and devout man who came to the Temple to see the Lord (Luke 2:25-33). The prophetess Anna is shown between Mary and Simeon, standing slightly behind the latter (Luke 2:36-8). The window above Anna and Simeon shows a standing haloed figure - possibly the Redeemer. At the upper right a bare-headed man in fifteenth-century attire witnesses the scene. Standing at the extreme right behind Simeon is a prophet-like, bearded man, the priest, with turbaned headdress and a belt or phylactery wound around his left hand. Two bejeweled girls, in fifteenth-century attire, with elaborate, ermine-trimmed velvet robes, stand to the right, one holding a lighted twisted taper. Stained glass ovals in the window above include a male saint in white. The panel illustrates the following passage from St. Luke (2:22): 'And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him [the infant Jesus] to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord'.² The pensive expressions of all the participants in the Presentation is due to the prophecy of Christ's Passion by Simeon and Anna.³ The Temple's exterior and nave are early Gothic in style; it is seemingly unfinished at the upper right. The immediate foreground, where the Presentation takes place, is Romanesque, with richly colored columns.

In 1823 the Kress panel was described by Böckh as *The Circumcision* by Jan van Eyck.⁴ According to Waagen,

κ2088 was a somewhat hard copy with 'some unfortunate modifications', made by a member of the studio of Roger van der Weyden after that master's panel in Munich (right wing of the *Columba Altar*).⁵ It was also viewed as a replica or copy of the right wing of the *Columba Altar* by Crowe and Cavalcaselle.⁶ The artist of κ2088 was characterized by Friedländer as 'a first rate follower of Roger van der Weyden, active c. 1470, whose soft and phlegmatic style differed from Roger's and was parallel to that of Memling'.⁷ Hulin de Loo first attributed the Kress panel to the young Hans Memling, believing the latter to have executed the *Presentation* while in the studio of Roger van der Weyden.⁸ He reconstructed the original setting of κ2088 as the inner right wing of a portable triptych with a now cut-down *Annunciation* (Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum) at the extreme left, and an *Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid, Prado No. 1558) at the center (see Text Figs. 15A, B), all three panels being freely adapted from Roger van der Weyden's *Columba Altar*. Hulin de Loo viewed the Kress panel and the associated *Annunciation* and *Adoration of the Magi* as the missing link between Memling's clearly identifiable art in Bruges and those works in which his style was totally subordinate to Roger's.⁹ He raised, but discounted the possibility that the three panels might be by a Memling pupil. The painting of the girls' heads in κ2088 is attributed to Roger van der Weyden by Hulin de Loo, who found them close in style to Roger's *Portrait of a Lady* (Mellon Collection, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art) and to another in London (National Gallery). He believed the composition of κ2088 was so planned as to include these portraits by Roger, the rest being painted by his assistant, Memling who at the time of the *Columba Altar* was in the master's studio (before 1463). The bulk of the above argument was accepted by Friedländer, but he placed the reconstructed triptych among works whose authorship was uncertain, describing it as an altar executed by Memling in Roger's studio before 1464.¹⁰ He and Destrée followed Hulin de Loo in giving the girls' portraits to Roger van der Weyden himself.¹¹ The Kress panel is described by Baldass as executed in the 1470s under Roger's influence, painted in its entirety by Memling.¹² Expanding Hulin de Loo's reconstructed triptych (from left to right: the Burrell *Annunciation*, the Prado *Epiphany*, κ2088) to a polyptych, Friedländer added a *Rest on the Flight* (Burrell Collection, Text Fig. 15C) and a *Nativity* (Birmingham, City Art Gallery; formerly Sir John Heathcote-Amory, Text Fig. 15D). A six-part altar devoted to the Infancy of Christ has been proposed by Veronée-Verhaegen in which the upper register, from left to right, showed the *Annunciation*, *Epiphany*, and *Presentation* (κ2088); the lower register showed an unknown subject, the *Nativity*, and the *Rest on the Flight*. She listed κ2088 as 'a doubtful work of Memling'.¹³ Pächt dated κ2088 c. 1470–80. It was catalogued as from the workshop of Roger van der Weyden by Wilczek.¹⁴ The Kress panel was attributed by Tolnay to a follower of Roger van der Weyden, Vrancke van der Stockt.¹⁵ Panofsky rejected the above, seeming to adhere to Hulin de Loo's views concerning κ2088.¹⁶ Suida-Shapley (pp. 128, 130, Cat. No. 49) listed the painting as executed in

its entirety by Memling, c. 1463, noting that the girls' portraits agree in style with the rest of the panel. κ2088 was described in 1960 as closest to the art of the Bruges Master of 1473, indicating that he may have been its author.¹⁷ Seymour (p. 64) noted that in the Kress panel 'the painter makes use of architectural style to make a statement in his imagery. The "Temple" in which the ceremony takes place symbolizes the Old Order and as can easily be observed has the rounded arches and figured capitals of the "old" Romanesque style of architecture. Just beyond with stained glass windows to let in the Light is a choir of "new" Gothic design which symbolizes the New Order under Grace which the Saviour introduces on this earth.'¹⁸ Walker (p. 100) described the *Presentation* as among the best preserved of Flemish primitives and favored assigning the girls' portraits to Roger's hand. He noted that the stained glass windows in the background illustrate the Fall of Man, while the event in the foreground points to the Redemption. He dated the panel c. 1463.

The two portraits in the *Presentation* are, as often noted, more brilliantly executed than the rest of κ2088. Rather than indicating two hands, this difference probably points to the enriching stimulus of painting from living models as opposed to reworking a conventional composition with its standard physiognomical types. The girls' attire was fashionable in France and Flanders from the 1460s to the 1480s, as seen also in a late portrait by Petrus Christus (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) and in a portrait of the second wife of Jan de Witte, the Burgemeester of Bruges (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts), painted in 1473.¹⁹ The girl with the candle seems to anticipate the Candlemas (2 February), in which the Cantic of Simeon (Luke 2:29) is sung, celebrating the entry of Christ, the light of the world, into Jerusalem.²⁰ In addition to the girls at the left, long recognized as donor portraits, the young man standing at the right in contemporary attire should also be seen as a donor of the altarpiece to which κ2088 originally belonged. Although the presence of several adult male donor portraits in κ2088 and its presumed companion piece, the *Nativity* (Birmingham, City Art Gallery), might seem to argue against their being in the same series, Memling's large *Epiphany Triptych* (Prado) also shows various adult male donors in the central and right (*Presentation*) panels. Memling executed two other depictions of the *Presentation*: the right wing of the *Epiphany Triptych* (Prado No. 1557) and that of the *Floreins Epiphany Altar* (Bruges, S. Janshospitaal). Like κ2088, they are very freely adapted from the right wing of Roger's *Columba Altar*. Both are more vertical and less complex in composition than κ2088 and closer to Roger's format. Only κ2088, like the *Columba Altar*, includes the Simeon episode and the candle-holding figure, depicted by Roger as Joseph. The Kress panel's figures are nearer the foreground; its symbolic architectural features and oblique view, both characteristic of the western Netherlands, are absent in Roger's work. According to Hulin de Loo, the Prado *Epiphany* was at the center, the *Annunciation* at the left and the Kress panel at the right. Adding the *Nativity* and *Flight into Egypt* as

proposed by Friedländer, the sequence would probably be, from left to right: *Annunciation*, *Nativity*, *Epiphany*, *Flight into Egypt* and *Presentation*.²¹

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt appears to be inferior in quality to the other panels, and may be by a different hand, possibly by Roger's Brussels successor Vrancke van der Stockt, to whom K2088 has been given by Tolnay. Vrancke was recorded in Bruges in 1468, the year when Memling is first documented as an independent master. The artists may perhaps have collaborated on the cycle to which the Kress panel belonged. Of the four other scenes, the *Presentation* is especially close to the *Epiphany* (Prado, Text Fig. 15B). Joseph is much the same and the motif of a hand with belt or phylactery is shared (to the right in both).

Although its authorship is not entirely certain, this panel may be the first known work of Memling, executed while his experience in Roger van der Weyden's studio was still freshly in mind. This influence is most noticeable in the brilliantly painted portraits of the girls of the donor's family, whose headdresses suggest French as well as Flemish fashions.

Provenance: Count Rudolf Czernin von Chudenitz, Vienna (probably purchased from Edward Solly),²² exhibited – Vienna, *CX. Ausstellung der Vereinigung Bildende Künstler Wiener Secession: Drei Jahrhunderte Flämische Kunst, 1400–1700*, 11 Jan.–23 Feb. 1930, p. 26, Cat. No. 31, as by Memling. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) Walker noted that the X-rays of the two girls in K2088 indicate a higher concentration of lead white than in other parts of the panel, possibly indicating their being by Roger van der Weyden while the rest of the panel is Memling's. John Walker, 'The Nation's Newest Old Masters', *The National Geographic Magazine*, CX, 1956, pp. 619–57, esp. p. 644. (2) For *Presentation* iconography, see Dorothy Shorr, 'The Iconographic Development of Temple Presentation', *Art Bulletin*, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 17–32. Shorr noted that in Northern European art a conflation of Simeon and the High Priest was often made from the time of Broederlam (Dijon, Musée de la Ville) onward (p. 29). The origin of this type may be the Apocryphal literature in which Simeon is described as Priest of the Temple. (Protoevangelium XXIV). See also Réau, II, 2, pp. 261–6. (3) In addition to the Gospels, see the fourteenth-century *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (trans. and ed. by Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, Princeton, 1961, Chap. XI, 'Of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin', pp. 56–65) for this theme. (4) Franz Heinrich Böckh, *Merkwürdigkeiten der Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien und ihrer nächsten Umgebungen*, I, Vienna, 1928, p. 294, Cat. No. 49, in the Czernin Collection. (5) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, I, Vienna, 1966, p. 306, Cat. No. 27. (6) J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1872, p. 219. (7) Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, II, Berlin, 1924, p. 119, Cat. No. 85. In the English edition (notes by Nicole Veronée-Verhaegen, II, 1967), K2088 is in Catalogue C:

Imitations and copies after Roger (p. 77, Cat. No. 85). (8) Georges Hulin de Loo, 'Hans Memling in Rogier van der Weyden's Studio', *Burlington Magazine*, LII, 1928, pp. 160–77. For links between Memling and Van der Weyden, see also Max J. Friedländer, 'Noch etwas über das Verhältnis Roger van der Weydens zu Memling', *Oud-Holland*, LXI, 1946, pp. 11–19. Further support for Hulin de Loo's assumption that Memling worked with Van der Weyden may be found in an inventory of 1516, describing a triptych in which the central panel was by Roger and the wings by Memling (cited by Friedländer, *Memling*, Amsterdam, n.d., pp. 5–6. (9) According to Hulin, these are *The Virgin in Red* (ex coll. Renders) and *Virgin in Red with Two Angels* (Mellon Collection, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art). (10) Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VI, Berlin, 1928, p. 133, Cat. No. 99b. (11) Jules Destrée, *Roger de la Pasture van der Weyden*, Paris, 1930, I, p. 163; Max Eisler ('The Exhibition of Three-Hundred Years of Flemish Art in Vienna', *Apollo*, I, 1930, pp. 185–91, esp. pp. 188–9) also concurred, as did Gustav Glück, 'Drei Jahrhunderte flämische Malerei', *Belvedere*, IX, 1930, p. 75. (12) Ludwig von Baldass, 'Drei Jahrhunderte flämische Malerei', *Pantheon*, V, 1930, p. 132. (13) Friedländer, 'Ein Jugendwerk Memlings', *Pantheon*, VI, 1931, p. 186. This information was repeated in his *Die altniederländische Malerei*, XIV, Leyden, 1937, p. 102, and *Memling*, op. cit., pp. 4–11. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (23 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 19 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), listed by Friedländer in a private French collection in 1930, was acquired by Sir William Burrell in 1936 and given by him to the Glasgow Art Gallery. He also acquired the *Annunciation* (23 × 14 in.) in 1948, and gave it to Glasgow. See William Wells, 'Sir William Burrell's Purchase Books (1911–57)', *The Scottish Art Review*, IX, 1963, pp. 19–22. The *Nativity* came from Thos. Agnew and Sons, Ltd., included in their *Summer Exhibition*, London, 1948, p. 4, Cat. No. 7. The *Nativity* was dated c. 1465 by F. M. Godfrey ('The Heathcote-Amory Collection', *Apollo*, LXXI, 1965, pp. 140–3, esp. p. 142), executed by Memling while in Roger's shop. According to the English edition of Max J. Friedländer, 'Hans Memling and Gerard David', *Early Netherlandish Painting*, VI, part I, ed. Nicole Veronée-Verhaegen, Leyden–Brussels, 1967, K2088 (Cat. No. 99b, p. 57) is listed under 'Doubtful Works of Memling'. (14) Karl Wilczek, *Katalog der Graf Czernin'schen Gemäldegalerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1936, pp. 100–1, Cat. No. 27. He quoted Pächt. (15) Charles de Tolnay, 'Flemish Paintings in the National Gallery of Art', *Magazine of Art*, XLI, 1941, pp. 174–200, esp. p. 200, n. 39. (16) Panofsky, I, p. 479, n. 10. (17) *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century, Art and Civilization*, Detroit, 1960, p. 139. (18) For such architectural symbolism, see Panofsky, I, pp. 134–140 and p. 412, n. 1352. (19) See also the donor of the *Anna Selbdritt* by the Master of the St. Ursula Legend, dated 1488 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). This fashion was also worn by the wives of members of the Italian merchants' colony in Bruges (Portinari, Baroncelli). (20) See Frederick G. Holweck, 'Candelmas', *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 1908, pp. 245–6. Candlemas, the Presentation of Christ, and the Purification of the Virgin are the same feast. (21) Another possible indication of the original

format of the series to which K2088 belonged is a horizontal panel after Campin (Hoogstraeten, Parish Church) in which five major scenes from the Life of Saint Joseph are placed next to one another; those at the extreme left and right are seen with an oblique architectural setting. See the reproduction in the English edition of Friedländer's *Die altniederländische Malerei*, II, 1967, pl. 103. (22) Böckh, *op. cit.*, pp. 294–5.

Copy after MEMLING

K1581 : Figure 58

THE PASSION (Triptych). Williamstown, Massachusetts, Williams College, Lawrence Art Museum, Kress Study Collection, since 1960. Oil (?)¹ on pine panel. Center: $27\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{3}{4}$ in. (69.8×55.2 cm.). Wings: $27\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in. each (69.8×23.5 cm.). Engaged frame. Coats of arms on exterior wings: argent a cross ancrée gules voided of the field. Crest, an eagle rising gules winged argent, langued gules (Peter van Nieuwmunster). Gules three spur-rowels collared of the same argent, the rowel in base for Helena van Crombrugge.² Vertical join in central panel through mocking figure at right. Restored by Modestini in 1953.

The Kress panels illustrate the Passion in twenty-one scenes including, in chronological order (generally from left to right), the *Entry of Christ into Jerusalem* in the extreme upper left corner of the left wing; the *Expulsion of the Money-changers* at the upper left of the central section; *Judas' Payment* to the upper right of the left wing; the *Last Supper* in the center of the left wing; the *Agony in the Garden* immediately below; the *Arrest of Christ and the Kiss of Judas* in the lower part of the left wing; *Christ Before Pilate and the Release of Barabbas* left of center in the central panel; the *Flagellation* at the center; the *Crowning with Thorns* just to the right; the *Ecce Homo*; *The Judgment Hall of Pilate* in the right central part of the central panel; the *Making of the Cross* below the *Flagellation* in the central panel; the *Way to Calvary* beginning at the bottom of the central panel; *Simon of Cyrene assisting Christ* at the bottom of the right wing; the *Nailing to the Cross* at the upper right of the central panel; the *Crucifixion* above, with the swooning Virgin; the *Deposition* at the upper left of the right wing; the *Entombment* below; the *Descent into Limbo* right of center in the right wing; the *Resurrection* just above; the *Noli me tangere* above it; the *Road to Emmaus* near the top.

K1581 was sold in 1902 as of the School of Memling. Weale believed it to have been painted in 1637 for Peter van Nieuwmunster and Helena van Crombrugge (their arms are on the shutters), copied after the *Passion* now in Turin.³ The Kress triptych is almost identical in composition to a single horizontal panel of the *Passion* by Memling himself (Turin, Galleria Sabauda) with donor portraits of Tommaso and Maria Portinari at the lower left and right. The major differences are: K1581 omits a scene of the *Denial of Peter* to the left of *Christ Before Pilate* in the Turin painting; seems to omit *Christ Calming the Waters* (at the extreme upper right of the Turin panel).

As the Turin panel was in Italy since at least as early as the sixteenth century, K1581 may have been based upon a similar work or copy, possibly the *Passion* altarpiece painted for Guillaume Vrelant by Memling in 1478, still in Bruges in 1624. The intricate, miniature-like composition was a popular work and several old copies survive.⁴

As the Kress triptych is on pine – never found in the Netherlands – it may have been executed elsewhere in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century. The Memling composition upon which K1581 is based has been cited by several writers as reflecting the stage settings and performance of mystery plays in the late fifteenth century.⁵ The Kress panel is a rather coarse, late adaptation of Memling's well-known composition, dividing that great panorama into three sections for use as a triptych.

Provenance: Peter van Nieuwmunster and his wife Helena van Crombrugge in 1672; exhibited – Bruges, *Exposition des Primitifs des Pays-Bas*, 1864.⁶ Otlet (Sale, Brussels, Salle Sainte-Gudule, *Catalogue des Tableaux... de la vente Collection Otlet*, 19–20 Dec. 1902, p. 10, Cat. No. 2).⁷ Sold at Christie's 1903 (London, *Catalogue of Old Pictures, the Property of a Gentleman...*, 24 Jan. 1903, p. 22, Cat. No. 138) to Graham. Baron Raoul Kuffner, Dioszegh Castle, Hungary.⁸ New York, Drey Gallery. Kress acquisition 1948. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona, Museum of Art, 1953–57. Williamstown, Massachusetts, Williams College Museum of Art, since 1960.

References: (1) The craquelure resembles that of tempera. (2) The arms were first identified by W. H. James Weale, 'Memling's Passion picture in the Turin Gallery', *Burlington Magazine*, XII, 1908, pp. 309–11, esp. p. 310. Weale dated both the painting and the arms 1637. (3) The latter was, mistakenly, thought by Weale to have been the altar commissioned by Guillaume Vrelant for the Booksellers' Guild Chapel in St. Bartholomew's Church (of the Augustinian Canons) in Bruges in 1478, which was removed from its original location and sold in 1624. Weale wrongly identified the Vrelant panel with the Memling *Passion* at the Dominican monastery at Bosco near Alessandria (Piedmont) which went to the collection of King Victor Emmanuel in Turin c. 1814; it entered the Regia Pinacoteca, Turin, in 1832. The provenance of the Turin painting is corrected by C. Arù and E. de Gerardon (*Les Primitifs Flamands, Corpus...*, II, Part 5, *La Galerie Sabauda de Turin*, Brussels, 1962, p. 17). The Turin panel is perhaps the one mentioned by Vasari (ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 580, n. 6) as in Cosimo de' Medici's collection and may also be the panel of unidentified subject given by Vasari as having been commissioned by Tommaso Portinari (I, pp. 184–5) for Santa Maria Nuova, Florence. Cosimo's painting left the ducal collection c. 1570 and was given to Pope Pius V. From this point on the provenance is that given by Weale. The Vrelant panel had two sets of wings with donor portraits (now lost) (see Weale, *op. cit.*, pp. 309–11). (4) One was owned in 1908 by Langton Douglas and included an Augustinian donor portrait (Weale, *op. cit.*, p. 310); another was in a Barcelona private collection, a third in the collec-

tion of ex-King of Italy Umberto II (see Arù and de Gerardon, *op. cit.*, p. 17). According to Weale (*op. cit.*, p. 310, n. 7), 'a careful tracing of the centre panel with notes indicating the colours is preserved in the Print Room of the British Museum', but it is not in A. E. Popham's catalogue (*British Museum, Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists*, London, 1915-32, v). (5) Émile Mâle, 'Le renouvellement de l'art par les "mystères" à la fin du moyen âge', 3, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3me sér., xxxi, 1904, pp. 282-301, esp. p. 292. See also Jacques Mesnil, 'Les Mystères et les arts plastiques', 2, *L'Art Flamand et Hollandais*, xii, 1909, pp. 97-199, esp. p. 105; Oskar Fischel, 'Art and the Theatre', 2, *Burlington Magazine*, lxvi, 1935, pp. 54-67, esp. p. 54. (6) Weale, *op. cit.*, p. 310. (7) At the time of acquisition the Kress triptych was believed to be another version of the Passion triptych in the Otlet sale because the latter was listed as 125 cm. wide while the Kress triptych painting is approximately 102 cm. wide. Mrs. Henry Howell, Jr. of the Frick Art Reference Library (letter of 10/III/55) noted that the Otlet and Kress pictures were identical in height and comparison of photos proved them to be similar in composition; therefore there had been a misprint in the Otlet sale catalogue of 125 cm. for 102 cm. (8) Sold prior to Kuffner sale at Parke-Bernet Galleries, Nov. 1948. The painting may have been purchased by the Baron's father, a well-known collector, after the Christie sale.

THE MASTER OF THE ST. LUCY LEGEND

The Master of the St. Lucy Legend was named by Friedländer after the altar of 1480 showing scenes from the Life of St. Lucy, for the church of St. Jacob (Bruges).¹ The painter was probably active into the early years of the sixteenth century. His oeuvre is distinguishable by slender, somewhat impassive female figures, often shown with extremely long, straight, red-blond hair and almost mask-like faces. The Bruges artist's work is influenced by Netherlandish masters of the 1460s and 1470s; his coloring is unusually bright and decorative and his art, like that of the St. Ursula Master, is close to Memling's. A Spanish residence for the St. Lucy Master was first proposed by Post in view of the many works by him which came from Spain and the Iberian physiognomies of his male figures.² Verhaegen noted that several of the master's paintings include the Bruges belfry in various stages of completion, making them readily datable.³ She suggested the St. Lucy Master may have made one or more trips to Spain and that he could also have trained young Spanish artists in his Bruges atelier, pointing out that the major part of the artist's oeuvre was destined for export. According to Eisler, Michiel Sittow may have worked under the St. Lucy Master in Bruges.⁴ Two of the St. Lucy Master's largest works were commissioned for a church in Reval (Tallin, Estonia), Sittow's birthplace. The two Northern artists could also have collaborated in Spain. More than twelve of the St. Lucy Master's works or those of his studio are in the United States.

THE MASTER OF THE ST. LUCY LEGEND and Assistant

K1689 : Figures 54, 55

THE ASSUMPTION AND CORONATION OF THE IMMACULATELY CONCEIVED VIRGIN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1096), since 1952. Oil on oak. 85 × 73 in. (215.9 × 185.4 cm.). Original borders all around; in original frame.⁵ Escutcheon of Conde de Haro said to have been placed in space at the top center of frame. For its large size, well preserved; has extremely small losses throughout.⁶ Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1950/51. Inscribed between the second and third lines of the alto clef music sheet held by the angel to the upper left of Mary: A[ve] regina celorum, followed by three illegible words. The angel points to this line with the right index finger.⁷ Music in tenor clef held by the angel to the upper right of Mary is inscribed: A[ve] at the beginning of the first line; Tenor between the first and second lines; regina between the second and third.⁸ Suida, p. 182, Cat. No. 80. Reproduced in color in *Treasures*, p. 59; *Pageant*, p. 91; detail in *Seymour*, p. 69, pl. 62.

The Virgin, her eyes downcast and hands folded in prayer, wearing a jeweled diadem in her long hair, is shown in a gem-studded, gold-bordered blue cloak and red robe. She stands upon a crescent moon with a sun-like halo around her head, surrounded by twenty-one angels with multi-colored wings, all seen against a bright blue sky with white clouds. Six of the largest angels are at the left and right of Mary touching her; one at the upper right wears a coronet, a richly brocaded gold fringed cope (its orphreys embroidered with single saints), alb-like garment, and a jeweled quatrefoil morse; at the lower right, another in long-sleeved brocaded vestments grasps the right horn of the moon with the right hand; Gabriel (?) at the upper left with peacock trimmed wings, wears a brocade cope with jeweled suns on the orphreys and a circular jeweled morse; the angel at the lower left resembles one at the upper right. The pairs of smaller angels to the immediate upper left and right of Mary sing the alto and tenor parts from the beginning of an *Ave Regina*. The music-holding angel to the left wears a cope with embroidered saints on the orphreys fastened by a circular morse showing God the Father enthroned surrounded by flame-like rays. 'All along the left and right margins of the picture there are eight angels, four on each side: left, from bottom to top - organetto with the ranks of eighteen pipes each; a trumpet, of which only the mouthcup and the upper end of the coil are visible; a large (tenor?) shawm; a harp of typical Gothic shape. On the right side from top to bottom there are a medium-sized (alto?) shawm; a five-stringed vielle (the angel wears a dalmatic); a small (treble?) shawm; and a small nine-stringed lute.'⁹ The angel to the left of the latter plays a wind instrument. The Trinity in Heaven is seen through an encircling cloud band above Mary's head. Her crown is held by the Father and Son, both in identical regal red, gold-bordered robes, one with crown and

scepter. The Holy Ghost flies immediately above. The Trinity is seated on a throne covered by rich brocade, held by three flying angels in plain, bluish-white garb. The throne rests on a floor of red and green jewel-like tiles. Five identically robed angels (a *Kinderchor*?) are to the left of the Trinity, singing from a song-book held by the two in the foreground.¹⁰ Just before the little choir are six wingless angels in rich copes with embroidered *clipei* (one of which shows the Epiphany), all singing from a *chorale* on a music-stand between the first two angels. Winternitz suggested that this group sings in a lower voice than the little choir.¹¹ A seventh wingless angel to the lower right of the Trinity wears a jeweled dalmatic and plays a harp; he and the others are seated on elaborate stools.

Further to the right are five winged musicians; the one in the foreground plays the dulcimer, with a lutanist and three recorder players to the rear. Winternitz distinguished between the loud music made by the angels around Mary, providing transitory accompaniment to the Assumption of the Virgin, with that of 'the small and soft ensemble worthy to perform perpetually in the presence of the Lord.'¹² A landscape panorama, with several people on foot and an equestrian figure, is seen at the bottom of the panel; it includes a rocky section with a road in the foreground. With jewels scattered along its banks at the lower right, a river winds around the central land mass connected to the mainland by a foot-bridge at the left. A fortified castle and another building are seen in the background; mountains rise in the distance.

'Themes of the Immaculate Conception, the Assumption, and the Coronation seem to be merged' in K1689 (*Broadley*, p. 26), where these three events are celebrated by music-making angels.¹³ The Immaculate Conception, although long a subject of theological concern, was of special interest to Spain from the fifteenth century onward. The Woman of the Apocalypse (Revelation 12:1) is the source for Mary's solar halo and the moon at her feet in K1689. Further references to this text may be found in the sun-surrounded God the Father on a morse.¹⁴ The Office for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception was introduced by Sixtus IV in 1476. Papal bulls of that year and 1477 promised indulgence to celebrants of this office, if they recited a prayer akin to the inscription on K1689: '*Ave sanctissima Maria, regina celi, porta paradisi, domina mundi*' before an image of the Virgin.¹⁵ The striking differentiation in the color and style of angelic garb suggests that the artist of K1689 sought to portray the nine choirs of angels; those seated on faldstools immediately before the Trinity are probably Thrones.¹⁶ K1689 omits any reference to the Death of the Virgin (often painted below her Assumption) thus emphasizing the Immaculate Conception through attributes and her extremely youthful appearance.¹⁷ The area customarily reserved for the Virgin's sarcophagus represents the earthly paradise instead, indicated by the gem-strewn river banks. The world is depicted as cleansed by the Virgin's purity, which was restored to earth by angels at the time of her death. 'And the angels were with the apostles singing at the Assumption, and replenished all

the land with marvelous sweetness.'¹⁸ The prominent landscape also stresses Mary's role as *Salvatrix Mundi*.¹⁹ The composition of the Kress panel probably originated in Sienese painting of the early fourteenth century.²⁰

In 1946 Friedländer described K1689 as a 'most significant and well-preserved work, painted c. 1480 by a major master of Bruges or Ghent'.²¹ Suida (*loc. cit.*) entitled the painting *Mary Queen of Heaven*, describing it as showing the Virgin's Assumption and Coronation. The mountain in the foreground may refer to the scene of the Assumption, as shown in Sienese works such as those of Paolo de Giovanni Fei (cf. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, K1547). He quoted Friedländer, Van der Elst and Valentiner as observing the close relationship of the Kress panel to works by the Master of the St. Lucy Legend and wrote that 'the minute care in its execution leads one to believe that the artist was also familiar with miniature painting'. Suida was the first to publish the panel as by the St. Lucy Master. According to Verhaegen aspects of the style of K1689 recalled that of the Master of the Morrison Triptych. Like the St. Lucy Master, the Morrison Master was a Bruges painter with Spanish ties.²² According to *Seymour* (pp. 68–9) the Master of the St. Lucy Legend painted K1689 c. 1485. Walker (*Seymour*, p. xxi) recorded that Rush H. Kress' enthusiasm for the purchase of K1689, when the panel was still obscured by dirt and varnish, was vindicated upon cleaning; the painting was shown to be 'from the point of view of color, the most brilliant painting in the whole Flemish section'. According to Goldblatt, the Kress panel was painted by Michiel Sittow.²³ Chrisman and Fowler noted that 'the arrangement of the Trinity, the checkered floor, and the angelic choristers in the scene at the top, recall the musical angels in Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* of 1432. The ecclesiastical robes of the angels may be from Van Eyck', notably the one at the lower left.²⁴ The composition of K1689 was compared by Baudouin to that of the central panel of a triptych by Ambrosius Benson (parish church, Laranete, Spain) and to that of a fragment showing the *Assumption of the Virgin* by the Master of the St. Bartholomew Legend (Colonel Joseph Weld, Lulworth Castle).²⁵ He suggested that both the Kress and Weld works were modeled upon an earlier South Netherlandish painting.

Among the largest and most intricately designed works by the St. Lucy Master, K1689 is an extremely early, highly important depiction of the new Marian devotion. This brilliantly colored altarpiece, placed in the capital of old Castile, may well have played an influential role in determining later representations of the same subject. While the Virgin and several of the angels, as well as the group of the Trinity above, are entirely consonant with the style of the St. Lucy Master, other angels (most notably the one to the upper left of Mary with a music sheet and morse) are rendered in a considerably broader manner than that of the Bruges master. These indicate the participation of a studio assistant – possibly the Master of the Morrison Triptych, whose oeuvre Verhaegen related to K1689. The style of the Morrison Master suggests that he was con-

siderably younger than the St. Lucy Master. The slightly Italianate quality of this head may indicate that the assistant could have been Spanish or otherwise have had special knowledge of Italian art. The Kress panel was probably painted in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

Provenance: 'Said to have been the gift of a Constable of Castile to a convent near Burgos founded by his daughter and suppressed in the nineteenth century.' The arms of the Conde de Haro are supposed to have been placed at the centre of the top of the frame.²⁶ New York, French and Co. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, vi, Berlin, 1928, pp. 66–70, 140–2, Cat. Nos. 139–42. (2) Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, 1933, iv, 1, p. 27; 1934, v, p. 209. (3) Nicole Verhaegen, 'Le Maître de la Légende de Ste. Lucie, Précisions sur son œuvre', *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, ii, 1959, pp. 73–82. (4) Colin T. Eisler, 'The Sittow Assumption', *Art News*, lxi, 1965, pp. 34–7, 52–4, esp. p. 37. (5) The frame was probably made in Spain, related in style to that of the Retable of St. Anne (Collection Enrique R. Larretta, Buenos Aires) from Sinobas (near Aranda de Duero). Reproduced opp. p. 221, *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, xxiv, 1916. (6) Contrary to the information given by Suida (p. 182, Cat. No. 80) and by Walker (p. 104), K1689 does have a preparatory coating, not of gesso, but of some other primer. The wings of the lutanist to the lower right of the Trinity were mistakenly merged with the drapery of the angel behind him during a restoration, making the lutanist appear wingless. (7) First deciphered by Mirella Levi d'Ancona (National Gallery Archive). (8) According to Jo Chrisman and Charles B. Fowler ('Music Performance in a Renaissance Painting', *Music Educators Journal*, Nov.–Dec. 1965, pp. 93–8, esp. p. 94), the hymn is 'a response for vespers or compline'. A National Gallery information sheet stated that the 'song is performed responsively at vespers . . . or at compline from 2 Feb. to the Wednesday of Holy Week. It may also be used in any service connected with Mary.' Broadley (p. 26) wrote that the inscription was from a verse chanted during the Lenten season. See also A. P. de Mirimonde, 'Les Anges musiciens chez Memlinc', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp, 1962–63, pp. 5–55. (9) Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art*, London, 1967, p. 146. All subsequent identifications of musical instruments are taken from Winternitz. (10) Chrisman and Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 98, made the *Kinderchor* suggestion. (11) Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 146. (12) *Ibid.*, p. 148. (13) For early examples combining the Assumption and the Coronation of the Virgin, see Georg Troescher, *Burgundische Malerei*, Berlin, 1966, ii, pls. 64–7. Manuel Trens (*Maria: Iconografía de la Virgen en el Arte Español*, Madrid, 1946, pp. 156–7) gives Spanish examples of the fused themes of the Immaculate Conception and Assumption later in date than K1689. For aspects of the Immaculate Conception pertinent to K1689, see Sixten Ringbom, 'Maria in Sole

and the Virgin of the Rosary', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxv, 1962, pp. 326–30, esp. p. 326. See also Réau, ii, 2, pp. 75 ff., 615–35; Ribera *Immaculate Conception* (K2160, p. 207 below) and Zurbarán *Immaculate Conception* (K2119, p. 215 below). (14) The Joys of the Virgin, to which K1689 alludes, include the Epiphany (the recognition of Christ by the world), embroidered on the *clipeus* of an angel near the Trinity. (15) Ringbom, *art. cit.*, p. 326. (16) For similarly diversified angelic garb, see the Antwerp *Death of the Virgin* by the Master of the same name (Antwerp, Musée des Beaux-Arts) (repro. in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, x, Leyden, 1934, pl. xc, Cat. No. 149.) (17) For another contemporary example of such an *Assumption* see the panel by a follower of Geertgen tot Sint Jans (Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum); the Dutch panel does not refer to the Immaculate Conception (repro. in C. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, The Hague, 1937, ii, p. 209, fig. 96.) (18) Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, London, 1900, iv, p. 239. Alfred M. Frankfurter ('Interpreting Masterpieces: Twenty-four Paintings from the Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, xxi, 1951, pp. 101–2), cited the *Golden Legend* as a general source for K1689. He noted that compositions like that of the Kress panel are far more frequent in manuscript illumination than in independent paintings. (19) For Sienese examples of such, see H. W. van Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei 1300–1450*, *Kunsthistorische Studien van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*, Deel 1, The Hague, 1969, chap. 4, 'L'Assunta', pp. 143–77. Prayers to the Virgin as Queen of Rivers (*ibid.*, pp. 180–1) may relate to the symbolism of K1689. (20) For early examples, see Van Os, *ibid.*, chap. 4. (21) Max J. Friedländer, certificate in Kress Archive. (22) Verhaegen, *art. cit.*, pp. 81–2. She singled out the Morrison Master's retable wings, completed before 1504 for the Parroquia de San Salvador (Valladolid). (23) Dr. Maurice H. Goldblatt, National Gallery Archive. (24) Chrisman and Fowler, *art. cit.*, p. 94. (25) Frans Baudouin, 'Der Meister des Bartholomäusaltars und die süd-niederländische Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, xxiii, 1961, pp. 353–8. The Laranete panel shows the Virgin with four angels, on a crescent moon, and above, the Trinity holding a crown, and below, a landscape. Like K1689 it combines the Assumption, the Coronation, and the Immaculate Conception. (26) According to notes in the files of French and Co. The constable under Henry IV and his successors Ferdinand and Isabella was Don Pedro Hernández de Velasco, Conde de Haro (died 1492). He and his wife (Doña Mencía de Mendoza) founded the *Capilla del Condestable* in Burgos Cathedral in 1482. (For its founding, see Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos, *España, sus Monumentos y Artes*, Burgos, Barcelona, 1888, pp. 553 ff.). The Augustinian convent of St. Dorothy in Burgos was apparently established early in the fifteenth century, but in 1470 a new cloister (still surviving) was acquired, for which the constable's daughter may have paid. (For this convent, see Antonio Buitrago y Romero, *Guía General de Burgos*, Madrid, 1876, p. 199.) Another Augustinian convent in Burgos, now defunct, was founded by Bishop Alonso de Cartagena in 1456.

MASTER OF THE KRESS EPIPHANY

The style of K2 points to authorship by a North Netherlandish master contemporary with the early Bosch, influenced by such compatriots as Geertgen tot Sint Jans and the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines.¹ He was probably trained in the 1470s or early 1480s. As Flemish aspects are also discernible in K2, the artist may have been active in Flanders for some time. The painter seems to have worked in Spain, where the *Epiphany* was long located and where it could well have been executed.

K2 : Figure 59

THE EPIPHANY. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1120), since 1950. Oil, transferred from panel to canvas at unknown date (late nineteenth century?). 73 × 65 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (1.854 × 1.661 m.). Underdrawing visible in much of the drapery; slight changes discernible in placement of many figures. Four vertical joins. Restored by Pichetto c. 1932.

Suida, p. 184. Cat. No. 81. Reproduced in color in Evans, p. 13.

The subject of K2 is based on Matthew 2:1–12. The Virgin is centrally placed, seated close to the ground just before an extremely tall and narrow ruined stable with wooden posts. She is dressed in a blue, jewel-bordered mantle and red fur-trimmed robe, a veil over her long red-blond hair. The empty manger is just behind the Virgin. She holds the seated, nude Child by both arms. His right hand is raised to bless the kneeling bearded Magus (Melchior), shown in left profile, dressed in red and blue and holding a gold and crystal globular vessel. A second bearded Magus (Caspar) stands to the right, in a richly furred red and white robe with a green crowned hat; he uncovers a cylindrical vessel (incense container?). Dark-skinned Balthasar stands to the left of the Virgin and Child, gesturing toward his spherical crystal container for myrrh. He and his attendants wear earrings. His jeweled tunic has full sleeves. He wears dark hose and a fantastic crowned headdress including a branch of coral encrusted with pearls.² A blackamoor in a white turban stands to the left, holding a sword. An Oriental figure in right profile, in a gold-embroidered cape and exotic garb, stands at the extreme left holding a sword with a fish-tailed pommel. A well-head is just behind him. A white whippet and a black dog (both in jeweled collars) and a monkey with cup and chain (other monkeys are to the rear and right) are in the central foreground near columbines and carnations bordering the pink brick paths. A white animal (squirrel?) in a jeweled coat is chained in the left foreground. A bearded dwarf in left profile stands at the extreme right foreground holding Caspar's hat. The three retinues of the Magi are seen at the left, center, and right, including many equestrian figures in exotic Eastern garb, their richly caparisoned horses, camels and mules laden with treasure. A falconer is in the group at the left and a man with a crossbow at the centre. In the right corner of the stable a man in a red robe trimmed with white fur (indicative of priestly or juridical status: Herod?)

is in conspiratorial dialogue with a messenger (identified as such by his gem-studded badge, hat, and high boots), who grasps a sword.³ Outside the stable, to the left, two figures in quasi-monastic garb face each other as though in conversation. The man seen from the back wears a dark-green (?) hood, red cloak, and white robe; the other pilgrim-like figure's garb resembles that of a Capuchin; his companion's dress may refer to the Trinitarians. A Netherlandish city with a belfry, surrounded by a river, is seen behind the stable. The same river winds below a château-fort on a rock at the upper right. Another residence on a rock is to the extreme left. Small white clouds are in the blue sky. The Adoration of the Kings (whose globe-shaped offerings resemble both orb and reliquary)⁴ symbolizes the world's recognition of Christ.

According to Rabanus Maurus, the presence of monkeys symbolizes 'the rueful sinner brought to the rostrum of peace.'⁵ The camels in K2 stem from Isaiah 60:6, the entire chapter being viewed as a prophecy of the Adoration of the Magi. Camels and dromedaries are often included in Italian painted Epiphanies but rarely shown in the North.⁶ The curious omission of Joseph from K2 may perhaps be explained by his possible presence in an adjoining wing (as he is shown in the Bosch Prado *Epiphany*) if K2 were the central panel of a triptych. The absence of the ox and ass is also highly unusual; they could also have been in another panel.

K2 was described by Longhi as a 'capital work from the very rare Dutch school of c. 1480.' He observed the Eyckian roots of K2, noting that the master of the *Epiphany* was also influenced by the Master of Flémalle and Albert van Ouwater. Among the North Netherlandish painters whose style was cited by Longhi as relating to the *Epiphany* is Geertgen tot Sint Jans. He also observed that the Kress painting anticipates the art of Hieronymus Bosch and Jan Mostaert.⁷ Burroughs related K2 to early works by Dieric Bouts and to North Netherlandish masters of the later fifteenth century. He also linked the *Epiphany* to the Master of the St. Joseph Series and to a depiction of *Christ Healing the Blind Man* (now collection Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan-Vellema, Blaricum). Burroughs dated the Kress panel c. 1480, observing 'a distinct combination of Dutch and Italian characteristics and a certain intensity in the expression of faces and hands which dimly recalls Hugo van der Goes.'⁸ Friedländer viewed K2 as a fine work of a Spanish master active c. 1470.⁹ Suida at first described K2 as painted near the end of the fifteenth century¹⁰ in a style close to that of Geertgen tot Sint Jans. Later he gave K2 to a 'Hispano-Dutch Master, late xv century', suggesting that the Dutch and Southern characteristics of K2 could only be explained by its authorship by 'a Netherlands, possibly Dutch painter, who settled in Spain' (Suida, p. 184, Cat. No. 81). Evans (p. 12) noted that 'the Flemish training of this unknown Hispano-Dutch master is apparent in many ways. A remarkable precision of detail recalls the art of Van Eyck and his many followers, who mixed their pigments in a resinous oil to achieve a jewel-like luster. The centrally placed building and the convincing landscape vista occurred, too, in many works from Flanders, and the

perspective, as if looking down on the scene from a height, is essentially Flemish. Yet probably the picture was painted in Spain, where it was preserved in a convent at Guipuzcoa, and where, until their expulsion in 1492, Moors and African Negroes, such as those shown in the painting, were frequently seen.' Neither Gudiol nor Quinn found K2 to be the work of a Spanish painter.¹¹

K2 is among the largest and most elaborate independent paintings of the Epiphany by a Northern master surviving from the fifteenth century. Several of its narrative details such as the two conspiratorial figures at the right of the Virgin are unusual. Evil figures in Epiphany scenes are occasionally found in the North Netherlands.¹² Mary's role as future Queen of Heaven is stressed by her regal attire; the omission of Joseph and of the ox and ass all point to the same courtly note. Christ's sacrificial nudity indicates his role as Saviour. The *Epiphany* returns to the art of the early fifteenth century for much of its intricate pageantry and style; the spatial treatment recalls depictions of the same and related subjects by the Boucicaut Master.¹³ The Kress Master has expanded these compositions by placing his major figures before the stable rather than within it. Many aspects of K2 – the Virgin and Child, the equestrian groups in Oriental guise and fantastic armor, the small white clouds, the reflection of the Virgin and Child on the vessel held by the kneeling Magus – suggest Eyckian sources.¹⁴ Very possibly active in Spain, the Dutch master of K2 may also have included types and motifs from International Style works of the early fifteenth century which he saw there, as well as much Hispano-Moresque ornament. Among the North Netherlandish painters of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries close in style to K2 are Geertgen tot Sint Jans and his followers (for the figures), the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines (for the coloring), and Cornelis Buys (for the composition). Flemish currents are also seen in the Kress painting: some details are reminiscent of Joos van Ghent and of the Bruges Master of the St. Godelieve Legend, whose works were popular in Spain.¹⁵ That the master of K2 may have been resident in Spain is also suggested by a certain similarity between K2 and the facial types of Alonso de Sedano.¹⁶ The vertical, symmetrical, and frontal composition of K2, although stemming from the very beginning of the fifteenth century, was again popular near its end, revived by Domenico Ghirlandaio in his *Epiphany* of 1488 (Florence, Ospedale degli Innocenti) and Hieronymus Bosch in his *Epiphany* (Madrid, Prado). The style of the Kress panel is that of a new international mannerism of c. 1500, especially noteworthy in Cologne, Ferrara, and Venice. The *Epiphany* with its elongated, Gothicizing figures and interest in decorative detail, was probably painted in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

Provenance: According to Contini-Bonacossi, from a convent in the province of Guipuzcoa, Spain.¹⁷ Rome, A. Contini-Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1927.

References: (1) For North Netherlandish artists of the late fifteenth century, see G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-*

Nederlandsche Schilderkunst, The Hague, 1937, II; *Middel-eeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1958. (2) The coral is apotropaic and was often given to the newborn to be worn as an amulet. (3) For late Medieval messengers' badges, see Helmut Nickel, 'The Man beside the Gate', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXIV, 1966, pp. 237–44. The one in K2 seems also to refer to the breast-plate of the High Priest (the figure to the left?). See Exodus 25:7 for a partial description of a breast-plate. (4) For the iconography of the Epiphany, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 236–52; Hugo Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1908, I–II; J. J. M. Timmers, *Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst*, Roeremond-Maaseyck, 1947, No. 154. For the floral symbolism of K2 (anticipation of the Passion) see the catalogue entry for the Master of the St. Bartholomew Altar, *The Mystical Baptism of Christ* (K2114; p. 10, note 10 above). (5) Quoted by Horst W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London, 1952, p. 68. Janson observed that 'in Northern art . . . the "pilgrimage ape" retained its identity throughout the fifteenth century. . . . We encounter the animal mostly in the company of the three Magi. . . . Our earliest specimen is a Swiss mural of the Epiphany, c. 1400, in the Landesmuseum, Zürich.' (6) See Johannes of Hildesheim, *The Story of the Three Kings*, ed. Margaret B. Freeman, New York, 1955, pp. 13–19. They are included in Hugo van der Goes' *Portinari Altar* (Florence, Uffizi). (7) Roberto Longhi, Kress Archive, note inscribed Rome 1926. Raimond van Marle and August L. Mayer shared Longhi's views; the latter dated K2 c. 1470 (Kress Archive, 1926). (8) Alan Burroughs' views are recorded in the Kress Archive. The Blaricum panel is by the North Netherlandish Master of the Gathering of Manna (see Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, II, 1951, p. 53). (9) Notes of 1937 and 1938 by Max J. Friedländer, Kress Archive. According to G. Fiocco, K2 is by a Dutch master close to Bosch. (10) Kress Archive, 1935. (11) Kress Archive, 1963. (12) See Lotte Brand Philip, 'The "Prado Epiphany" by Jerome Bosch', *Art Bulletin*, XXXV, 1953, pp. 267 ff. These figures seem to anticipate Herod's ordering the Massacre of the Innocents, a subject which is incorporated in Domenico Ghirlandaio's *Epiphany* (Florence, Ospedale degli Innocenti). (13) See Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, II, *The Boucicaut Master*, London, 1968; *The Boucicaut Hours*, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS. 2, folio 73v, reproduced pl. 31. See also text figs. 271, 272, 284, 304, 306. These compositions were utilized in Italy by Uccello and Jacopo Bellini. (14) See the left wing (*Crucifixion*) of the Jan van Eyck diptych (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), the *Prayer of the Beach* (formerly Turin–Milan Hours), the Knights of Christ of the Ghent Altar (Ghent, St. Bavo), the copy after Van Eyck's lost *Road to Calvary* (Budapest, Magyar Szepművészeti Múzeum). (15) See E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'De meester van de Godelieve-Legende een Brugs schilder uit het einde van de XVde Eeuw', *Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky*, Brussels, 1955, pp. 185–98. (16) See his *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, dated 1488 (Cathedral of Palma de Majorca) reproduced by José Gudiol y Ricart, *Pintura Gótica* (Ars

Hispaniae, ix), Madrid, 1955, p. 371. Other North Netherlandish masters may have been active in Spain near the end of the fifteenth century, most notably a follower of the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines. See the *Annunciation with the Arms of Toledo* (Madrid, Duke of Alba): *Middeleeuwse Kunst*, op. cit., p. 69, Cat. No. 56, pl. 27. The arms were added at an unknown date. (17) Robert Quinn (Kress Archive) suggested that rather than originating from San Sebastian (capital of Guipuzcoa), the *Epiphany* may have been painted for a convent at Onate. He proposed the Convento de Bidaureta, founded by an official of Isabella the Catholic, or the Convento de Aranzazu. For these institutions, see Pablo de Gorosabel, *Diccionario histórico-geográfico descriptivo de los pueblos, valles, partidos, alcaldías y uniones de Guipuzcoa*, Tolosa, 1862.

HIERONYMUS BOSCH

Son of the painter Antonius van Aken (Aachen), Hieronymus Bosch was probably born c. 1450 at 's-Hertogenbosch, near the southern border of the North Netherlands, where he died in 1516. He is first recorded in conjunction with an altarpiece ordered from his father by the Confraternity of Our Lady, and was himself to be an important member of this brotherhood.¹

No dated works by him survive. The *Epiphany* (Madrid, Prado), and *The Haywain* (Madrid, Prado) are signed. A *Crucifixion* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) and a *Marriage at Cana* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) are generally accepted as early. His best known works are a group of monumental triptychs – *The Garden of Earthly Delights* and *The Haywain* (both Madrid, Prado). *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga), and the *Saint Julia Triptych* (Venice, Palazzo Ducale) point in style or symbolism to an Italian journey. The artist brings together the fantastic, realistic, and chivalric elements of Northern art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to which he adds a new spontaneity and sophisticated primitivism. Highly regarded, Bosch received extensive patronage from the church and the aristocracy. Bosch's cosmic, moralizing art has always been extremely popular and was much copied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

K1848 : Figures 60, 61

DEATH AND THE MISER. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1112), since 1951. Oil on oak. 36½ × 12½ in. (93 × 31 cm.). Cut down at all sides. Two vertical splits 2 in. from each side; the tip of the upper left corner replaced. Considerable losses at bed's lower left corner and to right of standing man. Cradled c. 1900. Restored by Albert Philippot (Brussels).² Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pl. 70.

The painting is rendered in thin, sketch-like, bright, yet pale colors, applied over a preparatory drawing on gesso now visible through the almost transparent paint layer. An

infra-red photograph (Text Fig. 11A) shows that the dying man was initially drawn raising a footed, covered cup in his left hand; this vessel occupied the upper left corner of the pillow.³ Initially the arrow was considerably longer. The fleuron-like mark on the shield and the pilgrim's bottle and tumblers on the ledge to the left of the sword were drawn but not painted (the beakers are represented in the chest in the final version).

A grey stone-walled bedchamber, with wooden vaulted ceiling, is seen through a Gothic archway with a column at each side. Draped on the column base and lying just before it are knightly attributes, including a red cape held by a drowsy, hooded demon; an orange mantle; a helmet of the late fifteenth century; a lance; a gauntlet and a tournament shield and sword. In the middle ground an elderly man in green, shown in left profile, stands at the foot of a bed, leaning over a wooden treasure chest propped open by a ballock knife. The old man's outstretched right hand holds two gold coins over a coin-filled bag extended by a small hooded demon in the chest; his left hand grasps a rosary and a stick. Silver tumblers are placed inside the chest; one of the two monsters below the bat-like demon to the left brandishes a sealed paper (promissory note?). The same (?) old man is again shown in the background as an emaciated figure in left profile, wearing only a black skullcap, sitting up in a tester bed hung with and covered by red drapes. A white-winged angel in left profile kneels on the bed and holds the dying man's left shoulder while pointing toward a small crucifix placed before a lancet window at the upper left, from which a ray of light passes toward the old man. A fish-faced demon at the lower left of the bed offers the man a treasure bag; another demon, holding a lantern of burning coal, peers down from the bed canopy (traces of an oculus window are seen above). Death, a skeleton robed in white, holding the long white arrow of mortality, opens the wooden door at the left.

Critical opinion is divided as to whether a drawing (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Text Fig. 11B), close to the composition of K1848, is by Bosch or a follower.⁴ Less vertical in format, the drawing has the knightly attributes placed at the lower left along the interior wall; the man in the foreground and the man in bed are identical in physiognomy. The helmet and gauntlet are shown in larger scale on the verso (Text Fig. 11C). Baldass's view that the Louvre drawing is a misunderstood copy after K1848 is not convincing; the sheet is probably an alternate project for the Kress panel.⁵ According to Popham, the under-drawing discernible in K1848 is in the same style as that of the Louvre study.⁶

Bosch's treatment of the theme of Death in K1848 was related by Glück to later renderings of the same subject by Bruegel.⁷ According to Baldass, the ray of light from the window symbolizes divine grace. He found the placement of armor in the foreground, outside the chamber, a sign that wealth (the treasure chest within) is more highly prized than courage.⁸ Baldass thought the Kress panel to have been

the exterior of the left wing of a triptych. He described the scene as showing the first of the *Four Last Things*, with the exterior of the right wing either a scene of infernal punishment or the death of another sinner.⁹ The theme and composition of K1848 stem from the illustrated literature of the *Ars Moriendi* or 'Art of Dying Well'; Tolnay cited an engraved series of this subject by the Master E. S. as providing the basis for the Bosch panel.¹⁰ He noted that the theme is also that of 'the upper left-hand corner medallion from Bosch's *Seven Deadly Sins* [Madrid, Prado]. '... The dying man's salvation no longer depends, as in the *Ars Moriendi*, upon the victory of the angel or demon, that is to say upon metaphysical beings fighting for a soul that is itself passive. It depends upon the responsible soul of the dying man himself, whose gestures express the conflicting impulses within him and hence the indecision in which, for Bosch, man always remains: in Bosch's picture the dying man hesitates to choose between the crucifix, upon which his inner gaze rests, and the money bag, for which his hand is reaching; the vacillating soul cannot make use of its free will. We see the same dichotomy in the sanctimonious individual at the foot of the bed, whose left hand is letting the beads of a rosary slip mechanically through his fingers, while the right is filling the sack which the demon of avarice is holding out to him. The weapons and helmet in the foreground show us that this is at the same time a social satire directed against the nobility.'¹¹ The image of Death at the door in K1848 was related by de Tervarent to one shown in a German manuscript of c. 1425–50 (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense) in which 'the dying man shows Death his treasures, requesting that he take them with him. Death replies "The doors of this world are guarded by an inexorable being who permits nothing to be taken away, save a man's faults." Another inscription reads "Man everywhere receives three emissaries: the angel, the devil, and death, who is their associate." These three characters can be found in the Flemish painter's sketch.' De Tervarent noted that the shield and sword in K1848 symbolize material weapons, powerless against death, and are also shown in the manuscript illumination.¹² The drowsing demon in the left foreground was identified by van der Elst as symbolizing Vanity, surrounded by references to the dying man's active youth. He described the demon in the treasure chest as Avarice, noting that the miser places a coin in the demon's sack. Van der Elst believed that in the miser's very last moment his thoughts remained worldly despite the efforts of his imploring guardian angel.¹³ According to Bax, an *Ars Moriendi* source for K1848 is the blockbook almost identical in composition with engravings of the same subjects by the Master E. S.¹⁴ Although Bax followed Tervarent in finding Bosch's primary source for K1848 in the German manuscript, he also suggested the importance of the Tree of Life illustrations from St. Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* (edition of 1486) for the composition of the Kress panel, as well as a manuscript (mid-fifteenth century Netherlandish) illumination for the *Miracle de Notre Dame*.¹⁵ Frankfurter noted that the covered cup first drawn by Bosch (discernible in an infra-red photograph, Text Fig. 11A) held in the dying man's left hand was 'a religious vessel, almost certainly the *viaticum* of

the Last Sacrament – but that the vessel was carefully over-painted, very likely a brief time after the picture was completed'. He observed that the same change is seen in the Louvre drawing of the subject (Text Fig. 11B), where 'whatever was once held in the empty hand has been erased'.¹⁶ Philip contrasted the beam of light shining through the window like a ray of divine grace with 'the little torchfire, symbol of the fire of Hell, which is carried by a devil.' She found the old man bending over his hoarded treasures to be a second depiction of the dying man in the act of renouncing the vice of Avarice as he returns gold to the chest. According to her the cloak and armor in the foreground refer to St. Martin, the generous knight who shared his cloak with a beggar, but here the cloak and armor are converted into symbols of avarice.¹⁷ The old man's fingering of the rosary combined with his adding of coins to the treasure chest was viewed by Bouton as indicating hypocrisy.¹⁸ Seymour (p. 78) described K1848 as showing a 'death bed set in the nave of a church'; the figure in the foreground is viewed as 'a charitable friend' of the dying man. He called the light ray a 'shaft of Revelation'. The military regalia in the foreground is considered the 'symbolic armor of the Christian active life' abandoned by the dying man. Walker (p. 127) characterized the Kress panel as a 'sermon on avarice', describing the objects in the foreground as 'symbols of power, the original source of wealth. With age, wealth is first hoarded, then increased through usury, and in the end rats and salamanders become its agents. The rich man has, tied to his waist, his rosary and the key to his strongbox. These determine the final scene, the last transaction, which will he choose? We can find the answer in the *Ars Moriendi* ... in which the sleeper awakens, cries to God to protect him, and thereafter dedicates himself to religion. Thus the dying man gives back his gold to Mammon whose toad face appears under the curtain.' He suggested that the demon in the foreground is a self-portrait of Bosch in skeptical meditation on his own sermon. The 'necessity of complete surrender to God as a step in preparation for death', emphasized in the *Ars Moriendi*, is viewed by Bradley (p. 30) as the subject of K1848. Hand identified the armor in the foreground as symbolizing another of the Seven Deadly Sins: Anger.¹⁹ In 1966, Tolnay was less certain that the man in bed and the one at the foot of the bed represented the same person; he described the latter as 'probably a further illustration of irresolution'.²⁰ Cuttler linked the figure at the treasure chest to the miser counting his money aided by demons in *La Somme le Roi* and related the entire scene to a chapter of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* ('Ship of Fools'). He suggested the sealed paper relates to false papers of legitimacy. Cuttler found the initial drawing (Text Fig. 11B) to indicate 'that the avaricious would sell even the viaticum'. He described K1848 as 'a satire on the greed of false knights'.²¹

The Kress panel combines elements from the last three prints of the British Museum blockbook *Ars Moriendi*—these are almost identical with the Master E. S.'s engravings of the same subjects. The ninth woodcut shows the dying man facing the fifth temptation: Avarice. The devil points

to the man's friends; his speech scroll reads: *Provideas amicis* ('Provide for thy friends'). The old man in the foreground of K1848 seems to be taking coins, helping the devil distract his dying friend from thoughts of Heaven by reminding him of earthly pleasures.²² The guardian angel in K1848 takes the role of the same figure in the tenth blockbook scene entitled *Bona inspiratio angli contra avaricia* ('The wise inspiration of the angel against avarice'). In the blockbook, his scroll is inscribed *Non sis avarus* ('Be not avaricious'). Another angel holds a scroll with the words *Ne intendis amicis* ('Be not concerned for thy friends'). The friends are hidden from the dying man by a large cloth held by the angel. In the eleventh and final woodcut, the dying man holds a burning taper handed to him by a monk. Bosch overpainted his preparatory drawing of a covered cup elevated by the dying man, so that the man's hand, rather than the cup, received the ray of divine light. Frankfurter called the cup a viaticum; Bosch may have meant it as such, possibly exploiting the dual significance of this term as sacrament of the Holy Eucharist and provider of travel money.²³ The combined emblems of divinity and eternity, the triangle and the circle, form the lock of the treasure chest, linking it to final values.²⁴ The publication date of the French *Cité de Dieu* (1486) discussed by Bax may provide a *terminus post quem* for the Kress panel; the latter may well date even later, after the publication of Netherlandish *Ars Moriendi* between 1488 and 1491.²⁵ The widespread belief that the world would come to an end in 1500 (chiliasm) also contributed to the production of subjects such as that of *The Death of the Miser* near the close of the century; the millennium is a major concern in Bosch's art.

The Kress panel was first published by Glück as by Bosch, describing the central figure as a miser attacked by Death, as shown in earlier Netherlandish and French art. He related it to the drawing of the same subject (Text Fig. 11B) now in the Louvre.²⁶ Baldass characterized K1848 as an autograph work by Bosch.²⁷ Tolnay included the painting in his Bosch monograph, entitling it *Death and the Miser* and describing the panel as the reverse of the left wing of a triptych painted at the beginning of Bosch's second period (1480–1510). He noted that, while it was modeled upon the much earlier fifteenth-century works by the Master of Flémalle and Roger van der Weyden, the Kress panel is less comprehensively constructed, stresses the irrational and is on a smaller scale in an ill-defined space.²⁸ The Kress panel is included in the Friedländer supplement as by Bosch.²⁹ Baldass placed the work shortly after Bosch's completion of *The Haywain* (Madrid, Prado), which he dated c. 1480, and pointed out that the clearly visible preliminary drawing in K1848 is particularly characteristic of Bosch.³⁰ Combe linked K1848 with Bosch's *Ship of Fools* (Paris, Louvre), finding the technique of both panels more delicate, compact, and minute than that of *The Haywain*, pointing to the art of Bosch's maturity when *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga) and *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Prado) were painted. He compared the setting to that of an *Annunciation* by the Hausbuch Master (Lehrs 8).³¹ The panel was dated

c. 1485 by Bax, who called it an early work because of its conventional representation of devils, differing from those of the artist's later oeuvre which incorporated plants and inorganic forms.³² Other possible visual sources suggested by Bax are: the *Birth of the Baptist* from the *Turin–Milan Hours* (Turin, Museo Civico) and the graphic oeuvre of the Hausbuch Master.³³ Noting some correspondence between the Kress panel's composition and the wings of Bosch's *St. Julia Triptych* (Venice, Palazzo Ducale) the panel was described in 1959 as 'modello'-like, stemming from the end of Bosch's middle period, its foreground characterized as a still-life.³⁴ According to Frankfurter, K1848 was painted c. 1500.³⁵ Seymour noted that when placed above one another, the combined measurements of Bosch's *Ship of Fools* (Paris, Louvre) and *Man and Woman Drinking in a Tent* (New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery) would equal the size of the Kress panel. He suggested that the Louvre–Yale reconstructed panel could have functioned jointly with it as wings of a small devotional triptych.³⁶ Walker (p. 127) and Broadley (p. 30) both dated K1848 c. 1490; Cinotti dated it 1490–1500.³⁷

The Louvre and Yale panels, while close to K1848 in style, do not work satisfactorily as a pendant. Should the two fragments belong to the same altarpiece as *The Death of a Miser*, they might have formed part of the lost central panel. The painting's pale coloring has led most writers to assume its having been the outer side of the left wing of a triptych; but such need not be the case – it could have been the inner side of a left wing or part of a fixed section of a small polyptych. A date in the last decade of the fifteenth century seems stylistically and symbolically correct for its genesis; still close in physiognomy to Bosch's first known work, *The Crucifixion* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) of c. 1480, *The Death of the Miser* was most likely painted in Bosch's early maturity. The treatment of the foreground recalls that of the *St. Julia Altar* wings (Venice, Palazzo Ducale), executed on Bosch's Italian journey in the late 1490s.³⁸ The *Miser* was probably completed shortly before Bosch's leaving the Netherlands for Italy.

Provenance: J. Massey, c. 1926 (of the dealers Raven, Massey, and Lester, London).³⁹ London, Asscher and Welker, c. 1926. Baron Joseph van der Elst, Vienna–Rome–New York, exhibited – New York, Knoedler and Co. *Flemish Primitives: An Exhibition Organized by the Belgian Government*, 13 Apr.–9 May 1942, p. 68 (erroneously described as in grisaille). Kress acquisition 1951.

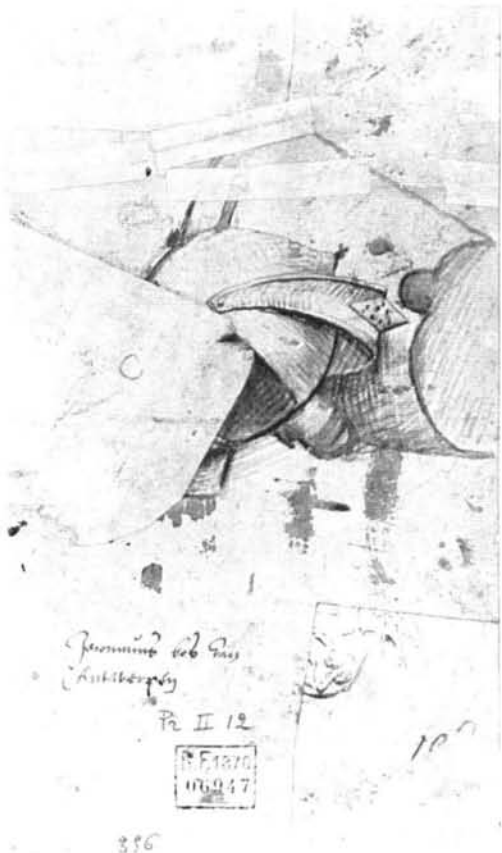
References: (1) For an important new biographical study, see P. Gerlach, O. F. M. CAP., *Jerominus van Aken alias Bosch en de Onze Lieve Vrouwe-Broederschap*, in *Jheronimus Bosch, Bijdragen* (supplement to the catalogue of the Bosch Exhibition at s'Hertogenbosch), 1967, pp. 48–57. See also Charles de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Basle, 1937. For valuable new interpretive studies of Bosch see Lotte Brand Philip, 'The Prado "Epiphany" by Jerome Bosch', *Art Bulletin*, xxxv, 1953, pp. 267 ff.; and same author's 'The Peddler by Hieronymus Bosch, a study in detection',



The Master of the Saint Lucy Legend and Assistant:
Detail from *The Assumption and Coronation of the Immaculately Conceived Virgin* (к 1689). Washington, D.C. (p. 61)



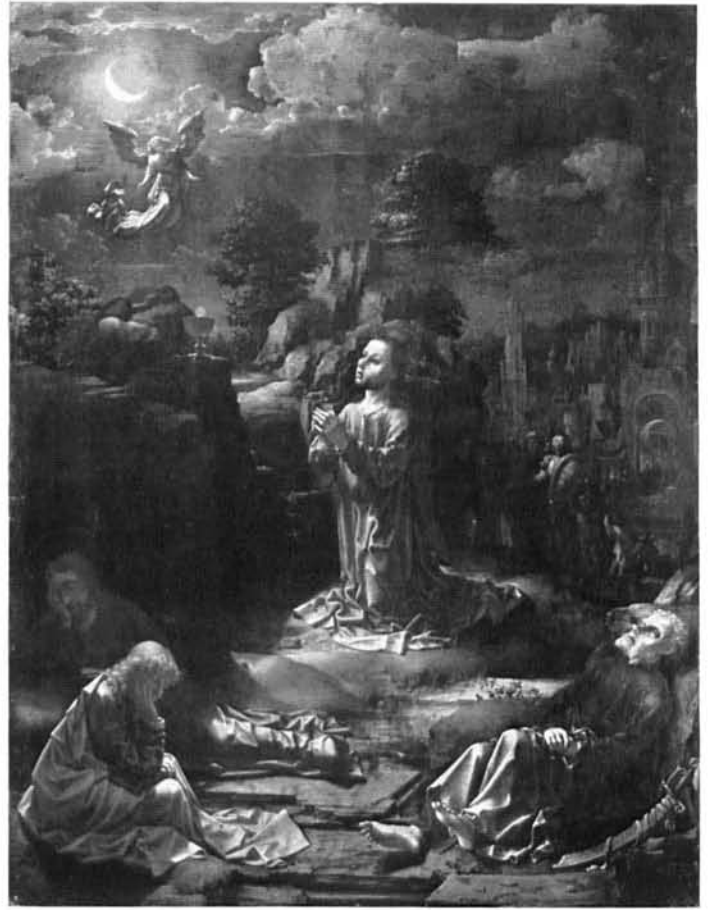
Hieronymus Bosch: Detail from *Death and the Miser* (c. 1568). Washington, D.C. (p. 66)



Text Figs 11 A, B, C. *Death and the Miser* by Hieronymus Bosch (c 1488). Left: infra-red photograph. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington. Right: preparatory drawings, Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, No. RF 6947 recto and verso.



Text Fig 12 *Hillensberger Arms* attributed to Adriaen Isenbrandt (K 6B verso).



Text Fig 13 *Agony in the Garden* by Jan Gossart. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (see K 1661).



Text Fig 14 *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness* by Hans Memling. Munich, Pinakothek (see K 1840).

Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, VIII, 1956, pp. 1-81. (2) Charles de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*, New York, 1966, p. 347, stated that K1848 was cleaned and restored in 1937. (3) First noted by Alfred W. Frankfurter ('Interpreting Masterpieces: Twenty-four Paintings from the Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, XXI, 1951, pp. 82-129, esp. pp. 113-14). (4) See the exhibition catalogues *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1958, pp. 138-9, Cat. No. 180; *Jheronimus Bosch, Bijdragen* (supplement to the Bosch exhibition), s'Hertogenbosch, 1967, Cat. No. 51 for thorough resumé of the literature concerning this drawing. (5) Ludwig von Baldass, 'Ein Kreuzigungsalter von Hieronymus Bosch', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, IX, 1935, pp. 87-9, esp. p. 89, n. 7. (6) A. E. Popham, 'An unknown drawing by Hieronymus Bosch', *Actes du XVII Congrès International de l'Histoire de l'Art*, The Hague, 1955, pp. 247-50. (7) Gustav Glück, *Bruegels Gemälde*, Vienna, 1932, p. 57, Cat. No. 10. (8) Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Vienna, 1943, p. 23. (9) *Ibid.*, p. 236; pp. 67-8, p. 77. See also 1960 edition, in English, pp. 26, 222. For the Four Last Things - Death, Judgment, Paradise, Hell - see Réau, II, 2, pp. 637-9. (10) Tolnay, *op. cit.*, 1966, p. 27. For this engraving see Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im 15. Jahrhundert*, II, Vienna, 1910, Cat. Nos. 175/85. See also Heinrich Theodor Musper, 'Die "Ars Moriendi" und der Meister E. S.', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, XXV, 1950, pp. 57-66. (11) Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Basle, 1937, p. 27 and p. 90, Cat. No. 20; New York, 1966, p. 25. On p. 90 he placed the Kress panel with two others showing *Paradise* and *Hell* (New York, Wildenstein and Co.); the latter has some correspondence with K1848 but does not seem to be by the same hand. (12) Guy de Tervarent, 'The Origin of one of Jérôme Bosch's Pictures', *Message: Belgian Review*, XXXIX, 1945, pp. 44-5. For the Roman manuscript 'Collectanea Spiritualia', Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 1404, f. 3r, see Fritz Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the later Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V, 1942, pp. 82-134, esp. 98-9, reproduced pl. XXIVB. (13) Joseph van der Elst, *The Last Flowering of the Middle Ages*, New York, 1946, pp. 103-4. (14) D. Bax, *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch*, The Hague, 1949, p. 259, n. 25. See *The Ars Moriendi*, (*Editio Princeps*, c. 1450) (ed. by Harry Rylands, intro. by George Bullen), London, 1881, pp. 8 ff. Bax believed the book illustrations to be designed by a follower of Roger van der Weyden. (15) Bax, *op. cit.*, p. 244, fig. 60. (16) Frankfurter, *op. cit.*, p. 144. (17) Lotte Brand Philip, *Hieronymus Bosch*, New York, 1955, Cat. No. 14. (18) M. Bouton, *Painting of the Week*, 11-17 May 1959, p. 1, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art. (19) National Gallery information sheet, 1965. (20) Tolnay, 1966, *op. cit.*, p. 347. (21) Charles D. Cuttler, 'Bosch and the Narrenschiff: A Problem in Relationships', *Art Bulletin*, LI, no. 3, 1969, pp. 272-6. (22) For the five last temptations - Doubt, Despair, Impatience, Pride, Avarice - see Réau, II, 2, pp. 655-7. The blockbook *Avarice* is discussed by Rylands-Bullen, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16. Bosch may also have been influenced by the theme in a North Netherlandish (Utrecht?) manuscript (*The Hours of*

Catherine of Cleves, New York, the Guennol Collection and the Morgan Library) showing a death-bed scene in which a young attendant (son?) is shown again in the *bas-de-page* with bags of money at an open coffer (John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, New York, 1966, pl. 41, Morgan, p. 180). (23) *Oxford Universal Dictionary*, 1955, p. 2353. (24) Locks of treasure chests in the late fifteenth century included references to the Last Judgment. See Jeffrey Hoffeld, 'The Art of the Medieval Blacksmith', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Dec. 1969, pp. 160-73, for such a lock (Inv. No. 17.190.362). (25) For early editions of the *Ars Moriendi*, see W. L. Schreiber and Hildegard Zimmermann, 'Ars Moriendi', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1947, cols. 1121-7. (26) Glück, *op. cit.*, p. 57, Cat. No. 10. (27) Baldass, 1935, *op. cit.*, p. 89, n. 3. (28) Tolnay, 1937, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 90, Cat. No. 20. (29) Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, XIV, Leyden, 1937, p. 101. Also in English edition, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (notes by G. Lemmens), V, Leyden, 1969, p. 91, suppl. 135, mistakenly called *grisaille*. (30) Baldass, 1943, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8, 77, 236 and 1960, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 222. (31) Jacques Combe, *Jheronimus Bosch*, New York, 1946, pp. 20-1. (32) Bax, *op. cit.*, p. 133. (33) Bax identified the latter with Erhard Reuwich (*ibid.*, pp. 239, 241, 258). (34) *Middeleeuwse Kunst*, *op. cit.*, p. 139. (35) Frankfurter, *op. cit.*, p. 133. (36) Quoted by Colin Eisler, *Corpus . . . ; Les Primitifs Flamands*, New England Museums, Brussels, 1961, pp. 44-9. Charles Seymour, *The Rabinowitz Collection of European Paintings*, Yale University, New Haven, 1961. See also Hélène Adhémar, *Corpus . . . ; Les Primitifs Flamands, Le Musée National du Louvre*, I, Brussels, 1962, pls. 20-3; Roger van Schoute, 'Over de techniek van Jeroen Bosch', *Jheronimus Bosch Bijdragen*, s'Hertogenbosch, 1967, pp. 72-9, esp. p. 79, n. 25. Adhémar does not indicate acceptance of Seymour's reconstructed wing. Tolnay (1966, p. 347) does not accept the two paintings as a pendant, nor does Cuttler. (37) Mia Cinotti, *L'Opera Completa di Bosch*, Milan, 1966, p. 92, Cat. No. 15. (38) Documentation for this will be published by Leonard Slatkes of Queens College, New York. (39) Possibly purchased by him in Essex. K1848 may have been in an Irish private collection. A drawing after the painting was made c. 1826 by W. H. Brooke, as part of a sketchbook of the Arundel district, photo at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

FRANCO-FLEMISH MASTER

Active c. 1480

K1071 A/C : Figures 62-64

THE ADORATION OF THE HOLY NAME OF JESUS (B); JEAN WOUTERS AND JEAN WOUTERS LE JEUNE WITH ST. JOHN BAPTIST (A); JOSSINE DE BESTE (WOUTERS) AND ELISABETH WOUTERS WITH ST. JODOCUS (C). Montgomery, Alabama, Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts (P362), since 1937. Oil on oak. B: 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (60.3 × 51.4 cm.), cut down at top. A: 22 × 8 in. (55.9 × 20.3 cm.). C: 21 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (54.9 × 21.0 cm.). A: Painted within a red circle are the golden

letters *IHS* (for *Jesus Hominum Salvator*) and *In nomine Jhesu Omne Genu flectatur celestium, terrestrium et infernorum* (Philippians 2:10–11, 'That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth').¹

Central panel (Figure 63): in the upper left corner the arms are: *or* on a chevron gules between three parrots vert, five fleurs-de-lis argent, below a knight's helmet crowned and the motto *J'ay bien*; they belong to Jean Wouters le Jeune (shown as a child in K1071A), the son of Jean Wouters (kneeling in K1071A) and Jossine de Beste (kneeling in K1071C). On 24 August 1505, Jean le Jeune married Marie de Nieuwenhuysse. The daughter of Josse and Jossine van Laenen, Marie died in 1532, leaving four children. The love-knot at the top of K1071 joins the initials of Jean (I) and Marie (M).² (The family motto *J'ai espoir* is not included on the Kress triptych.) At the upper right, the Wouters arms are shown with those of the Van Nieuwenhuysse: azure a house fenestrated *or*, surrounded by an interlace with the device *A bien viengne*. The letters *IM* at the top center are joined by love-knots. **Left panel** (Figure 62): the arms supported by an angel: *or* on a chevron gules between three parrots vert, five fleurs-de-lis argent, below a knight's helmet crowned. A mantling showing a jousting helmet with a dragon above has the motto: *Plus est en Dieu*. The arms are repeated on the prie-dieu: they belong to Jean Wouters (shown kneeling in this panel), who was *Président de la Chambre des Comptes* at Lille (1513), first in the *Chambre's* employ in 1477. He was in the service of Philippe le Beau. Wouters died on 18 August 1519, and was buried in the Parish Church of St. Martin de Ackerghem (Ghent).³ **Right panel** (Figure 64): the arms held by the angel: Wouters, as above, dexter: sinister, argent across gules, in the first quarter a parrot vert. The latter arms, those of Jossine de Beste, are repeated on the prie-dieu below. The motto at the top: *Ma fiance est telle*. Jossine de Beste (shown kneeling at the prie-dieu in this wing) married Jean Wouters at an unknown date. They had two children, Jean and Elisabeth, shown in K1071A and C. Jossine died 4 April 1505.

Panels cradled and restored in 1933 by Pichetto. Upper central section of center panel abraded; the Christ Child severely damaged and the donor heavily restored. Central panel (and probably the wings) split at an unknown date to separate the painting on the front from that on the back; the present central subject was originally on the back of the panel; the painting on the front is lost.⁴

Ten angels venerate the central roundel inscribed with the initials of Christ placed against a dark, bluish-green ground. The nude Holy Infant is above, turned slightly to the left, seated upon a tasseled cushion, his right hand raised in benediction, the other holding a red cross.⁵ Golden rays, extending behind the central medallion, emanate from a nimbus behind Christ. With the exception of the left central angel and one at the lower right, all others have their hands joined in prayer. The angels are clad in pastel-colored, alb-like liturgical garments with long, gold tasseled cinctures going over each angel's shoulder and

tied around the waist. A donor facing right, his hands folded in prayer, kneels at a prie-dieu with an open book. He wears red and green fur-lined robes; his little son in white fur-trimmed robes kneels to the left. A bearded St. John Baptist in a hair shirt and flowing red mantle over the right shoulder stands to the left. He holds a lamb (with golden cross and banner staff) on a book with his left hand; the saint's right hand is placed close to the kneeling donor's shoulder. Golden rays shine from his head. All three figures are seen against a low wall with an arch-like relief. A flying angel in pink holds the Wouters' arms at the top, framed by a golden lattice. A landscape vista with several buildings is seen in the background. Jossine de Beste (Wouters) kneels before a prie-dieu at the right with an open illuminated book showing the Virgin and Child.⁶ She wears a white coif, a black and white dress with a *robe doublée*; the knotted girdle, probably of the female Franciscan *Ordre de la Cordelière* founded by Anne de Bretagne, is around her waist. Her little daughter, Elisabeth Wouters, kneels to the right in black attire also with a *Cordelière*. Jossine's patron St. Jodocus, haloed, stands behind her, facing left.⁷ He grasps a pilgrim staff with his left hand, a crown over his wrist. A pilgrim's hat with three gilded shells is on his back and a crimson cloak over his shoulder. The background is similar to that of K1071B. At the top an angel in yellow displays the donatrix' coat of arms and motto. The cult of the Holy Name of Jesus was especially revered by the Franciscans.⁸ Both the donatrix and her daughter seem to have belonged to a Franciscan sodality.

Friedländer described the triptych as a French work of c. 1480.⁹ According to Burroughs, K1071 dates from the early sixteenth century and was painted by an artist of the school of Memling, active in France. He related the triptych to the style of a triptych of the Life of St. Anne in the Johnson Collection (Philadelphia Museum of Art) which was mistakenly attributed to Jean Bourdichon. On the basis of the style of the coats of arms, he dated the triptych c. 1500.¹⁰ As first noted by Frankfurter, the triptych's present central subject was originally placed on the back rather than the front of the panel.¹¹ At an unknown date the central panel was split in two. The wings were probably similarly treated. Another triptych, with the recto of the central panel and the verso of the wings, may be found. Possibly these areas may have been damaged, which could also account for their separation. The Holy Name of Jesus, a relatively rare subject for an independent composition in the North, is found on the verso of a *Madonna and Child* by the Master of the St. Ursula Legend (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum). The original front of the central panel may also have shown a Virgin and Child enthroned, a popular subject for newly-wed couples' devotional triptychs. The flying angels to the left and right in K1071B/C may have reflected similar angels in the lost recto of the central panel. The latter may have shown a Virgin and Child with flying angels such as the ones seen in the Fogg panel.¹² In all likelihood the portraits of the children were added to the wings, which initially may have shown the then childless husband and wife shortly after

their marriage. The exterior of the wings probably showed an Annunciation. Van den Bergen-Pantens placed the execution of the triptych c. 1490, as Jean de Wouters le Jeune, who married in 1505, looks extremely young.¹³ She did not believe K1071 to belong to the French style, describing it as completely in accord with that of Bruges with a slight influence of Hugo van der Goes in the presentation of the donors and their patron saints.¹⁴

As the Kress triptych was in all likelihood painted in Lille, officially French at the time, it could be included with French art, related in style to the oeuvre of Simon Marmion and Jean Bellegambe, both of whom were active in the same area. Their art, however, was founded on a Netherlandish basis. The master of the triptych was probably trained in Bruges in the 1470s. The abstract, elegant placement of the angels in the central panel recalls the art of the Maître des Moulins, another painter probably trained in the Netherlands but active in Burgundy. The date of 1490 for the execution of K1071 suggested by Van den Bergen-Pantens is plausible, but it may prove closer to Friedländer's proposed 1480, as the donor's children look as though they were added several years after the wings' completion.

Provenance: New York, F. Kleinberger Gallery (sold, 18 Nov. 1932, New York, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, *Important Paintings by Masters of the Old Schools*, p. 52, Cat. No. 39, as French, c. 1480). Kress acquisition 1932.

References: (1) The inscription is incorrectly transcribed by C. Van den Bergen-Pantens, 'Iconographie d'une alliance: les Wouters et les Beste', *Le Parchemin*, 16th ser., no. 140, Mar.–Apr. 1969, pp. 389–401, esp. p. 394. (2) See *ibid.*, pp. 397–8, and M. de Veggiano, *Nobiliaire des Pays-Bas*, Ghent, 1865, II, p. 2153. The armorial and genealogical research for K1071 was initiated by Jessie McNab, who found major biographical data in the 'Généalogie de la famille Wouters', an eighteenth-century manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Goethals Collection, no. G.M.1482, fols 1, 3, 4). Research has also been done by Van den Bergen-Pantens (*art. cit.*, pp. 389–401), who included much new material concerning the donors' parents. (3) *Ibid.*, pp. 396–7. For the biography of Jean Wouters, see M. de Veggiano, *op. cit.*, p. 2152. (4) See technical report by Alan Burroughs, Kress Archive. (5) The Christ Child is mistakenly described by Van den Bergen-Pantens, *art. cit.*, pp. 394–6, as holding an apple. The red of the cross symbolizes Christ's sacrifice. (6) According to Van den Bergen-Pantens (*art. cit.*, p. 400), the miniatures belong to the School of Ghent–Bruges. (7) For a brief biography of St. Jodocus, see Frederick George Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, St. Louis, 1924, p. 532. St. Jodocus was also the patron of Jean le Jeune's parents-in-law, Josse and Jossine van Laenen. (8) For this device, see Hans Feldbusch, 'Christusmonogramm', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1954, III, cols. 707–20. (9) Max J. Friedländer, certificate in Kress Archive, dated 4/11/32. (10) Kress Archive, c. 1933. The triptych is

catalogued in Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *German, French, Spanish, and English Paintings and Art Objects, Modern Paintings, Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and Some Art Objects Belonging to J. G. Johnson*, III, Philadelphia, 1914, pp. 24–5, Cat. No. 762, pls. 264, 265. (11) A[lfred] M. F[rankfurter], 'Eleven Gifts of the Kress Foundation', *Art News*, xxxv, 13 Feb. 1937, p. 5. (12) See C. T. Eisler, *Les primitifs flamands, Corpus . . . IV, New England Museums*, Brussels, 1961, pp. 101–5, Cat. No. 76, pls. cxxxii, cxxxviii. (13) Van den Bergen-Pantens, *art. cit.*, p. 401. The donatrix' attire is related by Van den Bergen-Pantens (pp. 400–1) to similar clothing shown in paintings dated between 1478 and 1500. (14) *Ibid.*, pp. 398–9.

THE MASTER OF THE BRUNSWICK DIPTYCH, c. 1500

The Master of the Brunswick Diptych was so named by Max J. Friedländer after the two panels in the Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum (Brunswick). He was a North Netherlandish follower of Geertgen tot Sint Jans of Haarlem, probably active there or in Amsterdam near the end of the fifteenth century.¹

Circle of BRUNSWICK MASTER

K1875 : Figure 71

NATIVITY WITH ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS (Triptych). Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum (E-954), since 1954. Oil on oak. Central arched panel: 16½ × 11½ in. (41.0 × 28.6 cm.). Left wing: 16¾ × 5½ in. (42.5 × 14.3 cm.). Right wing: 16¾ × 5½ in. (42.5 × 14.9 cm.). Abraded throughout. A split in the central panel to the left of the head of Joseph. Traces of gesso and paint were on the verso, which seems originally to have had a marbled appearance. Central panel slightly cut down; left wing split at the upper left.² Planed down and transferred to veneered, cradled masonite and cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1953/4. As the ground line of all three panels was probably originally intended to have been continuous and all the Romanesque windows to be parallel, the *Nativity* seems to have been cut down at the top rather than the bottom.

Denver, 1954, p. 68, Cat. No. 30.

The Nativity (Luke 2:7) is depicted in the center panel. Mary in a blue, gold-edged robe kneels to the left, her hands folded in prayer. The nude child is laid on her mantle, surrounded by divine light. The old Joseph, his arms raised, kneels at the right, shown as though having just entered. The battered wooden stable is attached to the ruins of a large Romanesque structure, whose walls are continued in the left side panel. The ox looks toward the Infant and the ass turns to the crib along the end wall.³ A landscape vista with a town view is at the upper left. The Annunciation to two shepherds (Luke 2:8–15), with their flocks, is shown at the upper right wing. Two conversing shepherds without crooks walk in the middle distance. Two

other shepherds with agricultural implements are at the lower left, leaning over the ruined wall of the central scene (Luke 2:15–21). In the left wing the Romanesque ruin encloses a hatted shepherdess with a crook and two shepherds; her hand is on the belt and cord of the ram's horn over the shoulder of the young hooded man turned to the right, his hands folded in prayer; another bearded shepherd with a crook points toward the Nativity. The Adoration of the Shepherds represents the first appearance of Christ to the Jews.⁴ The absence of angels from *The Nativity* is characteristic of the new realism of North Netherlandish art, also seen in depictions of the same subject by or after Bosch (Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne). The exterior of the wings of K1875 may have shown an Annunciation – a logical preface to the subjects within; it may have resembled the *Annunciation* by the Brunswick Master (Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection), which has a curved top. The Joseph resembles those by Petrus Christus (Washington, National Gallery of Art, *Goldman Nativity*) or after Hugo van der Goes (*Adoration of the Shepherds*, Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House). Other aspects of K1875 also point to a Goesian origin (a shepherdess is in the background of the *Portinari Altar* [Florence, Uffizi]), or to reflections of Hugo's art in Gerard David and Geertgen tot Sint Jans.

The triptych generally resembles the style of the Brunswick Master, especially in its spatial organization; but the Kress panels are somewhat more mannered and elongated in figure treatment, less concerned with a Geertgen-like plasticity than is the Brunswick Master. It is closer in approach to a *Visitation* by an otherwise unknown North Netherlandish Master of c. 1500.⁵

Provenance: Frederick Mont, New York (purchased in Geneva, Switzerland). Kress acquisition 1952, exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America*, 10 Dec. 1961–4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 62.

References: (1) See Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, v, Berlin, 1927, pp. 51 ff., 134 ff. (2) At some point, the left hand of the young shepherd in the left wing was mistakenly merged with the drapery of his older companion. (3) See Panofsky, pp. 277–8. (4) For the iconography of the Nativity and the Shepherds' Annunciation and Adoration, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 218–31, 231–6; Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, ed., *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 46–7. For the presence of the shepherdess, see Réau, *loc. cit.*, p. 234. (5) Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 138, Cat. No. 42, and pl. XXVIII (sold at auction, Paris, 13 June 1913).

NETHERLANDISH, c. 1500

K2043 : Figure 57

DONOR AT PRAYER. Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum (E-955), since 1954. Oil on oak. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (28.9 × 21.0 cm.). An unidentifiable and severely abraded

coat-of-arms – vert a cock or – is on the back, with seven French customs stamps. Restored by Modestini in 1954. The portrait is very poorly preserved; the verso appears to have been executed at a considerably later date than the recto.

Denver, 1954, p. 70, Cat. No. 31.

A young, plump man at prayer, facing to the right, is shown in a fur-lined overgown, against a dark background. The panel may originally have been the left wing of a triptych with the donor's wife on the right wing and a devotional subject in between. The dark, curly, wig-like hair is for the most part a later addition.

K2043 was attributed to Giovanni Bellini in 1865.¹ It was ascribed to Gerard David by Friedländer.² The delicately executed hands recall the art of Dieric Bouts and Hugo van der Goes. A similar hair-style is worn by the donor in a triptych by Adriaen Isenbrandt, c. 1510 (Bruges, S. Sauveur). The portrait appears to date from the very late fifteenth century. It is too heavily restored to make more specific dating or attribution possible.

Provenance: Duchesse de Berri, Venice (sold Paris, Hôtel Drouot, *Catalogue des Tableaux anciens et modernes composant la Galerie du Palais Vendramini [sic]* . . . et appartenant à Mme. la Duchesse de Berri, 17–18 Apr. 1865, p. 5, Cat. No. 18, as 'Bellini (Jean) Tête d'homme au prière. bois. haut. 30 cm.; larg. 22 cm.'). Professor Pollatchek, Budapest, exhibited – Budapest, 1902, with art works in the possession of physicians.³ Comte L. Edelsheim-Gyulai, Budapest.⁴ New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) Duchesse de Berri Sale, 1865, Cat. No. 18, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 17–18 Apr. p. 5. (2) Kress Archive, 5/vii/48. (3) According to Wildenstein brochure. (4) *Ibid.*

MASTER OF HOOGSTRAETEN

This master was identified by Max J. Friedländer with a series of panels grouped around an altar for the church of Hoogstraeten and executed c. 1505. The author of these panels was active in Antwerp but may, according to Friedländer, have originally worked in Bruges and, with many other artists, left that dwindling center at the end of the fifteenth century to work in the prospering court of Antwerp.¹

ANTWERP SCHOOL:

Master of Hoogstraeten (?)

K16 : Figure 72

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ST. CATHERINE AND ST. BARBARA (Triptych). New York, Mrs. Rush H. Kress Collection. Oil on panel (oak?). With frame: center 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31.8 × 23.5 cm.), left 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (31.8 × 12.1 cm.), right 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (31.8 × 11.5 cm.); without

frame: center 10×7 in. (25.4×17.8 cm.), left $10\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ in. (26.6×7.6 cm.), right $12\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (31.8×11.4 cm.). Cradled; all three panels in original frames. Two vertical splits or joins in central panel near left ear and right hand of Virgin; split through center of left wing; all three heavily repainted.

The arched triptych shows the half-length figure of the Virgin holding the Child at the center. St. Catherine in regal garb, holding a book and her attribute, the sword, is in the left wing, and in the right is the richly dressed, reading St. Barbara with her attribute, the tower, in the landscape background. All three holy women are in the same interior, the saints standing in the corners and the Virgin in the center, with a vaulted wooden ceiling and a long horizontal window in the background. The Virgin and Child are seen against a rich velvet hanging; the Child looks out at the spectator, his right hand resting on the Virgin's breast, which she is about to expose with her right. Mary's downcast visage reflects her anticipation of the Passion. In her role as divine intercessor for mankind at the moment of the Last Judgment, she is depicted showing her breast in a similar manner. This is the reason for the selection of this subject by the original owner of this small devotional triptych.²

Adolfo Venturi attributed K16 to the Master of the Female Half-Lengths;³ and Raimond van Marle noted elements in it from Gerard David.⁴ Friedländer included K16 in the oeuvre of the Master of Hoogstraeten.⁵ Jacqueline Folie and Nicole Veronée-Verhaegen accepted Friedländer's attribution but noted resemblances between K16 and other Antwerp artists of the early sixteenth century such as the Master of the Morrison Triptych and the Master of the André Madonna.⁶

The extensive repainting of K16 makes a specific attribution difficult. The triptych is certainly from the School of Antwerp in the early sixteenth century and shows many of the characteristics of the Master of Hoogstraeten – most notably his fondness for a horizontal landscape background.

Provenance: Contini-Bonacossi, Rome. Kress acquisition 1927.

References: (1) Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VII, Leyden, 1934, pp. 100–4. (2) See K615, p. 50, for a discussion of the iconography. (3) Notes in Kress Archive. (4) Kress Archive, 1936. (5) Friedländer, *op. cit.*, XIV, Leyden, 1937, p. 110 (supplementary to VII). (6) Letter of 20/IX/67.

ADRIAEN ISENBRANDT

Isenbrandt was listed as a foreigner when first inscribed in the Bruges Painters' Guild in 1510. He occupied a prominent place in the guild from then until his death in 1551. A series of paintings reminiscent of Gerard David in style,

yet mostly somewhat later in date and employing a wider variety of sources, was ascribed to Isenbrandt by Hulin de Loo. The grouping of works under Isenbrandt's name has been further defined by Friedländer.¹ No surviving painting can be securely given to him, as no signed or documented works are known. Isenbrandt may perhaps have first worked in Antwerp, as landscapes in several paintings ascribed to him reflect the art of that center. He was presumably an eclectic, since works accepted as by him combine aspects of early Netherlandish painting with motifs from the Italian Renaissance and the graphic oeuvre of Albrecht Dürer.

Attributed to ADRIAEN ISENBRANDT

K6A/B : Figures 65, 66

DIPTYCH: MADONNA AND CHILD WITH A HILLENSBERGER [Ehrenberger] DONOR. Coral Gables, Florida, University of Miami, Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery (61.060.001), since 1961. Oil on oak panel. K6A: $12\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (30.8×21.0 cm.), K6B: $12\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31.1×21.0 cm.). Inscribed DO [sic] ICK. HABDE DISSE · GHESTALT · WAS ICK · 32 IAER ALT · A · 1513 D. I. FEBRVARIJ. Coat-of-arms on back of K6B: Quarterly 1 and 4: sable, two pales argent, a chief gules; 2 and 3 argent, on a bend sable three estoiles or. Ensigned by a tilting helmet bearing the crest: an estoile or between two lances sable and argent tipped gules (see Text Fig. 12).² These are the Hillensberger arms, shown also on donor's ring.³ The inscription may be translated as 'I ordered this when I was thirty-two years old, 16 February 1513' or 'This is the way he looked when he was thirty-two years old, 16 February 1513'.⁴ As noted by Shapley, the inscription was partially misunderstood at the time of a restoration.⁵ Both panels abraded.⁶ Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1961.

Miami, 1961, p. 86.

The Virgin is seated, shown to just below the knee, holding the nude Christ Child on her lap with her right hand and a bunch of flowers with her left; golden rays surround their heads. A diadem in her long hair, Mary wears a gown with richly jeweled borders. The Child, on a white cloth, holds the wing of a parrot with his right hand and grasps the bunch of flowers with his left. A bull's-eye window is at the left; a landscape vista seen through the opening at the upper right of the left panel is continued in the donor panel to the right showing a seaport in a mountainous setting. The donor, in half-length, his hands folded in prayer, wears a quilted doublet under a sleeveless, fur-collared robe. A towel and a lavabo in a niche at the right refer to purification (Ephesians 5:26).⁷

K6A/B was ascribed to Albrecht Dürer until shortly before 1831, when it was re-attributed to an anonymous Lower German master.⁸ Friedländer gave the diptych to Adriaen Isenbrandt, noting that K6A was copied after Jan van Eyck's *Van der Paele Altar* (Bruges, Musée Communal, dated 1436).⁹ The adaptation of the composition of Jan van

Eyck's *Van der Paele Altar* for use as a diptych with a half-length donor portrait began in Bruges early in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁰ By the early sixteenth century, such works continued to be produced by the artists of Bruges and other centers.¹¹ The land and seascape in the distance of K6B is closer in style to the school of Antwerp than to that of Bruges. Isenbrandt incorporated a similar vista in a donor portrait which, like K6B, was the right wing of a diptych.¹² The attribution of this diptych to Isenbrandt is consistent with the works accepted as his.

Provenance: Bernhard Hausmann, Hannover – exhibited by him from 1827 onward in the Stadtbibliothek, Hannover. K6A/B were given the inventory number 46,9066 in the *Katalog der Hausmann'schen Gemälde Sammlung in Hannover*, Brunswick, 1831 (Abschrift), as by Dürer.¹³ King George V of Hannover, Schloss Herrenhausen (*Verzeichnis der von S. M. dem Könige angekauften Hausmann'schen Gemälde-Sammlung in Hannover*, Hannover, 1857: 'Alt-Niederländischer Meister, No. 46 Maria mit dem Kind, No. 47 Ein Männliches Portrait, als Haus- und Andachtsbild zusammengehörig').¹⁴ A. Contini Bonacossi, Rome. Kress acquisition 1927, exhibited – National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America*, 10 Dec. 1961–4 Feb. 1962, Cat. Nos. 46 and 47.

References: (1) Georges Hulin de Loo, *Catalogue de l'Exposition de tableaux flamands des XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles, Bruges, 1902*, Ghent, 1902, pp. lxiii ff., and Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, XI, Leyden, 1934, pp. 79–97. (2) See V. Rolland, *Planches de l'Armorial Général de J. B. Rietstap*, Paris, 1909, III, pl. cc. The Kress panel shows Hillensberger arms in the first quarter. The second quarter may represent the Lindenfels arms (*op. cit.*, v [1912], pl. 70). (3) Infra-red photographs show that the donor's hands were originally placed considerably higher. (4) The latter is favored by Dr. Arndt (Herolds-Ausschuss der Deutschen Wappenrolle), who transcribed the inscription: *Als er hatte diese Gestalt, war er 32 Jahre alt anno 1513, 6. Februar*. Kress Archive, letter dated 3/IV/70. (5) *Miami*, 1961, p. 86. (6) According to Alan Burroughs, the painter of K6B pressed the still wet paint with his hand to 'soften the sharpness of the brushwork', but it may prove that the 'fingerprints' on the surface of K6B resulted from faulty restoration. (7) For the iconography of the parrot in the *Van der Paele Madonna* and the adaptation of that painting in the sixteenth century, see E. K. J. Reznicek, 'De reconstructie van "t'Altar van S. Lucas" van Maerten van Heemskerck', *Oud-Holland*, LXX, 1955, pp. 233–46. (8) *Hausmann Katalog*, Brunswick, 1831. (9) Kress Archive, 19/XI/38. (10) A fine example – the work of an anonymous Bruges master – is in the Lee Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London. (11) Very close to K6A is a half-length *Virgin and Child* attributed to Jan Provost (Madrid, Marqués de Santo Domingo, Reznicek, *op. cit.*, p. 243, fig. 7). Others (attributed to Ambrosius Benson) are owned by the heirs of D. G. van Beuningen (Vierhouten), in Notre-Dame, Assebroek, and formerly in a New York private collection (sold Parke-Bernet, New York, *Sale of Somers Collection and others*, 26 May 1943, Cat. No. 66

A and B). (12) Friedländer, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXVII, Cat. No. 216 (ex coll. Castiglioni). (13) His notations in the published catalogue (copy in Hannover Stadtbibliothek) state that K6A/B is not by Dürer but rather a very fine painting of the Lower Rhenish school. (14) Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneberg (O. Eisenmann, *Katalog der zum Ressort der Königlichen Verwaltungskommission gehörigen Sammlung von Gemälden, Skulpturen und Altertümern im Provincial-Museumgebäude zu Hannover*, Hannover, 1891, III, p. 159 f., Cat. No. 358: *Niederländischer (?) Meister 1513 Reise-altärchen Diptychon . . . [Dr: Bode hält das Altärchen für Niederländisch]*. See also J. Reiners, *Katalog der zur Fidei Galerie des Gesamthauses Braunschweig und Lüneberg gehörigen Sammlung von Gemälden und Skulpturen im Provincial-Museum zu Hannover*, Hannover, 1905, p. 138, Cat. No. 426 as unknown Lower Rhenish (?) master.

JAN PROVOST

Jan Provost was first recorded in 1491, when he married the widow of the prominent painter Simon Marmion, who had died at Valenciennes two years earlier. He came from Mons in the Hainault (Belgium) but may have been trained in the North of France. Provost is probably identical with an artist of the same name listed as a master in the Antwerp Painters' Guild in 1493. The painter established himself in Bruges in 1494 where he occupied important posts in the Guild and died in 1529. Very few documented works survive, all of which stem from Provost's last years; a *Last Judgment* (Bruges, Musée Communal) of 1524–26 shows the artist's adaptation of Italianate forms toward the end of his life. Following Gerard David's death in 1523, Provost was perhaps the major artist active in Bruges.¹

K1990 : Figure 67

THE PRESENTATION OF THE CHRIST CHILD IN THE TEMPLE. Denver, Colo., Denver Art Museum (E-956), since 1954. Oil on panel (fruit wood?). 39½ × 28⅜ in. (99.8 × 72.0 cm.). Losses in area of neck of woman in left foreground. The panel was probably cut down at top and bottom, possibly at sides. The figures in the foreground may originally have been full-length. Pentimenti in profile of left foreground female. Generally very well preserved. Coat of arms at the left: argent on a fess gules, four letters of the alphabet argent. Arms at the right: argent, three martlets *or*. Denver, 1954.

The Presentation takes place in an ecclesiastical setting (Luke 2:22–38).² A bearded elder in rich liturgical garb stands at the right of the covered altar holding the nude Christ Child.³ To the left is the prophetess Anna, in a white coif, her right hand raised toward Mary, as she anticipates the Virgin's future suffering. Next to Anna is a bearded, dark-haired man, probably Joseph. Mary stands to the left, her eyes downcast, her hands crossed before her,

dressed in nun-like garb, in a white coif covered by a dark mantle. In the left foreground a handmaiden in right profile wearing a red fur-trimmed dress and elaborate coiffure places a cage with two doves (Leviticus 12:6-8) upon the altar table with her left hand, raising her dress with her right. A second, barely visible attendant is placed behind her on the far side of the altar. Of the two men standing at the extreme right, the beardless figure may be a self-portrait of the artist.⁴ Stained glass windows at the upper left show a regal man with a scroll (David?) and a woman with a longer scroll (a sibyl?). A coat-of-arms appears below each. A statuette of Moses holding the rod and tablets of the Law is at the upper center of K1990: this image refers to the Mosaic code where the ritual of purification was prescribed for which Mary came to the Temple. The statue also symbolizes the Old Dispensation (indicated by the tablets of the Law) replaced by the New Dispensation, that of Christ. A brass (*dinanderie*) single-armed wall sconce with a single burning candle just below the Moses indicates the feast of Candlemas. Piers with Italianate relief ornament and acanthus capitals are at the right; arched windows are seen beyond the piers.

K1990 was attributed to Isenbrandt when in the Ashburnham Collection.⁵ It was given to Provost by William Suida. The figures were probably originally shown in full-length, the panel having been cut at the top and bottom (left and right?) at an unknown date. In all likelihood, it formed the inner right wing of a triptych. (See K2088, pp. 57-9.) The style of the *Presentation* recalls the Italianate art of Quinten Massys and Bernard van Orley. The composition is partially based on the same subject (B.88) in Dürer's woodcut series *Life of the Virgin*, completed before 1506. The general disposition of the figures is similar, especially that of Mary (the foreground female attendant is not derived from Dürer). Provost was Dürer's host when the latter came to Bruges in 1520 and 1521.

K1990 dates from Provost's late period, close in style to the central panel of his *Scenes from the Lives of SS. Anthony of Padua and Bonaventura* of 1521 (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) and is among the artist's major works.

Provenance: Said to have been in the collection of King William II of Holland.⁶ Earl of Ashburnham, London. Lady Catharine Ashburnham (sale, London, Sotheby's, *The Ashburnham Collections, Part I: Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings of the Continental Schools*, 24 June 1953, p. 24, Cat. No. 57, as by Isenbrandt; purchased by H. Barr. New York, David M. Koetser Gallery. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) The major study of Provost is by Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, ix, Berlin, 1931, pp. 74-92. (2) For this theme see Dorothy Schorr, 'The Iconographical Development of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple', *Art Bulletin*, xxviii, 1946, pp. 17-32; Réau, II, 2, pp. 261-6. This occasion and the feast commemorating it are variously known as the Presentation of Christ, the Purification of the Virgin, and Candlemas (for the blessing of candles on that day; cf. Luke 2:32, 'a light to lighten

the Gentiles'.) (3) He may represent Simeon rather than the priest; by the sixteenth century these figures tended to be conflated so that exact identification is uncertain. (4) Suggested in *Denver*, p. 72. (5) *The Ashburnham Collection, Part I: Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings of the Continental Schools*, Sotheby and Co., London, 24 June 1953, p. 24, Cat. No. 57. (6) A *Presentation in the Temple* is listed as 'École de van Eyck', Cat. No. 35, in the Amsterdam sale, but the measurements do not correspond to those of K1990. The Kress panel may perhaps be Cat. No. 190, listed as 'Siméon tenant l'enfant Jésus sur les bras', by an anonymous master, no measurements given. *Catalogue des tableaux anciens et modernes, de diverses écoles: dessins et statues . . . formant la Galerie de feu Sa Majesté . . . Guillaume II, Roi des Pays-Bas*, Amsterdam, 12 Aug. 1850.

Attributed to JAN PROVOST [Goswyn van der Weyden]

K2166 : Figure 68

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. ANNE. Nashville, Tennessee, George Peabody College for Teachers, Kress Study Collection, since 1961. Oil on pine (or oak?). 19×13½ in. (48.3×34.9 cm.). Restored by Modestini in 1961. *Acquisitions*, 1961.

Mary is seated at the left on a faldstool holding the nude Child on her lap. His right arm is raised as if in benediction, and his left arm is extended toward an apple held by St. Anne, who wears a white coif and a cloak over a fur-trimmed dress. The figures are shown in an enclosed garden, symbol of Marian purity, filled with daisies, columbine, strawberries, and violets.¹ The iris growing near to Mary refers to the Sorrows of the Virgin.² The open book in St. Anne's lap and the apple probably symbolize Christ's role as the new Adam, Savior of mankind. The women's pensive demeanor points to their cognizance of the Passion. The two old men by a cottage at the upper left near a dove-cote, one of whom is seated reading, are Joseph and Joachim. A wooded landscape is in the background with a white dog at the left. The group in the foreground is known in Northern art as the *Anna Selbdritt*.³

The following four known paintings similar in composition to K2166 are all inferior in quality to the Kress panel and are based upon it or a lost work. The first of these is in London, National Gallery, No. 1089 (Davies, *Early Netherlandish School*, National Gallery, London, 1968, pp. 140-1). 15½×12 in.; it is described by Davies as 'feeble, probably Bruges School, c. 1525'. The second is in Barcelona, Puig Palau Collection; the third, in Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts, acquired in 1938, Cat. No. 81, 19¼×15⅜ in. This has been attributed by Friedländer (*Die altniederländische Malerei*, Leyden, 1933, xi, p. 120, Cat. No. 51), to the Master of the Antwerp Epiphany. Finally a version

in Amsterdam, Douwes, 1938 is listed as Isenbrandt (Witt Library photo); it includes two extra figures.

According to von Engerth, the Kress panel was ascribed to Lambert Lombard in Prague in the early seventeenth century.⁴ When exhibited in 1783 in Vienna, at the Belvedere, K2166 was attributed by Mechel to Hieronymus Bosch.⁵ Glück noted that, according to Scheibler, the landscape was close to the early art of Herri met de Bles and the figures close to those of Patinir. Glück dated the Kress panel c. 1510 and attributed it to Goswyn van der Weyden.⁶ According to Jacqueline Folie and Nicole Veronée-Verhaegen, K2166 may be by Jan Provost; they suggested that the differences in the physiognomies in the *Madonna and Child with St. Anne* and those seen in Provost's secure works may be due to overpainting.⁷

Such paintings as Provost's *Madonna in the Clouds* (Leningrad, Hermitage) and an *Annunciation* (formerly Berlin, art market) offer considerable stylistic analogies to K2166. It must be appreciably earlier in date than the *Presentation* K1990, p. 74).⁸

Provenance: Imperial Hapsburg Collection. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.⁹ New York, Drey Gallery. Kress acquisition 1957.

References: (1) For the symbolism of the columbine, see K2114, p. 10 above, note 10; for the daisy see Lottlisa Behling, *Die Pflanze in der mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei*, Weimar, 1957, p. 34. (2) For the iris see K1646, p. 49, note 8. (3) For the iconography of the *Anna Selbdritt*, see Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige Anna*, Düsseldorf, 1930; Réau, II, 2, pp. 75-9; 84-90; 146-8; *Lexikon der Marienkunde*, I, col. 248. (See also K1972, p. 29, Hans Baldung Grien.) (4) As 'Maria und Elisabeth mit einem Kindlein, von Lambardus de Lambardi' (folio 40a of the inventory of the Prague *Kunstkanmer*; also No. 109 of Prague inventory in Wrangl'schen Schlosse Stokloster). See E. R. von Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Gemälde. Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*, II, Niederländische Schulen, Vienna, 1884, p. 304, Cat. No. 1049. The painting was hidden when Queen Christina of Sweden came to the city. (5) The exhibition catalogue reference, Mechel, 1753, p. 158, Cat. No. 32, is given by von Engerth. No mention of the Kress painting was found in Chrétien de Mechel, *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie Impériale et Royale de Vienne*, 1784, p. 158, Cat. No. 32, although cited by von Engerth. It was presumably listed in another Mechel inventory. (6) Gustav Glück, *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1928, p. 254, Cat. No. 679. (7) Kress Archive. (8) See Friedländer. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, IX, Berlin, 1931, p. 147, Cat. No. 141; p. 150, Cat. No. 177; and pls. LXX, LXXIX. (9) In the catalogue of 1880 (p. 65, Cat. No. 46) K2166 was listed as by an unknown artist; from 1884 to 1907 it was listed as Netherlandish, first half of the sixteenth century. In 1928 (*Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1928, p. 254, Cat. No. 679) it was given to Goswyn van der Weyden; repeated in 1938.

QUINTEN MASSYS

Quinten Massys was born in Louvain in 1466; he became the leading master of Antwerp, where he died in 1530.¹ The artist combined his Netherlandish pictorial heritage with new decorative motifs and compositions from the Renaissance art of Northern Italy. A master of physiognomical exploration and of subtle, *changeant* coloring, Massys brought together aspects of the art of Hugo van der Goes and of Leonardo da Vinci. Unlike the 'Antwerp Mannerists', Massys preserved the monumental tradition of early Northern art, providing an important point of departure for Netherlandish painting of the later sixteenth century. The artist had a large number of studio assistants; many of his works were painted for export.

Reference: (1) Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VII, Leyden, 1934; K. G. Boon, *Quinten Massys*, Amsterdam, 1942; Ludwig Baldass, 'Gotik und Renaissance im Werke des Quinten Massys', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s., VII, 1933, pp. 137-82.

Studio of QUINTEN MASSYS

K1903 : Figure 69

SAINT CHRISTOPHER. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.47.G) since 1960. Oil on oak. 26½ × 19 in. (66.6 × 48.3 cm.). Cleaned, cradled, and restored by Modestini in 1952/53. Split down center of panel; well preserved.

Allentown, 1960, p. 88. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, p. 77, fig. 69.

St. Christopher, in a purple tunic and flowing red mantle and a white head-band, grasping a staff, is seen almost frontally. The Infant, in a purple robe, is perched on Christopher's shoulder. His right hand raised in benediction, Christ grasps Christopher's head-band with the other. The giant saint stands in the harbor water, cliffs to the left and right, ships and mountains in the distance. The setting sun gives a yellow tinge to clouds in the blue sky. Christopher (the Greek word for Christ-bearer) was a human ferry who bore people across a river. The Christ Child grew, as the ferryman carried him, increasingly heavy: an allegory of Christ bearing the sins of the world.¹

The composition of K1903 is based upon a lost Eyckian work known from a silverpoint drawing in the Louvre (Cabinet des Dessins) and a panel painting sometimes attributed to Dieric Bouts (John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Art Museum). Many Netherlandish painters in the mid- and late fifteenth century continued utilizing the composition, most notably Bouts and Memling.² The Kress panel is extremely close to an early depiction of the same subject by Quinten Massys (Antwerp, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts) and to a painting attributed to Albert Bouts, probably dating c. 1490 (Modena, Galleria Estense).³ Christopher's pose is reversed in the Antwerp painting. While shown parallel with the cliffs in the Kress panel, the

saint is placed before the cliffs, nearer the picture plane, in the Antwerp work. Christopher's drapery, the Infant, and the landscape of K1903 are closer to the Modena panel than to the Antwerp example. The Kress panel omits the hermit with lantern seen on the left in the Antwerp painting.

Friedländer gave K1903 to Quinten Massys.⁴ Payne stressed the correspondence of K1903 to the Modena panel and found the attribution of the Kress example to Massys himself dubious.⁵ Shapley (*Allentown*, p. 88) dated K1903 c. 1490, approximately contemporary with the Antwerp painting by Massys, and accepted his authorship for the Kress panel.

The high finish and almost microscopically rendered detail of the Kress panel suggest its execution by a master who was close to Jan Gossart's aesthetic and active in Massys' circle. Such an artist executed panels now in Portugal in the style of K1903.⁶

Provenance: Dr. von Cranach, Wartburg, Thüringen, Germany, according to Knoedler. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1952, exhibited – *Art Treasures for America*, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 10 Dec. 1961–4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 61.

References: (1) For the iconography of St. Christopher, see Réau, III, 1, pp. 304–13. (2) For depictions of Christopher by Bouts and his circle, see Wolfgang Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin–Leipzig, 1938, pp. 143 ff. (3) For the Antwerp painting, see Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VII, Leyden, 1934, pp. 33, 119, Cat. No. 32, pl. 31. See also Friedländer, 'Quentin Massys: Reflexions on his Development', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXII, 1938, pp. 53–4. For the Modena painting see Friedländer (*Die altniederländische Malerei*, III, Berlin, 1925, p. 121, Cat. No. 71, pl. LXIII) and Schöne (*op. cit.*, Cat. No. 125, p. 144), who believed it to be copied after a lost Dieric Bouts of c. 1470. The Kress panel may be more directly based upon a lost Dieric Bouts than upon either the Antwerp or Modena paintings. (4) Certificate in Kress Archive, 1950. (5) Jensene Godwin Payne, 'The iconography of St. Christopher in Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Painting', M.A. thesis, New York University, 1964, p. 61. (6) See Luis Reis-Santos, 'Edouard Portugalois, disciple et collaborateur de Quentin Massys', *Pantheon*, XXVI, 1968, pp. 185–96, pls. 12a, 12b, two wings in Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.

CIRCLE OF QUINTEN MASSYS

K1688 : Figure 70

SALVATOR MUNDI (The Savior of the World). Raleigh, North Carolina, North Carolina Museum of Art (GL.60.17.62), since 1960. Oil on thin, uncradled single oak panel. 21 × 14½ in. (53.3 × 36.2 cm.). Slight abrasion to left of nose and at right of mouth. Initially hair was behind left

shoulder, with left ear visible; face somewhat rounder; change in hairline and at right. Restored by Modestini in 1950.

Raleigh, 1960, p. 126. Reproduced in color, Raleigh, p. 127.

The Savior, in regal, gold-embroidered, red robes, has his right hand raised in benediction; his left grasps a jeweled crystal orb surmounted by a jeweled, open-work gold cross. His quatrefoil jeweled golden morse shows Moses enthroned holding the Tablets of the Law. Heaven is indicated by clouds along the lower edge and the upper corners of the panel. Christ's halo of incised parallel lines is covered by a painted one; his hands and a castle (?) are reflected on the crystal orb. God's regal attributes show him as King of Heaven and Savior of the Earth. Moses, on his morse, is included as giver of the Old Dispensation, prefiguring Christ as giver of the New.¹ The orb symbolizes the world as created and ruled by God; the cross above indicates the salvation of Mankind through the sacrifice of his Son. The castle reflected on the orb may symbolize the 'Heavenly Jerusalem'.²

The panel was attributed by Friedländer to Hans Memling.³ Suida and Shapley (*loc. cit.*) listed K1688 as by Quinten Massys, describing it as more Leonardesque than the same subject by Massys in Antwerp (which is generally dated before 1508) and proposing a date of 1510–15. Ferber pointed out that the amethysts in the morse 'refer to the royalty of Christ as well as alluding to His blood, the Eucharist element which is a sign of the New Covenant. Pearls are symbolic of the purity and divinity of Christ's origin. Within this setting Moses' Old Law has been replaced by the New: a juxtaposition in which Christ as *Salvator Mundi* supersedes Mosaic Law as the means to salvation'. According to Ferber, the orb with seams is 'shown as a man-made object – the earthly globe' reflecting Netherlandish architecture contemporary with Massys.⁴

K1688 is based upon East Christian images of the *Vera Icon* as adapted by Jan van Eyck for the central figure of God in the *Ghent Altar*. A painting by Robert Campin (?) *Heads of Christ and the Virgin* (John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Art Museum) and the central figure in Roger van der Weyden's *Braque Triptych* (Paris, Louvre) may also have contributed to the design. The artist may have consulted works by Memling (Norton Simon Collection, Los Angeles; Antwerp, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts). The work closest to K1688, by a follower of Massys (London, National Gallery), has a companion wing with Mary to the right, forming an arched diptych.⁵ The Kress panel seems also to have been originally planned with an arched top. It may have formed half of a diptych, with a companion panel (at either the left or the right) showing the Virgin as Queen of Heaven or *Mater Dolorosa* interceding for Mankind, in three-quarter view, her hands in prayer. K1688 is far more conservative in style than the relatively early Massys *Salvator Mundi* (Antwerp, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts).⁶ The Kress panel is probably based upon a later, more gothicizing work by Massys known from the

London copy. According to Baldass, the London panel stems from an even earlier design than that of Massys' Antwerp *Salvator Mundi*.⁷ The treatment of the hands in K1688 is strikingly close to Van der Weyden whose art was still closely copied in Brussels and Antwerp by Colin de Coter at the end of the fifteenth century. The proposed date of 1510–15 seems reasonable.

Provenance: Spanish convent. Omando Ruíz, Spain.⁸ New York, French and Company. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) For the meaning and genesis of the subject of K1688, see Ludwig H. Heydenreich, 'Leonardos "Salvator Mundi"', *Raccolta Vinciana*, xx, 1964, pp. 83–109, esp. pp. 84, 88. Otto Pächt, 'The "Avignon Diptych" and its Eastern Ancestry', *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, New York, 1961, I, pp. 402–21. (2) For an interpretation of the significance of the reflections on the orb, see Carla Gottlieb, 'The Mystical Window in Paintings of the *Salvator Mundi*', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6me sér., LVI, 1960, pp. 313–32, esp. p. 320. (3) According to a certificate of 1/viii/49 in the Kress Archive, Erik Larsen has supported this attribution. (4) Stanley Ferber, 'Quentin Massys' *Salvator Mundi*', *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, ix, Mar. 1970, pp. 37–41. The author stresses the *Braque Triptych* (Paris, Louvre) Christ as a source for K1688 rather than the God from the *Ghent Altar*. The seven seams on the orb held by the Kress *Salvator Mundi* were remarked upon by Robert A. Koch, who suggested that they might be meridian lines. (5) See Martin Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues, Early Netherlandish School*, London, 1968, p. 92, Cat. No. 295. Also *National Gallery Catalogues, Early Netherlandish School*, London, 1947, pls. 59, 60. (6) See Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VII, Leyden, 1934, p. 114, Cat. No. 5. Illustrated in H. Fierens-Gevaert, *Les Primitifs Flamands*, Brussels, 1910, III, pl. CXL, opp. p. 188. (7) Ludwig von Baldass, 'Gotik und Renaissance im Werke des Quinten Metsys', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.F., VII, 1933, pp. 137–82, esp. p. 166. See also Ludwig von Baldass, *Joos van Cleve*, Vienna, 1925, pl. 14 and note 48 for another *Salvator Mundi* relating to K1688. (8) The previous owners are quoted from the dealer's brochure.

JAN GOSSART (MABUSE)

Jan Gossart was born c. 1478 in Maubeuge (Flanders); he died in Antwerp in 1532.¹ Active as a free master in Antwerp and listed in the guild there from 1503–7, Gossart then became court painter to Philip of Burgundy (a bastard son of Philip the Good) and accompanied him to Rome c. 1508/9.² When Philip became Bishop of Utrecht, Gossart (with the Venetian artist Jacopo de' Barbari) executed several classicizing paintings for Philip's castle at Soutburg near Middelburg such as the *Neptune and Amphitrite* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) of 1516. Shortly before Philip's death in 1523, Gossart was at the court of Margaret of Austria at Malines. The artist continued in her

employ; he may also have worked for Philip's successor, Adolphe of Burgundy, at Middelburg. Gossart was a master of at least three separate styles. His early work – still a subject of considerable critical controversy – is close to the art of the Antwerp Mannerists.³ He was also an adept master of highly realistic, Italianate portraiture, influencing that of Bernaert van Orley. Perhaps the most brilliant master of his day of the oil technique, Gossart emulated the art of Jan van Eyck. Dürer's engravings, with their intricate chiaroscuro and powerful compositions, were sometimes adapted by Gossart, who was also an engraver. The sixteenth-century master is best known for his fusion of the art of antiquity and the Italian Renaissance with a flamboyant, highly inventive late Gothic decorative vocabulary. Gossart's technical virtuosity is especially evident in his use of grisaille. K1661 is among his most brilliant exercises in the use of almost monochromatic tonalities.

JAN GOSSART

K1661A/B : Figures 73–75

ST. JEROME PENITENT (altar wings). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1119), since 1951. Oil on panel prepared with red bole. 34 × 10 in. each (86.4 × 25.4 cm.). False Dürer-like monogram on a small stone added at an unknown date in middle ground at right.⁴ Panels very slightly cut down, along the left side of right panel and right side of left panel; joined and cradled before acquisition.⁵ Unevenly preserved; considerable abrasion in sky and flesh areas. Six deep vertical scratches: at the lower left, along the right side of the tree, down right end of transverse of cross, through lion's face, through left shoulder and torso of Jerome, and between tree and tower above Jerome. Panels separated and restored by Modestini; each cradled in 1949, and a narrow wooden strip added to replace the lost areas. Restored by Modestini in 1956. *Suida*, p. 198, Cat. No. 87. Reproduced in color in *Art News Annual*, XXI, Nov. 1951, p. 109; *Broadley*, p. 29.

K1661A/B were probably the exterior sides of wings painted by Gossart for a triptych whose central panel was *The Agony in the Garden*, Text Fig. 13, now in Berlin (Staatliche Museen). It is the same height as the Kress panels, the width is 12 cm. (4¾ in.) less than the combined dimensions of K1661A/B but this difference is due to the loss of the original frame. The panels are executed in an enriched grisaille, with added warm tones including yellow glazes. In the wings forming the *St. Jerome Penitent* the right one (K1661B) depicts Jerome kneeling barefoot in the foreground, the lion at his right side, his cardinal's hat before him to the left. The saint looks up to the Tau-shaped crucifix (in the adjacent wing), beating his bare breast with a rock held in his right hand. He holds another rock in the left hand and wears a sleeveless robe which seems to have been torn open at the breast, his waist encircled by a girdle of thorns twined around a cord. The saint is depicted in rocky terrain; a camel driver is in the background with a figure walking alongside. Both approach rock-cut steps

leading to a flamboyant Gothic church at the extreme upper right. The diminutive figure of the saint, in cardinal's attire, is seen again at the upper right on the rock-cut steps extracting a thorn from the fore-paw of the lion who stands on his hind legs. The cardinal is seen again, from the back, about to enter the portal of the wall which surrounds the church. A massive blasted tree in K1661A supports an obliquely placed carved wooden image of a crucified Christ whose cross seems to grow from the tree trunk. Jerome's cardinal's robe is on the rocky ground behind the tree. In the middle distance the lion stands behind a laden mule. A walled city with a fantastic belfry is seen beyond, reflected in the water.

St. Jerome went into the desert '... to daunt and subdue my proud flesh I rose at midnight all the week long, joining oft the night with the day, and I ceased not to beat my breast, praying our Lord to render to me the peaceable peace of my flesh'.⁶ The subject of K1661 was freely adapted from *The Golden Legend* or some other account of St. Jerome and the lion, a theme which was especially popular in the first third of the sixteenth century. According to *The Golden Legend*, a lion came to the monastery where Jerome and his brethren were studying Holy Scripture. While the others fled, Jerome welcomed the lion who then showed the saint a thorn in his paw. Jerome called his fellow monks to treat the lion's foot. The beast, tamed, was used to lead a donkey to pasture and to bring it, laden with wood, back to the monastery. One day, as the lion lay sleeping in the pasture, merchants with a camel train stole the donkey. When the lion returned to the monastery without the donkey, he was thought to have devoured his charge and was beaten. Later, when the lion came upon the donkey leading a camel train, he roared so loud that the merchants fled and the lion led the camel train to the monastery. The merchants followed and were forgiven by St. Jerome to whom they brought oil annually in penitence.⁷ The prominence of wood in K1661 – the great tree trunk, the grained cross, the dry trees in the background of the left wing, the flourishing trees at the saint's upper right, the thorny twigs twisted around his waist – refers to the well-known but dubious Greek etymology of the name Jerome as popularized by Voragine: 'Jeronimus is said of *Jerar*, that it is holy, and of *nemus*, that is to say a wood. And so Jerome is as much to say as a holy wood'.⁸ Herzog has shown that the Crucifix rising from a tree trunk stems from the theme of the *lignum vitae* (Tree of Life) and is found in Italian depictions of the penitent St. Jerome from the late fifteenth century onward.⁹ 'The tree is a cosmic symbol, it serves as an instrument of salvation, the element of rejuvenation is central to the narrative, and it is the vehicle for the portrayal of the antithesis of death and life. In the words of St. Augustine, "In the trees we perish, by the tree we are redeemed; in the wood hangs death, in the wood hangs life..." The saint sought spiritual renewal through imitation of Christ's physical and spiritual suffering, which began with His vigil on the Mount of Olives and ended with His mortal death on the Cross'.¹⁰ Herzog found another example of the theme of K1661 used for the

exterior of a triptych by the Delft Master of c. 1520. He noted that K1661, like the Delft panel, may have been a continuous representation, the pictorial area extended (without a separating moulding down the center) from one panel to the other. Gossart himself followed this procedure in the *Adam and Eve* painted on the exterior of the *Malvagna Triptych* (Palermo, Galleria Nazionale della Sicilia).¹¹

K1661 was first given to Gossart by Friedländer. The attribution has never been questioned.¹² Winkler described the work as early in date.¹³ Friedländer dated the panels c. 1512.¹⁴ Held found K1661 to belong to the same style as Gossart's earliest drawings.¹⁵ The *St. Jerome Penitent* was viewed by Glück as contemporary with Gossart's *Agony in the Garden* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Text Fig. 13) which he dated c. 1514–15. He found the beardless characterization of St. Jerome a sign of Gossart's conservative style.¹⁶ Louchheim considered the seated lion sphinx-like, probably referring to Jerome's concern with classical Antiquity.¹⁷ Douglas commented upon the subtle chiaroscuro of the Kress panels as superior to that of any of Gossart's contemporaries.¹⁸ The grouping of the Kress panels as the outer sides of wings of the Berlin *Agony* was suggested by Frankfurter. He proposed that the St. Jerome was a portrait of Gossart's patron, Philip of Burgundy, and that the church on the right wing referred to the Cathedral of St. Martin at Utrecht (episcopal see received by Philip in 1517) which was near Philip's residence.¹⁹ *St. Jerome Penitent* was grouped with the Berlin *Agony*, the *Adoration of the Magi* (National Gallery, London), and the *Malvagna Triptych* (Palermo, Galleria Nazionale) by Folie.²⁰ She dated the Kress panels c. 1511/12, shortly after the painter's return from Rome, at which time his works are characterized by a clash between the classical and the Gothic Mannerist traditions. Seymour (p. 86) described 'the cinematic quality of their conception as "still shots" from a vast panoramic landscape'. They were placed before Gossart's Italian journey by von der Osten, who stressed the panels' late Northern Gothic quality and the landscape's Danubian character (as adapted by Lower Rhenish masters such as Jan Joest van Calcar); he found the creation of the lion's anthropomorphic head unthinkable after Gossart's journey to the south.²¹ Winkler compared the refined execution of trees and rocks to that of Dürer's engravings. He implied that the Kress panels date after the Doria diptych (*Virgin and Child in a Church* and *Donor with St. Anthony*, Rome, Palazzo Doria).²² *St. Jerome Penitent* was dated in the year immediately after Gossart's Roman residence by Bruyn who assumed that the artist then returned to a study of Eyckian and other early Netherlandish painting. He included the Berlin *Agony*, the London *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Malvagna Triptych*, and *Adam and Eve* (Lugano, Thyssen Collection) in this extremely complex phase of c. 1510.²³

The contrast between the wonderfully shaded grisaille exterior St. Jerome wings in Washington and the nocturne of the *Agony in the Garden* was noted by von der Osten who dated the triptych in Gossart's early years, when his feeling for nature was at its most delicate and complex.²⁴ According to Herzog, the Kress panels and their assumed companion piece in Berlin are the only known early paintings

by Gossart. They could have been executed just before the artist's Italian journey of 1507/8-9 or in the years following it, 1509/10-12. He inclined toward the later period, in view of Gossart's Italianate treatment of the Crucifix and the stylistic affinity between the Kress wings and Roman drawings by him from the first half of 1509. Although Herzog noted the thematic as well as compositional link between the Kress wings and the Berlin panel - that of prayer - he did not exclude the possibility that the *St. Jerome Penitent* may have functioned in some other setting. He stressed the new popularity of the theme of the penitent St. Jerome in Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century and its frequent depiction in Northern Europe following Dürer's engraving (B.6) of c. 1497 that was inspired by Northern Italian models.²⁵

The subject and coloring of the presumed central panel (Berlin *Agony*) and exterior of the triptych may relate to Jerome's comment on his life in the desert, meditating on the Passion: 'I often joined night to day with my wailing and ceased not from beating my breast till peace returned to me at the Lord's behest.'²⁶ Some compositional correspondences between the Kress panels and Lucas Cranach's woodcut of the *St. Jerome Penitent* dated 1509 (B.63) suggest that they were painted shortly after that date. Such a source would provide the Danubian aspects of the composition detected by von der Osten. In view of Gossart's frequent emulation and imitation of Jan van Eyck's work, it may prove that K1661 is based upon an Eyckian prototype. The triptych to which K1661A/B belonged was probably placed in a family chapel or church dedicated to St. Jerome. The saint was the patron of churchmen and it may well be that the triptych was destined for a monastic setting in view of the emphasis upon penitence and prayer in both the interior and exterior. The *Agony in the Garden* as a central subject of a triptych is highly unusual. It may perhaps have been painted for a member of the Hieronymite Order to which Gossart's patron Margaret of Austria and her nephew Charles V were closely linked.²⁷ The Kress panels are among Gossart's finest works; though they may show slight traces of his experience with Italian art, their technique and composition are predominantly Netherlandish.

Provenance: John M. Romadka, Prague and Milwaukee, Wis., by 1858 (died 1898). Mary Tekla Romadka, Pasadena, Calif. New York, Duveen Bros., exhibited - New York, Durlacher Bros., *An Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture of S. Jerome*, 5-31 Mar. 1945, Cat. No. 9. Flint, Michigan, Flint Institute of Arts, *Exhibition of Paintings of Old Masters*, 1945, Cat. No. 4 (ill.). Crandall Public Library, Glens Falls, New York, 1945. New York, Duveen Art Galleries, *Exhibition of Flemish Paintings*, 1946, Cat. No. 8. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) For an exhaustive bibliography covering Gossart's life and work, see the exhibition catalogue *Jan Gossaert genaamd Mabuse/Jean Gossaert dit Mabuse*, Rotterdam and Bruges, 1965, pp. 392-409. For Gossart's death date see 'La date de décès de Jean Gossaert', *ibid.*, pp. 33-8. See also

J. Duverger, 'Jean Gossaert te Antwerpen', *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, xix, 1968, pp. 16-24, esp. p. 24. (2) For his Roman journey see J. G. Van Gelder, 'Jan Gossaert in Rome', *Oud-Holland*, lxx, 1942, pp. 1 ff. See also J. Folie, 'Les dessins de Jean Gossaert dit Mabuse', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxxviii, 1951, pp. 77-98. (3) For the problem of Gossart's early works see Gert von der Osten, 'Studien zu Jan Gossaert', *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, New York, 1961, 1 pp. 454-75; and Friedrich Winkler, 'Aus der ersten Schaffenszeit des Jan Gossaert', *Pantheon*, xx, 1962, pp. 145-55. (4) Probably basis for an old attribution of K1661 to Hans Holbein the Younger. (5) See Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, viii, Berlin, 1930, p. 154, pl. xxiii, Cat. No. 22 for K1661A/B as a single panel. The donkey's head was 'completed' and the rocks in the center united. See Sadja Herzog, 'Gossart, Italy, and the National Gallery's Saint Jerome Penitent', *National Gallery of Art, Report and Studies in the History of Art 1969*, Washington D.C., 1970, pp. 59-73, p. 60, fig. 2 (after cleaning in 1950), p. 62, fig. 4 (Infra-red photograph), p. 63, fig. 5 (Ultra-violet photograph). Hereafter cited as Herzog. Spelling of the artist's name follows Herzog's observation, p. 71, n. 1. (6) Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, London, 1900, v, pp. 201-2. For an extensive bibliography concerning the iconography of St. Jerome Penitent see Herzog, pp. 3, 8-12, n. 11, 29-40. See also Réau, iii, 2, pp. 740-50; *Golden Legend*, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-2. Appendix 1, *The Legends*, in Helen I. Roberts, 'St. Augustine in "St. Jerome's Study": Carpaccio's Painting and its Legendary Source', *Art Bulletin*, xli, 1959, pp. 282-97, esp. p. 296. For Flemish examples of the Penitent St. Jerome, see Herzog, p. 72, n. 29. (7) *Golden Legend*, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-5. The placement of the lion to the rear of the camel train suggests that Gossart used an account other than Voragine's. A painting of the circle of Albert Bouts (Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts) shows the episode with the camel drivers in much the same way as K1661 (repr. by Louis Réau in 'Les Primitifs de la Collection Dard au Musée de Dijon', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6ème sér., ii, 1929, p. 343, fig. 6); the central panel of Jacob Cornelisz' *St. Jerome Altar* of 1511 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) repr. by G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Nord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, The Hague, 1939, iii, p. 105, fig. 51, depicts this scene in the background. (8) *Golden Legend*, *op. cit.*, p. 199. (9) Herzog, p. 73, nn. 41-53. (10) Herzog, pp. 68, 70. (11) For the Delft Master's *St. Jerome Penitent*, see Friedländer, *op. cit.*, x, Leyden, 1934, pl. xxxviii, and p. 45, Cat. No. 63. (12) Max J. Friedländer, *Von Eyck bis Bruegel*, Berlin, 1921, p. 198. He knew of the painting from a photograph, presumably taken before the panel was brought from Europe to Milwaukee by John Romadka. (13) Friedrich Winkler, *Thieme-Becker*, xiv, p. 412. (14) Friedländer, 1930, *op. cit.*, p. 184, Cat. No. 22. (15) Julius Held, 'Overzicht der Litteratuur betreffende nederlandsche Kunst', *Oud-Holland*, l, 1933, pp. 133-44, esp. p. 137. (16) Gustav Glück, 'Mabuse and the Development of the Flemish Renaissance', *Art Quarterly*, viii, 1945, pp. 116-38, esp. p. 127. (17) Aline B. Louchheim, 'Saint

Jerome/Variations on a Theme', *Art News*, XLIV, Mar. 1945, pp. 10–11, 31, esp. p. 10. In view of the depictions of the lion from the rear this is highly unlikely. Riemen-schneider's *St. Jerome* (Cleveland Museum of Art) c. 1505–10 is very close to K1661 and is totally devoid of Italian influence. (18) R. Langton Douglas, quoted by a catalogue of Duveen Art Galleries, *Exhibition of Flemish Paintings*, New York, 1946, Cat. No. 8; Glück is quoted as dating the work 1510–12. (19) Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'Interpreting Masterpieces: Twenty-four Paintings from the Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, XXI, 1951, pp. 82–129, esp. pp. 114–15. St. Jerome does not resemble documented portraits of Philip of Burgundy nor does the church in the background resemble St. Martin's. (20) *Ibid.*, p. 84. (21) Gert von der Osten, 'Studien zu Jan Gossaert', *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, I, 1961, pp. 454–75, esp. p. 457. (22) Friedrich Winkler, 'Aus der ersten Schaffen-Zeit des Jan Gossaert', *Pantheon*, XX, 1962, pp. 145–55, esp. pp. 150–1. (23) Josua Bruyn, 'The Jan Gossaert Exhibition in Rotterdam and Bruges', *Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, pp. 462–6, esp. p. 463. (24) Gert von der Osten and Horst Vey, *Painting and Sculpture in Germany and the Netherlands 1500–1600*, Baltimore, 1969, p. 156. (25) Herzog, p. 67. (26) Quoted by Broadley, p. 28. (27) Should the Berlin panel prove not to have been the work to which the Kress panels were originally linked, it may have been an *Adoration of the Magi* in grisaille owned by Duc Charles de Croy in 1619. See Henri Hymans, *Le Livre des peintres de Carel van Mander*, Paris, 1884, I, p. 234; also Alexandre Joseph Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences, et lettres*. Ghent, I, 1860, p. 164.

BERNAERT VAN ORLEY

Bernaert van Orley, son of the painter Valentin van Orley, was born c. 1488 in Brussels; he died there in 1541. The first record of Van Orley's activity is a portrait commission given him c. 1515 by Margaret of Austria, the Governess of the Netherlands; she appointed him court painter three years later. In addition to his work as a painter, Van Orley produced many cartoons for tapestry and stained glass. His assimilation of Raphael's cartoons for the Sistine Chapel tapestry series (woven in Brussels 1517–19) made Van Orley a major Northern European master of the High Renaissance decorative vocabulary.¹

Reference: (1) See O. le Maire, 'Renseignement nouveau sur Bernard van Orley et sa famille', in *Bernard van Orley*, Brussels, 1943, pp. 167 ff., ed. by Charles Dessart, published by Société Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique; Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VIII, Berlin, 1930, pp. 78 ff. For the artist's style see Ludwig von Baldass, 'Die Entwicklung des Bernaert van Orley', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.F., XIII, 1944 pp. 141 ff.

K1669 : Figures 76, 78

CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS. PUTTO WITH SHIELD (K1669 verso). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1126), since 1951. Mixed technique on oak. $21\frac{1}{8} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ in. (53.7×32.5 cm.). Illegible inscription on border of seated disputant's robe (at the right). Cradled in Europe. Restored by Modestini in 1949. Generally well preserved. *Suida*, p. 200, Cat. No. 88.

The twelve-year-old Jesus, his arms raised in a rhetorical gesture, is seated on a step at the center of a loggia representing the temple (Luke 2:41–7). Three scholarly disputants are shown to the left and right; the foremost member of each group holds an open book in his lap, and raises the hand nearest the picture plane. Joseph and Mary, who have been searching for the boy, approach the loggia from the rear, and are seen immediately behind Jesus. A city view is in the background. Four putti, some holding bead swags, are on the porch pediment.¹ On the verso: a putto with winged feet, executed in grisaille, facing left and placed in an arched niche, supports a shield blazoned: azure a chevron argent between in chief two cinquefoils and in base an escallop or.² There are roundels placed in the spandrels of the arched niche and in the frame below.

K1670 : Figure 77

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1127), since 1952. Mixed technique on oak. $21\frac{1}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{8}$ in. (53.7×32.3 cm.). Restored by Modestini in 1949. Generally well preserved. *Suida*, p. 200, Cat. No. 88.

Mary, in a blue robe and wearing a coronet, stands at the left touching Joseph's extended hand. He wears blue and rose robes. The bearded celebrant, wearing a mitre, raises his right hand in benediction over the wedded couple's hands (*Protevangelion of James*, ix).³ Three female attendants stand at the left and three male to the right. The marriage takes place on the porch of the temple. The priest stands below a star-studded vault. The Romanesque architectural interior is seen through the opened left door. The imaginary architecture of the temple combines Renaissance, Gothic, and Romanesque forms. On each of the two plinths at the left and right foreground is a sculptured monster. The woman at the extreme left may be St. Anne.

Friedländer first published the reunited panels as by Bernaert van Orley, executed c. 1512; this would place them among the artist's earliest works.⁴ He described K1669/70 as a diptych, relating it to Van Orley's *Apostle Altar* and the *Enthroned St. Matthew* (Schloss Plausdorf, Collection von Goldammer) and to two panels with *Scenes from the Life of St. Martin*.⁵ Friedländer dated the Kress panels as before 1515.⁶ *Suida* (p. 200) followed Friedländer's view of K1669/70 as a diptych. Lavalleye listed the Kress panels as dating before 1515.⁷

Although now framed as a diptych, these panels need not originally have been destined for that format; they possibly belonged to a series of scenes from the Life of the Virgin.

If the *Marriage of the Virgin* was always the companion-piece of K1670, it would, in all likelihood, have a back painted in a similar fashion to that of *Christ Among the Doctors* with additional arms, presumably those of the donatrix' husband. The style of the early Van Orley, as shown in K1669/70 is very close to that of Juan de Flandes, most notably in the female attendant to the left of Mary. The Eyckian depiction of Mary in K1670 recalls similar contemporary revivals of the early fifteenth century such as Quinten Massys' *Virgin and Child in a Church* (London, Count Seilern Collection). The loggia-like setting for *Christ Among the Doctors* may be of North Italian inspiration.

Provenance: K1670: London, Annesley Gore, Ltd., in 1923.⁸ K1669/70: A. J. Kobler, New York, exhibited – New York, F. Kleinberger Galleries, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives*, Oct.–Nov. 1929, pp. 240–2, Cat. Nos. 85–6. Mrs. Edward A. Westfall, New York, Duveen Art Galleries, exhibited – *An Exhibition of Flemish Paintings of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, New York, 1946, Cat. Nos. 15, 16. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) For the iconography of Christ among the Doctors see Réau, II, 2, pp. 289–92. (2) The three features and their placement are found in France, e.g. Beaulieu (Normandy) and Lezille (Picardy), but the colors differ. They are probably those of a woman as helmet and crest are not present. (3) This apocryphal source does not specifically mention a marriage ceremony, only that Mary was entrusted to Joseph's care. For the iconography of the Marriage of the Virgin, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 170–3. (4) In Friedländer's preface to Harry G. Sperling, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives*, F. Kleinberger Galleries, New York, 1929, p. 18 and pp. 240–2, Cat. Nos. 85–6. The Kress panels may perhaps be those listed by Friedrich Winkler (*Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924, p. 256) in the Venables Collection (London) as showing remarkable similarity to the art of Juan de Flandes. (5) Friedländer, 'Bernaert van Orley', *Thieme-Becker*, XXVI, p. 49. (6) Friedländer, *op. cit.* note 4 above, pp. 85–7, and p. 167, Cat. No. 90. The *Apostle Altar* is divided between the Musées Royaux, Brussels, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Friedländer, pls. LXI–LXVI). The St. Martin panels are divided between the Nelson-Atkins Gallery, Kansas City, and a Dutch private collection (Friedländer, pls. LXXIX–LXXX). (7) Jacques Lavalleye, 'Le Style du Peintre Bernard van Orley', in Charles Dessart, *Bernard van Orley*, Brussels, 1943, p. 46. (8) Advertisement in *Burlington Magazine*, XLII, 1923, p. v.

Attributed to BERNAERT VAN ORLEY [Jan Gossart]

K2002 : Figure 80

PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. Allentown, Pa., Allentown Art Museum (61.50.6), since 1960. Oil on oak, transferred to masonite by Suhr 1951/52. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (34.9 × 26.4 cm.). Some restoration; original borders all around. *Allentown*, pp. 94–6.

Shown in half-length, the sitter is in three-quarter view, facing right. Under a short fur-lined coat with a deep fur collar, he wears a tunic with a low-cut neckline over a linen shirt. A gilt medallion in his hat shows St. Christopher. The sitter also wears a gold chain. A pair of suede gloves is held in his right hand; his left rests upon an implied ledge. He is seen against a dark blue background. His attire was fashionable throughout Europe in the 1520s. The gold chain so prominently featured in K2002 suggests that the sitter was in royal favor.

The portrait was first ascribed to 'Holbein', the quotation marks signifying that the work belonged in the general area of the German painter's oeuvre. The sitter was once identified as Sir Robert Sheffield, but there is no factual foundation for this assertion.¹ In 1945, Friedländer certified that K2002 was 'a fine and well-preserved work by Jan Gossaert'.² Held attributed the Kress Gentleman to Bernaert van Orley.³ Shapley (*Allentown*, p. 94) suggested a date of c. 1520 for the Kress panel, placing it in Gossaert's middle period.

The Kress panel is slightly broader in treatment than most portraits by Jan Gossaert and appears far closer in style to the works of his Brussels contemporary, Bernaert van Orley, to whom the portrait was first given by Held. The presentation of the sitter recalls Van Orley's *Portrait of Philippe Haneton*, completed c. 1522.⁴

Provenance: Sir Berkeley Sheffield, Sixth Baronet, of Normanby Park, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire. (Sold, London, Christie's.) New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1954, exhibited – Dallas, Texas, Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, *Four Centuries of European Painting*, Oct. 1951, Cat. No. 43. Fort Worth, Texas, Fort Worth Art Center, *An Exhibition of Old Masters*, Jan.–Feb. 1953, no. 1.

References: (1) *Sale Catalogue of Pictures of Sir Berkeley Sheffield*, Christie's, London, 16 July 1943, p. 8, Cat. No. 50. (2) Kress Archive, New York. Friedländer repeated this view in 1947. (3) Comment by Julius S. Held recorded at Frick Art Reference Library. (4) M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VIII, Berlin, 1930, p. 166, Cat. No. 86, and pl. LXXI. For the dating of the Haneton panel, see P. L. Lefèvre, 'À propos des donateurs du Tryptique Haneton conservé aux Musées Royaux de Peinture à Bruxelles', *Pictura*, I, 1945, pp. 126–30.

NETHERLANDISH MASTER c. 1525 [Jan Gossart]

K2003 : Figure 81

PORTRAIT OF A LADY. Allentown, Pa., Allentown Art Museum (61.50.6) since 1960. Oil on oak, transferred to masonite by Suhr 1951/52. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (34.9 × 26.4 cm.). Original borders all around; considerable restoration. *Allentown* 1960, pp. 94–6.

The sitter wears an overgown of red velvet lined with fur and an underdress of golden cloth with pleated sleeves caught by ties; a linen chemise is underneath. Her black velvet hood is trimmed with gold, over a white linen undercap; a round enameled pendant on a ribbon necklet has four jewels forming a cross with three pearls suspended below.¹ The sitter seems about to remove (or put on?) a ring from the little finger of her right hand.

The portrait was first ascribed to 'Holbein', the quotation marks signifying that the work belonged in the general area of the German painter's oeuvre and the sitter listed as Lady Sheffield.² In 1947 Friedländer described K2003 as 'a fine and well-preserved work by Jan Gossaert.'³ Julius S. Held attributed K2003 to Bernaert van Orley.⁴ Shapley (*Allentown, loc. cit.*) compared the sitter's costume to that worn by Eleanor of Austria in a Gossart portrait dated by Friedländer c. 1516.⁵ She placed K2003 in the middle period of Gossart's activity, c. 1520, and accepted it as the pendant to K2002.

The portrait is far more linear in emphasis, and more summarily executed than are Gossart's works. Unlike its supposed companion piece, K2003 is somewhat mannered in treatment, noticeable in its almost calligraphic line. The painting is possibly based upon a portrait by Van Orley as it resembles the female sitters in the right wing of his *Haneton Triptych* of c. 1522.⁶ The painter of the *Lady* is inferior in skill to the artist of *Gentleman* (K2002). The portraits were executed independently, without close correspondence in scale or style, probably in the 1520s.

Provenance: Sir Berkeley Sheffield, Sixth Baronet of Normanby Park, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire, England (sold London, Christie's, 16 July 1943, Cat. No. 51, p. 8, as 'Portrait of Lady Sheffield by "Holbein"'). New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1954, exhibited – Dallas, Texas, Museum of Fine Arts, *Four Centuries of European Painting*, Oct. 1951, no. 44. Fort Worth, Texas, Fort Worth Art Center, *An Exhibition of Old Masters*, Jan.–Feb. 1953, no. 2.

References: (1) This type of pendant is found in Holbein portraits. See *Lady Guildford* of 1527 (St. Louis, Missouri, City Art Museum). Illustrated in Paul Ganz, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein*, London, 1956, pl. 78. (2) *Sale Catalogue of Pictures of Sir Berkeley Sheffield*, Christie's, London, 1943, Cat. No. 51, p. 8. (3) Kress Archive. (4) Notation at the Frick Art Reference Library. (5) Illustrated in Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VIII, Berlin, 1930, pl. LIII. (6) Friedländer, *ibid.*, p. 166, Cat. No. 86 and pl. LXXI.

JACOB CORNELISZ. VAN OOSTSANEN

The artist was born in Oostsanen before 1477 (probably c. 1470), and died in Amsterdam in 1533.¹ His brother Cornelis Buys (probably identical with the Master of Alkmaar) was also a distinguished artist, active between

1490 and 1524. The leading master working in Amsterdam in the first third of the sixteenth century, Jacob Cornelisz was outstanding as a master of woodcut design as well as painting. Compared with other North Netherlandish painters of the period, a relatively large number of works by Cornelisz. survive. He purchased a house in Amsterdam in 1500 and was presumably well-established by that time; his first dated prints stem from 1507; his early paintings (such as the *Noli Me Tangere*, Cassel, Gemäldegalerie) – all unsigned – were identified on the basis of their correspondence with his monogrammed woodcuts. The artist's works combined the slightly naive, fresh qualities of North Netherlandish style of the late fifteenth century with new, Mannerist, decorative overtones from Antwerp and Nürnberg. His authoritative achievements formed the basis of a new generation of North Netherlandish artists led by Jan van Scorel, who may have been Cornelisz.' student.²

K1877 : Figure 87

THE CIRCUMCISION. Portland, Oregon, Portland Art Museum (61.59), since 1952. Oil on panel (transferred to canvas at unknown date). 43 × 23½ in. (109.2 × 60.4 cm.). Three lozenges in the foreground are inscribed with monograms and devices: an anchor at the left has the letter S on the right; at the center, a monogram composed of AM (?) and I is dated 1517; a monogram at the extreme right is composed of two A's and two N's.³ When *The Circumcision* was in the Walters Collection, the monograms were visible, but the number 151 (which, in combination with the letter A, provided a reading of 1517) was not and must have been uncovered or added after 1941 and before c. 1944. Restored by Modestini in 1959 and 1962. Considerable abrasion and restoration in the lower-most section.

Portland, 1952, pp. 12–13, Cat. No. 2.

The Circumcision (Luke 2:21)⁴ is performed in an open loggia the piers of which are decorated with Italianate grotesque motifs. The nude, agonized Infant, arms up-raised, is held by a male attendant standing behind a large footed basin; a figure in priestly garb seated on a throne to the right circumcises the Child. To the left a female figure (Mary?) places her right hand on the Infant's head, her left resting on the basin. A kneeling attendant (Joseph?) to the left holds a footed cup (to receive the foreskin?) and lid. An aged attendant standing at the right holds a *situla* (holy water bucket) and *aspergillum*. A fashionably dressed woman stands at the extreme left looking toward the spectator. The individualized rendering of the man behind her and to the right may be the donor of K1877 or a self-portrait of the artist. Further to the right and directly behind the group around the basin stand three prophet-like figures reading from an open book. The Agony in the Garden takes place in a landscape at the upper right. Christ kneels below an angel; in the middleground the apostles Peter (at the left), James, and John are shown asleep (Matthew 26:36–46; Mark 14:32–42; Luke 22:39–46).⁵ The Circumcision initiates the Passion in that it was the

first blood shed by Christ. On that day, the eighth after the Nativity, he was named Jesus, meaning Savior.⁶ The juxtaposition of the Circumcision with the Agony in the Garden is probably due to the reference of both events to the shedding of Christ's blood prior to the Crucifixion. In Luke 22:44, the sweat pouring from Christ's brow during the Agony was likened to drops of blood. The Kress painting was probably a left panel in a polyptych, possibly stressing the Passion. The emphasis upon the Precious Blood suggests that the central panel showed the Crucifixion.⁷ The circumcision was rarely represented in Netherlandish altarpieces until the later fifteenth century, when it tended to be included to the left or right of the Adoration of the Magi, as seen in altarpieces by or after Hugo van der Goes.⁸

K1877 was placed in the early sixteenth-century Flemish School by Molinier at the Gavet Sale; a reproductive print of *The Circumcision* does not show the lowermost section of K1877, which may then have been hidden by a frame. The print is captioned as by Albrecht Altdorfer, this attribution no doubt due to the prominent A monograms. At the time of the Walters Sale, the panel was listed as 'Dutch School, c. 1520'. Held, followed by Friedländer and Valentiner, recognized K1877 as by Jacob Cornelisz., and suggested that the figure in contemporary dress was a self-portrait, resembling those painted in the artist's last years (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art).⁹ According to Shapley (*loc. cit.*), *The Circumcision* is definitely the one by Cornelisz. which Van Mander saw in Haarlem before 1604 and described as dated 1517 (see Provenance). *The Circumcision* is consistent with other works by Cornelisz. dated 1517, such as his *Epiphany* (formerly Berlin art market). The altarpiece to which the Kress panel originally belonged was probably dismembered during the Reformation. The date and monogram affixed to another panel in the altar may have been copied on the base of K1877. The projections of the lozenges on the paving of the floor in the foreground of K1877 are not characteristic of the period; this area was changed at a later date. The monogram is not an accurate representation of Jacob Cornelisz.'s, as seen in that artist's woodcut *Life of the Virgin* of 1507 and on his prints and paintings throughout his lifetime. A highly successful artist, Cornelisz. had a considerable atelier, known to execute works after those designed by their master. The style of the Kress panel resembles that of an *Epiphany* dated 1520, based upon the 1517 work by Cornelisz.¹⁰ K1877 may have been partially executed by studio assistants. A major North Netherlandish work, from the mature phase of Cornelisz.'s art, *The Circumcision* is a monumental, original depiction of a rare subject.

Provenance: K1877 may be the painting seen by Carel van Mander before 1604 about which he wrote, 'A *Circumcision of Christ* is a very fine and astonishing work and most carefully finished. This picture has been dated 1517, showing us when the artist flourished.' The painting was seen in the house of Cornelius Suycker, Haarlem (at the sign of the Great Bear).¹¹ Émile Gavet (Émile Molinier, *Collection Émile Gavet: catalogue raisonné*, Paris, 1889,

p. 188, Cat. No. 802, pl. LXXXI, with caption 'par Albert Altdorfer'). Mrs. Henry Walters, Baltimore (sale, New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., *The Mrs. Henry Walters Art Collection*, II, 20 Apr., 1–3 May 1941, p. 361, Cat. No. 1193A, as *The Baptism*, Dutch School, c. 1520). Julius Weitzner, New York, exhibited – Montreal, Art Association, *Five Centuries of Dutch Art*, 9 Mar.–9 Apr. 1944, p. 20, Cat. No. 8. Kress acquisition 1952, from Weitzner, exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America . . .*, 4 Dec. 1961–10 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 50.

References: (1) The identification of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen with a Jacob van Amsterdam, active in Antwerp between 1507 and 1516, is probably correct. (2) For Cornelisz.' paintings, see Kurt Steinbart, *Die Tafelgemälde des Jakob Cornelisz. von Amsterdam*, Strasbourg, 1922. For his woodcuts, see the same author's *Das Holzschnittwerk des Jakob Cornelisz. von Amsterdam*, Burg bei Magdeburg, 1937. See also Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, XII, Leyden, 1935, pp. 96–115; G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, The Hague, 1939, III, pp. 72–143. For the artist's biography see Friedländer, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–111; Hoogewerff, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 75. (3) See Steinbart, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, Cat. No. 2, for Cornelisz.' monogram. (4) See also Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, Åbo, 1965, pp. 82 ff. Jacobus da Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, London, 1900, I, pp. 28–41, esp. pp. 34–41. (5) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 256–60. (6) *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, ed. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, Princeton, 1961, p. 42. The Circumcision is connected with the cult of the Holy Name, as well as of the Precious Blood. (7) If K1877 had an *Adoration of the Magi* on the central panel, it may well have resembled the compositional format of Cornelisz.' painting of that subject dated 1512 (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte), the architecture of which is close in style to the Kress panel. The composition of the Naples work was used by Cornelisz. throughout his lifetime. Later piety developed a devotion to the seven sheddings of the Precious Blood: the Circumcision, the Agony in the Garden, the scourging, the crowning with thorns, the road to Calvary, the Crucifixion, and the piercing of Christ's side with a lance. (8) The Circumcision was the subject of the lost right wing of Hugo's *Monforte Altarpiece* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), with the Nativity on the left. The right wing of a triptych copied after Hugo van der Goes was also a Circumcision, with the Adoration of the Magi at the center and the Massacre of the Innocents on the left, each wing a 'baptism by blood' (9) Kress Archive, letter of 5/vi/41. (10) That of 1520 is reproduced by Hoogewerff, *op. cit.*, III, p. 121, fig. 61 and the one of 1517 by Friedländer, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 193, Cat. No. 239, pl. XLV. (11) Carel van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, transl. by Constant van der Waal, New York, 1936, pp. 33–4. For the original text, see Hoogewerff, *op. cit.*, III, p. 135, the edition of 1604, fol. 207v. Hoogewerff, on the basis of van Mander's description, concluded that the painting was the wing of an altar (*ibid.*). Suycker was probably a grandson of Cornelisz.' contemporary, the prominent painter Jan Mostaert.



Text Fig 15 A *Virgin Annunciate* by Hans Memling. Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection (see К 2088).



Text Fig 15 B *Adoration of the Magi* by Hans Memling. Madrid, Prado (see К 2088).



Text Fig 15 C *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* by Hans Memling. Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection (see К 2088).



Text Fig 15 D *Nativity* by Hans Memling. Birmingham, City Art Gallery (see К 2088).



Text Fig 16 *Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, Antwerp Master c. 1530 (K 1696). Detail of lower left corner before cleaning.



Text Fig 17 *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Jerome and Francis*, Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut (see K 488). Photographic reconstruction showing two Kress panels as wings of triptych.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Lucas van Leyden, the son of an artist, was born in Leyden in 1494; he died there in 1533. After an initial apprenticeship with his father, Lucas studied under Cornelis Engelbrechtsz. The painter and master engraver is believed to have been a child prodigy; according to Van Mander, Lucas' great engraving of *Mohamet and the Knight Sergius* (B.126), dated 1508, was executed when he was fourteen years old. Lucas is first recorded in the Leyden archives in 1514. The young master met Dürer in Antwerp in 1521; he journeyed to the South Netherlands in 1527. His surviving dated paintings stem from the years 1511 to 1526. Lucas' later works show considerable influence from contemporary Italian print makers and from northern and southern Mannerist currents. Admired throughout Europe, Lucas was among the most brilliant Northern artists of the sixteenth century.¹

After LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

[Lucas van Leyden]

K1854 : Figure 84

THE CARD PLAYERS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (NGA 1387), since 1955. Oil on oak, cradled. 22½ × 24 in. (56.4 × 60.9 cm.). Two vertical joins. X-rays indicate extensive losses throughout. Cleaned and restored in 1954 by Modestini.

Suida-Shapley, p. 118, Cat. No. 45. Reproduced in color, *Broadley*, p. 27.

Five men and three women in prosperous garb, assembled in a tavern (?), surround a gaming table covered with golden coins and a deck of cards. Two men seated at the right and two women seated toward the left appear to be actually playing; each holds three cards. Two men stand to the left, and a woman and a man to the right, who seem to be partners or advisors to the players seated before them. Several of the participants are characterized as evil or disputatious. Fruit and flowers are placed upon a covered sideboard at the upper left with additional comestibles on the masonry ledge to the right.

According to Friedländer, K1854 was executed by Lucas van Leyden c. 1520.² Hoogewerff accepted Friedländer's attribution and dating of K1854, comparing it with Lucas's *Card Players* at Wilton House. He noted that the works are close in composition, but that the Kress panel has more open space at the top.³ Friedländer viewed the Kress *Card Players* as the last rendition of the subject by Lucas van Leyden. Due to the physiognomical correspondences between some of the male card players in K1854 and Lucas's engraved *Virgil in a Basket* (B.16) of 1525, Friedländer suggested a similar date for the Kress panel. Judson viewed it as a probable late-sixteenth-century copy.⁴ Winkler found Lucas's authorship of K1854 dubious and described the painting as probably copied after a lost work.⁵ Accord-

ing to *Suida-Shapley* (p. 118), it 'is the latest and most mature of several paintings of similar subjects. The artist's development from the time he painted the *Chess Players* in the Berlin Museum, presumably as early as 1508, to the painting of our *Card Players* is amazing. The half-way point is marked by the [Wilton House] *Card Players*'. The Kress panel is described by Held as 'hardly more than an old copy' after Lucas van Leyden.⁶ Roger Mandel suggested that K1854 may perhaps have been painted in Spain in view of the unusual emphasis on still-life groups and the inclusion of *mazapan* boxes.⁷ *Broadley* (p. 26) called the card game being played 'a French ancestor of modern poker.'

Gambling at cards was a popular literary and artistic subject in Lucas van Leyden's day; Rabelais and Erasmus wrote of it at length. Lucas painted at least three separate compositions of card players.⁸ The still life in the background refers to *Vanitas* and may have been meant to underline vain pursuits taking place in the foreground. Subjects related to that of K1854 interested the artist from the time of such early works as *La Tireuse de Cartes* (Louvre, Pierre Lebaudy bequest).⁹ Although considered a proper pastime for kings and princes, card play was generally viewed as a product of idleness and was grouped with other vices: 'The damnable lust of cards and of dice, and other games, prohibite by the lawe' (Sebastian Brant, *The Ship of Fools*).¹⁰ The card game being played in K1854 is *Primero*, of Spanish origin.¹¹ The original of this painting, executed in the 1520s, may be the first known representation of the game, among the oldest recorded card games.¹² *Primero* was well-known in the Netherlands, which were then under Habsburg rule. As Lucas spent time in Antwerp, he must have known the game. In the Spanish version of *Primero*, the Ace of Spades (which we see held by the player to the right in the painting) is the wild card. The player may give it any value he wishes. *Primero* is thought to have evolved into *Ombre* (*Hombre*, 'The Man', in Spanish), 'so named as requiring thought and reflection . . . alluding to him who undertakes to play the game against the rest of the gamblers. . . . To play it well requires a great deal of application, and let a man be ever so expert, he will be apt to fall into mistakes if he thinks of anything else or be disturbed by the conversation of them that look on.'¹³ The gentleman on the right with the Ace of Spades is indeed very involved in the game. His concentration, abetted by the lucky 'spadillo', may well win the hand. He throws an intense look at the man across from him, who returns the stare obliquely; the second male player seems disturbed by this. Is it just the tension of the game, or is there something passing 'over the table'? The female player in the middle does not seem to notice this interplay, concentrating on her betting. The woman at the far left, however, has lost interest in the game and presumably cannot hope to win. She gazes moodily toward the spectator and the man at her side who helps hold her cards with his left hand and caresses her right shoulder with the other. She points towards the table as if to recall him to the game in progress, but there is little conviction behind the gesture. The Six of Hearts, prominently displayed in their hands, may stress their dalliance.

Lucas van Leyden – famous throughout Europe for his virtuoso engravings as well as for his less widely circulated paintings – was much copied well into the seventeenth century. The rather harsh profiles and unsubtle modeling of K1854 point to the panel's execution in the years following Lucas's death, presumably after a lost original of the artist's late period.

Provenance: Berlin, Van Diemen Gallery, 1923. Sold Christie's, 20 May 1926, Lot No. 269 as 'Van Leyden, *The Card Party*', to Asscher.¹⁴ Munich, Galerie Julius Böhler, c. 1929. London, Thomas Harris Galleries, exhibited – London, *Exhibition of Early Flemish Paintings*, June 1935, Cat. No. 19. Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung (Kunstmuseum), *Meisterwerke holländischer Malerei des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, 23 June–19 Aug. 1945, p. 12, Cat. No. 43. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1951.

References: (1) Max J. Friedländer, *Lucas van Leyden* (edited by Friedrich Winkler), Berlin, 1963. N. Beets, *Lucas van Leyden*, Amsterdam, 1940. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, x, Berlin, 1932, pp. 79 ff. C. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, III, The Hague, 1939, chapter IV, pp. 207–320. (2) Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 1932, p. 137, Cat. No. 142. (3) Hoogewerff, *op. cit.*, pp. 258–9; v, 1947, p. 135, Cat. No. 19. (4) C. Richard Judson, Review of Ben Nicolson, 'Terbrugghen', *Art Bulletin*, XLIII, 1961, p. 347. (5) Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 1963, pp. 62–3. Winkler, *ibid.*, p. 62, n. 28. (6) Julius S. Held (Review of Friedländer's *Lucas van Leyden*, 1963), *Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, pp. 446–7. (7) Seminar, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1968. (8) The Kress *Card Players* is the largest in size of the card-playing compositions. Lucas van Leyden's *Card Players* at Wilton House (The Earl of Pembroke, Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 1932, p. 137, Cat. No. 141, pl. 86, $13\frac{1}{4} \times 18\frac{3}{4}$ in., 33.5×47.5 cm.) shows five men and four women. A copy of the Wilton House painting is in Tynninghame (East Lothian, Scotland, collection of the Earl of Haddington). Another card-playing composition by the same artist is in the collection of the Honourable Mrs. Randall Plunkett (ex coll. Sir J. Philipps, Illustrated Royal Academy of Arts, *Dutch Pictures 1450–1750*, Winter Exhibition, 1952–3, Cat. No. 20, pl. 11; $14\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ in.; 37.5×39.4 cm.). A copy of the latter is in the collection of Dr. A. F. Philips, Eindhoven (Beets, *op. cit.*, p. 12). Another painting of the same subject (Lady Dunsany, Dunsany Castle; $11\frac{7}{8} \times 15\frac{3}{8}$ in.; 30.2×39.2 cm.) shows two men and one woman. (9) Reproduced by Michel Laclotte, Louvre Acquisitions, *La Revue du Louvre*, XVII, 1967, p. 332, fig. 9. (10) Barclay translation, published by Pynson, 1508. See Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, London, 1834, pp. 328–9. (11) Vernon Bartlett, *The Past of Pastimes*, Edinburgh, 1969, p. 118. (12) In Lucas's Wilton *Card Players* we cannot identify the game with certainty. Accounts differ as to the number of cards in *Primero*, but in the Kress painting it is played with hands of three cards; in the Wilton painting, each player has but two cards, although the woman at the left may be dealing a third. In this case the game might also be *Primero*, and therefore a prior representation of the subject. There are two paintings in

England, presumably slightly later than Lucas' works, showing the English version of *Primero* in which the Knave of Hearts is the wild card: *Four Gentlemen of High Rank Playing Primero*, Manchester, Wythenshawe Hall (on loan from Lord Derby's collection), and another version, property of Colonel W. A. Chester-Mason of Norcote House, Cirencester, both apparent copies after a lost original by John Bettes. (See Mario Praz, *Conversation Pieces*, Rome, 1971, p. 101.) In these canvases, the man in the left corner is turning up a Knave of Hearts. Unlike the Kress and Wilton works, that of John Bettes represents an informal group portrait – a 'conversation piece' – seemingly without moralizing intent. (13) Strutt, *op. cit.*, p. 333; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Cambridge, England, 1911, xx, p. 101. (14) *Catalogue of Modern Pictures and Drawings sold by the order of the Trustees of T. Sands Johnson, Esq. . . . Old Pictures, the Property of Major H. P. Les Challas*, 19–20 May 1926, London. Listed under 'Different Properties', p. 32. An annotated catalogue lists the purchaser as Asscher.

JAN VAN SCOREL

Jan van Scorel was born in Schrool in 1495; he died in Utrecht in 1562. The painter attended the Latin School at Alkmaar before turning to art. He was probably trained in Haarlem by Cornelis Buys I (the Master of Alkmaar?), by Buys' brother Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen in Amsterdam c. 1512, and finally under Gossart near Utrecht in 1517. Van Scorel's earliest preserved work is the *Holy Kinship Triptych* (Carinthia, Obervellach, Church of St. Martin), executed on his way to Venice in 1520. He was among the first Northern European masters to reside in Venice and Rome long enough to bring back a consistent first-hand familiarity with the painting of the High Renaissance. After his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Scorel succeeded Raphael as conservator of the Vatican's antiquities under the pontificate of Hadrian VI who, like the painter, came from Utrecht. Active in the north of France as well as the Netherlands, Scorel brought with him a new breadth and freedom. His art is sometimes confused with that of his younger contemporary Marten van Heemskerck; the oeuvre of these painters was described by Van Mander as almost indistinguishable.¹

K1872 : Figure 85

THE REST ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1398), since 1956. Oil on oak, cradled in Europe. $22\frac{3}{4} \times 29\frac{1}{2}$ in. (57.9×74.9 cm.). Horizontal join in the middle section, through the butterfly or moth. Some abrasion; generally well preserved. Part of the panel, at the right in the center of the landscape area, was covered with canvas by the artist probably to smooth an uneven surface.

Suida-Shapley, p. 164, Cat. No. 64.

The Virgin is shown to the knees, seated at the left of a landscape setting, an exotic (Near Eastern?) textile around her legs. She holds the nude Infant on her lap with her right

hand, supporting the large crystal orb upon which he is seated with her left. His right foot rests upon the orb's cross. The Herculean child holds a moth or butterfly with his right hand and seems to reach toward his mother's breast with his left hand: the fastening at Mary's shoulder is untied as though preparatory to nursing. Their moment of regal repose refers in part to the Rest of the Holy Family on the Flight into Egypt as described by the Pseudo-Matthew (20–1).² A gnarled tree is at the upper left. The classical landscape vista at the right includes a running male figure in the foreground, a grazing sheep and three additional running figures in the middle distance. A Septizonium-like structure; a statue-topped column; an obelisk and several ruined buildings are seen against a mountainous background.

Although the work does not incorporate all of the specific elements of a Rest on the Flight into Egypt, by the sixteenth century that subject was treated with very considerable freedom. The panel might be entitled *Meditation on the Flight into Egypt*, the subject of a small panel by Scorel which includes many of the features of K1872 but where the participants, including Joseph, are shown in a *sacra conversazione*.³ The Infant's nudity signifies his sacrifice through crucifixion (indicated by the cross underfoot) for the salvation of the earth (represented by the orb below). The butterfly symbolizes the transience of human life, resurrection and renewal through God.⁴ Mary's elaborate headdress and the Child's regal attributes point to their future enthronement as king and queen of heaven.

The Kress panel was first published by Hoogewerff as by Scorel; he related it to a *Virgin and Child* from the studio of that master in Cassel (Gemäldegalerie).⁵ Winkler characterized K1872 as a distinguished painting by Scorel, close in date to his *Magdalen* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).⁶ Friedländer included the work in his Scorel catalogue, entitling it *Mary with the Child*.⁷ The panel was given to Scorel's junior, Marten van Heemskerck, by Wescher who grouped it with his early works pre-dating the Roman journey of 1532–36 such as the *Virgin and Child with St. Luke* (Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum) and *Judah and Tamar* (formerly Potsdam, Sanssouci), both dated 1532.⁸ Hoogewerff accepted Wescher's views.⁹ Bruyn also ascribed the Kress panel to Heemskerck, suggesting that the younger artist was influenced by Scorel's *Magdalen* and by the art of Raphael and the Venetians as brought to the Netherlands by Scorel, who was active in Heemskerck's native Haarlem between 1527 and 1529.¹⁰ Suida-Shapley (p. 164) maintained the Scorel attribution, pointing out that the Virgin's features are those of Scorel's mistress Agathe van Schoonhoven (Rome, Galleria Doria). 'Agathe's features . . . are here . . . softened and given a dreamy expression for which the artist's sojourn in Venice accounts. Also suggestive of Venetian art is the lyric, atmospheric landscape, though its details are probably from Scorel's farther journey to the Holy Land. He pays homage to Michelangelo in the form and action of the Child, while Mannerists like Beccafumi and Granacci are recalled by the background figures.' Von der Osten also placed the panel among Scorel's early works

of c. 1530, painted in Utrecht and Haarlem. The plasticity of their figures suggests animated sculpture.¹¹

Somewhat more mannered than the bulk of Scorel's oeuvre, the Kress panel is nonetheless clearly by the Utrecht master, readily distinguishable as such by its rich luminosity and golden coloration, qualities rarely encountered in the work of Heemskerck. The Virgin's twisted coiffure recalls that of Michelangelo's *Doni Madonna*; the Child's Herculean physique may also be Tuscan in origin, possibly transmitted to Scorel by Rosso Fiorentino. Scorel may have known the latter's works painted in France when he was active there also. A date in the early 1530s seems correct.

Provenance: Possibly identical with the painting by Scorel representing Our Lady with St. Joseph in the Desert seen by the Anonimo Morelliano in the house of Gabriel Vendramin in Venice.¹² Heinrich Wilhelm Campe, Brunswick (until 1862). H. Vieweg, Brunswick, grandson of the above (sold Berlin, R. Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, *Sammlung Vieweg, Braunschweig*, 18 Mar. 1930, Berlin, p. 50, Cat. No. 49). Antonio von Riedemann, Meggen, Switzerland, exhibited – Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum, *Meisterwerke holländischer Malerei des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, 23 June–19 Aug. 1945, Cat. No. 87, p. 19, listed as 'Maria mit Kinde, Jan van Scorel'. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1952, exhibited – Utrecht, Centraal Museum, *Jan van Scorel*, 3 Aug.–30 Oct. 1955, p. 43, Cat. No. 25, listed as *Madonna met Kind*.

References: (1) *Le Livre des Peintres de Carel van Mander*, edited by Henri Hymans, Paris, 1, 1884, p. 314. Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, XII, Leyden, 1935. For the van Scorel bibliography see the exhibition catalogue *Jan van Scorel*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1955. (2) For the iconography of the Flight into Egypt see Réau, II, 2, p. 278. (3) Reproduced by Friedländer, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIX, Cat. No. 335, Alton Towers Collection (the painting was destroyed by fire). (4) See Franz Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains*, Paris, 1966, pp. 319 and 409, for classical interpretation. Eugene Dwyer has noted that the infant on the globe is derived from the gold and silver coinage of the Empress Domitia. See H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, II, London, 1930, p. 311, nos. 62, 63 (pl. 61, nos. 6 and 7). The landscape rendering may perhaps have been influenced by fragments of ancient Roman fourth-style wall painting seen by Scorel in Italy or the Near East (suggested by Penelope Billings). (5) G. J. Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel, peintre de la renaissance hollandaise*, The Hague, 1923, p. 141, Cat. No. 20. Although the Cassel picture is listed as reproduced on pl. XLIII it is actually shown on pl. XLVI; see also p. 86. It is quite different in composition from K1872. (6) Friedrich Winkler, 'Die Sammlung Vieweg, I, Gemälde', *Pantheon*, v, 1930, pp. 73–9, esp. p. 78. (7) Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 202, Cat. No. 327. He noted (xiv, p. 129) that a replica was on the art market in Cologne in 1936, measuring 64 × 77 cm., and reaffirmed the attribution of K1872 to Scorel in a letter to William Suida, 4/XI/1955,

Kress Archive. (8) Paul Wescher, 'Heemskerck und Scorel', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LXIX, 1938, pp. 218-30, esp. p. 221. A landscape study by Marten van Heemskerck (Dr. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, Amsterdam) includes some of the features of K1872; it was probably drawn by Heemskerck after a work by Scorel. See Christian Hülsen, 'Unbekannte römische Zeichnungen von Maarten van Heemskerck', *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rom*, VII, 1927, pp. 83-96, esp. p. 95, illustrated pl. 18, p. 96. (9) Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, IV, 1941-42, pp. 303 and 305; his text for the *Jan van Scorel* exhibition catalogue (Utrecht, 1955, p. 43, Cat. No. 25) also favored an attribution to Marten van Heemskerck for K1872. (10) J. Bruyn, 'Eenige werken van Jan van Scorel uit zijn Haarlemse tijd (1527-1529)', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, II, III, 1954, pp. 51-8, esp. p. 54. (11) Gert von der Osten and Horst Vey, *Painting and Sculpture in Germany and the Netherlands 1500-1600*, Baltimore, 1969, p. 183. (12) Suggested by Suida-Shapley, p. 164. Theodor Frimmel, ed., *Der Anonimo Morelliano, Marcanton Michiels Notizia d'opere del disegno*, Vienna, 1896, pp. 106-7 (three separate entries for the same painting; seen in 1530).

JAN DE BEER

The oeuvre of Jan de Beer was reconstructed by Friedländer on the basis of an inscribed drawing dated 1520 (London, British Museum). The painter, an outstanding Antwerp master, was the student of Gillis van Everen in 1490. He became a free master at the Antwerp guild in 1504 and deacon in 1515.¹ He was largely active as a designer for painted glass windows. Jan de Beer's works belong with those of the Antwerp Mannerists, distinguished by their elongated, neo-Gothic style and partial utilization of Italian decorative motifs.

ANTWERP MASTER, c. 1520, JAN DE BEER (?)

K1887 : Figure 89

THE CONVERSION OF ST. HUBERT [Miracle of St. Eustace]. Portland, Oregon, Portland Art Museum, since 1952. Oil on uncradled panel. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ in. (31.7×57.2 cm.). Extensive worm tunneling, considerable losses. *Portland*, 1952, Cat. No. 6, p. 21.

The horizontal, panoramic composition shows the holy knight Hubert kneeling in prayer at the left before a stag with a crucifix between the antlers. The knight's steed is at the far left; other members of his hunting party are in the middle distance and at the right, where an equestrian figure points skywards and a standing huntsman with a horn points to the left.

Hubert, first bishop of Liège (722-7), was the patron saint of hunters and was invoked to cure rabies. His legend combined episodes from the life of the early Roman St.

Eustace, especially the account of the appearance of the stag with the radiant crucifix between its antlers.²

K1887 was attributed to Jan de Beer by Friedländer.³ The horse at the extreme left is derived from Dürer's engraved *Offer of Love* (B.93); the dogs at the right are taken from Dürer's engraved *St. Eustace* (B.57) completed before 1505. The format of K1887 was especially favored by masters active in Antwerp from the second decade of the sixteenth century onward. The composition of the Kress panel is close to a depiction of the same subject which has been attributed to Jan Mostaert and Joachim Patinir.⁴

The *Conversion* may perhaps go back to a lost work by Jan Mostaert recorded by Carel van Mander as being in the Prinsenhof at Haarlem.⁵ The impressionistically rendered Kress panel is not close in technique to the highly finished works generally ascribed to Jan de Beer. It is close to a painting of the same subject, attributed to Jan de Cock (Rome, Palazzo Doria, Alinari Photograph 29585). The Kress panel is too freely rendered to be placed among Jan de Beer's works with complete certainty. It resembles many paintings in the circle of Joachim Patinir and Jan de Cock.

Provenance: New York, Frederick A. Stern. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) See Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, XI, Leyden, 1934, pp. 15-30. (2) For the iconography of St. Hubert, see Erwin Panofsky, 'Dürer's St. Eustace', *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, IX, 1950, pp. 1-10. See also Réau, III, 2, pp. 558 ff. (3) According to the Kress Archive. (4) Collection of Dr. F. Heulens, Brussels. Reproduced fig. 30, Cat. No. 63, p. 8 in catalogue *Margareta van Oostenrijk en haar hof*, Mechelen, 1958. (5) C. H. Hymans, *Le Livre des peintres de Carel van Mander*, I, Paris, 1884, p. 265.

FLEMISH MASTER, active c. 1540

K2126 : Figure 88

THE BATTLE OF PAVIA. Birmingham, Alabama, Birmingham Museum of Art (61.125), since 1959. Oil on panel, cradled. $45\frac{5}{8} \times 68\frac{3}{8}$ in. (115.8×173.6 cm.). At least two horizontal joins, one above halberdier at lower left (the one farthest to the right), and another through the upper part of the banner bearing the white cross at the right. Restored by Modestini in 1959. Generally well preserved despite considerable old over-painting. *Birmingham*, 1959, pp. 67-70.

The panel unites, in bird's eye view, many separate aspects of the Battle of Pavia of 1525, which ended the French dominion of Northwest Italy. The three-month long French siege of Pavia was broken by the forces of Charles V, who, on the eve of 24 February, under Georg von Frundsberg, entered the Park of Mirabella through an opening in its walls. German forces (with the support of Spanish firearms) challenged and defeated the French,

whose strength had been weakened by the desertion of many Swiss mercenaries (*Landsknechte*). The courtly, burdensome French cavalry was overcome by the speedy German infantry. The Battle of Pavia demonstrated the need for a balance of arms – cavalry, infantry, and artillery – in the field.

The artist has chosen a vantage point above and beyond the walls of the park where the battle takes place. At the lower left the German infantry crowds into the park in a tumult of pikes, banners, and drums. It was led by Charles V's cavalry, shown in black armor with plumed helmets, headed by the Marchese di Pescara (husband of Michelangelo's friend Vittoria Colonna) who was to die of wounds received in this battle. Preceding the cavalry are the Spanish *arquebusiers* who confront the oncoming French infantry (led by the Duc d'Alençon) identifiable by their fleur-de-lis strewn banners. These groupings at the lower left of the painting represent the early phases of the battle. The central area of the Park of Mirabella (at the upper left of K2126) is the scene of raging battle between the French and German cavalries. The capture of François I is shown here. The buildings within the walls are unidentifiable; the only structure in maps of the battle area is Mirabella castle, possibly identifiable with the curious edifice at the lower right. The church at the extreme left may represent San Genesio. At the upper right is a pitched battle between the French and German infantry at the walls of Pavia. German cavalry rout the French from trenches around the city. Military encampments of the armies can be seen in the distance along the banks of the Ticino, with troop formations moving into position. At the upper left an artillery battle takes place near armed encampments. In the distance the Ticino flows into the Po. A fantastic mountainous terrain is in the background. The final events of the battle are depicted at the right middle ground. Victorious troops lead the captured François I on muleback through a gap in the wall to Spanish imprisonment (from which he was freed in 1526 after the Treaty of Madrid). To the far right, standing between two brooks (one is perhaps the Venaculla?), are Swiss mercenaries and French soldiers, presumably captured during the battle. Netherlandish artists have depicted the Battle of Pavia as a series of separate scenes forming a narrative cycle, such as Bernard van Orley's drawings of c. 1528 (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) for tapestries (Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte).¹ But the painter of K2126 has followed German examples which fused these events in time and space into a single montage.²

In the seventeenth century K2126 was ascribed to Dürer. In 1843 Raczyński wrote that it was not by that German master, but nonetheless found the painting superb.³ In 1895 the work was given to Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen; this attribution was maintained when the panel was in the Cook Collection,⁴ although while there, it was suggested by an unnamed critic that the panel was painted by Nicholas Hogenberg.⁵ Suida (*Birmingham*, 1959, p. 68) listed K2126 as by a Flemish painter, executed shortly after 1525. He rejected the assignment of the panel to Vermeyen or to Hogenberg, noting that the latter's oeuvre is only

known by his prints. Stöcklein attributed K2126 to Ruprecht Heller, a master whose only identified painting is a *Battle of Pavia* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) signed and dated 1529.⁶

The Kress panel does not correspond closely to any one of the many depictions of the defeat of François I at Pavia. It is somewhat similar in style (but not in composition) to *The Battle of Pavia* (Hampton Court) which is ascribed to the German School, c. 1530.⁷ The broad compositional outlines of K2126 are closer to the Battle as represented in a panel in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) attributed to Joachim Patinir.⁸ The painting's romantic, medievalizing narrative style precludes authorship by Jan Vermeyen, whose name was rightly rejected by Suida. Helmut Nickel has suggested to this writer a date of c. 1540 for *The Battle of Pavia*, observing that some of the costumes and arms reflect styles considerably later in date than that of the actual battle. The master of the Kress panel may have drawn upon many different sources for his reconstruction of the events at Pavia. Although probably the work of an Antwerp artist, the Kress panel recalls the bird's-eye-view, microcosmic approach best known in the first half of the sixteenth century in works by Altdorfer and Huber and may perhaps be adapted from a drawing of the Pavia Battle by Huber (Munich, Graphische Sammlung) or from a painting by the Monogrammist S. C., such as his *Battle with Lansquenets*, Würzburg).⁹

Provenance: Dom Fernando Alvares de Castro.¹⁰ Dom Manoel de Castro, grand-nephew of the above.¹¹ Jean de Castro, Conde de Penamacor.¹² Saldanha Castro, Albuquerque, Ribafria, Lisbon.¹³ Henry Doetsch (sale, Christie's, 22–5 June 1895, Cat. No. 232, p. 66, as by Jan Vermeyen). Sir Frederick Cook.¹⁴ New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) Reproduced in Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri (ed.), *Storia di Milano, Tra Francia e Spagna (1500–1535)*, Milan, 1957, VIII, 2, chapter 7, pp. 254–61; a drawing by W. Huber (Munich, Graphische Sammlung) is also reproduced in the *Storia* (p. 250) as are two anonymous woodcuts, one French (?), one Lombard (?), opp. p. 260. (2) For early descriptions and depictions of the Battle of Pavia see Treccani degli Alfieri, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–67. See also Ernst Gagliardi, 'Die Schlacht von Pavia auf den Teppichen des Museums zu Neapel', in *Feuerwerk – Gesellschaft (Artillerie-Kollegium)*, Zürich, CX, 1915, pp. 2–40. R. Thom, *Die Schlacht bei Pavia*, Berlin, 1907. (3) Athanasius Raczyński, *Les arts en Portugal*, Paris, 1846, pp. 274–6. (4) Maurice W. Brockwell, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House . . . Collection of Sir Frederick Cook, Bt.*, London, 1915, III, pp. 95–6. (5) *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House . . .*, 1932, p. 17, Cat. No. 473. (6) Hans Stöcklein, 'Die Schlacht bei Pavia; zum Gemälde des Ruprecht Heller' (p. 235 and fig. 145) and Ernst Buchner, 'Bemerkungen zum "Historien- und Schlachtenbild" der deutschen Renaissance' (p. 248), both in Ernst Buchner and Karl Feuchtmayr (ed.), *Oberdeutsche Kunst der Spätgotik und Reformationszeit*, Augsburg, 1924, pp. 23019 and 240–59,

respectively. For a further discussion of representations of the battle of Pavia see Axel Sjöblom, 'Ein Gemälde von Ruprecht Heller im Stockholmer Nationalmuseum', in Buchner and Feuchtmayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-9. (7) Inventory Nos. 251 and 328. Formerly given to Hans Holbein and to Melchior (Martin) Feselen when shown at Bruges in the *Tcison d'Or* Exhibition, 1909, Cat. No. 165. (8) A copy of the Vienna picture sometimes ascribed to Jorg Breu and Elder and more recently to Jan Vermeyen is in Brussels (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts). It is reproduced on pl. CLXXXVII, *Carlos V y su Ambiente*, Toledo, 1958. Another *Battle of Pavia* given to Breu is at Wilton House, No. 188; the German master designed a woodcut of the *Battle*. (9) The drawing is reproduced by Martin Weinberger, *Wolf Huber*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 165, fig. 97. See Ernst Buchner, 'Zwei oberdeutsche Meister der Reformationszeit', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LIX, 1925-26, pp. 49-54, reproduced p. 50. (10) Raczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-5, discusses a will of Dom Fernando Alvares de Castro of 4 May 1632, including 'un grand tableau de la bataille de Pavie, original d'Albert [Dürer], unique dans le monde et digne de la plus grande appréciation.' A certified copy of the Castro will was acquired by Henry Doetsch upon his purchase of K2126 in 1895. (11) According to Brockwell (*op. cit.*, III, pp. 95-6) who wrote that Alvares' will left the painting to Dom Manoel de Castro, his grand-nephew. (12) *Ibid.* (13) Raczyński, *loc. cit.* (14) Listed in Brockwell, *op. cit.*, III, p. 17, Cat. No. 473 and *Abridged Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 17, Cat. No. 473.

JOACHIM PATINIR

The artist was born c. 1485 and died in Antwerp in 1524.¹ He entered the Antwerp painters' guild in 1515. Best known for the dominant role played by landscape in his art, Patinir drew upon the works of Hieronymus Bosch and earlier sources. His oeuvre contributed to the beginning of an acceptance of landscape painting as an autonomous genre. Often the figures in his topographical, panoramic views were provided by collaborators, most notably Quinten Massys (Prado, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*).

Follower of PATINIR

K1970 : Figure 79

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1633), since 1956. Oil on uncradled oak panel. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (23.7 × 15.0 cm.). On the back: 23, 953, and a German statement that the painting was removed from the Gemäldegalerie (Vienna) on 11 February 1952; a large strip is inscribed: II. D. U. W. II. 20. The painting is generally well-preserved; Waagen noted in 1866 that it had undergone some damage.² Suida-Shapley, p. 140, Cat. No. 54.

The Holy Family is seen frontally on a rocky elevation just above a mountain stream, on the Flight into Egypt (Matthew 2:14). Mary, on an ass, holds the lightly-clad

Infant in her arms. Joseph grasps the reins with the right hand, leaning on a stick with the left. A water mill is at the lower middleground right, a great landscape panorama in the distance. Two tiny figures are seen from the back in the valley below.³

In 1784 K1970 was attributed to Herri met de Bles.⁴ By 1884 its proximity to Patinir's style was observed by Engerth, followed by Frimmel in 1889.⁵ The 1896 catalogue recorded K1970 as by Patinir with the notation that it was first associated with that master by Scheibler.⁶ Schaeffer and Glück noted that the Kress panel was more probably by an archaizing follower of Patinir than by the master himself.⁷ Baldass listed the painting as by a follower of Patinir.⁸ Weissenhofer viewed K1970 as by Patinir.⁹ Suida described it as by a follower of Patinir active c. 1550. Buschbeck observed in 1955 that the style of the figures dated from the mid-sixteenth century, precluding Patinir's authorship. He stressed the contemporaneity of figures and landscape execution, placing it about a generation after Patinir's death in 1524.¹⁰ Koch, placing the *Flight into Egypt* among anonymous later followers of Patinir, noted that the figures are Italianate, somewhat in the style of Correggio.¹¹

By the time K1970 was painted, the cosmic scale of Patinir's works was no longer fully understood, so that the Holy Family is shown on far too large a scale for its setting. The artist of the *Flight into Egypt* has appropriated a small section of a Patinir composition, probably from one of the artist's horizontal works such as his *Landscape with St. Jerome* (Paris, Louvre),¹² and combined it with a Holy Family freely derived from an Italianate source. Although both Patinir and Herri met de Bles painted several examples of the Flight into Egypt, no one of them corresponds closely to K1970; and the foreshortened, frontal equestrian grouping is alien to northern art.¹³

Provenance: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.¹⁴ New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1953.

References: (1) Robert A. Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, Princeton, 1968. (2) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien, Erster Teil. Die K. K. Gemälde-Sammlungen im Schlosse Belvedere und in der K. K. Kunst-Akademie, die Privatsammlungen*, Vienna, 1866, p. 183, Cat. No. 20. (3) For the iconography of the Flight into Egypt see Réau, II, 2, pp. 274-6. (4) Chrétien de Mechel, *Catalogue des tableaux de la galerie impériale et royale de Vienne*, Basel, 1784, p. 167, Cat. No. 77. Mechel's attribution was accepted by Albert Krafft (*Catalogue de la galerie des tableaux impériale et royale à Belvédère à Vienne*, Vienna, 1845, p. 213, Cat. No. 23) and by Waagen (*op. cit.*, p. 183, Cat. No. 20) and Eduard Engerth (*Niederländische Schulen*, II, Vienna, 1884, p. 29, Cat. No. 691), but the latter noted that it was closer to Patinir than to Herri met de Bles. (5) Engerth, *ibid.* T. von Frimmel, *Geschichte der Wiener Gemälde-Sammlungen*, I, Leipzig, 1899, p. 465, Cat. No. 664. (6) L. Scheibler, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses Führer durch die Gemälde-Galerie, alte Meister*, II, *Niederländische und deutsche Schulen*, Vienna, 1896, p. 15,

Cat. No. 664. W. Suida accepted the Patinir attribution in 1903, in his *Wien*, I, *Modernere Cicerone*, Stuttgart, 1903, p. 98. (7) A. Schaeffer and G. Glück, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses Führer durch die Gemälde-Galerie, alte Meister*, II, Vienna, 1907, p. 154, Cat. No. 664. (8) Ludwig Baldass, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1938, p. 128, Cat. No. 664. (9) Anselm Weissenhofer, *Wiener Madonnen*, Vienna, 1946, pp. 21–2. (10) Letter of 16/v/1955, National Gallery, Washington, D.C. It may have been Scheibler who suggested that the figures were executed later than the landscape. (11) Robert Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, Princeton, 1968, p. 84, Cat. No. 34. (12) *Ibid.*, Cat. No. 10, fig. 26. (13) *Landscape with Flight into Egypt*, Antwerp, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Koch, *op. cit.*, fig. 4, Cat. No. 2. (14) Chrétien de Mechel, *loc. cit.* Listed as *Flight into Egypt* by 'Henri van Bles'; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, foreword by L. Baldass, 1938, p. 128, Cat. No. 664, listed as *Landscape with the Flight to Egypt* and ascribed to a follower of Patinir.

MATTHYS COCK

Matthys Cock was born in Antwerp c. 1510 and died there shortly before 1548. The son of the well-known painter and print designer Jan Wellens de Cock and brother of the prominent printmaker and publisher Hieronymus Cock, Matthys was celebrated for his skill as a landscapist; his works were of great importance as a basis for those of Bruegel.¹ Since no signed, dated, or otherwise documented paintings by Matthys Cock survive, the identification of his oeuvre remains highly conjectural. Those panels which have been attributed to Matthys have been assigned to him on the basis of their resemblance to his drawings, some of which are signed and dated between the years 1537 and 1544.²

ANTWERP MASTER, Active c. 1530 (Matthys Cock?) [Pieter Bruegel]

K1696 : Figure 90

LANDSCAPE WITH SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (NGA 1101), since 1950. Oil on poplar, mounted on mahogany with linden wood strips.³ 24½ × 46⅞ in. (62.3 × 118.3 cm.). Small paint losses, especially in lower right and left corners. Shortly after 1932 a group of male and female harvesters (just to the upper right of the large tree at the lower left) were removed together with a woman milking a goat and two cows, formerly at the extreme lower right corner. See Text Fig. 16 for the appearance of K1696 before modification.

Suida, 1951, p. 202, Cat. No. 89. Reproduced in color by Gustav Glück, *The Large Bruegel Book*, Vienna, 1953, pl. 3.

The horizontal, panoramic composition shows a mountainous coast with the open sea beyond. A great harbor (Alexandria) is at the upper right with an inlet and a

boatyard at the extreme right. St. Catherine, her arms raised in prayer, kneels at the upper left, under a stormy sky, before the two burning torturer's wheels which were destroyed by an angel. The wheels then fell upon and killed the saint's tormentors whose company flee the flames in tumult. She was beheaded shortly thereafter. The fiery rocks to the right of the wheel may refer to another episode – the burning of the philosophers she converted to Christianity.⁴ Storm-tossed ships are shown at the left. In the center foreground from right to left are a wood-chopper, a wood carrier, sleeping peasants, and a peasant defecating in a hollow tree trunk.⁵ The cloud in the stormy sky at the upper left came in answer to the saint's prayers and seems to be moving toward the right where a ship heads toward the harbor. A pyramid is shown to the lower left of the end of the bridge.

Michel placed K1696 with three works in the circle of Bruegel whose exact authorship he found unascertainable.⁶ He later bracketed the Kress panel with the *Parable of the Sower* (now San Diego, Timken Art Gallery), suggesting that these works were by a junior colleague of Bruegel influenced by the master's late oeuvre, an artist somewhat like, but superior to, Lucas van Valckenborch.⁷ The San Diego painting is accepted by Grossmann and other Bruegel scholars as among the master's early works, dating from 1557. Glück grouped the Kress panel with scenes in Bruegel's early style but not by the master himself. He proposed Matthys Cock or Jacob Grimmer as likely candidates for its authorship.⁸ Tolnay, listing the painting among the *œuvre contestée*, noted that the rocky landscape recalled those seen in drawings of Matthys Cock and the figures those of Jacob Grimmer (a pupil of Cock).⁹ Friedländer, in 1937, placed the Kress panel among the early works of Pieter Bruegel and reaffirmed this view in 1947; his opinion was shared by Wilhelm Valentiner (1948) and Gustav Glück (1948), who thought it to have probably been painted during Bruegel's Italian sojourn, c. 1553.¹⁰ The latter came to this conclusion after seeing the panel following the removal of the peasant figures which were present when he first published the painting in 1932. Suida (p. 202, Cat. No. 89) accepted A. Contini Bonacossi's proposed identification of the topography of K1696 as that of Gaeta (Campania), relating it to drawings made by Bruegel in Rome in 1553, observing: 'The material [poplar], motives, and style would not exclude its being painted during Bruegel's sojourn in Italy 1553 or 1554.' K1696 was omitted from the Bruegel monographs of Robert Genaille (Paris, 1953) and F. Grossmann (London, 1955). Glück noted the dependence of the composition upon that of the same subject painted by Joachim Patinir (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; completed before 1524); he saw the Kress panel as a free, reversed adaptation of Patinir and included it among Bruegel's earliest works.¹¹ Koch observed that the inclusion of the defecating figure (at the lower left of K1696) was viewed in the sixteenth century as Patinir's hallmark.¹² Like Tolnay, Grossmann found the Kress panel the work of an artist of an earlier generation than Bruegel, suggesting its execution by Matthys Cock c. 1540 due to the correspondence of K1696

with a drawing of that date by Cock.¹³ According to Franz, the painting is by an unknown master. He juxtaposed it with an anonymous *River Landscape* in London (National Gallery) and an anonymous landscape drawing dated 1553 (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum).¹⁴

Many of the drawings in the Errera Album (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) show the same elements as those of the *Landscape with Scenes from the Life of St. Catherine*, most notably the *Landscape with St. Christopher*.¹⁵ Although the painted oeuvre of Matthys Cock is highly uncertain, the Kress panel shares many of the characteristics of the *River Landscape* (London, National Gallery) which is probably by Cock and those of several of the artist's signed and dated drawings. The painting also resembles prints by Hieronymus Cock, whose works were derived from his brother Matthys, Hieronymus continuing to work in Matthys' manner for many years after the latter's early death. He added Italianate *staffage* to his brother's works to make them more acceptable to the taste of the later sixteenth century.¹⁶ It may well prove that K1696 was subjected to a similar process in the mid-sixteenth century. The peasants in the foreground differ slightly in style from St. Catherine and her tormentors in the background. The remaining peasants, with those removed from K1696 in the early 1930s, are coarsely rendered, lacking the fluidity of St. Catherine and the others shown further back. The latter are still somewhat in the style of Matthys Cock's probable grandfather, Cornelis Engelbrechtsz, a contemporary of Hieronymus Bosch. The presumed mid-sixteenth-century addition of the foreground figures would have provided a more intricately narrative scene along the lines of those then popularized by Pieter Bruegel. K1696 is itself a distinct 'modernization' of Patinir's *Landscape with Scenes from the Life of St. Catherine* in Vienna.¹⁷ The Kress panel omits the angel hovering over the destroyed wheels of torture and stresses the everyday events of peasant life in the foreground which may have been added by Jacob Grimmer, who was a student of Cock. The master of the Kress panel, like his follower Pieter Bruegel, preferred to have nature seen as the agent of divine deliverance and retribution. The identification of the topography as Italian seems unlikely, as it is almost identical with the rock formations of Joachim Patinir which are based upon those of the Meuse Valley. A certain freedom in rendering may, however, reflect Italian influence, and it has been suggested that Matthys Cock himself went to Italy. As K1696 was originally painted on poplar, the use of this wood could argue for the panel having been painted in the South.

There can be little doubt that the painter of the *Landscape* originated in the ambience of Joachim Patinir and worked in Antwerp. The artist may be Matthys Cock on the basis of similar works associated with that rather shadowy figure. Cock could have spent his earliest years in Patinir's atelier before the latter's death in 1534. However, since his own family included so many artists, it seems more likely that Matthys Cock would have been apprenticed to his father or another relative. The Kress panel belongs to the very small group of works painted by the generation active

just before Bruegel, an important example of a critical phase in the genesis of the Western landscape.

Provenance: Dr. C. Benedict, Berlin, exhibited – *Exposition d'Art flamand Ancien*, Antwerp, 1930, I, Cat. No. 53, p. 20, Van Diemen-Margraf Gallery, Berlin. Karl Rösler (Germany and Holland). Van Diemen-Lilienfeld Galleries, New York. Kress acquisition 1950. Exhibited Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection*, 1951, p. 202, Cat. No. 89.

References: (1) For the relationship between Matthys and Bruegel see Charles de Tolnay, *The Drawings of Peter Bruegel the Elder*, New York, n.d., pp. 7 ff., and his 'An Unknown Early Panel by Peter Bruegel the Elder', *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Lionello Venturi*, Rome, 1956, I, pp. 400–28, esp. pp. 418 ff. (2) For the artist's biography see Carel van Mander's brief entry 'Mathijs and Jeroon Kock', in *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, tr. Constant van der Waal, New York, 1938, pp. 148–9. The engraved portrait of Matthys by Hieronymus Cock includes a land and seascape which may indicate the form of his paintings. This engraving is reproduced by K. G. Boon, 'De tekenaar van het Errera-Schetsboek', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, Brussels, 1955 (Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky), p. 227, fig. 12. A *Landscape with St. Christopher* (Munich, F. W. von Bissing Collection; reproduced by H. G. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, The Hague, 1939, III, p. 360, fig. 190) has been the center of dispute concerning Matthys' painted oeuvre. First ascribed to Cornelis Engelbrechtsz, it was given by Max J. Friedländer to Jan Wellens de Cock (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXIX, 1918, pp. 67 ff.). Hoogewerff (*op. cit.*, p. 364) attributed the *Christopher* to Lucas Cornelisz and believed that Matthys Cock copied the von Bissing painting in a work now in Brussels (Collection Robert Gendebien). Grossmann followed Friedländer's view, also ascribing the von Bissing panel to Jan Wellens de Cock, which he finds the one safely attributed to that master. Grossmann (letter of 25/1/1969, Kress Archive) also suggested that the SS. *Anthony and Paul* (Liechtenstein Collection) may be by Jan Wellens de Cock. A third *Landscape with St. Christopher*, formerly owned by Dr. Benedict in Paris (he at one time owned K1696), has been given to Matthys Cock (or after him) by K. G. Boon (*op. cit.*, reproduced p. 220, fig. 4). This suggestion has been accepted by Grossmann. Ludwig Baldass ('Ein Landschaftsbild von Matthys Cock', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXI, 1927–8, pp. 90 ff.) ascribed a *River Landscape* (London, National Gallery) and a *Christ Walking on the Water* (Vienna, art market) to Matthys Cock. For an extensive study of works given to Matthys see H. G. Hoogewerff, 'Matthijs Wellens de Cock', *Feestbundel Prof. Dr. Willem Vogelsang*, Leiden, 1932, pp. 31–5, as well as his cited work of 1939 (above). The artist's graphic oeuvre was explored by Baldass, 'Die niederländische Landschaftsmalerei von Patinir bis Bruegel', *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien*, XXXIV, 1917, pp. 111–57, esp. pp. 146–7. For other studies of Matthys' graphic oeuvre see the article by Thomas Mutchall-Viebrook, 'Matthys Cock (d. 1548): A Coast Scene', *Old Master*

Drawings, VI, 1931, pp. 29-30, pl. 23; see also Wolfgang Stechow, 'Matthys und Hieronymus Cock', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LVI, 1935, p. 74, for an important catalogue of seven drawings executed by Matthys between 1537 and 1544; see also *idem*, 'Two Drawings by Hieronymus Cock', *Old Master Drawings*, XI, 1936, pp. 40-1, esp. p. 36. K. G. Boon (*op. cit.*) has attributed many drawings in Brussels to Matthys Cock. Several drawings, *Seascape in a Storm* (fig. 1, p. 217) and a *Landscape with St. Christopher* (fig. 3, p. 220), share some of the elements of K1696. The drawn landscape with St. Christopher is the same composition as one owned by the Gallery Benedict. This album has also been attributed to Lucas van Valckenborch by S. J. Gudlaugsson, 'Het Errera-Schetsboek en Lucas van Valckenborch', *Oud-Holland*, XXIV, 1959, pp. 118-38. A far more probable ascription is that of Edouard de Callotay to Cornelius Massys ('Cornelius Massys paysagiste, collaborateur de son père et de son frère, et auteur de l'album Errera', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, XXI-XIV, 1963, pp. 49-64. Cornelius Massys' art is very close to that of K1696. (3) Identification of panel as poplar from Glück, *op. cit.* (4) For the life of St. Catherine see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, London, 1900, VII, pp. 23 ff., *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Rome, 1963, III, cols. 954-78; Réau, III, 1, pp. 262 ff., 270. (5) According to Van Mander, it was Patinir's '... custom to place somewhere in his landscapes a little man answering the call of nature, whence he was called *de kakker* (the defecator). One repeatedly looks for this little man as one did for the little owl of Herri met de Bles.' Quoted and translated by Robert A. Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, Princeton, 1968, p. 8, from *Het Schilderboek* of 1604. (6) Edouard Michel, *Bruegel*, Paris, 1931, pp. 75 ff. The three include the *View of Naples* (Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili), *Netherlandish Proverbs* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), *The Fall of Icarus* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts); they are generally accepted as by Pieter Bruegel the Elder in recent literature. (7) *Idem*, 'Hypothèses sur quelques peintures flamandes à propos de Brugel le Vieux', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXIV, 1932, pp. 125-32. (8) Glück, *Bruegels Gemälde*, Vienna, 1932, p. 102, Cat. No. 81. (9) Charles de Tolnay, *Pierre Bruegel l'Ancien*, Brussels, 1935, p. 97, Cat. No. 86. (10) Statements of the three experts in the Kress Archive. (11) Glück, *The Large Bruegel Book*, Vienna, 1951, Cat. No. 3. For the Patinir see Koch, *op. cit.*, 1968, pp. 8-9, Cat. No. 32, fig. 58. (12) Koch, *ibid.* (13) Letter from Fritz Grossmann of 25/1/69, Kress Archive. Presumably he has the inscribed, dated drawing *Coast Scene* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum) in mind. For the drawing, see Mutchall-Viebrook, *op. cit.*, pl. 23. (14) Heinrich Gerhard Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei im Zeitalter des Manierismus*, Graz, 1969, pl. 100, fig. 187; pl. 101, figs. 188, 189. (15) Rep. by Boon, *op. cit.*, p. 220, fig. 3. For other Netherlandish drawings relating to the composition of the Kress panel see A. Zwollo, 'De Landschaptekeningen van Cornelis Massys', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVI, 1965, pp. 43-65. See also a drawing reproduced on pl. 131, Cat. No. 131, as by a Flemish master of c. 1550 in *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus Schweizer Privatbesitz*, Bremen-

Zürich, 1967. (16) Stechow, 1935, *op. cit.* (17) See Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 72, Cat. No. 4, figs. 6-7.

PIETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER

Born c. 1525-30, Bruegel entered the Antwerp painters' guild in 1551. He moved to Brussels where he died in 1569. The painter's early life and training are uncertain; according to Van Mander he was apprenticed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, whose daughter he married in 1563. Between 1552 and 1553, Bruegel went to Italy, where he worked in collaboration with the miniaturist Giulio Clovio in Rome and executed numerous topographical studies. His first signed and dated work *Landscape with Christ and the Apostles* (New York, private collection) was painted in 1553. In the mid-1550s the artist designed several landscape engravings issued in Antwerp by Hieronymus Cock. Between 1556 and 1558 Bruegel prepared many engravings influenced by Hieronymus Bosch and painted an *Adoration of the Magi* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) in the style of that master. A landscape of 1557 - the *Parable of the Sower* (San Diego, Timken Art Gallery, Putnam Foundation) - shows the artist's interest in a cosmic approach originated in the early fifteenth century by Jan van Eyck; a *Road to Calvary* and *Tower of Babel* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) show his continued interest in that master's art. Bruegel's late works are often concerned with scenes of peasant life, shown in the series of the *Months*, and paintings of parables and proverbs. These works often show a complex combination of archaizing and Italianate sources. A superb draughtsman, satirist and realist, Bruegel's paintings, drawings, and prints make him the major Northern master of his day. Of enduring popularity, Bruegel's works were extensively copied, possibly in the master's own studio, and by his sons and many other artists of succeeding generations.¹ He received extensive aristocratic patronage and was an associate of humanists. For all the seemingly explicit nature of Bruegel's art, its precise significance often remains obscure.

Attributed to

PIETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER

K1701 : Figures 91, 92

LANDSCAPE WITH THE TEMPTATION OF ST. ANTHONY ABBOT. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1102), since 1950. Oil on cradled oak panel. 23 × 33 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (58.4 × 85.7 cm.). Austrian (?) customs stamp on back; label of *Cinq Siècles d'Art* (Brussels, 1935). Very considerable disturbance to the paint surface along a central horizontal split and along the very top edge; received restoration prior to acquisition.²

Reproduced in color Gustav Glück, *Das Bruegel Buch*, Vienna, 1936, pl. 3, and in *Art News Annual*, XXI, 1952, p. 110. *Suida*, p. 204, Cat. No. 90.

The Temptation of St. Anthony takes place at the water's edge, in a rustic lean-to with woods to the right. The Saint is in hooded, monastic garb with a skull before him. He is seated, reading, under the wooden roof with two demonic personages, close to a great blasted tree trunk which forms the right wall of the shelter. A demon and birds are perched on a pole above the seated figures. A figure holding out a basket and a knife stands in a hole near the top of the great tree trunk, a key suspended below him. An owl and a magpie (?) are near the top of the tree from which a fish is suspended.

Demonic figures surround a burning church rising from the crags in the background; others emerge from boats at the extreme left, coming round a great monster squatting within a vast earthenware vessel from which a knife is suspended. A knife and a board are propped against the vessel's side. In the left foreground demonic figures, some in monastic garb, seem to perform funerary rites over a great fish covered by a white-crossed dark cloth. A natural stone arch is in the middleground with a great walled city by the sea further to the left in the distance.

Of St. Anthony's many temptations, at least four were shown in a large panel by Joachim Patinir and Quinten Massys (Madrid, Prado).³ Like the earlier Prado panel, K1701 includes several temptations, most notably the one in the sky at the left in which the saint is carried into the sky where he is 'assaulted by demons in an excruciating test of his faith'.⁴ Anthony may be shown for a third time standing in the prow of a boat at the lower left, facing an approaching, sea-borne demonic horde.

Van Puyvelde characterized K1701 as one of the best *drôleries* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, relating it to descriptions in Carel van Mander's *Schilderboek*.⁵ He found the painting close to Bruegel's 1568 *Magpie on the Gallows* (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum) in spatial treatment, coloring, foliage, and technique, but less enclosed in composition, placing the execution of the Kress panel at least ten years earlier. Puyvelde linked the latter to a drawing dated 1554 (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett No. 1202) proposing a date of 1555 for the *Landscape with the Temptation of St. Anthony Abbot*.⁶ The writer also noted the stylistic and compositional correspondence between K1701 and Pieter Bruegel's *Landscape with the Parable of the Sower* signed and dated 1557 (San Diego, Timken Art Gallery).⁷ The Kress panel is described as a genuine work by Pieter Bruegel the Elder by Max J. Friedländer.⁸ According to Charles de Tolnay, K1701 shows 'the touch and coloring of Jan Bruegel and seems to be a youthful work of this master'.⁹ Glück accepted Pieter Bruegel's authorship and noted its thematic origin in paintings by Hieronymus Bosch and his followers. He stressed the popularity of the theme which he thought to have been based upon the words 'Many are the afflictions of the righteous: but the Lord delivereth him out of them all' (Psalm 34:20).¹⁰ Bruegel's engraving of Anthony's temptation (differing in composition from K1701) with a quotation from the same Psalm, was issued by Hieronymus Cock in

Antwerp in 1556. Raczyński supported de Tolnay's attribution of K1701 to Jan Bruegel, placing it in the 1580s, among that artist's earliest works; he found the spatial and painterly treatment alien to Pieter Bruegel the Elder.¹¹ Friedländer included the Kress panel in his catalogue of Pieter Bruegel's oeuvre as entirely consistent, placing it at about the same date as the *Parable of the Sower*.¹² Although Van der Wetering considered the Kress panel close to the *Parable*, he found its coloring nearer to that of the generation following Pieter Bruegel the Elder's, to that of the Brill brothers, leaving open the question of its authorship by Bruegel or a master of the next generation.¹³ The painting was accepted as by Pieter Bruegel and dated 1557-8 by Frankfurter; according to him the symbolism of K1701 differs from the medieval view of the Temptation of St. Anthony; he did not regard Boschian sources an adequate explanation for the elements in the panel.¹⁴ The *Temptation* was described by Genaille as recalling those of Patinir, suggesting a pastiche after Bosch. Although he found the quality of light, color and landscape treatment to point away from Bruegel's authorship to that of an artist in the circle of Jan Bruegel, Genaille still placed K1701 among those paintings that might be considered as early works by Pieter Bruegel.¹⁵ The dependence of Pieter Bruegel on Matthys Cock was stressed by Hoogewerff in his study of the Kress panel which he dated before 1557, close to the *Landscape with the Parable of the Sower*.¹⁶ K1701 was dated c. 1550 by Seymour (p. 92) who noted that it was 'full of unexorcized demons. It makes an elegant place to forgo the "vanities" of the world and of learning which the Renaissance had attempted to place once again on a sure footing. The blazing church, the ominous birds, the satirical semi-human in a tree-trunk with a key to an unknown lock hanging from him insistently describe a mood of disillusion.' The source for the demon below was, according to Walker (pp. 125, 148), Sir John Mandeville's early fourteenth-century *Travels*, from the section describing the Vale of Devils. Grossmann found that K1701 'lacks the wealth and variety of landscape features which Pieter Bruegel used to impart to this kind of panoramic world view'.¹⁷ He believed the St. Anthony in the shed and other motifs to be based on the drawing of the Temptation by Bruegel (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) for the engraving of 1556. Some other details are taken from the same drawing. Grossmann noted that a source for the St. Anthony is the Prado *Temptation* by Massys and Patinir. He regarded both the relatively benign characterization of the demons in K1701 and the miniature-like surface quality of the panel as alien to Bruegel's art, proposing that the painting might be 'a work by a younger artist, possibly Jan Bruegel, either copied from a lost painting by the elder Bruegel or, more probably, invented in imitation of the style of the older master . . .'.¹⁸ According to Philip the program of K1701 is a reduction of the cosmological approach of Hieronymus Bosch whose works often stressed the cycle of the four elements.¹⁹ She suggested that the artist of the Kress panel may have painted a series of four, each incorporating scenes from the life of a saint and devoted to an element - *The Temptation of St. Anthony* stressing that of water. K1701 refers within

itself to all four elements: the sky is the setting for a major battle between the saint and demons; the sea is another area of combat between them; fire occupies the very center of the panel in the burning church, and both the rocky crags and woods represent earth. The fish symbolizes sex, equated with evil. The funeral ceremonies for the fish in the foreground may refer to the saying 'Just as fish die when they come out of water, so do monks lose their peace when they leave their cell'.²⁰ The presence of fire, in addition to its infernal and cosmological associations, may relate to the disease known as St. Anthony's Fire (Erysipelas), which the saint was believed to cure.

Rather than trace the motifs of K1701 directly to a Boschian source, it would be better to look for the immediate precedents for the Kress panel in paintings of the hermit's temptation by Joachim Patinir and a woodcut of *Saint Anthony* by Jan Wellens de Cock of 1522.²¹ Many of the infernal Boschian details of K1701 were available in engraved form by the mid-1550s, several of them found in prints designed by Bruegel himself: the monster with a stringed instrument resembles one in *Patience* of 1557 (R.V.B.124); the figure falling through the roof is close to one in *Gula* (R.V.B.129) of 1558; and the hooded monster near the saint resembles one in *Avarice* (R.V.B.128) of 1558.²² Although Bruegel's engraved *Temptation of St. Anthony* (R.V.B.119) of 1556 does not correspond compositionally to the Kress panel, its legend from Psalm 34, as noted by Glück, applies to the Kress panel as well. Most of the components of the Kress panel are entirely consistent with the art of Pieter Bruegel. The general organization of the composition follows that of his paintings and even more closely some of the landscape etchings by or after the master.²³ Although painted with extraordinary finesse, most notable in the glade at the right, the Kress panel lacks the force and plasticity usually found in Bruegel the Elder's works. The diminutive scale of St. Anthony and the tempting figures with him as well as the miniature-like quality of much of K1701 also indicate that Bruegel may not have executed the entire painting himself. Several scholars suggested that K1701 may have been painted by Jan Bruegel I (1568-1625), second son of Pieter Bruegel. The Kress panel has none of the Italianate forms found in paintings of the same subject by Jan Bruegel such as the one attributed to him at Karlsruhe (Staatliche Kunsthalle), although the broad outlines of the composition and some of the details are fairly close. If by Jan Bruegel, he must have modeled himself closely upon a lost original by his father. *The Temptation of St. Anthony* is superior in quality to works by Bruegel's known followers. Little is known of the artist's studio practices or the role of assistants in the production of his highly sought-after oeuvre. It may prove that K1701 was painted in the master's atelier, under his immediate supervision and with the possibility that (as was to be Rubens' practice in Antwerp in the following century) he played a minor participatory role in its execution.

Provenance: Countess Montblanc, Belgium (Brussels?), exhibited - Brussels, *Exposition Universelle et Internationale*

de Bruxelles, Cinq siècles d'art, 1935, p. 73, Cat. No. 151, and Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, *De Van Eyck à Breughel*, Nov.-Dec. 1935, p. 16, Cat. No. 16. Baltimore, Baltimore Museum of Art, *Living Masters of the Past*, 10 Oct.-21 Nov. 1943, p. 9. Raleigh, North Carolina State Society Art Gallery, 1943. Portland, Oregon, 1944. New York, M. Knoedler and Co., exhibited - Baltimore, Baltimore Museum of Art, *Themes and Variations in Painting and Sculpture*, 15 Apr.-23 May 1948, p. 66, Cat. No. 98. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) See Fritz Grossmann, 'Bruegel, Pieter the Elder', *Encyclopedia of World Art*, II, 1960, cols. 632-51 for an excellent survey and bibliography. See also the same scholar's *Bruegel, the Paintings*, London, 1955. The fundamental monograph is by Charles de Tolnay, *Pierre Bruegel l'Ancien*, Brussels, 1953. (2) Leo van Puyvelde ('Zwei Gemälde von Pieter Bruegel', *Pantheon*, xv, 1935, pp. 47-52, esp. p. 47) described K1701 as having long been neglected, dirty and heavily overpainted; its importance was recognized after having fallen from the wall and restored for a *Riss* (probably meaning 'split') at that time. He suggested that K1701 might have been a 'Landscape with fire' executed in tempera, recorded in Rubens' inventory as a work by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. See J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'Konstkamers'*, Antwerp, 1932, p. 65, No. 213. (3) See Robert A. Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, Princeton, 1968, pp. 39-40, fig. 44, Cat. No. 17, p. 78. (4) *Ibid.*, p. 39. For text sources for the Temptation of St. Anthony see Réau, III, 1, pp. 107-9; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, I, translated by Helmut Ripperger and Granger Ryan, New York, 1941, pp. 101 ff.; Charles D. Cuttler, 'The Lisbon Temptation of St. Anthony by Jerome Bosch', *Art Bulletin*, xxxix, 1957, pp. 109-26; E. Castelli, *Il demoniaco nell'arte*, Milan/Florence, 1952 (K1701 cited pp. 67-9). (5) Van Puyvelde, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff. Carel van Mander, *Het Schilderboek*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 232 verso. (6) Charles de Tolnay, *The Drawings of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, New York, n.d., does not include the Berlin sheet. The drawing is listed by Elfried Bock and Jakob Rosenberg (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Die niederländischen Meister*, Berlin, 1930, I, p. 21), as 'Peter Bruegel (?)'. (7) Reproduced by Fritz Grossmann, *Bruegel*, London, 1966, pl. 5. This painting is not well preserved, making it an unreliable source of comparison to argue for Bruegel's authorship of the Kress painting. (8) Max J. Friedländer, review of *Bruegels Gemälde* by Gustav Glück, 2nd edition, in *Burlington Magazine*, lxi, 1935, pp. 89-90. (9) Charles de Tolnay, *Pierre Bruegel L'Ancien*, Brussels, 1935, p. 96, Cat. No. 54, listed with contested works. (10) Glück, 'Über einige Landschaftsgemälde Peter Bruegels des Älteren', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.F., ix, 1935, p. 151. The print is reproduced by René van Bastelaer, *Les Estampes de Peter Bruegel*, Brussels, 1908, R.V.B.119. A preparatory drawing by Bruegel (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) is reproduced by Tolnay, *Drawings*, *op. cit.*, p. 25, Cat. No. 46. Glück included K1701 in *Das Bruegel Buch*, Vienna, 1936, Cat. No. 3; similar information given in *idem*, *The Large Bruegel Book*, Vienna, 1935, p. 13 and *idem* [Leo Bruhn], *Das Bruegel Buch*, Vienna, 1941,

pl. 3. (11) Joseph Alexander Graf Raczyński, *Die flämische Landschaft vor Rubens*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1937, p. 53. (12) Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, xiv, Leyden, 1937, pp. 11-12. (13) C. van der Wetering, *Die Entwicklung der niederländischen Landschaftsmalerei vom Anfang der 16. Jahrhunderts bis zur Jahrhundertmitte*, Berlin, 1938, p. 66. (14) Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'Interpreting Masterpieces: Twenty-four Paintings from the Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, xxi, 1951, pp. 115-16. (15) Robert Genaille, *Bruegel l'Ancien*, Paris, 1953, p. 82, Cat. No. 6, and pp. 26, 101. (16) G. J. Hoogewerff, *Het landschap van Bosch tot Rubens*, Antwerp, 1954, p. 48. (17) Fritz Grossmann, letter of 25/1/69 in Kress Archive. (18) *Ibid.* See n. 10, above, for sources. (19) Notes in Kress Archive. (20) Cited by Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 39 in conjunction with the Prado *Temptation* by Massys and Patinir. (21) Reproduced *ibid.*, fig. 48. For paintings by Patinir, not necessarily showing the *Temptation* of St. Anthony but with compositional correspondences to K1701, see Koch's figs. 26-8, 30, 31, 35, 36 and 49: *Landscape with St. Jerome*. The rocky structure is like that shown by Joos van Cleve in his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (Koch's fig. 15). (22) For the possible meaning of many of the individual Boschian motives seen in K1701 see D. Bax, *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch*, The Hague, 1949. (23) See especially *La Chasse au Lapin Sauvage* (R.v.B.31) and also the *Walk to Emmaus* (R.v.B.14).

NETHERLANDISH(?) MASTER

active 1558 [Anthonis Mor]

K1900 : Figure 83

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1631), since 1956. Oil on panel. $38\frac{1}{2} \times 27\frac{1}{2}$ in. (97.8 x 69.8 cm.). Inscribed at the upper left AE.S.20/A.1558. Two vertical joins: along right side of head, through left shoulder. Well preserved. Cut down at bottom and possibly at sides; probably a knee-piece, but possibly full-length. Cleaned and cradled by Modestini in 1955.

Suida-Shapley, p. 132, Cat. No. 50. Reproduced in color on the cover of *Exhibition of Naval and Military Portraits*, M. Knoedler and Co., New York, 1932.

The standing twenty-year-old subject is shown to the mid-thigh. He is placed slightly obliquely, his right shoulder closest to the picture plane; his left hand is on his hip; his right rests upon a table at the lower left corner. He has short, dark hair and a faint beard and moustache. The man wears a leather doublet lined with thin black leather, the 'sporting' or morning dress of the mid-sixteenth century. The pattern on the shoulders and neck band is made of very fine cuts in the leather; larger parallel cuts are seen on the shoulders and torso. Sleeves and breeches are of richly textured material; the tall collar and cuffs are edged with ruffles. A sword is suspended from the sitter's belt; 'the pommel of a matching dagger is seen above the gentleman's right hip. In fencing this dagger was held by the left hand and used in parrying and intercepting the opponent's sword blade.'¹

Friedländer included K1900 in Mor's oeuvre in his monograph, juxtaposing the Kress portrait with Mor's *Self-Portrait* (Florence, Uffizi) at the age of forty painted in the same year.² Strong suggested that the portrait may perhaps be by Steven van der Meulen who was active in England in the 1560s where he became a subject in 1562, ten years after joining the Antwerp guild.³

Portraits of this kind are extremely hard to localize as they belong to the international style of the mid-sixteenth century. Many such works were painted by Netherlandish artists active in France, Spain and Italy. Painters native to those countries also employed a closely comparable approach. Due to the resemblance his style bears to Mor, the master of K1900 was probably Netherlandish. The sitter, not especially Netherlandish in appearance, belonged to, and may have been painted in, another country.

Provenance: Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (Prussia), acquired after 1883. Munich, A. S. Drey, 1928, exhibited - Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Sept.-Oct. 1928. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, with Flemish primitives formerly in the collection of the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen Oct. 1928, Cat. No. 13, catalogue by M. J. Friedländer. New York, M. Knoedler and Co., *Exhibition of Naval and Military Portraits*, 18-30 Apr. 1932, Cat. No. 9. Baron Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano - Castagnola (Rudolf Heinemann, *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Lugano, 1937, I, p. 107, Cat. No. 288). New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) Information from Dr. Helmut Nickel, who noted that the form of the knuckle guard of the sword is more commonly found in Germany than in Italy or Spain. (2) Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, xiii, Leyden, 1936, p. 172, Cat. No. 359, pl. 66. In an exhibition catalogue of 1928 (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, 1928, Cat. No. 13) Friedländer seems already to have ascribed K1900 to Mor's middle period, when the artist probably resided in Brussels. The information above was quoted from dealer's brochure. (3) For this artist, see Roy Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraits*, London, 1969, pp. 77-81.

ANTHONIS MOR

Anthonis Mor (Antonio Moro) was born in Utrecht between 1517 and 1520; he died in Antwerp 1576/7.¹ His teacher was the Utrecht painter Jan van Scorel, whose influence is seen in Mor's earliest signed and dated work *The Utrecht Canons Cornelis van Horn and Antonis Taets* of 1544 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen). In 1547 Mor was admitted to the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke. He painted Cardinal Granvella in Brussels in 1549 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) and was introduced by that powerful prelate to his future patrons, the Habsburgs and their courts. Mor travelled widely - to Spain, Portugal, Italy, England, France - painting the Emperor Maximilian II in 1550 (Madrid, Prado), Mary Tudor in 1554 (Prado), William of

Orange in 1555/56 (Kassel, Gemäldegalerie), and Alessandro Farnese (Parma, Pinacoteca). From 1555 until 1568 he lived principally in Utrecht, then residing in Antwerp until his death. His mature style, based on North Italian as well as Netherlandish sources, was highly influential well into the seventeenth century, creating a new international approach to portraiture throughout Europe which emphasized a somewhat icon-like rigidity and authority.

ANTHONIS MOR

KX-I : Figure 82

PORTRAIT OF A MAN [Sir Thomas Gresham]. New York, N.Y., Mrs. Rush H. Kress. Oil on panel. $39 \times 28\frac{1}{2}$ in. (99×71.8 cm.). Very considerable damage to paint surface due to blistering. A vertical crack running through the right eye has caused some losses in the face. Cradled and restored in 1929-30 by Pichetto.

This knee-length portrait shows a man in early middle age; his right hand (holding a tasseled handkerchief) is placed on the top of a chairback at the lower left corner; his left hand is at his side. The subject stands obliquely to the picture plane. He wears a cap and a slashed leather doublet; a sword is suspended from his belt at the right. He has on a dark cape, his sleeves and breeches are of a richly textured material and his collar and cuffs are edged with ruffles.

KX-I was listed as by Mor in the Burdett-Coutts sale (1922).² Friedländer described the Kress portrait as a 'genuine and fine' work by A. Moro.³ Strong did not find KX-I to represent Gresham but accepted its authorship by Mor.⁴

Although identified as depicting Sir Thomas Gresham, the Kress panel is not convincingly close in physiognomy to works usually accepted as representing Gresham to permit its continued listing as such.⁵ The influence of Titian is apparent in Mor's portrait, most notably in the rather broad rendering of the sitter's face and hands. The placement of the subject and his introspective expression also recall the art of Tintoretto, Mor's contemporary. The Kress panel dates from Mor's North Netherlandish mature phase, probably from the late 1550s or the next decade.

Provenance: Baroness Burdett-Coutts, London, Christie's, *Sale of the Collection of Baroness Burdett-Coutts*, 4 May 1922, p. 33, Cat. No. 106, 'Portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham by Sir Antonio Mor.' London, Frank T. Sabin. Rome, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1929.

References: (1) For Mor studies see Valerian von Loga, 'Antonius Mor als Hofmaler Karls V und Philipps II', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xxvii, 1907, p. 93. H. Hymans, *Antonio Moro*, Brussels, 1910, p. 168. Georges Marlier, *Anthonis Mor van Dashorst*, Brussels, 1934, for biography. Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, xiii, Leyden, 1936, pp. 118-32. Paul Philippot, 'Le portrait à Anvers dans la seconde

moitié du XVI^e siècle', *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts Bulletin*, 1965, pp. 163-96. (2) This attribution has been accepted by F. Mason Perkins, Adolfo Venturi, Roberto Longhi, G. Fiocco, Raimond van Marle and William Suida (Kress Archive). These views in letters or certificates were expressed between 1934 and 1935. (3) Letter of 21/xi/29 in Kress Archive. (4) Letter of 14/x/69, Kress Archive. (5) For portraits of Gresham by Mor see J. W. Burgon, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, London, 1839, i, pp. 205-8; Marie C. Keith, 'The Early Development of Anthonis Mor 1544-52', M.A. thesis, New York University, 1958, pp. 54-7; Marlier, *op. cit.*, p. 107, Cat. No. 79. A portrait of Gresham is in the National Portrait Gallery, London, attributed to A. Key. Another, by Mor, is in the Rijksmuseum (Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 124, Cat. No. 404). Gresham was the royal agent in Antwerp for a few years prior to Jan. 1552 and was also active in Brussels. He seems to have posed for Mor on several occasions. There is little agreement among scholars as to reliable depictions of the English financier.

FLEMISH MASTER Second Half of XVI Century

K1592 : Figure 86

THE ANNUNCIATION. Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Miss Hall's School, since May 1958. Oil on pine. $40\frac{3}{4} \times 28\frac{1}{4}$ in. (103.5×71.8 cm.). Three vertical splits and other, smaller splits at bottom. Losses at upper left and lower right corners and along splits, especially the one at the lower right, which runs through Mary's body, parallel with the prie-dieu. Cradled and restored by Modestini, 1952/3.

The Annunciation (Luke 1:26-38) takes place in a sumptuously furnished bed chamber. To the extreme right, dressed in rich garb, Mary kneels at the foot of her bed before a prie-dieu, on which a book lies open at an illumination of Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law. Lilies in a Spanish ceramic vase painted with an eagle are placed on a tiled floor in the foreground. The Virgin's head is turned to the left, where the Archangel Gabriel is shown in liturgical garb. In an almost genuflecting pose, he points with one hand to the Holy Ghost poised directly above the window in the Virgin's bedchamber. The Visitation (Luke 1:39-56) is seen through the window at the right. Gabriel's cope is supported by an angel in similar garb at the extreme left. Four angels in liturgical garb are shown immediately above, their hands folded in prayer; a multitude of angels' heads are seen at the upper left.¹

By the early sixteenth century Moses is often included in Netherlandish and Lower Rhenish Annunciations, contrasting the Old Dispensation with the New.² According to the dealer's brochure, Dr. Karl Schaefer, director of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, attributed K1592 to the Master of the Aachen Altar (active in Cologne from c. 1490 to c. 1515).³ A Cologne origin for K1592 is also suggested by

its resemblance to an *Annunciation* by Barthel Bruyn (Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum).⁴ While the Kress panel seems later, it may be copied after a lost work by the Aachen master.

The *Annunciation* dates well into the second half of the sixteenth century, the work of a Flemish or Lower Rhenish artist already trained in an Italianate manner, here working in a deliberately Gothicizing style. The painter probably belonged to the generation of Wierix (active at the end of the century), whose influential devotional prints are engraved in similar style.

Provenance: Otto Kaufmann, Cologne.⁵ New York, Drey Gallery. Kress acquisition 1948.

References: (1) See David N. Robb, 'The iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *Art Bulletin*, xviii, 1936, pp. 480-526. The Annunciation by a heavenly multitude is relatively rare; Robb shows only one example, by Jacopo del Casentino (Florence, Loeser Collection, Robb's fig. 8). In the later fifteenth and early

sixteenth centuries, the inclusion of many angels (other than the seraphim who often surround God the Father) becomes more common. See the *Annunciation* by the Master of the Holy Kinship in Nuremberg (Germanisches Nationalmuseum). The inclusion of many angels seems characteristic of the School of Cologne. (2) An *Annunciation* attributed to Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen includes a flock of angels at the door of the rear bedchamber and a representation of Moses in a tabernacle to the right of Mary's bed. Indianapolis, John Herron Art Institute, Cat. No. 99, pl. 55, *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 28 June-28 Sept. 1958. See also the Provost in the Kress Collection (K1990, Fig. 67). (3) See Max J. Friedländer, 'Der Kölner Meister des Aachener Altares', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 1, 1924, pp. 101-8; Hans Kisky, 'Der Meister des Aachener Altares', *Kölner Maler der Spätgotik*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, 1961, pp. 44-54. (4) See the catalogue of the Barthel Bruyn exhibition, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, 1955, Cat. No. 121, p. 40. It does not include a heavenly host comparable to that of K1592. (5) Communication from Paul Drey, dealer, New York.

FLEMISH SCHOOL

XVII CENTURY

JAN BRUEGEL THE ELDER

Jan 'Velvet' Bruegel was born in Antwerp in 1568 and died there in 1625. He was the second son of Pieter Bruegel, who died in 1569. According to Carel van Mander Jan was trained by his maternal grandmother, a miniaturist. Jan also studied in Antwerp under P. Goetkind before 1589 and his landscapes were influenced by those of Gillis van Coninxloo. In 1589 or shortly thereafter, he journeyed to Italy, and stayed for some time in Naples and Milan. He collaborated in Rome (1593-4) with Hans Rottenhammer. Returning to Antwerp in 1596, Bruegel embarked upon a successful career, becoming a master painter in 1597, a deacon of the guild and wealthy Antwerp burgher.¹ In addition to producing the highly popular genre, animal, flower and landscape paintings, he executed some mythological and historical narratives such as *The Continece of Scipio* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, No. 827; 1609). He often collaborated with other artists such as Rubens, Hendrick van Balen, Hendrick de Clerck and possibly his brother Pieter, usually contributing the landscape and decorative elements. Jan's interest in Mannerism dominated his oeuvre from c. 1620 on. Jan Bruegel's paintings are characterized by a delicate, highly finished technique, brilliant color, and decorative detail. He adopted his father's preference for landscapes of deep vista: populated by small figures, often reducing this formula to miniature size. A highly accomplished draftsman, he often recorded details with scientific accuracy.²

K2118 : Figure 93

VILLAGE SCENE. (Destroyed by fire in 1956). Oil on oak. 20 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (53 × 87 cm.). Signed and dated (at lower left below dog): J. Brueghel 1610.

A Flemish village is shown on the left bank of a river with a group of fishing boats and ferries. Richly clad bourgeois groups are shown in the left foreground together with peasants and fishmongers. A cavalier and a series of covered wagons are in the background, most of them moving toward the market place at the upper left on the church square where many covered booths are shown. Beggars are at the upper left. A dance (*kermesse*) is shown in the middle distance with many onlookers and picnickers in the

background. The prominence of marine motives suggests that the market-celebration shown in K2118 may be connected with a special catch.

Three other examples of this composition are known: Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) dated 1615, 52 × 90.5 cm.,³ Czechoslovakia (Vizovice State Castle) 54.9 × 93 cm.,⁴ Dresden (Gemäldegalerie) Cat. No. 896 (47 × 86 cm.), possibly lost in World War II.

Many of the motives of K2118 appear in other works by Jan Bruegel. The nursing mother at the extreme left and the kneeling woman by the fish tub in the centre foreground are shown in reverse in his *Peasants Making Merry* (Munich, Pinakothek). Several studies of boats relate to those shown in K2118. The equestrian figure to the right of the wagon is derived from Rubens.

Provenance: Merian-Christ, Basel. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) For the life of Jan Bruegel the Elder, see Horst Gerson and E. H. Ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600-1800*, Baltimore, 1960, pp. 56 ff.; Jacques Combe, *Breughel de Velours*, Paris, 1964; M. Eemans, *Breughel de Velours*, Brussels, 1964; and Yvonne Thiéry, *Le Paysage Flamand au XVII^e siècle*, Paris and Brussels, 1953, pp. 67-76, 174-8 (Cat. of signed works). (2) See the drawing in Rijksmuseum (reproduced by E. W. Moes, *Original Drawings of the Dutch and Flemish School in the Printroom of the State-Museum at Amsterdam*, The Hague and New York, 1904, I, no. 20); another related drawing is at the British Museum (A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, II, *Drawings by Rubens, van Dyck and other artists of the XVII Century*, London, 1923, p. 94, Gernsheim photo No. 5545). (3) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, II, Vienna, 1958, Cat. No. 68, p. 23, Inv. No. 9102, purchased in 1950 from the Schönborn Collection, Vienna. 52 × 90.5 cm. (4) See Jaromir Sip and O. J. Blažiček, *Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting*, London, 1963, p. 13, Cat. No. 12, Inv. 1771, 54.9 × 93 cm.

HENDRIK VAN BALEN

Hendrik van Balen was born in Antwerp in 1575 and died there in 1632. A pupil of Rubens's master Adam van Noort, Van Balen joined the Antwerp guild in 1593. After Italian travels, he returned to Antwerp by 1604, where he was the friend and collaborator of Jan Bruegel. The master of a large studio, Van Balen had many pupils, including Anthony Van Dyck and Frans Snyders.¹

HENDRIK VAN BALEN and
JAN BRUEGEL THE ELDER

K143 : Figure 94

DIANA AFTER THE CHASE. New York, N.Y., Mrs. Rush H. Kress. $24\frac{1}{2} \times 37\frac{3}{4}$ in. (62.2 × 95.9 cm.). Oil on panel. Cradled and extensively restored by Pichetto, 1931–32; treated between 1934–61 for intermittent blistering, the panel is in fair condition.

Diana the huntress and four female attendants stand at the left, surrounded by six hounds. The central figure cradles a cross little monkey in her arms; its dead mother lies on the ground, an arrow in her back, together with a vast pile of dead game including many small birds – partridge, woodcock and snipe – an eagle, a peacock, a stag, two does and hare.² In the background, nine of Diana's nymphs rest in the woods, tending their weary hounds.³

In 1938 Max J. Friedländer certified K143 as by both Bruegel and Van Balen.⁴ Much of the dead game in the foreground also appeared in Jan Bruegel's *Allegory of Taste* (Madrid, Prado) signed and dated 1618. A similar collaboration on a related subject by Van Balen for the figures and Bruegel for the landscape and still life elements shows *Diana and Her Nymphs* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, Cat. No. 925), in which game in the foreground is much like K143. The grouping of the women at the left is freely adapted from several versions of related subjects by Rubens and his studio such as the *Diana Returning from the Hunt* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) of c. 1616.⁵ Such mythological hunting scenes were extremely popular in the seventeenth century.⁶

The composition of the Kress panel is based upon a Diana cycle of five cabinet paintings, in which Rubens executed the figures and Jan Bruegel the still-life elements and setting. Of these the most important panel is the painting in Munich, ascribed by Müller Hofstede to Rubens working with both Jan Bruegel the Elder and Hendrik van Balen.⁷ K143 may have been *en suite* with another panel by Van Balen and Bruegel devoted to *Diana at the Chase*. Diana and her nymphs swim and fish as well as hunt.⁸ Both the Kress panel and the *Diana at the Chase* seem to have belonged to the Hohenzollern family. The Kress panel probably dates shortly after the completion of the major Rubens–Bruegel–Van Balen cycle in 1625.

Provenance: Collection of a Swiss Nobleman, sold New York, American Art Association, 22 Jan. 1931, as ex coll. 'Imperial Hohenzollern family'. Kress acquisition 1931.

References: (1) For Van Balen's biography see *Thieme-Becker*, II, pp. 406–7. (2) Burroughs noted (Kress Archive) that 'the figures and animals being painted so much alike . . . one assumes this to be one occasion on which Bruegel did not join forces with a collaborator specialist in human figures.' (3) The group of Diana and her attendants may be derived from popular representations of *Pharaoh's Daughter finding the Infant Moses*. (4) Copy in Kress Archive. (5) Reproduced by R. Oldenbourg, *Rubens* (Klassiker der Kunst series), Stuttgart–Berlin, 1921, pl. 133. (6) For the celebration of such subjects see the poem by Cornelis de Bie in *Het gulden Cabinet*, trans. Rogers Bardley, *Frans Snyders: An Essay*, New York, 1943, p. 32. For the extensive use of such see also Françoise Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers et le mythe de Diane*, Paris, 1963. (7) The painting is in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen at Schloss Schleissheim. See Justus Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens und Jan Bruegel: Diana und ihre Nymphen', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 1968, pp. 200–52, repr. p. 215, pl. 12. This article is of fundamental importance toward an understanding of the genesis of K143. (8) Reproduced in Hague Index (No. 92C3–+17–) as in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. No. 849. The panel, lent by Kronprinz Rupprecht to the Munich Pinakothek in 1930, measures 59.5 × 81.3 cm. Perhaps the Munich and Kress panels may have belonged to a series such as the one published by Müller Hofstede.

PETER PAUL RUBENS

Peter Paul Rubens was born on 28 June 1577 in Siegen (Westphalia, near Cologne), and died in Antwerp on 30 May 1640. His father, Jan, an Antwerp jurist, was persecuted as a Calvinist and fled with his family to Germany. After attending a humanistic school, the young Rubens was trained by Tobias Verhaecht, Adam van Noort and Otto van Veen. The last named was the major master of an Italianate style then active in the Netherlands. Rubens was a page at Oudenarde, the court of the widow of Philip of Lalaing; this service prepared him for a life-long association with court patronage.¹ In 1598 he became a free master and had several apprentices. Between 1600 and 1608 he was court painter to Vincenzo Gonzaga at Mantua.² A mission to Spain between 1603 and 1604 was the first of many important journeys combining professional and diplomatic duties which the artist was to undertake for future patrons (most notably for Marie de' Medici). The painter's association with Genoa began in the fall or winter of 1602, when he painted the equestrian portrait of Giancarlo Doria, and ended in 1607.³ In 1606 Rubens resided in Rome. Upon his return to the Netherlands in 1608 he was appointed court painter to Albert and Isabella, Regents of the Netherlands, and was soon recognized as the major Flemish master, receiving extensive patronage and maintaining an extremely large studio.

Marie de' Medici commissioned him to paint the celebrated series of scenes from her life in 1622 (Paris, Louvre). After Archduke Albert's death Rubens became Isabella's confidential advisor; she ennobled him and made him a member of her council. He was sent on a diplomatic mission to Philip IV of Spain (who knighted him) in 1628. Between 1629-30 Rubens went to England to negotiate with Charles I, who also knighted the artist and, like many members of his court, gave him commissions, the most important of which was the painted ceiling of the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall. Rubens was consummate master of almost every aspect of painting, pageantry, print and tapestry design, and probably also participated in sculptural and architectural projects. His extraordinarily accomplished assimilation of Italian and Northern art, coupled with his robust yet sensitive portraiture, landscape mastery and dramatic composition made him the dominant figure in Northern Europe until his death in 1640.⁴

References: (1) For Rubens's earliest years see Justus Müller Hofstede, 'Zur Antwerpener Frühzeit von Peter Paul Rubens', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XIII, 1962, pp. 179-215. See also his review of Held (see *infra*, n. 4) in *Kunstchronik*, xv, 1962, pp. 103-4 and John Rupert Martin (ed.) *Rubens Before 1620*, Princeton, 1973. (2) For portraiture of Rubens's Mantuan period see H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk, neue Forschungen*, Brussels, 1943. (3) Müller Hofstede has studied Rubens's four visits to Genoa (*op. cit.*, pp. 96-8, p. 102). (4) The fundamental work on Rubens is Max Rooses, *L'Œuvre de Rubens*, Antwerp, I-V, 1886-92. See also R. A. d'Hulst, *Rubens' Drawings*, Brussels, 1963; Julius S. Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings*, London, 1959; H. G. Evers, *Rubens*, Munich, 1943. For a fine brief biography see Evers, 'Rubens, Peter Paul', *Kindlers*, v, pp. 156-74.

K2187 : Figures 95, 96

MARCHESA BRIGIDA SPINOLA DORIA. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1612), since 1961. 60 × 38½ in. (152.2 × 98.7 cm.). Oil on red preparatory ground on coarsely woven canvas.¹ Cut down at bottom and sides between 1851 and 1856 (see Text Fig. 21 for the original appearance).² Pentimenti in right shoulder indicate it was first placed somewhat lower; other pentimenti in left hand; hole on right hip; small losses at right of chin and above right eye. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1960. Inscribed on back: BRIGIDA. SPINOLA.DORIA/ANN: SAL: 1606./ÆT: SVÆ. 22./ P. P. RVBENS f[ecit] ('Brigida Spinola Doria. Aged 22 in the Year of our Lord 1606. Made by P. P. Rubens'). These words, excepting the artist's name, were at the lower left of the portrait (see Text Fig. 21).

Head reproduced in color by *Seymour*, p. 145, pl. 136.

A young woman, in knee-length, is shown about life size, turned to the left, holding a fan in her left hand, with her head toward the spectator. She stands against a crimson

curtain before a portico on the terrace of a *piano nobile*. She wears a silvery white satin gown of the 'Spanish' type with a large ruff at the neck. The overgown is fastened down the front; the large sleeves are partially unfastened to reveal the striped undersleeves with lace at the wrists. Jeweled (tremblant?) pearl ornaments with a plume are in her hair; she wears large pearl drop earrings; a massive jewel-studded gold chain is knotted at the breast; the dress has many small jeweled fastenings.

Brigida, daughter of Gaspare Spinola and Maria Doria, was baptized on 9 May 1583; she was probably born at the end of April or early May of that year. On 9 July 1605 she married Giacomo Massimiliano Doria (son of Doge Agostino Doria). As the bride and groom were cousins, a papal dispensation was required. According to Müller Hofstede the Kress portrait was painted about three-quarters of a year after the marriage, in April or May of 1606, at the time of Rubens's third Genoese residence, when the sitter was in her twenty-third year.³ In 1621, about sixteen years after her first marriage, following the early death of Giacomo Doria, Brigida became the second wife of Gianvincenzo Imperiale, Rubens's greatest Genoese patron.⁴

Two preparatory drawings for K2187 are known. The first (Text Fig. 20; pen and wash) corresponds closely to the composition of the painting before it was cut down; it has color notations in Rubens's hand.⁵ A young stand-in was used for the Marchesa's pose. A second drawing, an anonymous copy after a lost one by Rubens, with a middle-aged stand-in for the Marchesa, is in Paris (École des Beaux-Arts).⁶

The Kress portrait first entered the literature when, in the Horsin-Déon Collection, it was reproduced in its original full-length state, in a print by Pierre-Frédéric Lehnert (Text Fig. 21), in an article by Pierre Hédouin.⁷ Shortly after 1851 the painting came to England and was lost sight of until about the time it left the Bertram Currie Collection in 1937. Rooses included the Lehnert print in his *L'Œuvre de Rubens*.⁸ In 1924 (on the basis of the Lehnert print) Bauch, stating that K2187 was in an English collection, described it as a splendid composition, relating it to a portrait of a woman (Leningrad, Hermitage) which he believed Rubens to have painted in Spain c. 1603-4.⁹ Burchard's 1929 study of Rubens's female portraits painted in Italy was the first to discuss K2187 at length.¹⁰ His stylistic analysis included a comparison of the drapery treatment to that of Rubens's study for St. Domitilla (London, Collection Burchard).¹¹ He believed that there were three other portraits of the same sitter, Brigida Spinola: one owned at the time by the Benedict Gallery, Berlin (now Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle) showing a full-length seated woman in black, wearing a pearl necklace; a second full-length portrait of a seated woman in white with a parrot at the back of her chair (Ralph Bankes Collection, Kingston Lacy; signed and dated 1606); a third, a cut-down version of the latter (Lord Faringdon, Buscot Park). Recently Müller Hofstede noted that these three portraits are not of

the same sitter as that in the Kress painting. He found the seated Karlsruhe portrait to depict the Marchesa Veronica Spinola, as does the cut-down replica at Buscot Park. He did not believe the Kingston Lacy *Lady in White* to be Brigida Spinola.¹² In 1946 Valentiner characterized K2187 as 'one of the masterpieces among Rubens' portraits, painted in Genoa.'¹³ Goris and Held followed Burchard's views concerning K2187.¹⁴ Burchard described the canvas as 'by far the most handsome female portrait painted by Rubens in Italy.'¹⁵ Jaffé noted reminiscences of Tintoretto in Rubens's use here of 'the sharp silhouette . . . the lighting and the violence of form in the brushstrokes . . .'.¹⁶

The Kress canvas stems from a most important, still little known phase of Rubens's oeuvre – his works executed in Italy between 1602 and 1609. It is close in format to the very conventional, still fashionable portrait formula used by Rubens's older colleague and compatriot at the court of Mantua, Frans Pourbus, in the *Infanta Margherita Gonzaga* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) of 1605.¹⁷ The painting also results from the stimuli the young painter received from his study of Venetian sixteenth-century portraiture, especially that of Veronese and Titian, which he could examine at length during his Mantuan residence and on his Spanish mission of 1603–4. It was shortly before and after the Spanish journey that the artist, then in his later twenties, executed a series of portraits and other commissions for Genoese patrons, almost all of whom were closely related to one another and had connections to the courts of the Gonzaga and Philip III and Philip IV. The breadth and freedom of K2187 may first appear in works painted c. 1602 by Rubens for his chief Genoese patron Gianvincenzo Imperiale (who was to be Brigida's second husband in 1621), and is also seen in his exuberant, brilliantly colored, somewhat theatrical canvases for the Gonzaga and for Roman commissions.

Brigida Spinola's portrait may have been placed close to one showing her first husband Giacomo Massimiliano Doria, perhaps hung in a *salone* on the *piano nobile* of their great Renaissance palace (built for Antonio Doria c. 1542), near the portico whose column is partially visible at the sitter's side. Genoese palace architecture was of special interest to Rubens, who devoted a magnificent publication to its design.¹⁸ The Boucher-like beauty of Brigida Spinola may have allowed Rubens a flamboyant, almost rococo approach markedly different from that of his other portraits of Genoese women of about the same date. As she wears a splendid white dress reminiscent of bridal attire in Veronese's oeuvre, the sitter, portrayed within a few months of her marriage, may perhaps be shown in her wedding dress.¹⁹

Provenance: Marchese Giacomo Doria, Genoa, 1606.²⁰ General Sir John Murray (1768?–1827, Clermont, Fifeshire, Scotland).²¹ Sold by T. Murray to Sir Thomas Lawrence, London, 1830.²² Simon Horsin-Déon, Paris, 1848. MacLean Collection (?), London, 1854.²³ C. J. Nieuwenhuys, London (sold Christie's, 17 July 1886, p. 19, Cat. No. 92, where it is noted that 'this fine portrait was painted by Rubens on his journey to Italy for the Doria palace at Genoa, whence

it was brought to England'), sold to Charles Wertheimer.²⁴ Bertram W. Currie, Minley Manor, Hampshire. Sold Christie's, 16 Apr. 1937, p. 22, no. 116, purchased by Goldschmitt? New York, Duveen Brothers, Inc., exhibited – London, Royal Academy of Art, *Flemish Art, 1300–1500*, London, 1953–4, p. 60, Cat. No. 180, 'Portrait of a Lady in White' (Marchesa Brigida Spinola Doria). Kress acquisition 1957 from Duveen, exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America . . .*, 10 Dec. 1961 – 4 Feb. 1962 (Cat. No. 81).

References: (1) Simon Horsin-Déon (*De la Conservation et de la Restauration des Tableaux*, Paris, 1851, p. 34) described K2187 as executed on red ground in the Venetian manner. The text was included in Theodor von Frimmel, *Gemäldekunde* (2nd ed.), Leipzig, 1904, and reprinted by Ludwig Burchard, 'Genoeseische Frauenbildnisse von Rubens', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, I, 1929, pp. 319 ff., esp. p. 321. (2) The print by Lehnert was published by Pierre Hédouin in *L'Artiste, Revue de Paris*, 7me sér., x, 1848. The jeweled decorations in the sitter's hair are not shown in the print. (3) Justus Müller Hofstede, 'Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren', *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, II, 1965, pp. 89–154, esp. p. 96 and notes 25–36, pp. 143–4. These biographical data differ from those given by Ludwig Burchard (*A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens, Kt.*, Wildenstein, London, 1950, Cat. No. 55, p. 61), based upon P. Natale Batillana's *Genealogia delle famiglie nobili di Genova*, Genoa, II, 1886. The later information stems from Antonio Giulio Barrili, 'Viaggi di Gian Vincenzo Imperiale', *Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria*, XXIV, Genoa, 1898. For further biographical data see also Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 96–8. For Brigida's second husband's patronage of Rubens c. 1602 see Charles Sterling and Ludwig Burchard, 'La découverte et l'histoire d'une œuvre inconnue de Rubens', *L'Amour de l'Art*, IX, 1937, pp. 295 ff. (4) He commissioned several works c. 1602, and seems to have ordered Rubens to paint a now lost portrait of his prospective bride – Caterina Grimaldi – in 1606 (see Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, p. 96 and pp. 100 and 102). In that year Rubens painted at least three other portraits of female relatives of Brigida, now at Kingston Lacy (Bankes Coll.), and at Karlsruhe (Staatliche Kunsthalle). The two children brought by Gianvincenzo and Brigida into their marriage, Francesco Maria Imperiale and Ginevra Doria, were betrothed on 19 [18?] Apr. 1622. Brigida's brother-in-law from her first marriage was the subject of a great equestrian portrait painted by Rubens in Genoa in the fall of 1602 or the winter of 1603. For the equestrian portrait, see Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 98. See also Roberto Longhi, 'Un ritratto equestre dell'epoca genovese del Rubens', *Annuaire des Musées de Belgique*, II, pp. 123–30. According to Longhi the portrait was probably of Giacomo Massimiliano Doria, but he did not exclude the possibility that it could have been his brother Giancarlo. Her relative, Ambrogio Spinola, the great general of Philip III and Philip IV, was also portrayed by Rubens. (5) First published by Ludwig Burchard, 1950, *op. cit.* Note 3, pp. 60–1, Cat.

No. 55, repr. opp. p. 49; also Julius S. Held, *Rubens: Selected Drawings*, London, 1959, I, p. 127, Cat. No. 73 (formerly London, Dr. E. Schilling). (6) Repr. by Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.* Note 3, fig. 65, p. 113. According to Müller Hofstede (pp. 110–11, n. 97 and p. 147) a drawing (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts) with an elderly figure in the same pose and in an identical setting to that of the Rubens sketch is an anonymous copy after a second, lost, more advanced preparatory study by Rubens. (7) See Note 2, above. (8) Max Rooses, *L'Œuvre de Rubens*, Antwerp, 1890, IV, p. 273, Cat. No. 1064. He had also mentioned it in 1888 (*Bulletin Rubens*, III, 1888, pp. 95–6). Rooses, (*op. cit.*, V, 1892, p. 350) discussed K2187 without realizing, as it had been cut down in the interim, that it was the source of the 1848 print. (9) Kurt Bauch, 'Beiträge zur Rubensforschung', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLV, 1924, pp. 185–90; p. 190, n. 1. (10) Burchard (1929, *op. cit.* Note 1, pp. 332 ff.) followed Gustav Friedrich Waagen in the identification of the Kingston Lacy *Lady in White* as Brigida Spinola and felt that K2187 represented the same woman (*Art Treasures in Great Britain*, IV, London, pp. 374–5). According to Waagen the portrait (K2187) was purchased in Genoa from the Grimaldi Palace with a companion piece also at Kingston Lacy, listed as the Marchesa Maria, Princess Grimaldi. Smith (*Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, 1842, pp. 347–8, nos. 395–6) listed both sitters as Marchesa Grimaldi. Burchard (1929, *op. cit.*) suggested that K2187 was probably the pendant to a similar portrait of the sitter's husband. Possibly Van Dyck's *Elena Grimaldi* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection) suggests the completed architectural scheme indicated in Rubens's initial drawing for the Kress painting (Text Fig. 20) – here steps go down to the left of the balustrade in the lower left corner. On p. 341 Burchard listed still another portrait of Brigida Spinola Doria, shown knee-length. It is smaller in size than the portrait he believed to represent her at Kingston Lacy and not identical with the one shown in Lehnert's reproductive print. However, K2187 is identical with the latter; Burchard did not realize that it had been cut down. (11) Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.* (Note 3), pp. 89 ff. (12) Burchard, 1929, *op. cit.* (Note 1), p. 332. The drawing is reproduced by Held, *op. cit.* (Note 5), II, pl. 85. The painting of St. Domitilla (Grenoble Museum) is reproduced by Rudolf Oldenbourg, *Rubens, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1921, pl. 23. (13) Wilhelm R. Valentiner, 'Rubens' Paintings in America', *Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, pp. 153–68, esp. p. 155, Cat. No. 5. (14) Jan-Albert Goris and Julius S. Held, *Rubens in America*, New York, 1947, Cat. No. 2. (15) Burchard, 1950, *op. cit.* (Note 3), pp. 60–1. K2187 is listed by Erik Larsen, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Antwerp, 1952, p. 214. (16) Michael Jaffé, 'Rubens and the Influences of Italy', *The Listener*, LV, 1321, 1954 (Jan.–June), pp. 135–7, esp. p. 136. (17) Noted and reproduced by Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.* (Note 3), fig. 73, p. 123. (18) Peter Paul Rubens, *Palazzi Antichi di Genova, Palazzi Moderni di Genova*, Antwerp, 1622, reprinted in New York, 1968, with an introductory essay by Alan A. Tait, figs. 40–2. See also Pasquale Rotondi, *Il Palazzo di Antonio Doria a Genova*, 1958. Rotondi (p. 17) pointed out that Rubens's print of the Palazzo Doria is

not entirely reliable, as it includes projected 'improvements'. On pp. 139 and 194, Rotondi reproduced the Doria Palace façade, which includes a wing added at the right by the Spinola. At the extreme right of this addition is a balustrade on a terrace of the *piano nobile* which includes great urns, whose placement resembles that shown in the original form of K2187. (Print from M. P. Gauthier, *Les plus beaux edifices de la Ville de Gênes et de ses environs*, Paris, 1818, p. 32.) (19) As her attire is like that of Rubens's seated *Lady in White* (Kingston Lacy) it has been argued that the sitter's attire in K2187 is not a wedding dress. (20) The precise ownership of K2187 between 1606 and the nineteenth century is not entirely clear. It may be the *Ritratto de Donna in piedi* listed in the 1661 inventory of the collection of the sitter's husband, Gianvincenzo Imperiale (published by A. Luzio, *La Galeria dei Gonzaga* . . ., Milan, 1913, p. 307). These paintings went to Christina of Sweden and then to the Orléans collection but K2187 is not listed in either and must have been retained by the family. (Information from Christie's brochure prepared by Ludwig Burchard, London, 1937). According to Müller Hofstede (*op. cit.* Note 3, p. 142, n. 15) if this identification is correct the painting would have entered the Imperiale family collection when Brigida Spinola Doria married Gianvincenzo in Aug. 1621; he noted that the 1661 inventory reference could also apply to a portrait by Rubens of Caterina Grimaldi. Müller Hofstede was not sure that the Kress canvas was in the collection of Francesco Maria Imperiale (as stated by Seymour, p. 215), a son of Gianvincenzo from his first marriage to Caterina Grimaldi, who married Ginevra Doria (the daughter of Brigida Spinola from her first marriage to Giacomo Doria) and who may perhaps have inherited the portrait from his wife. As the painting was described as coming from the Palazzo Doria it seems reasonable to assume that the Seymour provenance is correct. Although no documentation is known at the present, the Kress canvas was probably brought from Genoa to London c. 1802–6 when Mr. Irvine (an agent of W. Buchanan) made extremely important purchases from Genoese collections. See W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting with a chronological history of the importation of pictures by the great masters into England since the French Revolution*, London, II, 1824, pp. 106 ff., where Irvine (letter from Genoa, 1 Oct. 1802) describes the purchase of paintings by Rubens from the collection of Giorgio Doria; see also pp. 156 ff. (21) According to Nieuwenhuys Sale *infra*. (22) Rooses (*op. cit.* Note 8, IV, p. 273, Cat. No. 1063) cited a portrait of Brigida measuring 150 × 90 cm. sold to Sir Thomas Lawrence by T. Murray in 1830. He did not connect this painting (probably K2187) with the Lehnert print (Cat. No. 1064). (23) According to Rooses, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 273, Cat. No. 1063, a portrait of Brigida Spinola Doria was in this collection, auctioned in the same year. Burchard, 1929, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 321, n. 1, believed this to be identical with the Kress painting. (24) *The Times*, 15 July 1886, mentioned K2187 as 'fine "Brigida Spinola Doria" painted by Rubens in Genoa in 1606'. On 19 July 1886, Wertheimer was listed as the purchaser. The above quoted from George Redford, *Art Sales*, London, 1888, I, pp. 442–3.

PETER PAUL RUBENS

K2117 : Figure 101

DECIVS MUS ADDRESSING THE LEGIONS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1394), since 1956. 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (80.7 × 84.5 cm.). Oil originally on panel, transferred to canvas in 1773 by Hacquin.¹ Probably relined between 1929 and 1954. Restored and transferred to masonite (on cradled walnut mount) by Suhr, c. 1954–5. Some brushwork added at a later date to 'complete' the figure at the extreme right was removed by Suhr. The imprint of the texture of the canvas to which K2117 had been transferred is still visible.

Suida-Shapley, p. 152, Cat. No. 59. Reproduced in color by *Seymour*, p. 147, pl. 138.

The consul Decius Mus stands at the left upon a pedestal, a red mantle over his shoulders. He wears a cuirass over battle attire; a short sword with an eagle-headed pommel is at his side. Seen in right profile, he raises his right hand in the gesture of *adlocutio*, a staff held in his left hand.² His shield, ornamented by a gorgon's head (a gorgon is also on the second standard from the left), and a helmet with Romulus and Remus (symbolizing Rome) on a boss, together with pikes and a halberd, are at the lower left. An eagle with a thunderbolt in his talons (symbol of Zeus) is to the upper left of Decius's head.³ Five standard-bearers are at the right. The second legionnaire, seen from the back in left profile, wears a leopard-skin over his armor.⁴

The Kress panel is one of six scenes from Livy of the life of the Roman consul Decius Mus sketched by Rubens c. 1617–18, for a tapestry series (the figures, reversed in the tapestry, appear left-handed) commissioned by Genoese patrons (the Pallavicini?).⁵ While the narrative cycle comprises six subjects, two more stationary allegorical hangings were added to bring the complete tapestry group to eight.⁶ The series was not uniform in size. The tapestry woven after K2117, like the canvas painted after it (Liechtenstein Collection, Text Fig. 22) is almost square. Rubens probably also designed the borders for the tapestries, whose marine motif would suit their Genoese patronage. The six Rubens compositions from Livy were also used for large canvases now in the Liechtenstein Collection. Probably by Van Dyck, these paintings may, like the Kress sketch, have been prepared c. 1617–18 to guide the Brussels tapestry workers.⁷ Bellori noted that both the cartoons and paintings for the tapestry series were prepared by Anthony van Dyck after Rubens's initial designs. Van Dyck was about eighteen years old, a free master of the Antwerp guild, living and working with Rubens at this time.⁸ Two of Rubens's letters, both dated May 1618, are the first evidence of his designing the tapestry cycle of Decius Mus.⁹ K2117 depicts Decius Mus's formal announcement to his troops of his self-sacrifice, according to Livy, viii, vi, 12: 'Whereupon they sent for their lieutenants and the tribunes and having openly declared the pleasure of the gods, so that the consul's voluntary death might not terrify the soldiers in the fray.' Decius Mus and Manlius Torquatus

were consuls at the time of the wars against the Latins (340 BC). Encamped before battle near Capua, both consuls dreamt that in the coming conflict the leader of one side and the entire army of the other would die; victory would come to that army whose general would sacrifice his life (Livy, viii, vi, 9). The next day each consul consulted auguries and the prediction was confirmed (Livy, viii, vi, 11–12). This is the subject of the first scene, *The Interpretation of Decius' Sacrifice*.¹⁰ Each consul, relating the dream, addressed his tribunes and legates (Livy, viii, vi, 12) – the subject of the second scene – the Kress panel. It was decided that whichever of the consuls whose troops were at the point of surrender should sacrifice his life in battle (Livy, viii, vi, 13). In the conflict, as his side lost strength, Decius summoned the high priest, covered his face with his toga, and dedicated himself to death (Livy, viii, ix, 5–9). The third scene in the series shows this episode, *Priests Consecrating Decius for Death*. His lictors were sent to Manlius to tell him of Decius Mus's decision (Livy, viii, ix, 9). This is the fourth scene, *Decius Mus Giving Leave to the Lictors*. At the moment when Decius fell in the midst of enemy troops (the fifth scene, *Decius Mus's Death in Battle*), the latter took flight and the Romans triumphed (Livy, viii, ix, 10–12). On the next day Decius's body was reclaimed and given a splendid funeral (Livy, viii, x, 10), the sixth and final scene, *The Obsequies of Decius*.

This project is Rubens's second known major series (after his *Breviarium* illustrations of 1614) and the first to be executed on a monumental scale.

In 1830 Smith listed the series of preparatory canvases as in the Liechtenstein Collection, and recorded K2117 as sold in the Randon de Boisset Collection in 1777.¹¹ The Kress panel re-emerged in the F. A. von Kaulbach sale catalogue of 1929 and was accepted by Oldenbourg as the preparatory sketch for the first scene in the *Decius Mus* tapestry series.¹² In conjunction with his catalogue entries for the six Liechtenstein canvases, Rooses listed five *esquisses* for the series:¹³ 1 *Decius Addressing the Legions* (as Decius Mus Recounting his Dream); 2 *Decius Consults the Oracle*; 3 *Decius Dedicated to the Gods of Death*; 4 *Decius Mortally Wounded in Battle*; 5 *The Obsequies*. A second *Decius Mus Addressing the Legions* sketch, inferior in quality to K2117 and more vertical in format, was in the Sedelmeyer Sale of 1907. The SPQR is in reverse. This painting may have gone to Max Rothschild, London. It is closer to the tapestry than are K2117 and the Liechtenstein canvas. Like the latter, it omits the eagle at the upper left.¹⁴ A drawing after K2117, probably by Jordaens, is in the Albertina.¹⁵ Commenting on the *Decius Mus* series, Stechow observed that 'freedom of interpretation remained one of Rubens's paramount concerns. This is not Livy illustrated, it is a drama in six acts based on Livy. Whether addressing his troops, realizing the meaning of the sacrifice, being consecrated to death, saying farewell to the lictors, seeking death in battle, or lying in state victorious – it is the hero himself who receives our full attention. If this is the most purely Roman work of the master it is not because he wished to be more of a historian than an artist; it is because

the story of Decius Mus . . . was for him the very epitome of Roman greatness and liberated in him new artistic grandeur upon the most exalted of Roman virtues.¹⁶ In Rubens's letter of 2 May 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton, which provides the first reference to the Decius Mus tapestry series, he also refers to a similar cycle devoted to another classical hero, Camillus. Both of these Roman lives of virtue were singled out in Stoical literature, most notably by Seneca.¹⁷ A major figure in the revival of Stoicism was the Antwerp humanist Justus Lipsius, who died in 1606. Rubens's brother Philip (who died in 1611) was among Lipsius's favorite pupils, as was a close friend of Philip and the painter, Jan van den Wouwere. Lipsius's major Seneca publication was issued not long before the *Decius Mus* cycle was begun.

This is Rubens's initial and most elaborate strictly 'Neo-classical' venture, closely dependent upon the art of Antiquity and that of the High Renaissance. Therefore the preparatory sketches such as K2117 and several of the Liechtenstein paintings (largely executed by another hand) have a certain stiffness rarely found in Rubens's works, which may have led to dispute by seventeenth-century and later connoisseurs concerning the extent of his role in their production. The awkward articulation of Decius Mus in the sketch is not felt when the composition is reversed, as seen in the tapestry for which K2117 was painted (Text Fig. 23).

Provenance: Randon de Boisset (sold Paris, 1777, p. 17, Cat. No. 31).¹⁸ Purchased by Le Brun (presumably Pierre Le Brun). Fritz August von Kaulbach (sold Munich, Helbing, 29–30 Oct. 1929, p. 41, Cat. No. 194, by A. L. Mayer). New York, Newhouse Galleries, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) In the sale catalogue of the Sammlung Fritz August von Kaulbach (Munich, Galerie Helbing, 29–30 Oct. 1929, p. 41, Cat. No. 194), K2117 is listed as oil on canvas. An inscription then on the back of the painting stated *relevé de sure [sic] bois et remis sure toile par hacquin en 1773*. Hacquin was a well-known French restorer specializing in the transfer of paintings from panel to canvas. (2) Erwin Panofsky, 'Classical Reminiscences in Titian's Portraits; Another Note on His Allocution of the Marchese del Vasto', *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16. Februar 1965*, Berlin, p. 198, n. 25. The provenance of K2117 is erroneously given as ex coll. Liechtenstein. (3) According to Wolfgang Stechow (*Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 71), the eagle with a thunderbolt is the standard of the Roman legion. See Richard Brilliant, *Gestures and Rank in Roman Art* (Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, xiv), New Haven, 1963, p. 40 and fig. 1-66, for an eagle alongside an *adlocutio*-like scene on a Roman third-century *denarius*. (4) See Brilliant, *op. cit.*, fig. 1-59, p. 38, for Romano-Campanian coinage of the mid-third century for an *aes grave* with a similar hand (*manus*), the symbol of possession and power. Myra Orth suggested that the standard at the right with a hand and a laurel

wreath may also refer to the civic emblem of Antwerp. The letters SPQR fill the rectangle at the top of the standard of the second legionnaire from the left in the Liechtenstein canvas. (5) Suggested by Max Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens*, Antwerp, III, 1890, p. 204. (6) For the tapestry cycle see Herman Schmitz ('Die belgische Bildwirkerei von der Gotik bis zum Barok', v, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, ed. by Paul Clemen, Munich, 1923, II, pp. 113–32), who noted that Rubens's cartoons led to a new phase of tapestry-making in Brussels, producing new breadth of pictorial development among the weavers. See also H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, I, *Die Niederlande*, I, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 206 ff. According to Göbel (p. 207) the seventh tapestry in the series was an allegory of Rome triumphant – Rome in armor, her foot upon the globe with a Victory handing her a wreath (fig. 178). He believed two additional tapestries to belong to the series, making ten in all. Now in the Spanish state collections, they show Decius and Manlius preparing for the battle against the Latins and Decius or Mars comforting Roma at the altar of Minerva. This view was rejected by H. G. Evers, *Rubens und seine Werke*, Brussels, 1943, pp. 255–7. Göbel listed a tapestry cycle in the Swedish royal collection and an incomplete series in a private collection in Stockholm. Four tapestries are also listed in the Liechtenstein Collection, two of these with the name Jan van Leefdael woven in the borders. Göbel noted (p. 357) that Franke van den Hecke produced two *Decius Mus* series and probably more. Another series of eight, woven by Jan Raes, is now in Madrid. Göbel wrote that two tapestries of the cycle (showing the Funerary Ceremony and the Sacrifice) signed FRANCHOIS VAN DEN HECKE belonged to the first series. (Rooses, *op. cit.*, p. 207, gave different ateliers for these tapestries.) According to P. Hilber (*Kunstmuseum Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, 5 June–31 Oct. 1918, pp. 51 ff.) the tapestry cycle is signed with the Brussels city mark and that of Jan Raes the Elder and was woven c. 1630. The series was acquired for the Liechtenstein Collection in Venice in 1870. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger ('Tapisseries bruxelloises d'après Rubens . . .', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, xxiv, 1955, pp. 17–24) listed five tapestries as owned by a British firm and two in Vienna (ex coll. Auersberg). (7) See Max Rooses, *op. cit.* Note 5, Cat. Nos. 707–12. His nos. 713–14 are not always accepted as part of the series. On pp. 201–7 Rooses transcribed documents concerning early ownership of the Liechtenstein series. See also his article in the *Bulletin Rubens*, v, no. 4, 1910, pp. 205–15. The extent of Rubens's participation in the execution of the Liechtenstein canvases is not known. The actual cartoons prepared by Van Dyck to guide the tapestry workers, probably executed on paper, were last recorded in Brussels in the Bertels Sale. Whether the Liechtenstein paintings were executed before or after the cartoons is not known. Several of these canvases are very sketch-like, and their sometimes strident color may have been meant to guide the weavers. (8) Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le Vite de pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, p. 254. Rooses believed Rubens to have had a very considerable role in executing the Liechtenstein series. He stressed the Rubensian character of the paintings, with their

love of Roman antiquity and virile style, and observed that the paintings were definitely intended as tapestry cartoons, since (as in K2117) all the protagonists are left-handed. Rooses (*op. cit.*, pp. 201–7) related the canvases to references in the Antwerp Archives to paintings of Decius Mus finished by Van Dyck after Rubens's sketches. Emile Michel (*Rubens*, New York, 1899, I, pp. 219–21) and Evers (*op. cit.* Note 6, p. 181) followed Rooses's views. Evers discussed the series on pp. 180–6. (9) See Ruth Saunders Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, 1955. On 2 May 1618 (p. 63, Letter No. 29), Rubens wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, '... I have had great experience with the tapestry makers of Brussels, through the many commissions which come to me from Italy and elsewhere for similar works. I myself have made some very handsome cartoons at the request of certain Genoese gentlemen, and which are now being worked...'. On 20 May 1618 (p. 66, Letter No. 31), he wrote, 'I will send your Excellency all the measurements of my cartoons of the history of Decius Mus, the Roman consul who sacrificed himself for the victory of the Roman people; but I must write to Brussels for the exact figures, since I have consigned everything to the master of the factory. (10) Rudolf Oldenbourg, *P. P. Rubens: des Meisters Gemälde* (v in *Klassiker der Kunst* series), 4th ed., Berlin, 1921, pls. 143, 142, 144, 146, 147, show the six scenes in order. (11) John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, London, 1830, II, p. 101, Cat. No. 329, listed as 'Decius Haranguing His Soldiers Previous to the Battle'. He also mentioned an engraving by Schmuizer. (12) Oldenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 460. (13) Rooses, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, III, p. 200: 1 *Decius consults the Oracle*, Lane Davies Collection, London, 1833; Huldshinsky, Berlin; Schaeffer Gallery, New York; p. 197, Cat. No. 708–1; 2 *Decius Dedicated to the Gods of Death*, ex coll. Richard Cosway, p. 198; now Würzburg Schloss; p. 197, Cat. No. 709–1; 3 *Decius Mortally Wounded in Battle*, Gallery Pastarana, Madrid; p. 199, Cat. No. 711–1; 4 *The Obsequies*, Munich; p. 200, Cat. No. 712–1. Also *Decius Addressing the Legions*, Randon de Boisset, Paris, 1777, Cat. No. 31; Rooses's Cat. No. 707–1, p. 196; presumably K2117. Two sketches of this subject are now known. The first (74 × 103.5 cm.) was in the Huldshinsky collection, Berlin (Wilhelm Bode, *Die Sammlung Oscar Huldshinsky*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1909, cited by A. L. Mayer, 'Zum malerischen Werk des Rubens', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXXIII, 1922, p. 117). It then went to Cassirer in Berlin, sold by Helbing, 10 May 1928. The second (73 × 105 cm.) was first published by Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–18. Owned by Drey Gallery, Munich; exhibited Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (*Catalogue de l'Exposition Esquisses de Rubens*, Aug.–Sept. 1937, p. 68, Cat. No. 61; and at the Schaeffer Gallery, New York. (14) According to the Sedelmeyer sale catalogue, 3–5 June 1907, p. 42, Cat. No. 39 (0.825 × 0.715 m.). Listed as in the Randon de Boisset sale (Paris, 1777, Cat. No. 31). (15) Michael Jaffé, *Jacob Jordaens*, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, 29 Nov. 1968–5 Jan. 1969, p. 171, Cat. No. 169, ascribes the drawing to Jordaens. Rooses (*op. cit.* Note 5, III, no. 1464) and L. Burchard and R. A. d'Hulst (*Rubens Drawings*, Brussels,

1963, I, p. 135, Cat. No. 81) ascribe the drawing to Rubens. Justus Müller Hofstede viewed the Vienna drawing as a student copy after the Kress panel. (16) For the *Decius Mus* cycle see Stechow, *op. cit.* Note 3, pp. 68–71; Goeler von Ravensburg, *Rubens und die Antike*, Jena, 1882, pp. 176–9. Rooses (*op. cit.*, III, pp. 202–3) stresses the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius as sources for the *Decius Mus* series. According to Rooses (III, p. 195) the composition of *Decius Mus addressing the troops* came from a Roman medallion. For the *Decius Mus* group see pp. 294–5 of F. M. Haberditzl, 'Studien über Rubens, II, "Rubens und die Antike"', *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXX, 1911–12, pp. 275 ff. For Rubens's use of Classical sources in the preparation of K2117 see also Emil Kieser, 'Antikes im Werke des Rubens', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, n.F. X, 1933, pp. 110–37. He notes (pp. 125–7) that the *adlocutio* formula is taken from Roman narrative reliefs. For this theme in the Renaissance and in K2117 see E. Panofsky, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, p. 198 and his *Problems in Titian*, New York, 1969, pp. 73 ff. See also Howard D. Rodee, 'Rubens's Treatment of Antique Armor', *Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp. 223–30. The Column of Trajan *adlocutio* scenes are given as the source for K2117 (p. 228, n. 36). Rodee found that the bearded legionnaire's helmet at the right is based on one in the *Menelaos-Patroklos* group (Florence, Pitti Palace). In addition to Classical sources Rubens may have consulted Giulio Romano's *Adlocutio* fresco in the Sala di Costantino (Rome, Vatican). This was observed by F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, I, p. 46, n. 46. The standard-bearer in a leopard-skin resembles one of the figures in the fresco; the attire of Decius Mus is similar to both. Rubens also adapted elements from Giulio Romano's *Scipio* tapestries, especially *The Meeting between Scipio and Hannibal*; see Baron d'Astier, *La Belle Tapisserie du Roy (1532–1797) et les Tentures de Scipion l'Africain*, Paris, 1907, pl. xxx. Stechow (*op. cit.* Note 3, p. 71, fig. 71) suggested Rubens may also have utilized Titian's *Adlocutio of the Marchese del Vasto* (Madrid, Prado). (17) Seneca, *Moral Essays*, trans. John W. Basore (in Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge, Mass., 1935, III, p. 259. (18) *Un tableau sur bois de 2 pieds 5 pouces 6 lignes en quarre; esquisse de gout et faite avec esprit, telles que le sont ordinairement de ce savant artiste P. P. Rubens*. It is listed as *Germanicus*, but the description makes it clear that the sketch was of Decius Mus.

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K1997 : Figure 98

THE LAST SUPPER. Seattle, Washington, Seattle Art Museum (F37/R8230.1), since 1954. Oil on oak. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (43.5 × 43.9 cm.). A strip about 2 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches high was added to the top of the panel, probably early in the nineteenth century. Great care was taken to use wood of a matching grain. The original panel was almost square; the lines cutting diagonally across the corners may have been impressed from an old frame.¹ Cradled at unknown date. Vertical split to the left of wrist of Christ's outstretched hand. Small splits at upper left. Generally well preserved. Last cleaned c. 1945. Varnished by Modestini in 1954.

Seattle, 1954, p. 60. Reproduced in color, *Life Magazine*, LII, 7, 19 Feb. 1962, p. 56.

Christ in a blue tunic and a rose-red mantle is seated at the extreme right. He holds the golden chalice with his left hand, extending the bread with his right. The young St. John the Evangelist is at Christ's right. St. Peter, in the foreground in blue with a yellow-gold mantle, leans toward Christ; a half-standing Apostle is at the left, his left hand on his breast; four additional Apostles are seen in the background. The violent gesticulation of the participants represents the Apostles' reaction to Christ's words that one of those assembled would betray him (Matthew 26:20-5; Mark 14:17-21; Luke 22:21-3; John 13:21-30). The steps leading up to the table may allude to altar steps. The uppermost section – the length of the hanging chain – is a later addition. The Last Supper takes place at a table of circular Early Christian form, surrounded by benches, approached by steps, upon which, in the extreme foreground, a gilded ewer and covered bread basket are placed – symbols of the Eucharist.²

The painting is a *modello*, a colored oil sketch for one of the thirty-nine ceiling paintings for the great Jesuit church of Antwerp.³ Rubens was almost forty when he received the commission, the second of such size and complexity; it followed the Decius Mus tapestry cartoon series ordered c. 1617 (see K2117). Construction of the Antwerp Jesuit Church (in whose design Rubens may well have had an important role) began in 1615; it was completed in 1621. Rubens was first commissioned (c. 1616) to execute two canvases for the high altar (*The Miracles of St. Ignatius Loyola*; *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, now Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). On 29 March 1620, he contracted to design the ceiling paintings for the aisles and galleries. There were to be nine saints represented above each aisle and three over the entrance. Nine Old and New Testament subjects were painted for the galleries. For each of these Rubens probably painted a summary rendering or *bozzetto* (a grisaille-like sketch in brown with tones of white), followed by a relatively finished *modello* in color for submission to his patrons and for the guidance of the artists in his studio – most notably Anthony van Dyck – who, according to the contract, were to execute the ceiling paintings. They were delivered and installed in 1621; each measured about 3 × 4.2 m. On 18 July 1718, the church was struck by lightning, and all the ceiling paintings were totally destroyed. Thirty-three preparatory studies by Rubens survive, covering twenty-three of the thirty-nine subjects. There are thirteen *bozzetti* and twenty *modelli*, as well as reproductive drawings and prints after the entire cycle.⁴ Five eighteenth-century drawings after the lost painting of the *Last Supper* are known: C. B. Müller in Antwerp, Prentenkabinet (*Martin*, fig. 48; prepared six months before the fire); Jacob De Wit in London, British Museum (*Martin*, fig. 50); De Wit in Antwerp, Prentenkabinet (*Martin*, fig. 51); De Wit in London, collection of Count Antoine Seilern (*Martin*, p. 80). An anonymous British Museum drawing is the closest of all to K1997 (Text Fig. 24).⁵ The lost ceiling painting based on K1997

was engraved by J. J. Preissler after De Wit (*Martin*, fig. 49) as an octagon inscribed in a square and by Jan Punt (Text Fig. 25) as an eight-sided figure in a rectangle. Martin cited the Last Supper illustration designed by Rubens for the *Breviarium Romanum* of 1614 as the artist's first depiction of the subject, and stressed the possible influence of the brilliant foreshortening in Giulio Romano's ceiling fresco of *Psyche Served by Unseen Hands* (Mantua, Palazzo del Tè), to explain the new sense of drama separating the work of 1614 from K1997, painted about six years later.⁶ The *Last Supper* was one of six paintings whose theme was not specified in the original contract of 29 March 1620; as the subject is central to Christian doctrine, its depiction may have been assumed.⁷

In addition to the *Last Supper*, the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Nativity*, there are six subjects from the Old Testament in the north gallery. The south gallery had five New Testament and four Old Testament subjects. The *Last Supper* was placed next to a representation of Melchizedek offering bread and wine to Abraham, the prefiguration of the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper. The Biblical program with nine scenes from the Life of Christ and the Virgin, together with nine subjects from the Old Testament regarded as their prototypes, stems from late medieval sources – the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. By 1622 this relationship had already been set forth; the ceiling was described as 'adorned with noble pictures which either represent the mysteries of our salvation in parallel from the Old and New Testament, or show various personages both male and female, who are distinguished for their sanctity.'⁸ According to Martin, 'Rubens has emphasized the mystical connection between the two subjects in several ways . . . the wine-jar and the basket seen on the steps in the *Last Supper* resemble those in the Old Testament scene, and there is a covert allusion to the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek in the attitudes of Peter and the Lord, who are seated facing each other.'⁹

Copyists seem to have misunderstood the circular composition of the *Last Supper*. In reproductive prints the steps are squared off and the architecture changed, the oculus moved up so as to be almost parallel in plane with the table, unless Rubens himself made these alterations subsequent to his design (K1997). Judging by most copies, Rubens eliminated the heads of three Apostles shown just below the oculus, simplifying the composition to concentrate the drama on the foreground figures.

Seen from below, the complex architectural setting suggests Rubens is following the Biblical specification that the Last Supper took place in an 'upper room' (Mark 14: 12-16, Luke 22:7-13). The spatial indications point to a circular (domical?) chamber, this form repeated by the curved steps, the round table, and the oculus above, through which the blue sky can be seen. The somewhat ambiguous placement of the window points to Rubens's having had a Pantheon-like structure in mind with an opening to the heavens at the center of a dome.¹⁰ The

placement of the window was so shown in the print of 1752 (Text Fig. 25). At about the time Rubens painted the Kress panel, he was building his own house, which included a miniature Pantheon like the interior of K1997, to house his antiquities.¹¹ Rubens may have consulted Dürer's prints of the Last Supper, in which an oculus is on the wall behind Christ; a round table was shown in Dürer's Small Woodcut Passion *Last Supper* (B.24) and by Limosin.¹² Tintoretto, as well as Giulio Romano, probably played a role in shaping the composition of K1997. The placement of Christ at the extreme right and the elevation of the table upon steps is found in the Venetian master's *Last Supper* of c. 1580 (Venice, Santo Stefano).¹³ Although recalling aspects of the art of Dürer, Giulio Romano, Primaticcio, Barocci, the Carracci, and the Venetians, the composition and execution of K1997 show that the artist had fully assimilated the many Italian and Northern sources which contributed to the genesis of his oeuvre. Rubens's expressive sketch of the Last Supper with its brilliant color and impassioned virtuoso brushwork presents the master at the peak of his career.

Provenance: Possibly owned by Simon de Vos and sold to Guiliam I Forchoudt on 16 June 1662.¹⁴ Possibly owned by Victor Wolfvoet (1612–52), inventoried Antwerp, 24–6 Oct. 1652.¹⁵ Jacques de Roore (1686–1747), sold with six other Rubens studies for the church ceiling, The Hague, 4 Sept. 1747, et seqq., lot 45, purchased by de Groot. Anthonis and Stephanus de Groot (sold, The Hague, 20 Mar. 1771, lot 4, purchased by Abelsz). Jacques Clemens (sold, Ghent, 21 June 1779, lot 232). Barchmann Wuytiers (sold, Amsterdam, 19 Sept. 1798, lot 150). Pauwels (sold, Brussels, 18 July [25 Aug.] 1814, lot 108). Robert de Saint-Victor (sold, Paris, 26 Nov. 1822–7 Jan. 1823, lot 29), bought by Roux. Marquise d'Aoust, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 5 June 1924, lot 78. Francesco Gentili di Giuseppe, Paris.¹⁶ Frederick Mont and Newhouse Galleries, Inc., New York – exhibited Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens*, 1953–54, Cat. No. 34, pl. 28. Kress acquisition 1954 from Mont. Exhibited – Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Fogg Museum, and New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P. P. Rubens from American Collections*, 1956, Cat. No. 32, pl. XXI; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 – 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 80.

References: (1) Observed by Julius S. Held (18/IX/67) and Ben B. Johnson (27/I/71), Kress Archive. (2) For the iconography of the Last Supper see Réau, II, 2, pp. 409 ff. The Early Christian concept of the circular table in K1997 was recognized by Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens*, Rotterdam, 1953–54, p. 59. Michael Jaffé, 'Rubens at Rotterdam', *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, p. 57, singled out the beauty of this still-life area. (3) For the series, see John Rupert Martin, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, part 1, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, London–New York, 1967 (hereafter referred to as *Martin*). The Kress panel is his Cat. No. 8, pp. 80–3. The contract is on pp. 31–3, Appendix

1. For the sketches see also Haverkamp-Begemann, *op. cit.*, Cat. Nos. 26–34; Max Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens*, I, Antwerp, 1886, pp. 19 ff. (4) For the reproductive works by Müller, Preissler, de Wit, Punt (Text Fig. 25) and Jeghers, see *Martin*, pp. 47–53. (5) This drawing (Richard Payne Knight Bequest, 1824) is problematic. According to A. M. Hind (*Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Masters . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1923, II, p. 8, Cat. No. 8, pl. 1), it is after the lost ceiling painting. *Martin* (pp. 82–3) believes it is based on K1997 and suggested that the drawing was formerly owned by Paignon Dijonval and by C. Josi. Rooses (*op. cit.* Note 3, I, p. 25) listed a preparatory drawing by Rubens for the *Last Supper* in the Jabach Sale, later owned by Crozat, but Hind (*op. cit.*, p. 8) noted that no such drawing was listed by P. J. Mariette in the Crozat Sale of 1741. Jaffé (*op. cit.* Note 2, p. 57) referred to Crozat's drawing as 'yet to be found.' The Rijksbureau identified the London drawing as Crozat's. (6) The *Breviarium* illustration is reproduced by H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk: neue Forschungen*, Brussels, 1943. For the fresco see Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, II, fig. 233. Émile Michel's *P. P. Rubens* (trans. Elizabeth Lee, London–New York, 1899) reproduced a Rubens *Feast of the Gods* then in the Haseltine Collection, which relates to both K1997 and the Giulio Romano. See also a *Feast of the Gods* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) by Rubens and Jan Bruegel of a similar composition. Adolf Rosenberg, *P. P. Rubens* (Klassiker der Kunst), Berlin–Leipzig, n.d., pl. 117. In the 1620s, Rubens went to Fontainebleau, where his studies of the Gallery of Ulysses might have affected his perspectival approach in the *Last Supper*. (7) For the iconography of the Jesuit ceiling program see *Martin*, pp. 195–213. (8) Quoted from the Jesuit Michael Grisius, *Honor S. Ignatio de Loiola Societatis IESV fundatori et S. Francisco Xaverio . . . habitus a patribus domus professae collegij Soc. Iesu Antverpiae 24 Julij, 1622*, Antwerp, 1622, p. 13; trans. in *Martin*, p. 195. (9) *Martin*, pp. 195–8. (10) Rubens may have imitated the architecture of the Holy Sepulchre. Circular settings such as that of K1997 are sometimes used for the Pentecost. (11) See Émile Michel, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, II, p. 6. An engraving by Harrewyn, made after the 'Pantheon' was converted into a bedroom, is shown on p. 5. (12) See Valentin Scherer, *Dürer* (Klassiker der Kunst), Stuttgart–Berlin, n.d., pl. 233 (B.24) and pls. 254 (B.5) and 311 (B.53) for the oculus. The Limosin is reproduced by H. Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau*, New York, 1969, L.L.4; Robert-Dumesnil, v, p. 48, Cat. No. 2. It shows two ocular windows to the left and right of Christ. The interior of K1997 may be a reduction of one shown by the School of Marcantonio (Passavant, VI, p. 76, Cat. No. 20) where a shallow barrel vault with an oculus is above Christ's head. Additional oculi appear on either side of the arch enclosing the table and at the top of a great circular structure to the rear. A curtain comparable to the one in K1997 is found in a print of the same subject by Giorgio Ghisi (Bartsch, xv, p. 387, Cat. No. 6). (13) Hans Tietze, *Tintoretto*, New York, 1948, pl. 178. Christ is at the extreme left in the *Last Supper* (Venice, Scuola di San Rocco; Tietze, *op. cit.*, pl. 208). See Claire Jansen, 'L'influence de Tintoret sur

Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6me sér., XIX-XX, 1938, pp. 77-86. Rubens is only known to have depicted the Last Supper three times: for the *Breviarium* of 1614, for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (K1997) and as an altarpiece for the Church of St. Rombouts, Malines, in 1632 (Milan, Brera; sketch in The Hermitage). The ceiling project is the only one of these where Christ is to the side. (14) Suggested by Martin, p. 83. See J. Denucé, *De Firma Forchoudt*, Antwerp, 1930, pp. 62-6. (15) Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'Konstkamers'*, The Hague, 1932, p. 141; 'Een Avontmaelken op pannel, in binnenlystken, naer Rubens geschildert'. Described as after Rubens, Wolfvoet's panel may have been a copy of K1997 or of the painting on the ceiling. (16) Sold prior to the sale of his collection at the Hôtel Drouot, 23-4 Apr. 1941.

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KX-5 : Figure 97

MARS. New York, Mrs. Rush H. Kress. Oil on oak. $32\frac{1}{2} \times 26$ in. (82.6 × 66.1 cm.). Cradled and restored by Pichetto, 1929-30. Original borders all around. Vertical splits or joins through left and right shoulders. Fairly well preserved.¹

A man in a cuirass and chain mail, grasping a lance shaft in his left hand, looks over his left shoulder. A lion skin is on his back and a white plume affixed to the back of his helmet. His parade armor is in the classical style inspired by that of Roman legionnaires.

The panel was described in 1827 as a powerful painting from Rubens's best period.² Waagen observed that it was masterly in execution, the 'colour approaching the glow of Rembrandt'.³ Rooses included the panel in his Rubens corpus, quoting Waagen's views and listing it as 'Un Guerrier'.⁴ In 1929 Burchard stated that the painting was excellently preserved and that it 'was entirely by Rubens's own hand, executed with special care and finesse between 1620 and 1625'.⁵ Burroughs, on the basis of a technical examination of the panel, concluded that 'it was painted early in Gaspar de Crayer's career, perhaps under the direct inspiration of Rubens'.⁶ He found the face lacking in largeness of modeling and without the luminosity and rotundity of Rubens's works. Burchard rejected Burroughs's views in their entirety, retaining his opinion that the painting is a completely autograph work by Rubens of 1620-5.⁷

In 1938 Burroughs noted that the underpainting showed a 'slapdash, uneven emphasis, the clouded modeling and superficial spirit' seen in de Crayer's *Judgment of Solomon* (Ghent, Musée des Beaux-Arts). He suggested that the figure's 'overdeveloped arm and hand' might have been taken from that painting, and found the sitter spiritually alien to Rubens's dignified and aristocratic portraits.⁸ In the same year Friedländer described KX-5 as by Rubens's own hand, dating the panel c. 1620.⁹ Valentiner followed Friedländer's dating.¹⁰ Held included 'The So-called "Mars"' in his catalogue *Rubens in America*, noting that the painting 'might be one of the disguised portraits which

were common in the seventeenth century. The pose with its somewhat theatrical *contraposto* was inspired most likely by similar paintings of the Venetian school of the sixteenth century.' He found the rendering of the arm to be 'in a harder, drier style than is usually found in Rubens', but considered Burroughs's de Crayer attribution unconvincing.¹¹ In 1951 Burchard suggested that the sitter might have been a fellow artist of Rubens, painted with the attributes of Mars, between 1615 and 1618.¹² Larsen also found the painting to represent a disguised portrait, painted by Rubens c. 1617-18.¹³

That KX-5 was meant to portray Mars is supported by the way representations of that figure were described in seventeenth-century inventories.¹⁴ It may perhaps have belonged with a series of Classical deities; an earlier example of Rubens's works in this genre is the *Head of Hercules* (ex. coll. Ludwig Burchard).¹⁵ As first noted by Held, the Kress panel is freely adapted from Venetian prototypes. The inventory of Rubens's paintings of June 1640 lists thirty-three copies after Titian of which twenty-six were portraits,¹⁶ possibly including reproductions of the twelve Caesars in the Gabinetto dei Cesari (Mantua, Palazzo Ducale). They resemble the pose of KX-5 and must have often been seen by Rubens during his Mantuan residence.¹⁷

The Kress panel is somewhat less impressive in actuality than in black and white reproduction. Recent scholarship has shifted its date from 1620-25 to the late 'teens, when Rubens, then in his late thirties, was the master of a great atelier. It seems likely that he may have utilized some studio assistance in KX-5 although the bulk of its execution stems from Rubens's hand. The left side of the face is far more sketch-like than the right; the lion's skin along the lower right border is also extremely summary in rendering. It may be that Rubens left the bulk of the *Mars* in such condition and that the more finished areas were the work of a collaborator.¹⁸

Provenance: Gerrit Muller (sold Amsterdam, 2 Apr. 1827, p. 29, Cat. No. 58, purchased by Nieuwenhuys, according to a manuscript notation, listed as 'a Roman soldier'). Edward Gray, London, c. 1930.¹⁹ Sir Anthony Rothschild, London.²⁰ The Honourable Mrs. Yorke (daughter of the above), London (sold, London, Christie's, 6 May 1927, p. 9, Cat. No. 37, listed as *Mars*). Rome, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1929, exhibited - San Francisco, Golden Gate International Exposition, *Masterworks of Five Centuries*, 1939, Cat. No. 96. San Francisco, California, Palace of the Legion of Honor, *Seven Centuries of Painting*, 29 Dec. 1939 - 28 Jan. 1940, p. 35, Cat. No. L-46. New York, World's Fair, *European and American Paintings, 1500-1900, Masterpieces of Art*, May-Oct. 1940, Cat. No. 67, fig. 67. Toronto, Ontario, Canada, Art Gallery, *An Exhibition of Great Paintings in Aid of the Canadian Red Cross*, 1940, p. 9, Cat. No. 24. New York, Schaeffer and Brandt, *Peter Paul Rubens Loan Exhibition for the Benefit of the United Hospital Fund*, 23 Nov.-19 Dec. 1942, Cat. No. 8 (dated c. 1620). New York,

Wildenstein and Co., *A Loan Exhibition of Rubens*, 20 Feb.–31 Mar. 1951, p. 16, Cat. No. 11.

References: (1) Alfred Frankfurter ('Revising Rubens', *Art News*, xli, 1942, pp. 16–19, 33) commented upon the glowing color of κx-5 after its recent cleaning (p. 33). (2) Sale of Gerrit Muller Collection, Amsterdam, 2 Apr. 1827, p. 29, Cat. No. 58. (3) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, II, 1854, p. 281. (4) Max Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens*, IV, Antwerp, 1890, p. 297, Cat. No. 1100. (5) Letter of 29/1/29, Kress Archive. William Suida; G. Fiocco; Raimond van Marle; Adolfo Venturi; and F. Mason Perkins testified to Rubens's authorship of κx-5 c. 1929. (6) Report by Alan Burroughs, Kress Archive. (7) Letter of 23/v/24 in Kress Archive. (8) Alan Burroughs, *Art Criticism from a Laboratory*, Boston, 1938, p. 137. (9) Kress Archive. (10) William R. Valentiner, 'Rubens Paintings in America', *Art Quarterly*, ix, 1946, pp. 152–68, esp. p. 160, Cat. No. 66. (11) Jan Albert Goris and Julius Held, *Rubens in America*, New York, 1947, p. 29, Cat. No. 21. (12) Ludwig Burchard, *A Loan Exhibition of Rubens*, Wildenstein Gallery, New York, 1951, p. 16, Cat. No. 11. (13) Erik Larsen, *P. P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1952, p. 216, Cat. No. 47. (14) Michael Levey, *The Later Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, New York, 1964, Cat. No. 590, pl. 26. Reference courtesy of Burr Wallen. (15) Reproduced by Michael Jaffé, 'Rubens at Rotterdam', *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, p. 55, fig. 25. According to Michael Jaffé (letter of 18/iv/72), Mars's helmet 'actually belonged to Rubens (it appears again worn by a soldier in the Brussels *Ascent to Calvary*). Rubens evidently believed it to be antique, although to our eyes it can only be a burgonet of the sixteenth century.' Jaffé has not found it in any armor collection, although it was illustrated by Jacob Spon (1647–85) in *Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis*, Lyons, 1685. (16) See J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'Konstkamers'*, The Hague, 1932, pp. 58–9, nos. 38–41, nos. 49–69, no. 74, and no. 79. (17) They were acquired by Charles I from the Gonzaga in 1627, possibly at Rubens's suggestion. Engraved by Sadeler, the series went to Spain in 1652 and is now lost. See F. Valcanover, *Tutta la pittura di Tiziano*, Milan, 1960, II, fig. 191. (18) Giorgio de Chirico based a self-portrait upon κx-5; see Antonio Fornari, 'De Chirico e Rubens', *Paragone*, I, 1950, pp. 45–7, esp. p. 46, fig. 19b. (19) John Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, London, 1830, II, p. 26, Cat. No. 899. (20) Waagen, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

After RUBENS, Probably XVII Century

κ160 : Figure 99

THE CRUCIFIXION. New York, Mrs. Rush H. Kress. 41½ × 28¾ in. (105.4 × 73.1 cm.). Oil on panel. Cradled and restored in 1932 by Pichetto. Very well preserved.

Christ looks upward, his arms in a V-shape, his body hanging from the nails through his hands; additional nails go through each foot, one foot almost covering the other.¹ The sun is in eclipse at the upper left (Luke 23:44–5). A

rocky outcropping of Golgotha is at the lower left; a panorama of Jerusalem is seen below with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the right and the Church of the Dormition to the left. The *titulus* inscribed in Hebrew, Greek and Latin is affixed to the top of the cross by two nails (Luke 23:38). The eclipse took place from the sixth to the ninth hour. The moment shown in κ160 may be the ninth hour when Jesus cried: 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Mark 15:34), or it may illustrate the time just before Christ's death: 'Jesus had cried with a loud voice, Father into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus he gave up the ghost' (Luke 23:46).

Approximately twenty versions of this Crucifixion composition survive, many of them about the same size as κ160, mostly based upon an early work presumably painted by Rubens in Rome c. 1609. There is considerable variation in the landscape. Seven of these (London, Wallace Collection; Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection; Antwerp, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Vigevano, Duomo; Rome, Villa Albani; Greenville, The Bob Jones University Collection; and the Kress panel) are far superior in quality; the one at Greenville is certainly an original work by Rubens.²

Mayer described κ160 as having been painted by Rubens toward the end of his Italian period, c. 1608. He viewed it as the master's first known representation of the subject, the landscape section inspired by Elsheimer, and found the panel superior in quality to the example in Antwerp (Musée des Beaux-Arts) from Rubens's studio.³ Burchard considered κ160 to be a 'wonderful work by Rubens'.⁴ Longhi dated the panel c. 1609–10, executed immediately after the artist's Italian residence, while Italian art was still much in his mind. According to Longhi the landscape view of Jerusalem recalled that of Rome from the Pincio, at the end of the sixteenth century.⁵ Burroughs found the *Crucifixion* dependent upon the Antwerp canvas, carefully copied from the latter. 'The hardness of the modelling in the face and the crude, heavy strokes in the drapery prevent one from giving it to any of the best known pupils.'⁶ In 1936 Adolfo Venturi, F. F. Mason Perkins, G. Fiocco, and William Suida all described the panel as by Rubens.⁷ Friedländer stated that Rubens painted κ160 c. 1610.⁸ Frankfurter found the integration of figure and landscape to complete the spatial balance hinted at in Rubens's sketches.⁹ The *Crucifixion* was dated c. 1610–12 by Valentiner who regarded it as a workshop painting like that in the Philadelphia Museum (John G. Johnson Collection).¹⁰ According to Held, κ160 is after a lost painting by Rubens known only from copies.¹¹ The Kress panel, along with those in the Antwerp Museum, the Wallace Collection, the John G. Johnson Collection, and the Cook Collection, are listed by Jaffé as derivations after Rubens's painting now in Greenville.¹² Jaffé characterized the latter as 'a triumph of the Baroque imagination and a profoundly moving ikon' and the original of the many examples of this composition.¹³ He noted that elements from the Antique (the Laocoön) and the art of Michelangelo and Barocci are reflected in the Bob Jones University painting.

The landscape section of K160 is close to that shown in a Rubens *modello* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) for the engraving by P. Pontius of 1631 which is curved at the top and includes additional figures of angels to the left and right, victorious over Death and Sin.¹⁴ The composition of the Kress panel was, as noted by most scholars, probably originated by Rubens in 1610–12 upon his return to Antwerp. The panel is very close to a small variant of the life-size *Crucifixion* in Antwerp and one in the Wallace Collection about the same size as the Kress panel.¹⁵ Both of these, according to Jaffé, reflect the style of Rubens about 1610–12, postdating the painting in South Carolina by about two years.

The weak execution of many areas in K160 – most notably the hands – preclude Rubens's authorship or that of his atelier.

*Provenance:*¹⁶ Countess Reppi (?), Genoa (?), Rome (?). Rome, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1931, exhibited – Toronto, Canada, Art Gallery, *An Exhibition of Great Paintings in Aid of the Canadian Red Cross*, 1940, p. 9, Cat. No. 23. New York, Schaeffer and Brandt Gallery, *Peter Paul Rubens Loan Exhibition for Benefit of United Hospital Fund of New York*, 23 Nov.–19 Dec. 1942, Cat. No. 7.

References: (1) For the iconography of K160 see Michael Jaffé, 'Rubens's "Christ on the Cross"', *Burlington Magazine*, c, 1958, pp. 21–2, esp. n. 8. See also Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1951, pp. 270–1. See Text Fig. 5 for a reproductive print by Sadeler after Grünewald showing the new popularity of late medieval religious imagery in the early seventeenth century. The four-nail crucifixion is a medieval form revived by the Counter-Reformation movements of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. (2) See Jaffé, *op. cit.*; *The Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings*, Greenville, South Carolina, p. 278, Cat. No. 162, possibly ex coll. Champs, Ghent, 1830. A preparatory drawing for the figure is in the British Museum. For Crucifixions by or after Rubens related to K160 see Max Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1888, II, pp. 84–91, Cat. Nos. 287–93. (3) Transcription in Kress Archive, 14/II/24. August L. Mayer wrote that the painting came from 'the private chapel of a Genoese aristocratic family'. For the Antwerp canvas, see Rooses, *op. cit.*, II, p. 84, Cat. No. 287. (4) Letter from Ludwig Burchard of 29/1/29, Kress Archive. (5) Transcription by Roberto Longhi (Rome, 1932) in Kress Archive. (6) Report by Alan Burroughs (1935) in Kress Archive. (7) Transcriptions in Kress Archive. (8) Kress Archive, 1938. (9) Alfred Frankfurter, 'Revising Rubens', *Art News*, XLI, 14, 1942, pp. 16–19, 33. (10) William R. Valentiner, 'Rubens' Paintings in America', *Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, pp. 153–68, esp. p. 156, Cat. No. 21. (11) Jan Albert Goris and Julius S. Held, *Rubens in America*, New York, 1947, Appendix 58, p. 51. (12) For these and other copies, see Jaffé, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 21, n. 2. (13) Jaffé, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 22. (14) The *modello* is reproduced by Jaffé, *ibid.*, fig. 37. (15) For the Wallace

Collection painting see *Wallace Collection Catalogues, Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1968, pp. 288–9. It is on canvas (Rooses, *op. cit.*, II, Cat. No. 293). The Antwerp painting is Rooses No. 287. (16) Daphne M. Hoffman suggested that the Kress panel may be one recorded by Rooses, *op. cit.*, II, p. 87, Cat. No. 292. Cardinal Valentini Sale, Amsterdam, 1763; M. G. Hibbard Sale, London, 1802; Simon Clarke Collection, 1840. The description of this painting provided by Wood in c. 1802 corresponds to that of K160; but as so many versions of the composition seem to have been made, this is not conclusive.

After RUBENS XVII Century

K1871 : Figure 100

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1393), since 1953. 49 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 37 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (125.4 × 94.2 cm.). Oil on oak. Mounted on mahogany, cradled and restored by Modestini. Some restoration along the four or so vertical joins or splints; well preserved. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 156, Cat. No. 60.

The Virgin in white and blue is surrounded by four angels above and seven putti below. She is in the clouds, looking upward, just below a yellow-gold radiance in the sky. Two angels at the upper left hold a wreath, as though about to crown her; a putto just below holds another wreath below the Virgin's outstretched right hand; another putto at the lower left holds a palm. Surrounding the open tomb are the twelve Apostles and three Holy Women (probably Mary Magdalene, Mary Cleophas, and Mary Salome), who in the Apocrypha prepared the Virgin's body for burial. The kneeling woman, seen from the back, holds a flower in her right hand. This refers to the belief that after the Assumption the tomb was found filled with flowers. The women and at least two of the Apostles grasp the Virgin's shroud. The young Apostle, standing with upraised arms at the left, in red and white, is probably St. John the Evangelist; the bald figure in yellow and black, seen from the back at the right may be St. Paul. The arched entrance to Mary's tomb is at the right.¹

In 1950 Burchard described K1871 as a highly finished sketch in full color for the *Assumption Altar* in Antwerp by Rubens.² He regarded the Kress panel as the *modello* 'submitted by Rubens to the clergy' of Antwerp Cathedral for approval (c. 1618) prior to the execution of the *Assumption* altarpiece completed on 30 September 1626.³ Another sketch of the *Assumption* (now in The Hague, Mauritshuis), smaller in size than K1871, was, according to Burchard, somewhat earlier in date than the Kress panel. Held regarded K1871 as a copy after the Mauritshuis *Assumption* sketch.⁴

The Mauritshuis sketch is far superior in quality to the Kress panel. Several features of the Schelte à Bolswert

print after the Antwerp Cathedral *Assumption Altar* – most notably the arched entrance to the tomb and the placement of the Virgin – correspond more closely to K1871 than to the altarpiece.⁵ However, the difference in format between the rectangular K1871 and the arched print and altarpiece make it unlikely that the Kress panel was a preliminary sketch for either. The Mauritshuis panel, one of the *modelli* of 1618, was not closely followed for the final composition of the altar but was the basis for the Schelte à Bolswert print. Rubens probably preferred the Mauritshuis composition to the more conventional one selected for the great altarpiece and requested Schelte à Bolswert (one of his most favored print-makers) to reproduce the rejected *modello*. In all likelihood the painter of K1871 based his work upon the engraving by Bolswert and sought to invest the panel with some originality by squaring off the top. That the K1871 source was arched is indicated by the arched form of the entrance to the tomb (as shown in the print) and the arched configuration of the angels and light-rays in the upper part of the panel (seen in both print and altarpiece), features clearly at odds with the rectangular format and the curiously empty and irrelevant upper corners. The Kress panel also bears comparison with two Assumptions painted by Annibale Carracci (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale and Dresden, Gemäldegalerie),⁶ which Rubens may well have seen.

Provenance: The Kress panel is probably the one recorded by Gustav Friedrich Waagen (*Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1857, p. 240), Collection of R. P. Nichols (London). 'Langton Castle, Worcestershire' (Dealer's brochure), collection the Misses Weiss. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) For the iconography of the Assumption see Emile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 332 ff. See also John B. Knipping, *De Iconographie van de Contra-reformatie in de Nederlanden*, Hilversum, 1939–40, II, pp. 19 ff. Réau, II, 2, pp. 615–20. (2) Ludwig Burchard, *A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens*, Wildenstein, London, 1950, p. 2. The Antwerp altar is repr. by Rudolf Oldenbourg, *P. P. Rubens, Klassiker der Kunst*, 4th ed., Berlin and Leipzig, n.d., p. 301. (3) Copy of letter of 11/XII/51 in Kress Archive, New York. For the *modelli* submitted by Rubens on 16 Feb. 1618, see the transcription from the Actes capitulaires de la cathédrale d'Anvers. Archives de l'archevêché de Malines, printed by Max Rooses, *Bulletin Rubens*, 1882, I, p. 68. For the Mauritshuis sketch see *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens*, Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, 1953–54, Cat. No. 47. See also *Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens*, Wildenstein, London, 1950, pp. 2–3, Cat. No. 2. (4) Letter by Julius Held in Kress Archive, New York. (5) The Antwerp *Assumption* differs from K1871 in its far more diagonally placed Virgin; the Apostles are far nearer the foreground; the angel at the upper left holds a palm totally dissimilar to the one in K1871 and the burial cave is not shown. (6) Reproduced in Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, New York, 1971, II, Cat. Nos. 69 and 40. The elevated sarcophagus in Cat. No. 40 is similar to that of K1871.

CORNELIS DE VOS

The artist was born in Hulst in 1584 and died in Antwerp in 1651. His younger brother Paul was also a painter, and their sister married Frans Snyders. The artist's career centered upon Antwerp, where he worked under David Remeus from 1599 to 1604. He joined the guild in 1608 and was elected dean in 1619, three years after becoming a burgher of Antwerp. Cornelis worked with Jordaens on portraits for the triumphal entry decorations designed by Rubens for the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. He also executed some of the mythological subjects created by Rubens for the hunting lodge (Torre de la Parada) of Philip IV near Madrid. Cornelis de Vos is best known for his vivacious portraits, especially those of children, the finest of which were painted between 1618 and 1635. He was also active as an art dealer in Antwerp and Paris.¹

K1065 : Figure 102

PORTRAIT OF A LADY WITH A LITTLE GIRL. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, since 1952 (61–44–34). Oil on pine. 43½ × 33⅞ in. (100.5 × 86.1 cm.). Several vertical splits in panel; considerable abrasion in sky area at upper left; several losses at upper right of head.² Cradled and restored in 1933 by Pichetto. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1954; well preserved. *San Francisco*, 1955, p. 84.

A seated woman in three-quarter length, facing a little girl at her side, is seen against a column with red drapery wound around it. She holds the child's right hand in hers. A stormy sky is to the left, above the trees. The sitter wears a jeweled cap, small pearl drop earrings, a huge white ruff, a striped dress with lace cuffs and a gold brocade stomacher. Her mantle falls over the arm of the chair. She wears matching gold chain bracelets and a ring on a finger of each hand. The little girl is in a brightly-figured gown of blue flowers on white, wearing a pearl necklace and pearl bracelets. The composition is inspired by portraiture of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries where the sitter is on a loggia or terrace above the landscape. (See Rubens's *Brigida Spinola Doria*, K2187).

In 1912 C. Hofstede de Groot found K1065 to be by Cornelis de Vos.³ Longhi viewed the panel as typical of de Vos, comparing the little girl to that artist's portrait of a girl (Berlin).⁴ In 1937 the Kress portrait was dated c. 1620–25.⁵

Burroughs, although he found it close to works of de Vos's late phase, such as the *Mother and Children* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), attributed the Kress panel to an artist first identified by Karl Voll as the 'Master of Ribeaucourt'. The latter's oeuvre is somewhat like that of Jordaens. Burroughs noted Van Dyck's influence in the free brushwork of this portrait, but regarded the drapery in K1065 especially close to that of the Ribeaucourt

Master.⁶ According to Greindl, de Vos painted K1065 c. 1621–5.⁷ She noted that the blue mantle (corrected by Larsen to read blue sash) was the unique instance of de Vos's use of azure blue. Larsen suggested that the panel was the companion piece to a male portrait, very close in composition and size, formerly in the Cook Collection (see Text Fig. 26) there given to Van Dyck.⁸ The Kress portrait was recently attributed to Anthony van Dyck by Larsen who found that its 'broad conception and vigorous brushstrokes . . . are quite alien to De Vos' technique'. He also regarded the color, 'delicately shaded in exquisite nuances', as very different from de Vos's 'frank, Rubensian [art] featuring reddish flesh tones'. He related K1065 to the Van Dyck *Portrait of a Lady* (El Paso, Museum of Fine Arts, K227; see Figure 105). Larsen regarded the presence of azure blue an indication of Van Dyck's authorship, as Cornelis de Vos, according to Greindl, did not use this color.⁹ Stella Mary Newton dated the Kress canvas c. 1625 on the basis of the sitter's attire.

K1065 may well, as proposed by Larsen, be the companion piece to a portrait formerly in the Cook Collection ascribed to Van Dyck (Text Fig. 26). Further substantiation for Larsen's view may be found in the identical floral pattern on the skirt of the sitter in K1065 and in the gentleman's attire. The Kress panel fits in well with Cornelis de Vos's best works, such as the *Portrait of the Artist and his Family* of 1621 (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts). Cornelis's brother, the animal painter Paul de Vos, was an assistant of Rubens and was portrayed by Van Dyck (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum and Paris, Louvre). Van Dyck also painted Cornelis's sister Margareta and her husband, Frans Snyder (both New York, Frick Collection). Close ties between de Vos and Van Dyck explain the influence of the latter, younger, more brilliant master upon the elder.

The sitter's garb suggests that she was not a member of the aristocracy. Perhaps she, together with the presumed pendant, belonged to an artist's family.

Provenance: Massey-Mainwaring Collection, London. Sir George Donaldson, London, exhibited – Brussels, *Exposition d'art ancien. L'art belge au XVII^e siècle*, June–Nov. 1910, Cat. No. 509. Paris, Sedelmeyer Gallery, 1913 (*12th Series of 100 Paintings by Old Masters*, Paris, 1913, Cat. No. 28). Eugène Fischhof (sold, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 14 June 1913, Cat. No. 67). New York, F. Kleinberger Galleries, 1924, exhibited – Detroit, Michigan, Institute of Arts, *Loan Exhibition of Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, 9–25 Jan. 1925, Cat. No. 35.¹⁰ Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1932. Presented in 1937 to Portland Art Association, where it remained until 1952.

References: (1) See Edith Greindl, *Corneille de Vos, Portraitiste Flamand*, Brussels, 1944, and her entry for the artist in the exhibition catalogue *Le Siècle de Rubens*, Brussels, 1965, pp. 277–82. (2) Alan Burroughs noted pentimenti in the line of the child's cheek and in the woman's features (Kress Archive, c. 1935). In the Sedelmeyer Catalogue illustration

(see *Provenance*), the woman seems to have a slightly different nose, confirming Burroughs's view that she had been 'prettified'. (3) Quoted in F. Kleinberger Galleries Catalogue, 1924 (see *Provenance*). (4) Roberto Longhi translation in Kress Archive. William Suida, G. Fiocco, F. F. Mason Perkins, Adolfo Venturi, Raimond van Marle all found K1065 to be by Cornelis de Vos in opinions of 1935 (transcriptions in Kress Archive). (5) *Bulletin of the Portland Art Museum*, iv, 4, July 1937, p. 3. (6) Alan Burroughs, *Art Criticism from a Laboratory*, Boston, 1938, pp. 144–5. See also Karl Voll, 'Franz Hals in der alten Pinakothek', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1906, pp. 33–5. For the Master of Ribeaucourt see *Thieme-Becker*, xxxvii, p. 289. (7) Greindl, *op. cit.*, p. 149, pp. 9–10. (8) Erik Larsen, 'The Samuel H. Kress Collection at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum', *Apollo*, lxi, 1955, pp. 177 ff. First ascribed to Rubens, the Cook portrait was listed as by Van Dyck by Lionel Cust, *Van Dyck . . . His Life and His Works*, London, 1900, p. 16, Cat. No. 32, 43 × 34 in. (109 × 86 cm.). There is a difference of 1.5 cm. in height between the two portraits. Cook Collection Sale, Sotheby's, London, 25 June 1958, p. 36, Cat. No. 85. (9) Larsen, 'Some New van Dyck Materials and Problems', *Raggi*, vii, i, 1967, pp. 1–14, esp. pp. 8–10. (10) Greindl, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 153, listed the Kress panel as in the C. Lambert Sale, American Art Association, New York, 21 Feb. 1916; but K1065 is not in that sale. According to *San Francisco* (p. 84), K1065 may have been in the Anthony Reyre Collection in London.

FLEMISH SCHOOL c. 1640

[Cornelis de Vos]

KX-4 : Figure 103

PORTRAIT OF A CAVALIER. New York, Mrs. Rush H. Kress. 31½ × 25¾ in. (80 × 65.4 cm.). Oil on panel. Cradled and restored by Pichetto, 1929–30. A vertical split through the left eye; abrasion in area left of chin; not well preserved.

A man in cavalier's plumed felt hat and riding attire, short cloak, *reticella* lace collar and cuffs, rests his right hand on the pommel of a sword held in his left. He looks out at the spectator though his body is turned toward the right.

In 1935 Suida described KX-4 as 'remarkable in its beautiful movement, a chief work by Cornelis de Vos'.¹ Burroughs found the form of brushstroke typical of Cornelis de Vos.² Friedländer dated the panel c. 1640, noting the influence of Rubens. He did not find it in the style of Cornelis de Vos.³ Edith Greindl included the Kress portrait in her de Vos monograph. According to her, Charles C. Cunningham considered the panel an authentic work by de Vos.⁴

The *Portrait of a Cavalier* lacks de Vos's finesse. It was probably painted in Flanders toward the middle of the seventeenth century.

Provenance: 'Mr. Clark, England' (according to Contini Bonacossi brochure). Rome, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1929, exhibited - New York, *Spring House Tour for Spence School*, Apr. 1961.

References: (1) Transcription in Kress Archive, 22/viii/35. G. Fiocco, Raimond van Marle, and Adolfo Venturi followed Suida's views. F. F. Mason Perkins accepted the attribution with reservations. (2) Report of c. 1935 in Kress Archive. (3) Transcription in Kress Archive, dated Nov. 1938. (4) Edith Greindl, *Corneille de Vos, Portraitiste Flamand*, Brussels, 1944, p. 149.

ANTHONY VAN DYCK

Anthony van Dyck was born in Antwerp on 22 March 1599; he died in London in 1641. By 1609-10, he was among the pupils of Hendrick van Balen, dean of the Antwerp artists' guild which admitted Van Dyck in 1618. By this time Van Dyck, in association with Rubens's studio, was working on the *Decius Mus* canvases (Vienna, Liechtenstein Collection). Van Dyck is the only painter mentioned by name as one of those who were to execute the large paintings from Rubens's sketches in the 1620 contract for the Jesuit Church of Antwerp. His early style had much in common with Rubens's contemporary works, but soon developed in a more Venetian direction with thinner paint layers. In 1620 Van Dyck went to England as painter to King James I. During the following year he traveled to Rome, Genoa, Venice, Florence, Milan, Turin and Palermo, receiving many portrait commissions the style of which was largely based on Rubens's Genoese works. Van Dyck also drew after the antique and many sixteenth-century masters, especially the Venetians (Chatsworth Sketchbook). Returning to Antwerp in 1627, he became court painter to the Infanta Isabella. In 1632 he moved to England where Charles I accorded him extraordinary privileges including a knighthood, a large salary, a house, pension and title of chief court painter. Charles and his courtiers lavished portrait commissions on him to the almost total exclusion of other subject matter. In 1635, Van Dyck returned briefly to the Netherlands where he must have painted some portraits. At the court of Charles I the painter evolved a somewhat mannered, extremely aristocratic portrait style, characterized by a light, clear palette.¹

Reference: (1) See Lionel Cust, *Anthony van Dyck*, London, 1900; Gustav Glück, *Van Dyck, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1931; Leo van Puyvelde, *Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1956; Horst Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962; Michael Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, London, 1966.

K1858 : Figure 104

PORTRAIT OF A LADY. El Paso, Texas, El Paso Museum of Art (61-1-57), since 1961. 47 × 36½ in. (119.4 × 91.7 cm.).

Oil on canvas. Very thinly painted and considerably abraded. Cleaned and restored in 1951 by Modestini. *El Paso*, 1961, Cat. No. 49, reproduced in color.

The lady stands before a chair, turned slightly to the left; a large red curtain is tied back at the left revealing blue sky through a window. She wears a cap with a padded band trimmed with pearls, pearl drop earrings, a ruff, a dark dress with a gold brocade stomacher and lace cuffs, matching bracelets and a ring. She holds a chain in circular fashion with both hands, and also grasps a spray of rose (?) leaves with her left hand.¹

In 1867 Waagen described the portrait as of great expressive finesse, its pale tonality of remarkable clarity, recalling that of Van Dyck's *Frans Snyder*s (New York, Frick Collection), which he dated c. 1630.² The portrait is included in Guiffrey's Van Dyck monograph.³ Its proximity to Cornelis de Vos's style was noted by Cust, who found the portrait a good example of Van Dyck's early work, dating it c. 1619. Cust remarked that K1858 was sometimes ascribed to Rubens.⁴ Schaeffer dated it to Van Dyck's early period.⁵ The painting was placed in the artist's middle period by Pryor.⁶

Glück included the Kress painting in his list of Van Dyck's works. He grouped it in the early, pre-Italian period, after 1618 but before 1621.⁷ Baldass noted the similarity of the Kress sitter, whose portrait he dated c. 1618, to another Van Dyck (Liechtenstein Collection), of about the same year, suggesting the subjects were sisters or close relatives.⁸ Horst Vey dated the canvas c. 1618-20, stating that it was typical of Van Dyck's art of these years.⁹

The subject was probably one of a pair, the sitter's husband presumably the subject of the pendant, turned toward her. However, the placement of the drapery K1853 to the left rather than the right may argue against this. The chain and leaves are probably emblematic, possibly relating to hope, love and marriage.

The portrait is close to those of Rubens's middle period, having considerable stylistic and even physiognomical correspondence to several paintings by Van Dyck's senior associate which are often identified as showing Rubens's first wife Isabella Brant who died prematurely in 1626. The younger master, although partially adapting Rubens's manner, already reveals his individual approach, stressing elegance and rapid characterization. This was soon to be more highly developed during Van Dyck's Italian residence beginning in 1621, shortly after his execution of the Kress canvas.

Provenance: Fürst Johann Adam von Liechtenstein, Vienna, as early as 1712.¹⁰ Liechtenstein Gallery until the collection was removed from Vienna during World War II. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1951, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America . . .*, 10 Dec. 1961 - 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 21.

References: (1) Similar leaves are held by *Maria de Witte* (London, Joseph Labia). See Ludwig Burchard, 'The De Witte couple by Van Dyck', *Burlington Magazine*, c, 1958, p. 319. Gustav Glück, *Van Dyck, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1931, p. 90. (2) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, Vienna, 1867, I, p. 271. (3) Jules Guiffrey, *Antoine van Dyck, Sa Vie et Son Œuvre*, Paris, 1882, p. 288, Cat. No. 1125. Also listed by Herman Knackfuss, *Van Dyck*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1896, p. 47, repr. p. 51, fig. 34. (4) Lionel Cust, *Anthony van Dyck*, London, 1900, p. 237, Cat. No. 75. (5) Emil Schaeffer, *Van Dyck, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909, p. 545, pl. 134. (6) David C. Pryor, *The Art of the Vienna Galleries*, Boston, 1911, p. 224. (7) Glück, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, pl. 86. Strohmer also gave K1858 to Van Dyck's early period (Erich V. Strohmer, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Fürsten Liechtenstein in Wien*, 1943, Cat. No. 42). K1858 is also listed by Pierre Imbourg (*Van Dyck*, Munich, 1949, p. 99, Cat. No. 12). (8) Ludwig Baldass, 'Some Notes on the Development of van Dyck's Portrait Style', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6me sér., I, 1957, pp. 251-70, esp. p. 260. (9) Letter of 13/vii/67 in Kress Archive. (10) Letter of 23/vi/69 from Gustav Wilhelm, Curator of the Liechtenstein Gallery, in Kress Archive.

K227 : Figure 105

LADY IN BLACK, WHITE, AND GOLD [Doña Polyxena Spinola Guzman de Leganés]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1375), since 1950. Oil on canvas. $43\frac{3}{16} \times 38\frac{3}{16}$ in. (109.7 × 97 cm.). Pentimenti in the left hand; the string of pearls was originally placed higher. Relined and restored by Pichetto c. 1933; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1954; some abrasion; loss of impasto through old relining.

Suida, p. 208, Cat. No. 92.

The somewhat corpulent, standing lady is shown in knee-length, turned to the right, holding a closed fan in her left hand. She grasps her black over-dress with her right hand, wearing a white dress with slashed sleeves. Ribbons are over the stomacher and sleeves. Her jewels include a pearl necklace and a long golden chain attached to a brooch pinned to a large lace collar (whisk). The painting is primarily executed in shades of white, gold, grey and black.

The Kress portrait, when in the Doria Collection, Genoa, was identified as Polyxena Spinola by Menotti in his 1879 study of Van Dyck's Genoese portraits, identical to a *Polyxena* listed in the Doria inventory of 1680.¹ Presumably the latter referred to Doña Polyxena Spinola, daughter of the great Genoese general Ambrogio Spinola. In 1628 she married Diego Felipe de Guzmán, Marqués de Leganés, ambassador of Philip IV to the Genoese republic and the agent through whom Van Dyck received many commissions from Spanish patrons.² The wedding took place in the Queen's apartment in Madrid.³ Polyxena's husband went to the Netherlands with the Spanish army early in 1630. Both she and her father, who left the Netherlands in 1628, were portrayed by Van Dyck.⁴ She died in 1638.

According to Cust, there is another portrait of Doña Polyxena by Van Dyck in the Prado (No. 1493).⁵ It shows a dark-haired, long-faced sitter, without any resemblance to the blonde, fair-skinned, plump figure in K227.⁶ According to Trapier, the Prado painting is probably the one listed in Leganés's inventory of 1655, as his wife.⁷ Suida described the subject of K227 as Polyxena Spinola, finding the canvas as fine as Van Dyck's portrait of Maria Luisa de Tassis (Vienna, Liechtenstein Collection).⁸ In 1936, G. Fiocco, Adolfo Venturi, William Suida, F. F. Mason Perkins and Roberto Longhi all certified to Van Dyck's authorship of K227.⁹ Friedländer dated the portrait c. 1628, noting that it was probably not executed in Genoa.¹⁰ Valentiner placed the work in Van Dyck's second Antwerp period, 1628-32. He retained the traditional identification.¹¹ It was observed by *Suida* (p. 208) that: 'The style and color of the painting as well as the Northern costume and the biographical data on the sitter make it certain that this portrait of the Genoese Lady was not painted during Van Dyck's sojourn in Italy (1622-27). All facts point to its execution somewhat later in Antwerp. Our portrait, in attitude as well as in costume, is closely related to the portrait of Anna Wake, wife of Peter Stevens, in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, which is dated 1628. The question is whether Polyxena's portrait was painted then, that is shortly before her marriage, or immediately after.'

The Kress portrait or an otherwise unknown replica is included in a depiction of the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm by David Teniers the Younger, signed and dated 1653 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).¹² However, no female portrait by Van Dyck is recorded in the 1659 inventory of Leopold Wilhelm's collection.¹³ The subject of K227 was probably Flemish, painted by Van Dyck on one of his trips to his native land during his English residence, possibly in 1634.

In addition to the style, the sitter's Northern attire and the fact that K227 was probably included in Archduke Leopold Wilhelm's collection further argue against the portrait's traditional identification. This exquisite, austere picture shows Van Dyck's virtuosity in its seemingly effortless, spontaneous execution. Painted at the peak of his career, the canvas depicts a somewhat ungainly sitter in such a way as to suggest beauty, grace and wit.

Provenance: Probably Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Brussels, as early as 1653.¹⁴ Possibly collection of Palazzo Doria, Genoa, as early as 1680.¹⁵ Ambrogio Doria, Genoa, sold to Contini Bonacossi, Florence. Kress acquisition 1932, exhibited - Chicago, Art Institute, *A Century of Progress - Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture*, 1 June-1 Nov. 1933, p. 10, Cat. No. 59. New York, World's Fair, *European Paintings and Sculpture from 1300-1800, Masterpieces of Art*, May-Oct. 1939, p. 52, Cat. No. 104.

References: (1) Mario Menotti, 'Van Dyck a Genova', *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, III, 1897, p. 375. (2) Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, 'The School of Madrid and Van Dyck', *Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, pp. 265-75, esp. p. 265.

(3) See Carl Justi, *Diego Velázquez and his Times*, London, 1889, p. 151. (4) Gustav Glück, *Van Dyck, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1931, pls. 295, 424. (5) Lionel Cust, *Anthony van Dyck*, London, 1900, p. 242, Cat. No. 98. *Museo del Prado, Catálogo de los Cuadros*, Madrid, 1952, p. 184. (6) A replica of the Prado canvas is in Columbus, Ohio, Columbus Gallery of Art (no. 2527). It is reproduced in Glück, *op. cit.* Note 4 above, pl. 177 as with the Kleinberger Galleries. There is said to have been a double portrait of Polixena and her husband in Salamanca (Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 503, n. to pl. 191). (7) Trapier, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, p. 266. For the inventory see Vicente Poleró, 'Colección de Pinturas que reunió en su Palacio el Marqués de Leganés D. Diego Felipe de Guzmán', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, vi, 1898, pp. 122–34 [esp. pp. 126–34, esp. pp. 130–2]. The identification of the Prado portrait as Polixena Spinola seems secure as the replica (Columbus, Ohio) was recorded in a 1695 inventory of Frederick III of Brandenburg's collection as showing Polixena. (Glück, *op. cit.* Note 4 above, p. 539, n. to pl. 177.) (8) Wilhelm Suida, *Genua*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 165. The *Tassis* is pl. 333 in Glück, *op. cit.* Note 4 above. Emil Schaeffer (*Van Dyck, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909, pl. 191 and p. 503) accepted the identification and authorship of K227 given by Suida. According to Schaeffer, a double portrait is lost. In 1932, the export license (Rome, 20 July) for K227 listed it as 'una gentildonna de casa Spinola'. (9) Transcriptions in Kress Archive. (10) Transcription in Kress Archive, 1938. (11) William R. Valentiner, *European Paintings and Sculpture from 1300 to 1800, Masterpieces of Art*, New York, World's Fair, 1939, p. 52, Cat. No. 104. (12) Noted by Glück, *ibid.*, p. 557, n. to pl. 348. (13) Published in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 1, 2, 1883, pp. LXXIX–CLXXVII. (14) See text and Note 13 *supra*. (15) According to tradition the painting came to the Casa Doria from Spain through the Marchesa Geronima Centurione, who had inherited it from the Spinola family.

ANTHONY VAN DYCK

K1911 : Figures 106, 107

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA WITH HER DWARF. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1118), since 1952. Oil on canvas. $86\frac{1}{2} \times 53\frac{1}{8}$ in. (219.1×134.8 cm.). Relined c. 1900; very few small losses; slight abrasion in flesh areas; very well preserved.

Suida-Shapley, p. 70, Cat. No. 24. Reproduced in color, Seymour, p. 148, pl. 139.

The queen is shown in full-length, about life-size, standing on a curved step before a fluted column and seen against a blue and white sky. Her crown (with fleur-de-lys)¹ is placed upon a ledge covered by a golden brocade hanging just at the right. Her hair is worn in ringlets under a black cavalier's hat with a white plume. She is shown in a riding dress of blue silk trimmed with narrow gold braid, elbow-length sleeves, lace at the wrists and a broad lace collar (probably Italian); two pink rosettes are fastened at the

breast. Her only jewel is a large pearl-drop earring. She is turned slightly to the left, petting a monkey with her right hand. The monkey is perched on the raised arm of the queen's dwarf, Sir Jeffrey Hudson, who wears a cavalier's garb – a long jacket and breeches of crimson velvet and brown riding boots – and holds a pear in his right hand. A long gold chain is around his neck. A small orange tree in a pot ornamented by a lion's mascaron and garlands is at the upper left.²

Henrietta Maria, third daughter of Henri IV and Marie de' Medici and sister of Louis XIII, was born on 26 November 1609. She was betrothed to Charles, Prince of Wales, in 1624, on the condition that English Catholics received greater freedom. They married by proxy in 1625. Henrietta's children were Charles II (b. 1630), Mary, Princess of Orange (b. 1631), James II (b. 1633), Elizabeth (b. 1636), Henry, Duke of Gloucester (b. 1640) and Henrietta, Duchess of Orléans (b. 1644). She left for France in 1640 seeking aid for her husband, returning in 1643 and finally seeking refuge in France in 1644; Charles was beheaded in 1649. Henrietta returned to England after the Restoration; she died in France in 1666.

The Kress canvas, unknown until the mid-nineteenth century, is usually dated c. 1633, since another example, owned by the Earl of Fitzwilliam (South Yorkshire, Wentworth Woodhouse), descended to him from Thomas, the Earl of Sheffield, Lord Deputy of Ireland, is presumably the portrait Charles I sent Sheffield in 1633 and paid for on 21 October.³

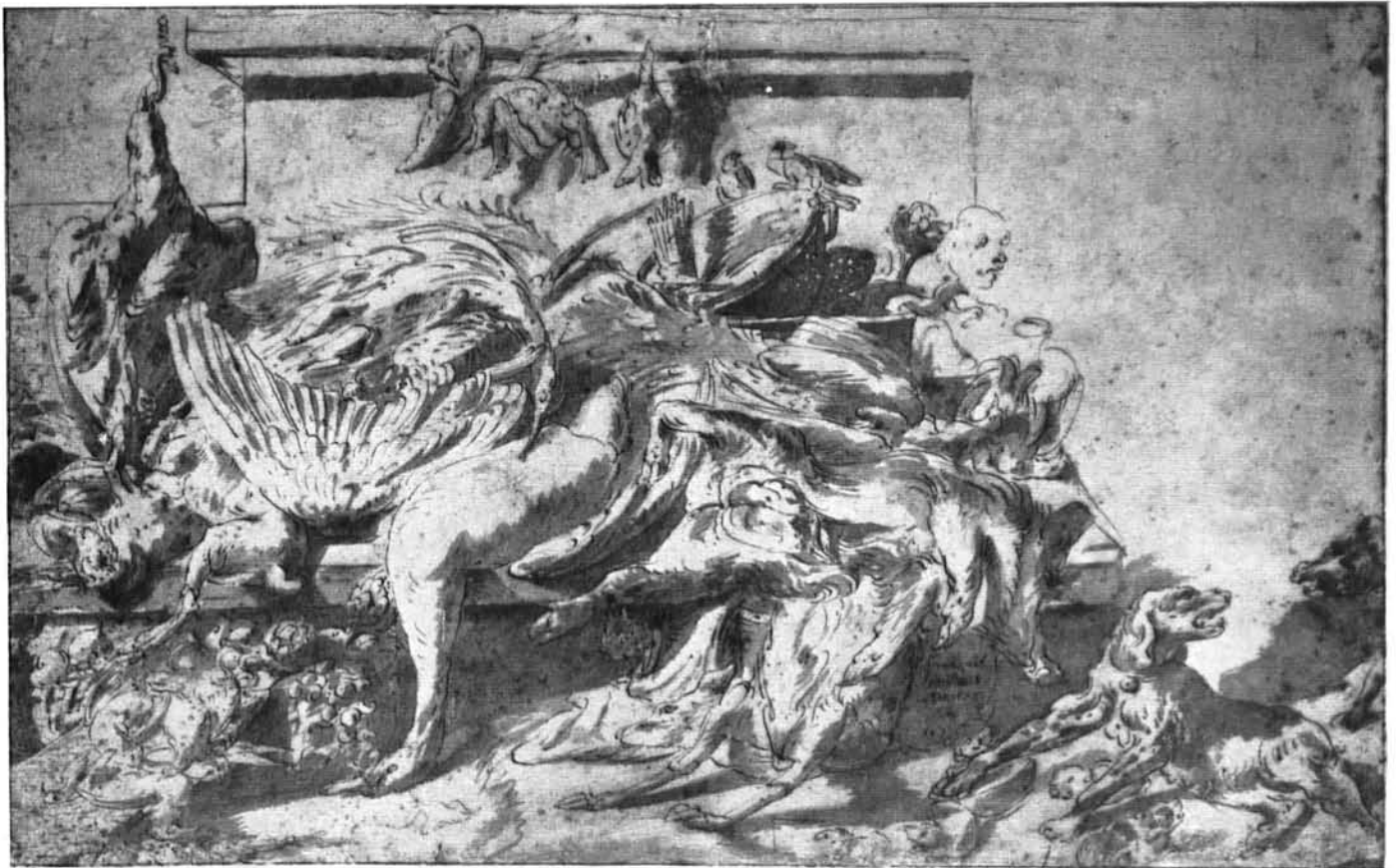
A preparatory drawing for K1911 is in the Musée de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. See Text Fig. 27.⁴

'The picture is in a true sense a double portrait, for the small attendant was well known in English society of the mid-seventeenth century. This was the time of the last flowering at the English courts of the age-old custom of retaining dwarf entertainers. And the prize of them all, the trim little Jeffrey Hudson, made his first bow before the queen as he stepped from a pie served up on a state occasion by the Duchess of Buckingham. As a member of the royal household from that time onward, he was not only an entertainer, very popular for his wit and grace, but was also sent by the queen on private missions. His exploits were out of all proportion to his size. He fought a duel and killed his rival, who had imprudently armed himself with a toy pistol. He was captured by pirates and held for royal ransom. He was "Captain of Horse" during the rebellion and went into exile with the queen in 1644. After the Restoration he returned to England and lived until his death, in 1682, on a pension from Charles II. Sir Walter Scott has immortalized him in *Peveril of the Peak*. Even the monkey in our painting is probably a portrait, for "Pug", Her Majesty's monkey, is said to have been inseparable from the dwarf.'⁵

Three portraits of the queen with her dwarf Jeffrey Hudson were also painted by Daniel Mytens prior to Van Dyck's



Text Fig 18 *Game Stall at Market* by Frans Snyder, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie (see κ 1634).



Text Fig 19 Drawing for *Game Stall at Market* by Frans Snyder, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (see κ 1634).



Text Fig 20 *Marchesa Brigida Spinola-Doria* by Peter Paul Rubens. Preparatory drawing for K 2187, formerly collection Edmund Schilling, London.



Text Fig 21 *Marchesa Brigida Spinola-Doria*. Etching after Rubens by Pierre-Frédéric Lehnert, 1848 (see K 2187).



Text Fig 22 After Rubens (Van Dyck?) *Decius Mus Addressing the Legions*. Vienna, Liechtenstein Collection (see K 2117).



Text Fig 23 *Decius Mus Addressing the Legions*. Tapestry by Jan Raes the Elder after Rubens. Vienna, Liechtenstein Collection (see K 2117).

English residence for presentation to friends of the king and queen.⁶ Portraits of Charles I and his queen were painted for the sitters themselves, for presentation by them to members of the court or European royalty, or ordered by members of the court for their own residences. Early owners of K1911 also possessed a portrait of Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport (a prominent figure at the court of Charles I and an important patron of Van Dyck) the same size as the Kress canvas. This fact suggests the possibility that Blount may have ordered or been given K1911 and that it was purchased together with his own portrait by the second Earl of Bradford. Both portraits were acquired jointly by the Earl of Northbrook.⁷

The composition of the Kress portrait was first described by Smith, who listed the original as destroyed by fire and known only from a copy by Charles Jervas (1675–1739) (Petworth, Lord Egremont).⁸ In 1842, Smith gave the portrait in the collection of Earl Fitzwilliam as the original Van Dyck upon which Jervas's work was based.⁹ Waagen did not know the Kress canvas either; he considered the Wentworth Woodhouse portrait 'a beautiful picture, carefully executed in the warmer tones of the earlier part of [Van Dyck's] residence in England.'¹⁰ The Kress portrait was first listed by Wood in 1868 as by Van Dyck, owned by 'Lord Milton'.¹¹ Schaeffer illustrated the Kress canvas in his Van Dyck monograph, describing the Wentworth Woodhouse painting as 'another version'.¹² In 1889, the portrait was published by Weale who catalogued it as by Van Dyck, describing the Wentworth Woodhouse canvas as 'a similar picture'.¹³ Borenius found the Wentworth Woodhouse to be the original painting of 1633; he listed the Kress portrait as 'another version', together with the canvas then at Northwick Park (Spencer-Churchill Collection) which he also catalogued as by Anthony van Dyck.¹⁴ Cust characterized K1911 as a 'repetition' of the Wentworth Woodhouse canvas.¹⁵ Valentiner stressed the superiority of the Kress *Henrietta Maria*, describing the other examples as 'replicas'.¹⁶ Glück, in his Van Dyck monograph, listed the Kress canvas as 'fully original', referring to the Wentworth Woodhouse as a copy.¹⁷ The technique of the *Henrietta Maria* was characterized by Puyvelde as returning to that of Van Dyck's early works, utilizing a heavy impasto unlike the thin brushwork of the bulk of his works painted in England. He stressed the disquieting effect of the deep blue coloration in the Wentworth Woodhouse portrait.¹⁸ The Kress canvas was placed first and the Wentworth Woodhouse example second by Vey, who noted the close correspondence between the composition and Van Dyck's preparatory drawing in Paris (Text Fig. 27).¹⁹ Seymour (p. 149) found that this 'composition of [a great lady] standing by a column and a grand curtain of fallen drapery became a guide-post for Gainsborough in the next century'. K1911 was dated c. 1633 by Jaffé who found it a superb example from Van Dyck's English period.²⁰

Brilliantly realized, painted with Van Dyck's characteristically elegant élan, the Kress canvas is certainly an autograph work by Van Dyck and a major portrait of the

queen. The example at Wentworth Woodhouse, more strident in tonality, less individually rendered in such areas as the head of the little attendant, is probably a replica although apparently executed for the most part by Van Dyck.²¹

Provenance: Earls of Bradford (Newport family). Fifth Earl of Bradford. Diana, Countess of Mountrath, who inherited it in 1762 from her brother, the above, and bequeathed it to her husband's son, the Seventh and last Earl of Mountrath. First Earl of Dorchester, Milton Abbey, heir to the above.²² Earl of Portarlington, Emo Park, Queen's County, Ireland, exhibited – London, Royal Academy, 1878, no. 166. Earl of Northbrook (until 1927), Cat. by W. H. James Weale, 1889, p. 92, Cat. No. 130, exhibited – London, Grosvenor Gallery, 1887, Cat. No. 15? or 35?; London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300–1900*, 1927, p. 65, Cat. No. 146. William Randolph Hearst, San Simeon, California (Cat. No. 174–1, 1941), exhibited – Detroit, Institute of Arts, *Eighth Loan Exhibition of Old Masters Paintings by Anthony van Dyck*, 3–20 Apr. 1929, Cat. No. 42. New York, Century Club, *Masters of Portraiture*, 6 Mar.–3 Apr. 1938, Cat. No. 10. San Francisco, California, Golden Gate International Exposition, *Masterworks of Five Centuries*, 1939, Cat. No. 92. New York, M. Knoedler and Co., *A Loan Exhibition of Allied Art for Allied Aid*, 10–29 June 1940, Cat. No. 3. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Diamond Jubilee Exhibition, Masterpieces of Painting*, 4 Nov. 1950–11 Feb. 1951, Cat. No. 31. Kress acquisition 1952, from Knoedler.

References: (1) See H. D. W. Sitwell, *The Crown Jewels and other Regalia in the Tower of London*, London, 1953, p. 37. The crown was recorded in an inventory of the regalia melted down by the Commonwealth in 1649 and was often included in portraits of the queen. (2) It is not specifically emblematic of the queen, and was a standard studio prop included in Van Dyck's female portraits such as that of the Countess Monmouth (Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle). The orange tree was a Marian emblem, associated with purity, chastity and generosity. It may have been included in this portrait as an attribute of the queen's patron saint or as an indication of her own excellence. By the mid-seventeenth century orange trees were imported to Western Europe and were symbols of wealth. (3) Lionel Cust, *Anthony van Dyck*, London, 1900, p. 107. Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, issued a warrant to Van Dyck in 1633 to deliver a portrait of the queen he had 'lately made for the Lord Chamberlain'. Cust (*ibid.*) assumed this to be the painting still at Wilton House. The queen wears a dress similar in style and color to that of K1911. Jules Guiffrey, *Sir Anthony van Dyck*, London, 1898, p. 175, quoted the research of a Mr. Carpenter in the archives of the Privy Seal and identified the Wentworth Woodhouse canvas with this entry. (4) See Horst Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, p. 279, Cat. No. 206, pl. 253. It is in black chalk, heightened with white, on blue paper (41.9 × 25.7 cm.), Musée de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Inv. No. 34604. (5) *Suida-Shapley*, pp. 70, 72, Cat. No. 24. See Edward J.

Wood, *Giants and Dwarfs*, London, 1868, pp. 277–84. See also *Walpole Society*, xxvi, 1937–8, *Vertue Notebooks*, v, p. 78. A portrait of Hudson by Daniel Mytens is at Hampton Court. Van Dyck painted the Duchess of Buckingham with her dwarf, Mrs. Gibson, in a similar pose (Emil Schaeffer, *Van Dyck, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart–Leipzig, 1909, pl. 364). (6) One was executed for the Duchess of Saxony in 1628, two others also painted in the same year were for presentation to ‘Madame Nourrice’ and for the Queen of Bohemia. See Charlotte C. Stopes, ‘Daniel Mytens in England’, in Lionel Cust’s *Pictures in the Royal Collections*, London, 1911, pp. 86–9. Hudson is shown in similar fashion in a painting listed as by Van Dyck, ex coll. the Duke of Leeds, in which Henrietta Maria appears in different garb from K1911. Reproduced in *Connoisseur*, Feb. 1933, p. 135, pl. 1 (Erich Gallery). A portrait of Hudson alone, in similar attire to that of K1911, is at Hampton Court. See C. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of Paintings at Hampton Court*, London, 1929, p. 108. Cat. No. 798. It is reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXV, 1944, p. 305. (7) For Sir Richard Newport (1587–1651), First Baron Newport, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1917, xiv, pp. 359–60. For Francis Newport (1619–1708), First Earl of Bradford, see pp. 356–7. He purchased his peerage in 1694. For Baron Blount see *Burke’s Dormant and Extinct Peerages*, London, 1883, p. 56. The Earls of Bradford were entirely unrelated to Blount, despite their both being named Newport. The later Newports, also Royalists, may have purchased Blount’s paintings to demonstrate their views and possibly to claim alliance with the well-known Earl of Newport. The Blount portrait is reproduced by Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, pl. 376. (8) John Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, London, 1831, iii, p. 131, Cat. No. 474. (9) Smith, *Supplement to the Catalogue Raisonné*, London, 1842, p. 377, Cat. No. 33. He did not mention K1911. (10) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, iii, p. 340, Cat. No. 8. (11) Wood, *loc. cit.* Note 5 above; Guiffrey (*op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 191) only refers to the Wentworth Woodhouse canvas. (12) Schaeffer, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 509, repr. pl. 307. (13) W. H. James Weale, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures belonging to the Earl of Northbrook*, London, 1889, p. 92, Cat. No. 130. (14) Tancred Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Northwick Park*, 1921, p. 60, Cat. No. 124. Sold at Christie’s, 25 June 1965, p. 26, Cat. No. 63. In the 1864 *Catalogue of Pictures at Northwick Park* it was listed as by Dobson (p. 36, Cat. No. 291), and was acquired as such from the William Mellish Sale, Christie’s, 16 Mar. 1839, Lot 35 (bought by Haywood). (15) Cust, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, pp. 107–8, p. 265, Cat. No. 24. (16) Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Unbekannte Meisterwerke in öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen*, Berlin, 1930, Cat. No. 47. (17) Gustav Glück, *Van Dyck, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1931, p. 559, n. to pl. 373. (18) Leo van Puyvelde, *Van Dyck*, Brussels, Amsterdam and Paris, 1950, pp. 165, 172. (19) Vey, *op. cit.* Note 4 above, p. 279, Cat. No. 206, pl. 253. (20) Michael Jaffé, ‘Van Dyck Portraits in the De Young Museum and Elsewhere’, *Art Quarterly*, xxvii, 1965, pp.

41–55, esp. p. 43. (21) There are several differences in detail between K1911 and the example in England: a small pruned branch of the orange tree in K1911 is shown as part of the foliage of a tree behind it in the Wentworth Woodhouse canvas; the upper right profile of the queen’s skirt is more irregular in K1911. Foliage in the left foreground of the English canvas rises above the step at the lower left but does not in K1911. The English canvas is either slightly cut down or was always somewhat lower at the top and slightly longer at the bottom than K1911. Since the English canvas (in the photograph available to this writer) does not appear to have been cleaned for a long time, an entirely reliable comparison is hard to establish. (22) *Eighth Loan Exhibition of Old Masters, Paintings by Anthony van Dyck*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 3–20 Apr. 1929, Cat. No. 42.

JACOB JORDAENS

Jacob Jordaens was born in Antwerp in 1593 and died there in 1678.¹ By 1607 he was apprenticed to Rubens’s teacher Adam van Noort and in 1615 was enrolled as a master in the Antwerp Guild. From c. 1618 he worked for the Rubens shop in much the same way as Van Dyck. His first dated work is the *Holy Family with Shepherds* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) of 1616. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Jordaens did not travel to Italy and was never further from home than Amsterdam; his Caravaggesque art depended largely upon works of that master and his followers in the North. He was again associated with Rubens in the 1630s when he executed one of a series of paintings designed by Rubens for Philip IV of Spain. Jordaens’s style was much influenced by Rubens but is less classically oriented. He stressed down-to-earth subject matter, such as illustrations of Flemish proverbs (e.g. *The Old Sing and the Young Pipe*, 1638, Antwerp, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts). His use of robust, rustic native models extended to religious and mythological compositions. Jordaens succeeded Rubens as the major artist in the South Netherlands, following the latter’s death in 1640. French classicism was to influence him from the middle of the century onwards. A prolific master, Jordaens also prepared many tapestry designs. He received many commissions from outside Flanders, including series for Queen Christina of Sweden and for the House of Orange, with other North Netherlandish as well as Flemish patronage. Before 1651 Jordaens became a Calvinist but continued to receive Catholic commissions. He and his daughter died in the same year and were buried at Putte, a small Dutch Calvinist community just across the border.

Reference: (1) See Max Rooses, *Jacob Jordaens*, New York, 1908; Leo van Puyvelde, *Jordaens*, Brussels, 1953; Michael Jaffé, *Jordaens*, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1968, pp. 37–59.

K2167 : Figure 108

JUDGMENT OF PARIS. Coral Gables, Florida, Joe and Emily Lowe Art Museum (61.046.000), since 1961. Oil on

very fine canvas. $34\frac{1}{2} \times 44\frac{1}{2}$ in. (87.7×113 cm.). Very thinly painted. Several losses to surface of nude at center; some abrasion. Head of nude female at right originally further to the left and somewhat more inclined; initially the figure in the background wearing hat, at the left, was less feminine. Relined, cleaned and restored in 1960 by Modestini.

Miami, 1961, p. 90.

His dog at his feet, the shepherd Paris is seated at the extreme left. He holds a crook in the left arm and extends the golden apple of discord to Aphrodite, the nude female to the right with a cherub at her side. Hermes, messenger of the gods, holds a caduceus and wears a winged hat. The nude figure at the centre is probably Hera, wife of Zeus; her peacock is at her feet, to the right. Athena, the goddess of wisdom, is seen from the back. In the foreground to her left lie her attributes, a shield with the Medusa-head and an eagle-crested helmet. To the extreme right is seated Abundance, a female figure holding a cornucopia; behind her are, to the right, a flute-playing elder, and to the left, two satyrs – deities of the woods and fields – who point to the victorious Aphrodite. A river-god reclines in the right foreground, resting upon a vessel from which water pours. The landscape represents Mount Ida. The goddess of discord, Eris, enraged by her exclusion from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, threw a golden apple with the inscription 'for the fairest' among the guests. As Aphrodite, Athena and Hera all claimed the apple, Zeus, loath to decide among them, sent the three goddesses to Mount Ida where the shepherd Paris was to be their judge. Paris selected Aphrodite, who offered him the fairest of women. His eventual choice of Helen, wife to King Menelaus of Sparta, was to lead to the Trojan Wars.¹

According to Van Puyvelde, *The Judgment of Paris* is an excellent work from Jordaens's youth, painted before 1618, bringing together vigorous color and transparent shadows with an unusual elegance in the presentation of the nudes. Abundance and the goddesses are believed to resemble Jordaens's wife.² Hess commented upon the fact that Jordaens's Paris was very much out of scale with Aphrodite.³ The canvas was dated c. 1620–25 by Jaffé, who listed it as 'the only finished treatment of this scene by Jordaens. . . . Elements in it recall the Brussels Museum *Offering to Pomona* and *Pan and Syrinx* (Jaffé, no. 17) of a few years earlier; but everything here is arranged with less sense of intensity, more decorative and in a more relaxed fashion.'⁴

The composition is freely adapted from the engraving after Raphael of the same subject by Marcantonio Raimondi (B.245).⁵ Jordaens's painting compresses his High Renaissance model and may well be based upon one of the many adaptations of the celebrated print made in the later sixteenth century. The sinuous, sophisticated treatment of the nude reflects Italian or Northern Mannerist prototypes. The rich realization of form and texture and the fresh coloring of K2167 stem from Rubens's oeuvre of the late 'teens.⁶ Details such as the satyrs at the right are found in a very early *Judgment of Paris* by Rubens; another, early,

lost rendering of the subject by that master may underlie Jordaens's composition.⁷ The figure of the river-god at the right is especially Rubensian, recalling such works as the *Alliance of Earth and Water* (Leningrad, Hermitage) of c. 1615. A dating in the early 1620s for the *Judgment of Paris* seems reasonable.

Provenance: Possibly J. Siebrecht, Antwerp, 1754; Spanish Consul, London, 1772; Nieuhof, Amsterdam, 1777; De La Salle, Vienna, 1827.⁸ Michel van Gelder, Uccle, Belgium, exhibited – Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, *Exposition d'Œuvres de Jordaens*, Oct.–Nov. 1928, Cat. No. 69. Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, *Meesterwerken uit vier eeuwen*, June–Oct. 1938, p. 42, Cat. No. 175. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1957, exhibited – *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America . . .*, 10 Dec. 1961–4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 51. Ottawa, The National Gallery of Canada, *Jacob Jordaens*, 29 Nov. 1968–5 Jan. 1969, p. 88, Cat. No. 32.

References: (1) Ovid, *Heroides*, xvi, 65–72 (The Loeb Classical Library, Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, trans. Grant Showerman, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, pp. 202–3). See v, 12–30, 139 (*ibid.*, pp. 55–9, 66, 67) for the story of Oenone. For depictions of the subject see Christophe Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst*, Zürich, 1951; A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Budapest and Berlin, 1956, II, pp. 195–8. The prominence of the river-god may refer to Paris's beloved Oenone, daughter of the river-god Oeneus. (2) Leo van Puyvelde, *Jordaens*, Brussels, 1953, p. 99. She was the daughter of Adam van Noort; her features are often included in Jordaens's works. (3) Thomas B. Hess, 'Culture as the Great American Dream', *Art News*, Dec. 1961, pp. 35–6, 52–5. (4) Michael Jaffé, *Jordaens*, Ottawa, 1968, p. 88, Cat. No. 32. The Brussels *Offering* is reproduced by van Puyvelde, *op. cit.*, figs. 24, 25. (5) Reproduced by Oskar Fischel, *Raphael*, London, 1964, pl. 294. The source was found by Mary Braman Buchan. The inclusion of satyrs may be based upon the print by Giorgio Ghisi (reproduced *Report and Studies in the History of Art* 1969, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1970, p. 54, fig. 23. (6) According to Roger d'Hulst, no preparatory drawings are known for K2167. (7) Sold at Christie's, 25 Nov. 1966, reproduced *Apollo*, Nov. 1966, p. vii. (8) Several early sales catalogues cited by Max Rooses, *Jordaens, Sa Vie et Ses Œuvres*, Paris, 1908, contain references to a *Judgment of Paris* by Jordaens, but K2167 cannot be definitely linked as yet to any of these four.

K1037 : Figure 109

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS AND AN ANGEL [Holy Family]. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, since 1938. Oil on linden. $48\frac{1}{2} \times 36\frac{7}{8}$ in. (123.2×93.8 cm.). Inscribed at lower left corner on chair: J.JOR.fc. Some paint losses along vertical splits, most notably in head of figure at extreme left. Cradled cleaned and restored in 1936–37 by Pichetto. Restored by Modestini in 1954 and 1959.

San Francisco, 1955, p. 82. Reproduced in color on cover of *Art News*, xxxvi, 11 June 1938.

A dark-haired, bearded, elderly man, probably Joseph or Zacharias, stands below an archway at the extreme left. Shown in right profile, he is behind the seated Virgin's cherub-carved chair, looking pensively toward the Infant. Mary wears red, white and blue satin garments, her head turned toward the spectator. She holds up the open-mouthed Infant who is wrapped in a woollen blanket, a wreath of flowers in his hair, in a red-sleeved garment. He holds out a rosary with a crucifix at the bottom with both hands, as though extending it to the spectator. An old woman with a white head-cloth (St. Elizabeth or St. Anne) placed behind Mary, bends over the mother and child, pointing to the right with her left hand. An anxious angel dressed in red, with a rope around the neck and a cloth draped over right shoulder and wing, holds out a bunch of grapes with the left hand. A window or trellis-like structure is at the upper right corner.

The subject of K1037 is a 'Premeditation upon the Passion'. The red garb of Jesus, the angel and Mary symbolizes sorrow and sacrifice; her dress seems torn at the shoulder to indicate humility and mourning. The angel's grapes signify the blood of Christ, the Eucharist. The rope around the neck probably refers to that of the Flagellation or the way to Calvary; the drapery over the wing, the shroud. This figure may be the angel of the Resurrection, the guardian angel (popular in seventeenth-century devotional imagery) or the figure in the *Engelpietà*.¹ Christ's wreath of flowers, including roses, may refer to the crown of thorns, and to his role as King of Heaven, just as the Virgin's throne-like chair anticipates the Virgin as Queen. The gesture of the Sibylline figure may point the way which Christ will follow, the reflective pose of her elderly companion also points to such foreknowledge. Christ's holding the rosary with its pendant crucifix reveals his future sacrifice. Mary is believed to have initiated the use of the rosary, presenting one to St. Dominic in a vision and instructing him in its devotional use in 1208. The panel was probably placed above an altar devoted to the rosary or housed in a family chapel for private devotion.² Following the institution of the Feast of the Holy Rosary in 1571 during the Counter-Reformation, the rosary became a popular religious theme, often included in Jordaens's works.³

Jordaens's *Holy Family* (London, National Gallery) shares several of the motives of K1037. The Virgin enthroned is like that of the Kress panel, but seen frontally. The Christ Child, standing on his mother's lap, is nude, slightly older than in K1037, holding the rosary across his loins. A young bearded Joseph (?) stands at the upper left, an infant St. John the Baptist at the lower left.⁴ In a composition similar to K1037 a *Virgin and Child with Angel and SS. Elizabeth (?) and Zacharias (?)* (Baron Axel Reedtz-Thott at Gaunø, Denmark), the angel holds an apple (symbolizing Christ the New Adam) as well as the Eucharistic grapes.⁵

Burchard dated a related canvas (Thyssen Collection, Lugano-Castagnola) which is almost square in format, without the male saint, c. 1620. He described the Kress

panel as one of two additional versions; the other canvas (Cassel, Gemäldegalerie) is now generally viewed as a copy or studio product.⁶ In 1936 Suida characterized K1037 as a 'genuine, excellent, signed work' by Jordaens; Longhi stressed the impact of Caravaggio as well as Rubens upon Jordaens, dating it shortly after the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) of 1618, calling the painting a *sacra conversazione* with Saints Joseph and Anne.⁷ Friedländer described the panel as a rather early work of high quality by Jordaens.⁸ Burroughs commented upon the Rubensian and independent aspects of Jordaens's technique. He considered K1037 the original version of the reduced composition in Cassel.⁹ Puyvelde linked the Kress panel to Jordaens's *Adoration of the Shepherds* dated 1616 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). He entitled it *The Holy Family* and noted the thick impasto and the visibility of the brushstrokes in the flesh tones. He believed the angel to have been utilized in a *Christ Among the Doctors* (Antwerp, private collection) and placed Jordaens's execution of K1037 at about the same time as the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Stockholm, National Museum) dated 1618. Puyvelde believed the Cassel canvas to be an autograph work by Jordaens.¹⁰ He denied the presence of Caravaggesque qualities in K1037. The Kress panel was executed some years later than the Stockholm *Adoration* of 1618 according to Suida (*San Francisco*, p. 82) who placed it among Jordaens's rather early works. He entitled the panel *The Holy Family*, noting that the grapes symbolize Christ's passion. Larsen dated the San Francisco painting 1618.¹¹ Jaffé placed the panel, entitled by him the *Holy Family with St. Anne and an Angel*, c. 1620-5; he described the Thyssen canvas as of the same period but slightly later in date.¹² The Kress and Thyssen paintings together with the one in Cassel are all written of as Jordaens's shop copies after a lost original of 1625-30 in the Cassel catalogue.¹³ The composition of K1037 was grouped by Gerson with several others which he found to reflect Jordaens's use of half-length figures shown as though seen through a window.¹⁴ According to d'Hulst the Kress panel is a product of Jordaens's workshop, executed between 1625-30.¹⁵ Held found the Kress panel to be a first rate example of Jordaens's work, describing the Thyssen canvas as a school piece.¹⁶

A dating in the later 1620s seems reasonable for K1037. Its vital and almost sketch-like execution argues against workshop participation. It may well have been painted after 1620 when Caravaggio's *Madonna of the Rosary* was donated to the Dominican church of St. Paul in Antwerp by Rubens and other painters and connoisseurs. Jordaens's *Holy Family* (London, National Gallery) is still closer to the Italian painting and probably predates the Kress panel.¹⁷

Provenance: Joseph Spiridon, Paris, according to Contini Bonacossi.¹⁸ Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1936, exhibited - Ottawa, The National Gallery of Canada, *Jacob Jordaens*, 29 Nov. 1968-5 Jan. 1969, p. 89, Cat. No. 33.

References: (1) For the guardian angel see Emile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 302-9.

For the *Engelpietà*, see Gert von der Osten, *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1959, v, pp. 202–22. A similar angel is included in Jordaens's *Flight into Egypt* (Moscow, Pushkin Museum) reproduced by Michael Jaffé (*Jordaens*, Ottawa, 1968, p. 27, fig. xxv) who suggested a date of 1641. An unsigned example of the same composition with an older male saint is in the collection of August von Joste, Wesseling (near Bonn), reproduced in *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, Cologne, 1968, pl. 9, Cat. No. F18. The anonymous author suggested that the infant may be Jordaens's daughter Elizabeth, baptized in 1617. (2) Representations of the Virgin and Child with rosary combined with instruments of the Passion are found in Northern art from the late fifteenth century. See Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *Madonna of the Sanctus* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen). See also Frances Pieterse, *Dürers Rosenkranzfest en de Ikonografie der Duitse Rosenkransgroepen van de xv. en het begin der xvi. eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1939, figs. 14 and 35. (3) For the cult of the rosary see J. B. Knipping, *De iconographie van de contra-reformatie in de Nederlanden*, Hilversum, 1939–40, pp. 51–7. (4) *National Gallery Illustrations*, London, 1950, reproduced p. 181, Cat. No. 164. (5) Illustrated by Karl Madsen, 'Malerei-Samlingen paa Gauno', *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, Copenhagen, 1917, p. 42, pl. 43. A preparatory drawing is at the museum in Rijssel, reproduced by R. A. d'Hulst, *De Tekeningen van Jacob Jordaens Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de xvii^e eeuwse Kunst in De Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Brussels, 1956, p. 125, fig. 73, Cat. No. 30. Another painting by Jordaens of the Holy Family with St. Anne and an angel holding a bunch of grapes was sold at Sotheby's, 8 Apr. 1970 (property of Mrs. J. H. Dent-Brocklehurst, 46 × 44½ in. (118 × 113 cm.), Cat. No. 16). (6) Ludwig Burchard quoted by Rudolf Heinemann, *Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, 1, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Lugano–Castagnola, 1937, pp. 77–8, Cat. No. 210. It measures 102 × 91.5 cm. and is reproduced by Jaffé, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 89, Cat. No. 34, fig. 34. The Cassel canvas measures 101.5 × 68 cm. Rudolph J. Heinemann (*Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Castagnola–Lugano, 1958, p. 51, Cat. No. 210) noted a third *Holy Family* composition by Jordaens on the Florentine art market in 1958. Presumably this reference came from Burchard's text for the Brussels 1928 Jordaens exhibition where another version is listed as Florence, but this is the Kress panel. A composition with strong horizontal emphasis, the *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John, Saints and Angel* (ex coll. J. P. Weyer, Cologne) has some similarities with K1037 (Warsaw, National Museum, *Catalogue of Paintings Foreign Schools*, 1, 1969, J. Bialostocki, reproduced by Jaffé, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, fig. xi, p. 21). (7) The above opinions of Jan. 1936, together with similar views of Raimond van Marle, F. F. Mason Perkins, G. Fiocco and Adolfo Venturi are all in the Kress Archive. (8) Transcription in the Kress Archive. (9) Alan Burroughs, *Art Criticism from a Laboratory*, Boston, 1938, p. 48. An X-ray of the child's head is reproduced fig. 56. (10) Leo van Puyvelde, *Jordaens*, Paris–Brussels, 1953, pp. 30, 78, 91. (11) Erik Larsen, 'The Samuel H. Kress Collection at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco', *Apollo*, LXI, 1955, p. 177. (12) Jaffé, *op. cit.* Note 1 above,

p. 89, Cat. Nos. 33, 34. (13) *Katalog der staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel*, Cassel, 1958, p. 80, Cat. No. 100A, Jordaens's School. (14) Horst Gerson and E. H. Ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600 to 1800*, Harmondsworth, 1960, p. 129. (15) Letter of 26/v/68 in Kress Archive. (16) Julius Held, 'Jordaens at Ottawa', *Burlington Magazine*, cxi, 1969, pp. 265–72, esp. p. 268. (17) For the Italian painting and the cult of the rosary see Walter Friedländer, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, p. 202. (18) Not included in the Spiridon sale, Paris, 1929.

FRANS SNYDERS

Frans Snyder was born in Antwerp in 1579 and died there in 1657.¹ He was recorded as an apprentice to Peter Bruegel the Younger in 1593, and may have worked for Hendrik van Balen before becoming a master in the painters' guild in 1602. In 1608 he was documented in Rome and Milan; he returned to Antwerp in 1609. He married the sister of the painters Paul and Cornelis de Vos in 1611. The style of his monumental Baroque depictions of wild life were evolved c. 1614. The painter joined the confraternity of the Romanists in 1619, purchasing a considerable estate three years later. He often worked in collaboration with Antwerp masters, assisting Rubens in the Torre de la Parada series for the king of Spain painted between 1637–9. With his brilliantly animated, Rubensian brushwork, Snyder was the outstanding Flemish specialist in the rendering of forceful game-pieces and still lifes in the first half of the seventeenth century. Many of his canvases are on an extremely large scale. His smaller still lifes were very influential, much admired by French painters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Studio of SNYDERS

K1634 : Figure 111

GAME STALL AT MARKET [Larder with Figures]. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.43.6), since 1959. Oil on canvas. 80½ × 132¾ in. (204.9 × 337.6 cm.). Very considerable losses throughout, especially in the swan. Relined, cleaned and in-painted by Modestini in 1947–8; further restoration by Modestini c. 1959. *Allentown*, 1960, p. 114.

This very large horizontal canvas shows a woman in domestic attire standing at the right of a game counter, her arm grasped by a male figure (a huntsman?) at the extreme right. He rests his left arm upon a counter which supports a large bittern. The woman points with her right hand to a dead peacock; her other hand touches the wing of another bird. A hare, a white swan, a boar and a fallow deer rest at the edge of a wide, low counter, with a heron, pheasant and peacocks behind; mallard and a blackcock hang from hooks on the wall; an eagle is suspended from a hook at the extreme left with the open sky beyond. Copper cooking vessels near the back of the stall contain asparagus and artichokes; small live game birds perch upon the edge of a

colander. Additional vegetable, fruit and small dead game birds are in baskets at the lower left corner. A cat peers out from under the table; a bitch at the lower right with five puppies snarls at a dog at the extreme right.

The canvas is a replica of a painting by Snyder in Dresden (Gemäldegalerie) (see Text Fig. 18). Borenius ascribed the figures at the right to Rubens and the remainder of the canvas to Snyder.² A studio record drawn after the composition, inscribed 'Snyders invenit' (Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Text Fig. 19), omits the figures, leaving this section blank; it appears to be dated 1615.³ According to Kronig, Snyder collaborated with Theodore van Thulden who painted the couple at the right. He noted the similar canvas in Dresden.⁴ Brockwell suggested that the couple was possibly 'by Theodore van Thulden or Rombouts rather than Rubens.'⁵ It was said by Longhi that the canvas was executed in Rubens's studio, the still life by Snyder and the figures possibly by Jan Cossiers.⁶ Modestini pointed out that the man and woman were painted in a different technique from the rest of the canvas.⁷ Shapley (*Allentown, loc. cit.*) placed the subject of the canvas in the earlier part of Snyder's career. She observed that if Van Thulden or Rombouts executed the figures at the right the painting would have to date between c. 1625 and 1637. She noted the composition is similar to two in Dresden (nos. 1195 and 1192); a large canvas in Brussels (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, no. 781) reproduces the bitch and her litter; the upper section including the peacock, several of the other fowl, the colander, and asparagus are in another large still life (Antwerp, Musée des Beaux-Arts, no. 336).

The composition of K1634 may have been freely adapted from that of a small sketch by Van Dyck showing the *Recognition of Philopoemen, leader of the Achaeans, by an Old Woman* (Paris, Louvre). Snyder collaborated on a canvas of the same composition in the Prado; his associate has been variously identified as Rubens, Van Dyck or Boeckhorst.⁸ A sketch of the male model, perhaps by Snyder, is at Sibiu (Musée Brukenthal).⁹ Related compositions executed in collaboration with Boeckhorst are in Brussels and The Hermitage.¹⁰

Usually described as a larder, the Kress canvas cannot show such as it is an outdoor scene. A variant of the same composition including a fishmonger and his wares, *Still life with Dead Swan on a Quay* (Raleigh, North Carolina, Museum of Art), takes place in a similar open air setting. Although certain areas of K1634 are painted with great accomplishment, most notably the lower left section, it is not as brilliant as the canvas in Dresden and must be regarded as a studio replica after the latter, executed in 1615 or later. The figures, significantly omitted from Snyder's drawing (Text Fig. 19), are by a Rubensian master collaborating with Snyder. The subject of this vast canvas goes back to the beginnings of genre painting in classical antiquity, as recorded by Pliny the Elder. *Trompe l'oeil* renderings of foodstuffs and market stalls were the much admired products of the Greek master, Piraikos.¹¹ Early sixteenth-

century humanistic studies in Antwerp may have stimulated interest in such classical genre. The Jesuit scholar Junius (in the employ of Rubens's patron, the Earl of Arundel) published *De Pictura Veterum* in Amsterdam in 1637. Rubens is known to have admired the book, which revived descriptions of Piraikos's work. The oeuvre of Pieter Aertsen was a major mid-sixteenth-century source for the painting of both Snyder and Fyt, although Fyt's canvases usually lack a moralizing reference.

Provenance: Lord Wenlock, 1871. Cook Collection, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey. Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition, 1949.

References: (1) For Snyder's biography see Edith Greindl, *Les peintres flamands de nature morte au 17^e siècle*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 49-64 and 179-87. (2) Quoted by Maurice Brockwell, *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House . . .*, London, 1932, n. 4. (3) Greindl (*op. cit.*, pp. 56, 184) noted that a study of the two figures is also in the collection of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. (4) *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House Richmond and elsewhere in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook*, II, 1915, p. 98, Cat. No. 357, listed as *Larder Scene with Figures*. It hung in the Long Gallery. (5) Brockwell, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, p. 48, Cat. No. 357. (6) Transcription of Roberto Longhi of Dec. 1948, in Kress Archive. (7) Kress Archive. (8) For this sketch see Leo van Puyvelde, *Les Esquisses de Rubens*, Basle, 1940, p. 67, Cat. No. 7, pl. 7; it is probably by Van Dyck. Another example of the Paris composition is a large canvas in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Greindl, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 51, followed van Puyvelde in attributing the Louvre panel to Rubens. She believed Rubens to have executed the figures in the Prado canvas. Rudolf Oldenbourg (*Die Flämische Malerei des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1918, p. 190) attributed the Louvre sketch to Van Dyck. Gustav Glück, *Rubens/van Dyck und ihr Kreis*, Vienna, 1933, p. 187, gave the work to Boeckhorst. In *Le Siècle de Rubens*, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 1965, p. 195, Cat. No. 204, the sketch is given to Rubens. For bibliography and illustration see p. 195. (9) See M. Ionesco 'Tableaux de maîtres flamands au musée Brukenthal, Sibiu', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 119-32, esp. p. 129, fig. 8. (10) See Glück, *op. cit.* Note 8 above, p. 183, fig. 103 (Collection Count Hemricourt de Grunne) and p. 185, fig. 104 (Leningrad, The Hermitage). (11) See Charles Sterling, *Still Life*, Paris, 1959, pp. 9-15.

JAN FYT

Jan Fyt was born in Antwerp in 1611 and died there in 1661. In 1621 he was apprenticed to Hans van den Berch whose studio he soon left for study under Frans Snyder, remaining with the latter after he became a master in the Antwerp guild in 1629.¹ Fyt was in Paris in 1633 and 1634. He made an Italian journey at an unknown date, establishing himself in Antwerp in 1641 where he often worked with Erasmus Quellinus, Jordaens and other artists and

occasionally took on students. A prolific master, Fyt painted more than 160 signed works within twenty years, together with many others which may be ascribed to him. Although grounded in the works of Snyders, Fyt's oeuvre has a delicate, almost Chardinesque decorative austerity that is closer to the art of the next century than to that of his master.

Reference: (1) For the biography of Jan Fyt see Edith Greindl, *Les peintres flamands de nature morte au 17^e siècle*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 75–84 and 158–67.

K1893 : Figure 112

FRUIT AND GAME. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61.44.35), since 1955. Oil on oak. $29\frac{1}{8} \times 43\frac{1}{4}$ in. (74×109.9 cm.). Inscribed at the lower right: *Joannes Fyt*. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1954, the painting is well preserved.

San Francisco, 1955, p. 86. Reproduced in color, *Life Magazine*, 19 February 1962, pp. 62–3.

A large wicker basket filled with apples, plum sprays with leaves and fruit, green and purple grapes, peaches, and other fruit are placed upon a table covered with a deep plum-colored cloth and a smaller white cloth. A small blue and white bowl in the Oriental style¹ is at the left, with small finches, partridge and a snipe. A dead hare hangs by the hind leg from a cord at the right. The background is neutral in color.

A still life by Fyt signed and dated 1642 is almost identical to the Kress panel composition but inferior in execution.² The panel may date from the 1640s or early 1650s when the artist signed and dated similar works. The characteristically subtle coloring and richly varied surface treatment seen in K1893 explain Fyt's enduring popularity, especially in the eighteenth century.

Provenance: Duke of Norfolk, Everingham, Yorkshire, England.³ New York, M. Knoedler and Co., 1946. Kress acquisition 1952, exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 – 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 32.

References: (1) For the inclusion of Oriental ceramics in Flemish painting see A. I. Spriggs, 'Oriental Porcelain in Western Paintings, 1450–1700', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 1964–5, 1965–6, pp. 73–87. (2) See Armando Vieira Santos, *Obras primas da pintura estrangeira no Museu de Arte Antiga*, Lisbon, 1965, pl. XLVII, Cat. No. 150. Acquired in 1918, it measures 74.5×100 cm. A similar work but including a parrot, a cat and dog in the periphery was in the Marczell de Nemes Collection and was sold in Paris, Galerie Manzi, 17–18 June 1913. It measures $31\frac{3}{8} \times 45\frac{5}{8}$ in. (3) According to M. Knoedler and Co. part of the Duke of Norfolk's collection, auctioned at Christie's, 1 Apr. 1966, included another work by Fyt: Lot 18, *Dogs and Cats Fighting*.

JAN FYT and Collaborator

[Erasmus Quellinus ?]

K132 : Figure 113

HUNTSMAN WITH HIS DOGS AND GAME. Jacksonville, Florida, Cummer Gallery of Art (1106), since 1962. Oil on canvas. $74\frac{1}{8} \times 101\frac{1}{2}$ in. (188.3×257.9 cm.). Considerable losses especially in sky; the figure better preserved; several small tears. Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1930–1; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1961.

The extremely large canvas shows a life-size huntsman in a landscape setting who holds a fowling piece in the left hand and bends to pat the hound to the left with the other. The gentleman is bare-headed, his curly hair worn shoulder-length, with a white shirt, a white scarf tied in a loose knot under the chin. His long, buttoned sleeves are left open except at the wrist; he wears very full breeches with a horizontal buttoning and bows at the sides. Protective leggings are worn below with shoes rather than boots. His pouch hangs from a tree at the left with dead game piled below including a boar, swan, hare, peacock, snipe and duck. Two spaniels are in the foreground; three hounds are at the right.

Burroughs noted that the man is painted rather thinly, while the rest of the canvas is rendered with a 'heavier and looser touch.' According to him, 'the man's costume dates the painting about 1650 or at the beginning of Fyt's last period when Peter Boel and Jeroom Pickaert were acquiring his style. Fyt's own hand is particularly hard to identify since he employed such artists as Quellen [Quellinus], Schut, van Thulden and Willeborts [Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert] to paint the figures for his pictures of game. In this case the figure might be by Thulden, whose *Betrothal* in the Huldshinsky Collection shows a similar handling of eyes, hands and hair.'¹ In a similar almost equally large canvas (formerly in the A. Beurdeley collection) the huntsman's attire and physiognomy bear considerable resemblance to K132; like the latter, the huntsman seems to have been executed by a hand other than Fyt's, possibly the work of Erasmus Quellinus, who is known to have executed figures for works where the landscape and animals were done by Fyt.²

A drawing ascribed to Fyt (London, British Museum) shows a hound very similar to the one seated on its haunches in K132; many of the other details resemble those of the Kress canvas.³ The huntsman's attire is found in Flemish painting in the second half of the seventeenth century. Stella Newton dated his garb as 1670–4.⁴ Should the canvas prove to date after Fyt's death in 1661, the animal and landscape sections may have been executed by Fyt's student Boel.⁵ However, the painting probably dates from the late 1650s, executed by Fyt; except for the man, who was portrayed by Quellinus. The canvas was presumably destined for the huntsman's home.

Provenance: Rome, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1930. Presented to Broadmoor Academy, Colorado

Springs, Colorado, May 1931. Returned to Kress Foundation in 1961.

References: (1) Kress Archive, c. 1935. Cornelis Schut rarely, if ever, painted portraits; and it is highly unlikely that either he or Van Thulden did the huntsman. The *Betrothal* does not appear in Bode's 1909 catalogue (Frankfurt-am-Main) of the Huldshinsky Collection. (2) A. Beurdeley Sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 6-7 May 1920, p. 106, Cat. No. 154, pl. 154. The canvas measures $72\frac{3}{4} \times 91\frac{3}{8}$ in. For the collaboration between Fyt and Quellinus see Gustav Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis*, Vienna, 1933, pp. 342-52. For Quellinus see also pp. 266-74. See also *Le Siècle de Rubens*, Brussels, 1965, pp. 160-3. (3) Reproduced by Walther Bernt, *Die niederländischen Zeichner des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1957, I, fig. 241. (4) Kress Archive, 1968. (5) The animals resemble those in a *Landscape with Dogs and Game* (London, National Gallery No. 1903) unsigned and undated. The canvas is given to Boel (reproduced *The National Gallery, Illustrated Continental Schools*, London, 1950, p. 22).

JAN SIBERECHTS

Jan Siberechts was born in Antwerp in 1627, the son of a sculptor, and died in London c. 1703. He was admitted to the Antwerp guild in 1649. He appears to have gone to Italy c. 1635, for an Italian landscape (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) is signed and dated that year. It may have been in Rome that he came into contact with Dutch artists whose works influenced his oeuvre. His depictions of Flemish peasants in the fields have a novel directness and documentary clarity. Despite their startling and uncompromising realism, these canvases convey the lyrical quality of the Northern Baroque landscape genre. Siberechts's finest works were executed between 1661-72, prior to his departure for England. He may have been called to England by the second Duke of Buckingham. Siberechts's last known painting was a watercolor of Chatsworth commissioned by the proprietor, the Duke of Devonshire. The topographical paintings done by this Flemish artist in England lack the forceful peasant figures which contributed so much to the power of the works executed in the Netherlands. However, some of these striking early paintings were known in England, and one of the best (now in the Louvre) seems once to have been owned by Constable, an artist whose works suggest a keen response to the vision of the Flemish master.¹

K2104 : Figure 114

PASTORAL SCENE. Raleigh, North Carolina, North Carolina Museum of Art (GL.60.17.70), since 1960. Oil on canvas. $23\frac{1}{4} \times 34\frac{3}{4}$ in. (59.1 x 88.4 cm.). Some abrasion, especially in flesh areas. An old relining may have caused a loss of impasto and surface vivacity. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955. *Raleigh*, p. 142.

The pastoral scene shows a seated milkmaid at the right foreground, picking lice from the head of a reclining little girl. A covered basket and an empty milk can are to the left. Pollarded willows are behind the figure group. Two cows are to the left, near a river bank. A woman with a milk container on her head and another vessel in hand, crosses a bridge in the middle distance. A third peasant woman milking a cow is in the distance with a cow to the right.

According to Suida (*Tucson*, Cat. No. 22), K2104 is the most mature version of a composition from Siberechts's best years in Flanders. The other comparable works are in Richmond (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts) and in the Louvre. Signed and dated 1667, the Richmond canvas is almost square, slightly vertical in format, with the same models at the lower right as those of K2104, but seen more frontally.² The woman appears to be placing flowers in the little girl's hair; but these blossoms, together with some at the right, may have been added at a considerably later date to produce a more 'acceptable' subject.

Shapley (*Raleigh*, *loc. cit.*) noted a third canvas of 1660 (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) showing a similar figure group to that of K2104. She placed the Kress canvas 'among the artist's typically Flemish paintings of the 1660s. . . Here Siberechts is painting his native Flanders just as he saw her, the pleasant pastures and fields adequately productive and the farmers comfortable and contented in their daily activities - no humor, as in Steen; no begging for sympathy or pity, as in Le Nain. The mother's task of delousing her little girl's head seemed no more distasteful a subject to the painter than that of a cat washing her kittens.'³ According to Thiéry, a *Toilette de la Fermière*, dated 1666 (formerly Cheremétief Collection, Leningrad) is another example of the Kress canvas; she cited the Virginia painting as a third version. The breadth of treatment and the rhythmic composition of the Kress canvas was stressed by Thiéry who found the Virginia painting less atmospheric, although she also called the latter Siberechts's *chef d'oeuvre* and suggested that the Kress canvas might perhaps have been executed later than the Virginia one.⁴ According to Gudlaugsson, the depiction of nit-picking became popular in Dutch art toward the middle of the seventeenth century, illustrating one of the emblematic texts in Jacob Cats's extremely popular *Spiegel van den Oude en de Nieuwen tydt*, The Hague, 1632: 'The comb is wonderfully useful, the comb is wonderfully clean. The comb is that which sets the head in better order.'⁵

Siberechts's luminism, his direct, fresh approach to nature in the Kress canvas, may have contributed to English landscape painting of the early nineteenth century. Although Hobbema, Cuyp and Ruisdael are usually credited with influencing Constable, Siberechts, who resided in England, may prove an equally important figure in this respect. The canvas dates from the later 1660s and was clearly painted in Flanders.

Provenance: Major Sir Hugh Cholmeley, London. New York, David M. Koetser Gallery. Kress acquisition 1955, exhibited – Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 1957, Cat. No. 22; Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, *Le Siècle de Rubens*, 15 Oct.–12 Dec. 1965, p. 243, Cat. No. 258.

References: (1) See H. T. Fokker, *Jan Sieberechts*, Brussels–Paris, 1931. (2) Known as *La Vachère et sa Fille*, the canvas was formerly in the Del Monte collection of Brussels and The Hague. It was acquired by the Virginia Museum in 1961 (Acc. No. 61–50). Repr. in *European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, Richmond, 1966, p. 33, Cat. No. 46. The Louvre canvas is also vertical in format; two of the cows seen in K2104 are omitted (Louvre No. 2140A in the 1922 catalogue). (3) The Brussels painting is reproduced on p. 243 of *Le Siècle de Rubens*, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, 1965, Cat. No. 257. (4) *Ibid.*, pp. 243–4. (5) S. J. Gudlaugsson, *Gerard ter Borch*, II, The Hague, 1959, pp. 106 ff. Translation by J. Richard Judson, *Rembrandt After Three Hundred Years*, Chicago, 1969, p. 63.

JACOB-FERDINAND VOET

Voet was born in Antwerp in 1639 and died there c. 1700. Presumably the artist was trained in the city of his birth and worked in Paris. According to Bautier, Voet painted in Rome from c. 1660, under Alexander VII (Chigi), until shortly after the death of Innocent XI (Odescalchi) in 1689.¹ Others list his Roman activity as beginning in 1670, with the artist returning to the Netherlands via Turin in 1684.² The master is known exclusively for portraits, rendered in a conservative manner recalling the art of his senior compatriot Sustermans, but somewhat modified by the more elegant approach of French seventeenth-century artists such as Mignard and that of the major Roman master Carlo Maratta. Voet's *Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi* (Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli) is a pendant to Sustermans's *Cardinal Carlo de' Medici* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti). He received extensive portrait commissions from the papal court; about eight depictions of cardinals and other high church functionaries survive.³ Many print makers reproduced these portraits.

JACOB-FERDINAND VOET [Carlo Maratta]

K1912 : Figure 110

A YOUNG PRIEST. Memphis, Tennessee, Brooks Memorial Art Gallery (61.209), since 1958. Oil on canvas. 41¼ × 31¼ in. (104.8 × 79.4 cm.). An old inventory number 31 inscribed at lower left in white. A crack or old fold along left side of canvas; another fold along bottom edge. Restored by Modestini in 1953 and 1962. *Memphis*, 1958, pp. 60–1, 68.⁴

A young man with long dark hair is shown in three-quarter length, turned slightly to the left. A dark biretta is held against his breast with his right hand, the other hand holds drapery at his side. He wears a sleeveless blue robe lined in red over a white, sleeved alb cuffed and bordered in *point de Venise* lace. A red silk curtain is at the upper right; a pilaster or column is at the left.

The portrait was attributed to Carlo Maratta by Voss,⁵ and published as such in the two Brooks Memorial Art Gallery catalogues.

In 1968, Clark observed that the portrait, heavily influenced by Maratta, was actually 'one of the most splendid examples by his rival, Ferdinand Voet'. He remarked that most works by Voet were less painterly and harder in execution than is K1912, relating the style of the Kress canvas to the artist's *Self-Portrait* in the Uffizi. He found the treatment of the lace characteristic of that found in late works by Voet.⁶

Provenance: Private collection, Paris. Rome, Enrico Sestieri. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) Pierre Bautier, 'Un portraitiste flamand en Italie au XVII^e siècle, Jacob-Ferdinand Voet', *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1930, pp. 173–83. (2) Thieme-Becker, xxxiv, pp. 471–2. For Voet, see also *Mostra di Roma Seicentesca*, Istituto di Studi Romani, Rome, 1930, Cat. Nos. 57, 61, 65, 73. (3) A manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale (côte Yc 73) listing portraits in print form of various cardinals includes eight by Voet from the promotions of 1673, 1675, 1685. Clouet, Edelinck, Houat, Van Schuppen and Simon reproduced such paintings in print form. (4) Also, *Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 1966, p. 68. (5) Certificate was presumably prepared for Sestieri in Rome. Kress Archive. (6) Anthony M. Clark. Letter of 5/11/68 to Robert P. Sullivan. The Voet attribution is considered correct by M. Wilhelm (letter of 4/v/71).

DUTCH SCHOOL

XVII CENTURY

PAULUS MOREELSE

Paulus Moreelse was born in Utrecht in 1571 and died there in 1638.¹ Active as a painter and architect, he studied painting at Delft for two years (probably 1596–8) with Miereveld, from whom he learned history painting in a late Mannerist vein as well as conventional portraiture. In 1596 Moreelse was admitted to the Saddlers' Guild (also that of the painters). He journeyed to Italy from c. 1598 to c. 1602, when he is recorded as marrying in Utrecht. He had a considerable reputation by 1604, when he was mentioned by van Mander as an excellent portraitist. In 1611 he was a co-founder of St. Luke's Guild, an offshoot of the Saddlers' Guild, in which he held several offices through the years. He accepted many commissions in Amsterdam as well as Utrecht, where he was very active in civic affairs, serving as a town councillor. He was in great demand as a portraitist to wealthy and influential families and also had a hand in urban architectural projects. His early work was influenced by Mannerists like Bloemart, Wttewael and Blocklandt. His portraits reflect Miereveld's sober, straightforward style. Moreelse's earliest dated painting is the *Portrait of a Man* (Stockholm, Coll. E. Hahr) of 1602. He executed relatively few religious or mythological paintings (e.g. *Venus and Adonis*, Stuttgart, 1622). His depictions of shepherds and shepherdesses with robust figures and blonde tonality indicate the influence of Rubens. Though tied by training and temperament to conservative trends, Moreelse was also open to Caravaggism, and to the great seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish masters.

Reference: (1) See the monograph by C. H. de Jonghe, *Paulus Moreelse*, Assen, 1938.

K1133 : Figure 115

DIRCK STRICK. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.39.C), since 1960. Oil on canvas. $47\frac{7}{8} \times 38\frac{1}{2}$ in. (121.7 × 96.9 cm.). Inscribed at the upper right: A°. 1625, with the artist's monogram PM below. Sitter's arms with inscription below scraped off upper left corner at unknown date.¹ Glazes on red table covering at the right removed

prior to acquisition. Relined and restored by Pichetto; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1960.² *Allentown*, 1960, pp. 108–10.

Dirck Strick was born in Utrecht on 1 October 1592, and died there on 8 October 1633. On 5 March 1620, he married Henrica Ploos van Amstel of Utrecht. In the same year in which K1133 was painted, Moreelse depicted Dirck Strick's sister Anna and her husband Philips Ram.³ Treasurer of the secularized Abbey of St. Paul in Utrecht. Strick was also the city's deputy to the Admiralty at Amsterdam.

A standing young man with thin hair is shown in knee-length, turned slightly to the right. His left hand is thrust under his doublet; gauntlets are held with the other. A large lace ruff is around his neck; he also has lace at the wrists. The sitter wears a rich black silk doublet with hanging sleeves and black silk breeches. His hat is placed on the table to the right.

K1133 was included in the Moreelse monograph by de Jonghe.⁴ Shapley described (*Allentown*, pp. 108–10) the canvas as 'thoroughly typical of Moreelse's style... almost identical with others which Moreelse painted in the years 1624–6'. The man's lace is listed as Flemish bobbin lace.

The portrait formula used by Moreelse in K1133 and other works executed in the 1620s continues that of the late sixteenth century. Moreelse's *Michael Pauw* (A. Ridder Pauw van Wildrecht heirs, The Hague) dated 1625, is very close in format and style to K1133. The gentleman's coat of arms was probably removed when his portrait and its pendant, that of his wife (K1132), left the ownership of his family.

For *Provenance*, see K1132 below.

References: (1) Infra-red photograph, Kress Archive. (2) Alan Burroughs, report of c. 1935, Kress Archive, described the condition of K1133 as perfect. (3) The identification was made by Jonkheer F. G. L. O. van Kretschmar,

Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague, on the basis of a contemporary copy owned by the Strick van Linschoten family of Utrecht. (4) C. H. de Jonghe, *Paulus Moreelse*, Assen, 1938, p. 89, Cat. No. 77a, fig. 63.

K1132 : Figure 116

HENRICA PLOOS VAN AMSTEL. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.38.6), since 1960. Oil on canvas. $47\frac{7}{8} \times 38\frac{1}{8}$ in. (121.7×96.9 cm.). Inscribed at upper left: *A^o. 1625*, with the artist's monogram PM below. Glazes on red table covering at the left were removed prior to acquisition; face slightly rubbed. Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1939; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1960.

Allentown, 1960, pp. 108–10.

A standing young lady is shown in knee-length, turned slightly to the left, against a neutral background. She wears a lace cap, ruff, and cuffs (probably Flemish pillow lace) with a 'typical "Regents"' dress of the middle 1620s in the North Netherlands. . . . This dress consisted of the most expensive garment, called by the Dutch the "flier", a black silk open over-gown, a stomacher in a brilliant, often embroidered in gold, and a sleeved under-dress which, like the flier, was black.¹ She also wears a triple-strand gold chain around the neck, matching gold link bracelets, and a ring on each hand. She holds richly embroidered gauntlets with her left hand, resting her right on the table at the side.

See K1133 (Fig. 115) for the pendant. Henrica Ploos van Amstel, daughter of Gerrit Ploos van Amstel of Utrecht, married Dirck Strick there on 5 March 1620. After his death in 1633, she married Dr. Pieter van Dam of Amersfoort.²

Burroughs suggested that Moreelse's technique – a combination of small precise touches – is derived from Miereveld, while the free, swinging strokes were taken from Italian sources.³ K1132 was included in the Moreelse monograph by de Jonghe.⁴ Shapley (*Allentown*, pp. 108–10) found that the portrait is 'thoroughly typical of Moreelse's style . . . almost identical with others which Moreelse painted in the years 1624–26.' She described the lace as Italian bobbin lace, with needlepoint lace on the cuffs.

The portrait formula used by Moreelse in K1132 and other works executed in the 1620s continues that of the late sixteenth century. A portrait of Henrica's sister-in-law, Anna Ram (née Strick) (Amsterdam, Goudstikker Collection), signed and dated 1625, is close to K1132 in every respect.

Provenance: Sir William and Lady F. A. J. Hutt, Appley Towers, Isle of Wight (sold London, Christie's, 20 June 1913, p. 23, Cat. No. 105.) London and New York, Lewis and Simmons. Asher Wertheimer, London (sold Christie's, 18 June 1920, p. 9, Cat. No. 31). New York, F. Kleinberger

and Co., 1938. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. New York, Levy Galleries, Kress acquisition 1938, exhibited – San Francisco, Golden Gate International Exposition, *Masterworks of Five Centuries*, 1939, Cat. Nos. 83 (K1133) and 84; Dayton, Ohio, The Art Institute, 1 Dec. 1939–8 Apr. 1940, mentioned in 'Dayton: European Loans from Kress Collection', *Art News*, 23 Dec. 1939, p. 13.

References: (1) Stella Mary Newton, communication of 26 Nov. 1967, Kress Archive. (2) Jonkheer F. G. L. O. van Kretschmar, letter of 22 Oct. 1968, Kress Archive. (3) Report by Alan Burroughs, Kress Archive. (4) C. H. de Jonghe, *Paulus Moreelse*, Assen, 1938, p. 89, Nos. 77a and 77b.

After PAULUS MOREELSE

K1685 : Figure 117

PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. South Bend, Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Kress Study Collection (61.47.11), since 1961. Oil on canvas. 79×49 in. (200.6×124.5 cm.). A large nimbus of darkened paint surrounding the sitter's head suggests that this area may have been repainted. The cast shadow on the floor may also be a later addition. Tear above the right eye. Relined at an unknown date; varnished by Modestini in 1961.

The Kress Study Collection at Notre Dame, n.d., n.p.

The subject, shown in full-length, about life-size, stands in a rich interior with marble revetment on the walls and floor. He is placed obliquely, his right foot forward, holding his hat in his right hand, with his left hand on his hip. The gentleman wears the fashionable Netherlandish, possibly Flemish, attire of the 1630s. The lace collar and cuffs may be Italian pillow lace.¹ He wears a black cape and a black silk doublet with slashed sleeves, showing white chemise below, black breeches, stockings and shoes with large rosettes.

See K1686 below for discussion and *Provenance*.

K1686 : Figure 118

PORTRAIT OF A LADY. South Bend, Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Kress Study Collection (61.47.12), since 1961. Oil on canvas. $78\frac{1}{8} \times 48\frac{7}{8}$ in. (198.4×124.2 cm.). Relined at an unknown date. Varnished by Modestini in 1961. Some abrasion along the right side of nose.

The Kress Study Collection at Notre Dame, n.d., n.p.

The subject, shown in full-length, about life-size and turned slightly to the left, is placed in a rich interior with marble revetment on the walls and floor, and curtains at the right. She wears a circlet of pearls in her hair, a pearl choker, a jeweled brooch on her breast, three ropes of pearls on each wrist, and in her right hand she holds an open watch – a symbol of passing time and vanity. Her collar and cuffs are probably Italian pillow lace. Her black dress, with very full sleeves and skirt, has a black rosette pinned to the breast and extensive black patterning.

Certificates written by August L. Mayer (Munich, 25/VIII/21, in the Kress Archive) stated that K1685/1686 were both very fine works by the hand of B. van der Helst. According to Valentiner, the canvases are by Paulus Moreelse. He believed preparatory studies to be in San Francisco (Palace of the Legion of Honor Museum) wrongly attributed to Theodore de Keyser. Valentiner found a pair of three-quarter length portraits of the same couple in English private collections, that of the man bearing Moreelse's monogram and the date 1636 (F. A. Pearson; *The Lady, Viscount Camrose*). He dated the English pair later than K1685/1686 as 'it would seem unlikely that full-length paintings could have been made out of the three-quarter ones. The present paintings are unusual in the work of Moreelse, as we do not know of any other full-length portraits by him, but the style is his. They are influenced by Van Dyck to whom Moreelse was indebted, as was Moreelse's teacher, Miereveld.'² Katz suggested that the Kress canvases may be enlargements made by Moreelse's studio after the three-quarter length portraits now in England.³

K1685/1686 were probably painted in the later seventeenth century, copies of the knee-length Pearson and Camrose canvases reproduced in the more formal, fashionable, full-length format, and probably ordered by a descendant of the couple who could not inherit the originals.

Provenance: Tennyson d'Eyncourt, London (sold Christie's 4 June 1943, p. 10, Cat. No. 80). London, Thomas Agnew and Sons. Edward T. Stotesbury, Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania. New York, French and Co. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) It is close in style to the collar worn by Thomas Baker in the marble bust by Gianlorenzo Bernini, c. 1638 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum). (2) Transcription in Kress Archives 9/IX/47. The San Francisco portraits are illustrated by H. Comstock in *Connoisseur*, cxviii, 1946, p. 39. The portraits were given by Albert Campbell Hooper, ex. coll. Comtesse de Béraudière. The San Francisco portraits are dated later than those in England. It has been suggested at the Rijksbureau (The Hague) that the San Francisco paintings are copies by Molenaer after Moreelse. (3) W. Katz, 'Additional Note on Some Moreelse Portraits', *Connoisseur*, cxix, Mar. 1947, p. 44.

HENDRICK TERBRUGGHEN

Hendrick Terbrugghen may have been born in Deventer (province of Overijssel) in 1588, or possibly two years later. He was buried in Utrecht 29 November 1629. The painter belonged to a prosperous Catholic family; his father settled in Utrecht, a Catholic center, at the end of the sixteenth century. Terbrugghen may have been the pupil of Abraham Bloemaert in Utrecht before an extensive period of Italian residence possibly ten years in duration. He probably left the Netherlands in 1604 and is recorded back in Utrecht before April 1615. He is known to have

visited Milan and other Italian art centers including Naples, where he may have painted a lost altarpiece for the cathedral.¹ He presumably spent the bulk of his Italian stay in Rome, where he was profoundly impressed by the art of Caravaggio (1573-1610) as well as that of the Italian master's first disciples such as Orazio Gentileschi and Orazio Borgianni.² Terbrugghen married in Utrecht in 1616 and seems to have entered the guild in the same year. The exact relationship between his Italianate style and that of his immediate contemporary (and seeming partner in some works) Dirck van Baburen is not entirely clear. According to Nicolson, 'during the years 1622-3 he was associated with Baburen and borrowed motifs from his less gifted colleague.'³ Terbrugghen's fellow North Netherlandish painters active in Italy, Honthorst and Baburen, returned to Utrecht by 1620 and by 1621. These three masters made that city the major northern European center for painting in the dramatic manner of Caravaggio and his first followers. The first dated work by Terbrugghen is the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* of 1620 (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst). All his surviving canvases seem to postdate that work. Like several other of his religious canvases, the Copenhagen painting is partially derived from far earlier northern sources. Terbrugghen's paintings stand alone for their exquisite luminous coloring and modeling. These refined factors are often in striking contrast with the violent nature of many of his subjects.

K1542 : Figure 119

DAVID AND THE SINGERS. Raleigh, North Carolina, North Carolina Museum of Art (GL.60.17.66), since 1960. Oil on closely woven canvas. Very thinly painted. 31½ × 40½ in. (79.4 × 102.9 cm.). Inscribed on the sheet: three staves of secular music, the notes of different temporal lengths.⁴ Signed at the lower left corner of music sheet: HTB⁵brugghen, dated 1623 at the lower right.⁵ These letters had been transformed to read *Baburen* and were uncovered in their original form after K1542 was purchased in 1948. Small cut or tear in left shoulder of woman seen from the back; some of the modeling in her right shoulder and arm is lost. Relined at unknown date. Restored by Modestini in 1960.

Raleigh, 1960, p. 134.

Five music-making women occupy the left two-thirds of the canvas and greet the victorious young David. He stands at the extreme right, in left profile, grasping the severed head of Goliath by the hair with his left hand and holding the giant's sword over his right shoulder. All six figures are slightly more than half-length. David's coat is striped, predominantly mustard in color. The woman seen from the back wears purple. She holds a sheet with musical notation in the right hand. Opposite her an open-mouthed singer extends her left arm over David's shoulder, gesturing to the upper left with the other hand. At the left, a recorder player is seen in three-quarter view; the heads of two additional women are to her left and right.

The painting is taken from two passages of Samuel: (1 Samuel 17:54) 'And David took the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Jerusalem; but he put his armor in his tent'. (1 Samuel 18:6-7) 'And it came to pass as they came, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music. And the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands.'

A second version of the composition is in the museum at Sibiu (Rumania). It is signed with a monogram on the music sheet and is the same size as K1542.⁷ A copy, inferior to the above, with the artist's initials on the music sheet, is in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht (32½ × 40½ in.). A third example, lacking the head of Goliath (possibly over-painted) measuring 33 × 43 in. was in the E. de Bayo sale, New York, 12 December 1968, lot 83.⁸ Before the emergence of the Kress canvas, Longhi noted that the canvas at Sibiu (long attributed to Baburen) was probably a copy after an early work by Terbrugghen.⁹ K1542 was exhibited as by Baburen in *Caravaggio and the Caravaggisti*, Durlacher Bros., New York, 1946, Cat. No. 14. Longhi recognized the painting as an original work by Terbrugghen and described the one in Sibiu as a copy.¹⁰ Nicolson stressed the importance of Terbrugghen's complete signature in K1542 and noted that the figure of the central singer was re-used by the painter in his *Mercenary Love* (Stockholm, Collection Claes Philip). He thought the date should be read as 1628.¹¹ The same scholar described the Kress canvas as Terbrugghen's second version of the composition. He suggested that the signature was changed in Rome, where Baburen was the better known master.¹² Schneider and Judson proposed that the composition may be linked to Lucas van Leyden's print of the same subject (B.26), which was copied several times c. 1600.¹³ The head of Goliath may, according to Minott, be a self-portrait of the artist, as in Caravaggio's *David* composition (Rome, Galleria Borghese).¹⁴ Gerson accepted the inscribed date of 1623 as correct.¹⁵ Nicolson retracted his earlier reading of the date and accepted it as 1623.¹⁶ Shapley (*Raleigh*, 1960, p. 139) observed that 'The emphasis in the painting upon realistic modeling in light and shade is a Caravaggesque feature, but the technique – the thin pigment, without heavy impasto – is characteristic of Terbrugghen, and quite different from the Italian master's usage. There is also more attention here to decorative effect, broad areas of dark silhouetted against broad areas of light. But in certain details, as in the greenish hue of the dead flesh of Goliath contrasting with the warm coloring of the other faces, the realism is uncompromising.' Comparing K1542 with the Sibiu example, Slatkes wrote that 'the Kress canvas is the prime one. Its superior quality is even apparent in photographs. This assumption is also supported by the fact that our painting is fully signed and dated, while the Sibiu version, also certainly by Terbrugghen's hand, is signed only with a monogram and date.' He found the Kress composition to derive from Baburen's *Crowning with Thorns* in Weert (Provinciaal der Minderbroeders), which

was painted at the time Baburen and Terbrugghen were sharing a workshop in Utrecht. Slatkes suggested that the signature on K1542 was transformed comparatively recently.¹⁷ He described the composition in Utrecht dated 1624 as a studio replica.¹⁸ According to Slatkes 'The head of David is close to the one portrait of Terbrugghen that has come down to us by Pieter Bodart after a lost drawing by Gerard Hoet I.'¹⁹

The Kress canvas may have been of interest to Baburen, as the artists had a close working relationship.²⁰ Terbrugghen often repeated his subjects so the presence of other examples in no way argues against the autograph quality of the Kress canvas.²¹ The rendering of the striped sleeves is somewhat clearer in the versions where the pigments have neither darkened nor been absorbed by the canvas as much as in K1542, which is far more thinly and finely rendered than the others. While the Goliath and the David may resemble Terbrugghen, the painter included the same facial types throughout his oeuvre. Although musical themes were long popular in Western art, representations of singers and instrumentalists play an unusually large role in Terbrugghen's works. He also depicted David as the old king, singing and harping, accompanied by four angels (Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum).²² The subject of the victorious David was shown in the Netherlands as early as the later fifteenth century.²³ By the early sixteenth century, full-length versions of the subject were done, such as that by Bernhard Strigel (Munich, Pinakothek).²⁴ Lucas van Leyden's vertical engraving with four full-length figures was a popular composition; both Goltzius and Rubens owned paintings of the subject attributed to the sixteenth-century master.²⁵ Perhaps David's grave demeanour and the placement of his sword bear some slight relation to the Lucas print. Terbrugghen drew upon the engraver's works for other paintings of the 1620s. Although Terbrugghen's Caravaggism is indisputable, his composition, especially the use of a figure seen from the back, suggests Venetian influence. Venice, like the North Netherlands, identified herself with the people of the Old Testament and both areas may have been especially drawn to subjects such as the Triumphant David. The scene seems also to have been popular among painters. De Gheyn played the role of the triumphant David in the *Rederijker's* pageant in honor of Prince Maurits (Amsterdam, 1594).²⁶ David's brooding expression may indicate his foreknowledge of the tragic consequences of his enthusiastic reception: the envy of Saul. The maenad-like pose of the singer may also point to the unhappy outcome of her song.

Provenance: Tomás Harris, London. New York, Messrs. Durlacher, exhibited – New York, Durlacher Gallery, 1946, *Caravaggio and the Caravaggisti*, Cat. No. 14, as by Baburen. It was mistakenly listed as coming from the collection of Baron Brukenenthal, Hermannstadt (Sibiu). Kress acquisition 1948, from Durlacher, exhibited – Dayton, Ohio, Art Institute, *Hendrick Terbrugghen in America*, 15 Oct.–28 Nov. 1965, and Baltimore, Maryland, Museum of Art, 19 Dec. 1965 – 30 Jan. 1966, pp. 16–17, Cat. No. 3.

References: (1) See Arnold Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, I, Amsterdam, 1718, pp. 133-4. (2) See Benedict Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, The Hague, 1958, pp. 5-12, for a sensitive exploration of the artist's Italian sources. (3) *Ibid.*, p. 12, Leonard J. Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, The Hague, 1965, pp. 94-9, accepted Nicolson's views. (4) Information courtesy of Emanuel Winternitz. (5) The inscription is reproduced by Nicolson, *op. cit.*, fig. III. The location of the signature given incorrectly by Leonard J. Slatkes, *Hendrick Terbrugghen in America* (introduction by Wolfgang Stechow, Catalogue by Slatkes, Dayton and Baltimore, 1965-6), Cat. No. 3, p. 16. (6) For depictions of this subject see A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Budapest-Berlin, 1956, I, pp. 133-6. (7) See Teodor Ionescu, 'Un Terbrugghen la Muzeul Brukenthal', *Arta Plastică* (Bucharest), 1960, I, pp. 48-9, and *The Brukenthal Museum*, Bucharest, 1964, p. 17, Cat. No. 52, Inv. No. 52. (8) Nicolson, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, p. 83, Cat. No. a.50, noted the de Bayo canvas. (9) Roberto Longhi, 'Ultimi studi sul Caravaggio e la sua cerchia', *Proporzioni*, I, 1943, pp. 5-63, esp. p. 57, n. 79. The Sibiu canvas was first published by T. von Frimmel, 'Bilder von seltenen Meistern', *Helbings Monatshefte*, I, 1900/I, p. 137, as by Baburen; it has also been given to Honthorst. (10) Roberto Longhi, 'Appunti Caravaggio en de Nederlanden', Catalogo, Utrecht-Anversa', *Paragone*, III, Sept. 1952, pp. 52-8, esp. p. 55. (11) Benedict Nicolson, 'The Rijksmuseum "Incredulity" and Terbrugghen's Chronology', *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1956, p. 107. He accepted the mistaken Sibiu provenance given in the Durlacher exhibition. (12) Benedict Nicolson, 'De Heilige Hieronymus van Hendrick Terbrugghen', *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, xi, 1958, p. 86, n. 2. He here recognized that the Kress canvas was not identical with the Sibiu one. (13) Arthur von Schneider, *Caravaggio und die Niederländer*, Marburg, 1933, p. 43, n. 10; J. Richard Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst. A discussion of his position in Dutch art*, The Hague, 1956, p. 85, n. 4. Schneider cited the Saenredam (B.109) dated 1600. For Lucas van Leyden and this theme see also J. G. Hoogewerff, *Die Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, III, The Hague, 1939, p. 316. (14) C. I. Minott, 'An Additional Note on Terbrugghen's "David and the Singers"', *North Carolina Museum of Art, Calendar of Events*, v, no. 10, pp. 10-11. For the head of Goliath as a self-portrait of Caravaggio, see Walter Friedländer, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 202-3, no. 30, pl. 40. (15) H. Gerson, 'Review of B. Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*', *Kunstchronik*, xii, 1959, pp. 314-19, esp. p. 318. (16) Benedict Nicolson, 'Second Thoughts about Terbrugghen', *Burlington Magazine*, cii, 1960, p. 469. (17) Slatkes, 1965-66, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, pp. 16-17, Cat. No. 3. (18) Slatkes, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, pp. 94 and 153, Cat. No. E2 (works wrongly attributed to Baburen). (19) Slatkes, 1965-66, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 17; Goliath's name was accidentally listed as David's. Reproduced by Nicolson, 1958, *op. cit.*, pl. 1a. Slatkes followed Minott's (*supra*) identification of Goliath as being a self-portrait. (20) Slatkes, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 67. Nicolson, 1958, *op. cit.* Note 12 above, pp. 12-13. (21) For the problem of versions and copies see Benedict Nicolson, 'Terbrugghen Repeating Himself',

Miscellanea Prof. Dr. D. Roggen, Antwerp, 1957, pp. 193-203, esp. p. 193. See also Slatkes, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 10. (22) Slatkes, *ibid.*, pp. 42-4, Cat. No. 15, fig. 15. (23) See the drawing by the Master of Mary of Burgundy, Paris, École des Beaux-Arts (ex coll. Masson, No. 3189, reproduced by Otto Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948, pl. 24). (24) Reproduced by Gertrude Otto, *Bernhard Strigel*, Munich, 1967, Cat. No. 17, pl. 62. (25) See J. Denucé, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de vlaamsche kunst*, II, *De Antwerpsche 'konstkamers' inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e. en 17e. eeuwen*, The Hague, 1932, p. 64, Inv. No. 176. (26) Subjects such as that of K1542 appeared in series, such as the *Encomium Musices* by Johannes Stradanus reproduced by Adriaen Collaert (Hollstein, IV, 201, 18-36).

GERRIT VAN HONTHORST

The painter and etcher was born in Utrecht in 1590 and died there in 1656. Descended from a long line of artists, he studied in Utrecht under Abraham Bloemaert. In 1610 Honthorst may have left for Italy, where he resided in Rome for ten years, much influenced by Caravaggio's dramatic art. Honthorst's fondness for depicting genre and religious nocturnes illuminated by artificial light led to his Italian renown as Gherardo delle Notti. He became well known through major commissions for altarpieces in Rome, enjoying extensive patronage from Cardinal Scipione Borghese and Prince Giustiniani. Honthorst was last recorded in Rome in 1619. He returned to Utrecht in 1620, marrying there in October. He joined the guild in 1622 and was its dean in 1625, 1626, 1628 and 1629. From the turbulent religious subjects favored by the Counter-Reformation which had made his fame in Rome he turned to classical and arcadian subjects, genre and portraiture when he returned to predominantly Protestant Holland. In 1628 he resided in England, receiving extensive commissions from the court of Charles I, some of which were executed in The Hague. Honthorst was also painter to the Stadhouder, Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange, at several of his palaces, moving to The Hague to work on decorations for the Huis ten Bosch in 1637, but maintaining his house in Utrecht to which he returned permanently in 1651. The prolific painter combined a somewhat classical Italianate manner with traditional northern realism. Not so brilliant a master as his Utrecht colleague, Terbrugghen, Honthorst, together with Moreelse, Baburen, Rombouts, and Stomer made that city the most important northern European center for advanced Italian currents in the 1620s.¹

K2059 : Figure 127

PASTORALE. Seattle, Washington, Seattle Art Museum (D37/H7597.1), since 1954. Oil on canvas. $43\frac{7}{16} \times 39\frac{13}{16}$ in. (110.4 × 101.2 cm.). Relined and restored c. 1930. Restored before acquisition, c. 1950. The canvas is well preserved. Signed and dated on crook between hands of shepherdess: G v. Honthorst px. 1627.

Seattle, 1954, p. 58. Reproduced in color in *Life Magazine*, 19 February 1962, 52, 7, p. 52.

A blonde shepherdess, seen in three-quarter view, in extreme decollété, kneels at the lower left; she is shown to the waist, holding a crook in her right hand. A young woman at the extreme left, wearing a rose taffeta cloak, ties a garland of roses and other flowers around the shepherdess's shoulders. Another blonde shepherdess – indicated as such by her broad straw hat – in a low-cut pale pink dress, a yellow cloak around her hips, turns to the left to fasten a bouquet of tulips, roses, narcissus and other flowers in her hair. A shepherd stands at the extreme right under a (laurel?) tree entwined by a grapevine, grasping a crook with his right hand; he is shown in toga-like garb draped over his right shoulder. The figures are seen against a neutral background.

Nicolson characterized the Kress canvas as 'An exceptionally fine painting by Honthorst dated 1627... It is close in spirit to his *Granida and Daifilo* in the Centraal Museum of two years earlier'. He noted that paintings such as K2059 were the basis for Jan van Bijlaert's style.² The head of the seated lady was compared by Millar to those of Queen Henrietta Maria and Lady Carlisle as portrayed by Honthorst in *Mercury Presenting the Liberal Arts to Apollo and Diana* (Hampton Court) of 1628 and a *Venus and Adonis* of 1641.³ According to Judson, the Kress canvas was the first of a pastoral genre to be painted after Honthorst's *Granida and Daifilo* of 1625. He noted that the faces had a portrait-like quality but were not identifiable.⁴ Braun entitled the canvas *Daphnis and Chloe* but gave no reasons for that identification.⁵ He associated K2059 with a work by Honthorst in the House of Orange inventory of 1627, No. 82.⁶

In 1627 the deputies of Utrecht presented a *Shepherd and Shepherdess* by Moreelse to Princess Amalia van Solms of Orange on her marriage to Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange as a wedding present. Romantic, idyllic subjects such as that of the Kress canvas may also have functioned as wedding gifts.⁷ Such pastoral subjects, although traditional to Northern art, were presented in large scale by Baburen.⁸ The Kress canvas with its blonde coloring and somewhat stolid forms is entirely characteristic of Honthorst's works in the arcadian genre which was especially popular in the Netherlands in the 1620s. Aspects of the Kress canvas suggest a colder, less richly articulated parallel to Rubens, and it may be worth noting that the great Flemish master much admired Honthorst and visited him in Utrecht on his journey to the Netherlands in 1613.⁹

Provenance: Possibly Collection of the Stadhouder (Governor of the Netherlands).¹⁰ Probably the painting sold to v. d. Poll at the Mr. C. Groeninx van Zoelen Sale, Rotterdam, 25 June 1900, no. 32.¹¹ Colonel Petrie Waugh, Bournemouth, sold 24 Apr. 1885, no. 166. Lady Phyllis Benton, sold at Sotheby's 26 Apr. 1950, no. 124. London, Alfred Scharf. London, Paul Cassirer Gallery (Grete Ring), 1950. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1954, exhibited – *The Young Rembrandt and His Times*, The John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis, Indiana, Feb.–Mar. 1958; and San Diego, California, Fine

Arts Gallery, Apr.–May 1958, Cat. No. 83; Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 – 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 44.

References: (1) For the biography of Honthorst, see G. J. Hoogewerff, *Gherardo delle Notti*, Rome, 1924; see also his Honthorst entry in *Thieme–Becker*, xvii, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 447–50; J. Richard Judson, *Honthorst – A Discussion of his Position in Dutch Art*, The Hague, 1956; J. Richard Judson, *Honthorst – A Discussion of his Position in Dutch Art with a Catalogue Raisonné*, The Hague, 1959; Neil MacLaren, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School*, London, 1960, p. 178; Hermann Braun, *Gerard und Willem van Honthorst*, Göttingen, 1966. (2) Benedict Nicolson, 'Caravaggio and the Netherlands', *Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 1952, frontispiece (pl. 1) and p. 251. The Utrecht canvas is illustrated by Judson, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 132, fig. 38. For Pieter Cornelisz. de Hooft's pastoral play *Granida and Daifilo* of c. 1605, see Illa Budde, *Die Idylle im holländischen Barock*, Cologne, 1929; see also Wolfgang Stechow's review in *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, 1928/9, pp. 181–7; there is no specific reference to the subject of K2059 in Hooft's work. S. J. Gudlaugsson, 'Representations of Granida in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting', *Burlington Magazine*, xc, 1948, pp. 226–30, pp. 348–51 and xci, 1948, pp. 38–43. A similar model is shown in J. van Bijlaert's *Singing Shepherds* (Wuppertal–Elberfeld, Städt. Museum) reproduced in *Caravaggio en de Nederlanden*, Utrecht and Antwerp, 1952, fig. 20, Cat. No. 32. That master studied with Honthorst in Bloemaert's studio and followed many of Honthorst's works. The latter repeated elements from K2059 in 1629 (Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, No. 1616). (3) Oliver Millar, 'Charles I, Honthorst, and Van Dyck', *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, p. 39, n. 14. (4) Judson, 1959, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 101; Cat. No. 142, p. 218. He also included K2059 in his first publication, *Honthorst*, The Hague, 1956, p. 99. (5) Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 221, Cat. No. 78. For a composition depicting *Daphnis and Chloe*, see Netherlands Art Institute Photo, Lnr 17672 (London Art Market, 1937) attributed to H. Bloemaert. (6) The inventory number cited by Braun (No. 82) does not specify the subject of Honthorst's painting so that its identification with K2059 is not entirely certain. Many works by Honthorst are included in the inventory with their subjects identified. See S. W. A. Drossaers and C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Inventaris van de meubelen van het Stadhouderlijk kwartier met het Speelhuys en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage', *Oud-Holland*, xlvii, 1930, pp. 193–236: *Inventar. Stadhouderlijk kwartier 1632 fol. 14. Op de galderije van mevrouw de prinsesse. Nr. 82. Eene schoorsteen mantel vergult op eenen rooden lacken gront daerinne een stuck schilderje verciert met harderinneken door Honthorst gemaect.* (7) For the Moreelse see Jan Bialostocki, 'Kaunitz Honthorst Rediscovered', *Oud-Holland*, lxxiii, 1958, pp. 167–8. According to the scholar, half-length shepherdesses first appear in Honthorst's oeuvre c. 1622. Since K2059 is also dated 1627, and appears to have been recorded in the Princess's inventory, it may have been presented to her at

the same time as the Moreelse. (8) See Leonard J. Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, Utrecht, 1965, pp. 130–2. (9) See Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting*, London, 1706, p. 287. (10) According to Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 221, Cat. No. 78. (11) Canvas: 43 duim \times 39 duim [116.1 \times 105.3 cm.], *Een Herderin, welke als een Bruid met Bloemen word gesierd, door twee bevallige Speelgenoten, het welk een Herder met genoeg beschowd; did Stik is van een aangenaam coloriet.* ['A Shepherdess who like a bride is decorated with flowers by two charming playmates, which a Shepherd views with delight; this piece is of a pleasant color.'] Judson, 1959, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–19.

FRANS HALS

Hals was born in Antwerp or Malines, c. 1580–5, and died in Haarlem in 1666.¹ The painter's parents came from Malines and settled in Haarlem by 1591. He may have studied under Karel van Mander c. 1603, before the latter left Haarlem. In 1610 Hals joined the Haarlem painters' guild, and was an established master by 1616 when he was commissioned to paint an important portrait of the officers of a Haarlem militia company. Several other group portraits followed this important work in 1627, 1633, and 1639. His genius for portraiture was fully recognized in Haarlem, and he received a major commission in Amsterdam in 1633. In 1641 he portrayed the regents of the Haarlem hospital. He became an officer of the painters' guild in 1644. Though his career saw increasing difficulties after 1650, and in his old age he received aid from the city council, two of his greatest masterpieces, group portraits of the regents and of the regentesses of the Old Men's Home at Haarlem, were painted in 1664. The origins of Hals's art are far from clear. His portrait style has many elements common to the late works of Titian and Tintoretto. He may have been exposed to Italian sources by Van Mander, who was in close touch with sixteenth-century Italian painting, though his own style has little to do with that of his brilliant student. The breadth of treatment and the shimmering luminosity of such sixteenth-century Northern masters as Frans Floris may have laid a foundation for Hals's works; such earlier landscape masters as de Momper and Brill, rather than portrait painters, could have contributed to his brushwork. The fresh, relaxed conviviality of Buytewech's oeuvre may also have provided a point of departure for Hals's spontaneous, profoundly perceptive art. All Hals's known works are portraits. Among these, the only works which seem not to have been commissioned are his vivacious, Hogarthian depictions of Dutch revellers, rustics, fisherfolk and eccentrics. Such artists as Arent Arentsz. (Cabel) gave Hals a springboard for his fisherfolk subjects. Distinguishing the extent of Hals's activity in this area from that of his immediate followers and later imitators is still a complex issue.

Reference: (1) For the Hals bibliography see the catalogue of the Frans Hals exhibition held in Haarlem at the Frans Hals Museum in 1962; Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals*, London, 1970, I, pp. 216–27 and the introduction.

Follower of FRANS HALS

(Harmen Hals?)

K255 : Figure 120

THE YOUNG FISHERMAN. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.36B), since 1960. Oil on very finely woven canvas. 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ \times 23 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (65.4 \times 58.8 cm.). Inscribed with the Hals monogram FH in the lower right corner. Cut down, and over-painted at upper left at unknown date. The painting has an earlier depiction underneath, as indicated by X-ray photography. Abrasion in sky and elsewhere. Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1934. Reinforced at unknown date; the strengthening of the monogram and other over-painting were removed by Modestini in 1951; the figure at the upper left was then revealed.

Allentown, 1960, p. 120.

The smiling fisherboy wearing a red vest and rustic attire is in a seated or squatting pose in the dunes (probably at Zandvoort), his right hand placed in his coat, his left arm resting on the leg. He has a large wicker fish basket tied to his back, and wears a hat with herbs stuck in the crown. Another fisherman or boy is at the upper left. Fishing boats with four figures on the beach are seen at the lower right. Originally the composition must have been somewhat larger and more vertical, so as to accommodate the upper section of the figure that is now cut down; the artist may perhaps have changed his mind, painting over that figure in order that the design correspond more closely to the conventional format of half-length fisherfolk.

The fisherfolk, according to Held, may, like those in the emblematic literature of Jacob Cats, be reminders of the superiority of the natural, rustic life over urban sophistication.¹ Slive observed that figures of fisherfolk were common in Northern art by the late sixteenth century. Such characters were often included in Dutch prints of the four elements to characterize water and were also shown in print series depicting man's occupations, but it was Hals who seems to have invented and popularized depictions of fisherfolk in half-length shown life-size.² The *Fisherboy* was first published by Valentiner, who dated it c. 1635–40 and described it as one of the most compelling of the figure series painted by Hals in the 1630s.³ He found the seascape reminiscent in its coloring and chiaroscuro of Abraham van Beyeren.⁴ Bode considered K255 an excellent work by Hals; Longhi dated it c. 1635, commenting upon the prominence of the landscape as unusual in Hals; Norris shared Longhi's views.⁵ The landscape section was described by Valentiner as belonging to the 'finest dune pictures of Dutch art and seems more modern in conception than most of the contemporary landscape pictures.'⁶ The diagonal composition led Valentiner to suspect that it may have a pendant of a similar subject.⁷ A dating of 1635–40 was given for K255 in the Hals exhibition of 1937.⁸ The bulk of the 'Fisherfolk' canvases ascribed to Hals were viewed by Van Dantzig as forgeries dating from the second half of the nineteenth century. He included K255 in this



Text Fig 24 *Last Supper*, anonymous drawing in the British Museum (see K 1997).



Text Fig 25 *Last Supper*, after Rubens by Jan Punt, 1752 (see K 1997).



Text Fig 26 *Portrait of a Gentleman* attributed to Cornelis de Vos. Ex coll. Cook. Possible pendant to K 1065.



Text Fig 27 *Queen Henrietta Maria* by Anthony van Dyck. Preparatory drawing for K 1911, Paris, École des Beaux-Arts.



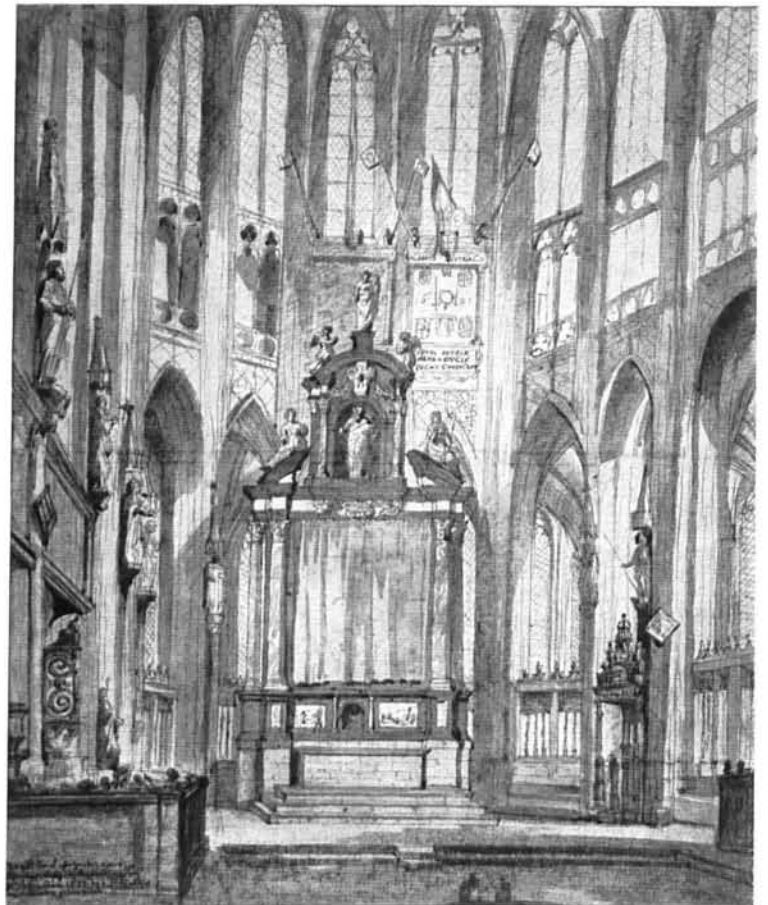
Text Fig 28 *Self-Portrait* by Rembrandt, 1632. Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection (see κ 39).



Text Fig 29 *Self-Portrait with Plumed Hat and Saber* (etching) by Rembrandt, 1634 (see κ 2184).



Text Fig 30 *Self-Portrait* by Bol. Dayton, Ohio, Art Institute (see κ 2184).



Text Fig 31 *St. Janskerk, 's-Hertogenbosch* by Pieter Saenredam, 1632. London, British Museum. Preparatory drawing for κ 2052.

category, noting that it was painted over an old canvas.⁹ This view was somewhat modified by Trivas, who included Hals's son Harmen (1611–69) as a likely candidate for the painter of the 'Fisherfolk'.¹⁰

If Valentiner's suggestion that K255 was one of a pair is correct, the *Fishergirl with a Basket* (Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum) is a likely candidate.¹¹ Although not by Hals himself, the Allentown *Fisherboy* is superior to many works of the same genre mistakenly given to Hals and more correctly linked to Judith Leyster. The canvas is painted by a Hals follower, combining the master's figure style with an approach to landscape which differs from Hals's manner. Perhaps his son Harmen Hals painted K255. It is not impossible that the landscape could have been executed by a different hand from the figures; as noted by Valentiner, the landscape suggests the art of Abraham van Beyeren.

Provenance: London, Thomas Agnew and Sons, 1921. Rome, A. Contini-Bonacossi, exhibited – Rome, Borghese Gallery, *Mostra di Capolavori della Pittura Olandese*, 1928, p. 38, Cat. No. 41. Kress acquisition 1933, exhibited – Detroit, Institute of Arts, *An Exhibition of 50 Paintings by Frans Hals*, 10 Jan.–28 Feb. 1935, Cat. No. 30. Indianapolis, Ind., John Herron Art Museum, *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, 27 Feb.–11 Apr. 1937, Cat. No. 24. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, *Frans Hals Tentoonstelling*, 1 July–30 Sept. 1937, Cat. No. 63. New York, Schaeffer Galleries, *Paintings by Frans Hals*, 9–23 Nov. 1937, Cat. No. 14. Grand Rapids, Mich., Art Gallery, *Masterpieces of Dutch Art*, 7–30 May 1940, p. 7, Cat. No. 28. Allentown, Penn., Allentown Art Museum, *Seventeenth-Century Painters of Haarlem*, 2 Apr.–13 June 1965, Cat. No. 38. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 – 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 43.

References: (1) Quoted by Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals*, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, 1962, Exhibition Catalogue, p. 47, Cat. No. 27. See also his *Frans Hals*, London, 1970, 1, pp. 141–4. Slive dates the fisher children in the middle phase, c. 1630–40. (2) Slive, 1962, *loc. cit.* (3) Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Frans Hals, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921, pp. 290, 323. At the time, the figure at the upper left corner was still obscured by overpainting. (4) *Ibid.*, Second Edition, 1923, p. 133, and n. 4, p. 315. (5) Transcriptions in Kress Archive. W. Bode's opinion was written in 1924, Roberto Longhi's in 1933, that of Christopher Norris on 28 May 1934. In the same year Oswald Sirén, Wilhelm R. Valentiner, William Suida and F. F. Mason Perkins all certified Hals's authorship of K255. Raimond van Marle and G. Fiocco expressed the same views at an unknown date. (6) Valentiner, *Fifty Paintings by Frans Hals*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1935, Cat. No. 30. (7) Valentiner, *Frans Hals Paintings in America*, Westport, Connecticut, 1936, Cat. No. 53. (8) *Frans Hals*, Exhibition Catalogue cited Note 1 above, Cat. No. 63. The same dating is given in the Schaeffer catalogue of 1937 (Cat. No. 14). (9) M. M. van Dantzig, *Frans Hals, Echt of*

Onecht, Amsterdam, 1937, pp. 97 ff. and p. 103, Cat. No. 98. (10) N. S. Trivas, *The Paintings of Frans Hals*, London, 1941, pp. 6, 14. (11) Reproduced by Valentiner, 1921, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, pl. 108.

Imitator of FRANS HALS

K274 : Figure 121

A FISHERBOY. Raleigh, North Carolina, North Carolina Museum of Art (GL.60.17.67), since 1960. Oil on very finely woven canvas. 31 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (80.4 × 64.5 cm.). The spilling of a strong solvent along the lower right corner and two narrow streams of the same solvent trickling along the right border necessitated considerable inpainting.¹ Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1933–4; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1959–60. Raleigh, 1960, p. 136.

A smiling fisherboy, seen to just below the knees, is seated under a tree in a landscape near the sea (indicated by the gulls above the meadows). A heavy wicker creel is on his back. He gestures with his right hand toward the right.

The canvas was first published by Valentiner, who included it in Hals's oeuvre, commenting upon the Van Goyen-like handling of the landscape section.² Bode, Friedländer and other experts accepted K274 as a genuine, well-preserved, autograph work of Hals.³ Although Valentiner placed most of Hals's 'Fisherfolk' depictions in the 1630s, he felt the broad treatment, bright color and blackish shadows of K274 pointed to its being a late work.⁴ He also suggested that a *Fisherboy* in an English collection may have been the pendant to K274. He commented upon the expressive landscape, dating the canvas in the late 1630s or 40s.⁵ The brushwork and light of K274 made Frankfurter describe Hals as a forerunner of Impressionism.⁶ Shapley (Raleigh, p. 136) published the canvas as by Frans Hals, placing it at a somewhat later date than K255 on account of its even broader, more rapid execution. Van Dantzig, commenting upon its mistaken perspective, viewed the canvas as the work of a Hals imitator.⁷ This view was somewhat modified by Trivas, who indicated Hals's son Harmen (1611–69) as a likely candidate for the author of the 'Fisherfolk' paintings in general.⁸ According to Stanford, 'This genre study of Frans Hals points up the difference between a commissioned work, as in the *Portrait of a Young Man*, and a work done for pure pleasure. In the *Fisherboy* Hals's rapid brushstroke, his brisk, direct and unrestrained colors, as well as his omission of detail, are all characteristic of the improvised technique which he employed in his non-commissioned works. The mobile expression of his work catches, as a photographer would, a moment in the life of a young boy. It is not posed, but is rather a picture of "stopped action". The heavy, free brushstroke gives a forecast into the painting techniques of the 19th century, especially the techniques of Goya in his black period, and will also even remind the viewer of the German Expressionists in the early 20th century.'⁹

This *Fisherboy* is the work of an imitator of Hals, very possibly working long after the master's death, who strove to approximate the pictorial effect of Hals's work without any real understanding of that master's aesthetic or technique.¹⁰

Provenance: The composition of K274 is close to the description of a canvas by Hals sold in Amsterdam on 21 August 1729, Cat. No. 58, but the Amsterdam canvas measured 33 × 27 in., two inches larger all around than the *Raleigh Fisherboy*.¹¹ Florence, A. Contini-Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1933, exhibited – Detroit, Institute of Arts, *An Exhibition of 50 Paintings by Frans Hals*, 10 Jan.–28 Feb. 1935, Cat. No. 31; Indianapolis, Ind., John Herron Art Museum, *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, 27 Feb.–11 Apr. 1937, Cat. No. 23. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, *Frans Hals Tentoonstelling*, 1 July–30 Sept. 1937, Cat. No. 64. New York, Schaeffer Galleries, *Paintings by Frans Hals*, 9–23 Nov. 1937, Cat. No. 15. San Francisco, Calif., Golden Gate International Exposition, *Masterworks of Five Centuries*, 1939, Cat. No. 81. Dayton, Ohio, The Art Institute, *European Loans from the Kress Collection*, 1 Dec. 1939–8 Apr. 1940, p. 13. Grand Rapids, Mich., Art Gallery, *Masterpieces of Dutch Art*, 7–30 May 1940, p. 7, Cat. No. 27.

References: (1) Alan Burroughs noted the technical correspondence of K274 to the *Fisherboy* (Antwerp, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. 188). (2) Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Frans Hals, Klassiker der Kunst*, 2nd ed., Stuttgart and Berlin, 1923, pl. 135. (3) Translation and transcription of Wilhelm Bode certificate dated 23/XI/28, Kress Archive. In 1934 Valentiner, Raimond van Marle, Osvald Siren, and Max J. Friedländer all accepted the canvas as by Hals. Transcriptions and translations in Kress Archive. (4) Valentiner, *Exhibition of Fifty Paintings by Frans Hals*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1935, Cat. No. 31. (5) Valentiner, *Frans Hals Paintings in America*, Westport, Conn., 1936, Cat. No. 54. The English canvas is reproduced in Valentiner, 1923, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, no. 134. (6) Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'An Indianapolis Show: Masters of the Netherlands', *Art News*, 6 Mar. 1937, p. 13. (7) M. M. van Dantzig, *Frans Hals Echt of Onecht*, Amsterdam, 1937, p. 103, Cat. No. 64. (8) N. S. Trivas, *The Paintings of Frans Hals*, London, 1941, pp. 6, 14. (9) Charles Stanford, Jr., *Masterpieces in the North Carolina Museum of Art*, Raleigh, 1966, p. 46, Cat. No. 22. (10) Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals*, London, 1970, I–II, does not include K274. (11) See C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1910, III, p. 17.

THOMAS HENDRICKSZ. DE KEYSER

Thomas de Keyser, a painter and architect, was born in 1596/7 in Amsterdam and died there in 1667. He studied with his father Hendrik (I) from 1616–18; his earliest extant dated work is from the following year: a group portrait of *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Sebastian Egbertz*. (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). De Keyser was primarily a

portraitist, influenced by the older generation – Cornelis Ketel, Aert Pieterz., Nicolaes Eliasz. – and later by Hals and Rembrandt. The painter produced many small, full-length portraits (e.g. *Constantin Huygens and his Clerk* (?), London, National Gallery, dated 1627) and also executed some life-size, guild, militia, and family groups such as the one in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, dated 1628), a few mythological and religious paintings, and, late in his life, several small equestrian portraits (*Pieter Schout*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, dated 1660). His early works were characterized by severe colour harmonies and tight brushwork. The influence of Hals enlivened his technique, endowing de Keyser's portraits with a new spontaneity. Prior to Rembrandt's move to Amsterdam in 1632, de Keyser was one of the city's two leading portraitists. The bulk of his paintings were executed before 1640, when he became a stone merchant, possibly entering the Stonemasons' Guild in 1640.¹

K2183 : Figure 123

MOTHER AND CHILD. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum, since 1960. Oil on cradled oak panel. 22 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 16 in. (56.9 × 40.6 cm.). Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1960. Despite extensive blistering, the panel is in a very good state of preservation. Some glazes lost in area of the mother's and child's garb. Inscribed at upper left corner:² ANNO 1628./DECEMBER. 27. Allentown, 1960, p. 112.

The mother is seated on an obliquely-placed chair, dressed in rich black fur-trimmed garb and white lace-edged cap and similar apron; she wears pearl-drop earrings and a ring on her right hand. A bunch of keys hangs at her side; she looks down toward the infant held in her lap who wears a black fur-lined coat, a white, lace-trimmed hat, collar, and apron. A wicker cradle is at the upper right and a glazed terracotta footed pot at the lower right. A rectangular wicker hamper is at the lower left. The figures are seen against a neutral background.

According to the dealer's brochure the panel shows the painter's wife and their daughter on the child's first birthday. Barnouw found the painting to be reminiscent of Buytewech.³ The monumental figure grouping was commented upon by Plietzsch.⁴ According to Shapley (*Allentown, loc. cit.*), 'Although de Keyser seemed to have more in common with the older generation of Dutch painters than with his contemporaries, flashes of light on the heavy silk drapery in this painting indicate that he was aware of the brilliant style of Hals, who was at this time becoming the outstanding portraitist of nearby Haarlem. But while Hals would probably have painted the figures life-size, with broad, free brush strokes, de Keyser keeps to his favored small proportions and more tightly knit technique. The effect is remarkably realistic, the figures strongly modeled in contrasting light and shade and the accessories foreshortened to give the impression of space round the group. The homey atmosphere of the scene and

the careful dating of the picture, as though to record the exact moment of a first-born child's life, make one wonder whether this may not be a portrait of the artist's own child and wife; he married in 1626.¹

The year in which the Kress panel was executed the artist – fully established in his career – painted extremely formal donor altar-wings showing a praying mother and daughter, and father and son (Berlin, Museums).⁵ The Allentown *Mother and Child* is more casually rendered, executed with a sense of intimacy that may support the belief that it shows the artist's wife with their first-born. For all its seeming informality the painting recalls heroic late-sixteenth-century depictions of the Virgin and Child by Tintoretto. The large inscription is unusual for de Keyser, as is the omission of his monogram.

Provenance: Dr. O. Hirschmann, Amsterdam, exhibited – Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Tentoonstelling van Oude Kunst*, 1936, Cat. No. 86, fig. 86, said to be ex coll. Baron de Dietrich, Paris. Mr. and Mrs. D. Birnbaum, Ten Cate, exhibited – New York, M. Knoedler and Co., *Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, 5–24 Feb. 1945, Cat. No. 7. David Bingham, Hartsdale, New York, exhibited – Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Carnegie Institute, *Pictures of Everyday Life: Genre Painting in Europe, 1500–1900*, 14 Oct.–12 Dec. 1954, Cat. No. 22. New York, Schaeffer Galleries. Kress acquisition 1957.

References: (1) The most extensive account of de Keyser's career is given by Rudolf Oldenbourg, *Thomas de Keyser's Tätigkeit als Maler*, Leipzig, 1911. (2) The date is erroneously given as 1625 by P. L. Grigaut, 'An Exhibition of Genre Painting at the Carnegie Institute', *Art Quarterly*, xvii, 1954, p. 400. (3) Adriaan J. Barnouw, 'How Modern Were These Dutch?', *Art News*, xlv, pp. 10–12, pp. 29–30, p. 30. (4) Eduard Plietzsch, *Holländische und flämische Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1960, p. 174. (5) Reproduced by Oldenbourg, *op. cit.*, pl. xi. The central Crucifixion was painted by Peter Lastman. See C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Peter Lastman en Thomas de Keyser', *Oud-Holland*, xlvii, 1930, pp. 237–40, especially p. 237.

JAN MOLENAER

The painter was born in Haarlem 1609/10 and was buried there in 1668.¹ Although his master is not known, Molenaer may have first worked under Frans Hals, the teacher of Judith Leyster, whom Molenaer married in 1636. Dated works are known from 1629 on. Molenaer resided in Amsterdam from 1637 until 1648, when he moved to Heemstede and Haarlem, finally purchasing a house in Amsterdam in 1651. His oeuvre stresses the amorous and/or raffish, presented in a lively style based upon Hals. Molenaer's later works concentrate upon peasant life in the manner of Adriaen van Ostade.

K1998 : Figure 122

THE DUET. Seattle, Washington, Seattle Art Museum (D37/M7325), since 1954. Oil on canvas. 26½ × 20½ in. (66.4 × 52.1 cm.). Signed at lower right at outer right side of foot warmer: *I. Molenaer*.² Relined and restored c. 1950. The canvas is well preserved. *Seattle*, 1954, p. 66.

A seated young couple is shown with musical instruments. The man is at the right, dressed in cavalier's garb with a plumed hat, ruff, striped doublet, cape, and breeches, his left foot placed on a foot-warmer. He plays an instrument for accompaniment, a theorbo (a large lute). The smiling lady holds a recorder with both hands, her chair lower and less elegant than his. She wears a white cap and broad laced-edged starched collar, bead necklace, fur-trimmed jacket with oversleeves, a wide skirt and long white apron. The musical instruments symbolize harmony in love; another emblematic allusion to passion may be found in the foot stove in the foreground.³

The same couple is shown in similar fashion in Berlin (Staatliche Museen), the man looking slightly older than in K1998. They also appear in Molenaer's *At Breakfast*, signed and dated 1629.⁴ Judith Leyster's *Merry Company*, 1630 (Paris, Louvre) depicts a similar couple; another work by her is believed to show the Molenaers with a friend (Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., Provincetown). The Seattle Catalogue placed K1998 among Molenaer's rather early paintings.⁵ The canvas was probably painted c. 1630 and represents the artist with his wife Judith Leyster. This amorous, musical scene depends in part upon the style and spirit of Buytewech's works. On the basis of the attire Stella Mary Newton dated the canvas 1628–9.⁶ It is a vigorous, freshly realized example of Molenaer's art.

Provenance: Dieren, Holland, D. Katz (dealer), exhibited – Providence, Rhode Island, Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, *Dutch Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, Dec. 1938–Jan. 1939, Cat. No. 31. New York, Schaeffer Galleries, exhibited – New York, Schaeffer Galleries, with the LeRoy M. Backus Collection, *Schaeffer Galleries Bulletin*, Nov. 1948, Cat. No. 7. Kress acquisition 1954, from Schaeffer, exhibited – Indianapolis, Ind., John Herron Art Museum, *The Young Rembrandt and His Times*, 14 Feb.–23 Mar. 1958, and San Diego, California, The Fine Arts Gallery, 11 Apr.–18 May 1958, Cat. No. 52. Allentown, Pa., Allentown Art Museum, *Seventeenth Century Painters of Haarlem*, 2 Apr.–13 June 1965, p. 44, Cat. No. 50. Milwaukee, Wis., Milwaukee Art Center, *The Inner Circle*, 15 Sept.–23 Oct. 1966, Cat. No. 68.

References: (1) See references given by Neil MacLaren, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School*, London, 1960, pp. 256–7. See also H. F. Wijnman, 'Het geboortjaar van Judith Leyster', *Oud-Holland*, xlix, 1932, pp. 62–5 for Judith Leyster. (2) A similar subject by Molenaer (London, National Gallery) has the artist's monogram in the same

place. Reproduced *The National Gallery Illustrations, The Continental Schools excluding Italian*, London, 1950, p. 236, no. 1293. (3) For an early example of this theme see Israhel van Meckenem's *Music-making Couple* (B.178). The foot-warmer has erotic associations in Dutch art as seen in Jan Steen's *The Oyster Feast* (London, National Gallery), reproduced *ibid.*, no. 2559, p. 346. In the Van Meckenem, too, a coffer-like object is in the foreground. (4) Reproduced by Georg Swarzenski, *Die Kunstsammlung im Heylshof zu Worms*, Frankfurt, 1927, pl. xviii. (5) *Seattle, op. cit.*, p. 66. (6) Kress Archive, 27/xi/67.

REMBRANDT HARMENSZ. VAN RIJN

Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn was born in Leyden on 15 July 1606, and died in Amsterdam on 4 October 1669.¹ Briefly at Leyden University, the young painter was first apprenticed to Jacob Isaacs. van Swanenburgh of Leyden for about three years and then to Pieter Lastman in Amsterdam for some six months. He worked independently in Leyden beginning c. 1625 and moved to Amsterdam c. 1632. Closely associated with Jan Lievens in the 1620s, Rembrandt began to have students, and was, throughout his lifetime, highly influential as a teacher. For the next few years he was much sought after as a portrait painter and accumulated a great collection of European and Far Eastern art. In the later 1630s he began painting large-scale Biblical and Classical subjects. Although there are fewer commissioned portraits from the artist's later years, he was always much esteemed as a great master of that genre. Splendid group portraits, landscapes, and allegorical subjects were painted by the prolific artist who also produced innumerable drawings and many etchings. Despite the diminishing interest of fashionable circles in his art, Rembrandt retained a faithful following of distinguished patrons. His bankruptcy in 1656 did not affect his productivity. Rembrandt combined the Italianate art of Lastman, Rubens, and others with a fresh, penetrating vision to produce a new apprehension of reality.

Reference: (1) The Rembrandt bibliography is immense. For a summary, see Neil MacLaren, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School*, London, 1960, pp. 303-4. For more specialized bibliography, see *Bibliography of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, The Hague, 1, 1943.

Attributed to REMBRANDT

K39 : Figure 125

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN. Allentown, Pa., Allentown Art Museum (61.35.6), since 1960. Oil on oval oak panel.¹ 25½ × 19½ in. (63.9 × 49.3 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: RHL [the artist's monogram] *van Rijn* 1632.² Restored by de Wild in 1927 (in The Hague, for Colnaghi).

Restored and European cradling replaced with a more extensive one by Pichetto in 1930. Varnished by Modestini in 1960.³

Allentown, 1960, p. 116.

A young woman with thin curly blonde hair is shown to the waist, in three-quarter view against a neutral background. She wears a white gauze collar over a lace one and a dark dress with a gold brocade insert below the bosom. Her jewels include pearl earrings and a jeweled ornament (cap?) at the back of her head; a double strand pearl choker and three gold and amber chains are around her neck.

For two centuries, K39 was kept together with a Rembrandt oval *Self-Portrait* of the same date and size (Text Fig. 28); it has often been assumed that the paintings were planned as pendants.⁴ This seems unlikely in view of the fact that the poses are not complementary. Rembrandt painted many portraits of young women who resemble the Kress sitter; their identity remains in dispute. Unless otherwise indicated, all of the following sources accepted K39 as an autograph work by Rembrandt.

K39 was first recorded in the 1727 Orléans catalogue (see *Provenance*) as the portrait of a Flemish woman by 'Paul Rembran' [sic]. The Orléans catalogue of 1786-1808 noted that some connoisseurs thought that the Kress panel and a male portrait by Rembrandt of the same size and date (also in the Orléans collection) represented Rembrandt and his wife.⁵ Smith included K39 in his catalogue raisonné of Rembrandt's works.⁶ When Waagen saw the panel at Petworth he noted that it was 'hung too high to permit of an opinion, though at that distance giving the impression of being a Ferdinand Bol'.⁷ Bode was the first to identify the subject of the Kress panel as Rembrandt's sister.⁸ Dutuit followed Bode's views.⁹ Wurzbach listed K39 as a 'portrait of the artist's sister(?)'.¹⁰ It is described by Michel as an undated portrait of Rembrandt's sister.¹¹ Moes also considered the portrait to be of Rembrandt's sister Lisbeth.¹² The panel was dated c. 1632 by Valentiner who listed it as 'so-called Rembrandt's sister'.¹³ Hofstede de Groot dated the Kress oval c. 1631, entitling it *Liesbeth van Rijn*.¹⁴ Meldrum viewed the subject as Rembrandt's sister.¹⁵ The identification of the portrait as Rembrandt's sister was queried by Valentiner, who noted that the same model was painted at least twelve times during the young painter's first two years in Amsterdam. Lisbeth is not known to have accompanied the artist to that city and is only recorded as residing in Leyden. Valentiner, noting that there are two examples of the same sitter painted as a companion piece to the artist's self-portrait, proposed that she represents the artist's first love, who after mid-1633 was replaced by Saskia, whom she resembled very considerably.¹⁶ The portrait was characterized as 'nothing if not sturdily conventional in conception and execution' by Frankfurter.¹⁷ Bredius believed it to represent Rembrandt's sister.¹⁸ In 1951 the painting was described as showing '... the masterly pictorial qualities, fine brushwork, and luminosity for which Rembrandt was famed'.¹⁹ Shapley (*Allentown*, 1960, p. 116) noted that 'The contented expression of the

young woman in our portrait, the golden glow of her brightly lighted head, and the richness of her parure of gold, pearls and amber are an appropriate index to the brilliant period upon which Rembrandt's career was entering when he painted this picture. The style is meticulous and detailed in comparison with that of his late work; it is the style in which he painted the first of his great figure groups, *The Anatomy Lesson*, which also dates from 1632.¹⁹ Bauch believed the subject to be Saskia van Uylenborch, whom Rembrandt married in 1634. The young painter is known to have lived in the house of Saskia's relative Hendrick Uylenborch between 1632 and 1635.²⁰

In 1968, Gerson called the panel *Young Woman with a Golden Necklace*.²¹ In his revision of Bredius, Gerson used the traditional title, 'Rembrandt's sister', for K39 and many other portraits of the same model from the 1630s but implied that this is not a satisfactory identification.²² He further noted that he had not seen it. After examining the painting late in 1969, however, Gerson stated that he no longer accepted it as an autograph work.²³

The portrait is rather thinly painted, lacking the carefully built up form so characteristic of Rembrandt's technique. Burroughs commented on the dissimilarity between K39 and the canonical works, as revealed by X-rays. His observation concerning this disparity is correct.²⁴ The painting may well be the work of a studio associate. The young Rembrandt is known to have had an informal academy from his early Amsterdam years onwards; one of the participants may have executed the bulk of the panel. This romantic, picturesque garb was often worn by Rembrandt's models in the 1630s. The signature on K39, however, is entirely consistent with Rembrandt's, probably added by the master himself in accord with his practice of working over and signing his students' works.²⁵

Provenance: Duc d'Orléans, Regent, Paris, Palais Royal, by 1727.²⁶ Sold by Duc d'Orléans (Philippe Egalité) in 1792, to Thomas More Slade,²⁷ exhibited - London, *The Orléans Gallery now exhibiting at the Great Room of the Royal Academy*, Apr. 1793, Cat. No. 68, organized by Mr. Wilson. Purchased by 3rd Earl Egremont, Petworth, from Charles Birch, 27 Jan. 1800, together with the pendant, *Self-Portrait of Rembrandt*.²⁸ 1st Baron Leconfield, 1837, heir to the Earl of Egremont, Petworth. 2nd Lord Leconfield, exhibited - London, Royal Academy, Winter Exhibition, 1899, *Works by Rembrandt*, p. 17, Cat. No. 39, as 'Portrait of the Painter's Sister'.²⁹ Sold 1927 by Leconfield, probably to Colnaghi, London. Rome, A. Contini-Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1928, exhibited - Detroit, Institute of Arts, *The Thirteenth Loan Exhibition of Old Masters, Paintings by Rembrandt*, 2-31 May 1930, Cat. No. 13. New York, M. Knoedler and Co., *Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Rembrandt*, 17-29 Apr. 1933, Cat. No. 2 as 'Portrait of Rembrandt's Sister Lisbeth'. Indianapolis, Ind., The John Herron Art Institute, *Dutch Paintings, Etchings, Drawings, Delft-ware of the Seventeenth Century*, 27 Feb.-11 Apr. 1937, Cat. No. 58. New York, World's Fair, *European and American Paintings*

1500-1900, *Masterpieces of Art*, May-Oct. 1940, p. 64, Cat. No. 85, as 'Portrait of a Girl, thought to be Rembrandt's sister.' New York, Duveen Brothers, *Paintings by the Great Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, 8 Oct.-7 Nov. 1942, p. 60, Cat. No. 40, as 'Portrait of Rembrandt's Sister'. New York, Wildenstein and Co., *A Loan Exhibition of Rembrandt*, 19 Jan.-25 Feb. 1950, p. 17, Cat. No. 6, as 'A Girl, supposedly Rembrandt's sister'. Tucson, The University of Arizona, *Twenty-five Paintings from the Collection of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation*, 1951, Cat. No. 16. Washington, D.C., the National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 - 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 76.

References: (1) Erroneously described as on canvas by Kurt Bauch, *Rembrandt, Gemälde*, Berlin, 1966, p. 24, Cat. No. 453. (2) The final two digits were not legible in 1899 when K39 was exhibited at the Royal Academy. (3) According to Alan Burroughs (Kress Archive, c. 1935), the painting is in perfect condition. He observed that 'there is no indication of modeling [for] any but the surface pose. The lack of anatomical forms in the head is obvious in the spotty and erratic modeling of the cheeks and chin... it is possible to show by comparison with many shadowgraphs of indubitable Rembrandts that this is not Rembrandt's technique, nor does it approach him in mastery of anatomical knowledge. The numerous portraits of this same model, unequal in aesthetic value and treatment, indicate that Rembrandt used her in his school or set up his own portraits of her for pupils to interpret in their own way.' (4) Supports of this format and size were frequently used by Rembrandt in the 1630s. (5) J. Couché, *Galerie du Palais Royal gravée d'après les tableaux des différentes écoles qui la composent, avec un abrégé de la vie des peintres et une description historique de chaque tableau*, Paris, 1786-1808, 1808, n.p. A print by Ingouf le Jeune after K39 is published by Couché, giving the painting as part of the Orléans collection at Rincy (near Paris) though it was no longer there by 1808. K39 and the 'Self-Portrait' were listed as 'Flamand et Flamande', the first and second paintings by Rembrandt (of six) in the Orléans collection. Both oval paintings were reproduced in Gobelin tapestry (signed 'Cozette' and dated 1779) while in the Orléans collection. Both the tapestries were probably acquired at the same time as the paintings for Petworth (see *Provenance*). The tapestries are now owned by Mayorcas (London, reproduced in *Connoisseur*, CLXXIII, 1970, p. 262). (6) John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, VII, London, 1836, p. 168, Cat. No. 524, listed as 'A Lady'. (7) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, III, London, 1854, p. 41, as 'a female portrait'. (8) Wilhelm Bode, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Brunswick, 1883, pp. 421, 591. Also Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt, beschreibendes Verzeichniss seiner Gemälde*, Paris, 1897, I, p. 152. (9) Eugène Dutuit, *Tableaux et Dessins de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1885, p. 61, Cat. No. 187. The portrait is mistakenly described as in profile, with a large hat. Also mentioned by Dutuit in *Rembrandt, L'Oeuvre du Maître*, Paris, n.d., p. 59. (10) Alfred von Wurzbach, *Rembrandt Galerie*, Stuttgart, 1886, p. 64, Cat.

No. 216. (11) Émile Michel, *Rembrandt, his Life, his Work and his Time*, New York, 1894, II, p. 236. (12) E. W. Moes, *Iconographia Batava*, Amsterdam, 1905, II, p. 308, no. 4. (13) Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1908, pl. 59 and p. 551. (14) C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, VI, London, 1916, p. 331, no. 696. (15) D. S. Meldrum, *Rembrandt's Paintings*, New York, n.d. [after 1922], p. 187. (16) W. Valentiner, *The Thirteenth Loan Exhibition of Old Masters, Paintings by Rembrandt*, Detroit Institute of Art, 1930, pp. 8–9, Cat. No. 13. In his *Rembrandt Paintings in America*, New York, 1931, n.p., Cat. No. 19, Valentiner again noted that the identification of the sitter as Rembrandt's sister was not well-founded. (17) Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'New York's First Rembrandt Exhibition', *Fine Arts*, May 1933, p. 8. (18) Abraham Bredius, *The Paintings of Rembrandt*, Vienna, 1936, p. 5, Cat. No. 86. Also London, 1942, I, p. 6, Cat. No. 86. (19) *Twenty-five Paintings from the Collection of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation*, The University of Arizona, 1951, Cat. No. 16. (20) Kurt Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit*, Berlin, 1960, p. 261. He cited the archival discoveries of H. F. Wijnmann, *Jaarboek Amstelodamium*, XLIII, 1956, pp. 94 ff. In 1966 (*op. cit.*, p. 24, Cat. No. 453), Bauch listed K39 as *Saskia with a Golden Chain*. (21) Horst Gerson, *The Paintings of Rembrandt*, New York, 1968, p. 262, no. 116. (22) Gerson, *Rembrandt, The Complete Edition of the Paintings [Bredius]*, revised by Horst Gerson, New York and London, 1969, p. 76 (plate), Bredius 86, n. 86, p. 554. (23) Letter of 11/XI/69, Kress Archive. (24) See *supra*, Note 3. (25) See Joachim von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild-, und Malhlerer-Künste von 1675*, ed. by A. R. Peltzer, Munich, 1925, pp. 202–3. Georges Isarlo, 'Rembrandt et son Entourage', *Renaissance*, Sept. 1936, pp. 1–50. Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Introductory "Rembrandt as Teacher"', in *Rembrandt after Three Hundred Years*, Chicago, 1969, pp. 21–9. A chapter on Rembrandt students is provided by Gerson, 1968, *op. cit.* Note 21 above, pp. 146 ff. (26) Louis François Dubois de Saint-Gelais, *Description des Tableaux du Palais Royal*, Paris, 1727, pp. 364–5 as: *Le Portrait d'une flamande. oval. 2 pieds x 1 pied 6 pouces by Paul Rembran. Elle est cœfée en cheveux plats, & a un colier de perles avec boucles d'oreilles de meme & un colet qui monte fort haut, comme le portoient autrefois les femmes, & par dessus un autre colier qui est d'ambre, faisant plusieurs tours, & dont le bout tombe sur le devant de son corps.* The pendant is mentioned and described on p. 365 as a 'Flamand'. In 1752 (Inventory II, after the Regent's death), K39 was valued at 300 *Livres*. In Inventory III, after the death of the Regent's grandson, it was valued at 500 *Livres*. Both inventories are Paris, Archives Nationales. According to Casimir Strjenski, *La Galerie du Régent Philippe, duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1913, pp. 108, 182, Cat. No. 396, K39 (as 'Rembrandt's Sister') was listed in the second inventory at 320 *Livres*. (27) For Slade's purchase of the Flemish, Dutch, and German paintings in the Orléans collection in 1792, see William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, London, 1824, I, pp. 17–18. K39 is listed by Buchanan (p. 196, no. 2) as *Portrait of a Fleming's Wife*, valued at 150 guineas. The Kress panel was not in the

Jullienne sale of 1767 (Paris, p. 53, Cat. No. 131) as suggested by Dutuit, *Tableaux et Dessins de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1885, p. 46. Nor was it in the A. Roehn sale (Paris, 1868) as also noted by Dutuit. (28) Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1962, *Primitives to Picasso*, p. 46 (entry for Cat. No. 124 – the Rembrandt Self-Portrait). According to a memorandum from P. and D. Colnaghi of 1931 (London), K39 was sold by Mr. Cox, another agent of the Duc d'Orléans, to Lord Egremont, c. 1801–3. (29) See also C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection of Pictures in the Possession of Lord Leconfield*, London, 1920, p. 101, Cat. No. 170, as *Lisbeth van Rijn*.

Circle of REMBRANDT

K2184 : Figure 126

FERDINAND BOL IN PICTURESQUE GARB [Young Man with a Sword]. Raleigh, North Carolina, North Carolina Museum of Art (GL.60.17.68), since 1960. Oil on very finely woven canvas. $46\frac{1}{2} \times 38\frac{1}{2}$ in. (118.1 × 96.8 cm.). Inscribed: *Rembrandt 1633 [52]*¹ Pentimenti in the head.² Some curls indicated by incising the wet pigment, probably using the end of the brush handle. Many small losses. Restored by Modestini in 1960. Raleigh, 1960, p. 138. Reproduced in color in *National Geographic Magazine*, CXX, 1961, p. 183.

The young, chivalric man is depicted life size in hip-length, turned to the left, against a neutral background. Gazing reflectively toward the viewer, the subject wears a plumed hat on his shoulder-length curly hair and a short cape of brownish velvet, its border heavily encrusted with gold galloon. His steel breastplate is placed over a white camisole, he has chain mail at the neck, and a large gold chain. The cape covers his left arm, which seems to rest on his hip; the right, gloved hand holds a sword handle.

The canvas was first known to scholars when it was lent by Hicks Beach, exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1912 as a Rembrandt. Valentiner found it 'an excellent original work by Rembrandt genuinely signed and dated 1635. It is masterly in its broad execution, especially in the beautiful costume. It is striking in its refined color combination of the brownish coat with the glowing golden border, of the grey and blue undergown with the gold chain, the dark blue cap with the elegant feather. It is full of exuberant life in its fresh color of the face and the full curly hair, so characteristic of the art of the master during the first years of his marriage. The type of the sympathetic young man reminds of the one of Ferdinand Bol who was a pupil of Rembrandt at this time and might very well have been the model. (Compare the Bol *Self-Portrait*, Dayton, Ohio, Text Fig. 30, and Taft Collection, Cincinnati). The painting is excellently preserved.'³

According to van Gelder, the Kress canvas may at one time have had a Flinck signature and the date 1636. He included it in Flinck's oeuvre, as executed under Rembrandt's influence, and described K2184 as a splendid painting superior

to all Flinck's works of 1636.⁴ Valentiner proposed that the painting was '... used by Rembrandt himself for his etching (B.23) *Rembrandt with Plumed Cap and Lowered Saber* (Text Fig. 29). The position of the figure holding the sword is almost identical. The model for the painting is different, however, and may have been the young Bol, who entered Rembrandt's studio at about this time. The type has considerable likeness to the early self-portraits of this artist.⁵ When K2184 was exhibited as by Rembrandt in 1958, Carter called attention to the 'warm and rich palette' marking 'a new step in technical facility. An extraordinary feeling for the nature of materials heightened by the dramatic use of the silhouettes of the plumed hat and the sword.'⁶ Richardson observed, 'The Kress *Young Man with a Sword* grows in stature each time it is seen: Rembrandt's power to transpose an ordinary human being to heroic stature emerges vividly here, opening new perspectives of which only Ter Brugghen among the Utrecht painters was in some degree aware'.⁷ Shapley (*Raleigh*, 1960, p. 138) noted 'If this canvas were the same size as Rembrandt's self-portrait in the Liechtenstein Collection, the two might seem to have been pendants. The costumes and poses are very similar, except that the sitter in the Liechtenstein example is turned to the right and so would face the young man in our portrait. Both are dated 1635 (if this reading of the inscription is correct in both cases)'. The pose and characterization of the Kress sitter were found typical of Rembrandt's art of the 1630s by Wescher. He accepted Rembrandt's authorship but rejected the identification of the subject as Bol.⁸ It was suggested by Von Moltke that the painting related stylistically to the oeuvre of Ferdinand Bol. He did not follow van Gelder's attribution of K2184 to Flinck whose works the scholar found to lack the dramatic chiaroscuro of the Kress canvas.⁹ In 1966 Stanford supported the Rembrandt attribution and the reading of the date as 1635.¹⁰ Weyl observed a similarity in brush-stroke between K2184 and the Munich *Portrait of the Artist's Wife* by Ferdinand Bol of c. 1643. He noted a linear highlight along the bridge of the nose, a characteristic of Bol's modeling, not found in Rembrandt or Flinck. In spite of these indications, Weyl did not believe Bol to be the author of the portrait.¹¹ Blankert was disturbed by the correspondence between K2184 and the Rembrandt self-portrait etching (Text Fig. 29) of 1634. He also noted the proximity of the painting to the Bol *Self-Portrait* (Dayton Art Institute, Text Fig. 30) and suggested the possibility that the Kress painting was modified to correspond to the dramatic art of the early Rembrandt.¹² The portrait was once again attributed to Flinck by Horst Gerson in a lecture given at the Chicago Art Institute (Fall, 1969). Kurt Bauch proposed Jan Lievens as possibly having painted K2184.¹³ Most recently the Rembrandt attribution was retained in the Montreal exhibition of the master's works.¹⁴

The dramatic chiaroscuro and romantic garb of K2184 are typical of Rembrandt, who often portrayed himself and his models in chivalric attire with antique armor and exotic weapons, bathed in the golden light of Venetian sixteenth-century art.¹⁵ His self-portraits of 1634 (Text

Fig. 29) and 1635 (ex coll. Liechtenstein) are especially close to K2184 in both composition and detail. The cloak of the Kress model is almost identical to that of the 1635 canvas. Similar attire also appears in many Bol self-portraits, most notably in the Dayton canvas (Text Fig. 30). The Kress sitter is so close in physiognomy to the Dayton portrait and others of Bol (Cincinnati; Cleveland; Springfield, Mass.; Rijksmuseum) that Valentiner's identification of the sitter as Bol seems correct. Bol worked with Rembrandt in the early 1630s. He was nineteen in 1635, an age in accord with the Kress sitter's. The canvas appears to be the work of one of the many extremely talented young artists working under Rembrandt in the 1630s and 1640s. Inspired by the master's paintings and etchings, K2184 differs from Rembrandt's art in its elegance of coloring and restrained romanticism, while Flinck's *Rembrandt* of 1639 (London, National Gallery) and Bol's *Cavalier* etching (1645, B.11) offer some close analogies. But the Kress portrait does not conform sufficiently to the style of any one of the several likely Rembrandt students – Bol, Flinck, Lievens – to be given a definite attribution. The problem of securely placing K2184 with a member of Rembrandt's circle may be appreciated when one considers that a stylistically congruent *Portrait of a Young Man* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) signed (falsely?) 'Rembrandt', and most recently given to Jan Lievens, has also been attributed to Paulus Bor, Ferdinand Bol, Salomon Koninck, and been thought to be a copy after Rembrandt by Gerrit Dou, or an early Rembrandt.¹⁶

The Kress canvas shows signs of modification at an unknown date, possibly including the white line down the bridge of the nose. The placement of the signature and date seems awkward. The letters and numerals look as though they were added or disturbed and restored. The way the rather small head is set back, away from the major mass of the torso, indicates derivation rather than real understanding of the pose Rembrandt struck and etched in 1634 (Text Fig. 29). The broad outlines in the Kress canvas are somewhat uncertain, lacking the security of Rembrandt. The brilliant color of K2184 conceals a certain weakness in draftsmanship. (It is far more beautiful in color than its black and white reproduction may suggest.) Although the portrait has been shown as Rembrandt's in several recent important exhibitions, it does not appear as such in any major recent Rembrandt monograph.

Provenance: K2184 was listed in the following catalogues as by Rembrandt. Major A. Hicks Beach, exhibited – London, Royal Academy, *Winter Exhibition*, 1912, Cat. No. 81, as 'Portrait of a Cavalier, signed and dated Rembrandt 1635' (sale, London, Christie's, 3 June 1932, p. 13, Cat. No. 62). Dieren, Holland, Katz Galleries. Mrs. Hartogs, Arnhem, Holland (sale, The Hague, Van Marle and Bignell, 1 July 1941, p. 11, Cat. No. 20). New York, Schaeffer Galleries, exhibited – Raleigh, North Carolina, Museum of Art, *Rembrandt and His Pupils, a Loan Exhibition*, 16 Nov.–30 Dec. 1956, Cat. No. 7. Kress acquisition 1957, exhibited – Indianapolis, Ind., John Herron Art Institute,

The Young Rembrandt and His Times, 14 Feb.–23 Mar. 1958 and also San Diego, Calif., Fine Arts Gallery, 11 Apr.–18 May 1958, Cat. No. 8; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961–4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 77; Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, *Rembrandt and his Pupils*, 9 Jan.–23 Feb. 1969, and also Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, 14 Mar.–27 Apr. 1969, p. 64, Cat. No. 7 as 'Rembrandt van Rijn 1635 (1633?)'.

References: (1) The date has been read as both the above, but more often as 1633. A. Martin de Wild described the signature as 'almost untouched... a perfect seal of authenticity'. He further described the painting as 'perfectly preserved... the whole of the characteristic brushwork can still be enjoyed in its original qualities'. Notes of 4/xi/33 in Kress Archive; de Wild reaffirmed his views on 9/v/52. According to Gerson and other Dutch scholars, the signature at one time was obscured by over-painting. (2) Changes in the placement of the head are seen in X-rays. (3) 27/xi/33, Kress Archive. K2184 is reproduced in *Art News*, xxxii, 25 Nov. 1933, p. 13, as 'Young Man, by Rembrandt, a recently discovered portrait of the master, reproduced through the courtesy of the well-known Katz Galleries of Dieren, Holland.' For Bol's self-portraits, see Abraham Bredius, 'Self-Portraits by Ferdinand Bol', *Burlington Magazine*, XLII, 1923, pp. 72–82, pls. 2, 4; J. H. J. Mellaart, 'Self-Portraits by Ferdinand Bol', *Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1923, pp. 153–8. (4) J. G. van Gelder, 'Vroege Werken van Govaert Flinck', *Kunst-historische Mededeelingen*, I, 1946, pp. 26–8. (5) William R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt and his Pupils, a Loan Exhibition*, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, 16 Nov.–30 Dec. 1956. (6) David Carter, in *The Young Rembrandt and his Times*, Indianapolis, Ind., 1958, Cat. No. 8. (7) E. P. Richardson, 'Notes on Special Exhibitions: The Young Rembrandt and his Times, in Indianapolis', *Art Quarterly*, XXI, 1958, pp. 287–92, esp. p. 288. (8) Paul Wescher, 'Die Kress-Schenkung für Raleigh', *Pantheon*, XXI, I, Jan.–Feb. 1963, p. 13. (9) J. W. Von Moltke, *Govaert Flinck 1615–1660*, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 248, Cat. No. 108 (in catalogue of wrongly attributed works). K2184 is erroneously listed as published by A. Bredius, 'Drei frühe Werke von Ferdinand Bol', *Kunstchronik*, N.F. 25, 1914, pp. 610–14. (10) Charles W. Stanford, Jr., *Masterpieces in the North Carolina Museum of Art*, Raleigh, 1966, p. 55, pl. 26. (11) Martin Weyl, *Three Paintings by Rembrandt and his School in the Kress Collection*, MS. in Kress Archive, 1968. (12) Letter of 27/v/68 in Kress Archive. (13) Related to writer by Justus Bier. (14) *Rembrandt and his Pupils*, Montreal, 1969, p. 64, Cat. No. 7. (15) For Rembrandt's copies after Titian and other artists of the High Renaissance, see C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt*, The Hague, 1906, p. 200 and Kenneth Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1964, pp. 101, 127, 142. (16) J. Richard Hudson, *Rembrandt after Three Hundred Years*, Chicago, 1969, pp. 79–80, Cat. No. 80, reproduced p. 116. See also E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Rembrandt as Teacher', *idem.*, pp. 21–30.

Old copy after REMBRANDT

K1633 : Figure 124

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC (after Rembrandt's canvas of 1635, Leningrad, The Hermitage).¹ Columbia, Missouri, University of Missouri, Kress Study Collection, since 1961. Oil on canvas. 72¼ × 51⅞ in. (183.6 × 132.8 cm.). Some modeling done by incision. Very small areas of in-painting in faces of Abraham and angel. An old horizontal fold or seam runs below Abraham's beard. Cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1961; well preserved.

Abraham (Genesis 22:10–12), kneeling behind Isaac with his left hand over his son's face, is about to sacrifice the youth, who lies on a wooden pyre in the foreground; the patriarch is restrained by an angel, who flies from the upper left corner, grasping Abraham's right hand so that he drops his Near-Eastern jeweled dagger.² The figures are placed in a mountainous setting.³

The Sacrifice of Isaac is the first religious subject listed by Karel van Mander in his influential poem of instruction to painters.⁴ The Dutch edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* (Dirck Pietersz. Pers, Amsterdam, 1664) gave the subject of K1633 as an emblem of faith.

Depictions of the subject may have been stimulated by Rubens's panel (Kansas City, Missouri, The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum) of c. 1614. A reproductive print was made by Andreas Stock in 1614.⁵ Rembrandt's teacher Lastman painted the subject in 1616 (Paris, Louvre). The original of K1633 in The Hermitage could have been inspired by the Italianate works of Elsheimer.⁶ Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann has noted the influence of Hercules Seghers (many of whose works were owned by Rembrandt) on the landscape view in the background.⁷ The Kress canvas was described as an old copy after the one in The Hermitage by Bode and Hofstede de Groot.⁸ K1633 was recorded in the Cook Collection as 'attributed to Rembrandt' after the Hermitage painting.⁹ A second version of the same subject and dimensions with the angel approaching from behind Abraham is in the Munich Pinakothek. The painting is inscribed *Rembrandt verandert en over geschildert 1636*. This inscription has been interpreted to mean that the canvas is the work of a pupil (possibly Govaert Flinck), changed and improved by his teacher.¹⁰ More recently Haak, noting the apparent homogeneity of the Munich painting, has suggested that the inscription may simply mean that Rembrandt changed the composition and painted the subject again (*overgeschildert*: 'painted anew'). A Rembrandt drawing in the British Museum in which the angel appears from behind offers a connecting link in the creative process.¹¹

Rembrandt etched the subject in 1655, and included it in a tiny roundel in the top right corner of his *Elderly Man as St. Paul* in London (National Gallery).¹² Several of his students or followers, including Bol, Flinck and Gherwen, depicted the subject reflecting both the Leningrad and

Munich compositions. An inferior copy after the Hermitage canvas was in the collection of Felix Ravaisson, 87 × 70 cm. (Sold in Paris, 23 Nov. 1903, Cat. No. 87). K1633 need not be the work of a Dutch painter – Rembrandt was much copied in the eighteenth century in Germany and elsewhere. The almost rococo treatment of detail and chiaroscuro would indicate that the Kress canvas was painted by an artist of the late seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Provenance: Possibly Richard Paton (sale, London, Christie's, 30 Mar. 1792, p. 4, Cat. No. 27).¹³ Cremer, Brussels.¹⁴ Sir Frederick Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey. Sir Herbert Cook. Florence, A. Contini-Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) K1633 was reproduced in the *Feest-bundel Dr. Abraham Bredius*, Amsterdam, 1915, by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot ('Rembrandts onderwijs aan zijne leerlingen', pp. 79–94, pl. 20, fig. 7), who mislabeled it as the painting in The Hermitage. (2) See Hans Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 85. For such weapons in Rembrandt's collection see Hofstede de Groot, *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt*, The Hague, 1906, pp. 207–8. (3) For the iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac see Réau, II, 1, pp. 134–7; also Ralph T. Coe, 'Rubens in 1614: the Sacrifice of Abraham', *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin*, IV, 1966, pp. 1–24, esp. pp. 1–6. (4) See the edition by R. Hoecker, *Das Lehrgedicht des Karel van Mander*, The Hague, 1916, p. 123 (Chapter V, verse 65). (5) See Coe, *op. cit.*, p. 8, fig. 6. (6) For links between the second version of Rembrandt's *Sacrifice of Isaac* and the art of Lastman see Wolfgang Stechow, 'Some Observations on Rembrandt and Lastman', *Oud-Holland*, LXXXIV, 1969, pp. 148–62. (7) Lecture at Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, Spring 1971. (8) Wilhelm Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt*, Paris, 1899, III, p. 162. (9) Maurice W. Brockwell, *Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House*, London, 1915, II, p. 80, no. 323; also the *Abridged Catalogue* . . ., London, 1932, p. 84, no. 323. (10) Kurt Bauch, *Rembrandt Gemälde*, Berlin, 1966, p. 29, Cat. No. A10. (11) Bob Haak, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Work, His Time*, New York, 1969, pp. 192–3, trans. from the Dutch by Elizabeth Willems-Treeman. (12) Neil MacLaren, *The Dutch School, The National Gallery Catalogues*, London, 1960, pp. 319–20, Cat. No. 243. (13) The Paton canvas may possibly be the one owned by Felix Ravaisson, sold in Paris (Mollien), 23 Nov. 1903, Cat. No. 87. (14) Possibly identical with J. H. Cremer, whose collection was sold in Amsterdam (Pictura), 26 Oct. 1886. The painting is not listed in the first part of the sale.

PIETER JANSZ. SAENREDAM

Pieter Jansz. Saenredam was born in Assendelft on 9 June 1597 and was buried in Haarlem on 31 May 1665.¹ His father Jan was a prominent printmaker who moved his family to Haarlem where he worked for Goltzius. Pieter Saenredam first studied painting with Frans Pietersz. de

Grebbeer from 1612 to 1622, but the influence of this teacher appears to have been negligible. However, Saenredam's fellow student, Jakob van Campen, future architect of the Amsterdam Town Hall, led Saenredam to concentrate on perspectival studies and may have contributed to the artist's specialization in architectural renderings. Swillens noted that van Campen's portrait drawing (London, British Museum) of his fellow student in 1628 showed Saenredam to have been a hunchback and proposed that this deformity may have led him to specialize in the somewhat isolated, independent field of 'architectural portraiture'.² He spent days and occasionally weeks making measurements and preparatory drawings for his architectural subjects. The artist also prepared botanical illustrations and other subjects. He joined the Haarlem painters' guild in 1623, became an officer in 1635 and 1640, and its dean in 1642. The artist spent most of his life in Haarlem, but topographical drawings give proof of visits to Alkmaar, Amsterdam, Assendelft, 's-Hertogenbosch, Rhenen and Utrecht. Unlike earlier painters of ecclesiastical interiors, Saenredam devoted himself to the representation of existing buildings which were painstakingly prepared, incorporating ground plans, elevation studies and drawings from various viewpoints. Unlike the drawings, with their almost archaeological accuracy, the paintings give evidence of a less realistic approach, in which the visual data are rearranged to enhance the feeling of height or width, or to emphasize the underlying structure. Exceptional in his oeuvre is the series of four views of Rome based on Heemskerck, one of which is in the Kress Collection.

References: (1) For further biographical information, see P. T. A. Swillens and J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Catalogue raisonné of the works by Pieter Janszoon Saenredam*, Utrecht, 1961; Swillens, *Pieter Janszoon Saenredam*, Amsterdam, 1935. (2) *Saenredam*, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 13. The drawing is reproduced on the frontispiece, Cat. No. 2476.

K1999 : Figure 129

CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DELLA FEBBRE, WITH ST. PETER'S UNDER CONSTRUCTION, ROME. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1396), since 1954. Oil on uncradled oak. 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.8 × 70.5 cm.). Signed and dated on lower part of obelisk: *P. Saenredā. fē. Ao. 1629*. Inscribed on back: *P. Saenredā f. 1619 I C M K* [in monogram form]. The papal arms are on the wall to the right. The painting is very well preserved. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 158, Cat. No. 61. Reproduced in color by *Seymour*, pl. 149.

A cardinal's carriage, with coachman and flanking attendants in blue livery, is drawn by two black horses on a sandy Roman road in the foreground. To the left is the Vatican obelisk,¹ shown as it was until 1586, placed just before the ancient circular church of Santa Maria della Febbre, which was torn down in the sixteenth century.² The form of the coach and the attendants' attire all date from

the later sixteenth or early seventeenth century. In the background to the right is the crossing of St. Peter's as it appeared under construction in the early sixteenth century; the Vatican's buildings shown in the right foreground were partially demolished at that time, incorporated within the fabric of the new St. Peter's. Bluish hills are seen in the background to the left below a pale blue and white sky.

When the Kress panel was published in 1924 at the Hochberg Sale, the Roman view was erroneously regarded as evidence for Saenredam's Italian journey. It was soon recognized that the setting was based upon a study in a sketchbook drawn c. 1530 by Martin van Heemskerck owned by Saenredam.³ Swillens grouped the Kress panel together with three other Roman views based on the van Heemskerck notebooks. They show: *The Colosseum in Ruins* (1631, Dr. Herbert Girardet, Kettwig-Ruhr), *View from Santa Maria d'Aracoeli* (1633, destroyed, formerly Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts), *Interior of the Pantheon Porch with Figures in Antique Garb* (1643 or 1653, E. Speelman, London).⁴ Suida-Shapley (p. 158, Cat. No. 61) noted that 'Heemskerck's drawing of Santa Maria della Febbre has been followed faithfully for the architectural details, but Saenredam has made the view more picturesque by including some distant landscape, adding clumps of plant growth to the ruins, and substituting a carriage and horse for some of the scattered figures'. It was observed by Plietzsch that K1999 is one of the eight signed outdoor views known to have been done by Saenredam.⁵ Seymour (pp. 156-7) grouped the panel with the most interesting of Dutch topographical paintings which he characterized as 'portraits of places rather than landscapes'. Calling the Kress panel 'more than the transcription of reality', Seymour found it 'an effort to recapture a moment of the past in a distant place. This may be a suggestion in very simple terms of the following century's double urge toward Historicism and Romanticism.' The Saenredam exhibition catalogue of 1961 provided much detailed information concerning this Roman landscape.⁶

If the *staffage* figures (coach and horsemen) in the *Ruins of the Colosseum* (1631) are by Pieter Post, the same painter may have executed the group in the foreground of K1999 as they correspond closely in style.⁷ Saenredam placed his name in exactly the same position (on the obelisk) as the inscription recorded in Heemskerck's drawing.⁸ As Saenredam never went to the South, he may have derived the convincingly Italianate light quality of the Kress panel from works by such painters as Cornelis van Poelenburgh. The almost pointillist brushstrokes, together with the luminous, crystalline effect of his view, anticipate the oeuvre of the great Venetian *vedutisti* of the next century.

Provenance: King Frederick of Prussia (sale, Amsterdam, Frederik Müller and Co. under the direction of A. W. M. Mensing, *Fritz von Hochberg and others Sale*, 25 Nov. 1924, p. 9, Cat. No. 60, fig. 60, listed as 'Dans la Campagne Romaine', bought by A. W. M. Mensing). A. W. M. Mensing, exhibited - Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, *Schilderijen en Teekeningen Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, 24 Dec.

1937 - 1 Feb. 1938, p. 9, Cat. No. 1, fig. 1a. Amsterdam, Fodor Museum, 15 Feb.-20 Mar. 1938. Sold, Amsterdam, 15 Nov. 1938, Cat. No. 96, fig. 96, to D. A. Hoogendijk Gallery, Amsterdam. J. A. G. Sandberg, Wassenaar, near Leyden, Holland, exhibited - Leyden, Municipal Museum, *Tentoonstelling Kunstbezit van Oud-Alumni Der Leidse Universiteit*, June 1950, p. 19, Cat. No. 47, pl. 6. Paris, Orangerie, *Le Paysage Hollandais au XVII^e Siècle*, from 24 Nov. 1950, p. 42, Cat. No. 82. Sold Delft, *Antiekbeurs*, 1951, by Hoogendijk. New York, Frederick A. Stern. Kress acquisition 1954, exhibited - Utrecht, Centraal Museum, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, beginning 24 May 1961, p. 164, Cat. No. III, pl. 115.

References: (1) The obelisk was moved by order of Sixtus V (1586) to the piazza before the façade of St. Peter's, where it stands today. (2) The Roman mausoleum became the church of St. Andrew in the sixth century. By 1400 it was known as Santa Maria della Febbre, named after an icon now at the centre of the Donatello tabernacle in St. Peter's. The church was converted c. 1506 into the sacristy of St. Peter's. For bibliography on Santa Maria della Febbre, see Horst W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1957, II, pp. 95-7; Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*, Stockholm, 1958, p. 190. (3) See J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Saenredam archeoloog', *Oud-Holland*, XLVIII, 1931, pp. 2-3. For the sketch-books see Christian Hülsen and Hermann Egger, *Die Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, Berlin, 1916, II, p. 7 and fol. 72r. The Heemskerck notebooks now in Berlin are recorded in the posthumous sale of Saenredam's possessions. (4) P. T. A. Swillens, *Saenredam*, Amsterdam, 1935, pp. 8, 27-8, Cat. No. 38. P. T. A. Swillens and J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works by Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Utrecht, 1961, pp. 164-5, Cat. No. III (hereafter cited as *Saenredam*, 1961). The panel was singled out from the exhibition of 1938 by N. S. Trivas, 'Pieter Saenredam', *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, p. 155, and included in Walther Bernt, *Die Niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, III, Munich, 1948, Cat. No. 715. (5) Eduard Plietzsch, *Holländische und Flämische Maler des XVII Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1960, p. 123. K1999 was referred to by J. E. Bersier, *L'Influence d'Italie dans la Peinture Hollandaise*, Paris, 1951, p. 102, no. 1. (6) *Saenredam*, 1961, pp. 164-5, Cat. No. III. (7) Plietzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 123, made the Post proposal for the *Colosseum*. (8) Saenredam may have been drawn to this subject as the circular church of Santa Maria della Febbre was associated with Northern patronage; it was the original site of Michelangelo's *Pietà*, commissioned by Cardinal Jean de Groslye, who was buried below that statue in 1499. See Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, I, Princeton, 1943, p. 146.

PIETER JANSZ. SAENREDAM

K2052 : Figure 128

CHOIR OF ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL, 's HERTOGENBOSCH. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1395), since 1954. Oil on oak panel with surface imperfections.

50 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (128.8 × 87 cm.). Signed and dated at lower left (on choir stall): *Ao 1646 Pieter Saenredam dit geschildert de Sint Janskerck in SHartogenbosch* [sic.] ['In 1646 Pieter Saenredam made this painting of the St. John's Church in 's Hertogenbosch']. Cradled c. 1900. Cleaned in 1937 and restored by Suhr c. 1953. Well preserved, apart from old scratches. Split in area of central vault.

Suida-Shapley, p. 160, Cat. No. 62. Reproduced in color by *Baird*, p. 25.

Above the altar, immediately behind the uppermost statue and to the right, are two large wooden plaques each bearing seven hatchments and two banners supported by lions.¹ The plaque at the left shows the arms of Philip II. The inscription, but for the date 1598 at the centre, is illegible. The panel at the right is inscribed ALBERTO AUSTRIA CO. 1621 below and the words PATRI PATRIAE SILVA DUCIS DICAT CON SIC RAT.² Two additional funerary hatchments hang at the extreme left and lower right.

The choir of St. John's Cathedral at 's Hertogenbosch is shown on a sunny day, blue sky seen through the window. The building is in the late Gothic, rayonnant style, composed of a tripartite elevation with screening tracery spun over the spandrels of the arcade. A pierced triforium with clear glass windows is in the clerestory; radiating chapels off the ambulatory are seen beyond the choir screen. The ribs of the choir vault converge just before the altar.³ The church was begun c. 1350 and for the most part completed before 1415, its plan based upon the great Gothic cathedrals of Cologne and Amiens. Following a fire in 1419, rebuilding ensued along the main lines of the old plan. Its design follows that of churches in the Brabant such as St. Rombouts (Malines) and St. Pierre (Louvain).⁴ A wood and iron choir screen is at the left and right; fifteenth-century stalls are in the foreground; flagstones and tombstones are on the floor. The elaborately canopied section at the right is where the bishop's seat was placed. Eight statues of saints are attached to colonnettes. The black and white Baroque high altar with its four Corinthian columns was built by Hans van Mildert between 1616 and 1620 and probably dismantled in the nineteenth century. Two small white additional Corinthian columns are on the arched entablature with broken pediments to the left and right supporting marble female allegorical figures, the one at the right with sword and scales, probably representing Force and Justice; the one at the left has lost her attributes. The standing central figure is St. John the Evangelist – the cathedral's patron saint – with the Holy Ghost on a cartouche immediately above; kneeling, praying angels are to the upper left and right with the Virgin and Child at the very top. A crucifix is placed upon the altar before a small niche with white marble reliefs to the left and right. The kneeling white figure near the choir stalls to the left is the statue of Bishop Gisbert Masius placed above his tomb which was executed by Hans van Mildert c. 1614. The painting shown on the altar is Abraham Bloemaert's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Paris, Louvre), signed and dated 1612. It was not in the

church at the time Saenredam was planning K2052.⁵ Saenredam was a friend of Bloemaert by whom he may have been invited to Utrecht in 1636.⁶

A preparatory drawing in the British Museum (Text Fig. 31) is dated 1 July 1632.⁷ The artist also made a measured ground-plan of St. John's Cathedral (Beelearts van Blokland Collection, The Hague) on 29 June 1632 and other studies of the interior.⁸ The panel was first published by Swillens, who described it as from the artist's best period.⁹ *Baird* (p. 24) observed that 'The airy interior of the cathedral of Saint John, with its splendid Baroque altar and its fine Gothic tracery, is represented here with the precision of an architect's rendering. There is, however, nothing mechanical about the composition, for Saenredam, by choosing a viewpoint far to the left, has avoided a dry, mathematical balance. The complex perspective, the cool tonality and the delicate color scheme all belong to Saenredam's art, with which he enhances the natural beauty of his subject'. The Kress panel was cited by Plietzsch as an example of the depiction of space for its own sake in Dutch art of the seventeenth century.¹⁰

Among Saenredam's largest and most beautiful paintings, K2052 is, despite its austere formula, unusually rich in coloring, capturing every coloristic nuance of the play of sunlight within one of the finest Gothic interiors of the North Netherlands. For all Saenredam's great concern for accuracy, he may have lightened the scene by increasing the architecture's verticality¹¹ and enlivened it by including an altarpiece which most likely had always been in another 's Hertogenbosch church.¹² At the time Saenredam first went to 's Hertogenbosch in 1632, the church had been under Protestant administration for three years; the painter's uncle Junius was a minister there. Fourteen years elapsed between the artist's detailed, carefully measured drawings of the church and its depiction in oil. Although generally faithful to his model, Saenredam modified the viewpoint utilized in the surviving studies of 1632 in favor of a more visually compelling vantage point. Saenredam's austere, immaculate ecclesiastical interior recalls the aesthetics of the reformer Zwingli who wrote, 'In Zurich we have churches which are positively luminous; the walls are beautifully white!'¹³ The careful depiction of unpeopled ecclesiastical interiors is a Netherlandish practice going back at least as early as the fifteenth century.¹⁴ Many artists and writers were concerned with the metaphor of the ecclesiastical interior – Hendrick Steenwijck the Elder's church interior included a tiny snail with the inscription *Tecum habita*, the implication being 'live by yourself and return to the church'. Saenredam's austere church views are partly due to such spiritual sources.¹⁵

Provenance: Parish Church of Itxassou near Bayonne (from early eighteenth century?).¹⁶ D. A. Hoogendijk Gallery, Amsterdam, exhibited – Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, *Schilderijen en Teekeningen Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Dec. 1937–Jan. 1938, p. 11, Cat. No. 13, reproduced pl. VIII, also exhibited in Amsterdam, Fodor Museum, 15 Feb.–20 Mar. 1938. J. A. G. Sandberg, Wassenaar, near Leyden,

Holland. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1954, exhibited – New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Dutch Painting in the Golden Age, 1954–5*, Cat. No. 74, pl. 74, also shown in Toledo, Ohio, and Toronto, Canada. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, beginning 24 May 1961, pp. 140–3, Cat. No. 94, pl. 96.

References: (1) Burned in 1795, according to C. F. X. Smits, *De Grafzerken . . . der St. Janskerk, 's Hertogenbosch*, 1912, p. 339. Noted in P. T. A. Swillens, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works by Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 15 Sept.–3 Dec. 1961, p. 142 (referred to hereafter as *Saenredam*, 1961). (2) Transcription and identification of arms taken from *Saenredam*, 1961, pp. 140–3, Cat. No. 94. (3) For the church history, see J. Mosmans, *De St. Janskerk te 's-Hertogenbosch*, Bois-le-Duc, 1931 and Smits, *De Kathedraal van 's-Hertogenbosch*, Brussels–Amsterdam, 1907. For its architectural style, see Harry Bober, 'A Reappraisal of Rayonnant Architecture', *The Forward Movement of the Fourteenth Century*, Ohio State University Press, 1961, pp. 9–30. (4) Information from *Saenredam*, 1961, pp. 137–8. (5) According to Edouard Michel (*Catalogue Raisonné des Peintures flamandes du Louvre, du xvème et du xvième siècle*, Paris, 1953, pp. 12–13, no. 2327), the *Adoration of the Shepherds* belonged to the Convent of the Poor Clares in 's Hertogenbosch from its execution until 1656–9. However, Swillens expressed the view that the *Adoration* was originally in the Sint Janskerk and removed from the altar in 1629, by Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (Swillens, 'Pieter Saenredam. Ecnige andere bijzonderheden over zijn leven en werken', *Historia*, III, 1937, pp. 329–35, esp. p. 335). Swillens noted that Saenredam's preparatory drawing (Text Fig. 31) of 1632 showed a curtain in place of the missing altarpiece (*ibid.*). He suggested that Saenredam based his representation of the missing painting in K2052 on a sketch by Bloemaert (*Saenredam*, 1961, p. 142) and according to J. Mosmans (*De St. Janskerk te 's-Hertogenbosch*, Bois-le-Duc, 1931, p. 443), the painting executed by Bloemaert for the high altar of the Sint Janskerk was *The Holy Trinity with Maria Mediatrix* (now lost) executed in 1620. It was hidden by the Catholics in 1629 and returned to the church in 1845. In K2052, Saenredam 'replaced' the missing altarpiece with the Bloemaert *Adoration* which he may have known in the original or copied from an engraving in reverse by Bolswert. The *Adoration of the Shepherds* is also discussed by Gustav Delbanco, *Der Maler Abraham Bloemaert*, Strasbourg, 1928, pp. 40–2, and *passim*; pl. XIX. See A. Heppner, 'Saenredam's "Nieuw Realisme" in de xviii eeuw naar aanleiding der Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam en Amsterdam', *Maandblad voor beeldende Kunsten*, XVI, 1939, pp. 113–19. (6) *Saenredam*, 1961, p. 29. (7) A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Dutch and Flemish Drawings in the British Museum*, London, 1931, IV, p. 45, pl. XXVI. See also Swillens, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Amsterdam, 1935, p. 85, Cat. No. 49, pl. 113, and *Saenredam*, 1961, p. 143, Cat. No. 95, pl. 97. Another drawing, of the tomb at the left, is dated 30 June 1632 and is in the collection of the Provinciaal Noord-Brabantsch Genootschap, 's Hertogenbosch. Reproduced by Swillens, 1935, *op. cit.*, pl. 115. See also

Saenredam, 1961, pp. 144–5, Cat. No. 97, pl. 98. In its present placement, the statue is reversed. (8) *Saenredam*, 1961, p. 146, Cat. No. 98, pl. 95. On 3 July 1632, Saenredam drew the Janskerk rood screen, built by Coenraad van Norenborch between 1611 and 1613. The screen is now in London (Victoria and Albert Museum) and the drawing in the British Museum; see *ibid.*, pp. 143–4, Cat. No. 96. (9) Swillens, 1937, *op. cit.*, p. 335. In the same year (1937), the painting was shown in Rotterdam, Museum Boymans (p. 11, Cat. No. 13). See also *Saenredam*, 1961, pp. 140–2, Cat. No. 94. (10) Eduard Plietzsch, *Holländische und Flämische Maler des xvii. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1960, p. 122. (11) For the artist's modifications of buildings in pictorial form see Friedrich Wilhelm Heckmanns (*Pieter Janszoon Saenredam, das Problem seiner Raumform*, Recklinghausen, 1965). Like his French contemporary Gaignières who employed a team of artists to make documentary line drawings of tombs and other monuments, Saenredam was concerned with recording the late medieval and sixteenth-century heritage of his country. In addition to the preparation of many such drawings, the Dutch master produced panels such as the Kress interior, quietly vivifying the achievements of the past. (12) See *supra*, Note 5. (13) Charles Garside, Jr., *Zwingli and the Arts*, New Haven, 1966, p. 160, from Oskar Farner, *Huldrych Zwingli, seine Verkündigung und ihre ersten Früchte 1520–1525*, Zürich, 1954, p. 490. (14) H. Jantzen, *Das niederländische Architekturbild*, Leipzig, 1910. For the role of architectural renderings such as K2052 in Dutch art see G. Roosegaarde Bisschop, 'De geschilderde maquette in Nederland', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, VII, 1956, pp. 167–217. (15) See Lony and Emil Reznickovi, 'Van de Slak op de Tak', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XV, 1964, pp. 133–47, esp. pp. 134–5. (16) The harbor of Bayonne (a few miles from Ixassou) was a center for trade with the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Several Bayonnais went to Holland and married there. One of these, Pierre Daguerre, wed Elisabeth de Papenbroek and resided in Amsterdam for several years before returning to Bayonne with his wife. His eldest daughter, Marie-Anne Daguerre, married an Ixassou landowner, Jacques de Harader, in 1722. According to Robert Poupel, who kindly provided the information above (letter of 13/V/70) the Kress panel was probably acquired by Daguerre in Holland or perhaps purchased by him from a Dutch resident of Bayonne. Either Daguerre or his daughter (who resided at Ixassou) presented it to the parish church.

SALOMON VAN RUYSDAEL

Salomon van Ruysdael (Ruijsdael, or Ruyesdael; originally Salomon de Gooyer), with his elder brother Isaack, was the founding member of the great Dutch dynasty of landscape masters taking their surname from the castle of Ruysdael near Blaricum. The artist was born in Naarden in Gooiland probably between 1600 and 1603. He moved to Haarlem about 1616, where he entered the painters' guild in 1623, and lived as a prosperous painter and respected burgher until his death there in 1670.¹ Ruysdael's earliest

landscapes, dated 1626, resemble those of Esaias van de Velde (active in Haarlem from 1610 to 1618) who was probably his first teacher. These first works parallel those of Jan van Goyen and Pieter de Molijn, who with Ruysdael pioneered the innovations made by Haarlem landscape painters of the late 1620s and early 1630s. They broke with the previously popular anecdotal, figure-centered landscape tradition. Ruysdael's works evidence a new simplicity and unity, brought about by the use of subdued tonalities, diagonal compositions and more naturalistic perspective. His favorite motifs included country inns, rivers and dunes. At the end of his life Ruysdael also painted harbor views and still lifes. In his mature works the brush-stroke became looser, the forms less compact and the colors brighter, permitting Ruysdael to reproduce the effects of light and atmosphere with great sensitivity. The painter's son, Jacob Salomonsz. van Ruysdael, who inherited his father's trade but not his talent, is not to be confused with Salomon's famous nephew, Jacob van Ruisdael.

Reference: (1) Wolfgang Stechow, *Salomon van Ruysdael*, Berlin, 1938.

K2116 : Figure 130

THE FERRY. Kansas City, Missouri, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, since 1961. Oil on canvas. $40\frac{1}{2} \times 64$ in. (103×162.5 cm.). Inscribed on side of ferry: *SVRuysdael 1644*. In good condition.

A ferry at the lower right holds eleven figures, several of them with baskets, probably peasants returning in the afternoon from the market in the town whose buildings are shown on the wooded left bank. Sailboats and other boats are shown in the distance against a grey sky with a low horizon. A church with a stork's nest is at the left, with cows, a cowherd and a dog, and a tall haystack further to the left with a view of a very large building in the distance. A bull attempts to mount a cow in front of the haystack. A small figure crosses a footbridge between the church and the haystack. A woman does laundry at the water's edge, to the right of the church.

The subject was already popular by 1622 when it was painted by Esaias van de Velde (*The Ferry Boat*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).¹ The canvas was first published in Stechow's monograph; he noted that the same church is shown in other paintings of the same date.² Ruysdael's work in the Louvre (2561D), also dated 1644, shows the same site from a slightly different angle.³ The year in which Ruysdael painted *The Ferry* was one of his most productive; twenty-six works survive from that period.⁴

Ruysdael's paintings, such as *The Ferry*, with their sweeping naturalistic vista and restrained coloring, were of major interest to European masters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Fragonard, Constable and Turner as well as the Impressionists may have been inspired by the Dutch master's command of shimmering surfaces, reflections and atmosphere.

Provenance: Sold London, Christie's, 13 July 1923, Collection of Duke of Grafton and others, p. 15, Cat. No. 64.⁵ Mrs. Lushington, Mahurangi Head, New Zealand (sold London, Christie's, 1 Feb. 1929, *J. F. MacNabb Collection*, p. 5, Cat. No. 19, bought by Arthur (?) de Casseres). Exhibited - Haarlem, 1934, Cat. No. 23, and at Nymwegen, 1936, Cat. No. 74.⁶ Dieren, Holland, D. Katz. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) Reproduced by Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1966, fig. 91. (2) Stechow, *Salomon van Ruysdael*, Berlin, 1938, p. 108, Cat. No. 345. (3) *Ibid.*, Cat. No. 346. Reproduced *Burlington Magazine*, II, 1903, p. 342. (4) Stechow, 1938, *op. cit.*, Cat. Nos. 139, 149-52, 191, 342-7, 360, 361, 450, 453-5, 463, 497, 508-10, 514, 567, 576. (5) The owner of K2116 is not specified. (6) Stechow, 1938, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

K1888 : Figure 131

RIVER VIEW OF NIJMEGEN WITH THE VALKHOF. San Francisco, Calif., M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, since 1955. Oil on canvas. $40\frac{3}{4} \times 56\frac{3}{4}$ in. (103.6×144.2 cm.). Inscribed at stern of ferry: *S Ruysdael 1648*. Some abrasion; some in-painting in the sky has discolored. Restored by Modestini in 1955 and 1959; generally well-preserved. *San Francisco*, 1955, p. 88.

The Valkhof,¹ a great early medieval castle founded by Charlemagne, is shown at the upper right, rising above the banks of the river Waal at Nijmegen, against a cloudy sky. A church and a windmill are to the left. A ferry is shown in the foreground with a coach and four and two cavaliers and other attendants. Many boats are seen; cattle are on the left bank.

The canvas was included in Stechow's Ruysdael monograph.² The painting is described (*San Francisco*, 1955, p. 88) as one of the most accurate representations of the Valkhof. Stechow observed that Ruysdael painted the same view of the Valkhof as had Jan van Goyen (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery) five years before in 1643, describing K1888 as 'an excellent picture of 1648. . . . As in many other cases, Ruysdael's topographic exactness is negligible. I should not be surprised to find that he worked from one of van Goyen's pictures rather than from nature; the slanting position of the large tower again reflects the north-westerly angle and we are very close to the town.' The scholar noted that the pronounced coloring of the Kress canvas typified Ruysdael's inauguration of a new trend toward the revival of contrasting colors toward the middle of the seventeenth century.³ The influence of Jan van Goyen on Salomon van Ruysdael was also noted by Held in his discussion of van Goyen's *View of the Valkhof in Nijmegen* of 1636.⁴ Stechow's further comparison between the van Goyen of 1643 and K1888 noted that in the latter 'color and mass have gained over the tone and the individual sections of the town silhouette, marking contrasting planes in a more linear design, have gathered new strength.'⁵

The artist made several paintings of this dramatic setting, some of which did not include the Valkhof itself. One of the latter is in Bonn (Rheinisches Landesmuseum).⁶ A closer view of the castle was owned by Goudstikker (Amsterdam) in 1938. With its oblique placement of the land mass, seen in dramatic contrast with the rushing movement of the clouds, the *River View of Nijmegen* shows Ruysdael working in the more romantic manner to be associated with the art of his nephew Jacob, its style pointing to the later eighteenth-century aesthetic of the Picturesque.

Provenance: Count Stanislaus Potocki (sold Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 8 May 1885, p. 33, Cat. No. 47, to Petit-pont).⁷ New York, John Nicholson Gallery. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) For this castle, largely torn down in 1796, see Peter Schepenbeek, *Het Valkhof*, Bruges, 1961. The Valkhof is also shown in paintings by Aelbert Cuyp. (2) Wolfgang Stechow, *Salomon van Ruysdael*, Berlin, 1938, p. 109, Cat. No. 354. (3) Stechow, 'Cuyp's Valkhof at Nijmegen', *John Herron Art Institute Bulletin*, XLVII, Mar. 1960, pp. 4-11, esp. pp. 6-7. (4) Julius S. Held, *Paintings of the European and American Schools*, Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico, 1965, p. 80. The van Goyen is reproduced in fig. 63. (5) Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1966, p. 56. (6) Stechow, 1938, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 349a. (7) The Kress painting has sometimes been confused with another Ruysdael of the same subject, on panel, 34×46 in., owned by Arthur Curtiss James, sold New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, 13-15 Nov. 1941, Cat. No. 11; reproduced.

JACOB VAN RUISDAEL

Jacob van Ruysdael was born in Haarlem in 1628 and died in 1682, probably in Amsterdam. In 1648 the artist was admitted to the Haarlem painters' guild. His first signed works date from 1646. He is documented in Amsterdam in 1657, when he joined the Reformed Church; few dated works are known after this time. Ruysdael received a medical degree from the University of Caen in 1676. His father, Isaack, a framemaker and art dealer, was also a landscape painter, but his oeuvre is unknown. Jacob's teacher may well have been his uncle Salomon Ruysdael, whose works his own earliest paintings resemble. Ruysdael's earliest production was also influenced by Cornelis Vroom, but he soon moved away from the academic motifs and decorative character of earlier Haarlem paintings towards a more naturalistic approach. A trip made c. 1650 to Bentheim (Germany) furnished his landscapes with a new, dramatic intensity. This romantic emphasis developed between 1650 and 1660 when the artist was occupied with melancholic depictions of the ruined Jewish cemetery near Amsterdam and waterfalls in mountainous settings (probably inspired by the Scandinavian scenes of Allaert van Everdingen). He also painted stormy seas, winter

landscapes, city views and panoramas of the Dutch plains inspired by Philips de Koninck. Ruysdael's style lived on in the work of many followers, most notably that of his pupil Meindert Hobbema.¹

Reference: (1) See Jakob Rosenberg, *Jacob van Ruysdael*, Berlin, 1928; K. E. Simon, *Jacob van Ruysdael*, Berlin, 1930; H. F. Wijnman, 'Het Leven der Ruysdaels', *Oud-Holland*, 1932, XLIX, pp. 49-60, pp. 173-81, pp. 258-75; Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1966.

K1855 : Figure 132

LANDSCAPE WITH A LITTLE WATERFALL. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1637), since 1956. Oil on canvas. 21×23½ in. (53.2×60 cm.). Inscribed on a rock at the left: *JRuysdael* (the S-like 'J' is joined to the 'R' as in a monogram). Discolored old in-painting in sky at upper left; abrasion in water near center.

A river flows from the right over a fall toward the center, broadening below the cascade to fill most of the foreground. At the lower left a woman with a basket and a little boy, seen from the back, with their dog cross a wooden bridge. A man emerges from the wood, walking toward them. Rocks and tall trees are seen toward the middle of the painting; a fallen tree is at the lower right.

The canvas is first recorded in the de Beurnonville sale in 1881, purchased a few years later by Prince Johann II of Liechtenstein, who added several works by Jacob van Ruysdael to the family's collection.¹ The landscape was described as an incomparable work by J. Ruysdael by Suida who noted that it was the only signed work by that master in the Liechtenstein Collection.² The atmospheric, forbidding rendering of the woods at the left was stressed by Hoess.³ The *Cascade* was described as a Ruysdael masterpiece by Preyer.⁴ The painting was entitled *Landscape with a Little Waterfall* by Hofstede de Groot.⁵ Rosenberg included the *Landscape* in his Ruysdael monograph.⁶ Simon noted that in landscapes somewhat like K1855 in wild, mountainous settings, the influence of van Everdingen had been exaggerated.⁷ Gerson placed many landscapes with waterfalls painted by Ruysdael in the artist's later period.⁸ Shapley, comparing K1855 with Ruysdael's securely dated works, suggested a date of c. 1655-60.⁹ The artist's paintings with waterfalls are related to Everdingen's Scandinavian scenes by Stechow who associated the artist's first forest canvases of the 1640s with those of Vroom. The Kress canvas conforms with Stechow's characterization of Ruysdael's works of the 1660s and 1670s.¹⁰

A dating in the later 1660s seems plausible for K1855. The canvas presents a site which Ruysdael depicted many times from differing angles. Like the later works of Corot there is a certain sense of the use of a formula and a feeling of the *déjà vu* and *déjà fait* on the artist's part. The conventionalized, almost rococo pictorial quality of the Kress

canvas shows Ruisdael's moving away from his dramatic confrontation with nature and fate as seen in the *Jewish Cemetery* (Detroit, Institute of Arts) toward a more overtly decorative, eighteenth-century approach.

Provenance: Baron de Beurnonville, sold Paris, 10–14 May 1881, p. 280, Cat. No. 453. Paris, Sedelmeyer and Co. Prince Johann II, Liechtenstein. Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna, exhibited – Lucerne, Kunstmuseum, *Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, 1948, p. 42, Cat. No. 175. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1951.¹¹

References: (1) As Johann II acquired several works by Jacob van Ruisdael, two of them from the Beurnonville sale (the other is Cat. No. 669 – 16½ in. × 23 in.), it is not entirely clear whether Wilhelm Bode (*Die Fürstlich Liechtenstein'sche Galerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1896, p. 99) refers to K1855 or to another newly acquired Ruisdael – *eine grosse stimmungsvolle Waldlandschaft*. The dimensions of K1855 do not suggest its description by Bode as 'large'. (2) Wilhelm Suida, *Die Gemäldegalerie der K. K. Akademie d. Bildenden Künste; Die Sammlungen Liechtenstein*, Czernin, Harrach und Schönborn-Buchheim, in *Moderner Cicerone* (Wien II), Vienna, 1903, p. 116. (3) Karl Hoess, *Fürst Johann II. von Liechtenstein und die Bildende Kunst*, Vienna, 1908, p. 58. Listed as Jacob Ruisdael. (4) David C. Preyer, *The Art of the Vienna Galleries*, Boston, 1911, pp. 247–8. (5) C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Edward G. Hawke, London, 1912, IV, p. 94, Cat. No. 295. (6) Jakob Rosenberg, *Jacob van Ruisdael*, Berlin, 1928, p. 87, Cat. No. 252. Rosenberg stated that K1855 is identical with Hofstede de Groot's Cat. No. 407 and mistakenly suggested that it be identified with the same scholar's Cat. No. 669. Gustav Wilhelm (*Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, Lucerne, 1948, p. 42, no. 175) mistakenly identified the painting as Hofstede de Groot's Cat. No. 252. (7) Kurt Erich Simon, *Jacob van Ruisdael, eine Darstellung seiner Entwicklung*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 60–1. (8) Horst Gerson, 'The Development of Ruisdael', *Burlington Magazine*, LXV, 1934, pp. 76–80, p. 79. (9) Note in Kress Archive. (10) Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1966, pp. 71–3, pp. 145–6. (11) The painting has sometimes been erroneously identified with the Ruisdael described by G. F. Waagen as in the Liechtenstein Collection (*Die Vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, Vienna, 1866–7, p. 287) but appears to have entered that collection at a later date, and is another canvas by the same master.

Attributed to JACOB VAN RUISDAEL

K2090 : Figure 133

WESTPHALIAN LANDSCAPE. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.53.G) since 1960. Oil on canvas. 39½ × 34½ in. (99.8 × 86.8 cm.). Signed at extreme lower

right on square-shaped stone: JVR.¹ Very considerable abrasion and restoration, especially in sky area.

Allentown, 1960, p. 126.

The vertical, squarish composition, predominantly in a pale grey tonality, shows a mountainous, probably north-western German, landscape with a tributary of the Rhine on which are two sailboats at the upper right. A cascade is in the foreground. A church is at the upper left with a half-timbered cottage to the lower left; two fir trees are at the lower left; two goats (?) graze below. A man with two girls in conical straw hats is at the extreme left on the far side of the *coulisse*-like river bank. A pair of stripped tree trunks are at the lower right and upper left.

According to Valentiner, K2090 is 'a fine original work by Jacob van Ruisdael executed about 1660–70 during the mature period of the artist. . . . The sombre mood of the painting is consistently carried out in the prevailing dark shadows falling upon the earth and the cloudy heavy sky above.'² Shapley (*Allentown*, 1960, p. 126) observed that 'Ruisdael had seen mountain landscapes in his travels in Germany, but this romantic combination of wooded crags, mountain lake, and waterfall is typical of the scenery that Everdingen had introduced into Dutch art from travel in Sweden. Its appeal to Ruisdael was strong at the time this picture was painted, about 1660, and the theme appears again and again in his work of the period.' She compared the canvas to one by Ruisdael formerly in Berlin.³ Rosenberg accepted K2090 as by Jacob van Ruisdael, quoted *Allentown*, 1960, p. 126). The landscape was dated c. 1660.⁴ A related canvas to the *Westphalian Landscape* was dated in the mid-1660s by Stechow, who noted the influence on Ruisdael of Allaert van Everdingen's mid-seventeenth-century Scandinavian views, works which are vertical in format and show waterfalls and other elements of Northern topography.⁵

The grayish coloring of K2090 is closer to van Everdingen's Scandinavian view than most of the Ruisdaels based upon them. The more impressive works by Ruisdael following Everdingen are squarer in format, and executed nearer the middle of the seventeenth century than this *Westphalian Landscape*, which probably dates c. 1660, about five years after Ruisdael traveled through the landscape shown. The attribution of this canvas to Ruisdael is not entirely certain due to its mediocre state of preservation.

Provenance: The Hon. Alwyn Greville, Warwick Castle (?), after 1880. The Earl of Warwick (?).⁶ Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer, 1896. New York, George Grant Mason, 'Kincraig', Tuxedo Park. New York, Schaeffer Galleries. Kress acquisition 1955, exhibited – Allentown, Pa., Allentown Art Museum, *Seventeenth Century Painters of Haarlem*, 2 Apr.–13 June 1965, p. 55, Cat. No. 64.

References: (1) The authenticity of this monogram may be open to question. (2) W. R. Valentiner, transcription in Kress Archive, unknown date. (3) Reproduced by Jakob Rosenberg, *Jacob van Ruisdael*, Berlin, 1928, fig. 99 (Dr.

Benedict Gallery, Berlin). (4) Allentown Art Museum, *Seventeenth-Century Painters of Haarlem*, 1965, p. 57. (5) Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1966, p. 145. These remarks were made in conjunction with the Fogg canvas (*ibid.*, fig. 288). (6) According to dealer's brochure K2090 was owned by 'the Hon. A. Granville at Warwick Castle' but this must refer to the Hon. Alwyn Greville instead. Since he had children of his own it seems unlikely that K2090 entered the collection of his elder brother, although the dealer wrote that the earl owned the painting later. Alwyn Greville presumably sold the painting shortly before it came to Sedelmeyer. There is no known documentation for the Grevilles' ownership of the Kress canvas.

EMANUEL DE WITTE

Emanuel de Witte was born at Alkmaar between 1616 and 1618 and entered the painters' guild there in 1636. He died in Amsterdam in 1692. In Rotterdam in 1639, the painter resided in Delft between 1641 and 1650 where he entered the Guild of St. Luke in 1642 and married. According to Houbraken, De Witte was a pupil of the Delft still-life painter Evert van Aelst (1602–57), but De Witte's surviving early paintings point to a dominant interest in figure painting, religious and mythological subjects. The artist is first documented in Amsterdam in January 1652 where he remained until his suicide. At mid-century, influenced by the Delft painters Gerrit Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet and Carel Fabritius, De Witte turned his attention to the ecclesiastical interiors which were to form the greater part of his oeuvre. These portraits of church interiors presented new and unexpected vistas of light-filled space, already highly developed in his first securely dated picture of this genre, *The Interior of the Oude Kerk at Delft* of 1651 (London, The Wallace Collection). In Amsterdam De Witte married for the second time and experienced the first of those financial difficulties which led him, in the 1660s, to trade his services as painter for room and board. The artist depicted scenes of city life, domestic interiors, harbor and market scenes, as well as the many variations on the theme represented in K1988.¹

K1988 : Figure 135

A CHURCH INTERIOR. Seattle, Washington, Seattle Art Museum, since 1954. Oil on oak. $19\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ in. (49.6 × 41.9 cm.). Inscribed at the lower left corner: *Jan de Witte*. A lozenge-shaped hatchment at the right shows the armorial bearings of the deceased. Severely damaged by heat exposure in 1962; restored by Modestini 1962/3. *Seattle*, 1954, p. 70.

A seated elder and a Protestant congregation are shown in the interior of a great North Netherlandish Gothic church (probably dating from the fourteenth century), which is seen across the nave during a sermon. Converted to Protestant use, the church has a seventeenth-century wooden pulpit and stalls. Four Baroque brass candelabra

hang from the vaulting. A seventeenth-century organ with shutters is at the upper right. Twelve men, women and children and two dogs are in the foreground, some turned toward the pulpit, others toward the spectator.

According to Manke, De Witte took many of the figures in K1988 from those shown in a similar composition (but with classicizing architecture) painted by him in 1674 (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum).² Suida (*Seattle*, 1954, p. 70) suggested that the man and boy at the lower right may be portraits of the patron who commissioned this painting and his son, also noting that De Witte's interiors are rarely based on that of any specific church.

Three other paintings of ecclesiastical interiors by De Witte show architecture close to that of the Kress panel. One of these (Johannesburg, National Gallery) is dated 1678.³ Although K1988 resembles the interior of several of the great Dutch Gothic churches, it looks closest to that of the Oude Kerk of Delft. The panel is very similar to the De Witte of 1682 (Oosterbeek, J. C. H. Heldring collection), which is regarded as a rather free interpretation of the Delft church.⁴ The *Church Interior* probably dates from the later 1670s or early 1680s.

Provenance: Lady Cosmo Bevan, Dorking, England. Lady Islington (sold, London, Sotheby's, 20 June 1951, p. 14, Cat. No. 41-A). Property of the late A. E. H. Digby and others. New York, David M. Koetser 1951. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) See Ilse Manke, *Emanuel de Witte*, Amsterdam, 1963. (2) Manke, *op. cit.*, p. 107, Cat. No. 123, listed as 'Protestantische gotische Kirche'. The Cologne painting is reproduced by Manke, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 133, pl. 77. (3) Manke, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 97 (formerly Kassel, Gemäldegalerie); and Cat. No. 98, pl. 72 (Hamburg, Kunsthalle). (4) P. T. A. Swillens, *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Utrecht, 1961, p. 304, Cat. No. 244, fig. 235. The interior also resembles an anonymous drawing that has been tentatively identified as the Pieters Kerk at Leyden, *ibid.*, p. 298, Cat. No. 235, fig. 225.

GERRIT ADRIAENSZ. BERCKHEYDE

Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde was baptized on 6 June 1638 in Haarlem, where he died in 1698. He was probably the pupil of his elder brother Job Berckheyde with whom he shared a house and traveled to Germany. They visited Cologne and worked in Heidelberg at the court of the Elector Palatine before returning to Haarlem where the younger Berckheyde joined the guild in 1660. Berckheyde painted some landscapes and ecclesiastical interiors but his major interest was urban views, scenes of Haarlem, Amsterdam and The Hague. Dated works survive from almost every year of his career. He worked and reworked his vistas of Dutch market places, town halls and churches, often repeating them with little variation, but arriving at a

quintessential depiction of sun-filled space populated by diligent, prosperous city folk. The artist was highly regarded and was praised in the poems of his contemporaries Vondel, Rixtel and Snellinx. Berckheyde has been mentioned more recently as an influence on Gaspar van Wittel, and thus indirectly on the Italian *vedutisti*.¹

K1966 : Figure 134

GROOTE MARKT, HAARLEM. Raleigh, North Carolina, North Carolina Museum of Art (GL.60.17.69), since 1960. Oil on uncradled oak. $17\frac{3}{4} \times 16\frac{3}{4}$ in. (45.2×42.6 cm.). Inscribed on back: A. Brondgeest; also a red seal, possibly that of the duc de Choiseul. Very well preserved. Raleigh, 1960, p. 140.

The left third of the composition is occupied by the north end of the Groote Kerk (St. Bavo) with the market place of Haarlem in the foreground; a well is at the lower left. The section of the market shown includes the fish stalls at the north transept of the Groote Kerk; these no longer exist. In the distance, along the south side of the market place, is the Town Hall, built in the fourteenth century as a palace of the Counts of Holland. The Palladian façade at the right of the palace was added in 1633 and torn down c. 1886. To the right of this is the addition to the Town Hall on the Zijlstraat, built 1620–c. 1630.

The Kress panel was attributed to Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712) and listed as a *Dutch City View* in 1771 when in the collection of the duc de Choiseul. A reproductive print was made by C. Weisbrod at this time.² Smith listed the panel as a *View of the Market at the Hague* painted by van der Heyden with figures by Adriaen van de Velde.³

Waagen also ascribed the panel to van der Heyden in 1854 when it must have been covered by discolored varnish as he described it of a 'general brown tone'.⁴ The painting was correctly identified as a view of the market at Haarlem by Hofstede de Groot who retained Smith's attribution and suggested it was identical with a painting in the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.⁵ Shapley (*loc. cit.*) published the panel as by Berckheyde, observing 'This is typical of the town views which came into favor in Dutch art toward the middle of the seventeenth century, with Gerrit Berckheyde as one of their most devoted and successful painters. Gerrit painted this market place again and again, from various points of view and always with such precision that we may trust the accuracy of all details.'

Although Berckheyde executed many views centered upon the church of St. Bavo and the market place, those compositionally closest to K1966 are in The Hermitage (signed and dated 1673) and in the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.⁶ The *Groote Markt* probably stems from the early 1670s. The abstract quality of this beautifully preserved panel is seen again in Dutch twentieth-century art. The extraordinary precision of Berckheyde's art suggests that he, like Vermeer, may have employed a *camera obscura*.

Provenance: Duc de Choiseul, Paris (sold April, 1772, p. 27, Cat. No. 79, as by van der Heyden.) Amsterdam, A. Brondgeest, c. 1827. Baron Lionel de Rothschild, 1854, as by van der Heyden. Edmund de Rothschild, Exbury, Hants., 1946. Harry G. Sperling, New York, exhibited – as by van der Heyden, Hartford, Conn., The Wadsworth Atheneum, *A Loan Exhibition of Fifty Painters of Architecture*, 30 Oct.–7 Dec. 1947, Cat. No. 25, pl. II. New York, F. Kleinberger and Co. Kress acquisition 1953, exhibited – Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum, *Seventeenth Century Painters of Haarlem*, 2 Apr.–13 June 1965, p. 12, Cat. No. 5, as Berckheyde.

References: (1) For further information on Berckheyde, see S. J. Gudlaugsson in *Kindlers*, I, pp. 312 ff.; Neil MacLaren in *National Gallery Catalogue, The Dutch School*, London, 1960, p. 24; E. W. Moes in *Thieme–Becker*, III, p. 376. (2) *Recueil d'Estampes Gravées d'Après les Tableaux du Cabinet de Monseigneur le Duc de Choiseul*, Paris, 1771, Cat. No. 76, fig. 76. (3) John Smith, *Catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, v, London, 1834, p. 377, Cat. No. 20. (4) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, II, p. 131, in the collection of Baron Lionel de Rothschild. (5) C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch painters of the seventeenth century*, London, 1927, VIII, p. 353, Cat. No. 81. (6) See the 1958 *Hermitage Catalogue*, II, Leningrad, p. 135, No. 812. Signed and dated: *Geritt Berck Heyde 1673*, the Leningrad panel measures $16\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{5}{8}$ in. It is recorded as from the Choiseul Collection but its measurements do not agree with those given in the Choiseul catalogue of 1772. The Choiseul measurements correspond to those of K1966. The Frans Hals Museum painting has slight differences in the *staffage*; the architecture is almost identical. It measures 13×16 in. and is signed at the lower left *Gerret Berck Hey 1671*. Frans Hals Museum Catalogue, Haarlem, 1922, Cat. No. 16.

ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE

Adriaen van Ostade, whose father came from Ostade near Eindhoven, was baptized in Haarlem in 1610; he died there in 1685. Ostade joined the painters' guild in 1634, was a *hoofdman* in 1647 and 1661, and dean the following year. Ostade's art is indebted to Adriaen Brouwer, a student of Hals in Haarlem. Dated works testify to his sustained productivity from 1631 to 1683; as many as a thousand paintings have been associated with his name. Ostade also produced numerous watercolor drawings and at least fifty etchings. Seventeenth-century imitations and later forgeries testify to the continued popularity of his work. A small number of Biblical scenes and portraits are also known, but the vast majority of his paintings are genre scenes of interiors with peasants smoking, drinking or dancing. Those peopling his early works are almost caricatures of coarse, drunken, cantankerous village folk and peasants, seen in a harsh light. About 1640, apparently

under the influence of Rembrandt, the figure groups become smaller and quieter, bathed in warm brownish light. In the 1650s, Ostade concentrated more on outdoor scenes, characterized by brighter colors. Among the painter's numerous pupils were his younger brother Isack Cornelis Bega, Jan Steen and Cornelis Dusart.¹

ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE

K1989 : Figure 138

THE VILLAGE LAWYER. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.48.G), since 1960. Oil on oak. 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.3 × 29.9 cm.). Well preserved, but for some areas to the rear. Inscribed at base of table: A v [in monogram] Ostade 1655.² Allentown, 1960, p. 124.

Three men in the foreground are grouped round an octagonal table – with spectacle case, clay pipe, tobacco, and brazier – in a tavern. A woman and little boy, both shown from the rear, stand in an archway before a window in the background. The cap of the reading seated figure at the left identifies him as a lawyer; he holds a document with both hands. Opposite, in left profile, is a middle-aged man wearing a tall hat and holding a pipe. Between them is a standing man (the innkeeper?), in a red vest, holding a tankard. An open cupboard at the left has a Delftware blue-and-white charger on the top; a bagpipe hangs on the wall at the upper left; a wine jug and tankard hang from a shelf at the extreme right.

Smith included K1989 in his supplement to Ostade's works, entitling the panel *The Three Neighbors* and suggesting that the figure at the left is a lawyer.³ It is listed in Hofstede de Groot's re-issue of Smith as *Three Peasants at an Inn*.⁴ Shapley (*Allentown*, p. 124) suggested 'the marks on the open cupboard door may record the score of a card game recently played at the table.' She noted a similar painting by Ostade in the Louvre dated 1653 which omits the seated figure at the right.

Despite the somewhat drab interior, Ostade has rendered the figures in the foreground in rich color close to Jan Steen's. Much Dutch art of the period is emblematic, concerned with proverbs; the bagpipe, spectacle case and smoking accessories may all have some symbolic references. Another Ostade close to K1989 is dated 1667; the composition was therefore utilized by the painter for over a decade.⁵

Provenance: M. Martini, Paris, 1842. Baron Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Frankfurt am Main.⁶ New York, David M. Koetser Gallery, exhibited – Hartford, Conn., the Wadsworth Atheneum, *Life in Seventeenth Century Holland*, 1951, p. 22, Cat. No. 58, fig. 58 (Lent anonymously). Kress acquisition 1954, from Koetser, exhibited – Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum, *Seventeenth Century Painters of Haarlem*, 1965, p. 51, Cat. No. 55.

References: (1) See Louis Godefroy, *L'Œuvre Gravé de Adriaen van Ostade*, Paris, 1930; J. Kusnetzov, *Catalogue of Adriaen van Ostade Exhibition*, The Hermitage, Leningrad, 1960. Much biographical information is given in the excellent introduction to the latter. (2) The date may be read as 1656, listed as such in the Hartford exhibition of 1951. (3) John Smith, *Supplement to the Catalogue Raisonné*, London, 1842, ix, p. 111, Cat. No. 108. Listed as in M. Martini Collection, Paris, 1842. (4) C. Hofstede de Groot, *Catalogue Raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, III, London, 1910, p. 243, Cat. No. 338. (5) Reproduced in the *Connoisseur*, cxliv, no. 582, Dec. 1959, p. xviii, advertisement of J. Mitchell and Son, listed as ex coll. Duke of Buccleuch. And exhibited in Frankfurt in 1948 and in Hartford (no date given). It would seem as though part of the provenance of K1989 had been transferred to the Mitchell panel. (6) This provenance is given by dealer's brochure. The painting was not included in the *Estate of the Late Baron Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild*, Parke-Bernet, New York, sold March and April 1950.

JAN HAVICZ. STEEN

Jan Havicz. Steen was born in Leyden about 1626 and was buried there in 1679. He is recorded as a student at Leyden University in 1646. Steen's earliest art instruction is less firmly documented, but was probably provided by Nicolaus Knüpfer of Utrecht. He then worked under Adriaen van Ostade in Haarlem, and at The Hague with Jan van Goyen, who became Steen's father-in-law. In 1648 the artist was one of the founding members of the Leyden Guild of St. Luke. From 1649 to 1654 he is mentioned at The Hague. He also lived in Delft (1654–56), Warmond (1656–60) and Haarlem (1661–70), before returning permanently to Leyden. Steen's father was a brewer; and the artist continued the family trade as manager of a Delft brewery from 1654 to 1657. In the 1670s he was active as an inn-keeper. He served as an officer of the Leyden painters' guild in 1672–73 and was made dean the following year. Steen's travels and occupations suggest a restlessness and vitality which also characterized his prolific art. The artist's roguish, Molière-like wit appears time and again in his scenes from daily life, the theater, and in depictions of proverbs, in which the artist and his family are often included. Even Steen's Biblical and mythological scenes did not escape his irony. The artist's early works include landscapes with small figures, such as K1987. In his later paintings, Steen left the boisterous world of taverns and rollicking family life to depict the quieter, more elegant surroundings of the upper bourgeoisie. In line with his subjects, these works are characterized by paler colors, thinner facture and less crowded composition. His scintillating colour and wit were much admired in early eighteenth-century France and were revived by such artists as Gillot and Watteau.¹

Reference: (1) For further information on Jan Steen see Abraham Bredius, *Jan Steen*, Amsterdam, n.d., 1–II; William Martin, *Jan Steen*, Amsterdam, 1954.

K1987 : Figure 136

GAME OF SKITTLES. Chicago, Illinois, David and Alfred Smart Gallery, since 1974. Oil on canvas. $25\frac{1}{2} \times 32\frac{3}{4}$ in. (64.8×83.3 cm.). Inscribed in lower left corner: *J S* [in monogram form] *teen*. Very thinly painted. Relined c. 1925. Late nineteenth-century labels on back from Metropolitan Museum of Art and Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.¹

Seattle, 1954, p. 68.

The side of an inn is shown at the left. A gentleman is seated on a bench at the extreme left; the proprietress, to the right, hands him a tankard. She stands by the door, two children at her side. The gentleman's horse is tended by a groom at the left. A tree and a well-head are toward the center. A man stands in the foreground, looking at nine skittles. A player, bowling ball in right hand, is about to play. Three peasants are seen at the right foreground, smoking and drinking. Two conversing peasants are in the distance. A view of The Hague, seen from the south, is on the horizon.

Roëll and van Gelder are both quoted as finding the canvas an early work by Steen and identifying the town view as Leyden.² According to Suida and Fuller, the canvas 'definitely shows the influence of Steen's famed father-in-law Jan van Goyen, who painted soft land- and seascapes in an essentially gray-green palette. This also shows Steen's love of genre scenes and the homely activities of the peasants.' It is viewed as an early painting, unusual in the breadth of its landscape background. The town in the background is described as Leyden.³

Steen's *Skittle Players at an Inn* (London, National Gallery), seen from a different angle to that of K1987, is dated by MacLaren c. 1662-3.⁴ The Kress canvas dates probably to before 1654 when the artist is last reported as residing in The Hague and may date from the late 1640s, still close to van Goyen.⁵ The figures at the right suggest the style of Pieter Quast.

Provenance: Sanford-Dow families, Brooklyn, N.Y., from c. 1870 until 1942, exhibited - New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, lent by Mrs. H. S. Sanford, c. 1880; Brooklyn Museum, lent by Carola Sanford Dow ('The Homestead', Wakefield, N. H.), 1912-14. New York, Victor D. Spark, from 1943, exhibited - Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum, *Life in Seventeenth Century Holland*, 21 Nov. 1950 - 14 Jan. 1951, p. 15, Cat. No. 28. New York, David M. Koetser Gallery. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) See C. Hofstede de Groot, *Catalogue Raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch painters of the seventeenth century*, I, London, 1908, pp. 196-8, Cat. Nos. 736-42 for other paintings by Steen of the same subject (K1987 is not included). (2) Quoted by David M. Koetser, 2/vi/54, Kress Archive. William E. Suida is quoted by Koetser as considering K1987 to be the companion piece to a *Kermesse* (H. G. Marquand) lent to the Metropolitan Museum which is reproduced opposite p. 124 in the *Hudson-Fulton Cele-*

bration catalogue (W. R. Valentiner, New York, 1909). (3) Seattle, 1954, p. 68. (4) Neil MacLaren, *The National Gallery Catalogues, The Dutch School*, London, 1960, p. 401, Cat. No. 2560. (5) For example, see van Goyen's *View of The Hague* (The Hague, Gemeente Museum, 1934 catalogue, Cat. No. 164). Horst Gerson ('Landschappen van Jan Steen', *Kunsthistorische Mededeelingen*, III, 1948, pp. 51 ff.) related a series of Steen's paintings (in the late 1640s), in which landscape plays an important role, to K1987. He noted the influence of Utrecht masters in these paintings several of which show similar elements to K1987. The Hague view identified by Myra Orth, assisted by the topological service at the Rijksbureau.

JAN HAVICZ. STEEN

K2185 : Figure 137

'SOO DE OUDEN SONGEN'. Allentown, Pennsylvania, Allentown Art Museum (61.60.6), since 1960. Oil on uncradled oak. $17\frac{3}{8} \times 23\frac{7}{8}$ in. (44.1×60.6 cm.). Inscribed at lower left corner, the monogram: *JS teen*. The metal bell hanging from the ceiling is inscribed *SOO D OVDE* ('As the old [sing, so the young pipe]'). This is the beginning of a popular Netherlandish proverb illustrated several times by Steen and by earlier painters.¹ Well preserved. Allentown, 1960, p. 128. Reproduced in color in *National Geographic Magazine*, CXX, December 1961, p. 823.

Seventeen figures are shown in a tavern-like setting; at the left a bass shawm leans against a wine or beer barrel with a jug above; an old woman sings from a music sheet held in both hands; a smiling girl stands at her side; a bearded elder in rich garb raises a rum glass with both hands; a young bagpiper is to the right with a serving maid (seen from the back) at an open cupboard. A smiling baby holds a pipe seated on the lap of her mother who holds a vessel in her left hand, her breast prepared for nursing. A seated man is to the right. A smiling violinist stands on a chair in the background next to the inscribed ivy-entwined bell hanging, with two bird cages, from the ceiling. A group of three elderly people are to the extreme right near the fireplace. A boy playing a recorder stands in the right foreground with a hurdy-gurdy player. A laughing boy, with a spaniel to his right, points toward the instrument. A *speelpijp* (bass shawm) is at the left. A boy smoking a pipe with a brazier is in the central foreground near a girl with her lips on the spout of a pewter beer pitcher. The Dutch word for a beer pitcher's spout is a *pijp*, that for smoking pipe is *rookpijp*, the bagpipe was known as a *pijpzakken*, the recorder is also a form of pipe. Thus almost all the young figures are engaged with pipes in one form or another while the old folks sing or play, providing a visual play on the proverb: *So de ouden singen, so pijpen de jongen*.² Smith (iv, p. 16, Cat. No. 151) included the painting in his Steen *Catalogue raisonné*, noting that '... a great variety of objects contribute to enrich the composition of this excellent picture.' Waagen found 'The peculiar humor of the master appears in full measure in some of these figures, especially in the organ man; on the other hand, the

vulgarity is here and there too exaggerated, especially in the fat baby. In point of solid and careful execution, however, the picture is a first-rate specimen of his art.³ Van Westrheene's Steen monograph entitled the painting *Une Compagnie Joyeuse*.⁴ The canvas was reproduced in Bredius's Steen monograph.⁵ Hofstede de Groot listed the painting in his catalogue raisonné.⁶ The influence of the Flemish master Jacob Jordaens upon Steen was suggested by Martin, who pointed out that Jordaens's renderings of *Twelfth Night* (close in subject and composition to K2185) must have impressed the younger master. The painters could have met when Jordaens was in The Hague working during 1649–51 on the decorations for the Oranjezaal at the Huis ten Bosch.⁷ According to Shapley (*Allentown*, p. 128), 'Two paintings of the subject in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, show members of the artist's family and actors in the scene, and figures in our painting resemble some in those two closely enough to suggest that in this also members of Steen's family may have served as models. The date is probably c. 1668, the year inscribed on a much larger painting of the subject in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.'

Steen is known to have been a music-lover; the fiddler resembles a *Self-Portrait* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and another *Self-Portrait* showing him playing a lute (Lugano, Thyssen Collection).⁸ The chronology of Steen's works is not clear. Stechow has noted that relatively few of the smaller works, on panel, are dated, suggesting this may be due to the fact that the artist considered them less important than the larger works on canvas. There is very considerable difference in color between large and small versions of the same composition.⁹ The Kress panel corresponds in several details to the larger canvas of the same subject by Steen dated 1668 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). The girl on the floor in the foreground is shown standing in the Amsterdam painting, holding the tankard toward another smaller standing girl. Many of the other models are the same, although the composition is less elaborate in the Amsterdam painting than that of K2185. The composition of the Kress panel combines two subjects often painted by Jordaens as pendants, especially between 1638 and 1640: *Twelfth Night* (The King Drinks) and *Soo de Ouden Songen*.¹⁰ Steen also followed Jordaens in using members of his own family as models for these subjects. The Kress panel shows Steen's mastery of an extraordinarily rich, complex use of color with many subtle variations in hue. The mood of the panel stems from *Merry Companies* of Buytewech and his circle; the free-flowing brushwork may have been partially inspired by Hals. The complex fusion of gaiety and melancholy in this panel is peculiarly appropriate to the theme, which has references to the *Memento Mori*. Watteau's artistic achievements about forty years later would be unthinkable without such masterful precedents as this panel.

Provenance: M. le Chevalier Francottay (sold, Paris, 20 Feb. 1816, pp. 10–12, Cat. No. 24), as *Scène familière*. M. le Chevalier Erard, Château de la Muette, Boulogne. John Smith, London, 1828 (purchased by him from the above), as *The Hurdy-Gurdy Player*. Baron Verstolk van Soelen,

The Hague, 1833. Hérès de Bruxelles, Paris, 25 Mar. 1841. Lord Overstone, London, exhibited – Manchester, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, Loan Exhibition*, 1857, p. 59, Cat. No. 770. Sir Robert James Lloyd-Lindsay, Baron Wantage, London, Catalogue (1905), p. 154, no. 220, as *Twelfth Night*, exhibited – London, Guildhall, 1892, Cat. No. 107, as *Twelfth Night*; London, Dowdeswell Galleries, *A Loan Exhibition of Pictures by Jan Steen*, May–June 1909, p. 19, Cat. No. 31, lent by Lady Wantage, as *Hurdy-Gurdy Player* – 'Soo de Ouden . . .'. Inherited by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres in 1920, exhibited – Leyden, Jan Steen Exhibition, 1926, Cat. No. 35. D. Katz (dealer), Dieren, Holland, 1936. Mr. and Mrs. D. Birnbaum, Ten Cate, exhibited – New York, M. Knoedler and Co., *Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, 5–24 Feb. 1945, Cat. No. 16; Pittsburgh, Pa., The Carnegie Institute, *Pictures of Everyday Life Genre Painting in Europe, 1500–1900*, 14 Oct.–12 Dec. 1954, Cat. No. 40, lent by David Bingham, Hartsdale, New York. New York, Schaeffer Galleries. Kress acquisition 1957, exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961–4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 88; Allentown, Pa., Allentown Art Museum, *Seventeenth Century Painters of Haarlem*, 2 Apr.–13 June 1965, p. 66, Cat. No. 74.¹¹

References: (1) The proverb appears in Jakob Cats's *Spiegel van de oude en de nieuwe Tijd* (1632) on p. 26 of the 1658 edition. See also P. J. Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, Utrecht, 1858, I, p. 364, no. 200; II, p. 156. (2) For this imagery in Steen's art see D. Bax, *Hollandse en Vlaamse Schilderkunst in Zuid-Afrika*, Kaapstad–Pretoria, 1952, p. 56. Musical instruments in K2185 identified by Susan Thiemann and Emanuel Winternitz. (3) Supplement to Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1857, pp. 143–4. (4) T. van Westrheene, *Jan Steen, Étude sur l'art en Hollande*, The Hague, 1856, pp. 115–16, Cat. No. 71. (5) A. Bredius, *Jan Steen*, Amsterdam, n.d., I, pl. 19. (6) C. Hofstede de Groot, *Catalogue Raisonné . . .*, I, Paris, London, Esslingen a.N. 1908, p. 34, Cat. No. 91. He listed fifteen examples of the subject. (7) W. Martin, *Jan Steen*, Amsterdam, 1954, pp. 29–30. The Kress panel is on p. 82, Cat. No. 66. (8) Reproduced Martin, *op. cit.*, figs. 1, 2. (9) Wolfgang Stechow, 'Jan Steen's Merry Company', *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* (Oberlin College, Ohio), xv, 1958, pp. 91–100, esp. pp. 94–5. (10) For such works see Michael Jaffé, *Jordaens*, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1968, pp. 180–9, Cat. Nos. 64–7. (11) K2185 was not in the Swalmius or Leers Collections as previously stated by Hofstede de Groot (*op. cit.*, I, p. 34). It does not conform with the measurements of paintings described in vague terms and possibly identifiable as the Kress panel.

PIETER HENDRICKSZ. DE HOOCH

Pieter Hendricksz. de Hooch (also spelled de Hoogh) was baptized in Rotterdam on 20 December 1629. His death date is unknown, but cannot be before 1684. According to

Houbraken, de Hooch was trained with Jacob Ochtervelt in Nicolaes Berchem's studio, presumably at Haarlem. In 1653 the young artist was employed as servant and painter by Justus de la Grange, a cloth merchant in Delft and Leyden. De Hooch married at Delft in 1654 and entered the guild there the following year. In the early 1660s he moved to Amsterdam where he may have remained until his death. Genre scenes of soldiers and tavern life such as were painted in many Dutch centers are thought to be among de Hooch's earliest works. His first dated paintings (of 1658) represent courtyards and interiors with a few figures. Characterized by a precise rendering of narrowly confined exteriors and interiors, with glowing blues, reds, and yellows, these views provide an eloquent statement of the intimacy, security, and serenity of middle-class domesticity. Such paintings are closely related to those of Vermeer, who, more likely than de Hooch, was the innovator in this Delft style of the 1650s. Much remains uncertain, however, including the contributing roles of Carel Fabritius, Nicolas Maes and Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout. The move to Amsterdam brought about a change in de Hooch's patronage and a subsequent weakening of his style. The depictions of more crowded, opulent, and gloomy interiors, which are typical of the 1660s and 1670s, stand in marked contrast to the crystalline images of the Delft period.¹

K2120 : Figure 139

NURSING MOTHER AND CHILDREN IN AN INTERIOR. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61.44.37), since 1955. Oil on canvas. $26\frac{3}{8} \times 21\frac{1}{16}$ in. (67.7×55.5 cm.). Inscribed on foot warmer below seated woman: *P. d Hooch*. Some abrasion toward the right.²

San Francisco, 1955, p. 26. Reproduced in color in *National Geographic Magazine*, cxxi, December 1961, p. 853.

A seated woman in fur-lined garb with a suckling baby is at the right corner of an interior illuminated by light from a window. To the left a seated little girl feeds a dog at the hearth of a fireplace where a large pot hangs above the flames. Two rows of figured tiles and a carved wooden pilaster are at the right of the fireplace with a fringed hanging above. Three white Delftware chargers are on the mantelpiece with a rumglass. A trivet and a birdcage hang to the right. A mirror (?) is at the extreme right above a cupboard.

Valentiner compared K2120 with de Hooch's *The Good Housewife* (Amsterdam, Six Collection) dated 1663 and with earlier interiors by the same master in Karlsruhe and the Wallace and Widener Collections.³ He suggested the influence of the young Vermeer upon such paintings as the Kress canvas.⁴ Brière-Mismé also compared the painting with the Wallace Collection de Hooch.⁵ A date of c. 1663 was suggested by Valentiner for K2120.⁶ The importance of Vermeer was stressed by van Thienen for the close viewpoint of the Kress canvas.⁷ The San Francisco catalogue

(p. 26) related the painting to de Hooch's *Lady at her Needlepoint with her Child* (Minneapolis Institute of Arts). Valentiner's suggested dating of c. 1663 is accepted and the canvas described as 'typical of Pieter de Hooch's early Amsterdam period, generally considered his best.'⁸ K2120 was described by Seymour (p. 154) as showing 'all the prosaic paraphernalia of a middle-class interior . . . given a touch of poetic value by the sensitive handling of effective light in which de Hooch was second only to his one-time rival in Delft, Vermeer'.

This painting probably dates from the later 1660s or the early 1670s. The same models and interior were shown in several of the artist's works. The figure of the nursing mother presents a Maes-like monumentality rarely encountered in de Hooch's art.

Provenance: Ronald Brakespear, Henley, Oxon, England. New York, M. Knoedler and Co., 1916, exhibited - New York, Knoedler, *Loan Exhibition of Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, 16-28 Nov. 1925, Cat. No. 6. Katherine Deere Butterworth, Moline, Illinois (sold New York, Parke-Bernet, Oct. 1954, p. 26, Cat. No. 29, as 'Woman Nursing her Child'). New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1955, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures For America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 - 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 45.

References: (1) For the life and works of Pieter de Hooch, see Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Pieter de Hooch (Klassiker der Kunst series)*, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1930; Neil MacLaren, *The Dutch School, The National Gallery Catalogues*, London, 1960, p. 183. (2) A reproduction of K2120 in Valentiner, *op. cit.*, pl. 71, shows the vessel at the right with a handle; there appears to be a vine above the bird cage. Both of these areas were presumably damaged and these details added to obscure this. (3) Valentiner, *op. cit.*, pls. 69, 58, 70, 59. (4) Valentiner, 'Pieter de Hooch', *Art in America*, xv, 1926, Part 1, pp. 45-64, esp. p. 61. Listed in Part 2, 1927, p. 76 as in New York private collection. (5) Clothilde Brière-Mismé, 'Tableaux inédits ou peu connus de Pieter de Hooch', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., xv, 1927, pp. 361-80 and xvi, pp. 51-79, 258-86. (6) Valentiner, 1930, *op. cit.*, pl. 71, p. 276. He also suggested that the canvas might be identical with C. Hofstede de Groot's no. 11 (*Catalogue . . .*, Paris, 1908, I, p. 479) which measured 28×22 in., and according to de Groot, was in the Van Loon Collection (Amsterdam) in 1825 and then owned by one of the French Rothschilds. (7) F. R. van Thienen, *Pieter de Hoogh (Palet Serie)*, n.d., p. 41, listed as *De Zuigeling*. (8) It is erroneously stated that the Wallace *Woman Peeling Apples* is dated 1663.

PIETER CLAESZ.

Pieter Claesz. was born in Burgsteinfurt in Westphalia in either 1595 or 1597. He died in Haarlem in 1660. At the time of his marriage in 1617, Claesz. was recorded in Haarlem as a painter. His son Nicolaes, born in 1620, was

also a painter, adopting the surname Berchem. The earliest dated work of Pieter Claesz. is from 1621 (West Monkton, Somerset, coll. Mrs. E. C. Francis), when, according to Houbraken, he was already known as a still life painter. His early phase is marked by considerable experimentation within the earlier Haarlem 'banquet piece', into which he introduced atmospheric quality to unify the composition. Increasing simplification and reduction of color culminate in the near monochromatic 'breakfast pieces' of the 1630s, evolved by Claesz. and Heda (1594?-1679/82). In his later years, Claesz.'s brushwork lightens, and the color contrasts are less restrained. His last dated work is from 1660.¹

PIETER CLAESZ.

K1967 : Figure 141

STILL LIFE. Columbia, South Carolina, Columbia Museum of Art (62.37.18), since 1962. Oil on uncradled oak. $15\frac{3}{4} \times 21\frac{3}{4}$ in. (40×55.3 cm.). Inscribed with the artist's monogram: PC, with 1658 just below, above upper right corner of table. Customs stamps on back. Very well preserved.

Columbia, 1962, p. 140, Cat. No. 48.

A table partially covered by a white cloth, with scattered nuts and berries, is seen against a neutral background. It is set with a rumglass, at the upper left, and a tall narrow flute-like wine glass, a spray of red currants between them; a roll, a bone-handled knife and twisted paper of pepper are on a pewter plate at the left; blue and white Oriental (?) dishes are at the center and at the extreme right; the latter filled with strawberries and upon a pewter plate. A third pewter plate, at the center, has a large crab on it; a pewter salt is at the upper right.

According to Contini Bonacossi (*Columbia*, p. 140, Cat. No. 48), 'This characteristic still life belongs to the mature and best period of the painter. On the rather limited space of the table is a varied collection of things typical of practically all of Pieter Claesz.'s paintings, though often differently arranged.'

Although Claesz. is usually grouped with masters of monochromatic still life painting, the Kress panel, from his late phase, is painted in strongly differentiated, bright colors. K1967 is almost identical in composition with a panel in the Alberto Saibene Collection (Milan) signed with Claesz.'s monogram and dated 1648.² Despite its dependence upon a work executed a decade earlier, K1967 was painted with great verve, three years before Claesz.'s death.

Provenance: Alphonse de Steurs. D. and N. Katz Gallery, Dieren, Holland. New York, F. Kleinberger and Co. Kress acquisition 1953.

References: (1) See N. R. A. Vroom, *De schilders van het monochrome banketje*, Amsterdam, 1945, and Ingvar

Bergström, *Dutch Still Life Painting*, London, 1956, p. 114-23. (2) See Federico Zeri, *Trenta Dipinti Antichi della Collezione Saibene*, Milan, 1955, pls. 44-5.

ABRAHAM HENDRICKSZ. VAN BEYEREN

Abraham Hendricksz. van Beyeren was born in 1620 or 1621 in The Hague and died in Overschie (near Rotterdam) in 1690.¹ He was married in Leyden in 1639. The next year he returned to The Hague where he joined the painters' guild and in 1656 was one of the founding members of the *Confreria Pictura*. In 1657 he joined the guild in Delft. Van Beyeren moved back to The Hague in 1663, to Amsterdam in the early 70s, and by 1674 was established in Alkmaar. The final move to Overschie took place in 1678. Van Beyeren, today ranked among the greatest of Dutch still life painters, seems to have received little recognition during his lifetime, a fact which may well explain his continued uprootings. His paintings brought low prices and he exerted little influence on his contemporaries. Houbraken makes no mention of him in *De groote Schouburgh*. Van Beyeren painted numerous types of still life: fish pieces; breakfast and banquet pieces; game pieces and vases of flowers. Pieter de Putter, a painter of fish still lifes, who was related to the artist through van Beyeren's second marriage in 1647, is thought to have been his teacher in the marine genre. Landscape backgrounds in some of the early compositions point to the work of Jan van Goyen. The series of banquet pieces, 'Bancketkens', to which the Kress painting belongs, were apparently inspired by those of Jan Davidsz. de Heem, who sought a similar effect of abundance in the depiction of fruit and lobsters with opulent vessels and curtains. Van Beyeren's brilliant color in such depictions is in marked contrast to that of his more subtle, sombre fish pieces. In this departure from the monochromatic, the artist is typical of Dutch painters at mid-century but his loose brushwork and the restless movement of his surfaces stand apart from the usual Dutch contemplation and concern for detail.

K1986 : Figure 140

BANQUET PIECE. Seattle, Washington, Seattle Art Museum (D37/B4687.1), since 1954. Oil on canvas. $41\frac{1}{2} \times 45$ in. (105.4×114.4 cm.). Signed on table ledge at extreme left: ABF. Relined and restored c. 1925; very well preserved. *Seattle*, 1954, p. 64. Reproduced in color in *Fêtes de la Palette*, Thanksgiving 1962 - Twelfth Night 1963, Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans, on cover and pl. 59.

A slab partially covered with a rich purple velvet, gold-fringed cloth (covered in turn by a smaller white one) is in an interior with an arched opening at the upper right. A window with a raised green curtain is at the upper left beyond which sky is seen. The table is crowded with precious objects and luxurious comestibles including crab

on a dish at the left, glacéed foods in a blue and white Oriental style bowl at the center,² a partially peeled orange in the foreground on a rich, scalloped silver plate; pomegranate, shrimp and oysters at the right; an orange and a lemon slice on a footed salver at the upper right; an elaborate nautilus cup on its side (a merman at top and bottom),³ a silver repoussé dish with grapes, figs and peaches at the center placed upon a wicker basket. A silver coffee pot (a reflection shows the artist's studio with van Beyeren at his easel) is at the left near a rum glass and two delicate *Façon de Venise* wineglasses. This still life refers to the concept of *Vanitas* – the futility of earthly riches in view of the eternal verities – indicated by the open watch prominently placed at the center foreground of the composition.⁴ The watch is tellingly juxtaposed with an open pomegranate symbolizing fecundity, regal power and concord. The fallen nautilus cup, together with the empty stone niche, also indicate transience and the sepulchral.

The Kress canvas was attributed by Scharf to Jan Weenix in 1890; presumably the monogram at the left was obscured at the time.⁵ According to Fuller, 'Nothing typifies the prosperity of 17th century Holland more than some of the still life paintings portraying with amazing realism and detail, as in this instance, a complexity of luscious foods and *objets d'art*. In this great *tour de force* the artist to show his skill selected a vast variety of textures to depict, from the complex interior of a verge watch to the open oyster with its pearl. No problem was too difficult, from the pearly nautilus shell in its Baroque gold mounting to the half-filled glasses and the gleaming silver ewer reflecting the room's interior. Many of the items such as the Chinese blue-and-white porcelain bowl are from his own studio, for the same objects in successive arrangements can be recognized in other paintings by van Beyeren.'⁶ Bergström noted that van Beyeren's first-known *Banquet-Piece* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) signed and dated 1653 includes the same nautilus cup and tazza (which are earlier in date than the rest of the silver), two silver dishes and the watch of K1986. Several of the same props reappear in a signed canvas dated 1654 (ex coll. Frits Lugt) and in one dated 1655 (Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum).⁷

This opulent, splendidly orchestrated still life is partly rooted in the Flemish tradition. Its theatrical presentation, with the raised curtain at the left, suggests Rubensian origins, removed from the more austere approach of the North Netherlands. Still lifes such as these follow the approach of Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606–83/4) who, born in Utrecht, spent much of his life in Antwerp, where his magnificent still lifes were influenced by the art of Flanders. By including himself and his studio (reflected in the coffee pot) van Beyeren places his art with the earthly vanities and the senses of taste, touch and sight. Predominantly a painter of fish and marine subjects, van Beyeren was especially drawn to the nautical associations of the silver-gilt cup with its merman and seashell motif; Kalf, a contemporary master of the same genres, was also fond of including a nautilus cup in his banquet pieces.

Provenance: Duke of Bedford, Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, listed as by Jan Weenix, p. 267, Cat. No. 431 in a *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Woburn Abbey*, by Sir George Scharf, London, 1890. Sold in London, Christie's, 19 Jan. 1951, p. 5, Cat. No. 7. New York, David M. Koetser. Kress acquisition 1954, exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures For America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 – 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 8. New Orleans, Louisiana, Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, *Fêtes de la Palette*, 1962–3, Cat. No. 18.

References: (1) E. W. Moes in *Thieme Becker*, III, p. 570. Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch Still-life Painting*, London, 1956. S. J. Gudlaugsson, in *Kindlers*, I, p. 432. (2) For the inclusion of Oriental ceramics in Dutch painting see A. I. Spriggs, 'Oriental Porcelain in Western Paintings, 1450–1700', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1964–5, 1965–6, pp. 73–87. (3) For seventeenth-century nautilus cups close in style to the one in K1986 see Th. M. Duyvene de Wit-Klinkhamer 'Een Rotterdamse Nautilusbeker', *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, Rotterdam, V, 1954, pp. 93–9. (4) For the *Vanitas* theme, see Charles Sterling, *Still-life Painting from Antiquity to the Present Time*, Paris, 1959, pp. 50–6. (5) Sir George Scharf, *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Woburn Abbey*, London, 1890, p. 267, Cat. No. 431. (6) William C. Suida and Richard E. Fuller, *European Paintings and Sculpture from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, Seattle Art Museum, 1954, p. 64. (7) Bergström, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, fig. 199, p. 239, for the Munich painting; fig. 198, p. 238, for the Worcester Museum canvas. The cup and coffee pot are both shown in a van Beyeren still life once owned by Arthur Kauffmann, 21 Grafton Street, London, reproduced in the advertising supplement of the *Burlington Magazine*, xciv, Dec. 1952. They are both included with several of the other props of K1986 in another canvas (S. Larsen-Menzel Collection, Wassenaar, reproduced in *Meester Werken uit vier Eeuwen, 1400–1800*, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans, 25 June–15 Oct. 1938, p. 61, fig. 91, Cat. No. 56). The coffee pot is also seen in a banquet piece of 1654 (Rotterdam, Boymans–van Beuningen Museum) reproduced by Jakob Rosenberg and Seymour Slive, *Dutch Art and Architecture: 1600–1800*, Baltimore, 1967, pl. 168B.

MELCHIOR DE HONDECOETER

Melchior de Hondecoeter (born in Utrecht in 1636 and died in Amsterdam in 1695¹) was descended from a long line of artists. His father painted landscapes and ornithological subjects; his uncle was Jan Baptist Weenix, the Italianate master. Melchior studied with his father; in 1659 he entered the painters' guild in The Hague. By 1663 the artist settled permanently in Amsterdam. His earliest surviving signed and dated work is *Dead Fish in a Bucket* of 1661 (Brunswick, Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum). Hondecoeter's oeuvre consists of game pieces and landscapes with exotic birds, often in series and planned for a specific décor. Some of these paintings have an anecdotal quality, signifying their illustration of proverbs. Many

signed and dated works from 1661 to 1686 exist, though little stylistic change is evident. The subjects are carefully observed and painstakingly detailed.

MELCHIOR DE HONDECOETER

KM-I : Figure 142

PEACOCKS. New York, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, since 1927. Oil on canvas. $74\frac{7}{8} \times 53$ in. (190.2×134.8 cm.). Inscribed: *MDHoendecoeter Ao 1683* at the right above vine leaves. In 1956 the canvas was cleaned at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and a white crane at the extreme left was uncovered; since only half the bird was shown it was over-painted at an unknown date lest the canvas (which is complete all around) be regarded as fragmentary. Well preserved.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, XXIII, 1928, pp. 91-2.

A large peacock and peahen are perched on the ledge of a formal, somewhat dilapidated structure. A flight of steps to the rear has a pair of urns at the bottom. A sunflower blooms at the upper right, a swallow and other birds are at the upper left, and a turkey on the ground below. A squirrel and a South American monkey are in the foreground surrounded by grapes, peaches, a melon and other fruits and nuts.

The Kress canvas may have belonged to a series of wall panels such as those owned by the Earl of Aylesford (Packington Hall, Warws.) and the Marquis of Exeter (Burghley House, Stamford, Leics.). Birds and animals similar to those of KM-I are included in many of Hondecoeter's works in this genre from the early 1670s onward. A monkey exactly like the one in KM-I is in a canvas signed and dated 1685 (London, Collection Earl of Crawford and Balcarres). The composition is extremely close to the same artist's *Peacocks and Ducks* (London, Wallace Collection).² The autumnal fruits, sunflowers, swallows and fallen masonry may suggest a reference to the third season, but Hondecoeter includes many of these elements without any specific programmatic intent.

Provenance: Rome, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1927.

References: (1) For further biography and bibliography see Eduard Plietzsch, *Holländische und flämische Maler des XVII Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1960, pp. 159 ff.; *Kindlers*, III, pp. 295-8 (by H. W. Grohn). (2) See Wallace Collection Catalogue, *Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1968, p. 151, Cat. No. P64.

NICOLAES MAES

Born in Dordrecht in 1634, Maes died in Amsterdam in 1693. Maes was in Rembrandt's studio toward the middle of the century and may also have been active in other

Amsterdam ateliers, but the early works are distinctly Rembrandtesque. It is also possible he worked in Delft, since aspects of Carel Fabritius's art are evident in Maes's first surviving dated paintings of genre subjects executed upon his return to Dordrecht in 1654-55. According to Houbraken, Maes went to visit Jacob Jordaens in Antwerp in 1665, resulting in a great change in the Dutch artist's style. From the 1660s onward Maes began to concentrate on portraiture. He remained in Antwerp until 1678 and then returned to Amsterdam.¹

Reference: (1) W. R. Valentiner, *Nicolaes Maes*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1924.

KII34 : Figure 145

PORTRAIT OF A LADY. Columbia, South Carolina, Columbia Museum of Art (62.37.17), since 1962. Oil on canvas. $47\frac{1}{8} \times 39\frac{1}{8}$ in. (119.7×99.3 cm.). Inscribed within an oval on ledge at left: *MAES 1682*. The head and hands are very well preserved; some loss of glazes in table covering. Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1939; restored by Modestini in 1962.

Columbia, 1962, p. 137, Cat. No. 47.

A seated, elderly Dutch bourgeoisie is shown approximately life-size to just below the knee, her right arm resting on a covered table. She wears a black lace cap, diamond pendant earrings, a gauzy scarf, and a silk dress with a purple bodice and a black skirt with white under-sleeves. The sitter is placed in a palatial setting framed by a curtain. An opening at the left reveals a stormy sky.

The portrait was first published by Waagen who described it as a work by Maes 'singularly fresh and artless in conception, and of great power of color'.¹ KII34 was included in Hofstede de Groot's catalogue of Maes's works.² According to Contini Bonacossi 'this portrait belongs to the late period of the artist when, already famous, he received many commissions from the rich Dutch bourgeois who liked his bright colors and his skillfulness in catching the features of his sitters. As has been said, elderly ladies were portrayed by Maes better than any other subject. This cannot be doubted when we consider the natural look of this imposing wife of a rich merchant of Amsterdam, in all her self-assured poise, conscious of her place in society and of the wealth of her family - the latter displayed in her oversized earrings, and bright rings.' 'The sitter, however, is a woman who knows work and hard living. Her strong features, quiet look and heavy hands tell a story of the battles and victories of life, even as she poses for her portrait by a famous painter, surrounded by all the outward aspects of conquered splendor. Velvets and laces, precious stones and fancy dresses cannot disguise her habit of command or soften a personality ready to summon everybody to her rule, both in her family and the family business.'³ Held compared the pose of this sitter to that of a lady in a Maes portrait signed and dated 1676.⁴

Maes's realistic presentation of the sitter is somewhat discordant with the rather summarily rendered palatial interior (in the North Italian manner) that is used as a backdrop. The lady's lace hat may perhaps have been added at a later date to hide her extremely high hairline.⁵ The jewelery is painted with very sharp definition and is possibly the work of a studio assistant; it may also prove a somewhat later addition.

Provenance: Howard Galton, 'Hadzor', near Droitwich, Worcestershire, exhibited – Manchester, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom Collected at Manchester*, 1857, p. 55, Cat. No. 700. William Beattie, Glasgow (sold, London, Christie's, *Property of H. R. H. the Princess Royal . . . the Late William Beattie of Glasgow*, 18 July 1924, p. 17, Cat. No. 80). New York, John Levy Galleries, exhibited – Indianapolis, Indiana, John Herron Art Institute, *Dutch Paintings, Etchings, Drawings, Delftware of the Seventeenth Century*, 27 Feb.–11 Apr. 1937, Cat. No. 40. Kress acquisition 1938, from Levy, exhibited – San Francisco, Golden Gate International Exposition, *Masterworks of Five Centuries*, 1939, p. 50, Cat. No. 82. Dayton, Ohio, Dayton Art Institute, 1 Dec. 1939–8 Apr. 1940. New York, World's Fair, *Masterpieces of Art, Catalogue of European and American Paintings 1500–1900*, May–Oct. 1940, p. 78, Cat. No. 105. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1943–62.

References: (1) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, III, London, 1854, p. 221. (2) Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters in the Seventeenth Century*, VI, London, 1916, p. 586, Cat. No. 494. (3) Alessandro Contini Bonacossi, *Art of the Renaissance from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, Columbia Museum of Art, 1962, p. 137, Cat. No. 47. (4) Julius Held, *Catalogue, Museo de Ponce, Paintings of the European and American Schools*, Ponce, 1965, p. 108. (5) A portrait by Maes of Sarah Ingelbrecht (Jan Bialostocki, *Malarstwo europejskie zbiorach polskich 1300–1800*, Warsaw, 1955, pl. 281) dated 1679 (Hofstede de Groot, *op. cit.*, no. 456) shows a sitter with a similar coiffure without the black lace coif. However, a Maes *Family Group* (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum) includes such a covering.

K 141 : Figure 143

PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. Lawrence, Kansas, The University of Kansas Museum of Art, Kress Study Collection, since 1960. Oil on canvas. $23\frac{3}{4} \times 18\frac{3}{8}$ in. (60.4 × 46.7 cm.). Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1932. Restored by Modestini in 1960. Much abraded, small losses throughout.

The Register of the Museum of Art, University of Kansas, March, 1960, p. 33.

A standing middle-aged man is shown to mid-thigh, wearing a wig, a long blue-black jacket, a white stock and a long, brown velvet drapery (a house-gown?). He rests his right hand on a parapet at the left and his left hand on his

hip. Billowing red drapery is shown behind him with sky and trees to the right. K 141 is a pendant to a *Portrait of a Lady* (K 142).

K 142 : Figure 144

PORTRAIT OF A LADY. Lawrence, Kansas, The University of Kansas Museum of Art, Kress Study Collection, since 1960. Oil on canvas. $23\frac{3}{4} \times 18\frac{3}{8}$ in. (60.4 × 46.7 cm.). Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1932; restored by Modestini in 1960. Better preserved than its pendant (K 141); the major areas of loss are in the left eye, forehead, left shoulder; other small losses.

The Register of the Museum of Art, University of Kansas, March 1960, p. 33.

The lady stands against a parapet at the right, in the fashionably *deshabillé* attire of the mid-1670s. She wears a mauve-colored loose gown over a white shift with lace at the neck, her hair in long curls. She has pearl drop earrings and a necklace of large pearls and is seen against red draperies with open sky and trees to the left.

In 1938 Friedländer wrote that K 141 and K 142 were painted by Nicolas Maes c. 1670.¹ The Kansas catalogue noted that, in these depictions of an aristocratic Dutch couple, Maes turned from the influence of Rembrandt to fashionable French portraiture.² Burroughs related K 142 to Maes's portrait of the wife of Admiral Binkes (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).³

K 142 is close to a portrait by Maes signed and dated 1676 (Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte).⁴ Maes's combination of an elegant, classicizing portrait formula with vestiges of Dutch realism from the first half of the century presents, in K 141, a harbinger of British portraiture of the second half of the eighteenth century. Late works by Maes, the Kress canvases show his awkward emulation of foreign elements which initiated the provincial phase of Dutch art.

Provenance: M. A. Preyer (sold Amsterdam, Muller and Co., 8 Nov. 1927, p. 4, Cat. No. 11). New York, American Art Association (sold, from the Collection of a Swiss Nobleman, as *Portrait of a Nobleman* and *Portrait of a Noblewoman*, Cat. Nos. 44, 45, ex coll. Hohenzollern), 22 Jan. 1931. Kress acquisition, exhibited – Indianapolis, Ind., John Herron Art Institute, *Dutch Paintings, Etchings, Drawings, Delftware of the Seventeenth Century*, 27 Feb.–11 Apr. 1937, Cat. No. 41.

References: (1) Kress Archive, Nov. 1938. (2) *The Register of the Museum of Art, University of Kansas*, Mar. 1960, p. 33. (3) Notation of mid-1930s, Kress Archive. (4) Julius Held, *Catalogue, Paintings of the European and American Schools, Museo de Arte de Ponce*, I, 1965, p. 107, fig. 74.

SPANISH SCHOOL

XV-XVIII CENTURY

ARAGONESE MASTER c. 1400 [Nicolás Solana]

K1582 : Figure 148

ST. PETER. Birmingham, Alabama, Birmingham Museum of Art (61.115) since 1959. Tempera on pine; on extensively tooled gold background with an arcade built up in gesso at the top. The key, originally executed in silver leaf, has darkened due to oxidation. Center section: $74\frac{1}{8} \times 34\frac{3}{8}$ in. (188.3 × 87.3 cm.). Left section: $74 \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ in. (188.0 × 11.8 cm.). Right section: $74\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ in. (189.2 × 11.8 cm.). Scroll held by figure at lower left inscribed: *aba kuc profeta* ['Habakkuk prophet']. Extensive losses throughout. Blisters secured, center panel and those at sides cradled in 1948; many vertical splits or joins; restored and in-painted by Modestini in 1958/9.

Birmingham, 1959, p. 30.

The over life-size figure of St. Peter is seen frontally, his head turned to the right, holding a key over his right shoulder and a book raised in his left hand. He is placed against a gold background elaborately tooled with a motif of leaves and flowers. The floor is depicted as inlaid in a Mozarabic pattern. Four male and four female standing saints and prophets appear to the left and right. At the left from top to bottom are: (1) A female saint in red robe and dark blue mantle; the gold leaf, probably restored, covers her right hand and whatever it may have held. (2) St. Anthony of Padua, wearing the old gray Franciscan habit and holding a book and flower, presumably his lily of purity. (3) St. Mary Magdalen in her characteristic red robe, holding a vessel. (4) The prophet Habakkuk in violet-red, holding a scroll and some sort of vessel, perhaps alluding to his miraculous feeding of Daniel (apocryphal Daniel 14:33-9). At the right from top to bottom are: (1) A male martyr in red-violet robe and green mantle, holding a palm and a book. (2) A female saint in scarlet robe and green mantle, holding a shallow bowl (Lucy?). (3) St. Paul, characteristically bearded and balding, in green robe and red mantle, holding a book. (4) A deacon in a blue-gray dalmatic over a white alb; gold leaf, probably restored, covers the right hand (Vincent of Saragossa, Spain's principal martyr? Stephen? Lawrence?) K1582 was probably the central member of a large altarpiece—possibly flanked with additional scenes from the life of St. Peter.²

The Kress panel was attributed to Nicolás Solana or Benito Arnaldín, Aragonese painters active in the early fifteenth

century, by Post.³ Gaya Nuño found the Solana attribution dubious.⁴ Six scenes from the life of St. Peter in a private Valencian collection tentatively attributed to the Solana workshop by Leandro de Saralegui have been proposed by the latter as having possibly formed the predella of K1582. He accepted the Solana attribution for the Kress panel.⁵ Both José Gudiol and Robert Quinn have doubted Post's views, the former dating K1582 earlier than Solana's oeuvre, prior to 1402.⁶

The unusually archaizing style in which St. Peter is shown is in dramatic contrast with that of the fashionable, sophisticated tooled gold background, much used c. 1400. The almost Romanesque delineation of the saint's features, together with the curious rendering of the feet, suggest that K1582 may have been modeled upon a panel of the fourteenth century or one even earlier in date. Perhaps the artist drew upon a popular cult image.⁷ The style of this panel is not in accord with Solana's.

Provenance: Said to have been in the Madrazo Collection, Madrid.⁸ Baron Raoul de Kuffner, Diószegh, Hungary. New York, Paul Drey Gallery. Kress acquisition 1948.

References: (1) A similar series of vertical side panels (Post, XII, 2, fig. 254) flank a seated *St. Peter with Papal Tiara* by the Langa Master (Berlin, Buchen Collection). The figures at the sides of Arnaldín's signed *Santa Quiteria* (Barcelona, Collection Mateu) are close in style to those similarly placed in K1582. Reproduced by José Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae, IX)* Madrid, 1955, fig. 132. See also Pedro Serra's *Pentecost Retable* of 1394 (Colegiata di Manresa), p. 76, fig. 50 in Gudiol. (2) For the form in which K1582 may originally have appeared see Edward B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, Florence, 1949, pp. 154-6. The life-size standing figure seen against an elaborately tooled gold background with arcade in relief above is widespread in Spanish art of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century. See Post, v, Appendix, p. 305, fig. 94. (3) Post, VIII, 2, p. 663, fig. 307. For additional information on Solana, see Post, v, p. 310; VII, 2, p. 800; x, p. 323 (where he seemed to express some doubt concerning his Solana attribution for K1582); XII, 2, p. 604. Gudiol, *op. cit.*, p. 164, may be referring to K1582 when he included a depiction of St. Peter in addition to a retable devoted to that saint (Museo de Maroca) as influenced in style and concept by the art of Solana and Juan de Leví. (4) Gaya Nuño, p. 306, Cat. No. 2668. (5) Leandro de Saralegui, 'Miscelánea de Tablas Inéditas', *Archivo Español*

de Arte, xxviii, 1955, pp. 323–38, esp. p. 324, pls. 1 and 2. *Post*, xii, 2, p. 606, accepts the Saralegui proposal. (6) Letter of 14/vi/63. (7) The face and feet may be based upon a coarse adaptation of the art of such figures as Guido da Siena (see the altar frontal with the seated St. Peter, Siena, Pinacoteca) and Bonaventura Berlinghieri (the *St. Francis Retable* of 1235, Pescia, S. Francesco). (8) Many nineteenth-century members of this family were prominent as artists and museum officials.

MASTER ACTIVE IN ARAGON

First Half of XV Century

[French Painter c. 1420]

K1994, K1995 : Figures 150–1

THE RESURRECTION; CHRIST APPEARING TO THE MAGDALEN. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61–44–27, 61–44–28), since 1955. Mixed technique on panel (soft wood) with finely tooled gold ground; the backs coated with gesso. Some of the armor of K1994 executed in silver leaf. K1994: 40½ × 19½ in. (102.9 × 49.5 cm.). K1995: 40¾ × 19½ in. (102.5 × 49.5 cm.). *San Francisco*, 1955, p. 22 [French painter c. 1420]. K1995 reproduced in color *Seymour*, p. 19, pl. 14.

Sarcophagus lid shown with incised kufic script to suggest Hebrew lettering, as is the halo of the Magdalen. K1994/5 transferred to masonite with poplar veneer in 1952 by Suhr, who cleaned and restored both paintings. Some losses, most notably in area behind Magdalen's head and face and neck of Christ in K1995; large loss along right side of Christ's leg including ankle and part of calf in K1994. Broad borders on the original supports indicated that the panels had large engaged frames.

K1994 shows the Resurrection (Matthew 28:6).¹ Christ, facing right, wears a voluminous red robe, his left leg over the side of the vertically placed sarcophagus. Christ is about to leave the tomb, grasping a banner cross (the same as in K1995) in his left hand, raising his right in benediction. Blood streams from the lance wound in his side and from his raised, punctured hand. Three clusters of red foliate forms are laid over his elaborately tooled halo, shown again in K1995. Seated on the sarcophagus lid, an angel celebrates the Resurrection by playing a lute. Four sleeping soldiers surround the tomb.² The one at the extreme right holds a lance with a banner showing a basilisk. A cityscape appears at the upper right with a centurion (Longinus?) at the gate. A lance-bearer follows a pack animal at the right, where a stag emerges from the woods. In K1995 the standing figure of Christ, in pink drapery, holding a banner cross, is shown turning to the left, looking down toward the kneeling Mary Magdalen (Mark 16:9 and John 20:17).³ She is in left profile, in a red cloak, her arms raised toward Christ, to touch him. The Magdalen's attribute, an ointment jar, is placed between her and Christ.⁴ Both she and Christ have elaborately tooled gold haloes; that of Christ has the same three foliate elements as in K1994. The garden of Gethsemane has a trellis of pink and white roses in the

background, and a wooden gateway at the upper right. The rose is commonly associated with divinity and heaven; strawberries are often included with the Virgin and Child. Many of the other flowers, including violets, carnations, and daisies, are linked with healing and hence with Christ as Savior.⁵ Few of the plants in the Kress panels are executed with precision. The tri-partite halo of Christ probably refers to the Trinity.

Suida (*San Francisco*, p. 22) described K1994/5 as by a French painter of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, relating their style to *Les Très Belles Heures du Duc de Berry* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, c. 1402) and to *Les Grandes Heures de Rohan* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, c. 1420–5). He noted the Sienese origin of the panels' punched patterns, pointing out that this form of decoration was widespread in the south of France.⁶ Suida related the rose hedge of K1995 to one in the *Madonna with the Strawberries* (Switzerland, Solothurn, Museum) and the profile of the Magdalen to that of the angel in a small *Annunciation* (Switzerland, Winterthur, Oscar Reinhart Collection). Raising the question whether the Kress panels were painted by a French or Swiss artist, Suida wrote 'This Franco-Swiss relationship was part of the formation at the beginning of the fifteenth century of the so-called International Style – better called supernational – in the region of the upper Rhine and Burgundy. Our two panels are important examples of the supernational style, but seem predominantly French in character' (*San Francisco*, p. 22). According to Larsen, the panels are early fifteenth century in date, belonging to the International Style and probably painted in Burgundy.⁷ *Seymour* (p. 18) noted that K1994/5 are closely related to the School of Avignon and 'could have been produced in Switzerland or even Bohemia as patently to our eyes as in France. Influence from Italy is nevertheless present. The Magdalen, for example, is quite clearly taken from Duccio's kneeling figure from the *Noli me tangere* of the *Maestà*.' It has been proposed by Musper that the compositions of the Kress panels originated in Burgundy. He dated them c. 1420.⁸ The possibility of a Bohemian origin has also been raised by Pierre Rosenberg.⁹

The artist of K1994/5 brings together many aspects of the art of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century in Europe. As noted by Suida and others, the panels have distinctly Italianate qualities. The treatment of the tree in K1995 suggests the art of Bohemia; other floral details point to that of the Netherlands, France and Germany. Despite the references to the elegance and delicacy of the International Style, K1994/5 have an expressionistic emphasis which, although seen in other parts of Europe, notably in the Rohan Master's oeuvre, is most common to German and Spanish art. Spain, especially its Mediterranean coast, was unusually open to the art of all Europe, and seems the logical area for the execution of these panels. Many painters active there in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries originated in Northern Europe and refined their art in France before working in Spain. The 'stylistic' biography of artists such as the Master of St. George and Andrés Marzal de Sas, active in Catalonia, seems close to that of

the Kress master. The Kingdom of Aragon, which in the early fifteenth century included Valencia, Perpignan, and Catalonia, is a likely location for the execution of the Kress panels. Although the individual components of K1994/5 are near 1400 in date, their somewhat naive assemblage argues for a considerably later date.¹⁰ In such an artist as the Master of Schöppingen, these same ingredients are employed well into the second half of the fifteenth century.¹¹ The author of the Kress panels may well have been a contemporary of Nicolás Francés, the first master of the International Style in León. Although his oeuvre is based upon that of Paris, of c. 1400, he continued working in this manner until his death in 1468.¹²

The simplified, plastically undifferentiated, linear style in both panels suggests a predominantly Spanish mode, seen in the works of many Aragonese masters who based their style primarily upon a modification of French sources. The exquisite gold tooling and punching of K1994/5 is often seen in Spanish art, brought there by craftsmen trained in the Siennese tradition. The use of kufic script is common in Spain. Botanical inexactitudes in plant depiction also point away from Northern Europe. An additional argument for the Iberian origin of the Kress panels may be found in the unique device of a music-making angel on the tomb lid. Such iconographical innovation is a characteristic of art in Spain, which, in its relative isolation, is freed from conformity with strictly observed traditions.¹³ The prominence of the Magdalen suggests that she may have played an important role in a lost central panel or sculptural section – perhaps the Crucifixion. As the outer sides of K1994/5 were never painted, the panels must have been stationary.

Provenance: Private collection, Valencia. Frederick Mont, New York. Kress acquisition 1954. Exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961–4 Feb. 1962, nos. 28 and 29.

References: (1) For the iconography of the Resurrection, see Réau, II, 2, p. 546; K1994 belongs to his Category III. He noted that this form originated in France but in later times is seen primarily in Germany. However, there are early Spanish examples such as the retable by Pero López de Ayala, Chicago Art Institute, of 1396 (*Post*, II, fig. 126) and a panel by Luis Borrassá (Valencia, Coll. Montortal). These were observed in conjunction with K1994/5 by Mrs. Arnold Strauss. (2) According to Dr. Helmut Nickel, the soldier behind the tomb holds an imaginary elaboration of a pole-axe; the one at the left end of the tomb wears a kettle hat and holds a shield whose form originated in Spain c. 1250, but which is found throughout Northern Europe thereafter. His *badelaire* resembles both a sword and a *guisarme*. The sleeping soldier in the foreground wears a helmet with a hinged nose-guard typical of the early fifteenth century; he has a composite bow. The soldier at the far right edge is in a pointed *basinet* typical of c. 1400. (3) For the iconography of the *Noli me tangere*, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 556–8. See also Panofsky, I, pp. 22–6. (4) According to Parker Lesley, this may be of gilded leather. Such

vessels were made in Spain of 'cuir bouilli' c. 1400–25. (5) For the properties of these plants, see Lottlisa Behling, *Die Pflanze in der mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei*, Weimar, 1957. (6) See Mojmír Frinta, 'An Investigation of Medieval Italian and Non-Italian Panel Paintings', *Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, pp. 261 ff.; p. 264, n. 20, points out it was also very current in Spain. (7) Erik Larsen, 'The Samuel H. Kress Collection of the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum', *Apollo*, LXI, 1955, p. 174. (8) H. T. Musper, *Gotische Malerei nördlich der Alpen*, Cologne, 1961, p. 267. (9) Noted by Edwin F. Carter, Curator of Paintings at the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum. (10) This is especially evident in the placement of the Magdalen in such close proximity to the tree. It may be that the artist was referring to her embracing the cross, but it is more likely that he simply re-applied this formula to a new context. (11) See Theodore Rensing, *Der Meister von Schöppingen*, Munich, 1959, p. 72. (12) See José Gudiol, *La Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae, IX)*, Madrid, 1955, pp. 229–30. Two associates of Francés, Juan de Burgos and an unknown follower who executed the *Massacre of the Innocents* (Triptych of St. Clare, Tordesillas; Gudiol, *op. cit.*, p. 232, fig. 203), are close to the Kress panels. (13) Any form of musical accompaniment celebrating the Resurrection is highly unusual; it is found in the panel of this subject by a follower of the Master of Saint George at Santa Maria del Mar (*Post*, VI, 2, fig. 237).

LUIS BORRASSÁ

The outstanding artist of the International Style in Spain, active in Catalonia between 1380 and 1424, Borrassá had many followers, one of whom may have executed K195.¹

Circle of LUIS BORRASSÁ

K195 : Figure 146

ALTAR OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. San Diego, California? Fine Arts Gallery (32:57), since 1932. Oil on panel, with textile pattern incised on gold background. 86×88 in. (218.4×223.5 cm.). Inscribed on halo of St. John the Baptist: SANT: JAU: BATISTA. An oval sticker on the back printed: Hedel et Cie.

All five panels were cradled and extensively restored in 1932 by Pichetto²; the upper side panels are cut down at the top, changing their original rectangular format to a curved one. The rectangular section at the top of the central panel appears to be a later addition. Most of the molding comprising the present frame of K195 is of recent origin.

John the Baptist is shown standing against a gold background, his halo and morse raised in relief. Seen frontally, he turns left, pointing with his right hand to the tiny lamb with a nimbus and banner cross held in his left. The Baptist wears a rich sacramental cope over his goat- or camelskin robe. His bare feet are placed on verdant ground. At the upper left, the birth of the Baptist is shown (Luke 1:57). His mother has an octagonal halo. Immediately

below, he is depicted preaching, with hands in a rhetorical gesture. The figures at the lower left may be Pharisees and the lawyers who refused to comply with Baptism (John 1:24-8).³ One holds a book; they seem to be in dispute. At the upper right, the Baptist rebukes Herod (Mark 6:18; Luke 3:19). At the lower right, the head of the Baptist is presented to Herod (Mark 6:28). The central section refers to John 1:29, 'The next day he saw Jesus coming towards him, and said "Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world"'. John is shown as a priest, to stress his role as Baptist, initiator of the Sacrament.⁴

K195 was attributed by Mayer to a master of the Catalan School, probably a pupil of Luis Borrassá, active c. 1419.⁵ Post placed K195 close to the Master of the Retables of SS. Felix and Andrew at Torralba de Ribalta (Zaragoza).⁶ He suggested that the altarpiece was ordered for a church in the western region of Aragón, noting the stylistic links between K195 and paintings at Amento (near Torralba). He argued for an Aragonese rather than a Catalan origin for K195, due to the emphasis upon the central figure, the style of the brocade mantle, and the tooling of the background. Gudiol believed K195 to be by the Master of Lanaja.⁷

The present sequence of the panels may be the original one, but the possibility of a different order cannot be discounted. The altarpiece must originally have included a *Baptism*, probably located above or below the central image. K195, in its original state, may have resembled a retable of 1415-20 (Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs) by Borrassá in which a *Crucifixion* is placed immediately above the central panel.⁸ There may also have been additional scenes to the left and right. The central panel is executed in a formal, hieratic manner, in contrast to those at the sides. These, dealing with narrative subjects, are heavily influenced by Franco-Burgundian depictions of the same subjects from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The Catalan master of K195 may well have seen such works in Spain or France, as the period in which he worked was marked by an unusually free interchange of artistic currents known as the International Style.

Provenance: Kress acquisition 1932 from an unknown source, possibly Walter P. Fearon Galleries, New York.

References: (1) See José Gudiol, *Borrassá*, Barcelona, 1953. (2) A photograph at the Kress Archive shows the back of K195 before Pichetto's cradling, when it had traces of gesso and a very old cradling done in a zig-zag form with additional cradles screwed on at a recent date. (3) The scene may refer to Luke 3:12-13, where the saint tells the tax collectors to collect no more than their due. (4) Réau, II, 1, pp. 438-9. Although such a depiction of the Baptist goes back to early Christian times (Ravenna, Throne of Maximian), it was especially popular throughout Europe in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. See the panel of the standing saint at Ródenas, attributed by Post to the circle of Pedro Nicolau and Andrés Marzal de Sas (*Post*, v, 1934, p. 288, fig. 84). (5) Certificate by August

Liebmann Mayer of 14/VII/26, Munich, copy in Kress Archive. (6) Letter of 21 May 1932, to Mr. Poland. *Post*, IV, 2, p. 633. *Gaya Nuño* (p. 90, Cat. No. 41) followed Post's views. (7) For this master, see *Post*, VIII, 2, pp. 663-72. See also Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae, IX)*, Madrid, 1955, p. 87. (8) Gudiol, *Borrassá, op. cit.*, figs. 147-54.

JAIME CIRERA

Active in Catalonia, the artist belonged to the circle of Luis Borrassá. His works are documented from 1425 to 1452. First mentioned as a painter in Solsona, Cirera was described in 1431 as being from Barcelona.¹

K1583 : Figure 147

CRUCIFIXION. Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum (E-947), since 1954. Tempera and gold leaf on linden; in original engaged frame with pinnacles. 35¼ × 31 in. (89.6 × 78.7 cm.). Inscribed: INRI above cross, and SPQR on banner behind centurion. Punched and incised haloes and background. Some damage along bottom edge; restoration in areas of splits or joins. Cradled in 1949; restored by Modestini in 1951 and 1954. *Denver*, 1954, p. 54, Cat. No. 23.

The Crucifixion is shown taking place against a gold background with a rocky terrain to the left and right; groups of Roman soldiers are at either side. Longinus is at the left with the lance, his hands folded in prayer, looking up at the dead Christ. The centurion is at the right, raising his arm toward Christ. The mourning St. John the Evangelist stands in profile in the right foreground. Three holy women support the mourning Virgin at the left.

According to Post, the Kress panel is extremely close to another *Crucifixion* by Cirera in the *Retable of St. Michael and St. John the Baptist* at San Lorenzo de Morúnys. He described K1583 as 'surely by the master himself and by the master at the best of which he was capable'.² According to Gudiol, the Kress panel was painted by Cirera c. 1435; he compared it to the Cirera *Crucifixion* at the Museum of Vich.³ The Cirera attribution is accepted by Gaya Nuño.⁴

Several other almost identical Crucifixions ascribed to Cirera or his shop survive. K1583 is in the late International Style, based for the most part on Tuscan sources. Such Florentine painters as the Master of the Bambino Vispo and Dello Delli may have contributed to Cirera's approach. The ogee-arched panel was originally a pinnacle above the major central subject of an altarpiece.

Provenance: K1583 is said to be from the 'Madrado Collection, Madrid'. Many members of this family were extremely prominent in the arts, as painters and collectors. Baron Raoul de Kuffner, Diószogh, Hungary, by the 1930s. New York, Paul Drey Gallery. Kress acquisition 1948.

References: (1) *Post*, II, pp. 348-55; IV, 2, pp. 538-40; V, p. 276; VI, 2, pp. 534-8; VIII, 2, pp. 604-8; X, pp. 304-6. (2) *Post*, IX, 2, p. 753. (3) Letter of 7/XI/40. (4) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 135, Cat. No. 605.

RETASCÓN MASTER

Active in Aragón in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, this artist is named after a retable dedicated to the Virgin in a side chapel of the church of Retascón near Daroca, Zaragoza. He may have been a student of Andrés Marzal de Sas. The latter is distinguished by his extremely individualistic, mannered approach to the most courtly of Northern European art of the early fifteenth century. The large oeuvre of the Retascón Master is characterized by figures with extremely attenuated proportions, tiny necks and large heads.¹

K1712 : Figure 149

ANNUNCIATION. Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum (E-948), since 1954. Mixed technique on pine. 47×25½ in. (119.4×65.8 cm.). Inscribed on speech scroll held by Annunciatory Angel Gabriel: [A]VE MARIA GRACIA PLENA BENEDICTA TU I[N] (Luke 1:28). Losses of paint surface at upper left, and in the Virgin's blue garment due in part to an inadequate preparatory layer. Cradled and restored by Modestini 1951-4. Denver, 1954, p. 56, Cat. No. 24.

The Annunciation (Luke 1:28) is depicted within a complex, stage-like setting reminiscent of the study in which St. Jerome is often shown in the early fifteenth century.² A tiny oil-lamp is suspended overhead. Mary kneels, her hands folded in prayer, facing to the left, where the archangel Gabriel kneels holding the annunciatory speech scroll. Her pose anticipates that of the Madonna of Humility. The lilies in the pot at the center, as well as the laver hanging at the extreme right are emblems of Marian purity.³ God the Father is surrounded by cherubim and seraphim at the upper left. He holds an orb and raises his hand in benediction as, at the moment of the Incarnation, the tiny figure of the Holy Ghost flies from him toward Mary.⁴

K1712, according to *Post*, belongs with six other panels; all seven come from a dismantled retable:⁵ *The Birth of the Virgin* (Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Gallery), *The Expulsion of Joachim* (probably a pinnacle, New York, Bickerton Collection), *The Annunciation to Joachim* (probably a pinnacle, Valencia, Marquesa Benicarló Collection), *The Meeting at the Golden Gate* (Barcelona, Muntadas Collection), *The Presentation of the Virgin* (Pittsburgh, Dr. Walter R. Hovey), *The Betrayal* (Barcelona, Muntadas Collection - here the figure scale differs from the panels above). The lyricism and carefully observed details of the *Annunciation* were noted by Gudiol as characteristic of the Retascón

Master.⁶ The Kress panel and the others in the series are far more intricate and elaborately conceived than are their corresponding subjects in the Retascón Retable. The altar to which K1712 belonged is closer in style to the spatial treatment found in the most advanced manuscript illuminations of France and the Netherlands in the early fifteenth century than is the Retascón Retable, which represents a later phase of the master's art.

Provenance: Said to be from a private collection near Bordeaux, France. Jacques Seligmann, New York. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) *Post*, IX, pp. 768 ff. (2) For the complex references contained within K1712 see David M. Robb, 'The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 480-526; Réau, II, 2, pp. 174-94. (3) Réau, II, 2, pp. 183-4. (4) See William S. Heckscher, 'The Annunciation of the Mérode Altarpiece - An Iconographic Study', *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, Ghent, 1968, pp. 37-65. (5) *Post*, IX, 2, pp. 768-72. (6) José Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae, IX)*, Madrid, 1955, p. 164 (listed as Private Collection, U.S.), fig. 138, p. 173.

FERNANDO GALLEGO

A major master of the school of Salamanca, Fernando Gallego's documented activity begins in 1468, when he was painting at the Cathedral of Plasencia.¹ A triptych of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. Andrew and Christopher* (Salamanca, Museo Diocesano) is thought to be an early work. Like most of Gallego's oeuvre, it is deeply influenced by Netherlandish and German masters, especially those active in the 1450s and 60s. In 1473 he contracted to execute six retables for the Cathedral of Coria, all of which are lost. Between 1478-90 he and his studio executed the panels for the altar of San Lorenzo at Toro (central panel, Madrid, Prado), and he directed the execution of the huge retable for the Capilla Major of the Cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo, of which almost all surviving panels are now in the Kress Collection. Approximately contemporary with the Kress panels is the retable painted for the church of Santa Maria at Trujillo. Gallego's utilization of Northern sources was recognized by the artist's early biographer, Palomino, who described him as belonging to the 'School of Albrecht Dürer'. Since then the influence of Robert Campin, Conrad Witz, Roger van der Weyden, Bouts, Colin de Coter, Schongauer and others has been noted.² Although a Northern European journey has been postulated for Gallego, he could have acquired great familiarity with Northern art in Spain where many painters from the Netherlands, Germany, and France were active, and where their work was also imported in quantity. The artist may have first been associated with the studio of Jorge Inglés, whose assimilation of Northern sources is close to Gallego's. Northern European prints provided Gallego with models for his compositions, which are often clearly derived from the works of Schongauer and his con-

temporaries. Judging by the many commissions for vast retables received by Gallego, the artist must have had a considerable atelier to execute these multi-paneled altar pieces. Probably between 1496 and 1506 Gallego worked on a retable with scenes from the Life of Christ for the Cathedral at Zamora. Now in the church at Arcenillas, many of the Zamoran panels closely resemble those of the Ciudad Rodrigo Altar. Gallego is last recorded in 1507 when he was painting the fresco of the Library of the University of Salamanca together with Pedro de Tolosa.

FERNANDO GALLEGO and Assistants

K2005-K2030 : Figures 152-77

Panels from the CIUDAD RODRIGO RETABLE

(Individual panels are catalogued below.)

The first description of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable was given by Cabañas, who also transcribed the inscription, now lost, which appeared at the base of the altar. Dated 1480-88, the inscription gave the names of the Chapter members who commissioned the retable.³ Ponz related that the High Altar or 'Retablo Major' of the Cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo had an inscription dating its inception 1480 and its completion in 1488.⁴ According to Quadrado, the painted retable was replaced by a silver tabernacle which disappeared during the Napoleonic Wars. He described the Ciudad Rodrigo paintings as 'beautiful panels which are now dispersed throughout the cloister', called attention to their miserable state of preservation and listed their subjects as scenes from the Life of Christ.⁵ Among the first scholars to associate the Ciudad Rodrigo retable with Fernando Gallego was Robinson, who attributed the *Resurrection* (K2026) to him and noted the influence of the Master of Flémalle (Robert Campin).⁶ This proposal was accepted by Herbert Cook, the owner of the Retable, who suggested that two other artists were also employed upon its manufacture and dated the work c. 1480, stating that only the *Resurrection* (K2026) was by Gallego himself.⁷ The number of artists participating in the painting of the retable was increased to four in the *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond*, where the painter 'who executed the greatest number . . . is believed to have been Fernando Gallego'. It is suggested that the completed altarpiece was fifty to sixty feet high and about twenty-five feet wide.⁸ Bertaux identified three artists employed on the retable: Gallego; a painter he called the 'Maître aux Armures'; and a third un-named master. To the first he gave twelve panels, including the *Last Judgement* (K2027), and to the second, the *Resurrection* (K2026). Bertaux saw Gallego as working in a manner parallel to that of Colin de Coter.⁹ Mayer stated that perhaps a member of the Gallego family participated in the painting of the Ciudad Rodrigo Altar. He noted that the various masters employed on the retable all belonged to the circle of Gallego. He assigned twelve panels to Fernando Gallego. Mayer accepted Bertaux's 'Maître aux

Armures', relating his oeuvre to that of Conrad Witz.¹⁰ Beruete y Moret ascribed the retable to several artists, among them Gallego and the 'Maître aux Armures', dating the altarpiece around 1480.¹¹ In 1914 Bertaux listed the predella panels of the retable as authentic works by Fernando Gallego.¹² When the paintings were shown at Burlington House, Holmes noted that several masters other than Gallego were involved.¹³ According to Mayer, Gallego's many students sought to out-do their master in realism. In this connection he cited the artists of the Ciudad Rodrigo Altar, the painter of the St. Barbara Altar (Salamanca Cathedral) and others.¹⁴ Sánchez Cantón suggested that the original size of the altar was sixty feet high by twenty-five feet wide. He lists twenty-nine panels as having survived, of which twenty-five [sic] were in the Cook Collection.¹⁵ Von Loga cautioned against attempting to separate the different hands employed upon the painting of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable, described by him as bearing the style of Gallego himself, but with considerable unevenness in execution, often within the same panel. He is the first to state that the original altarpiece must have had many more than the surviving panels.¹⁶ Gómez-Moreno and Sánchez Cantón noted that, while the retable showed the style of Gallego, it was largely a workshop product. They pointed out the decidedly Germanic as well as Flemish influences on Gallego.¹⁷ According to Post, 'It is not impossible that Fernando [Gallego] was responsible for some little work upon the monument, but the style of one pupil so largely predominates that the retable should be catalogued as an expression of this pupil's personality. . . . The "Maître aux Armures" is . . . to all intents and purposes, the author of the whole altarpiece. The retable is stamped with the various trademarks of the general style that was promulgated by the Gallego atelier'.¹⁸ Gudiol regarded the retable as a product of the Gallego workshop.¹⁹ When Mayer restudied the altar in 1942, he abandoned any attempt to identify narrowly the different hands, only isolating the Witz-like 'Maître aux Armures' as the principal hand and detecting the influence of Schongauer on *The Way to Calvary* (K2023).²⁰ Gudiol described the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable as the first of Gallego's major altarpieces. He stressed its mannered qualities, attributing this to either Gallego's development or, more probably, to the influence of his three collaborators (Francisco Gallego, Maestro Bartolomé, Pedro Bello). The artist strove to unite expressive, dramatic qualities with a search for naturalism; also present is an intense, decorative stylization and powerful narrative.²¹ The retable is attributed by Gaya Nuño to the workshop of Gallego with the very considerable participation of Fernando. This author suggested that one of the masters may have been Pedro Bello. In the same year Gaya Nuño published a reconstruction of the original appearance of the altar (see Text Fig. 32).²² He also wrote a monograph on Fernando Gallego in which he pointed out that the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable, due to its immense size, called for extensive studio collaboration, even more than that employed upon the Trujillo Altar. Gaya Nuño characterized the retable as one of the most important examples of Spanish fifteenth-century painting, eminently worthy of inclusion in the

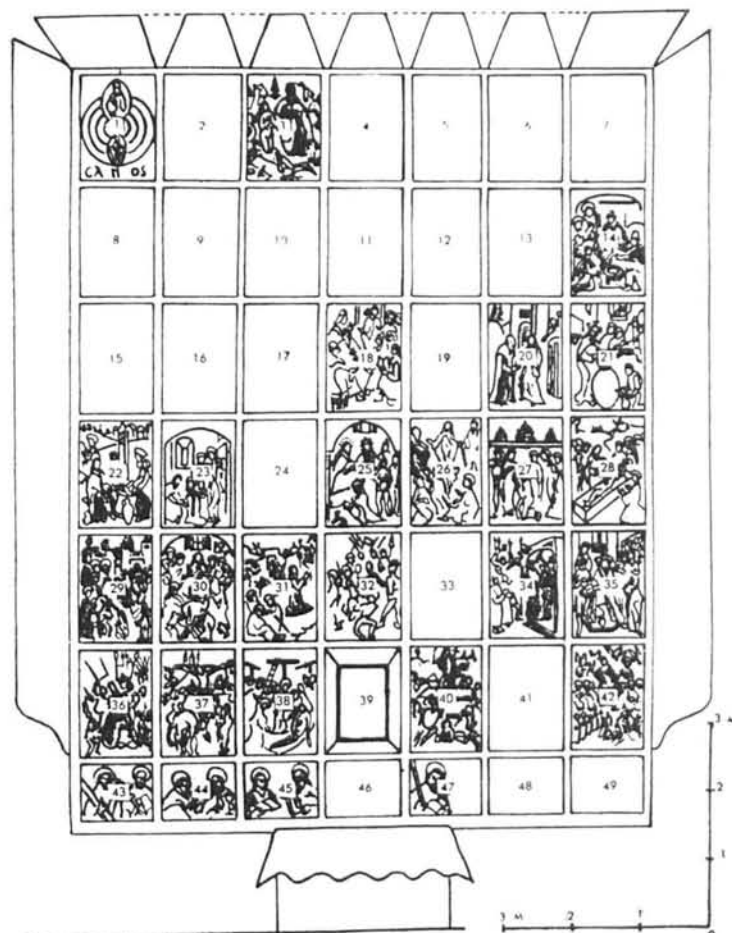
Prado. He assigned eleven panels (including those from the predella) to Fernando Gallego himself, with the remainder designed by him. Thirteen were painted by an assistant with a clearly defined individual character, the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros' (Bertaux's 'Maître aux Armures'), and the other two by a mediocre studio assistant.²³ Gaya Nuño placed the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable just after the Trujillo Altar, which he dated c. 1480, viewing the latter as the source for the Kress panels.²⁴ In his monograph on the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable, Quinn discerned the work of five masters, two major, two minor, and one working on but a single panel. These are: Fernando Gallego, who directed the project and was its greatest single contributor; the 'Maître aux Armures' (also known as the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'); the 'Lip Painter'; Francisco Gallego and Pedro Bello.²⁵ Quinn concluded that the retable 'is the climactic work of the Gallego atelier, and, since that atelier is conceded to be the most important in the Hispano-Flemish era, my contention is, in effect, that our retable is one of the great monuments of Spanish art'.²⁶ In 1966 Post reappraised his initial low assessment of the role of Fernando Gallego in the production of the Kress Retable, partially accepting Gaya Nuño's opinion that Fernando was the key master in its design and execution.²⁷

Most projects of the magnitude of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable involve very considerable participation by studio assistants; the Kress series is no exception to this rule. As many of the paintings seem to combine different hands, any attempt to single out, panel by panel, the work of different masters, seems ill-advised. The great retable completed by Dello Delli for the Cathedral of Salamanca c. 1445, to which panels were added by Francisco Gallego, afforded an important source for the Ciudad Rodrigo cycle. In addition to his familiarity with the Dello Delli compositions and with Northern art, Gallego may well have been *au courant* with the Tuscan painting of Castagno and his followers, in which a brilliant revival of the most Baroque aspects of late Gothic art – most notably the sculpture of Sluter – brought about a richly-draped figure style close to the monumental forms which Gallego utilized for the protagonists in his cycle. The number of Old Testament scenes in Gaya Nuño's retable reconstruction (Text Fig. 32) may prove to be too abridged. The omission of such subjects as the Creation of the Earth seems unlikely. His sequence from the Life of Christ is also open to question, most notably in the placement of *Christ's Charge to Peter* (K2011), which would seem to be more appropriately placed at either the beginning of Christ's public life (after the *Temptations of Christ* – K2009) or following the *Resurrection* (K2026). The location of the *Feast in the House of Simon* (K2015) should perhaps be just before *The Institution of the Eucharist* (K2018).²⁸ Direct correspondence with biblical sequence would place the *Ecce Homo* (K2022) before rather than after *Pilate Washing His Hands* (K2021) (e.g. Matthew 27:17–24). The reconstruction may prove too horizontal in format, as the original engaged frames would have given the ensemble considerable verticality. The deterioration and subsequent early sixteenth-century

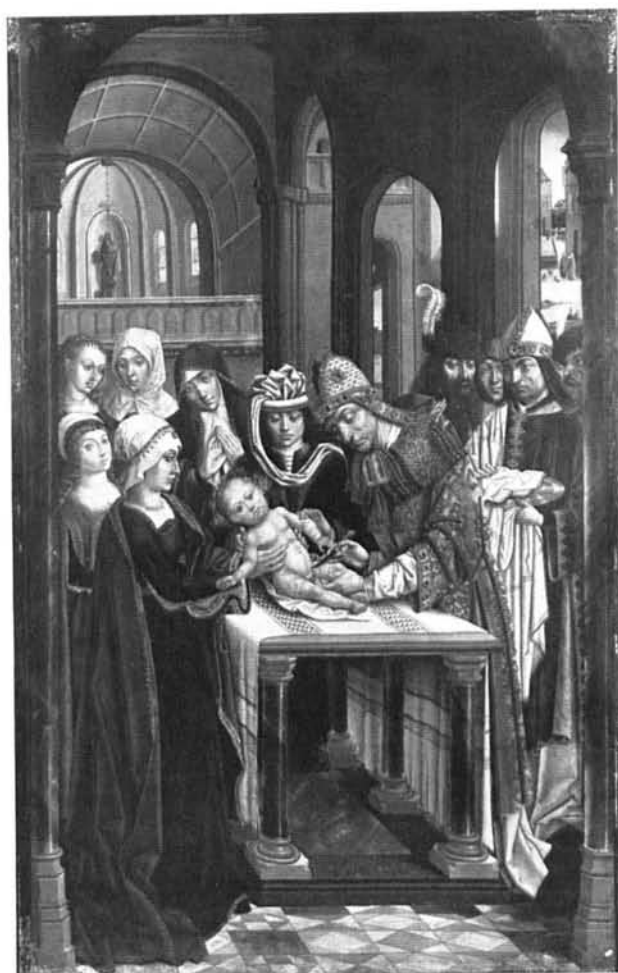
rebuilding of the *Capilla Mayor* of the Ciudad Rodrigo Cathedral where the retable had been located since 1488 may have first contributed to the panels' vicissitudes.²⁹ Juan Venta Volet of Logroño proposed a restoration of the retable on 12 November 1781, but the Chapter rejected the offer, probably considering replacing the paintings with a silver altar.³⁰ In the Peninsular War, the Cathedral, located near the ramparts of Ciudad Rodrigo, close to the Portuguese frontier, suffered extensively from heavy bombardment in April of 1810 and again in January of 1811. The retable on the high altar was damaged and dismantled shortly thereafter. At about this time, the heavily gilded frame may have been burned in order to recover its gold.³¹ The original number of panels is unknown, but several were destroyed in the bombardment, reducing their number to 29, of which 26 survive today (K2005–30). On 1 September 1819, the Chapter resolved to 'clean the excellent paintings which had previously been in the *Altar Mayor* and today may be found in the cloister', where they were poorly installed.³² Gaya Nuño proposed that the left half of a depiction of St. Paul (Madrid, art market) belonged to the predella, to the right of the lost central section.³³ However, the textile pattern of this panel's background is different from the Kress predella panels, which suggests that it belonged to a different retable. On 26 June 1823, the director of the Academy of Valladolid proposed the purchase of some of the panels to protect them from further deterioration. The Chapter declined. On 6 September 1865, the Monuments Commission of Salamanca offered to buy and restore the panels, leaving their title with the cathedral; the Chapter refused, only agreeing to preserve the pictures in the ante-chamber of the Chapter House.³⁴ In 1865 Quadrado described the retable panels as dispersed, hanging on the walls of the cloister; he commented on their sad state.³⁵ On 1 January 1877, an offer to purchase the series for 340 reales per panel was made. The Chapter demanded 800 and finally sold the retable for 30,000 reales. It was taken to Madrid in 1879 and then sent to England where Sir Francis Cook purchased the series in 1882. At about this time the panels were re-framed.³⁶

The panels are on pine, covered by a linen canvas that was gessoed and then was painted in a mixed technique. Although there is some variation in the condition of the panels, the bulk of the retable is poorly preserved and extensively repainted. It has received considerable damage through bombardment and exposure, exacerbated by the excessively knotty wood upon which it is painted and the crude fashion in which the components of the panels were joined. After the acquisition of the retable by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation in 1954, the individual paintings were planed down, cradled and restored by Modestini.

Provenance: Retable completed in 1488 for High Altar, Capilla Mayor, Cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo, Spain. Dismantled and moved to the cloister or Chapter House of the Cathedral by the end of the seventeenth century, in Chapter House by 1811. Sold by the Chapter to a Madrid dealer in 1879. Purchased in 1882 by Sir Francis Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey. Sir Frederick Cook



Text Fig 32 Key to the reconstruction of the Retable of Ciudad Rodrigo by Fernando Gallego and assistants (c 2005–2030). After Gaya Nuño.



Text Fig 33 *Circumcision* by the Master of the Retable of the Reyes Católicos. Private collection, photo courtesy of French and Co., New York (see K 1860–63; 1680–81).



Text Fig 34 *Presentation in the Temple* by the Master of the Retable of the Reyes Católicos. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum (see K 1860–63; 1680–81).

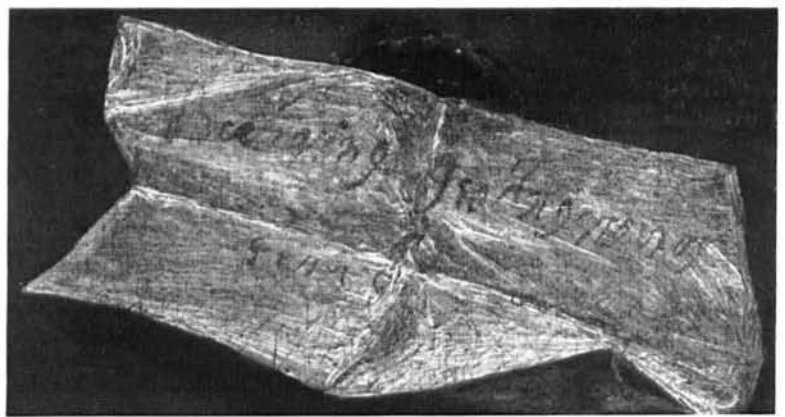
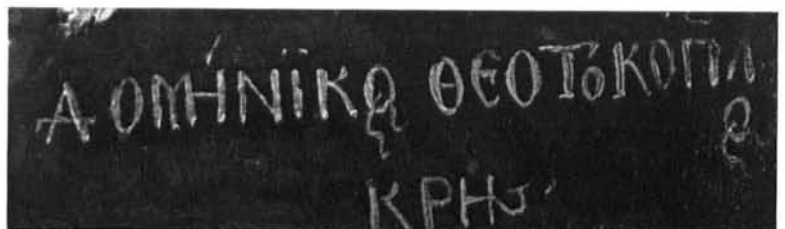


Text Figs 35–37 *The Raising of Lazarus; Agony in the Garden and Ascension* by Juan de Flandes. Madrid, Prado (see κ 1942–45).



Text Figs 38, 39 *Pentecost and Visitation* by Juan de Flandes. Madrid, Prado (see κ 1942–45).

Text Figs 40, 41 *Consecration of St. Eligius and Eligius Presenting Clotaire with the Golden Saddle* by Francisco Ribalta after Juan de Juanes, 1607. Valencia, San Martín (see κ 2152).



Text Figs 42, 43 Detail of El Greco's signature from κ 2127 and κ 1971.

until 1920. Sir Herbert Cook until 1939. Sir Francis Ferdinand Cook. M. Knoedler and Co., Inc., New York. Kress acquisition 1954. (See individual entries for exhibitions.)

References: (1) For an exhaustive resumé of the Gallego biographical literature, see Robert Quinn, *The Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, pp. 9-15. (2) Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El Parnaso Español Laureado*, III, Madrid, 1724, p. 239. The Dürer association was followed by R. P. Pelligrino, Antonio Orlandi, Antonio Ponz, Juan Augustin Ceán Bermúdez and James R. Hobbes. (3) 'Este retablo mandaron facer los Señores Deán y Cabildo de esta Iglesia año de 1480 y acabóse año de 1488, siendo obispo don Diego de Muros; Deán, don Francisco del Aguila; Chantre, don Fernando de Palenzuela; Arcedianos, don Alfonso de Soto y don Vernardino López; Maestrescuela, don Pedro González; Tesorero, don Alfonso Criado; Canónigos, Juan de Valladolid, Juan Sánchez, Miguel Flores, Juan Núñez, Fernando Alvarez, Pedro Méndez, Pedro Portillo, Gómez Núñez, Bartolomé Sánchez, García Alonso, Francisco Sánchez, Gonzalo de la Rúa, Alonso de Paradinas, Martín de Azpeitia, Juan de Silva; Racioneros, Andrés de Valladolid, Francisco de Portillo, Alonso de la Vega, Gonzalo de Soria, Pedro Patiño.' Quoted by Mateo Hernández Vegas, *Ciudad Rodrigo la Catedral y la Ciudad*, Salamanca, 1935, I, pp. 247-52, p. 249. (4) Antonio Ponz, *Viaje de España*, Madrid, 1947, Book XII, Carta X, p. 1129 (originally published 1783, p. 184). Ponz's source for the retable is a letter from the Canon of Ciudad Rodrigo, Ramón Pascual Díez, who saw the inscription before the High Altar was dismantled. (5) José María Quadrado, *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España; Salamanca, Avila, y Segovia*, Barcelona, 1865, p. 165. (6) John Charles Robinson, 'The "Maître de Flémalle" and the Painters of the School of Salamanca', *Burlington Magazine*, VII, 1905, pp. 385 ff. (7) Herbert Cook, 'Notas sobre Pinturas españolas en Galerías Particulares de Inglaterra', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XV, 1907, p. 102. (8) *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond*, London, 1907, pp. 22 ff. (9) Émile Bertaux, in André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1908, III, 2, p. 794. (10) August Liebmman Mayer, *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1913, I, p. 140. (11) Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, 'Une Exposition d'anciens Maîtres espagnols à Londres', *Revue de l'Art*, XXXV, 1914, p. 255. (12) Bertaux, 'L'Exposition Espagnole de Londres', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 4e sér., XI, 1914, pp. 250-64, esp. p. 252. (13) Sir Charles John Holmes, 'Spanish Painting at Burlington House', *Burlington Magazine*, XXXVII, 1920, p. 267. (14) Mayer, *Thieme-Becker*, XIII, p. 110. (15) F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *The Exhibition of Spanish Painting at the Royal Academy of Arts*, London, 1920-21, pp. 13-14, Cat. Nos. 16-19. (16) Valerian von Loga, *Die Malerei in Spanien . . .*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 66-7. His views are followed by Pierre Paris, *La Peinture Espagnole depuis l'Origine jusqu'au début du XIX^e siècle*, Paris, 1927, p. 17. (17) Manuel Gómez-Moreno and F. J. Sánchez Cantón, 'Sobre Fernando Gallego', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, III, 1927, pp. 349-57. (18) *Post*, IV, 1, pp. 142-4. *Post's* dubious view of Gallego's participation in the

retable seems to be contradicted by that scholar's dating of the Zamora (Arcenillas) Retable. As the Kress panels are dated 1480-88 and the Zamora placed 1496-1506 by *Post*, the obvious dependence of the latter on the Kress panels indicates the primary importance which this work had in the Gallego oeuvre. (19) José Gudiol, *Spanish Painting, Toledo Museum of Art*, Toledo, 1941, p. 38. (20) Mayer, *Historia de la Pintura Española*, Madrid, 1942, p. 156. (21) Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae; IX)*, Madrid, 1955, pp. 333-4. (22) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 151, no. 801. A *Pietà* in the Buttery Collection, London, has been attributed to Pedro Bello. For Bello see also *Post*, IV, 1, pp. 108-9. *Gaya Nuño*, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Espanol de Arte*, XXXI, 1958, pp. 299-312, p. 305, fig. 2. (23) *Gaya Nuño*, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 22. In *Gaya Nuño*, p. 151, Cat. No. 801. (24) *Gaya Nuño*, *Gallego, op. cit.*, pp. 21-4. (25) Quinn, pp. 21-6. (26) *Ibid.*, p. 37. (27) *Post*, XIV, pp. 244-5. (28) See Matthew 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-9; John 12:3-7. (29) Cabañas quoted by Hernández Vegas, *op. cit.*, p. 249. (30) Quinn, pp. 44-5. Ponz was told that the Chapter was planning a new retable and would store the panels in an appropriate place (*op. cit.*, p. 1129). (31) Quinn, pp. 45 ff.; *Gaya Nuño*, 'Sobre el Retablo . . .', p. 301; *Abridged Catalogue, op. cit.*, p. 122. (32) Hernández Vegas, *op. cit.*, p. 250. (33) *Gaya Nuño*, 'Sobre el Retablo . . .', pp. 304 ff., pl. 6. *Post* (XIV, pp. 244-5) also accepted the panel as part of the predella. (34) Hernández Vegas, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-1. (35) *Quadrado, op. cit.*, p. 165. (36) Hernández Vegas, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-2; Quinn, pp. 146-7. For the order of the panels in the Cook Collection, see *Post*, IV, 1, p. 138. K2005 was hung separately. Subsequently, the 'Reconstructed Retable', while in the Cook Collection, was dismantled so that several of the individual panels could be lent to exhibitions.

FERNANDO GALLEGO and Assistants

K2005 : Figure 152

GOD, THE ANGEL CHOIRS AND TIME [CHAOS]. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 60 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 43 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (154.3 × 109.9 cm.). Inscribed at the very center: HILLE (HYLE) - Primal matter.¹ Inscribed along the bottom: CAHOS (Chaos) - the 'formless void' of primordial matter. Extensive losses in area of right shoulder and side of God and above. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini 1958/59.² *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 125, Cat. No. 489A.³

God, a papal tiara on his head, holding an orb, his right hand raised in benediction, is seated in a mandorla at the top of the panel. He is surrounded by nine adoring angels - the seraphim, the highest angelic choir - whose number embodies that of all the others. The remaining eight choirs each occupy half of four concentric zones, surrounding the central inscribed circle.⁴ A patriarchal figure holding a clock in the right hand stands in the mandorla just below the central circle of K2005. He was identified by *Gaya Nuño* as *Chronos* (Time).⁵ Rays emanate from the uppermost,

light section of κ2005, in contrast with the dark area of chaos – the formless void – at the bottom. The panel depicts God with his creation of the four primordial things (following Saint Vincent of Beauvais): Heaven, primal matter ('Hyle'), the angels and Time.⁶ This panel and subject initiates the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable's vast Old and New Testament cycle from the Creation to the Last Judgment.⁷ κ2005 presents a unique schematization of the angel choirs.⁸ St. Thomas Aquinas subdivided the hierarchy of angels into three groups, the highest being seraphim, cherubim and thrones; the next dominations, virtues and powers and the lowest, principalities, archangels and angels. The attributes of the nine angel choirs are not uniform in Western European art and the identification of the occupants of all the zones in κ2005, save those containing seraphim and thrones, is uncertain. The program may follow a system which places the highest choir of angels – the nine multi-winged seraphim – surrounding God, the relative importance of the remaining eight indicated by their proximity to the central inscribed circle; the two cherubim (holding books) to the left in the first ring and the two thrones (holding faldstools) to the right; the three dominations (in crowns and robes) in the left half of the second ring⁹; the three virtues (with sceptres) in the right side of the second ring¹⁰; the five powers (in armor) in the left half of the third ring,¹¹ with the principalities (holding hammers?) in the largely effaced right half;¹² the seven archangels (holding folded vellum sheets?) on the left of the fourth and last ring,¹³ and finally seven angels (with pleated vellum sheets?) on the right side.¹⁴ Gallego may well have had the advice of a theologian in drawing up his highly advanced and seemingly original program, or he may have based it on an as yet undiscovered Northern prototype. Aspects of the composition suggest specifically Franco-Burgundian influence, most noticeably in the depiction of God and Time. The panel is no. 1 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo retable (Text Fig. 32), in the uppermost row at the extreme left.¹⁵ According to Gaya Nuño, the artist of κ2005 is a collaborator of Gallego's, the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros', Bertaux's 'Maître aux Armures'.¹⁶

Exhibited: London, *Exhibition of Spanish Paintings*, The Royal Academy of Arts, Nov. 1920–Jan. 1921, Cat. No. 16 (text by F. J. Sánchez Cantón); London, *Spanish and Dutch Painting from the Cook Collection*, The Guildhall Art Gallery, 31 May–26 June, 1948, Cat. No. 6.

References: (1) St. Isidore of Seville: *Opera omnia*, Rome, 1801, IV, *Etymologiarum*, Chapter 3, 'De Elementis', p. 108. The author is grateful to Dr. Enriqueta Frankfort for this reference (letter of 7/viii/68). The five zones of κ2005 are derived from early cosmological theory, possibly taken from Isidore of Seville's *Origines*, 13, 3, 1. (See Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville et la Culture Classique dans l'Espagne Wisigothique*, Paris, 1959, II, pp. 486 ff. For *hyle*, see pp. 653–4.) *Post*, IV, 1, p. 139, reads the word as NILLE, indicating 'nothingness'. Quinn followed this view (*Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 102). The placement of the inscription as well as

the composition as a whole relates to f. 2 recto, of Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*, Nuremberg, 1493, where the word at the center is the same: YLE. (Observed by Dr. Frankfort). The compositions probably stem from a common source. Father S. J. P. van Dijk, S. J., suggested that the central letters may read POLUS, which in Romance languages means both the center of heaven and the center of the earth (letter of 5/iii/69). (2) For the appearance of κ2005 when in the Cook Collection, see *Post*, IV, 1, p. 139, fig. 32. The area formerly occupied by the engaged frame was replaced by a painted gold ogee arcade. (3) Herbert Cook, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond*, London, 1915 (hereafter referred to as *Cook Catalogue*). (4) For angel choirs, see the definitive article by Karl-August Wirth, 'Engelchöre', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1959, V, cols. 555–601. See also Réau, II, 1, pp. 30–55. Quinn (*op. cit.*, p. 30, fig. 7) reproduced a diagram with his identifications of the participants, explained on pp. 101–3. On p. 102 he seemed to misnumber the zone with the angels in armor, calling it '3', which on his diagram is the representation of Time. (5) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el Retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXI, 1958, pp. 229 ff. The clock was an attribute of Chronos in the late fifteenth century according to Lieselotte Möller, 'Chronos', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, III, col. 756. According to Quinn (*op. cit.*, p. 102) the clock holder may symbolize 'the finite, that which God created, as opposed to the infinite God himself'. Herbert Friedman suggested that this figure may represent Pope Sylvester II, supposedly the inventor of the pendulum clock in Spain (quoted by Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 115, Note A). Quinn also quoted a detailed description of the clock in κ2005 made by E. A. Battison, dating it in the late thirteenth century. Windthrop Edey suggested that the clock shown may be based upon a turret clock. According to Father van Dijk, the placement of the man with the clock may represent 'the transition from the timeless universe through the earth to the lower darkness of increasing chaos' (letter of 5/iii/69). See also Harry Bober, 'In Principio. Creation Before Time', *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, I, pp. 18 ff. for Isidore of Seville's concern with this concept in *De Natura Rerum*. Isidore, who defined the word inscribed in the central circle of κ2005, may have been read by whoever drew up the panel's program. See also Jurgis Baltrušaitis, 'Roses de vents et roses de personnages', (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XIX–XX, 1938, pp. 265–76, p. 275, fig. 15) on the nine choirs of angels from the *Liber Scivias* of Wiesbaden. In this twelfth-century manuscript the seraphim and the cherubim are at the center with the thrones, dominations, powers, virtues, angels, and archangels toward the outside. (6) *Speculum Naturale* (I, xxviii). (7) A related subject, the Creation of the Angels, is seen in an early fourteenth-century psalter (Paris, B.N. ms. 8846, f. 167, rep. by Wirth, *op. cit.*, cols. 563–4, fig. 4), where it is juxtaposed with the Creation of the Earth. The latter was probably the subject of a lost panel which followed κ2005. (8) The Cologne Bible printed by Quentel between 1478–80, in which the Creation has some common

elements with that of K2005, may have been consulted for its composition. See James Strachan, *Early Bible Illustration*, Cambridge, 1957, fig. 18. Wirth, *op. cit.*, col. 569, cites K2005 as an early instance reducing the nine circles of choirs to four. (9) Wirth (*ibid.*, col. 595) seems to identify these angels in the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable as dominations also, citing this as an early example of a kneeling pose used for this particular choir. Quinn (*op. cit.*, p. 103) wrote that the angels of this ring (his Zone Six) do not carry recognized attributes, but that they are, by process of elimination, angels or principalities. (10) Palomino identified the sceptre as an attribute of dominations. (Don Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El Museo Pictórico o Escala Optica, Práctica de la Pintura*, 1724, reprinted Buenos Aires, 1944, II, p. 274). Post (IV, I, p. 140) wrote of 'a crowned group and a sceptred group in the third ring, who would be the dominations, virtues or powers.' (11) According to Post (IV, I, p. 140) these are the archangels. (12) Quinn (*op. cit.*, pp. 102-3) stated that the attribute of this choir may be a wand, in which case, following Palomino, they would be virtues. However, the angels in the second ring to the right of the central inscription definitely hold batons or sceptres, and they, therefore, would best fit Palomino's description of virtues or dominations. (13) The attribute of archangels, according to Palomino, is 'un pliego cerrado como carta, y pendiente de él un diploma, o sello de oro.' (Palomino, *op. cit.*, p. 270). (14) Quinn (*op. cit.*, p. 103) called these either angels or principalities. (15) Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el Retablo . . .', *op. cit.*, p. 305, fig. 2. (16) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23. Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 30, agreed with the Spanish scholar.

K2006 : Figure 153

THE CREATION OF EVE. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Considerable losses in Eve's face, Adam's feet, the right hand of God. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1958/59. *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 i.

Eve rises in prayer from Adam's rib (Genesis 2:18-25).¹ He lies sleeping in the left foreground. God is shown standing at the center, his right hand raised in benediction, pointing toward Eve with his left. A quail, salamander, stoat and rooster are on the rocky terrain in the foreground. At the right stand a horse, bear, ox and lion. A camel and griffon are to the left. In the background a group of flying birds seem to approach an owl perched on a rock.

The faces of Adam and Eve in K2006 have been related by Gudiol to that of the Virgin in the *Virgen de la Lecer* (Madrid, Prado) by Maestro Bartolomé, who according to Gudiol was one of the artists employed upon the Kress Retable.² K2006 has been attributed to the School of Gallego by Post.³

The composition of the *Creation of Eve* resembles that by the Master of the Guimerá Altar (Vich, Museo Arqueo-

lógico), dating from the early fifteenth century.⁴ The Gallego studio seems to have consulted the Cologne Bible of 1480 for this scene, where the Adam and Eve group and many of the animals are close to those of K2006. Schongauer's engravings provided models for several of the animals.⁵ The owl is often an emblem of evil rather than wisdom; seemingly attacked, it is actually a decoy for other birds. The prominence of the owl at the moment of the Creation of Eve is probably meant to suggest that evil came into the world with her birth.⁶ The *Creation of Eve* is no. 3 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32).⁷

Exhibited: London, *Spanish and Dutch Painting from the Cook Collection*, The Guildhall Art Gallery, 1948, Cat. No. 1.

References: (1) See Réau, II, I, pp. 73-5. (2) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 30. Both Quinn and Gaya Nuño (*Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 24) attribute the *Creation of Eve* to the 'Maître aux Armures'. (3) Post, IV, I, pp. 138, 144. (4) See Post, II, p. 382, fig. 217. (5) For the griffon, see Julius Baum, *Martin Schongauer*, Vienna, 1948, no. 78 (B.93); for the ox, no. 91 (B.75); for the lion, no. 92 (B.74); for the rooster, no. 103 (B.101). The stoat is probably connected with the Brazen Serpent. (6) See Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata*, Stuttgart, 1967, cols. 894-5; Jakob Rosenberg, 'On the meaning of a Bosch drawing', *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, I, pp. 422-6. (7) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXI, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2.

K2007 : Figure 154

THE CIRCUMCISION. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Inscribed on girdle of kneeling figure at the left: P[?]NX[?] LRAERL [?] or I [?]¹ Cradled by Modestini in early 1956. In addition to the damage received by the retable in the early nineteenth century, K2007 was exposed to great heat in December 1956, and suffered scorching and blistering. This necessitated considerable in-painting (especially in Virgin's face) by Modestini. *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 iii.

The Christ Child is shown frontally, seated on the lap of an enthroned man in everyday garb, but wearing the ritual scarf or *talís*. A priestly figure kneeling at the right circumcises the Child (Luke 2:21). The Virgin and Joseph stand at the left, the latter holding a basket with a narrow length of cloth. A kneeling figure in right profile holds a bowl below Christ to catch the blood.²

The subject is of special thematic significance, as on the day of the Circumcision the Infant received the name Jesus, meaning Savior, and first shed His blood for the

salvation of mankind.³ According to Post, K2007 presents 'a drastically new and medical treatment of the subject'. However, several comparable Northern, mid-fifteenth century examples predate this work.⁴ According to Gaya Nuño, this panel is entirely by Fernando Gallego.⁵ It is no. 14 in the Gaya Nuño reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), at the extreme right, the second register from the top, following a lost *Adoration of the Shepherds* (?).⁶ Quinn attributed the hands of the priest to Hand I (Gallego himself) and implied that the entire panel of the Circumcision was executed by Gallego.⁷ The roots of the composition may go back to the art of Robert Campin, modified by later Netherlandish and German models.

Exhibited: London, *Spanish and Dutch Painting from the Cook Collection*, The Guildhall Art Gallery, 31 May–26 June 1948, Cat. No. 2.

References: (1) Father S. J. P. van Dijk suggested that this inscription may be a reference to an artist called L. Raerl[and]. The first letters may be an abbreviation for *pinxit*. (2) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 256–60. (3) See *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, edited by Isa Ragusa and Rosalie Green, Princeton, 1961, pp. 42–3. (4) Post, IV, 1, p. 143. See a dotted print (Schreiber, 1928, no. 2197k, German, mid-fifteenth century). (5) J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23. (6) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (7) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, pp. 22–3.

FERNANDO GALLEGO and Assistants

K2008 : Figure 155

CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Cradled in 1957, the panel was cleaned and in-painted in 1959 by Modestini. Some losses in the upper left section and the extreme upper right. *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 ix.

The twelve-year-old Christ is enthroned (Luke 2:41–51);¹ three disputants on either side of the steps before him.² The central figure at the left tears his manuscript in anger; four other doctors are shown holding books. Joseph and Mary are seen at the upper right, entering the Synagogue.

Gudiol placed K2008 in 'the circle of Gallego'.³ Most scholars assign K2008 to the Gallego assistant known as the 'Maître aux Armures' or the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'.⁴ Quinn, who believed this master executed the faces of the doctors, cited the architectural representation as typical of his oeuvre.⁵ The panel is no. 18 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), in the third row from the top at the center of the altarpiece.⁶ He pointed out that the composition is the same as the panel of the same subject in Gallego's

Trujillo Altar, which he believed to have been executed by Gallego himself.⁷ The hooded figure at the right knee of Christ is taken from Annas in Schongauer's *Christ Before Annas* (B.11). Dello Delli's *Christ Among the Doctors* in the Salamanca Cathedral Retable may have provided a general source for Gallego's composition.⁸

Exhibited: London, *Spanish and Dutch Painting from the Cook Collection*, The Guildhall Art Gallery, 31 May–26 June 1948, Cat. No. 3.

References: (1) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 289–91. (2) For the rhetorical gestures of K2008, see the discussion of the same subject by Jan Bialostocki, '“Opus Quinque Dierum”: Dürer's "Christ Among the Doctors" and its Sources', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxii, 1959, pp. 17–34. (3) José Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae, ix)*, Madrid, 1955, p. 328, fig. 284. (4) See for example, J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23. (5) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 30. (6) Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (7) Gaya Nuño, *Gallego, op. cit.*, p. 24. (8) Suggested by Mrs. Jean Rosenwald.

K2009 : Figure 156

THE THREE TEMPTATIONS OF CHRIST. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Many minor losses. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1957/8. *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 i.

A coat-of-arms is seen over the city gate at the center. Its stars and crescent moon probably refer to the Islamic occupation of Jerusalem. Christ, in rich priestly garb, seen frontally at the centre of K2009, standing in a pose of judgment and benediction, to the right of Satan who is clad in quasi-monastic garb; only his enormous, clawed feet betray his identity. Satan holds out a stone in each hand, asking Christ to turn them into bread. Christ replied 'It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God' (Matthew 4:3–4).¹ At the upper right, Christ and Satan are shown at the top of a campanile-like structure: the pinnacle of the temple from which Satan challenged Christ to cast himself. (Matthew 4:6–7). At the upper left, Christ and the devil stand on a mountaintop, where Satan said to Christ, 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me' (Matthew 4:9).

The composition of K2009 follows Tuscan models of the first half of the fifteenth century. Fernando Gallego's Tuscan source for the depiction of this subject was probably Dello Delli's *Salamanca Retable* (completed 1445) to which Francisco Gallego added panels. In Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32) the *Temptations* is no. 20, after the *Baptism of Christ* (?), in the

third row from the right.² He attributed K2009 to the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros' ('Maître aux Armures').³ Quinn believed that master to have executed the face of Satan.⁴

References: (1) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 304-9. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 24. (4) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 29.

K2010 : Figure 157

THE MIRACLE AT THE MARRIAGE AT CANA. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Considerable losses at upper right and along left side; extensive restoration throughout. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini 1958/59.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 iv.

Christ standing at the left, his right hand raised in benediction and his left on the mouth of a large earthenware water vessel, is performing his first miracle, turning water into wine (John 2:1-11).¹ A man kneeling at the lower right releases wine from the same vessel into a cwer; a second jar behind him is filled by a man standing to its left. Four other figures are seen in the background, one, a woman, holds a vessel on her head. The Virgin Mary stands in an anteroom at the extreme left with other women.

Gallego's composition follows that of Bernardo Martorell in the *Altar of the Transfiguration* of c. 1445 (Barcelona, Cathedral), but omits the banquet table usually included in this scene. Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32) shows K2010 as no. 21, at the extreme right, the third row from the top.² He attributed the *Miracle at the Marriage at Cana* to an assistant of Gallego, who also executed *The Healing of Bartimaeus* (K2013).³ Quinn has suggested that, while Fernando Gallego did the preparatory drawing for K2010, it was executed by Francisco Gallego.⁴

References: (1) Réau, II, 2, pp. 362-6. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23. (4) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 36.

K2011 : Figure 158

CHRIST'S CHARGE TO PETER: 'PASCE OVES'. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Inscribed on banderole surrounding cross: PASCE OVES ('Feed my sheep'. John 21:17). Letters M.A inscribed on the back of the same

scroll; hem of Christ's robe also inscribed with a lengthy undeciphered text. Extensive losses throughout.¹ Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1958/59.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 viii.

Christ is shown seated in a domestic interior at the lower left. He holds a processional jeweled Greek Patriarchal cross in the left hand, extending the keys to St. Peter with his right. In royal garb with the wounds clearly visible in his hand and foot, Christ is about to invest Peter with the leadership of the church.² Although Christ's mouth is closed, his charge to Peter is written on a speech scroll. Peter kneels before Him, extending his gloved hands to receive the cross and keys. He wears a chasuble with a complex crossed stole, a maniple over his left forearm. An Apostle holding a Greek crossed Papal tiara stands behind Peter. Six other Apostles are seen at the right. This scene represents the founding of the Church under St. Peter, first bishop of Rome.³

The Kress panel is no. 23 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), between *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* and a proposed lost *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*.⁴ Gaya Nuño listed K2011 as entirely by Gallego's hand.⁵ Quinn noted that similar garb is worn by Christ in the *Raising of Lazarus* (K2014) and suggested that due to similarities between K2011 and the *Ecce Homo* (K2022), these panels were executed at about the same time.⁶

References: (1) According to Quinn (*Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 27) a head was drawn in the window at the upper left but never executed. (2) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 313-15. (3) K2011, with its emphasis upon Eastern Christian symbolism, seems to stress the significance of the Pope as leader of the Eastern as well as Western Church, a subject of great contemporary interest. See Joseph Gill, S. J., *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge, 1959. (4) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (5) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23. (6) Quinn, *loc. cit.*

K2012 : Figure 159

CHRIST AND THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Inscriptions on the hem of Christ's robe. Small losses throughout. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1957/58.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 ix.

Christ is shown seated on a stone block to the left of Jacob's well at Samaria (John 4:1-26). At the right, the Woman, told by Christ that he is the Messiah, pours water from the wooden well bucket into an earthenware water vessel. Three Apostles, led by Peter, stand at the left. An extensive landscape with female figures going to and from the well

is in the background with the town of Samaria at the upper right. The jewels scattered upon the earth suggest that it is holy ground.

The composition of K2012 is partially based on Northern sources such as a print by the Master of the Crossed Anchors.¹ K2012 is no. 22 in the Gaya Nuño reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), fourth row from top, extreme left.² Both Gaya Nuño and Quinn regarded K2012 as by Gallego himself.³

Exhibited: London, *Spanish and Dutch Painting from the Cook Collection*, The Guildhall Art Gallery, 31 May–26 June 1948, Cat. No. 8.

References: (1) Max Lehms, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im 15. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, VI, pl. 168, fig. 431. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23; Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 24.

FERNANDO GALLEGO and Assistants

K2013 : Figure 160

CHRIST HEALING THE BLIND BARTIMÆUS. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Extensive restoration throughout. The X-ray shows changes in composition in the placement of bystanders' faces at the uppermost left corner. Inscribed on a speech scroll from the mouth of the standing Apostle: RABI IVIS [sic, for QVIS/PEGAVIT [sic, for PECCAVIT] ('Master, who did sin?' John 9:2). On the speech scroll from the mouth of Christ: VT MANIFESTETVR OP[ER] A DEI I[N] ILLO ('But that the works of God should be made manifest in him.' John 9:3). Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1956/57.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 iv.

Christ is shown standing to the left of the kneeling Bartimæus, two of the fingers of his right hand laid on the closed left eye of the blind beggar (Mark 10:46–52; John 9:1–41). He placed clay mixed with spittle to heal Bartimæus's blindness after saying 'As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world' (John 9:5). One Apostle stands to the left and two to the right. Three bystanders are placed at the extreme left and six at the right. This scene takes place by the wall of Jericho. The tiles may perhaps represent the roadway where Mark (10:46) described Bartimæus begging. Three tree-tops rise above the wall.

The panel is no. 27 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), the fourth row from the top, second from the right.¹ Gaya Nuño attributed

the panel to the inferior assistant who executed only two of the retable panels – *Christ Healing the Blind Bartimæus* and *Christ's Charge to Peter*.² Quinn assigned K2013 to Hand IV, the weakest of the retable masters, possibly Francisco Gallego, to whom he also ascribed the *Betrayal* (K2020) and the *Marriage at Cana* (K2010).³ The compositional setting stems from Florentine models of the first half of the fifteenth century – originating with Masaccio's *Resurrection of the Governor's Son* (completed by Filippino Lippi, Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel).

Exhibited: London, *Spanish and Dutch Paintings from the Cook Collection*, The Guildhall Art Gallery, 31 May–26 June 1948, Cat. No. 8.

References: (1) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (2) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23. (3) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 35.

K2014 : Figure 161

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Inscribed on opening of Lazarus's burial robe: an illegible Latin quotation; two words seem to abbreviate *aeternae spirito*. Extensive losses in faces of Apostles at extreme left, and in kneeling figure in the right foreground. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1957/58.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 vii.

Lazarus's sarcophagus is placed diagonally, the foot at the lower left corner. Christ, in regal garb, holds Lazarus's right hand, blessing him with his right. He stands behind the sarcophagus with six nimbed Apostles to the left, John, Peter and Paul in front. Martha stands at the end of the tomb and Mary kneels at the lower right – Lazarus's sisters; both have haloes. Spectators at the upper right see Lazarus, his head wrapped in funerary binding, hold on to the side of the sarcophagus with his left hand as he is raised by Christ (John 11:1–44). The landscape in the background included a view of a Gothic town, Bethany.¹

The composition of K2014 is close to Northern European prototypes of the earlier fifteenth century. This panel is no. 28 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), at the extreme right, the fourth row from the top.² Gaya Nuño described K2014 as entirely by Fernando Gallego. Quinn followed this view.³

References: (1) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 386–91. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23; Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 22.

K2015 : Figure 162

FEAST IN THE HOUSE OF SIMON (OR LAZARUS?). Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. $61 \times 43\frac{1}{2}$ in. (154.9×110.5 cm.). Extensive losses throughout. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1955/58.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 viii.

Christ, in a jeweled cope fastened by a trefoil morse is seated on a folding chair at the left end of a trestle table. The haloed Mary Magdalen, richly dressed, kneels at his feet in the foreground in left profile. She grasps her long hair with her right hand, preparatory to drying Christ's feet, holding the box of spikenard with which she will anoint them (Matthew 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-9; Luke 7:36-50; John 12:1-8).¹ Simon (Lazarus?), seen frontally, is seated in the middle with his wife at the right. Both are in rich attire with elaborate headdresses. Two attendants stand in the right foreground, one holding a staff and the other a dish and footed cup. The architectural interior is seen through an elaborately carved masonry arch. There is a dog in the left foreground.

The *Feast in the House of Simon* is no. 25 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), at the center of the fourth row from the top.² According to him, K2015 is by the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'.³

Exhibited: London, *Spanish and Dutch Painting from the Cook Collection*, The Guildhall Art Gallery, 31 May-26 June 1948, Cat. No. 4.

References: (1) Réau, II, 2, pp. 326-8. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23-4. Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 30, seems to concur.

K2016 : Figure 163

THE TRANSFIGURATION. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. $61 \times 43\frac{1}{2}$ in. (154.9×110.5 cm.). Major losses in head of Christ and along right border; many minor losses. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1955/58. Inscribed in Hebrew on tablets of Moses:

לא-יהיה לך אלהים אחרים
על-פני : ככד את-אביך (ואש)
את-אביך... למען יאליכון ימך

'Thou shalt have no other Gods before me (Deut. 5:7). Honor thy father (these words are repeated, omitting 'thy mother') that thy days may be prolonged (Deut. 5:16).¹ *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 v.

Christ appears at the upper center, his arms outstretched. Moses, richly clad, is at the left, holding his staff and the inscribed Tablets of the Law; Elias stands at the right pointing toward Christ. Seated in the foreground are St. Peter at the left, St. James with arms upraised at the center, and St. John the Evangelist, in left profile, at the right. He points to an open book in his lap with the left hand. All six figures are seen against a rocky outcropping with a wooded landscape in the background. K2016 depicts the Transfiguration (Matthew 17:1-8; Mark 9:2-8; Luke 9:28-36). Christ's white garb follows the Gospels. Peter, whose mouth seems to be open, may be shown at the moment when, after the appearance of Moses and Elias, he says to Jesus that three tabernacles should be made, for Christ, Moses and Elias on that site (Matthew 17:4). K2016 shows the moment itself, just before the voice of God was heard, at which point the Apostles prostrated themselves.²

The pose of St. John was taken from the Schongauer engraving showing him on Patmos (B.55). There may also be considerable Tuscan influence from the circle of Castagno. This panel is no. 26 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (see Text Fig. 32), the fourth row from the top, third from the right.³ According to Gaya Nuño and Quinn, K2016 is by the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'.⁴

References: (1) The Hebrew words in the first verse are accurate, while those in the second are not. Mrs. Nehama Hillman has noted the disparity between the precise Hebrew text in the upper two lines and the less accurate Hebrew below. (2) Réau, II, 2, pp. 574-81. (3) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (4) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23-4; Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 29.

K2017 : Figure 164

THE ENTRY OF CHRIST INTO JERUSALEM. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. $61 \times 43\frac{1}{2}$ in. (154.9×110.5 cm.). Extensive losses throughout. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1959. Inscribed above portal: IHRLM ('Jerusalem'). *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 vi.

Christ is mounted upon an ass at the left with a colt alongside (Luke 19:30-6). His right hand is raised in benediction; the left hand holds the halter, the index finger pointing toward Jerusalem which is indicated by an inscribed city gate at the right. The branches and garments are placed on the road by the welcoming people of Jerusalem in homage to Christ (Mark 11:8-10). (Matthew 21:1-9; Mark 11:1-10; Luke 19:28-38; John 12:12-15.)¹ Eleven Apostles appear around Christ. A large, standing, hooded man in official garb lowers a robe to the ground (Matthew 21:8). Immediately before the entrance to the city six boys wave branches; a seventh appears in the right foreground. At the extreme right stands a man whose

individual physiognomy suggests a portrait; another in eastern garb stands in prayer just to his left. A landscape is seen in the background.

Several prints by Schongauer may have been freely adapted for K2017; e.g. the *Way to Calvary* (B.21) supplied the figure of the boy at the lower right. This panel is no. 29 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), at the extreme left, second row from the bottom.² Gaya Nuño gave K2017 to the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'.³ Quinn described the panel as an 'unhappy combination of the efforts of Hand II, Francisco Gallego, and Pedro Bello, the fifth hand, resulting in the poorest panel of the entire retablo.' He noted that the trees are the weakest in execution of the series and resemble those in two panels by Pedro Bello now in Salamanca (Museo Diocesano).⁴ Uneven though the composition and execution of K2017 may be, the figure of Christ and that of the official standing before him both show the monumentality associated with Fernando Gallego's art and must have been designed by him.

References: (1) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 396-401. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23-4. (4) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 37.

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K2018 : Figure 165

THE INSTITUTION OF THE EUCHARIST. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 60 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (154.3 × 110.5 cm.). Extensive losses throughout. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1958/59. Inscribed on Host in Christ's hand: CORPVS . . . V . . . HOC ES EA, with monogram of Christ at center. The Host is executed in relief.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 ii.

K2018 shows that moment of the Last Supper in which Christ institutes the Eucharist (Matthew 26:26-9; Mark 14:22-5; Luke 22:19-20).¹ Seen frontally, Christ is at the center in jeweled cope and morse surrounded by the twelve Apostles. His right hand is raised in benediction, while the left holds a Host over a chalice placed on the center of the round table. The young St. John has his head on his hand at the left. The Apostle at the right of Christ, Peter (?), points to Judas seated in the right foreground holding a purse behind his back. Judas's foul nature is indicated by the Apostle at the immediate right holding his nose. Unleavened bread, a glass, and two salts are seen on the table. The Last Supper takes place in a rich domestic setting indicated by a costly column to the left and right of the arch and by the dresser at the right. The Crucifixion may be indicated by the crossed iron bars immediately above Christ's head.

According to Gaya Nuño, K2018 was executed by the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'.² Quinn noted that this master was especially capable in painting metallic surfaces.³ The panel is no. 30 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), on the second row from the bottom, the second from the left.⁴ The composition of K2018 is derived in large part from the engraving by the Netherlandish Master I. A. M. of Zwolle (B.2), whose print includes the highly unusual figure of the Apostle holding his nose as well as many other features of K2018.⁵

References: (1) Réau, II, 2, pp. 416 ff. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23-4. (3) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 29. (4) Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (5) Illustrated F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, c. 1450-1700*, Amsterdam, n.d., XII, p. 254. Gallego may also have consulted the engraving by Wenzel von Olmütz (Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im 15. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, VI, pl. 159, fig. 418).

K2019 : Figure 166

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (154.9 × 109.9 cm.). Cleaned, cradled and restored by Modestini, 1956/58. K2019 is better preserved than most of the other Retable panels.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 v. Reproduced in color by Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961. Frontispiece.

Christ kneels in the walled Garden of Olives at Gethsemane (Matthew 26:36-46; Mark 14:32-42; Luke 22:39-46). A robed angel with draped head kneels on a rocky outcropping before Christ and extends a chalice. The sleeping Apostles Peter (holding a sword), James and John are seated at the lower left. The priests' men, led by Judas and a man holding a rope and lantern, enter the Garden through a gate in the background, where the walled city of Jerusalem is shown (Matthew 26:47).¹

This panel is no. 31 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), on the second register from the bottom, the third panel from the left.² According to Gaya Nuño, K2019 is by Fernando Gallego himself.³ Quinn has noted that the composition is very close to that of the same subject in Gallego's retablo at Trujillo and pointed out that K2019 is the major example in the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable to show Fernando Gallego's ability to render landscape space.⁴

Exhibited: London, *Spanish and Dutch Paintings from the Cook Collection*, The Guildhall Art Gallery, 31 May–26 June 1948, Cat. No. 9.

References: (1) Réau, II, 2, pp. 427–31. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23. (4) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, pp. 26–7.

K2020 : Figure 167

THE ARREST OF CHRIST. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Inscribed on the ram's horn blown by the soldier at the upper left: ARIAW [?] A star and a star of David with an Islamic double crescent are on the banners. Peter's sword is incised with a *Hausmark*, possibly the letter P; letters on the belt of the soldier in the center foreground may read: MALCHUS. Color notations inscribed below the final paint surface are now visible. Better preserved than most of the other Retable panels. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1956/58.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 x.

Christ, at the moment of the Arrest (Matthew 26:47–50; Mark 14:43–6; Luke 22:47–9; John 18:1–9), is at the center, surrounded by soldiers carrying pikes and lances, some of them in full armor.¹ A halter around his neck, Christ is pulled by a man with an inscribed sword at the right; his robe and right arm – holding Malchus's ear – are grabbed by the man to the left (Judas?). The Arrest takes place at night, as indicated by the darkened sky. St. Peter stands at the left, raising the sword with which he has just cut off the ear of the kneeling Malchus in the foreground (Matthew 26:51–2; Mark 14:47–8; Luke 22:50–1; John 18:10–11). St. James is at the extreme left and St. John is to the right behind Peter.

Post noted that Malchus corresponds to the same character in Schongauer's *Arrest* (B.10).² This figure may also be derived from Schongauer's *Resurrection* (B.20), from the man at the lower right. Schongauer's *Flagellation* (B.12) provided the source for the man at the extreme right in K2020. The Italianate head seen from below, at the upper left of Christ, may be derived from Dello Delli's prophet Habakkuk (Salamanca, Old Cathedral). In Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo (Text Fig. 32), the *Arrest* is no. 32, on the second row from the bottom, the fourth panel from right.³ According to him, the *Arrest* was executed by Fernando Gallego himself. Although Quinn attributed the *Arrest* to Hand IV, he noted similar details in the rendering of the armor in the same subject at Trujillo by Fernando Gallego.⁴

References: (1) Réau, II, 2, pp. 432–5. (2) Post, IV, 1, pp. 143–4. According to Post (pp. 224–5), a painting by the School

of Oña (Provincial Museum at Burgos) represents a reduction of K2020 but it seems directly dependent on the Schongauer of the same subject. (3) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el Retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (4) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, pp. 35–6.

K2021 : Figure 168

PILATE WASHING HIS HANDS. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 60¾ × 43½ in. (154.3 × 110.5 cm.). Pentimenti visible in window area. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1956/58. *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 vi.

Pilate, in rich oriental garb, extends his hands to the left where a page, holding a bowl and ewer, washes them (Matthew 27:24).¹ Another attendant stands at the upper left. Christ is brought in at the right, his hands bound, with a rope around his neck, held by a man to the left. A crowd of six or so attendants in turbans and military attire appear in the doorway at the right.

The broad outlines of the composition may perhaps have been derived from Schongauer's engraving of the same subject (B.14). This panel is no. 35 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), the second row from the bottom, on the extreme right.² According to Gaya Nuño, K2021 is by the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'.³ Quinn attributed the panel to Fernando Gallego himself.⁴

References: (1) Réau, II, 2, pp. 450–1. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23–4. (4) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 22.

K2022 : Figure 169

ECCE HOMO. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 109.9 cm.). Inscribed on banner at upper left: CRVCIFIGE. CRVCIFIGE. EVM ('Crucify him, crucify him') (John 19:6), and on scroll to left of Christ: ECCE HOMO ('Behold the man') (John 19:5).¹ A large hole destroying most of the head of the figure to the left of Pilate resulted from the cannonade of the Duke of Wellington during the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo in January of 1811. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1958/59.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 ii.

The Roman judge, Pilate, stands in a loggia-like entrance to the Judgment Hall. For the second time, following the Flagellation and the Mocking, Christ appears to the Jews assembled in the courtyard. These events are indicated by

Christ's wearing the Red Robe and Crown of Thorns and by the torturer brandishing a scourge at the right. Following the Jews' demand for his crucifixion, Christ is about to be led away. The figure in the foreground holds a noose for this purpose. Men in quasi-monastic and exotic garb at the extreme left are meant to be rabbis or judges. The speech scroll with the demand for crucifixion itself forms a transverse member of the cross whose vertical member is a lance (Longinus's?) with a banner – anticipating that of Christ's Resurrection.

This panel is no. 34 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32).² He found K2022 to be entirely by Fernando Gallego.³

References: (1) Réau, II, 2, pp. 459–60. For the *Ecce Homo* in the fifteenth century see Erwin Panofsky, 'Jean Hey's "Ecce Homo": Speculations about Its Author, Its Donor and Its Iconography', *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bulletin*, v, 1956, pp. 95–132. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23. Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 22, followed this view.

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K2023 : Figure 170

THE WAY TO CALVARY. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Losses follow vertical join at center of panel; better preserved than majority of series. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1955/57. *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 x.

Christ, falling to his knees under the weight of the cross, is part of a procession moving from left to right, wending its way through a rocky landscape to Calvary (John 19:17).¹ His face turned to the viewer, Christ is led by a rope held by the man who is seen from the back and has a hammer in his belt.² Christ is surrounded by lance-bearing soldiers. Simon of Cyrene (a bald man to the right) supports the cross-beam. Mary is at the extreme left. A striding figure, raising a rope, is in the left foreground. A boy with a club is in the right foreground. The almost naked Good and Bad Thieves are at the upper right, following a band of Roman soldiers in the distance.

K2023, as noted by Post,³ is a much reduced version of Schongauer's well-known, elaborate, horizontal *Great Way to Calvary* (B.21). Gallego has reversed several of the engraved figures, most notably Christ and the striding man with the raised rope, and has omitted many of the figures and all the horsemen in the print. Simon of Cyrene does not appear in Schongauer's print. With the exception of the rocky outcroppings the landscapes differ greatly. The man with the hammer is taken directly from Schongauer's

Christ Before Pilate (B.14). The landscape background is executed in a style derived from Sienese painting. *The Way to Calvary* is no. 36 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), on the lowest row above the predella, at the extreme left.⁴ He attributed K2023 to the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'.⁵ The composition of K2023 is close to that of the same subject added by Francisco Gallego to the Dello Delli Retable in the old cathedral at Salamanca.

References: (1) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 463–7. (2) The presence of the hammer suggests there having been a now lost panel showing *Christ Nailed to the Cross*. (3) Post, IV, 1, p. 145. (4) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (5) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23–4. Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 30, seemed to agree with Gaya Nuño.

K2024 : Figure 171

THE CRUCIFIXION. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Inscribed on tablet above cross: INRI (Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews); on mantle of St. John the Evangelist: much illegible script; some looks Greek, the rest kufic. More extensive flaking than the other panels. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1955/59. *Cook Catalogue*, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 vii.

K2024 represents the Crucifixion with the dead Christ seen frontally at the center. The thieves' tortured, broken bodies are curled around their crosses which are placed at an angle (John 19:32–7). The Virgin swoons at the base of the cross, supported to the left by St. John the Evangelist. Three other Holy Women surround the foot of the cross; the richly dressed Magdalen is at the right, wringing her hands. A throng of Roman soldiers and Jews are massed near the cross. Longinus, lance in hand, on a black horse, is placed at the extreme left, looking up toward Christ whose side has just been pierced. Another Roman soldier is seen from the back, pointing toward the lance. Mounted to the right of the cross is a figure in rich, priestly garb. Other officials are clustered on the right. The Crucifixion is seen against a landscape including a great walled city by a river. Small figures are shown returning to the city after the Crucifixion, one carrying a ladder.

The Crucifixion is no. 37 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), on the bottom register, the second panel from the left.¹ He attributed K2024 to the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'.² Quinn assigned the panel to Hand III, the 'Lip Painter'.³ The entire composition goes back to a work by Jan van Eyck (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), long known in Spain.⁴ The dog at the lower left comes from Schongauer's *Adoration of the Magi* (B.6). K2024 is based in part upon Schongauer's *Great Way To Calvary* (B.21), also used

by Gallego for K2023. The horse and rider seen from the back in the left foreground and the four men between Christ and the thief at the right are taken directly from the engraving. The artist may have reversed an engraving by the Master I.A.M. of Zwolle (B.5) for the placement of the thieves. Although the *Crucifixion* is derivative in design, it presents one of the most authoritative and forceful works by Gallego.

References: (1) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXI, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (2) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23-4. (3) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, pp. 31-2. (4) The painting was long in Spain. Gallego could have also taken the Eyckian composition from the panel attributed to Luis Alimbro by Post (Madrid, Collection Bauzá). Reproduced by Gudiol in *Pintura Gotica (Ars Hispaniae, IX)*, Madrid, 1955, fig. 209.

K2025 : Figure 172

THE DEPOSITION. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 61 × 43½ in. (154.9 × 110.5 cm.). Inscribed above the cross: INRI ('Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews'. John 19:19; Luke 23:38.) Far better preserved than most of the other Ciudad Rodrigo panels. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1955/59.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 122, Cat. No. 485 iii.

The Lamentation takes place at the foot of the cross. (Matthew 27:57 ff.; Mark 15:42-5; Luke 23:50-3; John 19:38 ff.).¹ The body of the dead Christ is held in the lap of a bearded elder in rich garb, Nicodemus (?). The left end of the shroud is held by another richly dressed man kneeling at the foot of the ladder propped against the cross, Joseph of Arimathea (?).² St. John the Evangelist, standing immediately below the cross, supports the mourning Virgin as she bends over the body. Four mourning Holy Women are seen behind the main group. The wealthily dressed Magdalen is placed at the extreme right, holding a cloth over a structure which appears to be a well.³ The skull and jawbone in the foreground refer to Golgotha ('the place of the skull'), the burial place of Adam (1 Corinthians 15:42-50). The poppy at the extreme right is an emblem of death and resurrection. A mule train and ox team and a flock of goats are shown in the background, which is the same setting as that of the *Crucifixion* (K2024).

In 1948, the panel was attributed in part to Pedro Bello.⁴ The *Deposition* is no. 38 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), to the left of a central opening for a statue of the Virgin.⁵ According to Gaya Nuño, K2025 is by the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros.'⁶ Quinn attributed the panel to Hand III, the 'Lip Painter', also attributing the *Crucifixion* (K2024) to this artist, but he assigned 'the two anterior figures supporting the Christ' to Fernando Gallego.⁷ The intricate frieze-

like composition of K2025 stems from Netherlandish sources of the sixth and seventh decades of the century - from the studio of the late Roger van der Weyden and the art of Hugo van der Goes (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Lamentation*).

Exhibited: London, *Spanish and Dutch Paintings from the Cook Collection*, Guildhall Art Gallery, 31 May-26 June 1948, p. 5, Cat. No. 10.

References: (1) For the *Deposition*, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 513-21. (2) See Wolfgang Stechow, 'Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus?' *Studien zur toskanischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich, zum 23. März 1963*, Munich, 1964, ed. W. Lotz, pp. 289-302. (3) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 10, identifies this figure as St. Barbara. (4) Sir Herbert Cook, *Spanish and Dutch Paintings from the Cook Collection*, The Guildhall Art Gallery, London, 1948, p. 5, Cat. No. 10. (5) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXI, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (6) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23-4. (7) Quinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-3.

K2026 : Figure 173

THE RESURRECTION. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 60½ × 43½ in. (153.7 × 110.5 cm.). Better preserved than the bulk of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable panels. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1955/59.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 xi.

The Risen Christ stands on the front edge of the classicizing sarcophagus which is placed parallel to the picture plane (Matthew 28:1-8; Mark 16:1-8; Luke 24:1-12; John 20:1-10).¹ His right hand is raised in benediction, the left holds the banner cross of the Resurrection, which extends to the base of the sarcophagus. He wears a triumphant red cape fluttering to the right; blood streams from his wounds. The tomb is surrounded by eight soldiers, four of whom are awake and aware of the Resurrection. The soldier in the left rear raises the left arm; the one at the right rear places the left arm to his head. Another gesticulates in the left foreground, and a fourth, although recumbent and facing away from Christ, seems aware of the event.

The soldier seen from the back in the left foreground is taken from the Schongauer *Resurrection* (B.20), as is the sleeping figure with the cross-bow and sword at the extreme left.² However, the main lines of the composition are Spanish, for example as seen in the Luis Borrassà *Altar of the Virgin* (Valencia, Montortal Collection). Christ's somewhat ambiguous position, seeming to hover just above the edge of the tomb, is found in the Dello Delli *Resurrection* (Salamanca, Old Cathedral, retable), where there are other compositional similarities with K2026.³ Robinson stated that of all the panels of the Ciudad Rodrigo Altar only the *Resurrection* is by Fernando Gallego.⁴ Bertaux found the

style of K2026 alien to Gallego and used it as the definitive painting of an assistant dubbed the 'Maître aux Armures',⁵ whom Gaya Nuño later called the 'Maestro de los Rostros Siniestros'.⁶ The panel is no. 40 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), in the lowest row, to the right of a niche where he postulated a statue of the Virgin stood.⁷

References: (1) Réau, II, 2, pp. 544-7. (2) A. van der Put, 'Notes on some early Spanish Masters', *Burlington Magazine*, 1908, p. 156, noted that the *Resurrection* was used as a model by the artist who designed the woodcut of the same subject for the *Aurea Expositio Hymnorum* by Antonio Nebriensis (de Nebrija), printed by Paul Hurus in Saragossa in 1499. However, Post (IV, 1, p. 145) pointed out that this similarity is due to both works' common source in the Schongauer engraving of the *Resurrection*. (3) Noted by Mrs. Jean Rosenwald. (4) Charles John Robinson, 'The Maître de Flémalle' and the Painters of the School of Salamanca', *Burlington Magazine*, VII, 1905, pp. 387-93, p. 393. (5) Émile Bertaux in André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1908, III, 2, p. 794. (6) J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23-4, followed by Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 29. (7) Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXI, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2.

FERNANDO GALLEGO and Assistants

K2027 : Figure 177

THE LAST JUDGMENT. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 60½ × 43½ in. (154.0 × 110.5 cm.). State of preservation superior to the bulk of the Ciudad Rodrigo panels. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1958/59.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 123, Cat. No. 486 xii.

Christ is seated on a cloud bank in the upper section, at the moment of the Last Judgment (Revelation 20:11-15). He is seen frontally, holding the baton in his right hand, the left arm outstretched on the other side.¹ Seven angels encircle him, the one to his right holding a lily (?) of Misericordia and the one to his left, the double-edged sword of Justitia. Mary kneels at his right, her hands joined in prayer, and John the Baptist at his left - both acting as intercessors for mankind. At the extreme upper left and right of the panel, pairs of angels trumpet the moment of the Last Judgment. In the central register five male figures seated on a wooden bench are shown at the left and four at the right. From left to right, these are: Simon, James the Greater, an Apostle with a book, John the Evangelist, Peter, an Apostle with a book (Paul?), Matthew, an Apostle with a book (Philip?), Andrew.² Banderoles which may have formerly been inscribed are below each group of male saints. At the bottom the Saved, clad in surplices, are at the left (to Christ's right), and the naked Damned at the right.

The composition of K2027 is freely based on medieval sources, its scheme recalling Northern depictions of the subject from the first six decades of the fifteenth century, such as that of Roger van der Weyden (Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu).³ The panel is no. 42 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Altar (Text Fig. 32), the lowest register, on the extreme right.⁴ He gave K2027 in its entirety to Fernando Gallego. Quinn followed this opinion.⁵

Exhibited: London, *Spanish and Dutch Paintings from the Cook Collection*, Guildhall Art Gallery, 31 May-26 June 1948, Cat. No. 11.

References: (1) Réau, II, 2, pp. 727-57; Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, pp. 107-8. (2) According to Quinn the incomplete number of Apostles suggests that K2027 was cut down at the left and right. (3) The Roger source, from which several figures among the Damned and the Saved were directly derived, was noted by Émile Bertaux in André Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, III, 2, Paris, 1908, p. 794. Unlike Van der Weyden, Gallego omits the figure of St. Michael. This omission is also made in the Dello Delli Salamanca Altar Last Judgment and seen in a Goeisian Last Judgment (A. Hessel Sale, Antwerp, 29 May-6 June 1933, Cat. No. 60). The influence of Dieric Bouts on K2027 was cited in the catalogue *Spanish and Dutch Paintings from the Cook Collection*, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 11. The Master of Flémalle has also been given as a source by J. C. Robinson, 'The Maître de Flémalle and the Painters of the School of Salamanca', *Burlington Magazine*, VII, 1905, p. 389. K2027 may be based upon a Northern print reproducing an early Last Judgment composition. (4) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el Retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXI, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (5) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 23-4; Quinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-8.

K2028 : Figure 174

SAINTS ANDREW AND PETER. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. 33¼ × 43½ in. (84.5 × 110.5 cm.). Among the better preserved panels of the Retable, from the predella. The gold background with a tooled textile design has suffered extensive losses. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1957/59.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 125, Cat. No. 489.

Seen in half-length, St. Andrew holds the upper part of the X-shaped cross of his martyrdom, and looks to the right, with his right hand raised in benediction; St. Peter, to the right, is seen frontally, holding keys in the right hand and a book open to a page with a capital D at the upper left.¹

These figures are probably freely based on German engravings of the generation of the Master E. S. This panel is no. 43 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32), the first on the left in the predella.² He attributed K2028 to Fernando Gallego, as did Quinn.³

Exhibited: London, *Exhibition of Spanish Old Masters*, Grafton Galleries, Oct. 1913–Jan. 1914, Cat. No. 14; London, *Exhibition of Spanish Paintings*, Royal Academy of Arts, Nov. 1920–Jan. 1921, Cat. No. 17.

References: (1) Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, pp. 108–9, stated that the book symbolized the Word. (2) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el Retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (3) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23; Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

K2029 : Figure 175

SAINTS BARTHOLOMEW AND JOHN THE EVANGELIST. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. $33\frac{1}{4} \times 43\frac{1}{2}$ in. (84.5 × 110.5 cm.). Among the better preserved panels of the retablo, from the predella, gold background with tooled textile design has suffered extensive losses. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1957/59.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 124, Cat. No. 487.

Seen in half-length, St. Bartholomew at the left holds the flaying knife of his martyrdom in his right hand as though blessing it. The other hand makes a rhetorical gesture. St. John the Evangelist, turning to the left, holds his attribute, the chalice with serpents, with his left hand, blessing it with his right.

The panel is no. 44 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable, the second from the left in the predella (see Text Fig. 32).¹ These figures are probably freely based on German engravings of the generation of the Master E. S. Gaya Nuño and Quinn give all the predella panels to Gallego himself.²

Exhibited: London, *Exhibition of Spanish Old Masters*, The Grafton Galleries, Oct. 1913–Jan. 1914, Cat. No. 17; London, *Exhibition of Spanish Paintings*, The Royal Academy of Arts, Nov. 1920–Jan. 1921, Cat. No. 18.

References: (1) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el Retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (2) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23; Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 22.

K2030 : Figure 176

SAINTS MARK (?) AND THOMAS. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art, since 1960. $33\frac{1}{4} \times 43\frac{1}{4}$ in. (84.5 × 109.9 cm.). Preservation inferior to the other two predella panels. Gold background with tooled textile design has suffered extensive losses. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1957/59.

Cook Catalogue, 1915, III, p. 124, Cat. No. 488.

Seen in half-length, St. Mark (?) turns to the right holding an open book (his Gospel?).¹ St. Thomas, on the right, turns toward Mark, his mouth open. He holds his attribute, the girdle of the Virgin.²

The panel is no. 45 in Gaya Nuño's reconstruction of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (Text Fig. 32).³ Gaya Nuño and Quinn gave all three predella panels to Gallego himself.⁴ Gaya Nuño believed K2030 to have been to the left of the lost central section of the predella, probably a depiction of the Savior. These figures are probably freely based on German engravings of the generation of the Master E. S.

Exhibited: London, *Exhibition of Spanish Old Masters*, Grafton Galleries, Oct. 1913–Jan. 1914, Cat. No. 20; London, *Exhibition of Spanish Paintings*, Royal Academy of Arts, Nov. 1920–Jan. 1921, Cat. No. 19.

References: (1) Post (IV, I, p. 140) questioned the identification of the Kress saint with Mark. (2) See Réau, III, 3, pp. 1266–72. (3) J. A. Gaya Nuño, 'Sobre el Retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo por Fernando Gallego y sus Colaboradores', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxi, 1958, p. 305, fig. 2. (4) Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego*, Madrid, 1958, p. 23; Robert Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson, 1961, p. 26.

MASTER OF THE RETABLE OF THE REYES CATÓLICOS

The Master of the Reyes Católicos is named after eight vertical retable panels depicting scenes from the lives of Christ and Mary: *Annunciation* (K1861), *Visitation* (K1860), *Nativity* (K1862), *Adoration of the Magi* (K1863), *Circumcision* (private collection, Text Fig. 33), *Presentation* (also known as *Purification*, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, as by the Pacully Master School, Text Fig. 34), *Christ among the Doctors* (K1681), *The Marriage at Cana* (K1680). The group was first studied by Conway, who, familiar with only four of the series, described them as Flemish and unusually fine examples of the work of a Brussels court painter active c. 1490. On the basis of its heraldry, Conway suggested that the retable may have been painted to be installed at Valladolid, a principal residence of the Spanish court, where Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile (known as Los Reyes Católicos) were married in 1469. The arms were interpreted differently by Van der Put, who concluded that the panels were probably executed shortly before 1492, perhaps in the winter of 1488–89 when the royal couple received the ambassadors of the Imperial House of Austria to arrange the marriages which took place in 1496–97, when Prince Juan and Princess Juana married Margaret of Austria and her brother Philip the Fair respectively.¹ Contrary to Conway, Mayer proposed that the *Circumcision* (private collection, Text Fig. 33) was the work of a Castilian artist, close to the anonymous painter who assisted Fernando Gallego in the production

of the Ciudad Rodrigo Retable (κ2005-30) and who was identified by Bertaux as the 'Maître aux Armures'. Mayer noted the influence of Hugo van der Goes, Roger van der Weyden, and North Netherlandish art on the painter of the panels. He dated them in the late 1480s.² Post in 1943 also believed the author of the panels to be Spanish, possibly a pupil of the Pacully Master, but unlike the latter, oriented toward the School of Brussels and Roger van der Weyden. He named the artist the Master of the Retable of the Reyes Católicos, including him among the Hispano-Flemish artists active in the second wave of Flemish influence at Valladolid.³ Like Conway, he believed 'the profusion and prominence of the escutcheons of the Spanish king and queen to argue for the actual intervention of the royal house in the commission', describing the series as 'a work that historically as well as aesthetically takes its place among the most significant productions of the whole Hispano-Flemish movement.'⁴ Post quoted unnamed scholars as seeing two different hands in the Retable: one artist executed the *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Nativity* and *Adoration of the Magi*, and another the *Circumcision*, *Presentation of Christ*, *Christ among the Doctors*, and *The Marriage at Cana*.⁵ The first four are slightly shorter than the second group and were at one time in the Willys Collection (Palm Beach). Suida (p. 180) suggested the series included idealized portraits of the affianced royal couples. According to Brans, the retable was painted for the Spanish court by an imitator of Roger van der Weyden who may have been trained in Flanders. He suggested that Queen Isabella left it to a convent at Valladolid. Brans did not commit himself as to the origin of the master but pointed to North Netherlandish and German aspects of his style.⁶ According to Gudiol, the Master of the Retable of the Reyes Católicos initiated the final phase of Hispano-Flemish art in Palencia and Burgos. The artist was of Flemish origin, influenced by Roger van der Weyden, Memling and Gerard David. Endowed with great technical ability, the Master had a considerable workshop. The author found the retable's style to agree with the generally supposed commission date of 1496/97, when the royal marriages took place.⁷ Most recently Gudiol identified the master of the retable with Diego de la Cruz, whose documented activity took place c. 1487/88-1498, and who is recorded as working on a joint commission with the sculptor Gil de Siloé for a retable at San Gregorio in Valladolid.⁸ According to Gudiol, Diego de la Cruz executed the bulk of the *Annunciation*, *Nativity* and prominent figures in the *Adoration of the Magi*, *Visitation* and *Presentation* (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum). He wrote that the assistant who worked on the last three also painted *Christ among the Doctors* and *The Marriage at Cana* and was possibly trained in France.⁹ Gudiol assembled a considerable oeuvre for Diego de la Cruz. Many of these works, although not documented or signed, share the distinguishing characteristics of the Retable of the Reyes Católicos.

Whether or not the master of the Kress panels can definitely be identified with Diego de la Cruz, he was certainly a highly eclectic master who based his style on that of Roger van der Weyden and his Brussels followers. In addition to

the art of the Brabant, the painter also shows North Netherlandish qualities as first noted by Mayer. Some of the physiognomical types and fashions in the retable suggest that the painter was open to influences from the art of Lombardy of c. 1500; all in all, the panels could not date much earlier than the last decade of the century. The great altarpiece to which the Kress panels originally belonged probably contained several other scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin, such as the Crucifixion, some of which may have been rendered in sculpture rather than painting. In view of the retable's royal patronage, the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity was probably among the lost scenes, prominently located at the center of the altarpiece. The theory that the series was painted to commemorate the royal marriages of Spain and Austria is corroborated by the arms of both appearing in the *Presentation in the Temple*. The personal emblems of the Catholic kings—the yoke and bundle of arrows—are presented with those of Castile, León, Sicily, and Aragon, as well as those of Maximilian after his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, including the Burgundian strikeplate. The Fogg panel also shows the single large initial M for Maximilian at the right and the monogram of Ferdinand and Isabella above the yoke at the left.¹⁰

Provenance: From a convent at Valladolid? *The Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Nativity* and *Adoration of the Magi*, John North Willys, Palm Beach, Florida. French and Co., New York. Kress acquisition 1951. *Christ among the Doctors* and *The Marriage of Cana*, both c. 1922, Conde de las Almenas, Madrid (?).¹¹ Dr. Preston Pope Satterthwaite, New York. New York, French and Co. Kress acquisition 1951. (See individual entries for exhibitions.)

References: (1) The research of Conway and Van der Put is unpublished; it is in the Kress Archive. (2) August Liebmman Mayer, *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 144-5. (3) Chandler Rathfon Post, 'The Pacully Master', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., xxiii, 1943, p. 328. In 1933, *Post* (iv, 2, pp. 418-28) called the artist of the series 'Valencian(?)' and did not find him close to the Pacully Master. The Fogg Art Museum *Handbook* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 88-9) gives the painter as 'School of Castile'. (4) *Post*, iv, 2, p. 420. The arms are most prominent in the *Purification* (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Text Fig. 34) and the *Miracle at the Marriage at Cana* (κ1680). (5) *Ibid.*, pp. 422-3. (6) J. V. L. Brans, *Isabel la Católica y el Arte Hispano-Flamenco*, Madrid, 1952, pp. 130-3. (7) José Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae, ix)*, Madrid, 1955, p. 360. (8) José Gudiol, 'El Pintor Diego de la Cruz', *Goya*, no. 70, 1966, pp. 208-17, esp. pp. 209-10. The artist is described in a document as a sculptor resident in Burgos, and in a document of 1498 as 'Diego de la Cruz pintor'. His only signed work is a very Netherlandish *Man of Sorrows with the Virgin and St. John* (Barcelona, Bonova Collection) (ill. p. 208). (9) *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15. (10) Discovered by Jessie McNab with the assistance of Henry Berg of the Fogg Art Museum. (11) Illustrated in Arthur Byrne and Mildred Stapley, *Spanish Interiors and Furniture*, New York, 1922, II, pl. 109.

MASTER OF THE RETABLE OF THE REYES CATÓLICOS

K1861 : Figure 178

THE ANNUNCIATION. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61-44-21), since 1955. Oil on pine. 60 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 37 in. (153.3 × 94.0 cm.). Inscribed between angel and Virgin: AVE GRACIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM ('Hail full of grace, the Lord is with thee', Luke 1:28); on the ewer in the background: AVE REGINA ('Hail Queen'); Mary's cloak is inscribed: DOMINE... HIS... VNDVM. Generally well-preserved; re-cradled, cleaned and restored in 1954 by Modestini. *San Francisco*, 1955, p. 64.¹

The Annunciation (Luke 1:28-38) takes place in a domestic interior which has a bedchamber in the background. Gabriel, in liturgical garb, enters from a landscape at the left. Half-kneeling, he points to the Virgin with his right hand and holds a baton with the left. The Virgin stands at a prie-dieu on the right, her eyes downcast, holding a book with her left hand and raising the right. God the Father, in papal tiara and regal attire, is shown at the upper left holding an orb, his right hand raised in benediction. Seven golden rays (the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit) emanate from his mouth toward the head of the Virgin. The nude infant Christ, grasping a cross, glides along the rays toward his mother. The Holy Spirit as a dove is shown immediately to the left of Mary's head.² A pot of lilies, an emblem of Marian grace, is seen in the background, at the foot of the Virgin's bed.³

The composition of K1861 fuses several Netherlandish prototypes. Its primary source is the art of Roger van der Weyden (cf. the left, Annunciation, wing of the *Columba Altar*, Munich, Pinakothek). Unlike the latter, which takes place within a simpler space,⁴ the Kress panel has the bedchamber in a separate raised section in the background. Its style reflects the Netherlandish art of the last years of the fifteenth century, bringing together the manner of the followers of Dieric Bouts and Hugo van der Goe.

References: (1) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 274, Cat. No. 2249. (2) For this form of Annunciation, see *Panofsky*, I, p. 129; William S. Heckscher, 'The Annunciation of the Mérode Altarpiece - An Iconographic Study', *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, Ghent, 1968, pp. 37-65. (3) For this type, see *Panofsky*, I, p. 254. (4) K1861 may possibly reflect a lost Rogerian model since the spatial organization is very like that master's *Johannesaltar* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen). For the Netherlandish sources of K1861 see *Post*, IV, 2, pp. 424-5.

K1860 : Figure 179

THE VISITATION. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art (KR 61,30), since 1957. Oil on pine. 60 × 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (152.4 × 93.7 cm.). Inscribed on robe of Virgin reading from the shoulder downwards: MAGNIFICATE ANIMA MEA DOM[INUM] ET ECCELTAVIT

SPIRITAS MEAS IN DEO SALATARI ME0 ('My soul doth magnify The Lord, And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior.' Canticle of the Virgin at the Visitation, Luke 1:46-7.) A[VE] MARIA MATER GRACIE MATER MIS[E]RE CORDIE; and NOS AB OSTE PROTEGE IN HORA MORIA SASSIT ('Mary mother of grace, mother of mercy, protect us from the enemy and aid us in the hour of death.')

¹ Letters on the sleeve of St. Elizabeth: IASZI z[ACHAR]IAS (?). Further illegible inscriptions on Elizabeth's sleeves. The arms at the upper left are those of the Imperial City of Antwerp: gules a triple-towered castle argent and two hands couped at the wrist on a chief or a double-headed eagle displayed sable. The strikeplate from the emblems of the Golden Fleece is set at each corner of the square frame in which this armorial is placed. Generally well-preserved; cradled in 1953 by Modestini; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1957.

Tucson, 1957, Cat. No. 9.² Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, p. 73, pl. 65.

The Visitation, taking place before a château-like structure, Elizabeth's house, shows Mary embracing her elderly cousin (Luke 1:39-56).³ Both are richly garbed. Mary places her right hand so as to stress her pregnancy. An attendant figure in courtly attire, viewed in profile to the left, holds a spindle in her left hand and a purse or bookbag in the other.⁴ A monastic figure, Zacharias (husband of Elizabeth), reads a book in the background to the extreme right, on a porch. A small dog is on the steps below. Serving girls with mops and ladders clean the loggia in preparation for the Virgin's visit.⁵ Roses, dandelions, daisies, and many other flowers grow in the foreground; most of these are Marian attributes and many have healing qualities.⁶

The composition of K1860, as noted by Post, is based upon *Visitations* by Roger van der Weyden (Leipzig Museum, formerly Lützschen, Speck von Sternburg Collection; Turin, Galleria Sabauda).⁷ Although rooted in Netherlandish compositional prototypes of the first half of the fifteenth century, the artist has reinterpreted these in the light of work of the late fifteenth century, assimilating the Lombard style as well as those of Brussels, Bruges, and Antwerp. Mary and Elizabeth are depicted as queenly figures, with a court attendant at the left. The house of Elizabeth and Zacharias is shown as a palatial residence with the arms of the Holy Roman Empire. This emphasis upon the regal not only stresses the role of Mary as Queen of Heaven and Mother of the Lord, but may also reflect the probable patronage of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.⁸ According to Gudiol, K1860 is primarily by Diego de la Cruz, with some assistance by a member of his studio.⁹

Exhibited: Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 - 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 63.

References: (1) This hymn was sometimes used in the liturgy at Compline. See Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium*

Hymnologicum, Louvain, 1897, II, no. 11114. (2) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 274, Cat. No. 2250. (3) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 196–210. For the iconography of the Visitation in the fifteenth century, see Zsuzsa Urbach, 'Die Heimsuchung Mariä, ein Tafelbild des Meisters MS', *Acta Historiae Artium, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, x, 1964, pp. 69–123. (4) Suida (Tucson, 1957, Cat. No. 9) suggested that she may represent Juana, bride of Philippe le Beau, heir to the imperial throne. They were married in 1496. He noted that she looks up toward the arms of the Holy Roman Empire. (5) See Seymour, p. 72. (6) For floral symbolism in fifteenth-century Visitations, see Urbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–115. (7) He stated that the composition is close to a reinterpretation of Roger's prototypes in a Spanish retable in the Cathedral of Palencia and those at Cádiz of the Palencian (?) School (*Post*, IV, 2, pp. 400, 424, 552). (8) If the altar celebrated the double marriage of the Catholic King and Queen's children to those of the Emperor Maximilian, the emphasis upon fertility in this panel is also in accord with fifteenth-century patronage patterns. (9) José Gudiol, 'El Pintor Diego de la Cruz', *Goya*, no. 70, 1966, p. 214.

MASTER OF THE RETABLE OF THE REYES CATÓLICOS

K1862 : Figure 180

THE NATIVITY. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61–44–22), since 1955. Oil on pine. $61 \times 36\frac{3}{4}$ in. (155.0 \times 93.4 cm.). Knots in pine have caused disturbance in paint surface at upper right arm of Virgin; losses around head of St. Joseph and at bottom. Inscribed on Virgin's robe: MARIA... MATER MISERICORDIE IV... MODVSTE... MARIA MATER... DROIT... MORT ('Mary... Mother of grace...'); on angel's cope, lower center: IHS; on scroll at upper right: ET IN TERRA... GLORIA IN EXCE[LSIS]. ('Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men'. Luke 2:14); musical notation on scroll at center. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1954. *San Francisco*, 1955, p. 66.

The Nativity takes place in a ruined shed supported by a Romanesque column to the right.¹ Mary kneels in prayer at the lower left, the naked Infant resting on her robe, his left arm raised. St. Joseph kneels at the right holding a candle, leaning on his staff.² Three angels in liturgical garb kneel at the center, venerating the Christ Child.³ The Annunciation to the Shepherds⁴ is seen at the upper right (Luke 2:8–16); they are shown again at the center immediately below three singing angels.

Post related the composition to Roger van der Weyden's *Nativity* (Granada, Capilla Real).⁵ K1862 combines the themes of the Annunciation to the Shepherds with those of the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Nativity. This fusion may have originated with Hugo van der Goes (*Portinari Altar*, Florence, Uffizi) whose style is also in evidence in the Kress panel.

References: (1) For the Romanesque column see Panofsky, I, pp. 135–6, and Günter Bandmann, 'Höhle und Säule auf Darstellung Mariens mit dem Kinde', in *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten*, Cologne, 1970, pp. 130–49. For the Nativity see Réau, II, 2, pp. 213 ff.; Annunciation to the Shepherds, II, 2, pp. 218 ff. (2) For the theme of Joseph with the lantern see Brigitta of Sweden, *Revelations*, trans. by H. Cornell, *The Iconography of the Nativity of Christ*, Uppsala, 1924, p. 12. (3) Réau, II, 2, pp. 218–36. (4) For the angels' liturgical garb and the theme of the Adoration of the Shepherds see M. B. MacNamee, S. J., 'Further Symbolism in the Portinari Altar', *Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963, pp. 142–3. (5) *Post*, IV, 2, p. 424. The art of Dieric Bouts's *Nativity* (Madrid, Prado) is also close, but the Kress panel is probably based on later fifteenth-century variations upon these masters' works. Post suggested the School of Brussels as a likely source.

K1863 : Figure 181

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum (E-949), since 1954. Oil on pine. $60\frac{3}{8} \times 36\frac{3}{4}$ in. (153.3 \times 93.4 cm.). Inscribed on the boot at lower left: GEASV; on border of Virgin's sleeve: AVE M[ARIA] ('Hail Mary'). Blisters secured, cleaned, restored and cradled by Modestini in 1953/54; generally well-preserved.

Denver, 1954, p. 58, Cat. No. 25.¹

The *Adoration of the Magi* (Matthew 2:1–12) takes place within a structure similar to that of the *Nativity* (K1862).² At the center are the Virgin and Child. His right arm is raised toward the Magus at the right (Melchior) who kneels, opening a jeweled covered beaker. Caspar stands to the left, extending a footed cup with the right hand, holding the lid in his left. At the upper right Balthasar removes his crown with his left hand, presenting a reliquary-like, glass-covered, claw-footed container to the Child with his right. The aged Joseph, eyes downcast, grasping his staff with both hands, stands between Balthasar and the Virgin. The retinue of the Magi is seen in the middle distance.

According to Mayer, the composition is based on Netherlandish models, most notably the art of Hugo van der Goes.³ Post pointed to the parallel between the black Magus's gesture and that of the same figure in Hugo's *Monforte Altar* (Berlin, Museum) but did not believe in the direct influence of Hugo. He related the Magi at the right to those in panels at Cádiz from the School of Palencia (?).⁴ Larsen stressed the importance of Dieric Bouts.⁵ According to Gudiol, K1863 is primarily by Diego de la Cruz, with some assistance by a member of his studio.⁶ The Kress panel, painted at the end of the fifteenth century, revives aspects of early fifteenth-century art as does the contemporary Gerard David composition of the same subject (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts).

Exhibited: Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 – 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 64.



Text Fig 46 *Philip III* by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz.
London, Banco Español de Londres (see K 1662).



Le Calvaire.
D'après le Tableau de Annibal Carracci, que l'on voit au Cabinet de Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans.
Text Fig 47 *Crucifixion*, engraving by Louis Desplaces after Orrente
(see K 2105).



Text Fig 48 *Cardinal Borja* by Velázquez. Drawing.
Madrid, Academia de San Fernando (see K 1327).



Text Fig 49 *Cardinal Borja* after Velázquez. J. O. Flatter,
London (see K 1327).



Text Fig 44 *Christ Driving the Moneylenders from the Temple* by El Greco, Minneapolis, Institute of Arts (see κ 2127).



Text Fig 45 *Laocoön* (κ 1413) by El Greco before most recent cleaning, Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

References: (1) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 294, Cat. No. 2252. (2) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 236–55. (3) Quoted by Post, IV, 2, p. 425. (4) Post, *ibid.*; Post, II, 1, p. 182. (5) Erik Larsen, 'The Samuel H. Kress Collection at the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum', *Apollo*, LXI, 1955, p. 174. (6) José Gudiol, 'El Pintor Diego de la Cruz', *Goya*, no. 70, 1966, pp. 208–17, esp. p. 214.

K1681 : Figure 182

CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1122), since 1951. Oil on pine. $61\frac{1}{2} \times 37$ in. (156.3×94.0 cm.). Three coats-of-arms in central window represent, from left to right: the double-headed eagle displayed of the Holy Roman Empire; the arms of Castile and León for Ferdinand and Isabella; a lion rampant with forked tail (for the county of Flanders). The window at the left shows part of a heraldic device – a lion rampant *or* – the heraldic supporter of Castile. A strip 12 in. high has been added along the bottom edge to replace a lost section. Cleaned, restored and cradled by Modestini in 1950.

Suida, p. 178, Cat. No. 78.¹

The twelve-year-old Christ is shown in the Temple of Jerusalem with the doctors 'both hearing them and asking them questions' (Luke 2:46). Joseph, who points toward Jesus, had been seeking him with Mary for three days; they enter at the right (Luke 2:41–9).² Christ is seated at the center of the panel, below a baldachin, on a throne with pine-cone finials. Five doctors are to the left and three to the right, some in oriental attire. The Temple of Jerusalem is shown as a church, the lower section Romanesque and the upper, Gothic.³ Christ's hands form a rhetorical gesture as do those of several of the doctors, two of whom, at the left, hold books.⁴ Four statues are placed on columns to the left and right of Christ: at the extreme left David (?), next a priest (Melchisedek?), a man with a purse at the right, and at the extreme right another figure in official garb.

Like Fernando Gallego's depiction of the same subject (*The Ciudad Rodrigo Retable*, K2008), the composition of this panel is freely adapted from Northern prototypes. It has been suggested by Mayer that the 'Maître aux Armures', who executed a large part of the Gallego Retable, then painted panels for the *Retable of the Reyes Católicos*, including this one.⁵ Post stressed the dependence on the art of Roger van der Weyden.⁶ According to Gudiol, K1681 is by a collaborator of Diego de la Cruz whose style was influenced by French art.⁷ The chief stylistic reference of *Christ Among the Doctors* is to the later fifteenth-century School of Brussels.

Exhibited: New York, The Brooklyn Museum, 1935 and Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art, 1941.

References: (1) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 274, Cat. No. 2247. (2) For the iconography of *Christ Among the Doctors*, see Réau,

II, 2, pp. 291–2. (3) For this convention, see Panofsky, I, pp. 134–40. (4) For gestures of this type see Jan Bialostocki, "Opus Quinque Dierum": Dürer's "Christ Among the Doctors" and its sources', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXII, 1959, pp. 17–34, and O. Chomenstovskaja, 'Le Comput Digital', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XX, 1938, pp. 157–72. (5) August Liebmayer, *Historia de la Pintura Española*, Madrid, 1942, p. 166. (6) Post, IV, 2, p. 422. (7) José Gudiol, 'El Pintor Diego de la Cruz', *Goya*, no. 70, 1966, pp. 208–17, esp. p. 214.

K1680 : Figure 183

THE MARRIAGE AT CANA. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1121), since 1951. Oil on pine. $60\frac{3}{8} \times 36\frac{3}{8}$ in. (153.4×92.6 cm.). Inscribed on border of tablecloth: AVE * GRACIA * PLENA * DOMINVS * TECV[M] BENEDICTATV * INMVILERIBVS [sic] * ET * BENEDICTVS ('Hail full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women and blessed . . . ' Luke 1:28)¹; on Christ's tunic: QUID MIHI ET TIBI EST MVLIER² ('What have I to do with thee, woman?' John 2:4). Further inscriptions on hem of Virgin's robe, and on both hems of the towel draped over the shoulder of the attendant in the center. Coats-of-arms hanging below rafters from left to right: (1) Sable a lion rampant *or* (for the Duchy of Brabant); (2) *Or* a double-headed eagle displayed sable (for the Holy Roman Empire); (3) Quarterly 1 and 4, gules a castle *or*, 2 and 3, argent a lion rampant gules (for Castile and León); (4) *or* a lion rampant with forked tail (for the county of Flanders).³ Cradled at unknown date; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1950.

Suida, p. 180, Cat. No. 79.

The Miracle at the Marriage at Cana takes place in the foreground of the banquet hall (John 2:1–11).⁴ The bride and groom are seated to the right, under a velvet (?) baldachin. They look down at a wine glass held by a page in the foreground who points with the left hand toward the six water vessels in the foreground whose contents Christ, in his first miracle, has turned to wine. The groom is in regal garb, with ermine collar and jeweled chains; the bride wears a diadem and equally rich attire. Mary and Christ are seated to the left. Her hands are folded in prayer; his, in a gesture of benediction, seem to bless the cup extended by a page in the left foreground. A male guest seated between Christ and the groom holds his cup toward Christ. An attendant, whose head appears between Christ and the guest, raises his hat in homage. Another attendant with an aigrette in his hat stands behind the Virgin to the extreme left. Christ, the Virgin, and the bride and groom are seated at a table with an embroidered, netted and fringed tablecloth. Further witnesses appear at the upper right. Three trumpeters are shown above them in a gallery. The nuptial bedchamber is seen at the very center, with a rich column supporting a statue of Moses with the Tablets of the Law to the left.⁵ In the extreme left background three figures are shown seated at a table, in the kitchen, with a fourth standing to the right.

Post suggested that the subject of K1680 may have been selected 'to include a sacred symbol of the royal nuptials of the son and daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella to those of Maximilian'.⁶ Suida proposed that the bridegroom 'is an idealized portrait of Juan, Prince of Asturias, the son of the Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, heir presumptive to the Spanish throne. . . . The bride can be said to show a rather generic likeness to Margaret of Austria'.⁷ Gaya Nuño dated K1680 and all the Reyes Católicos panels c. 1496-97.⁸ North Netherlandish characteristics were detected by Mayer.⁹ Gudiol described the trumpeters as angels and noted that the gravity of the participants is due to their understanding of the miracle as prefiguring the Passion.¹⁰ According to Gudiol, K1680 is by a collaborator of Diego de la Cruz whose style was influenced by that of France.¹¹ The composition resembles that of the same subject (Private Collection, Germany) by Hinrik Funhof (died Hamburg, 1484/85). The Kress panel and the German one may perhaps reflect a common lost Netherlandish prototype.¹² The Master of the Reyes Católicos could have been apprenticed to Funhof before executing the Kress series, presumably painted in Spain. The figures of the bride and groom are reminiscent of Lombard art of c. 1500, recalling Bramantesque paintings and engravings such as Zoan Andrea's. Aspects of the composition suggest familiarity with the art of Antwerp as well as that of Brussels.

Exhibited: New York, Brooklyn Museum, 1935, and Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum, 1941.

References: (1) This is the salutation of the Archangel Gabriel at the Annunciation. This text may also refer to Luke 1:42 when St. Elizabeth greets the Virgin at the Visitation and says: 'and blessed is the fruit of thy womb'. (2) The text of Luke 1:28 concludes with 'mulieribus'. (3) References to the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece are found in the banner suspended from the central trumpet. This emblem is also seen with the single strike-plate of Burgundy included in a shield in the stained glass window above the head of Christ in the background. The heraldry was studied by Miss Jessie McNab. All the above devices except no. 3 refer to the Archduke Maximilian as Duke of Brabant, according to A. van der Put, c. 1922. Due to the omission of the pomegranate, this scholar believed the panel to predate 1492, when that fruit was included in the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella to denote the conquest of Granada. Van der Put dated the panel in the winter of 1488/89 when the marriages of the Prince of Asturias and his sister Juana to Margaret of Austria and Philip of Burgundy were negotiated (Van der Put quoted by Post, IV, 2, pp. 421-2). (4) Réau, II, 2, pp. 362-6. (5) Placed just above Christ, Moses represents the Old Law and Christ, the New. The conversion of water into wine was probably meant to be compared to Moses striking the rock to bring forth water (Numbers 20:7-11). (6) Post, IV, 2, p. 420. (7) Suida, p. 180. (8) Gaya Nuño, p. 274, Cat. No. 2246. (9) August Liebmman Mayer, *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 144. (10) José Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae, IX)*, Madrid, 1955, p. 361. (11)

Gudiol, 'El Pintor Diego de la Cruz', *Goya*, no. 70, 1966, pp. 208-17, esp. p. 214. (12) See C. G. Heise, 'Hinrik Funhof', *Kindlers*, II, pp. 504-9, repr. p. 505. Another work by Funhof, the *St. Cecilia Altar* (Lüneburg, S. Johannis-Kirche) of 1482-84, repr. pp. 506-7, also seems related to the Reyes Católicos series.

ALFAJARÍN MASTER (MARTÍN BERNAT?) [Aragonese Painter]

The artist is so named by Post after an altarpiece in the church of Alfajarín in Eastern Saragossa. The painter was active in the last third of the fifteenth century, his style based on that of Bermejo, to whose work he brings a more expressionistic yet less sculptural feeling. Post first suggested identifying him with the painter Tomás Ginér, an associate of the Arnoult Master, but did not retain this view.¹ Gudiol, very plausibly, united the oeuvre Post gave to the Alfajarín Master with that of Martín Bernat.²

ALFAJARÍN MASTER

K301 : Figure 184

THE CRUCIFIXION. San Diego, California, Fine Arts Gallery (35:47), since 1935. Oil on panel. 58×36 in. (147.3×91.5 cm.). Inscribed above the cross-bar of Christ's cross: INRI (Luke 23:38; John 19:19) ('Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews'). Panel probably cut down at sides; many gilded sections are built up in gesso, most notably the haloes, borders of garments and horse trappings.

The dead Christ is on the cross at the center. He and the Good and Bad Thieves on the crosses to the left and right are all heavily bearded. Blood flows from Christ's lance wound, made by Longinus, the equestrian figure at the left, who folds his hands in prayer over the lance, recognizing the divinity of Christ, as does the Centurion, the equestrian figure at the right.³ The thieves are bound to their crosses with ropes crossed over their chests, their legs broken and bleeding. The swooning Mary is shown in the foreground with two Holy Women at the left, and the consoling Magdalen at the right.⁴ St. John the Evangelist stands at the extreme right; two bearded elders enter the scene from the upper left, Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea. The Crucifixion is seen against a verdant hilly background with a city view and cloud-filled sky.

Post attributed the panel to an Aragonese pupil of Bermejo, dating it c. 1490 and suggesting the identification of the master with Tomás Ginér. He stated that an exact replica of the Kress *Crucifixion* was in the Milá Collection, Barcelona.⁵ According to Mayer, K301 belongs to the Aragonese School, executed c. 1475-85, influenced by Bartolomé Bermejo. He agreed with Post that the panel was probably by Tomás Ginér.⁶ In 1941, Post published it as by the 'Alfajarín Master?', describing it as a counterpart to a depiction of the same subject by Martín Bernat (Milá

Collection, Barcelona).⁷ Gaya Nuño accepted Post's attribution to the Alfajarín Master, whom he characterized as an Aragonese painter, follower of Bermejo, of the end of the fifteenth century.⁸ In addition to a dependence upon the art of Bermejo, the master of K 301 consulted Northern European Crucifixion compositions of the early sixteenth century. The Kress panel dates from this time, based on such works as a Düreresque woodcut *Crucifixion*.⁹ Post's separation of the oeuvre of the Alfajarín Master from other Aragonese painters of the late fifteenth century is not entirely convincing. The Kress *Crucifixion* is extraordinarily close to the panel of the same subject (formerly Munich, Langen Collection) which Post attributed to 'Martín Bernat (?)'.¹⁰

Provenance: Said to have been owned by Conde Dominquez, Spain. Probably owned by Paul W. Byk, an associate of Arnold Seligman, Rey and Co., New York in 1934. Kress acquisition c. 1935.

References: (1) Post, VIII, 1, pp. 142-84; IX, 2, pp. 868-73; X, p. 394. (2) José Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae)*, IX, Madrid, 1955, p. 306. Post rejected Gudiol's identification of the Alfajarín Master with Martín Bernat (Post, XII, 2, p. 687). (3) For Longinus, see K 2000, p. 1 (*Crucifixion* by the Veronica Master); for the Centurion, see K 1899, p. 24 (*Mystical Crucifixion with the Converted Centurion* by Lucas Cranach the Elder). According to Helmut Nickel, the armor dates from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, possibly c. 1480. The sword hilt is characteristic of those made in Milan for the Spanish trade. (4) For the theme of the swooning Virgin, see Otto von Simson, 'Compassio and Co-redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross*', *Art Bulletin*, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 9 ff. (5) Copy of letter to Paul W. Byk, 25/X/34, in Kress Archive. (6) August Liebmann Mayer certificate of 29/IV/35, in Kress Archive. (7) Post, VIII, 1, pp. 169-70 and X, p. 387, discussed further *Crucifixions* by followers of Bermejo related to those of the Alfajarín Master. For the Bernat *Crucifixion* see Post, VIII, 1, p. 63. Another *Crucifixion* by Martín Bernat (?) in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona (Post, fig. 22) resembles the style and aspects of the composition of K 301. A fourth *Crucifixion*, attributed by Post to the Alfajarín Master (Post, XII, 2, fig. 306), is also close to the Kress panel. (8) Gaya Nuño, p. 103, Cat. No. 225. (9) Valentin Scherer, *Dürer*, 3rd ed., Stuttgart and Berlin, n.d., p. 346. (10) Post, X, p. 396, fig. 163.

PEDRO BERRUGUETE

Pedro Berruguete was born toward the middle of the fifteenth century at Paredes de Nava (Palencia); he died before 6 January 1504. It has been thought that Fernando Gallego may have been Berruguete's first teacher. In 1477 Berruguete is recorded at Urbino where he worked together with Joos van Ghent for Federigo da Montefeltro. He probably also collaborated with Piero della Francesca on the *Sacra Conversazione* (Milan, Brera). After Federigo's death in 1482, the artist returned to Spain, where he

married and in 1483 established himself in Toledo. The outstanding Spanish master of the late fifteenth century, Berruguete united both Northern European and Italian Renaissance elements in his brilliant oeuvre.¹

K 1708 : Figure 185

KING DAVID.² Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College Museum of Art (1961.100.10), Kress Study Collection, since 1961. Oil on pine. Gold tooled ground. 32×38 in. (81.3×96.5 cm.). Inscribed on scroll: *hec requies mea in seculum seculi/hic habit[a]bit [habita]bo q[uonia]m elegi eam/DAVID RD* ('This is my rest forever, here will I dwell; for I have desired it.' Psalm 132:14). Extensive losses in body and head of David; cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini 1954/55. Pentimenti in right hand show fingers extended further to the right.

The seated David, shown knee-length, is in crowned turban and kingly garb, and holds a scepter in the left hand and a book in the right, with a speech scroll above.³ The prophet-king-musician is placed against a golden hanging, a portable organ shown at the left, within an arcade flanked by columns.

The work belongs to a prophet series, with Solomon, Isaiah and Jeremiah, forming the predella of an altar (devoted to the Virgin) whose original location and history are unknown.⁴ The major panels showed the *Birth*, *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Dormition* and the *Assumption of the Virgin*, all in the Luis and Raimundo Ruiz Collection (Madrid).⁵ Isaiah was at the extreme left, probably followed by a missing panel, with K 1708 (at the center), Solomon⁶ toward the right, and Jeremiah at the extreme right.

Post characterized K 1708 as incorporating 'the usual intermixture of elements from the Italian Renaissance and from the Hispano-Flemish tradition that constitutes Berruguete's distinctive manner. The prophets gaze forth at us from beneath arches resting on columns of the Renaissance . . .'.⁷

As the speech scroll in K 1708 was a prophecy of the Assumption of the Virgin, that panel was probably immediately above. David's frontal pose argues for a central placement, below the *Assumption* which is usually placed centrally in the upper row in Spanish retables. The use of such prophet figures is frequent in Berruguete's work, for example, in the predella of the *Retable of the Virgin* at S. María Bercerril de Campos, and the *Altar of St. Eulalia* at Paredes de Nava. The finely-painted portable organ is very like the one executed in intarsia for the *studiolo* of Berruguete's patron Federigo da Montefeltro (from Gubbio, now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). The placement of the columns in the Kress panel is comparable to that of the painted panels of famous men at Urbino. Losses in the central section of K 1708 are so extensive that Berruguete's own participation on the panel as opposed to that of his studio assistants cannot be determined.

Provenance: Luis and Raimundo Ruiz, Madrid, exhibited – Barcelona, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona, El Arte en España Guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional*, 3rd ed., 1929–30, rev. by Manuel Gómez Moreno, p. 307, Cat. No. 1240. Alberto J. Pani, Mexico City. New York, Van Diemen-Lilienfeld Galleries. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) For partial biographical information and bibliography, see Diego Angulo Iñíguez, *Pintura del Renacimiento (Ars Hispaniae, XII)*, Madrid, 1955, pp. 84–9, p. 347; Angulo, *Pedro Berruguete en Paredes de Nava*, Barcelona, 1946; Rafael Láinez Alcalá, *Pedro Berruguete, Pintor de Castilla*, Madrid, 1935. (2) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 116, no. 390. (3) *Réau*, II, 1, pp. 254–86. (4) *Post*, XI, 1, pp. 114–17. (5) Reproduced by *Post*, XI, 1, p. 115, fig. 31. (6) Reproduced by Láinez Alcalá, *op. cit.*, p. 41, pl. 12. (7) *Post*, XI, 1, p. 114.

RODRIGO DE OSONA THE ELDER

Rodrigo Osona the Elder was possibly active by 1464. His first known work is a signed and documented *Crucifixion Retable* (contracted for in April 1476) in the Church of San Nicolás (Valencia), combining Netherlandish and Italianate characteristics.¹ The artist may have visited the Netherlands shortly before its execution or worked in Spain with Northern painters. He could also have traveled to Northern Italy since much of his oeuvre resembles the art of Padua, Ferrara and Venice. Other documents for his activity date in the early 1480s. Additional contracts survive for his work in the Cathedral of Valencia between 1505/7 and 1510. An *Adoration of the Magi* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London; formerly on loan to the National Gallery, London) is signed by 'the son of Master Rodrigo'. This painting is derived from the San Nicolás altarpiece, but is by a lesser artist thought to be the son of Rodrigo de Osona. A very considerable body of work has been assembled around both father and son. The dividing line between their styles is far from clear.

RODRIGO DE OSONA THE ELDER and Assistant

K1664 : Figure 186

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.² San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61–44–23), since 1955. Oil on pine. 75½ × 47¾ in. (191.1 × 121.3 cm.). Scratches at upper left; horizontal patch in landscape at upper left; some losses in paint surface; cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1953/54.³ *San Francisco*, 1955, p. 68.

The Virgin, in rich attire, and Child are seated facing to the left. A kneeling Magus, Melchior, holds Christ's right foot with his right hand in order to kiss it; he holds the lid of a covered golden vessel with his left hand; his crown lies on the ground beside him. At the extreme left the black Magus, Balthasar, holds a covered cup. The third

Magus, Caspar, removes his hat with his right hand and grasps a covered cup with his left. All three are elaborately clothed and jeweled. At Mary's side, Joseph faces leftward, his hat in hand, leaning upon his staff. An elegantly clad donor kneels in prayer at the lower right, an open prayer book on the ground before him.⁴ A golden rosary is over his left forearm. Many gold chains encircle his neck, a jeweled pendant hanging from the lowest. A golden medallion (possibly Lombard), showing a male profile in armor with a pendant pearl, is pinned to the side of his hat. What appears to be the fishtail pommel of a sword is tucked under his left arm. The Annunciation to the Shepherds (Luke 2:8–20) takes place on a rocky outcrop at the upper left. Some of the small figures in the background may belong to the retinue of the Magi. Ships at the upper left and upper right corners may possibly be linked to the legend of the Magi. A kitchen maid watches over a cooking pot on the hearth of the ruined house where the Holy Family takes shelter. An old man feeds the ox and ass just behind the broken wall to the right of the Virgin.

Mayer was the first to attribute the work to Rodrigo Osona the Younger, placing its execution shortly before that of the same artist's *Adoration* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, formerly on loan to the National Gallery).⁵ Von Hadeln assigned the Kress panel to Osona the Younger on the basis of its similarity to the London painting.⁶ Von Loga followed Von Hadeln's view.⁷ Saralegui remarked on the similarity between figures in the San Nicolás *Crucifixion* (1476) and the Kress panel, believing that both father and son probably worked on the latter.⁸ In 1935 he wrote that a *Virgin, Child and St. Anne with the Trinity* (Zurich, Galerie Neupert) by 'Rodrigo de Osona the Younger (?)', came from the same retable as K1664, along with an unidentified panel owned by Ignacio Laquadra.⁹ This may refer to the panels of SS. Abdon and Sennen cited by Post below.¹⁰ Post noted the Francia-like character of the donor, comparing his physiognomy with that of the second Magus in the *Adoration* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum).¹¹ He regarded K1664 to be 'most surely executed by the young Rodrigo but probably with his father's collaboration'.¹² He proposed that the St. Joseph was painted by the father and the Virgin by the son, the style of the latter being close to the female saints painted by Osona the Younger for the *guardapolvos* in Valencia (Museo Provinciale). He found the architectural section of K1664 to reflect Rodrigo de Osona the Younger's probable collaboration with Bermejo, recalling the latter's *Adoration of the Magi* at Granada. Post thought the very large Zurich panel (200 × 115 cm.) to have been the central section of an altarpiece to which K1664 and another panel of an unidentified subject (also at Zurich) belonged, all coming from the collection of 'La Cuadra Oliag, Valencia'.¹³ Predella panels depicting SS. Abdon and Sennen, also from the retable also given to Osona the Younger, were still in that collection in 1938.¹⁴ Post indicated a date prior to 1496 for the execution of the Kress panel.¹⁵ Gudiol viewed K1664 as a joint work by Osona the Elder and Younger.¹⁶ Cook felt that probably both father and son collaborated on the Kress panel.¹⁷ According to Mayer the

painting belongs to the last phase of Rodrigo Osona the Elder, reversing his earlier view.¹⁸ Angulo wrote that K1664 was among the earliest known works by Osona the Younger.¹⁹

The composition of K1664 brings together aspects of the International Style with that of Italian and Netherlandish art from the mid-fifteenth century onward. The Magi recall both the works of Gentile da Fabriano (*Adoration of the Magi*, Florence, Uffizi) and Roger van der Weyden (*Columba Altar*, Munich, Pinakothek). However, the elongated Magi and the vertical format of the composition point to the paintings of Dieric Bouts and Hugo van der Goes. The architectural setting and landscape background are especially reminiscent of Northeastern Italian painting of the last third of the fifteenth century. A major Italian influence on the artist may have been Paolo de San Leocadio, an Emilian artist brought to Spain by Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia. Osona the Elder presumably had a considerable number of studio assistants as well as the aid of his son. K1664 shows enough characteristics of the securely identified art of Osona the Elder to make it certain that the panel was executed while that master's influence was strongly felt (c. 1500). If the panel is in large part by Osona the Younger it must be an early work, probably executed under his father's direction.

Provenance: La Cuadra y Oliag, Valencia, before 1913.²⁰ Lionel Harris, London, at least as early as 1913 until c. 1935. Sir Joseph Duveen, London, c. 1935. Duveen, New York, exhibited - Brooklyn, New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art, *Exhibition of Spanish Paintings*, Oct. 1935, no. 15; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1937; Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art, *Exhibition of Spanish Painting*, 1941, p. 50, Cat. No. 31. Kress acquisition from Duveen, 1949.

References: (1) For the biography of Osona and a discussion of attribution problems, see Elías Tormo y Monzó, 'Rodrigo de Osona, padre e hijo, y su escuela', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, VIII, 1932, pp. 101-47 and IX, 1933, pp. 153-214; *Post*, VI, 1, pp. 170-267; Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Pintura del Renacimiento (Ars Hispaniae)*, XII, Madrid, 1955, pp. 21-32. (2) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 261, Cat. No. 2082. (3) For the appearance of K1664 before restoration, see *Post*, VI, 1, p. 217, fig. 81. (4) It has been suggested by F. J. Sánchez Cantón (*Nacimiento y Infancia de Cristo*, Madrid, 1948, I, p. 183) that the donor is King Ferdinand of Aragon and Castile. (5) August Liebmayer, *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1913, I, p. 118. (6) Detlev von Hadeln, *Archiv für Kunstgeschichte* (Leipzig), 1914, II, no. 28. (7) Valerian von Loga, *Die Malerei in Spanien*, Berlin, 1923, p. 45. (8) Leandro de Saralegui, 'Miscelánea de Tablas Valencianas', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XL, 1932, pp. 300-1, and 'Tres Tablas Valencianas', *loc. cit.*, XLIII, 1934, pp. 157-62, p. 159, n. 1. He reproduced the Zurich painting in 1932, fig. 1. (9) Reproduced in *Post*, VI, 2, p. 653, fig. 294. (10) *Post*, VI, 1, p. 236, fig. 90, as 'La Cuadra Oliag Collection, Valencia'. (11) *Ibid.*, p. 218. (12) *Ibid.*, p. 216. (13) *Ibid.*,

pp. 216-18. (14) *Ibid.*, VI, 2, p. 652 and VII, 2, p. 891. (15) *Ibid.*, VI, 1, pp. 222-3. (16) José Gudiol, *Exhibition of Spanish Painting*, Toledo Museum of Art, 1941, p. 50, Cat. No. 31. (17) Walter W. S. Cook, 'The Exhibition of Spanish Painting at the Toledo Museum of Art', *Art Bulletin*, XXIII, 1941, p. 223. (18) Mayer, *Historia de la Pintura Española*, Madrid, 1942, pp. 140-1. He also ascribed the London panel of the same subject to Osona the Elder. (19) Angulo Iñiguez, *op. cit.*, p. 24. (20) According to Saralegui, 1934, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

JUAN DE FLANDES

Juan de Flandes is first recorded in Spain in 1496, when he was painter to the court of Queen Isabella at Toro, working in collaboration with Michel Sittow on a miniature retable of scenes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin for the Queen's private chapel. The very small scale of this project suggests that the artist may first have been trained as a manuscript illuminator, possibly in the region of Ghent, the art of which resembles that of these small paintings. The oeuvre of Gerard David at Bruges could also have been important for the formation of Juan de Flandes's style. His journey from the Netherlands to Spain may have brought him through France where the painting of the time could also have contributed to his manner. Juan's career at court (where he was also a portraitist) ended with the Queen's death in 1504. Afterward, the painter was primarily employed in the manufacture of large retables. In 1505 he began the panels for the chapel of the University at Salamanca. Thereafter he worked in the environs of Palencia, and established residence there c. 1508. He and his assistants painted the great retable for the Cathedral of Palencia (contracted for in 1509) and a similar one for the nearby church of San Lázaro, whose surviving panels are now divided between the Prado and the National Gallery, Washington (K1942/5). The more monumental qualities of the San Lázaro retable may be due to Juan de Flandes's new receptivity to Italian influences, possibly transmitted via fellow Northern artists working in Spain, such as Juan de Borgoña. His very late works are marked by an increasingly expressionistic and two-dimensional quality. Juan de Flandes died before 16 December 1519.¹

K1942-K1945 : Figures 187-90

(For a discussion of the individual panels, see below.)

THE SAN LÁZARO RETABLE. The retable to which the Kress panels belonged was identified by Vandevivere with one commissioned c. 1508 by Don Sancho de Castilla for the *Capilla Mayor* of San Lázaro (Palencia) which was granted him in that year.² Vandevivere noted that the retable's original format resembled that of Juan de Flandes for the Cathedral of Palencia, the panels being of about the same size. He suggested that the style of the San Lázaro panels indicates that they were contemporary with the

cathedral series (commissioned December 1509), assuming that work on both altars was conducted concurrently.³ The San Lázaro panels were rediscovered by Justi and published in 1887.⁴ At that time, six of the panels were in modern frames (flanking a copy of an Andrea del Sarto *Holy Family*). The *Ascension*, *Agony in the Garden* and *Pentecost* (all Madrid, Prado; Text Figs. 36–8) were on the left, the *Nativity* (K1943), *Annunciation* (K1942) and *Raising of Lazarus* (Madrid, Prado; Text Fig. 35) on the right. A *Visitation* (now in the Prado; Text Fig. 39) from the school of Juan de Flandes, probably belonging to the same retablo, was stored in the sacristy of the same church.⁵ The *Adoration of the Magi* and *Baptism of Christ* (K1944–5) were first recorded in 1952, previously kept in obscurity, presumably at the church of San Lázaro.⁶ According to Elisa Bermejo, the altar was probably dismantled and partially re-framed at the end of the nineteenth century; but recent archival research by Vandevivere proves that this took place in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁷

Two panels from the San Lázaro retablo depend upon Dürer's *Small Woodcut Passion* (completely published in 1511).⁸ Although commissioned c. 1508, the completion of the retablo may have extended well into the second decade of the sixteenth century. The San Lázaro altar is the most accomplished, in both composition and rendering, of all Juan de Flandes's works on a large scale. There is little, if any, sign of studio participation in the Kress Collection panels; the same cannot be said for the Palencia Cathedral series. The seven surviving panels of scenes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin show scenes from both the beginning and end of Christ's earthly mission, but omit key subjects such as the Crucifixion which must have been included in either painted or sculpted form.

In the San Lázaro retablo, the artist's masterpiece on a large scale, Juan de Flandes brought together the intimacy of late medieval art and the new breadth and abstraction of the art of the Renaissance. These large, handsome panels belong to a major monument of painting in early sixteenth-century Spain. The artist, probably of Flemish origin, drew upon various northern as well as Italian sources, his cosmopolitan style paralleling that of the so-called International Style of a century before.

Provenance: From the church of San Lázaro, Palencia, commissioned c. 1508. Frederick Mont, New York. Kress acquisition 1953.

References: (1) See Carl Justi, 'Juan de Flandes, ein niederländischer Hofmaler Isabella der Katholischen', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VIII, 1881, pp. 157–69; F. J. Sánchez Cantón, 'El Retablo de la Reina Católica', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, VI, 1930, pp. 97–113; *Post*, IV, 1, pp. 37–54; *Post*, XII, 2, pp. 615–30; J. V. L. Brans, *Isabel la Católica y el Arte Hispano-Flamenco*, Madrid, 1952, pp. 89–98; E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Juan de Flandes y los Reyes Católicos', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXV, 1952, pp. 237–47; Elisa Bermejo, *Juan de Flandes*,

Madrid, 1962. (2) Ignace Vandevivere, *La Cathédrale de Palencia et l'Eglise Paroissiale de Cervera de Pisuega*, Brussels, 1967, p. 45. Part of the document recording the commission was published by Vandevivere: '... en hazer y edificar de nuevo la dicha capilla de tal y de tanto, segund que lo ordonaré, y en fazer el retablo para la dicha capilla' (*Concessión, concordia y capitulaciones de la Capilla Mayor de St. Lázaro. Año de 1508*, Palencia, Archivo de la catedral, armario x, legajo 1, no. 5, fol. 12v.). (3) *Ibid.*, p. 48. He stated that the painter completed the San Lázaro retablo before the one for the cathedral. (4) Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 167; also Justi, *Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*, I–II, Berlin, 1908, I, p. 324. (5) August Liebmann Mayer, *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1913, I, p. 149. According to *Post* (IV, 1, p. 45), the *Visitation* (now in the Prado) retained 'the ancient Gothic frame' – presumably in the same style as that which the other panels would have originally possessed. For the Prado panels, see F. J. Sánchez Cantón, 'Las Adquisiciones del Museo del Prado en los Años 1952 y 1953', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXVII, 1954, pp. 1–14. (6) *Post*, XII, 2, p. 618. A letter of 11/X/52 from Max J. Friedländer to Frederick Mont described the Kress panels as fine examples of Juan de Flandes' art, close in date to the Palencia Cathedral retablo. (7) Bermejo, *op. cit.*, p. 44; see also pp. 28–30. Vandevivere, *op. cit.*, p. 45: '... el Retablo de la Capilla mayor sita en la Parroquial de San Lázaro, y que es de Patronato de Don Sancho, no estava con la decencia correspondiente por estar muy deteriorado à causa de su notoria antigüedad, y por lo mismo parecía conveniente, que el Cabildo como Dueño que es de la referida Yglesia providenciase à fin de que el Patrono de dicha Capilla no ubiese omission en la decencia que corresponde, y hallendose à la saxon [f. 75v.] presente el Senor Canonigo Capellan mayor, hizo presente, que en esa atención se estaba haciendo un Tabernaculo muy decente sin perder de vista hazer en adelante el Retablo...' (*Palencia, Actes capitulaires* [cathedral chapter records] – vol. 1760–2, f. 75r.–75v. of 1761.) (8) The *Deposition* is taken from B.42 and the *Ascension* (both Madrid, Prado) freely adapted from B.50.

JUAN DE FLANDES

K1942 : Figure 187

THE ANNUNCIATION.¹ Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1382), since 1955. Oil on pine. 43½ × 31¼ in. (109.9 × 79.4 cm.). The back of the panel covered with gesso mixed with straw, with transverse cross beams; slightly cut down at bottom.² Apart from small losses, the panel is extremely well-preserved; cleaned by Suhr 1952; cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini 1953/54. The only considerable loss is in the lowermost section of the angel's drapery.

Suida-Shapley, pp. 108, 110, Cat. No. 39. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, p. 75, pl. 67.

The Annunciate Virgin (Luke 1:28) is shown seated on pillows on the floor at the right in the pose of the Madonna

of Humility.³ She holds an open prayer-book and its protective covering in her lap, her head turned to the left and eyes fixed in a mystical gaze. She wears a fur-trimmed dress and a gold bordered mantle fastened with a jeweled chain. The archangel Gabriel appears at the left, in liturgical garb with crossed stola. His right arm is raised; his left holds a baton.⁴ A wreath of roses is in his hair, with a reliquary-like brooch at the center, topped by a cross. The Holy Ghost is seen above Mary's head in a large rainbow-hued glory. A majolica pot with lilies, emblematic of the grace of the Virgin, is placed on a small cupboard at the right on which there is also a needle case with scissors and bobbin held together by a purple cord.⁵ While the dilapidated wall in the background and Mary's pose reflect the concept of the Madonna of Humility, her rich attire and the rosary-like headdress of Gabriel allude to Mary as Queen of Heaven.⁶

The figures are closely related to the School of Ghent, that of Mary probably based upon female saints in a now lost *Sacra Conversazione* by Hugo van der Goes.⁷ K1942 is a more monumental, less vertical composition than the depiction of the same subject in the Retable of the Cathedral of Palencia.⁸ Juan de Flandes may possibly have drawn upon woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer. The Angel may be modeled upon the militant ones of the Dürer *Apocalypse*; he resembles the St. Michael in Juan de Flandes's panel probably from the University of Salamanca retable (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

References: (1) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 148, Cat. No. 762. (2) Before K1942 was cut down, the drapery in the foreground was probably shown in its entirety. A photograph taken by E. Haverkamp-Begemann in 1950 shows the excellent state of preservation. (3) For the Madonna of Humility see Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Sienna After the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951 (Torchbooks), pp. 132-56 and *passim*. (4) Discussing a similar figure in the Mérode Altarpiece (now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters), Heckscher noted 'Gabriel is both . . . announcing angelus and celebrating sacerdos; the latter role is indicated by the stole which is given to the priest as a sign that he has accepted the yoke from the Lord "in prosperis et in adversis".' William S. Heckscher, 'The Annunciation of the Mérode Altarpiece, an Iconographic Study', *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, Ghent, 1968, pp. 37-65, esp. p. 48, n. 12. (5) This may relate to the purple skein held by Mary at the time of the Annunciation; see the *Proto-evangelium Jacobi*, VII-XI; *Pseudo-Matthew*, VIII, IX; *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae*, VII-X. For the legend of the weaving and spinning Virgin see Gail McMurray Gibson, 'The Thread of Life in the Hand of the Virgin', *Silvia Heyden, Recent Tapestries*, Durham, North Carolina, 1972, pp. 9-16. (6) For the style of the Kress panel, see José Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica (Ars Hispaniae, IX)*, Madrid, 1955, p. 360. (7) See Friedrich Winkler, *Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964, pp. 155-80. (8) Reproduced in Elisa Bermejo, *Juan de Flandes*, Madrid, 1962, pl. 22; comparison discussed by *Post*, IV, I, p. 45.

K1943 : Figure 188

THE NATIVITY.¹ Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1383), since 1955. Oil on pine. 43 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 31 in. (110.5 × 83.2 cm.). Inscribed on flying angel's scroll: GLORIA IN ECCELSIS DEO . . . (Luke 2:14). Numerous pentimenti especially in the areas of Virgin's head and shoulders. The back of the panel covered with gesso mixed with straw, with transverse cross beams; slightly cut down at the bottom.² Apart from small losses, the panel is extremely well preserved; cleaned by Suhr 1952; cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini 1953/54. *Suida-Shapley*, pp. 108, 110, Cat. No. 40. Color reproduction *Evans*, p. 15.

Mary, in rich attire, kneels in the foreground, her hands folded in prayer. The naked, newly-born Christ Child is placed upon her robe, his right arm raised. Joseph is seen from the back, at the extreme left, grasping a staff, looking toward the upper right where a flying angel in a glory bears an inscribed scroll: the Annunciation to the Shepherds, two of whom are seen immediately below with their flocks (Luke 2:7-15).³ The ox and the ass appear behind Christ at the sarcophagus-like manger. The Nativity takes place against a ruined classical wall with an owl perched on it, a starry night sky behind.⁴

The composition is freely adapted from *Nativities* by or after Hugo van der Goes. Since Juan de Flandes was probably first trained in the School of Ghent, such works would have been readily accessible to the artist. Evans has observed Italian influence in the idealized face of Mary and the Renaissance archway in the background.⁵ K1943 is a more monumental, elaborate composition than that of the same subject for the Cathedral of Palencia. The latter is far more vertical in format, omitting the Annunciation to the Shepherds.⁶

References: (1) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 148, Cat. No. 761. (2) The Virgin's drapery would have been seen complete at the bottom. A photograph taken by E. Haverkamp-Begemann in 1950 shows the excellent state of preservation of this panel. (3) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 231-3. (4) For the symbolism of the owl, see Gallego, *Creation of Eve*, K2006, p. 167. (5) *Evans*, p. 14. Evans believed the owl to indicate Holy Wisdom. (6) Reproduced in Elisa Bermejo, *Juan de Flandes*, Madrid, 1962, pl. 22; *Post*, IV, I, p. 45.

K1944 : Figure 189

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1384), since 1955. Oil on pine. 49 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 31 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (124.8 × 79.4 cm.). Pentimenti in hand of Magus at extreme right. Tiny holes in centers of circles at upper left point to their execution with compass. Losses in head of Christ and lower part of Virgin's face; cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini 1953/54. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 110, Cat. No. 41.

The Virgin and Child are seen in three-quarter view to the left, facing the kneeling Melchior who offers an open coffer. He is shown in left profile wearing a hair net, his hat hanging down his back, an exotic sword at his side. The bearded, hatted Caspar is at the upper right pointing to the incense burner (?) held in his right hand. The crowned Balthasar is at the extreme right, enveloping a globular container for myrrh in his cloak. The retinue of the Magi – four equestrian figures and a groom – appears in the distance with the sea (?) to their right (the birds may be seagulls). The Adoration takes place before a ruined, castle-like structure. The multi-nimbed Star of the East is above the Virgin and Child.¹ Gem-like pebbles appear in the foreground.

The orb-like vessel held by Balthasar reflects a scene that may be the Crucifixion; such reflections are a hallmark of Juan de Flandes, seen in the shield of St. Michael in the panel at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York).² K1944 is a more monumental, less vertical composition than that of the same subject painted for the Cathedral of Palencia. While the Kress panel omits Joseph, who is shown in the Cathedral series, it includes the retinue of the Magi and the Star of the East not present in the latter.³ The composition is based upon those of Hugo van der Goes (Berlin Museum's *Monforte Adoration of the Magi*) or those of his followers, readily accessible to Juan de Flandes, who appears to have been trained in the environs of Ghent.

References: (1) For the Adoration, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 236–49. (2) For these reflections see Elisa Bermejo, *Juan de Flandes*, Madrid, 1962, p. 19, and Ignace Vandevivere, *La Cathédrale de Palencia et l'Église Paroissiale de Cervera de Pisuerga*, Brussels, 1967, p. 46. (3) Another depiction of this subject from the school of Juan de Flandes (*Post*, XII, 2, p. 619, fig. 264) is closer to the Palencia Cathedral *Adoration of the Magi* than to K1944, although in format it resembles the Kress panel. Another *Adoration of the Magi* is in Cervera de Pisuerga (*Post*, IV, 1, p. 46).

JUAN DE FLANDES

K1945 : Figure 190

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1385), since 1955. Oil on pine. $49\frac{1}{2} \times 32$ in. (125.7×81.1 cm.). Numerous pentimenti visible in cityscape. Slight losses in left shoulder of Christ and elsewhere; cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1953/54. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 110, Cat. No. 42.

Christ is shown standing in the Jordan River, which rises almost to his knees (Matthew 3:13–17). His hands are folded in prayer; he turns his head slightly to the left toward St. John the Baptist, who kneels on a rock, his outstretched right arm pouring water on Christ's head. The Holy Ghost appears immediately above, with God the Father in papal tiara, his right hand raised in benediction, his left holding a crossed orb, near the top of the com-

position. The Holy Ghost and God the Father are surrounded by a series of architectonic circles. An angel in the right foreground in liturgical garb and crossed stola holds Christ's mantle. Jerusalem is seen in the background.¹ Gem-like pebbles indicating holy ground are in the foreground. A number of goldfish are seen in the lower left corner.

Reference: (1) See Réau, II, 2, pp. 295–302. For other *Baptisms* by Juan de Flandes, see *Post*, IV, 1, p. 48.

SCHOOL OF CASTILE c. 1500–10

[Juan de Borgoña]

K1584 : Figure 191

CHRIST AT THE COLUMN WITH FOUR SAINTS. El Paso, Texas, El Paso Museum of Art (61–1–51), since 1961. Oil on pine. St. Jerome and St. Peter: $18\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{5}{8}$ in. (46.0×34.6 cm.) each. Christ and St. Paul: $18\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{5}{8}$ in. (46.3×34.6 cm.) each. St. James: $18 \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ in. (45.7×34.9 cm.). Very considerable splitting which has disturbed the paint surface and necessitated some in-painting; cradled in 1949 by Pichetto; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955 and 1961.

El Paso, 1961, Cat. No. 43.

St. Jerome in cardinal's garb is shown at the extreme left holding his attribute, the Church; St. Peter, seen frontally, holds his keys and book; Christ, turning to the left, is shown tied to the column of the Flagellation in the courtyard of Pilate's palace. St. Paul, in left profile, holds his sword in his left hand, pointing toward Christ with his right. St. James is at the extreme right, turning toward the left, in pilgrim's garb, holding a staff with the right hand and a rosary with the left. A book is placed upon the ledge at the extreme right. The five half-length figures are seen through a five-part arcade against a continuous background. A brocade hanging is behind each saint. The three central panels are united by the architecture of the palace of Pilate.

K1584 was first published by Shapley as by Juan de Borgoña; she suggested the influence of Joos van Ghent and Berruguete's *Studiolo* panels, which Juan de Borgoña had seen in Urbino.¹ Gudiol described the painting as a complete predella for an unidentified altarpiece, whose figures, especially the Christ, recall the work of the Milanese painter Borgognone. The Spanish scholar had previously characterized K1584 as Castilian, in the style of Juan de Borgoña, dating from the early sixteenth century.² *Post* tentatively attributed *Christ at the Column* to Fernando del Rincón, linking it to works by that painter at Daroca (Colegiata) and in the Prado.³ Although several of the stylistic characteristics and compositional devices relate to those of the group which *Post* has assembled under the Rincón heading, few if any of the latter possess sufficient documentary or other evidence for their authorship by Fernando del Rincón – a most shadowy figure. Therefore, it seems best to assign K1584 to the School of Castile, by a

master active in that area in the early sixteenth century, who, as noted by Shapley, exhibited distinctly Lombard traits, most notably in the depiction of the *Christ at the Column*. The art of the master of the Kress predella is more linear than that of Juan de Borgoña. The distinctive pink and grey coloration of the central section is alien to Juan de Borgoña's art.

Provenance: Formerly owned by a member of the Madrazo family, Madrid. Baron Raoul de Kuffner, Diószogh, Hungary.⁴ New York, Paul Drey. Kress acquisition 1948.

References: (1) *El Paso*, 1961, Cat. No. 43. (2) Statement in the Kress Archive, 1940. (3) *Post*, XIII, p. 222. (4) Collections given by Drey brochure.

PEDRO MACHUCA

Pedro Machuca's origin is unknown. He died in Granada in 1550. He was active as architect, sculptor, and painter. Machuca was probably a student of Giuliano da Sangallo in Florence c. 1516. He returned to Spain in 1520, possibly together with Jacopo L'Indaco [da Firenze], an assistant of Pinturicchio and Michelangelo. Machuca established himself in Granada where he painted the altar of Santa Cruz for the Cathedral of Granada in 1521, and was employed by Charles V as the 'maestro de las obras del Alhambra' in 1527. At the time of the artist's death only the exterior of the great circular palace he designed in Granada was completed. His son-in-law continued the construction. With Berruguete, Machuca was instrumental in bringing the art of early sixteenth-century Florence and Rome to Spain.¹

K1781 : Figure 192

THE PENTECOST. Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce (62.065), Kress Study Collection, since 1962.² Oil on panel (poplar?). 12½ × 51⅞ in. (32.1 × 131.8 cm.). Some losses in faces of central area; sides better preserved; cradled and restored by Modestini in 1957.

Ponce, 1962, Cat. No. 10.

K1781 depicts the Descent of the Holy Spirit (or Pentecost) (Acts 2:1-40) when the assembled Apostles were given the gift of tongues.³ Mary kneels at the center; the Holy Spirit appears immediately above. She is surrounded by the Apostles and many other figures – 'devout men out of every nation' – who witness the Descent (Acts 2:5-13). The long narrow composition is in three main sections. Machuca, an architect as well as painter, presents the subject in a large interior divided by at least six rows of piers. The organization is still Byzantine in program.⁴

The Pentecost was ascribed to Sodoma c. 1914; it was attributed to Gerolamo Genga by Bernard Berenson.⁵ K1781 was first published as a work of Machuca by Longhi, who suggested it was executed in Italy, noting the utiliza-

tion of Florentine and Roman art of the first twenty years of the sixteenth century. He cited the influence of the cartoons for the *Battle of Cascina* (Michelangelo) and *Battle of Anghiari* (Leonardo da Vinci) as well as the lunettes of the Sistine Ceiling and the Vatican Stanze and Loggia.⁶ According to Post, *The Pentecost* was painted in Granada. He observed that 'the strange, contemplative personage emphasized at the extreme left looks as if suggested by the mysteriously brooding spectator in Leonardo's *Epiphany* in the Uffizi. . .'.⁷ Held followed Post in placing the panel during Machuca's Granada period and pointed out that 'in the intensity of the emotional approach to his theme he points forward to later Spanish painting, especially El Greco'.⁸ Griseri placed this work in Machuca's late oeuvre, observing the importance of Polidoro da Caravaggio in Machuca's work.⁹ According to Gudiol, a modern utilization of the oil technique was to be found for the first time in the history of Spanish art in the Kress painting.¹⁰ It was described by the Wittkowers as 'an interesting transformation of Italian Renaissance models into the language of Spanish mysticism'.¹¹ As Longhi noted, the group at the extreme left is freely adapted from the *Salathiel* group of the Sistine Ceiling Ancestors of Christ series.¹² The sleeping man at the far right resembles the *Josias* of the same suite.

The Michelangesque aspects of the painting may reflect the work of that master's Florentine assistant Jacopo L'Indaco [da Firenze] who worked in Granada with Machuca in 1521. All scholars agree that *The Pentecost* formed part or all of the predella of a small altarpiece. The composition recalls Machuca's circular design for the palace of Charles V at Granada; perhaps it was painted for the centrally planned oratory there.¹³ The extremely mannered figure treatment suggests the possibility that Machuca's painting is partially based on the art of Rosso Fiorentino and the revival of the style of the late Donatello.

Provenance: Count of Syracuse, Cat. No. 32. Luigi Cavenaghi, Milan, c. 1914. Possibly Lorenzelli, Bergamo. Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) Roberto Longhi, 'Comprimari Spagnuoli della Maniera Italiana', *Paragone*, no. 43, July 1953, pp. 3-15; 'Ancora sul Machuca', *Paragone*, xx, no. 231, May 1969, pp. 34-9. See Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Pintura del Renacimiento (Ars Hispaniae, XII)*, Madrid, 1955, pp. 225-7; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Las Águilas del Renacimiento Español*, Madrid, 1941, pp. 111-40, 225-39. (2) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 226, Cat. No. 1671. (3) See Réau, II, 2, p. 594. (4) See Ank C. Esmeijer, 'Cosmos en theatrum mundi in de Pinkster-voorstelling', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, xv, 1964, pp. 19-44, for Byzantine examples of the subject. (5) Notes in Kress Archive. (6) Longhi, 1953, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-14. See also his 'Ancora sul Machuca', *Paragone*, xx, no. 231, 1969, pp. 34-9, esp. p. 36. (7) *Post*, XII, 2, p. 742, accepts the Machuca attribution of K1781 by Longhi. (8) Held, *Ponce*, Cat. No. 10. (9) Andreina Griseri, 'Berruguete e Machuca dopo il Viaggio Italiano', *Paragone*, xv, no. 179, 1964, pp.

3-19, esp. p. 4. (10) José Gudiol, 'Las Pinturas Españolas de la Colección Kress en el Museo de Arte de Ponce', *Goya*, no. 66, 1965, pp. 384-9, esp. pp. 385 and 389. (11) Rudolf and Margot Wittkower, 'Puerto Rico's Museum', *Apollo*, LXXXV, no. 61, 1967, pp. 182-3. (12) The composition resembles prints of the same subject by Caraglio (B.6) and Virgil Solis (B.22) which may all reflect a lost common source. (13) For this chapel see Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Arquitectura del siglo XVI* (*Ars Hispaniae*, II), Madrid, 1953, p. 218, fig. 18.

JUAN DE JUANES (VINCENTE JUAN MASIP NAVARRO)

This artist's life and work is often confused with that of his father, Vincente Masip, who was born c. 1475 and died toward the middle of the sixteenth century in Valencia, where he founded a dynasty of painters. Although it has long been assumed Juan de Juanes was born in 1523, the contract for the Kress panel (discussed below) was drawn up in 1536, thus placing the painter's birth earlier in the century;¹ he died in Valencia in 1579. The bulk of Juan de Juanes's known oeuvre dates after 1550 and is executed in a broader, more Baroque style than that of the Kress painting which must be regarded as among his early works and perhaps the first fully documented one. It indicates that the young painter initially adopted his father's style, as exemplified in the great retable with scenes from the Lives of Christ and Mary (Segorbe, Cathedral) painted by Vincente Masip in 1530. The Segorbe retable, like much of Masip's oeuvre, shows very considerable Italian influence, recalling such artists as Lorenzo Lotto, to whom K2152 was formerly attributed.

JUAN DE JUANES

[Lorenzo Lotto]

K2152 : Figure 193

THE CONSECRATION OF SAINT ELIGIUS. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art (KR 61, 27), since 1957. Tempera and oil² on panel, transferred to canvas at an unknown date. 58 × 37 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (147.3 × 95.5 cm.). The retable to which K2152 belonged was damaged by fire in 1584; the painting has considerable losses. Inscribed on the cope of the bishop at the left: [I] H̄S (an abbreviation for JHESUS). Modestini restored a few stains and applied varnish in 1957.

Tucson, 1957, Cat. No. 11 (as Lorenzo Lotto).³

K2152 shows the final moments in the consecration of a bishop, who has already been invested with the chasuble (embroidered with medallions of Christ, Peter and Paul), crozier, gloves and ring.⁴ The book held in his right hand was presented during the ceremony. He is about to receive the final episcopal vestment—the jeweled mitre—held overhead by the attendant bishops to the left and right. Tonsured figures in monastic garb kneel in the foreground. Two additional attendants stand to the left and right hold-

ing books; the head of a fifth is seen at the upper right.⁵ The episcopal throne is designed in early sixteenth-century Italian style (as are the columns on either side) with sphinx-like arm rests and emblems of the Theological Virtues at the top—a vestal keeper of the flame as Charity to the left and Faith as a woman with cross, chalice and Host to the right. Putti support a circular device at the center depicting a covered cup with crown above.⁶ St. Eligius of Noyon was born late in the sixth century in Limoges where he was to be apprenticed to a goldsmith. Master of the Mint for the treasurer of Clotaire II, he himself later became Dagobert's treasurer. Eligius took holy orders after that king's death. Toward the end of his life, after founding a monastery near Limoges, he was consecrated Bishop of Noyon at Rouen in 640 under Clovis II. He died in 659 and was especially revered in Tournai and Flanders. Patron saint of goldsmiths, numerous churches and chapels were dedicated to him throughout Europe.⁷

The paintings with which K2152 originally belonged were commissioned by the Guild or Confraternity of Silver-smiths of Valencia for installation in the Retable of Saint Eligius, their patron saint, for the guild chapel of the church of Santa Catalina Mártir (Valencia). The Guild's original retable was commissioned in 1454, but in the first decade of the sixteenth century a new one was ordered from Onofre and Damián Forment in the Renaissance style. This retable incorporated a statue of Eligius. 'Mestre ioan macip pintor' was commissioned in 1536 to add scenes from the saint's life.⁸ The retable was severely damaged on 29 March 1584, when the church of Santa Catalina was destroyed by fire. In 1607 the Confraternity of St. Eligius once again ordered a new retable with scenes from the life of their patron saint to be executed by Francisco Ribalta.⁹ The contract stipulated that the painter was to follow the earlier depiction by 'Joannes'.¹⁰ The Ribalta retable was largely destroyed in the Spanish Civil War. However, two of the sections survive (Church of San Martín, Valencia) showing the *Consecration of St. Eligius*, a close copy of K2152, but with an arched top, and *Eligius Presenting Clotaire with the Golden Saddle* (Text Figs. 40, 41). Diego Angulo, F. M. Garin Ortiz de Taranco and José Gudiol demonstrated the connection between K2152 and the copy of this panel at San Martín, establishing the Kress panel as one of the original components of the retable ordered from Juan de Juanes in 1536, and the only known section to have survived the fire of 1584.¹¹

Provenance: Capilla del Gremio de Plateros, Santa Catalina Mártir, Valencia—commissioned 1536, dismantled 1586. The surviving panels of the retable were sold by the Silversmiths Guild to a Madrid collector in 1751.¹² Collection Gherard, Paris. Said to have been owned by Salocchi, Florence, who purchased the panel in southern France.¹³ International Financing Co., S.A., Panama. Kress acquisition 1957.

References: (1) See J. Allende Salazar, 'Masip', *Thieme-Becker*, xxiv, pp. 205-6. This scholar follows the findings of L. Tramoyertes Blasco, who showed that Pacheco's proposed birth-date of 1523 was incorrect. For the contract

for K2152, see Francisco Ramón Rodríguez-Roda, 'Los Retablos de la Capilla del Gremio de Plateros de Valencia', *Saitabi*, Serie I - Arqueología, no. 7, Valencia (Universidad Literaria de Valencia, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras), 1944, pp. 5-22. The guild archives are now in the Archivo Municipal de Valencia. (2) According to Modestini. (3) A press release by R. M. Quinn of 25 Sept. 1963 re-attributed K2152 to Vincente Juan Masip (Juan de Juanes), giving F. M. Garin Ortíz de Taranco and Diego Angulo as the sources for the new listing. According to a letter from Federico Zeri in Kress archive of 6 Aug. 1966, K2152 is by an artist of the generation prior to that of Juan de Juanes, possibly the work of his father Masip. (4) See A. J. Schulte, 'Consecration', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, London, 1908, IV, pp. 276-9. (5) Suida suggests that they may belong to the Premonstratensian Order. He notes that the bearded cleric at the left, seen frontally, may have been the donor of K2152. (6) Probably an emblem of the Guild of St. Eligius in Valencia. (7) Réau, III, 1, pp. 422-7; *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, IV, Rome, 1964, 'Eligio', cols. 1064-73. For an elaborate Spanish depiction of scenes from the life of Eligius completed six years before K2152, see the retable doors painted by Pedro Nunyes (Barcelona, Museum) including his consecration (José M. Madurell, 'El pintor Pedro Nunyes y el retablo des San Eloy', *Museu*, VI, 1950, pp. 131-50). (8) Rodríguez-Roda, *op. cit.*, p. 7: 'Yo mestre ioan macip pinto otorgue aver rebut deu ducats de vos Señor mestre pere mir argenter com a clavari del honrat offici dels argenters e son en pertida del preu del retaule de glorios Sanct Aloy e perque es veritat fac yo sobredit lo present albará de ma propria a demou del mes de abril any mil cinch cents y treinta sis.' (9) Rodríguez-Roda, *op. cit.*, p. 9. The Ribalta contract in its entirety is given on pp. 8-13. A schematic reconstruction by Rodríguez-Roda of the 1607 retable (*op. cit.*, p. 12) has an empty field at the upper right with an unidentified subject which presumably would have been occupied by Ribalta's copy of K2152, with *The Saint's Mother*, *The King of France and The Cavaliers* below and *The Road to Calvary* at the bottom of the right wing. The other paintings in the cycle, mostly after Masip, showed in the center section, from top to bottom: *The Crucifixion with Mary and St. John*, the *Virgin and Child Surrounded by Angels*, a statue of St. Eligius by another artist, and the *Last Supper*. At the left were three scenes, from top to bottom: *Eligius Presenting Clotaire with the Golden Saddle*; *Eligius Working as a Silversmith and Giving Alms* and the *Agony in the Garden*. (10) According to Delphine Fitz Darby, *Ribalta and his School*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 121 ff., the painter often worked after Juan de Juanes. Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Pintura del Renacimiento (Ars Hispaniae III)*, Madrid, 1954, p. 155, notes that Ribalta also copied works by Vicente Masip, bequeathing two such reproductions to his son. (11) Letters from José Gudiol and Robert Quinn, 18/x/66. See Note 2 above. As the *Consecration* by Ribalta is so reliable a replica of K2152, his other painting (Text Fig. 41) may also be assumed to be an accurate rendering of one of the lost panels by Juan de Juanes. (12) Information from José Gudiol 18/x/66. (13) According to a letter from Federico Zeri 6/viii/66 in the Kress Archive.

EL GRECO (DOMÉNIKOS THEOTOKÓPOULOS)

El Greco was born in Candia (Crete) in 1541; he died in Toledo, April 1614. He was first recorded as a painter in Candia in 1566, where he worked in the Byzantine style.¹ In 1566, he left Crete, then Venetian territory, for Venice itself, where he was much impressed by Bassano, Tintoretto, Veronese and Titian. According to a letter of Giulio Clovio in 1570, he learned Western techniques in Titian's studio. In the same year Greco left Venice for Rome. There the art of Raphael and Michelangelo was a major influence on the young artist. His first documented activity as a portrait painter was initiated in Rome with the *Giulio Clovio* (Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte). The young artist may have returned to Venice for a second residence between c. 1572 and 1576.² In 1577 he came to Madrid, shortly thereafter establishing himself in Toledo where he remained throughout his lifetime.³ From the very beginning of his Spanish years, El Greco received major commissions (Toledo Cathedral, *El Espolio*, 1577-79; El Escorial, *Martyrdom of St. Maurice*, 1580-82) from Philip II and many religious institutions. With his masterpiece, *The Burial of Count Orgaz* (Toledo, Santo Tomé, 1586-8) the artist's major, mature phase was initiated. His final period began c. 1603/5 with the monumental altarpiece for the church of the Hospital de la Caridad de Illescas (Toledo) followed by many others. It was during this last decade that Greco produced his most penetrating portraits (*Fray Paravicino*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; *Cardenal de Guevara*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). He was also active as a sculptor, architect, and retable builder. Greco's profoundly personal, mystical art, with its dramatic fusion of Byzantine and sixteenth-century Italian sources, played a definitive role in the painting of Spain, where it was extensively copied for much of the seventeenth century.

References: (1) C. D. Mertziós, 'Domenicos Theotokopoulos: Nouveaux Éléments Biographiques', *Arte Veneta*, xv, 1961, pp. 217-19. (2) Halldor Soehner, *München Gemäldekataloge, Spanische Meister*, I, Munich, 1963, p. 78. (3) See Manuel B. Cossío, *El Greco*, Madrid, 1908; José Camón Aznar, *Dominico Greco*, Madrid, 1950; Harold E. Wethey, *El Greco and His School*, Princeton, 1962; Halldor Soehner, 'Greco in Spanien', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, VIII, 1957, pp. 123 ff., IX-X, 1958-59, pp. 147 ff., XI, 1960, pp. 173 ff.

EL GRECO

K2127 : Figures 194, 197

THE EXPULSION OF THE MONEYCHANGERS FROM THE TEMPLE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1482), since 1956. Mixed technique with considerable impasto, on poplar. 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (65.4 × 83.2 cm.). Inscribed in capital letters to right of birdcage at lower left: ΔΟΜΗΝΙΚΟ[Σ] ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΠΟΥΛΟ[Σ] ΚΡΗΣ [Text Fig. 42]. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955. Generally well-preserved.¹

Suida-Shapley, pp. 92, 94, Cat. No. 34. Reproduced in color *Seymour*, p. 132, pl. 123.

Christ stands at the centre, brandishing the 'scourge of small cords', (John 2:15) driving the moneychangers from the Temple.² He is seen against an archway opening upon a Renaissance city view. The Temple portico is in the classical style and partly resembles a gallery. A series of steps are in the foreground. Beggars and moneychangers are to the left of Christ. Some of the male figures to the right may be Apostles. Wittkower pointed out that Greco followed the *Book of Mt. Athos* in separating the Apostles (at the right) from the sinners (at the left).³ In the left foreground, two classically draped women are shown with a cage of doves – symbols of carnal love.⁴ An aged vendor is seated to the right, with a basket and bag of oysters, some rabbits and a partridge (these may also indicate carnal love). A nude infant is on the floor at the right near a carpet-covered moneychanging table and cashboxes. A sacrificial lamb is at the lower right. A woman, a pole with provender across her shoulders and a child at her side, walks to the right, possibly to make an offering in the Temple. Two men are seen in a candelabra-lit inner chamber at the upper right. On either side of the arch above the entablature are the statues of Minerva (left) and Apollo (right) derived from Raphael's *School of Athens* (Rome, Vatican).⁵

The depiction of the Expulsion was promoted at the Council of Trent and remained popular during the Counter-Reformation. Symbolizing reform within the church, the subject appeared on the *versi* of papal portrait medals such as that of Paul IV (1555–59), who forbade begging in churches.⁶ An account of the Council of Trent was in Greco's library.⁷ El Greco painted scenes of the Expulsion throughout his lifetime; K2127 and one in Minneapolis (Institute of Arts, Text Fig. 44) are the only ones surviving from his Italian period.⁸ K2127 has long been recognized among Greco's earliest works painted in Italy, based upon Roman frescoes by Michelangelo and Raphael,⁹ who, with Titian and Tintoretto, are often cited as influencing its figure style.¹⁰ The monumental reclining female is derived from a Roman statue in the Vatican, the *Sleeping Ariadne*. Justi related the small format of K2127 to the miniature style of Greco's sponsor in Rome, his fellow Greek Giulio Clovio, and believed Greco to have painted the Kress *Expulsion* in Rome for presentation to Clovio in gratitude for an introduction to Clovio's patron, Cardinal Farnese.¹¹ According to Justi, the painting was Greco's second representation of the subject. The larger *Expulsion* (Minneapolis, Institute of Arts), painted on canvas (Text Fig. 44), includes portraits of Titian, Michelangelo, Giulio Clovio, and Raphael at the lower right, all key figures in providing the major sources of the Kress panel.¹² Calvert and Hartley, noting that K2127 had long been attributed to Tintoretto, placed the panel in Greco's 'Venetian-Roman period' and viewed it as his earliest depiction of the subject.¹³ Mayer added Veronese and Bassano as well as Titian's *Bacchanale* (Madrid, Prado) as sources for K2127 which he dated c. 1571.¹⁴ According to Bertaux, the work was executed in Venice and is Greco's first depiction of

this subject, combining his Byzantine heritage of icon-painting techniques with the art of Titian and Tintoretto.¹⁵ Willumsen considered it Greco's first known signed work. He described it as a fusion of Byzantine art and that of Jacopo Bassano. He stressed the influence of the latter's *Samson Routing the Philistines* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), suggesting that K2127 was executed four or five years earlier than the Minneapolis *Expulsion* (described as a 'corrected replica' of the Kress panel), and that Greco brought a color sketch or drawing of the composition to Rome where the Minneapolis canvas was painted.¹⁶ Waterhouse placed the panel among the four earliest works by Greco, all painted in Venice between 1565 and 1568, the year he went to Rome. The Kress panel, where 'for the first time Greco has painted a picture which can fairly be called Venetian', is described as the latest of the four in date.¹⁷ Legendre and Hartmann date K2127 c. 1571.¹⁸ Goldscheider placed it c. 1571–73.¹⁹ Gudiol listed the panel as Greco's first depiction of the subject, noting the 'nervous quality expressive of Greco's Venetian period'.²⁰ According to Camón Aznar, the painting dates from Greco's supposed second Venetian residence, when his art is influenced by Tintoretto and Michelangelo, and when the *Healing of the Blind Man* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie); *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* and *Marriage Feast at Cana* (both at Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts) were also painted.²¹ Harris stressed the Counter-Reformation aspects of the subject and dated the panel c. 1570, emphasizing the warmth and brilliance of its Venetian coloring.²² Heil dated K2127 c. 1571.²³ According to Pallucchini, *The Expulsion* was painted during Greco's second Venetian sojourn, following the painter's Roman residence of 1570–72.²⁴ The Roman elements also caused Camón Aznar to date the panel after Greco's visit there, and to place it in his second Venetian residence.²⁵ MacLaren put the painting in Greco's early Italian oeuvre, as his first depiction of the subject.²⁶ Pallucchini noted the possible influence of Francesco Salviati's *Visitation* fresco (Rome, Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato). He places K2127 in Greco's second Italian period, stressing the importance of Tintoretto.²⁷ *Suida-Shapley* (p. 92) described K2127 as the earliest of Greco's depictions of the subject. They observed that 'the comparative small size of the picture . . . the use of wood instead of canvas, and the preference for heavy, bronzed colors and enamel effect remind us that El Greco was of Cretan origin and probably had training as an icon painter . . .'. Trapier thought the panel was probably done in Rome, less accomplished and earlier in date than the Minneapolis version.²⁸ Gaya Nuño dated K2127 c. 1572–76.²⁹ Soria wrote that both the Kress and Minneapolis *Expulsions* were painted during a second Venetian residence, the former being the earlier of c. 1572–73.³⁰ Sánchez de Palacios listed K2127 as the earliest of Greco's *Expulsion* depictions.³¹ Arslan characterized the panel as Greco's 'first complex Venetian painting'.³² Wetthey noted Greco's retention and reapplication of the composition throughout his lifetime, dating it among the artist's earliest certain works, c. 1560–65, indicated by inept figure drawing and cluttered groupings.³³ K2127 was painted c. 1570, 'when the young Greek had barely arrived in Venice', according

to Walker.³⁴ The *Italian Heritage* catalogue described it as Greco's earliest version of the subject, c. 1565.³⁵

The *Expulsion's* precise dating is still unclear. While the use of panel and mixed technique point to an early period in Greco's Italian years, before his Roman residence, the extensive quotations from Raphael and Michelangelo suggest that the work was painted during or after the Roman period. The assumed second Venetian residence, and a dating of K2127 within this period, prior to the Minneapolis *Expulsion*, may prove correct. The genesis of the Kress panel in relation to Greco's depiction of the same subject in larger form (Minneapolis, Institute of Art, Text Fig. 44) is much disputed. The question of priority may be elucidated by comparison with two other early Italian works by Greco, both showing the same subject: the *Healing of the Blind Man*. One, like K2127, is on panel (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie); the other, like the Minneapolis *Expulsion*, is larger and on canvas (New York, Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Wrightsman). In each pair of the same subject, the small work, on panel, includes a number of genre details in the Venetian manner which are omitted from the larger painting on canvas. The two canvases include additional figures in bust or half-length, involving a more complex spatial organization than the panels, pointing to Greco's later works. In each subject pair the smaller work, on panel, was probably executed first. This important panel from the young artist's Italian years indicates in *nucleo* Greco's individual approach, as yet swaddled in Venetian art and Romanism, which the painter was to develop in Spain.

Provenance: Four depictions of the *Expulsion* are recorded in the first (1614) inventory of Greco's estate prepared by Jorge Manuel (Greco's son) and are listed again, with measurements, in the second inventory of 1621. The artists are not specified. None of the four can conclusively be identified with the Kress panel which may well have been left by Greco in Italy.³⁶ Sir John Charles Robinson, London (sale, Paris, 7-8 May 1868, Cat. No. 25).³⁷ Sir Francis Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, until 1901, exhibited - London, New Gallery, *Venetian Art*, 1894, Cat. No. 182. London, New Gallery, *Spanish Art*, 1895, Cat. No. 130. Sir Frederick Cook, until 1920, exhibited - London, Grafton Galleries, *Spanish Art*, 1913, p. 115, Cat. No. 116. Sir Herbert Cook, until 1939. (Maurice W. Brockwell, *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey*, 1932, p. 29, Cat. No. 495). Sir Francis Ferdinand Cook. New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) Carl Justi described K2127 as brilliantly preserved and in its original frame (*Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*, Berlin, 1908, II, p. 217). The present frame appears to be twentieth century, possibly earlier. According to Emilio H. del Villar, who dated the panel c. 1570, K2127 is partially unfinished (*El Greco en España*, Madrid, 1928, pp. 53, 81). Ellis Waterhouse noted in 1930 ('El Greco's Italian Period', *Art Studies* VIII, 1930, I, pp. 61-88, esp. pp. 70, 85, Cat. No. 5) that 'the pigment has clotted and the colour disappeared in patches'

and that 'the pigment has become terribly dry, but the picture is unrestored'. (2) Matthew 21:12-15; Mark 11:15-17; Luke 19:45-7; John 2:13-16. For the iconography of the *Expulsion*, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 401-3. He dated K2127 to 1567 (p. 403). (3) Rudolf Wittkower, 'El Greco's language of gestures', *Art News*, LVI, 1957, pp. 44-9, 53-4. For the Mt. Athos text, see Alphonse Napoléon Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne, Grecque et Latine*, Paris, 1845, p. 187. (4) See José Camón Aznar, *Dominico Greco*, Madrid, 1950, I, pp. 62 ff. for an identification of the reclining female figure as Concupiscence and the muscular man as Violence. (5) Harold E. Wethey (*El Greco and His School*, Princeton, 1962, II, p. 68, Cat. No. 104) suggests Jacopo Sansovino as a source for these and proposes the female is Hera, which seems unlikely since the parrot at this figure's side symbolizes the *logos*. (6) Enriqueta Harris, *The Purification of the Temple*, London, 1944, pp. 7-9, noted the Counter-Reformation significance of the subject. Wethey, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 66-8 says Pius IV and Gregory XIII also selected the *Expulsion* for commemorative medals. (7) See Francisco de Borja de San Román y Fernández, *El Greco en Toledo*, Madrid, 1920, p. 195. (8) For the many other versions by Greco, from his studio, or later copies, see Neil MacLaren (*The Spanish School*, London, National Gallery, 1952), pp. 14-15; *The Frick Collection*, I, *Paintings*, Pittsburgh, 1949, pp. 291-2; Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, pp. 827-44, 1361-2, Cat. Nos. 82-98; Wethey, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-70, Cat. Nos. 104-10. All *Expulsions* painted by Greco in Spain omit the female figures at the left and differ considerably in the architectural setting and background from K2127. (9) Captain S. S. Cook (Samuel Edward Widdrington, *Sketches in Spain During the Years 1829-1832*, London, 1834, pp. 158-9) noted the strong influence of Michelangelo's *Battle of Cascina*, probably via Marcantonio's well-known engraving after some of the figures (B.487). Jens Ferdinand Willumsen, *La Jeunesse du Peintre El Greco*, Paris, 1927, II, p. 282, has found a figure similar to the man seen from the back to the left of Christ in an Italianate engraving by Beham (B.16); Fern Rusk Shapley (National Gallery, Washington, Archive) suggested it stemmed from the influence of Michelangelo's Pauline Chapel frescoes (Rome, Vatican). Enriqueta Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9, related the figure with raised arms to the left of Christ to one in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (Vatican, Sistine Chapel). MacLaren followed her view (*op. cit.*, p. 13 and p. 14 n. 3). He observed that Michelangelo sources may have been transmitted to Greco by Giulio Clovio who is known to have produced copies after Michelangelo drawings (*ibid.*, p. 14, n. 4). Harold Wethey (*op. cit.*, pp. 66-7) proposed that Michelangelo's projects for an *Expulsion* may have been seen in Venice by El Greco. For such Michelangelo drawings see Luitpold Dussler, *Die Zeichnungen des Michelangelo*, Berlin, 1959, Cat. Nos. 165-7. A. L. Mayer (*El Greco*, Munich, 1911, pp. 23-6, Cat. No. 49) stressed the influence on K2127 of Raphael's tapestry cartoon, the *Healing of the Blind Man* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum). The major Raphael source for the panel is his *School of Athens* (Vatican, *Stanze*), from which the general setting is largely derived as well as the pose and placement of several figures - most notably the

oyster vendor at the right. The statues in the upper left and right of the Kress painting are taken from those of Apollo and Minerva in the Raphael fresco. Palladian architecture may also have been utilized for the setting. (10) Ellis Waterhouse (*op. cit.*, p. 76) proposed Greco's possible consultation of figure studies by Titian. Camón Aznar stressed Tintoretto as the primary source and Titian as the secondary one (*op. cit.*, I, p. 66). MacLaren (*op. cit.*, p. 13) linked the figure of Christ to that in Titian's *Transfiguration* (Venice, San Salvatore), reversed by Greco. (11) Justi, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 217-18. (12) Manuel B. Cossío, *El Greco*, Madrid, 1908, p. 77, follows Justi's views. (13) Albert F. Calvert and Catherine G. Hartley, *El Greco, An Account of his Life and Work*, London, 1909, pp. 37, 47. (14) Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-6, Cat. No. 49. (15) Émile Bertaux, 'L'Exposition Espagnole de Londres', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 4th ser., XI, 1914, pp. 250-64, esp. pp. 255-6. (16) Willumsen, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 275-90, 413-27, 419. (17) Waterhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 76. He rejects Willumsen's Bassano source for K2127. (18) M. Legendre and A. Hartmann, *Domenikos Theotokopoulos Called El Greco*, London, 1937, p. 158. (19) Ludwig Goldscheider, *El Greco*, London, 1938, pl. 5. (20) José Gudiol, 'El Greco Works in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts', *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, XXX, 7 June 1941, pp. 110-15, esp. p. 110. (21) J. Camón Aznar, *Bizancio y Italia en El Greco*, University of Granada, 1944, p. 35. He repeats this view in his Greco monograph, I, pp. 62-6. (22) Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9. (23) Walter Heil, *El Greco*, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, 1947, discussed with Cat. No. 1 - the Minneapolis example. (24) R. Pallucchini, 'Some Early Works by El Greco', *Burlington Magazine*, xc, 1948, pp. 130-5, esp. p. 133. (25) Camón Aznar, 1950, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 62-6. (26) MacLaren, *op. cit.*, p. 13. (27) Pallucchini, 'La Vicenda Italiana del Greco', *Paragone*, No. 45, 1953, pp. 24-39. M. Soria follows this view. He notes that after 1578 almost all Greco's signatures are cursive while that of K2127 is in capitals. (28) Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, 'El Greco in the Farnese Palace, Rome', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LI, 1958, pp. 73-90, p. 85. She seems to suggest Sebastiano Serlio's works as a source for the architecture shown in K2127. The works of Serlio were included in Greco's library, the contents listed in an inventory by his son Jorge Manuel. See San Roman, *op. cit.*, p. 195. (29) *Goya Nuño*, p. 187, Cat. No. 192. (30) George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500-1800*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 211. (31) Mariano Sánchez de Palacios, *El Greco*, Madrid, 1961, p. 112. This view is also shared by Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón (*El Greco*, Milan, 1961, p. 19), who noted that K2127 was less personal in expression than the other *Expulsion* compositions, due to its Bassanesque quality. Reference courtesy of Anne Poulet and Everett Fahy. (32) Eduardo Arslan, 'El Greco', *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, New York, 1962, VI, col. 835. (33) Wethey, *op. cit.*, II, p. 66. (34) John Walker, *The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*, New York, n.d. [1963], p. 156. (35) *The Italian Heritage*, Exhibition for the Benefit of CRIA, Wildenstein, 1967, Cat. No. 43. (36) The first inventory is published by Francisco de Borja de San Román y

Fernández in *El Greco en Toledo*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 192-5, Doc. 52, Inv. 1, and the second inventory by the same author in 'De la vida del Greco', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, III, 1927, pp. 275-339, esp. pp. 285-309. (Second inventory *Expulsion* sizes are transposed into inches by MacLaren, *op. cit.*, p. 14). No. 8 (22×25 in.) is identified by San Román with the version in San Ginés, Madrid. No. 20 (17×22 in.) is listed as the Frick collection canvas. No. 28 (44×56 in. - described in the inventory as 'el original') is identified by San Román with the Minneapolis painting. No. 217, 44×58 in. is given as the one now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge. Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9, believes that two of the four *Expulsions* listed in the Greco inventory are the Kress and Minneapolis paintings, taken by the artist to Toledo. (37) John Charles Robinson, *Memoranda on Fifty Paintings*, London, 1868, p. 38, Cat. No. 28. He owned both K2127 and the London National Gallery *Expulsion*. The Kress panel was attributed to Tintoretto at some time in the nineteenth century.

EL GRECO

K1971 : Figure 195

ST. FRANCIS VENERATING THE CRUCIFIX. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61-44-24), since 1955. Oil on very finely woven canvas. 58×41½ in. (147.3×105.4 cm.). Inscribed¹ on painted cartellino on rock at lower right corner: δομήνικ[ος] θεοτόκος εποίη[?] (Text Fig. 43). Minor surface losses; tears at center, through hands. Restored and relined by Suhr, c. 1952. Well-preserved. *San Francisco*, 1955, p. 70.

The kneeling saint is shown in right profile, hands crossed on breast, in Franciscan habit, his knotted cincture extending to the ground toward the right. He venerates a white sculpted (ivory?) Christ on a dark wooden cross resting against a skull placed on a rocky ledge. A closed book is placed in the foreground.² A cluster of ivy grows from the rocks at the upper left; a patch of sky is seen at the upper right. The young, bearded, haggard, ascetic saint is shown some time before his stigmatization at Monte Laverna, believed to have taken place a few years before his death in 1226. The stigmatization is often depicted in a rocky setting similar to that of K1971.³ The artist depicts Francis in a reflective pose, contemplating the sacrifice of Christ and the vanity of human existence as symbolized by the skull below the crucifix.⁴ Greco often included ivy in his depictions of saints in hermit-like retreat as a symbol of ascendant virtue.⁵ Scenes from Francis's life were frequently depicted by Greco, a neighbour of the Franciscan monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo.⁶ The artist was praised by Pacheco (in 1638) as the most accurate of all Francis's painters.⁷

Suida (*San Francisco*, *loc. cit.*), stated that K1971 was probably painted between 1580 and 1590. A letter from Martin Soria described it as the prototype for all others of

the same composition.⁸ It is known as the 'Cuerva' type, named after the canvas from the Convento de Carmelitos in Cuerva, Toledo (now in Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes).⁹ Wethey characterized the Kress canvas as surely the original by Greco and the best of the type known today. He dated it c. 1595–1600, noting its free, illusionistic brushwork and use of white highlights to produce a brilliant effect.¹⁰ According to Gudiol, K1971 presents 'A subtle advance towards expressive deformations . . . characteristic of his [Greco's] style of a later period' as compared to depictions of the same theme at Lille (Musée des Beaux-Arts) and Madrid (Ministerio de la Gobernación).¹¹ Camón Aznar wrote that the Cuerva composition stems from Greco's first Toledo phase. Soehner dated it c. 1583–85.¹² Nineteen such compositions by Greco and his followers are listed by Camón Aznar (Cat. Nos. 570–88). A feature separating these works is the saint's glance – in five examples he looks downward as in the Kress canvas. The others show him looking upward. The Kress canvas is the largest example of the subject by Greco and perhaps the finest in quality.

*Provenance:*¹³ Private collection, France. H. F. Fankhauser, Basel. New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel, Inc. Kress acquisition 1953, exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec 1961 – 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 41.

References: (1) For comparable inscriptions on similar depictions of St. Francis by or after Greco, see Halldor Soehner, 'Greco in Spanien', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, II, 'Atelier und Nachfolge Grecos', IX/X, 1958/59, pp. 147–242, esp. pp. 157, 159, 161. Soehner's fig. 11g is especially close to that of K1971. A similar signature is found in his fig. 1e (attributed to Jorge Manuel Theotocopouli and studio, Madrid, Ministerio de la Gobernación); see also his 13d (Collection of Mariano Gómez Aguilar, Medina Sidonia) and 13e (Zaragoza Museum) both attributed to Jorge Manuel and studio. José Camón Aznar (*Dominico Greco*, Madrid, 1950, II, p. 1385, Cat. No. 571) viewed the Medina Sidonia example as an original by Greco as do other writers. The signature on K1971 is accepted by Suida (*San Francisco*, p. 70) as 'the master's guarantee and approval of his own work, an honor not given to numerous replicas and "versions" produced in the studio by assistants or elsewhere by imitators . . .', but this is not a correct assumption in every case as shown by Soehner (*supra*). (2) The Crucifix is based upon an Italian mid-sixteenth-century model. (3) See Millard Meiss, *Giovanni Bellini's 'St. Francis' in the Frick Collection*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 22 ff. (4) See Émile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 172–9. According to Réau (III, I, pp. 519 ff., 529) Greco introduced the skull in Franciscan scenes. For Greco's treatment of Franciscan subjects, see Paul Guinard, 'Saint François dans l'Oeuvre de Greco', *Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine*, II, 1925, pp. 1–20; José Gudiol, 'Iconography and Chronology in El Greco's Paintings of St. Francis', *Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1962, pp. 195–203. (5) See Friderike Klauner, 'Ephreu', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*,

v, 1959, cols. 857–69, esp. cols. 864, 866. (6) According to Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1383–9, Cat. Nos. 538–672, 135 Franciscan subjects survive executed by Greco and/or his immediate followers. (7) Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, II, pp. 344–5. (8) Kress Archive, 20/IX/54. (9) Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1385, Cat. No. 570. (10) Harold Wethey, *El Greco and His School*, Princeton, 1962, II, p. 121, Cat. No. 219. (11) Gudiol, *op. cit.*, p. 202. The Madrid painting is attributed by Soehner to Greco's son (see Note 1 above). (12) Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, I, p. 365. Soehner, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 182–3, Cat. No. 27. Soehner noted that the Cuerva canvas, the only example in Spain of the composition (which he accepted as an original by Greco) is very poorly preserved; now heavily restored. (13) Soehner, *ibid.*, p. 174, observed that a large number of Franciscan subjects were sent by the artist to southern Spain. Possibly K1971 may have been first owned in that region.

EL GRECO

K1413 : Figures 198–200

LAOCOÖN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (885), since 1946. Oil on canvas. $54\frac{1}{8} \times 67\frac{7}{8}$ in. (137.5×172.5 cm.). An unidentified inventory number, '104', is painted in the lower left corner. Considerable losses in breast of standing figure at the left and lower section of raised leg of major reclining figure. Smaller losses in sky area and along lower edge. According to Mayer, K1413 was somewhat damaged during relining prior to 1926.¹ Large, clumsy loincloths were added at an unknown date to the figures at the extreme left and right. The latter was also given a bouffant coiffure, obscuring her diadem. All these additions were removed during the restoration of the painting by Modestini in 1955 when a second head (in left profile) was uncovered for the figure in right profile at the extreme right, as well as additional studies for the legs. These preliminary projects have been left uncovered.² See Text Fig. 45 for K1413 before the most recent cleaning. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, p. 133, pl. 124.

The death of Laocoön and his two sons is witnessed by a nude male and female standing at the extreme right. The scene takes place on a rocky outcropping outside the walls of Troy – depicted as Toledo – seen against a turbulent sky. The nude, bearded priest Laocoön is at the center, falling backwards, grasping a serpent which is about to bite his brow. Laocoön's nude sons are to the left and right; the first stands frontally, his hands grasping the arched serpent, which will bite his right side. The son at the right, already dead, is seen head first, lying on his back, with raised knees. Standing further to the right is a nude male in left profile, whose raised left hand seems to have held a circular object, presumably the apple of Discord or that of the Fall. He is seen from the back. A nude female figure, at the extreme right, is placed frontally. She is now shown with two heads, one of which – presumably the one in left profile – was a preliminary study. The head seen in right profile looks away from the tragic scene. These figures have been

variously identified as Apollo and Artemis (or Hera), Poseidon and Cassandra, Poseidon and Athena, Adam and Eve, Paris and Helen.³ The Trojan horse in the middle ground faces north, toward Troy–Toledo, opposite the Puerta Nueva de Visagra, which has the imperial double-headed eagle over the portal. The Alcázar and the Queen's Towers are among the buildings in the background. The Tajo river curves toward the left knee of the dead son.⁴

Literary Sources: The specific literary source used by Greco for K1413 is hard to isolate as there are many differing accounts of the death of Laocoön in classical and post-classical literature. Cossío, noting that the son at the left may escape death, suggested that Greco consulted a pre-Virgilian text since, according to the Latin poet, both sons are slain.⁵ Virgil described Laocoön as a priest of Neptune, chosen by lot to slay a sacrificial bull. Two serpents from the waters of the island of Tenedos (where the Greeks had withdrawn from the Trojan siege) approached the offertory scene at Troy. 'They in unswerving course fared toward Laocoön; and first each serpent enfolds in its embrace the youthful body of his two sons and with its fangs feeds upon the hapless limbs. Then himself too, as he comes to their aid, weapons in hand, they seize and bind in mighty folds; and now, twice encircling his waist, twice winding their scaly backs around his throat, they tower above with head and lofty necks. He the while strains his hands to burst the knots, his fillets steeped in gore and black venom; the while he lifts to heaven piteous cries like the bellowsings of a wounded bull that has fled from the altar and shaken from its neck the ill-aimed axe.'⁶ Laocoön's tragic fate, according to Virgil, was due to the priest's offending Athena and Zeus by attacking the wooden horse 'built by her divine art' of the oak sacred to Zeus. Suspicious of the mysterious horse left by the retreating Greeks as a votive offering for their safe return, Laocoön felt the Greeks were only pretending to abandon the ten-year-old siege. Laocoön predicted that the animal concealed Greek warriors and begged the Trojans: '“Trust not the horse ye Trojans. Whatever it be, I fear the Greeks, even when bringing gifts.”' So saying, with mighty force he hurled his great spear at the beast's side and the arched frame of the belly. The spear stood quivering and with the womb's reverberation the vaults rang hollow, sending forth a moan.'⁷ Other writers such as Servius and Hyginus, whose works may well have been known to Greco, attribute Laocoön's fate to his having displeased his god by marrying, having children, and profaning the sanctuary.⁸

Visual Sources: Pliny's description of a statuary group showing the dying Laocoön and his sons, the work of three Rhodian sculptors 'in the palace of the Emperor Titus, a work superior to any painting and any bronze', sustained great interest in this subject prior to the excavation of the celebrated sculpture in 1506.⁹ The major example of such continued concern with the classical theme is Filippino Lippi's fresco of c. 1502. The subject was also of interest to the Florentine Neo-Platonic Academy for its mystical, sacrificial aspects.¹⁰ Greco may also have seen the d'Este-commissioned Trojan cycle by Niccolò dell'Abbate

(Modena, Galleria Estense).¹¹ With the sensational recovery of the ancient Laocoön group, viewed as the greatest artistic achievement of classical antiquity, its influence became widespread, most notably through the works of Michelangelo.¹² Greco no doubt saw the sculpture when in Rome in 1570 and almost certainly knew one of the many casts and copies, which, by the second half of the century, circulated throughout Western Europe. The Laocoön was closely studied by the Venetian sculptors (Jacopo Sansovino, Antonio Lombardo) and by the painters nearest to Greco – Titian and Tintoretto – who both incorporated aspects from the statuary group in their works.¹³ It may have been listed as a copy after Titian in 1791 (see *Provenance*).

Tietze suggested that the germ of Greco's composition was probably a lost Titian canvas of the subject painted for the d'Este family c. 1540.¹⁴ This work was presumably much less tightly constructed than the statuary group. The outstanding example of a more pictorial composition is Giulio Romano's design for a fresco (Mantua, Palazzo Ducale).¹⁵ Cossío noted that Greco may follow Titian's reconstruction of the ancient Laocoön group (known from a woodcut caricature) in which Laocoön's right arm is bent toward his head.¹⁶ Kehrer has found in K1413 many reflections of Greco's Venetian residence together with Michelangelesque influence.¹⁷ The body of the dead son at the right is derived from the slave in Tintoretto's *Miracle of St. Mark* (Venice, Accademia).¹⁸ Zeri suggested the influence of Anthonis Blocklandt on the figure style; Greco may have met the Dutch artist in Rome in the 1570s.¹⁹ Palm described the male nude figure at the right as derived from a wax model, known from drawings by Tintoretto and views of Italian Mannerist artists' studios, which was seen by Pacheco in Greco's Toledo residence in 1611.²⁰ Two prints of the *Laocoön* may have been of interest to Greco: those of Jean Gourmont (active c. 1540; B.16) and Giovanni Fontana (active c. 1559–79; B.53).²¹

According to Förster, the first scholar to study K1413, no artist removed himself further from the classical representation of the Laocoön than did Greco.²² His depiction of Laocoön and his sons does not adhere closely to the celebrated statuary group. In the latter Laocoön is seated; the painting shows him on the ground, as though the statue had fallen. The sons bear no resemblance to those in stone. Förster was the first to point out the correspondence between K1413 and a supposedly antique but probably sixteenth-century relief (Prado, Sala Italiana) which may have determined Greco's composition. This piece could have provided Greco with an important visual source since the relief's pose of Laocoön shown falling backward on a rocky outcropping is conceptually related to that of the painting. The foreground of both relief and painting suggests that this is meant to be the shore where the fatal serpents rose.²³ Camón Aznar stated that Greco combined 'suggestions from the Hellenistic marble with ancient literary descriptions'; he related the son at the left to a polychromed wooden statuette (Granada, Condes de las Infantas collection) attributed to Greco.²⁴ According to



Peter Paul Rubens: Detail from *Marchesa Brigida Spinola Doria* (к 2187). Washington, D.C. (p. 101)



Anthony van Dyck: *Queen Henrietta Maria with her Dwarf* (к 1911). Washington, D.C. (p. 116)

Schuster the painting, despite its divergence from the statuary group, is nonetheless based upon it.²⁵ Saxl connected Laocoön in K1413 with the *Dying Gaul* in Venice (Museo Archeologico).²⁶ It has been suggested that Greco, in his old age, could have recalled now unknown antique representations of the subject, like those discovered at Pompeii, which may have provided him with a compositional model.²⁷ Palm described the central figure and the son at the right as those of the statuary group, but fallen over.²⁸

Dating: Greco's *Laocoön* is agreed to be a late work, painted after 1600, because of the extremely mannered attenuation of the figures. Cossío placed K1413 in the artist's final period: 1604–14. He observed that the model for the head of Laocoön was the same Greco used for the *Penitent St. Peter* (El Escorial, Sacristy). He compared the figure of the father to one of the soldiers in the *Resurrection* (Toledo, San Domingo el Antiguo). He also related the figure of the older son to one in the *Opening of the Fifth Seal* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).²⁹ Mayer first dated the *Laocoön* c. 1610–13 (in 1911) and then c. 1606–10 (in 1926), and finally 1609–14.³⁰ Legendre and Hartmann thought Greco painted K1413 in 1606–10.³¹ Escholier placed the painting c. 1610.³² Kehrer linked it with Greco's *Immaculate Conception* (formerly Czechoslovakia, Schloss Rohoncz, Thyssen Collection).³³ Cook dated the painting between 1606 and 1610.³⁴ Goldscheider related the nudes to those painted on the vestment of the priest holding the body of Count Orgaz in the *Burial of Count Orgaz* (Toledo, Santo Tomé).³⁵ Camón Aznar dated it possibly shortly before 1610.³⁶ Gaya Nuño proposed 1610–14.³⁷ Venturi viewed K1413 as a caricature by Greco of the statuary group (comparable to the woodcut of *Laocoön and His Sons as Monkeys* designed by Titian), describing this anti-classical tendency as characteristic of the Greek artist's last works.³⁸ Soehner placed K1413 between 1609 and 1612, prior to the execution of the *Map and View of Toledo* (Toledo, Casa del Greco) which he dated 1612–14. He noted that K1413 is characteristic of the artist's late period in which the sketch is elevated to a gigantic format.³⁹

Significance: The subject of the *Laocoön*, painted at least three times by Greco, is the only classical theme known to have interested the artist. His Cretan birth (near Rhodes – birthplace of the sculptors of the Laocoön), his Greek heritage and Greek library brought with him to Toledo, as well as Greek compatriots resident in that city, may all have played a role in the depiction of K1413.⁴⁰ Förster noted that Greco 'martyrized and hispanicized the classical theme'.⁴¹ Cossío observed in 1908 that the *Laocoön* is Greco's 'only subject inspired by classical poetry . . . among so many biblical and sacred motifs it is . . . his swan song, at once romantic and Christian'.⁴² Although Kehrer first found the subject to preclude patronage from Greco's conservative Catholic circle, he then suggested that it could have been commissioned by a *vir humanus* at the episcopal court of Toledo.⁴³ He observed the importance of the theme: that of divine vengeance, the *deus ex machina*; later he related the figures at the right to the *autos sacramentales*.⁴⁴

Both Kehrer and Ettlinger noted that the statuary group of the Laocoön was held up by theologians of the Counter-Reformation as an example of the stoical suffering, an *Exemplum Doloris*, to be emulated by artists in their representations of the Passion and the lives of the martyrs.⁴⁵ Camón Aznar found Laocoön's expression in accord with Christian confidence in divine mercy.⁴⁶ Soehner noted that K1413 belongs with Greco's late works which are prophecies into the remote past mythologizing the world; the profound spirit of the Laocoön goes beyond the restrictions of conventional Christian subject-matter. He characterized the serpentine motion of the figures as resembling a wave crashing upon the shore, their composition reflecting the meaning of the myth.⁴⁷ Palm, proposing the presence of Adam and Eve at the right, noted that the artist did not need to adhere to classical sources. He stressed the moral significance of Servius's text, noting that the Kress canvas presents the Fall of Laocoön as a classical parallel to that of Adam and Eve. According to the author, the canvas united classical and Judeo-Christian examples of divine retribution for transgression. In each case the serpent is a major element. Unlike Cossío, Palm did not believe that the son at the left will survive. He observed that Greco's substitution of Toledo for Troy is comparable to his Crucifixion paintings where the Spanish city represented Jerusalem.⁴⁸ Most recently, Vetter, rejecting Palm's hypothesis, suggested that the nude couple at the right represents Paris, son of Priam, King of Troy, and Helen, the wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta. Paris's abduction of Helen led to the Trojan War, in which Paris eventually died. She had been promised to him by Aphrodite in exchange for the golden apple of Discord. According to Vetter, Helen looks to the right to view the approaching victorious Greeks.⁴⁹

Toledo, the Holy Roman imperial city (the arms are clearly shown) – believed to have been founded by Hercules – and the Metropolitan See of Spain, would be an especially apt background for Greco's combination of classical and Biblical themes.⁵⁰ K1413 is a *Laocoön moralisé* in the tradition of the medieval moralized Ovid. It is consistent with sixteenth-century humanism which frequently paralleled and conflated Biblical and classical themes.⁵¹ The Kress canvas may also refer to Renaissance debates comparing the relative merits of painting and sculpture – to the *Paragone*. The self-declared superior to Michelangelo, Greco could have meant his canvas as a triumph of painting over the sculpture of antiquity and the Renaissance.⁵² Unique in subject and mood to Greco's oeuvre, this enigmatic, late work may prove a classical reverie recalling the painter's Venetian training thirty years before its execution. Laocoön's son to the right of Greco's canvas is clearly based upon Tintoretto, and the son at the left recalls North Italian Mannerist statuary. Greco's expansive composition of nude figures in an open landscape below a turbulent sky is particularly Venetian. A *Martyre sur l'herbe*, its late Renaissance sources may have remained alive during Greco's Spanish years through the abundance of Titians in his royal patron's collection, most notably the *Rape of Europa* (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum).

Provenance: Three depictions of the Laocoön are listed (without precise authorship or measurements) – one large and two small – in the inventory of the artist's possessions compiled after Greco's death in 1614.⁵³ They reappear in the second inventory, of 1621, with measurements.⁵⁴ The Kress canvas is presumably that listed as 'Un laocón, de dos varas de largo y vara y dos terzias de alto' (no. 41) (approximately 139.2 × 167.0 cm.). K1413 measures 137.5 × 172.5 cm.⁵⁵ The following inventory entries probably refer to K1413: Alcázar (Madrid) Inventory of 1666, 'Pieza oscura, No. 520: 3 varas casi en quadro de Lauconte y sus hijos de mano del Greco en 300 ducados de plata.'⁵⁶ Alcázar (Madrid) Inventory of 1686, 'Pieza oscura, No. 310. Un quadro de tres varas de largo cassi quadrado de la Oconte y sus hijos de blanco y negro de mano del Griego.'⁵⁷ Sitio Real del Buen Retiro, Inventory of 1701, 'Otra del mismo tamaño dos varas en quadro y marco, con la historia de Laoconte cenida de las culabras; copia de Ticiano, tasando en treinta doblones.'⁵⁸ Palacio de San Lorenzo (El Escorial) Inventory of 1791, 'la historia de Laocoonte cenido de las culabras, copia del Tiziano, tassado en treinta doblones.'⁵⁹ K1413 may be the 'Laoconte y sus hijos, á quienes rodean las sierpes' listed as a Ribera by Juan Augustín Ceán Bermúdez (*Diccionario Histórico de los más ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, iv, p. 193) at the Palacio de San Ildefonso. Since K1413 seems to have darkened at the time it was described in the Alcázar Inventory (1686) as 'blanco y negro', Ceán Bermúdez could have well assigned the canvas to Ribera because of its extreme discoloration by that date.⁶⁰ Duke of Montpensier (Antoine-Marie-Philippe-Louis d'Orléans, husband of the younger sister of Queen Isabella II of Spain), Seville, Palace of San Telmo by 1866.⁶¹ Antoine-Louis-Philippe-Marie d'Orléans (son of the above), Duke of Galliera, Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz) by 1908.⁶² Paris, Durand-Ruel, c. 1908–10, Inventory No. A 1500.⁶³ The precise ownership of K1413 between the years 1910 and 1912 is not clear. A photograph of the 'Sonderausstellung El Greco' held in the Munich Pinakothek in 1910 includes the painting, lent by Durand-Ruel, who gave Hugo von Tschudi or Marzell von Nemes the option for purchase. According to Dr. Cremer of the Pinakothek, K1413 was then in the possession of Von Nemes (Budapest), but it was not shown in the 1911 exhibition of his collection (Munich, Pinakothek), seemingly kept in the office of the director (Von Tschudi) between 1910 and 1912, during which years he sought unsuccessfully to obtain purchase funds. According to Cook,⁶⁴ the *Laocoön* was purchased before 1914 by Frau von Schwabach (wife of Edwin Fischer, Basel and Berlin) presumably from Durand-Ruel, upon the recommendation of Hugo von Tschudi, and was later in the collection of M. Arnold, Berlin. Cook also listed K1413 in the collection of 'E. Fisher, Charlottenburg' but this would seem to be the same Fischer as above. Perhaps exhibited at the Munich Pinakothek as late as 1913–16 and at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (Berlin), c. 1916.⁶⁵ French and Co., 1934? Exhibited – London, National Gallery, 1934, lent by Prince Paul? Prince Paul, Regent of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, Johannesburg. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1946.

References: (1) August Liebmann Mayer, *Dominico Theotocopouli, El Greco*, Munich, 1926, p. 50, no. 311. (2) Hugo Kehrer (*Die Kunst des Greco*, Munich, 1914, p. 104) noted that the figures at the right have an additive quality. According to Modestini, Greco painted over the left leg of the figure at the extreme right; this covering was removed by a restorer and then re-painted. He noted that the central face which emerged in 1955 had been left uncovered by El Greco but was painted over at a later date. Arnold Hauser (*Mannerism, The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Art*, London, 1965, p. 13, n. 14) interpreted the uncovered head as that of a sixth figure. Harold Wethey (*El Greco and His School*, Princeton, 1962, II, pp. 83–4, Cat. No. 127) described the figures at the extreme right and the view of Toledo as unfinished and believed that the head and leg uncovered in 1955 were never meant by Greco to have been seen in the final version. Walker (p. 164) noted that Greco 'may actually have been working on this painting at the time of his death, for a recent cleaning indicates that the three figures on the right of the picture remained unfinished'. The diadem may be an old addition to the canvas. (3) According to Elizabeth du Gué Trapier (*El Greco*, New York, 1925, pp. 126 ff.) they represent Athena and Poseidon (the two gods offended by Laocoön). Emilio del Villar (*El Greco en España*, Madrid, 1928, p. 133) followed Trapier's views. Mayer (*El Greco*, Berlin, 1931, p. 138) found their presence inexplicable. Alfred Frankfurter ('Interpreting Masterpieces', *Art News Annual*, I, 1951, p. 99) described the pair as a 'curious mute Greek chorus'. H. Kehrer (*Greco als Gestalt des Manierismus*, Munich, 1939, pp. 103–4), also calling them gods, linked them to the Spanish literary tradition of the *Deus ex Machina*. José Camón Aznar (*Dominico Greco*, Madrid, 1950, II, p. 919) interpreted the two figures at the right as probably Apollo and Artemis or Hera. He also introduced the possibility that they represented Poseidon and Cassandra, who prophesied the Fall of Troy. Greco intended, the author stated, to contrast the human misery of Laocoön and his sons with divine grace. Erwin Walter Palm ('El Greco's Laokoon', *Pantheon*, xxvii, 1969, pp. 129–35) identified the figures as Adam and Eve. (4) José Camón Aznar, *Dominico Greco*, Madrid, 1950, II, p. 921, noted the omission of the cathedral. Not all the buildings are shown with topographical accuracy. (5) Manuel B. Cossío, *El Greco*, Madrid, 1908, pp. 357 ff. According to Cossío the probable source for K1413 was the eighth-century poet Arctinus' account of the Fall of Troy, the *Iliupersis*. Cossío followed Wilhelm Klein (*Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1907, III, pp. 311 ff.), who first related the *Iliupersis* to the celebrated Rhodian statuary group in the Vatican. Arctinus's text is only fragmentarily preserved. A very short quotation is found in Proclus' *Chrestomathia poetica*. A more substantial one is given by Hesiod (*The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, translated by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, Cambridge, 1959, p. 521): 'The Trojans were suspicious of the wooden horse and standing round it debated what they ought to do. Some thought they ought to hurl it down from the rocks, others to burn it up, while others said they ought to dedicate it to Athena. At last this third opinion prevailed. Then they turned to mirth and feasting believing the war

was at an end. But at this very time two serpents appeared and destroyed Laocoön and one of his two sons, a portent which so alarmed the followers of Aeneas that they withdrew to Ida.' (6) *Virgil*, translated by H. Rushton Fairclough, Cambridge, 1960, Book II, pp. 309, 311, lines 199-227. (7) *Ibid.*, p. 297, lines 50-3. After the death of Laocoön and his sons, Virgil continues: 'Then indeed a strange terror steals through the shuddering hearts of all, and Laocoön, 'tis said, has rightly paid the penalty of crime, who with his lance profaned the sacred [to Zeus] oak and hurled into its body the accursed spear.' (8) According to Hyginus: 'Laocoön, son of Achoetes King of Troy, brother of Anchises, priest of Apollo, when, against the will of Apollo, he had married and begotten children, was brought by lot to the seashore to make a sacrifice to Neptune. Apollo, taking advantage of the opportunity, sent through the sea two serpents who killed Laocoön's sons, Antiphanes and Thymbraeus. When Laocoön wished to aid them, they killed him also in their coils. The Phrygians think that this happened because Laocoön cast his spear into the Trojan Horse.' (*Hygini Fabulae, recensuit* . . ., ed. H. J. Rose, Leiden, n.d., p. 98, paragraph 115.) This text was first published in Italy in 1535. Servius's *Scholia* to *Aeneid*, II, quoted the Greek poet Euphorion as saying that '... after the arrival of the Greeks the priest of Neptune was stoned to death by the Trojans because he did not prohibit their arrival by means of his sacrifices; afterwards, the Greeks having departed, when they wished to sacrifice to Neptune, Laocoön, priest of the Thymbraean Apollo, was chosen by lot (as was the custom when the proper priest was lacking). He made the offering before the image of the deity after he had slept with his wife, Antiope, and due to this he was destroyed with his sons by the serpents which the god sent. History indeed has it thus, but the Poet interprets the incident according to the explanation of the Trojans, who, being ignorant of this fact, were deceived. Others say that after the slight which Laomedon had once given to the god, there was no longer such a priest at Troy; whence Neptune is thought to have turned against the Trojans, venting upon their priest what they themselves deserved.' The Latin text is given by Horst Althaus, *Laokoön, Stoff und Form*, Bern, 1968, p. 127, n. 28. The translations were made by Eugene Dwyer. (9) Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXVI, IV, 37-8, translated and edited by D. E. Eicholz, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 28-9. Greco may also have been interested in the description of a painting of this subject in a Neapolitan picture gallery given by Petronius in the *Satyricon* (translated and edited by Michael Heseltine, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 177-9). For the role of the Laocoön in the Middle Ages and Renaissance see the definitive article by Richard Förster, 'Laokoön im Mittelalter und der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXVII, 1906, pp. 149-70. See also Margarete Bieber, *Laocoön, The Influence of the Group Since its Re-Discovery*, New York, 1942; A. von Salis, *Antike und Renaissance*, Erlenbach-Zürich, 1947; A. Prandi, 'La Fortuna del Laocoonte dalla sua Scoperta nelle Terme di Tito', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, n.s., III, 1954/55, pp. 78-107; A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Berlin, 1956, II, p. 314;

Phyllis Pray Bober, *Drawings After the Antique by Amico Aspertini, Sketchbooks in the British Museum*, London, 1957, pp. 61-2; H. Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie*, Berlin, 1958; L. D. Ettlinger, 'Exemplum Doloris, Reflections on the Laocoön Group', *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, I, pp. 121-6; Hans Henrik Brummer, *The Statue Group in the Vatican Belvedere*, Stockholm, 1970, ch. 3 'The Laocoön', pp. 73-121. For further recent bibliography see the extensive study by Althaus, *op. cit.*, Note 8 above. (10) According to Norman E. Henry ('Virgil in Art', *Art and Archaeology*, V, 1917, pp. 325-33, p. 239), K1413 was influenced by the Lippi fresco. The latter follows the Virgilian account and Servius' commentary. André Chastel (*Art et Humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique*, Paris, 1961, pp. 156-7) stated that Lippi's fresco at the Medici villa of Poggio a Caiano fitted into a vast sacrificial context, the villa itself dedicated to Poseidon. For the fresco and other studies of the subject by Lippi see Alfred Scharf, *Filippino Lippi*, Vienna, 1950, figs. 137-9. Other Italian ruling families incorporated the Laocoön motif in their decorative schemes. Greco may well have known Giulio Romano's depiction for the Gonzaga at the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, part of a Trojan cycle completed c. 1536. Frederick Hartt (*Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, I, p. 180) thought the subject represented a triumph of Minerva over Venus, seeing in Greco's canvas an emphasis upon divine retribution for sexual transgression. (11) Walter W. S. Cook, 'El Greco's Laocoön in the National Gallery', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., pp. 261-72, esp. p. 270 n. 9, believed Greco's Trojan horse to be modeled after Niccolò del Abbate's. Wethey (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 83-4) linked it to Verrocchio's *Colleoni* and other equestrian models. (12) Imitation of the subject was a common practice in the early art academies of Bandinelli and others. Kehr (1939, *op. cit.*, p. 101) cited reference to the Laocoön in Giovanni Battista Armenini, *De' Veri Precetti de la Pittura*, 1587. See Federigo Zuccari's drawing *Studio e Intelligenza* (Uffizi, no. 11010, Gernsheim 7-568). The statuary group is shown without restorations, drawn by a youth (the artist's brother?). It is referred to as a model by Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. by F. J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, I, p. 467. The artist could probably have seen versions of the Laocoön in Spain as Alonso Berruguete was employed in making an early replica of the group and continued adapting it in sculpture executed for the Cathedral of Toledo. See Vasari's 'Life of Jacopo Sansovino' (*Le Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1881, VII, p. 459). For another contemporary of Berruguete's use of the Vatican sculpture see Juan José Martín González, 'Juni y el Laoconte', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXV, 1952, pp. 59-66. (13) See Förster, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-8; Cossío, *op. cit.*, pp. 357 ff. For Titian and the Laocoön see Horst W. Janson, 'Titian's Laocoön Caricature and the Vesalian Galenist Controversy', *Art Bulletin*, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 49-53. See also von Salis, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-3. For sculptural Laocoön copies in Venice see Förster, *op. cit.*, p. 160. (14) Hans Tietze, *Tizian, Leben und Werk*, Vienna, 1936, pp. 189-91. This idea is somewhat implausible, as Titian adapted the Laocoön group extensively throughout his lifetime, and

therefore would be expected to stay close to it for his own depiction of the subject. Like Greco, Titian utilized the *Dying Gaul* for several canvases. See Otto Brendel, 'Borrowings from Ancient Art in Titian', *Art Bulletin*, xxxvii, 1955, pp. 113-23, pp. 121-2. K1413 seems to have been recorded as a copy after a Titian *Laocoön* in an inventory (1791). See *Provenance*, above. The figure of the son at the left is also Venetian in style, recalling the small bronzes of Francesco da Sant'Agata. (15) See Hartt, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 402. (16) Cossío, *op. cit.*, p. 357, followed by Wethey, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 83-4. (17) Kehrler, 1939, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7. He also cited Ammanati's *River Gods* (Florence, Neptune Fountain; Bargello, *modelli*). In addition to the Sistine Ceiling, later works such as the Michelangelo drawing for a *Resurrection*, owned by Greco's friend Giulio Clovio, and reproductive prints after Michelangelo could have been consulted by Greco, according to Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 914. For the *Resurrection* see Luitpold Dussler, *Die Zeichnungen des Michelangelo*, Berlin, 1959, Cat. No. 239, British Museum No. 12767. (18) For the influence of Tintoretto upon K1413 see Kehrler, 1939, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-5, 107, and Mayer, *Historia de la Pintura Española*, Madrid, 1942, p. 263. (19) Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma*, Turin, 1957, p. 48. (20) Palm, *op. cit.*, p. 131. (21) The first was suggested by Fritz Saxl in his review of Mayer's Greco monograph, *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, 1927/28, pp. 95-6; the second by Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 270, fig. 11. Palm, *op. cit.*, p. 130, noted the dead son at the right in K1413 is taken from the Fontana print. For additional sixteenth-century depictions of the subject, possibly of interest to Greco, see Kehrler, 1939, *op. cit.*, p. 108. (22) Förster, *op. cit.*, p. 175. (23) *Ibid.*, p. 174. The relief is reproduced by Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 915, fig. 713. Another *Laocoön* relief was in the J. E. Wittmer Collection, Lucerne. Reproduced by Cossío (II, pl. 68, fig. 2) who believes both provided the compositional basis for K1413 (I, p. 358). The Lucerne relief shows *Laocoön* similar to the figure in the statuary group. However, the sons are closer to K1413 in that one stands pulling a serpent away, and the other falls dead, head first. (24) Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 919, fig. 718. Palm, *op. cit.*, p. 134, n. 21, has suggested that the statuette and its companion piece, sometimes identified as Epimetheus and Pandora, relate to the 'Eva Prima Pandora' theme. (25) Mauriz Schuster, 'El Greco's "Laocoön" und die Laokoöngruppe', *Wiener Blätter für die Freunde der Antike*, III, 1926, pp. 159-62. His views are followed by Heinz Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenskopie*, Berlin, 1958, pp. 39-40. (26) Saxl, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6. (27) Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 267 (House of Menander, Pompeii). Another Roman painting of the subject is in Naples (Museo Nazionale, both reproduced by Ettlinger, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 37, figs. 4, 5). For further ancient examples of the *Laocoön* in art see 'Laocoonte', *Enciclopedia dell'arte Antica*, IV, p. 468. (28) Palm, *op. cit.*, p. 129. (29) Cossío, *op. cit.*, p. 357, Cat. No. 162. (30) Mayer, *El Greco*, Munich, 1911, p. 82; 1926, *op. cit.*, p. 50, Cat. No. 311; 'Il Greco', *Biblioteca d'Arte Illustrata*, Rome, n.d., p. xxiv. (31) M. Legendre and A. Hartmann, *Domenikos Theotokopoulos, Called El Greco*, London, 1937, p. 482. (32) Raymond Escholier, *Greco*, Paris, 1937, p. 141. Followed by Hauser,

op. cit., London, 1965, p. 13, n. 14. (33) Kehrler, 1939, p. 102. (34) Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 261. He linked the figure at the right, seen from the back, to one in the *Martyrdom of the Theban Legion* (El Escorial) on p. 269. (35) Ludwig Goldscheider, *El Greco*, New York and London, 1954, p. 14. (36) Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 921, p. 1390, Cat. No. 696. (37) Gaya Nuño, p. 206, Cat. No. 1424. (38) Lionello Venturi, *Le Seizième Siècle - de Léonard au Greco*, Geneva-Paris, 1956, pp. 262-4. (39) Halldor Soehner, 'Greco in Spanien', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XI, 1960, pp. 193, 194. (40) For the inventory of his books see Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 188-92. However, no text containing the death of *Laocoön* is included. For the Greek colony in Toledo see *ibid.*, pp. 19-21. (41) Förster, *op. cit.*, p. 175. (42) Second edition of Cossío (*El Greco*, Buenos Aires, 1948), pp. 189-91. For another complex interpretation of K1413 see Stephan Bourgeois, *Byrdcliffe Afternoons*, July 1939, pp. 99 ff. (43) Kehrler, 1939, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4; *Greco in Toledo*, Stuttgart, 1960, p. 70. (44) Kehrler, *Spanische Kunst*, Munich, 1926, p. 24; 1939, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4. The *Laocoön* theme was depicted by Gaudenzio Ferrari as an example of classical justice above the judgment hall of Pilate (Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo). See Förster, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-3. (45) Kehrler (1939, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-1) cites G. A. Giglio, *Due Dialoghi*, Rome, 1564. Ettlinger (*op. cit.*, p. 126, n. 20) adds Antonio Possevino, *Biblioteca selecta*, Rome, 1593, p. 317. (46) Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 914. (47) Soehner, 'Greco in Spanien', *Münchener Jahrbuch*, VIII, 1957, pp. 123-94, pp. 181-5. (48) Palm, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-2. (49) Ewald Vetter, 'El Greco's Laocoön "Reconsidered"', *Pantheon*, xxvii, 1969, pp. 295-9. (50) See Albert F. Calvert, *Toledo*, London, 1907, p. 4. (51) See Palm, *op. cit.*, p. 134, n. 21. The sixteenth-century combination of Classical and Old Testament subjects such as Eve - the first Pandora) continued into the seventeenth century in Spain, as seen in the pendant *Forge of Vulcan* and *Joseph's Bloody Coat* (both Madrid, Prado), painted by Velázquez in Italy for presentation to Philip IV. For the relationship between these works, see Ángel Valbuena Prat, 'Velázquez y la evasión del espejo mágico', *Varia Veldzqueña*, Madrid, 1960, p. 186. (52) That Greco may have been interested in philosophical debates on the arts is indicated by Pacheco, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 487-8, II, p. 159. His superiority over Michelangelo is quoted by Giulio Mancini; *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, ed. by Adriana Marucchi and Luigi Salerno, Rome, 1956, pp. 230 ff. (53) The first inventory was published by Francisco de Borja de San Román y Fernández, *El Greco en Toledo*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 189 ff., p. 195 (doc. 52, folio 4v): 'Un laocón pequeño', 'Un laocón pequeño', 'Un laocón grande'. (54) San Román, 'De la vida del Greco', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, III, 1927, pp. 139-95 and pp. 275-339, esp. p. 291. (55) Wethey calculated that a *bara (vara)* equals 83.5 cm. He stated (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 83-4) that two of the *Laocoöns* in the 2nd inventory (nos. 179 and 180) were much larger than K1413 and that the other (no. 41) was smaller. However, no. 41 corresponds very closely to the Kress painting in size. (56) Unpublished reference courtesy of Harold E. Wethey. The dimensions would be approximately 2.5 m. square. (57) See Yves Bottineau,

'L'Alcázar de Madrid et l'Inventaire de 1686', *Bulletin Hispanique*, LX, 1958, pp. 145-79, esp. p. 164. (58) Prado Library, typed copy, no. 8458. Reference courtesy of Harold E. Wethey. (59) San Lorenzo, Legajo 30, 1791, 6 mayo. *Inventario de Pinturas formado por fallecimiento de los Señores Reyes Don Felipe V y Don Carlos III. Cartas, órdenes, autos y diligencias sobre el apeo de las Pinturas de los Cuartos de S.M. en los años 1771 y 1773 y razón de los sitios en que se colocaron*. Archivo del Palacio Real de Madrid. Reprinted by Cossío, 1948, *op. cit.*, p. 191. (60) Ribera is known to have drawn the Laocoön (see Walter Vitzthum, *Exhibition Catalogue Cento Disegni Napoletani*, Florence, 1967, p. 28, Cat. No. 35, fig. 17, Coll. Corsini, Farnesina No. 125594 F. C. The drawing formerly attributed to Luca Giordano is given to Ribera by Michael Mahoney). (61) *Catálogo de los cuadros y esculturas pertenecientes a la Galería de SS. AA. RR. los Serenísimos Señores Infantes de España, Duques de Montpensier*, Seville, 1866, p. 44, Cat. No. 155. K1413 presumably came from the collection of about four hundred paintings belonging to the Duke's father, King Louis-Philippe of France, which was assembled by Baron Taylor in Spain from 1834-37. The Spanish works were exhibited at the 'Musée Espagnol' in the Louvre in 1838, but remained in Louis-Philippe's possession. The Laocoön is not, however, listed in his ownership in 1838, nor was it in the sale of the King's collection in 1853. See Jean-François Revel, 'La Peinture espagnole en France', *L'Oeil*, no. 96, 1962, pp. 33-41, esp. p. 41. (62) Cossío, 1908, *op. cit.*, pp. 357, 579. (63) According to a letter from Mary Cassatt written to Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer from Paris (Letter No. c57 in the Cassatt-Havemeyer correspondence owned by Mr. H. O. H. Frelingheysen, Convent Station, N.J.). 'I think the D.R.'s [Durand-Ruel] have also bought the Greco, the Laocoön, with Toledo in the background, you know it from Cossío's book, it is a painful [?] and powerful picture, one of the German Museums will no doubt buy it.' (64) Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 262, n. 1. (65) According to Kehr, 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

STUDIO OF EL GRECO

K1684 : Figure 196

HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. ANNE AND THE INFANT BAPTIST. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1527), since 1956. Oil on canvas.¹ 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (53.2 × 34.4 cm.). Some minor abrasions and small tears in breast and left hand of St. Anne; relined and restored by Pichetto c. 1947; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 96, Cat. No. 35.

The group is seen against a turbulent sky. The nude, sleeping Infant is on his mother's lap. She places her right arm over the shoulder of St. Anne who is seated to the left. Anne, using both hands, raises the white cloth on which Christ lies. At the far right, Joseph looks over Mary's shoulder toward Christ. The nude infant Baptist stands at the lower right, a sheepskin over his shoulder, holding a

glass bowl of fruit with his right hand. He raises the left to cover his mouth indicating silence. The foreground is unfinished.

Mayer dated both the Kress painting and the same subject in the Prado c. 1599-1601. He found it hard to establish any priority in date between the two, but on the basis of the depiction of the Baptist in each, believed K1684 to be the earlier.² Goldscheider viewed the Kress painting as a copy of the same subject in Toledo (Museo de San Vicente), dating the latter 1592-96.³ Gudíol placed K1684 at c. 1590, describing it as 'the model for several replicas existing in Madrid and Toledo.'⁴ Camón Aznar accepted Mayer's dating of 1599-1601.⁵ *Suida-Shapley* (p. 13) observed that the canvas 'retains scarcely a trace of Venetian influence'. Gaya Nuño dated K1684 c. 1599-1601.⁶ According to Wethey, the work was painted c. 1595-1600. Because of its brilliance, freshness and summary handling of details, he believed the Kress canvas to be a sketch.⁷

The Byzantine theme of the sleeping Christ Child was common in Venice, where it usually alluded to the dead Christ placed similarly on his mother's knees. The reference to the Pietà is made all the more explicit by the Child's pointing with his right hand to the future site of the lance wound.⁸ Wethey noted that the red and blue garb of the Virgin is customarily used by Greco in Passion scenes. Greco's numerous Holy Family compositions have the Christ Child suckling or held in a vertical position. Only those depictions of the subject which include the Infant Baptist show Christ in a horizontal, sleeping pose. This combination follows a pictorial tradition originating in late fifteenth-century Italy in which St. John has foreknowledge of the Passion.⁹ Camón Aznar's remarks concerning Greco's Cleveland *Holy Family* can also be applied to K1684 - it is close to Italian art of the High Renaissance, combining motifs from Leonardo and Michelangelo.¹⁰ The Greek painter probably drew upon a well-known composition of Michelangelo's, *Il Silenzio*, which he could have seen in Rome in numerous copies or through prints.¹¹ The deliberate ambiguity in Leonardo's composition of the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* (Paris, Louvre) is also seen in the Kress canvas, where it is difficult to determine whether the Child is on the lap of St. Anne or the Virgin. However, the correspondence in color between the crimson drapery over the knees supporting the Child and that covering the breast of the Virgin point to the latter. The major example of the K1684 composition is the large signed canvas painted by Greco for the Hospitalillo de Santa Ana (Toledo) now in the Museo de San Vicente, Toledo.¹² The figure of St. Joseph was scratched out in the eighteenth century. Another, probably considerably later example of the same composition is in the Prado. Here Joseph is shown much younger than in K1684 as well as in all the other known examples of the composition. This unique feature may, according to Marcus Burke, argue for the autograph character of K1684 or for its dependence upon a lost prototype.¹³ A third example is in a private collection, Madrid.¹⁴ K1684 differs from all of the above in the parallel placement of the knees supporting the Christ

Child. In the other versions the left knee is raised. Greco is not known to have made small oil sketches preparatory to executing large canvases. K1684 was probably executed as a record for future use by Greco's studio, based upon the great painting at Toledo (Museo de San Vicente), of which numerous later versions exist, several of them painted by his assistants or followers. The frontality of the central figure in the Kress canvas, so alien to Greco's esthetic, suggests the possibility that the painting is a studio product.¹⁵ The canvas may stem from the studio c. 1600-4, when Greco was working for the Hospital de la Caridad at Illescas. At the time, according to Soehner, the studio produced paintings with areas of bare canvas, preparatory to being gone over and completed by the master. Pacheco described Greco showing him in 1611 small canvases in oil after all the paintings he had ever executed; perhaps K1684 should be included among these.¹⁶

Provenance: Possibly the canvas listed in the second inventory of Greco's estate as 'una ymagen con su niño dormido, Santa Ana y San Joseph y San Juan Bautista y quadro dorado; tiene de ancho casi media vara y de alto dos terzias', presumably the same canvas as one similarly described, without measurements, in Inventory I.¹⁷ Carlos Beistegui, Paris.¹⁸ Michael Dreicer, New York, bequeathed to Metropolitan Museum of Art 1921-33 (returned to Dreicer heirs due to a contested will). Private collection, London. New York, French and Co.¹⁹ Kress acquisition 1949, exhibited - Philadelphia, Pa., Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 1950, p. 17, Cat. No. 13.

References: (1) Bryson Burroughs (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue of Paintings*, New York, 1931, p. 145, Cat. No. 6791-2) described K1684 as on panel. (2) August Liebmann Mayer, *El Greco*, Munich, 1926, p. 8, Cat. No. 31. M. Legendre and A. Hartmann, *Domenikos Theotokopoulos, Called El Greco*, London, 1937, pl. 144, follow Mayer's dating. (3) Ludwig Goldscheider, *El Greco's Paintings*, London, 1938, p. 24 and pl. 99. (4) José Gudiol, 'Spanish Painting', *Toledo Museum of Art*, Toledo, Ohio, 1941, p. 66. (5) José Camón Aznar, *Dominico Greco*, Madrid, 1950, II, p. 1370, Cat. No. 242. He tentatively suggested a link between the Kress canvas and his Cat. No. 245 (owned by the Drey Gallery, New York) which he dated 1600-14. For comparative examples of the Kress composition see José Camón Aznar, *Dominico Greco*, Madrid, 1950, I, figs. 436-42. (6) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 199, Cat. No. 1343. (7) Harold E. Wethey, *El Greco and his School*, Princeton, 1962, II, p. 59, Cat. No. 88. (8) For the iconography of the sleeping child see Wethey, *ibid.*; Millard Meiss, 'Ovum Struthionis: Symbol and Allusion in Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece', *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 92-101; Meiss, 'Sleep in Venice. Ancient myths and renaissance proclivities', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CX, 1966, pp. 348-83. The bowl of fruit may refer to the Fall of Man and to redemption through the nude Christ - the new Adam - unveiled by St. Anne. (9) See Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 'Giovannino Battista', *Art Bulletin*,

XXXVII, 1955, pp. 85-101, esp. pp. 99-100. See also 'Supplement', in XLIII, 1961, pp. 319-26, esp. p. 324. (10) Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, I, p. 570. (11) See Henry Thode, *Michelangelo, Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke*, Berlin, 1908, II, pp. 434-9; a Venetian version of Michelangelo's composition is listed on p. 436. (12) Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 436, Cat. No. 235. (13) *Ibid.*, fig. 439, Cat. No. 237. (14) *Ibid.*, fig. 437, Cat. No. 249. It is inferior in quality. Other related paintings are in the collection of Col. F. Serrano Oriol, Madrid (Soehner, 'Greco in Spanien', II, *Münchener Jahrbuch*, IX-X, 1958-59, p. 169, fig. 20, as by Greco's son Jorge Manuel) and two fragmentarily preserved paintings which may have been part of a composition similar to K1684 - one in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 441, Cat. No. 247) and the other at French and Co., New York (Camón Aznar, II, fig. 442, Cat. No. 234). (15) It conforms with Soehner's characterization of the artist's assistants (*op. cit.*, pp. 164-5). (16) Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, II, pp. 8-9. (17) The identification with K1684 was suggested by Camón Aznar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1370, Cat. No. 242. For Greco's Inventory II, see Francisco de Borja San Román y Fernández, 'De la vida del Greco', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, III, 1927, pp. 275-339, p. 288, no. 16. For Inventory I, see San Román, *El Greco en Toledo*, Madrid, 1910, p. 192. Harold Wethey (letter of 23/vi/69) indicated that a *vara* is .835 m. The Inventory II measurements would then be approximately 41.7 × 55.7 cm. as compared to 34.4 × 53.2 cm. for K1684. (18) Wethey, *ibid.*, cited Ellis Waterhouse for this provenance. (19) Wethey, *ibid.*, lists K1684 as having been in the Paul Drey Gallery before going to French and Co.

JUAN PANTOJA DE LA CRUZ

Juan Pantoja de la Cruz was born in Valladolid in 1553; he died in Madrid in 1608. After the death of his teacher Sanchez Coello in 1588, he was appointed painter to the court of Philip II. Pantoja de la Cruz continued in this capacity after the accession of Philip III and in 1598 was given the title 'Pintor de Cámara'. Only during the last fifteen years of his life (1593-1608) are there specifically signed and dated works. Portrait painter to the royal family and the aristocracy, Pantoja accompanied the annual migrations of the Spanish court to the royal residences of Valladolid, Burgos, Lerma and El Escorial. His religious subjects incorporate royal portraits in the role of attendant figures. From 1600-7 Pantoja was commissioned to portray sixty-six members of the royal family, their ancestors and other relations. After the Prado fire of 1604, Pantoja restored the damaged works by Titian, Moro and Sanchez Coello. He also made a preparatory drawing for the equestrian statue of Philip III begun by Giovanni Bologna and completed by Pietro Tacca. Pantoja's extremely conservative art, continuing that of Antonio Moro and Sanchez Coello, was to prove important for the development of his great follower, Diego Velázquez.¹

K1662 : Figure 203

MARGARET OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF SPAIN. Houston, Texas, Museum of Fine Arts (AC 61-66), since 1953. Oil on canvas. $80\frac{1}{2} \times 40\frac{1}{2}$ in. (203.5×101.9 cm.). Inscribed in the lower left corner: *es/ Jv Pantoja de la/Facieba[t] Vallesolito [Valladolid]/.16[04]*. The inscription appears to have been strengthened at an unknown date.² Face somewhat abraded. Canvas relined c. 1920; varnished by Modestini, 1953. Houston, 1953, pl. 33.

Margaret, seen in full-length, stands facing to the left in three-quarter view holding a *reticella* lace-trimmed handkerchief with the left hand and leaning on a *camilla* or brazier table covered with a light-red frog-fastened velvet. She wears the extremely conservative attire characteristic of the Spanish court. Her white damask, gold-embroidered dress is distinguished by hanging oversleeves and many jeweled attachments including a girdle; eight twin golden fastenings (*puntas*) composed of twin sword-like forms with grey bows at the ends are applied to the front; three more can be seen on the right sleeve. She also wears a long double-strand pearl necklace; suspended on her breast is a great jewel with a pear-shaped pearl below known as the *joyel rico*.³ Her headdress is made of white feathers and jewels with a pearl-studded comb. Around her neck is a lace ruff and lace cuffs are at her wrists. A massive pear-shaped pearl earring is seen in the right ear; four rings are worn on the right hand and two on the left.

Margaret of Austria was born in Graz on 23 December 1584, the daughter of the Archduke Charles II of Austria and Mary of Bavaria; she died on 6 October 1611 in El Escorial. She was married to Philip III of Spain in Valencia on 18 April 1598. This union resulted in eight children. Her third child, born in 1605, became Philip IV.

K1662 i; characteristic of the extremely formal, hieratic style in favor at the Spanish court in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Pantoja de la Cruz's rigid royal effigies continue and intensify the abstract character of court portraiture first brought to Spain in adaptations of Tuscan Mannerist portraiture such as that of Bronzino. At least seven portraits of the queen, generally similar in pose and style, survive from Pantoja's hand or studio (dating 1602-9). According to Kusche, the *pendant* to K1662 may be a *Philip III* (London, Banco Español de Londres) (see Text Fig. 46) which is signed and dated 1605.⁴ Both are itemized and described in a list of receipts by Pantoja from the Queen for 25 November 1604. Soria viewed the portrait of Queen Margaret (London, Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace) dated 1605 as superior to K1662. In the former the Queen is shown in generally similar attire; however, the *camilla* is placed at the left and the Queen opens an illuminated book that rests upon it with the left hand.⁵ Although Pantoja's own style becomes increasingly rigid throughout the first decade of the sixteenth century, the flattened, simplified quality of K1662 suggests the possibility of some studio participation in its execution.

Provenance: Presented by Queen Margaret to Don Antonio de Toledo, Count of Alba, together with a portrait of King Philip III, after 25 Nov. 1604.⁶ Earl of Darnley, Cobham Hall.⁷ M. Colnaghi, London. New York, Duveen Brothers. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) For further biographies and bibliographies see F. J. Sánchez Cantón, 'Sobre la vida y las obras de Juan Pantoja de la Cruz', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xx, 1947, pp. 95-120, and Maria Kusche, *Pantoja de la Cruz*, Madrid, 1964. (2) The place and year are both rubbed and have been given as read by Maria Kusche, *Juan Pantoja de la Cruz*, Madrid, 1964, p. 153, Cat. No. 22. (3) The jewel is composed of the diamond 'El Estanque' and the pearl 'La Peregrina'. See Lord Twining, *The Crown Jewels of Europe*, London, 1960, p. 616. (4) Kusche, *op. cit.*, p. 146, Cat. No. 9. Despite the inscription, Kusche dated *Philip III* 1604 or 1605. This portrait, with K1662, was in the collection of the Earl of Darnley. (5) George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500-1800*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 207. (6) Recorded in list of payments received by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz from Queen Margaret for works painted between 1600-7. *Archivo del Palacio Real, Signatura Antigua: Felipe III Legajo 22*, Carpeta Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, reprinted by Kusche (p. 238) after R. de Aguirre, 'Documentos Relativos a la Pintura en España, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, Pintor de Cámara', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, xxx, 1922, pp. 17-22. 'Más, en 25 de noviembre de 1604, dos retratos enteros del Rey y Reyna Nuestros Señores, el Rey armado y calças blancas, con vn bastón en la mano y Su Magestad con saya entera blanca, gorra y joyas y bufete; que Su Magestad mandó haçer para don Antonio de Toledo, Conde de Alba de Aliste a quien los entregué en Valladolid y tengo certificación dello 2 U 200 reales.' (7) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, III, p. 25, as a portrait of Infanta Clara Isabella Eugenia.

PEDRO ORRENTE

Pedro Orrente was born in Monte Alegre (Albacete) c. 1580; he died in Valencia in 1644. Little is known of his early years. His command of Italian painting by the second decade of the seventeenth century - both in the manner of Bassano and Caravaggio - has suggested the possibility of an Italian journey and study with Leandro Bassano as recorded by Martínez. Orrente's canvas of 1612 (*Jacob and Rachel at the Well*; Florence, Collection Contini Bonacossi) shows his understanding of Venetian art. In 1616 he was engaged to paint a series of canvases for the Cathedral of Valencia of which the *St. Sebastian* survives. In this painting his interest in tenebrist art is clearly demonstrated. In 1617 he was active in Toledo in the cathedral's employ. As he is believed to have been a friend of El Greco, he was presumably active in Toledo at an earlier date as well, and is often described as belonging to the School of Toledo. In 1641 he resided in Murcia and was also presumed to have been painting in Córdoba and in Seville. Commissions for

the Palacio del Buen Retiro (Madrid) made the artist well known. His Italianate, rustic subjects gave Orrente the sobriquet 'the Spanish Bassano'. Very few signed and dated works survive.¹

PEDRO ORRENTE

K2105 : Figure 215

THE CRUCIFIXION. Atlanta, Georgia, High Museum of Art (58.37), since 1958. Oil on canvas. $47\frac{3}{4} \times 40\frac{3}{8}$ in. (121.3×102.5 cm.). Background completely abraded; the figures are better preserved. In the later seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the painting's dramatic background was modified by the addition of clouds. These were removed and painting relined and restored by Modestini in 1955/57. Reproductive print of K2105 was made (in reverse) showing the clouds added by Louis Desplaces when in the Orléans Collection (see Text Fig. 47).² Atlanta, 1958, pp. 37-8 (as Annibale Carracci).

Christ and the Good and Bad Thieves are placed diagonally to the picture plane, at the right. The Good Thief's head is turned toward Christ. Mary has fainted below the cross. She lies on the ground supported by St. John the Evangelist, to the right, and the Magdalen (?) at the left. A middle-aged bearded man standing on a ladder at the upper left is about to nail the *titulus* to the top of Christ's cross, bending to receive it from a boy standing on the lowermost rungs of the ladder. A rider, partially obscured by the hill of Calvary, rides into the distance.

K2105 was accepted as a work by Annibale Carracci for over two centuries, reproduced as such in the Orléans Catalogue of 1742.³ Suida (*Atlanta*, pp. 37-9) followed the attribution to Annibale Carracci. *The Crucifixion* was first recognized as a work of Orrente by Longhi.⁴ The Italian ascription was no doubt due to the Tintoretto-like aspects of the composition, based in large part on that artist's *Crucifixion* (San Cassiano, Venice). K2105 is also somewhat reminiscent of Veronese. Posner pointed out that a *Crucifixion* by Annibale Carracci of 1594 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) adapts a Veronese *Crucifixion* (San Sebastiano, Venice); it may have been this working method of Carracci which led to the old attribution of K2105 to him, accepted by Posner.⁵ Shapley noted strikingly similar details to those of K2105 in Orrente's *Calvary* (Madrid, Prado 1016) 'where there is the same contrast between Christ's cross of squared wood . . . and the thieves' crosses of rough poles, to which their struggling bodies are tied'.⁶ She suggested that the canvas was executed no earlier than Orrente's *Story of Isaac, Jacob and Esau* of 1612 (Florence, Contini Bonacossi Collection) and observed that another *Crucifixion* attributed to Orrente has a similar diagonal emphasis (Badajoz, Cathedral): there the Virgin and her attendants approach Calvary from the right, Roman soldiers gamble at the lower left foreground. The Prado canvas, like K2105, shows the Good Thief straining his head toward Christ as though in speech (Luke 23:42). Longhi published another Italianate work by Orrente, an

Ecce Homo (Greenville, South Carolina, Bob Jones University Art Gallery), close in style to K2105.⁷ The Kress canvas is described by Angulo as one of the best composed and most original of Orrente's treatments of this subject.⁸ Although the emphasis on the *titulus* was current in sixteenth-century Italy, the theme was to become even more popular in seventeenth-century Spain, especially in the oeuvre of Ribalta. The Kress canvas is an important example of Orrente's work.

Provenance: All the following list K2105 as by Annibale Carracci. Comte de Nocé.⁹ Louis, Duc d'Orléans, c. 1724-85.¹⁰ Louis Philippe (Egalité) sold 1792 to Vicomte Edouard de Walckiers [Walkuers], Brussels, sold to Laborde de Méréville, London, 1792. Jeremiah Harmann, London, sold to a consortium of the Duke of Bridgewater, Earl of Carlisle, and Earl of Gower, exhibited - London, Lyceum, 26 Dec. 1798 - end of Aug. 1799, no. 178.¹¹ John Maitland, Woodford Hall, Essex (sale, London, Christie's, *A Catalogue of the Entire Collection of Capital Pictures, the Property of John Maitland, Esq., Deceased, removed from Woodford Hall, Essex*, 30 July 1831, p. 8, Cat. No. 94, as 'Annibale Carracci, *Le Calvaire*; the celebrated original Picture from the Orleans Gallery').¹² David Baillie, Esq. (Sale, London, Christie's, 25 May 1839, p. 8, no. 58). Frank T. Sabin, London, exhibited - London, Royal Academy, *Works of Holbein and Other Masters* (Introduction by Anthony Blunt), 1950-51, p. 124, Cat. No. 305. New York, David M. Koetser. Kress acquisition 1955, exhibited - Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts, *Art in Italy 1600-1700*, 6 Apr.-9 May 1965, pp. 78-9, Cat. No. 170.

References: (1) Jusepe Martinez, *Discursos practicables del noblísimo arte de la pintura*, 1866, p. 155. Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Ars Hispaniae*, xv, 1971, p. 68. Elías Tormo y Monzó, 'El San Sebastian de Orrente', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, xxiv, 1916, pp. 234-46. Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, 'Pedro Orrente y el perdido retablo de Villarejo de Salvanés', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xlviii, 1941, pp. 503-16. Sabine Jacob 'Florentinische Elemente in der spanischen Malerei', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, xiii, 1967-68, pp. 133-6. Diego Angulo Iñiguez and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Historia de la pintura española Escuela Toledana*, Madrid, 1972, pp. 227-358. (2) *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux . . . qui sont en France* (Recueil Crozat), II, 1742, as 'Le Calvaire, tableau d'Annibale Carrache, qui fut dans le Cabinet de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans'. (3) *Ibid.* (4) Roberto Longhi, 'Uno sguardo alle Fotografie della Mostra: "Italian Art and Britain" alla Royal Academy di Londra (Gennaio-Marzo, 1960)', *Paragone*, xi, no. 125, 1960, pp. 59-61, esp. p. 59. Longhi's view of K2105 was given in conjunction with another canvas - the *Road to Calvary* (Spencer Collection) - which he also recognized as having been wrongly attributed to Leandro Bassano. (5) Donald Posner, entry in *Art in Italy 1600-1700*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1965, pp. 78-9, Cat. No. 70. The Veronese-like character of the group at the foot of the cross was noted. In his monograph *Annibale Carracci*, London, 1971, II, p. 77, Cat. No. 181[R], Posner rejected the Carracci attribution in

favor of Orrente. (6) Fern Rusk Shapley, unpublished catalogue entry, Kress Archive. (7) Roberto Longhi, 'Me Pinxit' e Quesiti Caravaggeschi 1928-1934, Florence, 1968, p. 160, pl. 237a and b. (8) Angulo, *op. cit.* Note 1, 1971, p. 68. This view is followed by Angulo and Pérez Sánchez, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 318, no. 272. (9) Casimir Stryienski, *La Galerie du Régent, Philippe Duc d'Orléans*, 1913, p. 170, Cat. No. 246, according to Shapley seems to use the Lyceum catalogue (London, 1798-99) as his source for de Nocé's having presented K2105 to Philippe, Duc d'Orléans (Stryienski, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.). (10) Dubois de Saint-Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal*, 1727, p. 31; Mariette, *Description . . . Palais Royal*, 1742, p. 33; *Recueil Crozat*, *op. cit.* All three Orléans inventories list the painting as by Annibale Carracci (1724, 1752, 1785). (11) Collections after the Duc d'Orléans given in William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, 1, 1824, pp. 17 ff. (12) In 1836 a *Crucifixion* by Annibale Carracci, formerly in the Orléans Collection, is listed by Passavant as in the collection of T. Maitland, Esq. (*Tour of a German Artist in England*, II, 1836, p. 184). Ellis Waterhouse has seen a marked catalogue of the 1831 sale in which the note 'bt. Baillie' was made next to no. 94. He indicated that this may mean the painting was bought in (letter of 29/vii/69).

JUAN VAN DER HAMEN Y LEÓN

Juan van der Hamen y León was born in Madrid in 1596 and died before 1632.¹ He was the son of a Flemish aristocrat from Brussels, Jan van der Hamen, who was appointed *archero* (member of the Burgundian Guard) to the Spanish court by 1589.² The family was ennobled in 1609. The artist's early training is unknown, although the influence of the still-life painters Sánchez Cotán and Osias Beert has been suggested. First evidence of van der Hamen y León's artistic activity is a receipt of 10 September 1619, for a still life to be hung in the Galería del Mediodía at El Pardo. In 1626 he received an important commission to decorate the Convent of the Encarnación in Madrid. He was also a painter of historical, allegorical, and portrait subjects. He enjoyed great success within his lifetime as the outstanding Spanish still life master and left a very substantial estate. His early death precluded a large oeuvre; a recent monograph accepts twenty-nine still lifes by van der Hamen. His brothers, Pedro and Lorenzo, were friends of Lope de Vega and members of humanistic and theological circles. His son Francisco became a painter, but no signed works survive.

References: (1) See Julio Cavestany, *Floreros y Bodegones*, Madrid, 1936, 1940, pp. 72 ff.; Ingvar Bergström, 'Juan van der Hamen y León', *L'Œil*, no. 108, Dec. 1963, pp. 25-31. Important new documentary evidence is to be found in an as yet unpublished dissertation on him by William B. Jordan, Jr., New York University Institute of Fine Arts, 1967. (2) The elder van der Hamen was long believed to have been a painter of still lifes, but Jordan (*ibid.*) has shown that there is no supporting evidence that he was an artist.

K2176 : Figure 201

STILL LIFE WITH FRUIT. Houston, Texas, Museum of Fine Arts (AC 61-78), since 1958. Oil on fine canvas. 33 × 44½ in. (83.8 × 112.1 cm.). Signed and dated in lower left corner: *Ju van der Hammen fa 1626*. Generally well preserved; conserved by Modestini in 1958.

A plaited basket containing pomegranates is shown at the upper left on a stone step; two additional pomegranates and a split melon are immediately below on another step. White grapes are seen on a pewter (?) platter on a lower step at the right with a branch of plums to the left. Three glass vessels are placed at either side and behind the platter of grapes.¹

The still life was first published by Roberto Longhi and described as among Van der Hamen's most beautiful works, the depiction of glass vessels reminiscent of those painted by Bartolomeo Cavarozzi (Crescenzio) active c. 1600-25. Longhi noted the classical character of the composition and suggested that K2176 is the pendant to K2109.² K2176 is listed by Soria among Van der Hamen's *bodegones*.³ The glassware is described by Bergström as in the Venetian manner. He commented upon the stereometric construction supporting the still-life elements. He related K2176 to the canvas by the same painter in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (K2109) and to a third in Williamstown, Massachusetts, all of which are approximately the same size. He suggested that two of the three may originally have functioned as pendants.⁴ According to Jordan, the Kress canvas 'represents the summit of Van der Hamen's artistic output.'⁵ Longhi's proposal that K2176 is the pendant to K2109 (Fig. 202), Van der Hamen's still life dated 1627, is supported by their similarity in size, although compositionally, the canvases do not suggest that they were intended to have been seen in close proximity. Support for Longhi's assumption may, however, be found by examining a pair of still lifes by the same artist (Madrid, Almudena Cavestany Bastida); each of these contains figural elements like those on the Kress paintings: one very austere, without vegetal elements, the other with more expansive organic forms.⁶ This canvas is among the artist's greatest achievements.

Provenance: Marqués de Leganés, Madrid, 1655 (Inv. No. 353).⁷ Private collection, 1950. New York, David M. Koetser. Kress acquisition 1957.

References: (1) For the glass in K2176 see A. W. Frothingham, *Barcelona Glass in Venetian Style*, New York, 1956. In his dissertation, Jordan cited this publication as evidence of the Spanish craze for Venetian-style glass (see below, 5). The glass objects may well be Spanish or Northern European copies in the Venetian manner. (2) Roberto Longhi, 'Un momento importante nella storia della "Natura Morte"', *Paragone*, I, no. 1, 1950, pp. 34-9, p. 39. For the classical still life depictions resembling K2176 see Charles Sterling, *La Nature Morte de L'Antiquité à nos Jours*, Paris, 1952, pls. 2 and 3 (Pompeian frescoes, first century

A.D., Naples, Museo Nazionale). (3) George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500-1800*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 235. See also Soria, 'Notas sobre Algunos Bodegones Españoles del Siglo XVII', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxii, 1959, pp. 273-80, p. 277. (4) Ingvar Bergström, 'Juan van der Hamen y León', *L'Œil*, 108, Dec. 1963, pp. 25-31, esp. pp. 25-6. (5) William B. Jordan, Jr., 'Juan van der Hamen y León', unpublished diss., N.Y. Univ. Inst. of Fine Arts, 1967, II, p. 333, Cat. No. 15. Also mentioned in Jordan, 'Juan van der Hamen y León, a Madrilénian Still-Life Painter', *Marsyas*, xii, 1964/65, p. 68. On p. 342 (1967) Jordan noted that a clumsy copy after K2176 was recently sold in Madrid. (6) For the Madrid paintings see Jordan, 1967, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-1, Cat. Nos. 9, 10, figs. 27, 28. (7) Information courtesy of William B. Jordan (letter of 23/1/70), who pointed out that a photograph of K2176 prior to cleaning shows the number 353 at the lower right corner; still visible at the lower left are the numbers 32[?]3. The Leganés inventory was published by José López Navio, 'La gran colección de pinturas del Marqués de Leganés', *Analecta Calasanciana*, no. 8, 1962. No. 353: 'otra de vanderhamen, del mismo tamaño [bara y quarta de ancho, y tres quartas de alto], con frutas y granados, membrillos, melones y ubas y unos vidrios, en 500.'

JUAN VAN DER HAMEN Y LEÓN

K2109 : Figure 202

STILL LIFE WITH POTTERY. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1627), since 1956. Oil on canvas. $33\frac{3}{8} \times 44\frac{3}{8}$ in. (84.2×112.8 cm.). Inscribed at right on side of ledge: *Ju. vander Hamen de Leon fa' 1627*.¹ Restoration along left, right, and bottom edges; relined, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955.

Suida-Shapley, p. 104, Cat. No. 37. Reproduced in color in *Evans*, p. 23.

Still-life elements are placed on stone steps and ledges. A plaited basket of sweetmeats is at the upper left. On a ledge at the lower left are two glazed terra cotta vessels, a lighter yellow ceramic bowl, an open circular *mazapán* box, glacé fruit and a pewter (?) platter of sweetmeats. On the ledge at the lower right are, from left to right, a brick-red, ringed, glazed stoneware bottle known as a *Loch* (from the lower Rhineland),² a two-handled glass cup (Dutch?), a globular, covered glass container (probably for honey), two *mazapán* boxes topped by another globular container with preserved cherries. A glass vessel, possibly a *Guttrolf*, is placed behind these boxes.

K2109 was first published by Longhi, described as the pendant to K2176 and as among Van der Hamen's most beautiful works. Longhi noted the classical character of the composition.³ Sterling detected the influence of Sánchez Cotán's still lifes on the Kress canvas as well as that of Flemish artists such as Osias Beert, Clara Peeters and Jacob van Es; he described it as the pendant to K2176.⁴ *Suida-*

Shapley (*loc. cit.*) found that paintings such as K2109 influenced the early still lifes of Zurbarán. The canvas is considered a pendant to K2176. Soria regarded K2109 as Van der Hamen's 'finest straight still life . . .'.⁵ Bergström described the Van der Hamen still life in Houston (K2176) as compositionally the mirror image of this work. He suggested that K2109 may be a pendant to the Houston one or to the Van der Hamen still life dated 1626 (Williamstown, Massachusetts, Williams College Art Museum).⁶ Jordan noted that the boxes and preserved fruit container at the right are found in a still life in Granada (Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes) dated 1621.⁷ The basket of sweetmeats is found with almost identical contents in an undated still life (Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Pontevedra).⁸ Both boxes and basket are seen again in a still life in Madrid, dated 1622 (Collection Almudena Cavestany Bastida, formerly Collection Marqués de Moret).⁹

Although the components are all to be found in his earlier works, the Kress canvas presents them in more complex form. Since K2176 and K2109 are only a centimetre apart in size, they may, as suggested by Longhi and others, be meant as pendants but their differing dates and similarly leftward-oriented compositions make this dubious. Perhaps they belong to series of four referring to the Seasons, with K2176 as 'Fall' and K2109 'Winter'. Two still lifes by the same artist (both in Madrid, Collection Almudena Cavestany Bastida) of approximately the same size as the Kress canvases present a similar contrast of austere non-vegetal forms like those of K2109 and a richer, fruit-filled piece thematically like K2176. Both Madrid paintings are centrally planned compositions.¹⁰ The painting is among Van der Hamen's most monumental, forceful compositions, one of the finest Spanish still lifes of the seventeenth century.

Provenance: Marqués de Leganés, Madrid, 1655?¹¹ Private collection, Florence (?), 1950. Victor Spark, New York,¹² exhibited - Paris, Orangerie, *La Nature Morte de l'antiquité à Nos Jours*, 1952, p. 25, Cat. No. 72. New York, David M. Koetser. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) Roberto Longhi ('Un momento importante nella storia della "Natura Morte"', *Paragone*, I, no. 1, 1950, pp. 34-9, esp. p. 39) stated that K2109 is dated 1626. (2) Information from Dr. Konrad Strauss, Munich. (3) Longhi, *op. cit.*, p. 39. For the classical still-life depictions resembling K2109 see Charles Sterling, *La Nature Morte de l'Antiquité à Nos Jours*, Orangerie Exhibition Catalogue, Paris, 1952, pls. 2 and 3 (Pompeian frescoes, first century A.D., Naples, Museo Nazionale). (4) *Ibid.*, p. 25, Cat. No. 72. (5) George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500-1800*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 235. See also Soria, 'Notes sobre Algunos Bodegones Españoles del Siglo XVII', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxii, 1959, pp. 273-80, esp. p. 277. (6) Ingvar Bergström, 'Juan van der Hamen y León', *L'Œil*, 108, Dec. 1963, pp. 25-31, esp. pp. 25-6. K2109 is listed by

William B. Jordan, 'Juan van der Hamen y León, a Madrilénian Still-Life Painter', *Marsyas*, xii, 1964/65, pp. 52-69, esp. p. 69, and by the same author in 'Juan van der Hamen y León', unpublished diss. N.Y. U. Institute of Fine Arts, 1967, II, p. 333, Cat. No. 16. (7) *Ibid.*, p. 326, Cat. No. 2. (8) *Ibid.*, p. 327, Cat. No. 3, fig. 21. (9) *Ibid.*, p. 330, Cat. No. 9, fig. 27. (10) *Ibid.*, pp. 330-1, Cat. Nos. 9, 10, figs. 27, 28. (11) Suggested by William B. Jordan, letter of 23/1/70, as possibly Inv. No. 97: 'otro banquete de la mismo mano y tamaño [2 baras poco mas o meno de alta y una y media de ancho], con cajas de conserbas, y canastillo de diferentes dulces y bucaros, en 400.' (12) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 209, Cat. No. 1454.

JUSEPE DE RIBERA

Little is known of Jusepe de Ribera's early years except that he was born in Játiva, the son of a shoemaker, probably in 1591.¹ He is sometimes thought to have been a pupil of Ribalta at Valencia. At an early age, c. 1610, Ribera left Spain for Italy, first to Lombardy. He then probably traveled to Parma, where he studied Correggio's works before settling in Rome where he was influenced by Raphael, the Carracci, Reni, and most important of all, by Caravaggio. The artist established permanent residence in Naples by 1616, where he was influenced even further by works of Caravaggio and his Neapolitan followers. Ribera's earliest dated works are his brilliant etchings of 1621; his first dated painting is of 1626, when he was already a member of the Roman *Accademia di San Luca*. He enjoyed great popularity with the Spanish viceroys of Naples and was appointed painter to the Count of Monterrey. Many of Ribera's works were sent to Spain, where his dramatic chiaroscuro was much admired and imitated. Towards the end of his life, his popularity declined. His last years were spent in sickness and near poverty. One of the most important Spanish painters of the century, Ribera excelled as a portraitist and painter of genre and religious subjects; he was a founder and leader of the 'Neapolitan School'. Critics have stressed that, despite his admiration for the Italians, Ribera's art remains uniquely Spanish in his fusion of realism and mysticism, especially in his religious scenes. The more brutal aspects of his art led Lord Byron to write in *Don Juan* (xiii, 71), 'Spagnoletto tainted / his brush with all the blood of all the sainted.' Ribera's large studio in Naples included Giovanni Dò, Fracanzano, Bartolommeo Passante, and most notably, Luca Giordano, whose early style is often confused with the Spaniard's.

Reference: (1) B. de Dominici, *Vite dei Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Napoletani*, III, Naples, 1844, pp. 111-46. August Liebmann Mayer, *Jusepe de Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto)*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1923. *Idem.*, *Thieme-Becker*, xxviii, Leipzig, 1934, p. 233. Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Ribera*, New York, 1952 (review by Delphine Fitz Darby, *Art Bulletin*, xxxv, 1953, pp. 68 ff.). U. Prota-Giurleo, *La Pittura Napoletana*, Naples, 1953, pp. 95-120.

K2160 : Figure 211

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. Columbia, South Carolina, Columbia Museum of Art (62.37.19), since 1962. Oil on coarse canvas. 100×69½ in. (254.0×175.9 cm.). Inscription on clouds at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera español/F. 1637*. Pentimenti indicate that the artist's first project had the left hand of the Virgin placed on her breast. Canvas cut down at bottom. Holes and tears in canvas to the left of Virgin's head and at upper left corner.¹ Extensive losses to paint surface. Heads of the putti have been especially repainted. Very considerably restored; relined, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1957/58. *Columbia*, 1962, pp. 128-9, Cat. No. 44.

The Virgin is seen against a mustard-colored background, standing on a crescent moon. She is turned to the left, her hands folded in prayer, gazing toward the Holy Ghost above her. Mary wears a white robe and blue cape and a crown of stars. The sun is at the left; over it, seven winged cherub heads appear in a cloud bank with the moon above. Another cluster of cherub heads is between the head of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost. A single, large star is at the upper right. The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception is largely derived from the description of the Woman of the Apocalypse (Revelation 12:1): '... clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.'²

When K2160 first appeared in the literature (Paris, 1867, Salamanca Sale, see *Provenance*) it was described as from the 'convent de Monte-rey (province de Salamanca)'.³ This institution was the Augustinian convent of Salamanca (Agostinas Recoletas) founded by the seventh Count of Monterrey, Manuel de Fonseca y Zuñiga, Spanish ambassador to the Vatican and then Viceroy of Naples from 1631-36, one of Ribera's major patrons.⁴ In 1914, when the whereabouts of the Salamanca Sale canvas was no longer known, Tormo noted that it had been in the *clausura* of the Augustinian convent at Salamanca until taken away by a 'Duque patrono' of the convent (presumably toward the mid-nineteenth century). Tormo wrote that it was still remembered as having been in the convent.⁵ Mayer identified the Kress canvas (then in a private collection, Paris) with the painting discussed by Tormo. He stressed its monumental character, its fine draughtsmanship and execution and pointed out that the sale in which it appeared in 1867 also contained four other canvases from the same Salamanca convent.⁶ K2160 is included in Sarthou Carreres's Ribera monograph.⁷ It was omitted by Elizabeth du Gué Trapier from her study of the master.⁸ *Gaya Nuño* (p. 279, Cat. No. 2320) wrote that K2160 came from the Augustinian convent at Salamanca, but confused it with an inferior depiction of the same subject, also signed and dated 1637 (Gallery Harrach, Vienna).⁹

Ribera's first known and major depiction of the Immaculate Conception was painted in 1635 for the Iglesia de Las Monjas Agostinas Descalzas (Recoletas), the same convent for

which K2160 was executed. The composition is far more elaborate than that of K2160, including a full-length figure of God the Father at the upper left and a series of symbols of Marian purity; large angels appear at the lower left and right. It was commissioned by the Count of Monterrey, who also appears to have ordered K2160.¹⁰ In 1646 Ribera was again requested (by another Viceroy of Naples, Rodrigo Ponce de León) to paint a very large *Immaculate Conception* for the convent church of Santa Isabel, Madrid (destroyed in the Spanish Civil War). In this depiction the Virgin's head is turned to the left while her torso turns to the right. Her arms are crossed on her breast. Putti appear above and below with full-length angels kneeling at the lower left and right. The crescent moon is shown pointing downward.¹¹ The Kress *Immaculate Conception* is more conservative than the 1635 version. It conforms in large part with the stipulations of Francisco Pacheco—the Virgin's hands folded in prayer before her breast with the Holy Ghost above, her attire blue and white, all in accord with the vision of Beatriz Silva of Portugal, founder of the Order of the Immaculate Conception in 1511. Pacheco also required the presence of Marian symbols as they appear in the Ribera of 1635.¹² These may originally have been present in K2160 if, as seems the case, the canvas was considerably cut down. The Spanish viceroys of Naples were especially concerned with the subject of the Immaculate Conception; Ribera's major representations of it including K2160, are due to their patronage.

The poor state of preservation of this work makes the degree of Ribera's participation hard to ascertain, but the significant change in the hands toward a more orthodox placement argues strongly for his having had a major role. That the Kress canvas duplicates the subject of the high altar of the same convent church from which it is said to have come does not argue against such a provenance since the nuns in the *clausura* may well have venerated the same type of image as that in the convent church to which many of them might not have had access.¹³ In addition to the conservative sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century paintings of the Immaculate Conception consulted by Ribera, he may also have seen the important early Baroque image by Guido Reni (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) ordered by Ribera's patron (the Count of Monterrey) when he was ambassador to Rome in 1627. The Count was closely concerned with Gregory XV's decretal favouring the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.¹⁴ The pose and coloring are distinctly reminiscent of Reni and the Bolognese School. Ribera has reduced and clarified his 1635 high altar composition, making the Kress canvas more orthodox yet still close to recent Bolognese currents.

Provenance: Probably from the *clausura* of the convent of Augustinian nuns in Salamanca, donated by the Count of Monterrey, Manuel de Fonseca y Zuñiga. José Marqués de Salamanca y Mayol, Paris, 1867. Sale, Paris, *Catalogue des Tableaux Anciens des Écoles Espagnole, Italienne, Flamande et Hollandaise composant la Galerie de M. le M^{te} de Salamanca vente en son Hôtel*, 4–6 June 1867, p. 20, Cat. No. 26. Presumably bought in and resold in Paris, Hôtel Drouot,

Collection Salamanca, Tableaux Anciens des Écoles Espagnole, Italienne, Flamande et Hollandaise Provenant des Galeries de l'Infant don Luis de Bourbon; du Marquis d'Altamira; du Marquis d'Almeirera; de Iriarte; de la Comtesse de Chinchon, née de Bourbon; de don José de Madrazo; etc., etc., et du Palais de Vista-Allegre, 25–26 Jan. 1875, pp. 22–3. Private collection, Paris, 1934.¹⁵ Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano (*Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz, 1, Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Zürich, 1937, p. 129, Cat. No. 351, catalogue by Rudolph Heinemann). Rudolph Heinemann, New York.¹⁶ M. Knoedler and Co., Inc., New York. Kress acquisition 1957.

References: (1) Mayer noted that several of the Spanish paintings at the Salamanca Sale (1867, 1875), which included K2160, suffered from execrable restoration damaging them almost beyond recognition (August Liebmann Mayer, *Jusepe de Ribera, Lo Spagnoletto*, Leipzig, 1908 and 1923, p. 89). (2) For the iconography of the Immaculate Conception in Spain see E. Tormo y Monzó, 'La Inmaculada en el Arte Español', Part 1, *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, xxii, 1914, pp. 108–32; 2, pp. 176–218; Manuel Trens, *María, Iconografía de la Virgen en el Arte Español*, Madrid, 1946, pp. 142–90; Halldor Sochner, *Spanische Meister, Alte Pinakothek*, Munich, 1963, I, pp. 24–6, 54–5, 95–7, 181. The star at the right in K2160 may refer to the morning star or to the star of the sea which was added to the Immaculate Conception schemes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1909, p. 198. (3) The Salamanca Sale Catalogue stated erroneously that K2160 is recorded by Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez (*Diccionario Histórico de los más Ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Madrid, IV, 1800, p. 193), who actually lists the other *Immaculate Conception* (of 1635) by Ribera still on the high altar of the convent church. (4) For the convent see Antonio García Boiza, *La Iglesia y Convento de MM. Agustinas de Salamanca*, University of Salamanca, 1945. Construction began in 1636. For the seventh Count of Monterrey see Elías Tormo y Monzó, 'Varias obras maestras de Ribera, inéditas', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, xxiv, 1916, pp. 11–28, pp. 17, 19. His daughter was a member of the order and his family burial place was located in the convent church. See Boiza, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–24. (5) Tormo, 1916, p. 28. A. L. Mayer (*op. cit.*, 1923, p. 203 and 1908, p. 189) described the Salamanca Sale canvas as lost. It was similarly described by Delphine Fitz Darby, 'The Magdalene of the Hispanic Society by Jusepe de Ribera', *Art Quarterly*, v, 1942, pp. 223–30, esp. p. 230, n. 17. She suggested the canvas might be identical with the lost canvas from the convent of S. Pascual, Madrid. (6) A. L. Mayer, 'Anotaciones a Algunos Cuadros del Museo del Prado', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, xlii, 1934, pp. 291–9, p. 299. (7) Carlos Sarthou Carreres, *J. José de Ribera y su Arte, el Españoleto y su Patria*, Valencia, 1947, pp. 123–4. (8) *Op. cit.*, in Note 4 above. (9) The Vienna painting is illustrated in the Harrach Gallery Catalogue (Vienna, 1960, pp. 61–2, Cat. No. 114, pl. 3). According to Mayer, 1923, p. 89, the F. (for FÉCIT) does not appear in

the Harrach inscription. He characterized the Vienna canvas as a 'hard, carelessly executed work copied after a Ribera-like painting'. (10) See Tormo, 1916, pp. 17-20; Mayer, 1923, pp. 85-8; Trapier, *op. cit.*, p. 109. A preparatory drawing for the 1635 canvas is reproduced by Walter Vitzthum, *Cento Disegni Napoletani*, Uffizi Exhibition, Florence, 1967, p. 29, Cat. No. 38, fig. 20. A horizontal *Immaculate Conception* drawing is shown in fig. 31, p. 28, Cat. No. 36. (11) An *Immaculate Conception* attributed to Ribera is in the Prado (Inventory No. 1070). The pose and drapery of the Virgin are extremely close to K2160, but the Prado composition includes a dragon immediately below the crescent moon and a landscape filled with Marian symbols along the bottom. Museo del Prado, *Catálogo de los Cuadros*, Madrid, 1942, p. 501. It is not accepted as Ribera by August L. Mayer, *Jusepe de Ribera, Lo Spagnoletto*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 88. (12) Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, II, 'Pintura de la Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora', pp. 208-12. The manuscript is dated 1638 but Pacheco's numerous earlier depictions of the subject are in accord with his text. See also Diego Angulo Iñiguez, 'Velázquez y Pacheco', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXII, 1949, pp. 354-6. (13) K2160 was probably in the choir of the *clausura* - see Boiza, *op. cit.*, p. 31. A painting of the *Immaculate Conception* was similarly placed in San Antonio de los Portugueses in Madrid. (14) Tormo, 1914, p. 195. The Spanish count was evidently furthering, under Urban VIII, the theological interests of Urban's predecessor, Gregory XV. (15) Mayer, 1934, *op. cit.*, p. 299. (16) *Gaya Nuño*, p. 279, Cat. No. 2320.

JUSEPE DE RIBERA

K1683 : Figure 206

A GREEK SAGE. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum of Art (KR 61,18), since 1951. Oil on canvas. 50×36 in. (127.0×91.4 cm.). Inscribed on upper left of chart: *Jusepe de Ribera*. Colors have darkened, the gradations absorbed by the canvas; very considerable abrasion and restoration; probably slightly cut down. Restored by Modestini in 1950.

Tucson, 1957, Cat. No. 14.

An austere middle-aged man, in shabby brown attire, is shown in almost three-quarter length behind a low table in the foreground, on which there is a book. He holds a compass in his right hand and raises a sheet of parchment with mathematical or cartographic notations in his left. In three-quarter view, seen from the left, he gazes pensively at his notations.¹

K1683 was first published by Mayer as an original work by Ribera who entitled it 'The geographer Archimedes'.² Suida described the canvas as an imaginary portrait of the Greek philosopher Archimedes, noting its Rembrandtesque quality.³ The painting is not included by Elizabeth du Gué Trapier in her Ribera monograph of 1952. Delphine Fitz

Darby published it as a work by Ribera of c. 1630. She believed it to have been a pendant to a philosopher portrait by Ribera in the Prado (no. 1121) now generally identified as *Archimedes*, for which Darby revived an earlier title, *Democritus*.⁴ Signed and dated 1630, the Prado canvas measures 49½×32 in. The subject is seen frontally. As in K1683, he holds an open compass and stands before a similar desk. Darby suggested that the numerous depictions of great thinkers from classical antiquity painted by Ribera and his followers originated from a commission which she assumes was given to the painter shortly after 1629, the year in which Fernando Enriquez y Afán de Rivera, Duke of Alcalá, came to Naples as Viceroy. She correlates the date of 1630 inscribed on the Prado *Philosopher* with the postulated patronage of the recently appointed, humanistically oriented Duke, the owner of a great library, an epigrapher, archaeologist and numismatist. Darby proposed that K1683 depicts Heraclitus, 'The Weeping Philosopher', who was frequently shown as a pendant to Democritus, 'The Laughing Philosopher', and that both, together with several other representations of classical thinkers painted by Ribera, were installed in the Duke of Alcalá's residence, La Casa del Pilatos (Seville).⁵

In antiquity and after its revival series of images of great thinkers of classical times were commonly associated with the institution of the academy-museum-library. Such portraits were often placed in conjunction with their subjects' writings. The Kress canvas, together with others similar, may well have been destined for a humanistic setting. Ribera, his studio and followers painted several such series, two of which are partially preserved in the Prado and the Liechtenstein Collection (Vaduz).⁶ The sages are often painted in a somewhat mocking fashion. Such portrait series enjoyed considerable vogue, and are a profane parallel to Ribera's *Apostolados*.⁷ The Kress canvas lends itself to placement with any one of the Ribera sages who is seen frontally or facing right, as all such imaginary portraits are similar in composition and format. Although there are slight divergences in size between K1683 and Prado No. 1121, they may well have been intended to be seen in the same series if not in immediate proximity. The poor state of preservation makes Ribera's contribution unascertainable; it is certainly based upon his design and may well involve his participation, probably with considerable studio assistance. Darby's identification of the Kress canvas as Heraclitus is not entirely conclusive (many of Ribera's 'philosophers' defy secure labeling), but the general context in which she has placed K1683 is correct. It need not date as early as her proposed 1630, as it could have been part of one of several similar sage cycles of later date. The somewhat awkward figure placement may have been dictated by the architectural setting for which such series were presumably depicted.

Provenance: Simonetti, Rome, sold 1904 to Dr. John E. Stillwell, New York, exhibited - Boston, Mass., *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of the Spanish School, The Copley Society of Boston*, Copley Hall, Mar. 1912, p. 18, Cat. No. 64, 'Portrait of an Architect'. Dr. John E. Stillwell Sale,

New York, Anderson Galleries, 1-3 Dec. 1927, p. 168, Cat. No. 465, 'Archimedes'. Mrs. Joseph Fuller Feder, New York.⁸ New York, French and Co. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) The chart has been studied by Jean Le Corbeiller. Its precise mathematical, cartographic or astronomical import is unascertainable. (2) August Liebmann Mayer, *Jusepe de Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto)*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 187, as formerly in the Simonetti Collection, Rome. In the edition of 1923 (pp. 200-1) he listed the painting twice: as *A Philosopher* formerly in the Simonetti Collection, and again as *Archimedes* in the Stillwell Collection. This misinformation is repeated by Carlos Sarthou Carreres, *J. José de Ribera y su Arte*, Valencia, 1947, p. 53. (3) Tucson, 1951, Cat. No. 18. (4) Delphine Fitz Darby, 'Ribera and the Wise Men', *Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1962, pp. 279-307, esp. pp. 288-93. (5) Darby, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-93. A Ribera philosopher portrait signed and dated 1637 (Clowes Collection, Indianapolis, Ind.), usually called *Archimedes*, has been convincingly identified by Darby as *Aristotle*. According to Darby, the Duke may well have been familiar with the outstanding series of early Renaissance portraits of great thinkers in the *studiolo* of Federigo da Montefeltro (Urbino, Palazzo Ducale), in which a Spanish artist, Pedro Berruguete, worked with Joos van Ghent (p. 290). She discussed Democritus and Heraclitus as a popular subject on pp. 284-8. The earliest record, after antiquity, of their visual juxtaposition (unknown to Darby) was the commission given Pollaiuolo for the Neo-Platonic academy at Carreggi showing the two men placed at either side of a world map. (See André Chastel, *Art et Humanisme à Florence au Temps de Laurent le Magnifique*, Paris, 1961, pp. 248 ff.) Both the subject of the Kress canvas and the Prado Ribera *Democritus* hold open compasses, so they may perhaps be interpreted as referring to each thinker's attitude toward the world. (6) For a reconstruction of the Prado series see Darby's article cited above. For the Liechtenstein group see Evan Turner, 'Ribera's Philosophers', *Wadsworth Atheneum Bulletin*, Spring 1958, pp. 5-14. (7) See Darby, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-1, for Spanish literary links between these classical and Christian portrait cycles. (8) According to Darby, *op. cit.*, p. 293, n. 55. The author (p. 293, n. 55) lists an unsigned Ribera *Archimedes* at the Musée de Besançon, described as nearly identical to K1683, presumably Cat. No. 407. Its description (*Musées de Besançon, Catalogue des Peintures, Dessins, Sculptures et Antiquités*, Besançon, 1886, pp. 151-2) does not correspond to the Kress depiction.

School of JUSEPE DE RIBERA

K1827 : Figure 207

ST. BARTHOLOMEW. Birmingham, Alabama, Birmingham Museum of Art (61.103), since 1952. Oil on canvas. 29½ × 23¾ in. (74.3 × 60.3 cm.). Possibly somewhat cut down at left and bottom. Loss in the middle of the saint's brow; some areas in the beard and elsewhere considerably abraded and restored.

Birmingham, 1959, pp. 88-9.

The saint is shown in bust length, raising the instrument of his martyrdom, a flaying knife, with his right hand.¹ He is turned slightly to the left. Dramatically illuminated from the left, the bearded elderly figure wears a toga-like olive robe over a reddish tunic. He is seen against a dark brown background.

This work probably belonged to an Apostle portrait series, a traditionally Spanish subject, known as the *apostolado*, which was first cast in a late Renaissance form by Greco.² Ribera may have adapted Rubens's *apostolado* painted for the Duke of Lerma in 1603 (Madrid, Prado), the major early Baroque rendering of the subject in Spain. Many Apostle cycles were produced by Ribera and his Neapolitan followers. According to Longhi, the work is undoubtedly by Ribera, dating c. 1630.³ Suida stressed the Caravaggesque qualities, relating the physiognomical type, characteristic of Ribera, to that of his *Trinity* (Madrid, Prado).⁴ He dated K1827 in Ribera's middle period: the 1630s.⁵ According to Soehner, this is either a work from Ribera's studio or a free contemporary copy based on the *St. Bartholomew* in the Prado (No. 1099).⁶

Both K1827 and the Prado painting show considerable impasto; the brushwork in K1827 is less animated. It has been suggested by Meribel Maddux Parsons that K1827 is by the same assistant of Ribera who executed the *St. Simon* (Prado No. 1090) from the *apostolado* series to which the Prado *St. Bartholomew* belonged.⁷ The canvas is in all likelihood a Ribera school piece.

Provenance: Duke of Medina-Coeli, Naples (?).⁸ Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) For the iconography of St. Bartholomew, see Réau, III, 1, pp. 188 ff. and Émile Mâle, *Les Saints compagnons du Christ*, Paris, 1958, pp. 203 ff. The depiction of the saint in K1827 may be based, as suggested by Halldor Soehner (*Spanische Meister, Alte Pinakothek*, Munich, 1963, I, p. 164, n. 2) on apocryphal descriptions of Bartholomew. See R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, Brunswick, 1884, II, 2, pp. 54 ff. (2) For the Spanish contribution to Apostle portrait cycles in the sixteenth century, see Gustav Glück, 'Van Dycks Apostel-folge', *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 130-47. (3) Note in Kress Archive, 20/III/50. (4) Birmingham, 1952, p. 61. (5) Birmingham, 1959, p. 89. (6) Soehner, *op. cit.*, I, p. 163. Elizabeth du Gué Trapier and José López-Rey expressed similar views. K1827 is also very close to the Ribera *St. Bartholomew* in Munich (Soehner, *op. cit.*, I, p. 163), but the latter includes the saint's right hand (placed near the left shoulder); he is in three-quarter view with more drapery. (7) K1827 was possibly included by August Liebmann Mayer, *Jusepe de Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto)*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 194, under the heading of 'school-pieces' among the ten Apostles owned by the Duke of Marianella, Naples. Another series of *apostolados* in Parma is listed by Mayer (p. 75). (8) In the 1630s the Duke of Medina-Coeli became heir to the collection of the Duke of Alcalá, a former Viceroy of Naples and major patron of

Ribera. Although the bulk of the Alcalá heritage was sold by the Duke shortly thereafter, perhaps K1827 remained in the possession of his heirs. See Delphine Fitz Darby, 'Ribera and the Wise Men', *Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1962, pp. 279-307, esp. p. 290.

Circle of RIBERA

K1698 : Figure 208

ST. BARTHOLOMEW. El Paso, Texas, Museum of Art (61-1-52), since 1961. Oil on closely-woven canvas. $30\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ in. (77.8 × 65.1 cm.). Inscribed on Bartholomew's mantle, to the right of the hand: Jusepe de Ribera español F. 1643 (?). The last number could be a 2 or 7. Restored by William Suhr while owned by Frederick Mont; restored by Modestini in 1950. Well preserved.

Suida, p. 214, Cat. No. 95; *El Paso*, 1961, Cat. No. 44.

The saint looks to the upper right, his head tilted to the left. His right hand, holding up the flaying knife of his martyrdom, emerges from voluminous toga-like drapery. Bartholomew has a long thin face and curly white hair, beard, and moustache; he is seen against a dark brown background.

The canvas probably belonged to a series depicting the twelve Apostles (*apostolado*).¹ Longhi, who first published K1698 as a work of Ribera, related the physiognomy of Bartholomew to the concept of a 'testa di carattere', stating that Spanish artists were especially drawn to such depictions of grizzled elders. He pointed out that the facial type is close to those of Guido Reni.² The canvas is included by Sarthou Carreres,³ but is not to be found in the recent Ribera monographs. *Suida* noted that the saint 'as a noble old man, is somewhat exceptional in Ribera's work, for though painted with this artist's realistic directness, he shows a certain idealization in a manner recalling Guido Reni. According to tradition, mutual esteem linked together these two equally important yet basically different painters.'⁴ Shapley (*El Paso*, loc. cit.) compared the pose and expression of the saint with Ribera's full-length *St. Bartholomew* (Madrid, Prado, No. 1100) and with the features of his *St. Andrew* (Madrid, Prado) and *St. Onuphrius* (Leningrad, Hermitage).

Although the facial type is to be found in Ribera's oeuvre – usually as SS. Onuphrius or Jerome – the painting has a certain bravura, virtuoso quality that suggests its having been painted in the manner of Ribera by an Italian master rather than by the Spanish artist himself.

Provenance: Presumably this is one of two paintings of the same subject and size listed as by Ribera in the Hamilton Palace Collection (sales London, Christie's, 24 June 1882, p. 54, no. 386, purchased by T. and W. Banting; 1 July 1882, p. 92, no. 703, purchased by J. Hozier). Charles Brunner, Paris. A. Contini Bonacossi, Rome.⁵ New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1950, exhibited –

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection Exhibited at the National Gallery of Art*, 1951, p. 214, Cat. No. 95.

References: (1) For the iconography of St. Bartholomew, see Réau, III, 1, pp. 188 ff.; Émile Mâle, *Les saints compagnons du Christ*, Paris, 1958, pp. 203 ff. For the Spanish contribution to Apostle portrait cycles in the sixteenth century see Gustav Glück, 'Van Dycks Apostelfolge', *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 130-47. (2) Roberto Longhi and August Liebmann Mayer, *Gli antichi spagnuoli della collezione Contini Bonacossi*, Rome, 1930, p. 29, Cat. No. 54. K1698 is listed in *Goya Nuño*, p. 283, Cat. No. 2380. (3) Carlo Sarthou Carreres, *J. José de Ribera y su Arte*, Valencia, 1947, p. 53. (4) *Suida*, 1951, p. 214, Cat. No. 95. (5) Longhi and Mayer, *The Old Spanish Masters from the Contini Bonacossi Collection*, Rome, 1930, p. 34, Cat. No. 54.

DIEGO RODRIGUEZ DE SILVA Y VELÁZQUEZ

Diego Velázquez was born in Seville in 1599, the son of an advocate; he died in Madrid in 1660.¹ In Francisco Herrera's studio by c. 1612, Velázquez then studied with Francisco Pacheco from 1613 to 1618 and married his master's daughter. From 1622 onward, he was painter to Philip IV. In 1627 Velázquez was made Gentleman Usher (*Ugier de Cámara*), the first of his many court appointments. Rubens, whom he met in Madrid in 1628-29, encouraged him to go to Italy. From 1629 to 1631 Velázquez was in Venice, Rome and Naples. A second visit to Italy was made in 1649-51, at which time he was sent by the king to purchase works of art for the royal collection. In 1659, he was made a Knight of Santiago. In addition to his consummate mastery of the portrait, Velázquez also excelled as a painter of historical, mythological and still-life subjects. His impressionistic innovations, technical brilliance, psychological penetration and sensitivity place him among the greatest masters of the Baroque.

Reference: (1) August Liebmann Mayer, *Velázquez, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Drawings*, London, 1936. Enrique Lafuente-Ferrari, *The Paintings and Drawings of Velázquez*, London, 1943. Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Velázquez*, New York, 1948. José López-Rey, *Velázquez, A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre*, London, 1963.

Follower of VELÁZQUEZ

K1327 : Figure 204

CARDINAL BORJA Y VELASCO. Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce (62.0266), Kress Study Collection, since 1962. Oil on very finely woven canvas. $29\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{1}{2}$ in. (75.2 × 62.6 cm.). Somewhat cut down at the bottom and sides and possibly at the top. It may originally have been a half- or full-length portrait (see Text Fig. 49). Paint surface disturbed near the right nostril and mouth and above right

shoulder; considerable abrasion and very extensive restoration. Conserved by Suhr before 1942. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1942; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1961. Sections of the canvas seem extremely thinly painted.¹

Ponce, 1962, Cat. No. 11.

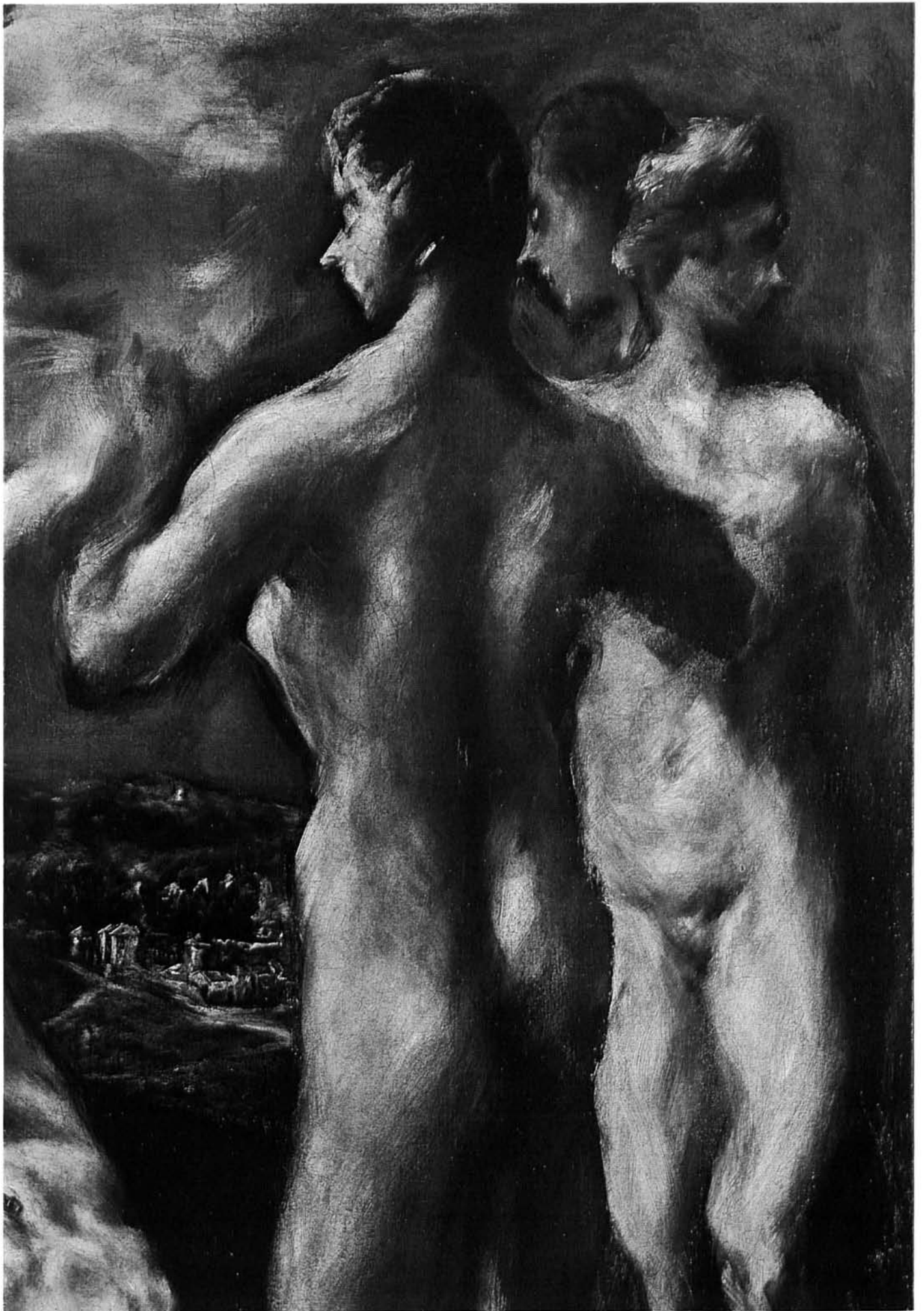
The Cardinal is shown against a dark background. He has a square-cut beard and moustache. He is seated, his head turned slightly, wearing a red cardinal's *beretta* and a reddish-pink *mozzetta* with a white clerical collar (*golilla*) over a white-sleeved garment (*rocchetto*). His left arm is placed on that of the chair. Gaspar de Borja y Velasco was born on 3 April 1582, the son of Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandía. He was made cardinal in 1611, remaining in Rome for the following twenty-two years. Appointed Viceroy of Naples, he remained there for six months before his recall to Spain in 1635, where he was made Bishop of Seville. In 1643 the archbishopric of Toledo was conferred on him, making him Primate of Spain. Artist and sitter may first have met when Philip IV called the Council of Aragón at Zaragoza in 1644. The Cardinal died on 28 September 1645.

Eight portraits of Cardinal Borja by or after Velázquez are known today: 1. A drawing of the head, inscribed in an oval (Madrid, Academia de San Fernando), is the only depiction agreed by all writers to be by Velázquez himself. (18.6 × 11.7 cm., Text Fig. 48.) 2. Bust-length, Kingston Lacy, Wimborne (Dorset), collection Ralph Bankes. (Oil on canvas. 47.5 × 39.7 cm.)² 3. Bust-length, Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut. (Oil on canvas. 64.0 × 48.0 cm.)³ 4. Bust-length, Toledo Cathedral. (Oil on canvas. 63.0 × 49.5 cm.)⁴ 5. Bust-length, with indication of chair back, Jacksonville, Florida, Cummer Gallery of Art. Inscribed at top. (Oil on canvas. 53.6 × 48.2 cm.)⁵ 6. Bust-length, collection of Adolfo de Arenaza. (Oil on canvas. 41.0 × 32.0 cm.)⁶ 7. Half-length with chair back, curtain at left. Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce. (Oil on canvas. 75.2 × 62.6 cm.) (K1327).⁷ 8. Seated, full-length, holding book in right hand; curtain at left. London, J. O. Flatter Collection. (Oil on canvas. 78.7 × 53.4 cm., Text Fig. 49.)⁸

The first reference to Velázquez having painted Cardinal Borja was recorded in testimony given by the painter Juan Carreño de Miranda in 1658/59. Citing Velázquez's eligibility for membership of the Order of Santiago, Carreño attested that the great artist never sold any of his paintings. He supported this statement by recalling that when Borja was Archbishop of Toledo after 1643, he had requested a portrait for which the artist was to refuse payment.⁹ Palomino said that a portrait of Borja by Velázquez was in the ducal palace at Gandía in 1724.¹⁰ The portrait was still listed there in 1783 by Ponz.¹¹ In 1800 Ceán Bermúdez wrote that the original portrait of Borja by Velázquez was in the ducal palace at Gandía.¹² According to Ceán Bermúdez, writing in 1820, Borja only agreed to permit Velázquez to paint his portrait (of the head alone) to accommodate the young artist's powerful

patron the Count-Duke Olivares. As the latter was banished in January 1643, a few days after Borja's investiture as Archbishop of Toledo, the depiction had to be completed before this month. Ceán noted that several enlarged paintings based on Velázquez's head of Borja were made after the latter's death. He believed a portrait of Borja in his possession (now in Frankfurt) to be the original by Velázquez, and from the ducal palace at Gandía.¹³ The Borja portrait remaining in Toledo was described by Sisto Ramón Parro in 1857 as a copy of the one painted for the Cardinal's tomb in the Cathedral's chapel of San Ildefonso, removed in 1808 and lost sight of thereafter. The author suggested that a third portrait, the original, was retained by the Cardinal.¹⁴ Justi believed that Cardinal Borja probably presented the portrait by Velázquez to the Cathedral of Toledo at the time of his investiture (1643) to be hung in the Winter Hall. He suggested that it was moved to Borja's tomb and replaced by a copy, noting that the latter was transferred to the Office of Works and was subsequently lost.¹⁵ Voll described the Frankfurt portrait as a copy after the lost original.¹⁶ Both the Toledo and Frankfurt canvases were listed as careful copies by Beruete.¹⁷ In 1924 Mayer viewed the Borja portrait as lost, listing three copies: at the Städelches Kunstinstitut, in Toledo Cathedral and at Kingston Lacy (collection of Ralph Bankes), calling the first one the best.¹⁸ Allende-Salazar found the Frankfurt canvas the best and by Velázquez himself.¹⁹

K1327 was first published in 1930 by Mayer as the original portrait of Cardinal Borja long known through several smaller studio copies, of which Mayer listed those in Frankfurt and Toledo. According to the same author, the Toledo portrait was given finishing touches by the master himself, while the Frankfurt canvas is purely a studio production. Mayer dated K1327 c. 1643, shortly before Velázquez's *Philip IV* (New York, Frick Collection).²⁰ In 1936, Mayer observed that K1327 was originally three-quarter length, like Velázquez's *Innocent X* (Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili).²¹ According to Gudiol, the Kress canvas dates c. 1645 and is from Velázquez's hand.²² Wehle believed the work to be by Velázquez, and to have hung above Borja's tomb.²³ The Kress canvas is included in Lafuente's Velázquez monograph where it is dated c. 1643-45, and the drawing placed in 1643. The author omitted K1327 from his edition of the monograph published in Barcelona in the following year.²⁴ López-Rey rejected K1327 as by Velázquez. Among his reasons are the absence of 'the pictorial characteristics of Velázquez's drawing of the cardinal's head (the subtle interplay of lights and fluid shadows) . . .'. He concluded that the drawing is 'the only extant likeness of Cardinal Borja by Velázquez himself', suggesting that technical studies of the Frankfurt canvas might prove it to have been painted by the master.²⁵ K1327 is included by Pantorba in his Velázquez monograph as among the three best copies after a lost work by the artist.²⁶ Kapтерева accepted it as a Velázquez, datable c. 1640.²⁷ Gerstenberg placed Velázquez's Borja commission at the time Philip IV convoked the Council of Aragón in 1644 (Zaragoza). His technical examination of



El Greco: Detail from *Laocoön* (κ 1413). Washington, D.C. (p. 195)



Francisco de Zurbarán: *SS. Jerome, Paula and Eustochium* (κ 1896). Washington, D.C. (p. 216)

the Frankfurt canvas led the author to find it the original Velázquez. He described K1327 as a copy, originally knee-length, one of those known to have been made after the artist's head of Cardinal Borja. Gerstenberg stressed the influence of Italian papal portraits from the High Renaissance onward upon Velázquez's depiction of Borja.²⁸ *Goya Nuño* (p. 237, Cat. No. 2883) placed K1327 (datable c. 1645) in his second category: 'Attributed to Velázquez'. The authors of the Velázquez exhibition catalogue of 1960 believed the artist to have portrayed Borja between 1641-44, listing the original as lost.²⁹ Crombie regarded K1327 as 'attributed to Velázquez'. 'In its freer modelling, particularly of the folds of the dress and collar, it differs substantially from the rest of the series, in all of which these details are virtually identical. Moreover, the slight but noticeable difference in the position of the left forearm . . . as compared with the new full-length [Text Fig. 49, London, J. O. Flatter], points to the absence of a common model for the hands and arms as well as for the robes.'³⁰ In 1963 López-Rey wrote that the attribution 'to Velázquez is untenable on both stylistic and documentary grounds'.³¹ He suggested that the portrait owned by Ralph Bankes (Kingston Lacy) may be the original.³² According to Camón Aznar, K1327 is a fragment of a portrait in the manner of Velázquez's *Innocent X* (Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili). He listed all surviving portraits of Borja as 'attributed to Velázquez'.³³ Pantorba catalogued K1327 as a copy of a lost Velázquez.³⁴ According to Gudiol the Kress canvas is the original by Velázquez and all other Borja canvases are copies.³⁵

The Kress canvas lacks the brilliant brushwork and luster of Velázquez's art. It may have originally been in three-quarter length format, resembling that of Velázquez's *Innocent X*. The portrait probably belongs with those executed after Borja's death in 1645 that were based upon the depiction by Velázquez.

Provenance: Henry Labouchere, first Lord Taunton (1798-1869).³⁶ Hon. Edward A. Vesey Stanley, J.P., Somerset (grandson of the above), sold 1929 to Sir Joseph Duveen, New York, exhibited - New York, *Catalogue of European and American Paintings, 1500-1900. Masterpieces of Art, New York World's Fair*, 1940, p. 86, Cat. No. 118 (catalogue by Walter Pach); Toledo, Ohio, *Catalogue of an Exhibition, Toledo Museum of Art*, 1941, p. 96 (catalogue by José Gudiol). Kress acquisition 1942, from Duveen. Exhibited - New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1942-61.

References: (1) For a photograph of K1327 stripped of much in-painting see José Gudiol, 'Las Pinturas Españolas de la Colección Kress en el Museo de Arte de Ponce', *Goya*, 1965, no. 66, pp. 384-9, p. 387. A curtain at the left is visible that is now barely discernible. (2) José López-Rey, *Velázquez, a Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre*, London, 1963, pp. 278-9, Cat. No. 462, pl. 372. (3) *Ibid.*, p. 279, Cat. No. 463, pl. 366. (4) *Ibid.*, p. 280, Cat. No. 464, pl. 367. (5) *Ibid.*, p. 281, Cat. No. 465, pl. 369. (6) Listed by Bernardino de Pantorba (pseud. for José López Jiménez), *La Vida y la Obra de Velázquez*, Madrid, 1955, in *Catálogo*

Critico II, 'Obras de Autenticidad aclarada', p. 233, Cat. No. 166, as 'an old copy'. According to Pantorba, only the drawing (Academia de San Fernando) is by Velázquez. (7) López-Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 281, Cat. No. 466, pl. 370. (8) *Ibid.*, p. 281, Cat. No. 467, pl. 371. (9) First published by Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil, *Anales de la vida y las obras de Diego de Silva Velázquez*, Madrid, 1885, p. 107. Cruzada wrote that the portrait was painted in 1644, but does not give its location. (10) Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *Parnaso Español Pintoresco Laureado*, III, Madrid, 1724, p. 333. (11) Antonio Ponz, *Viaje de España*, Madrid, 1947, Tomo IV, Carta X, p. 399 (3rd edition, published in 1789, p. 265). (12) Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario Histórico de los más Ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, v, pp. 168, 180. (13) Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez (published anonymously), 'Diálogo entre el cardenal D. Gaspar de Borja y Velasco, embajador de Felipe IV en Roma, arzobispo de Sevilla, y despues [sic] de Toledo, y D. Juan Carreño de Miranda, pintor de cámara de Carlo II sobre el aprecio, suerte y paradero, que tuvieron sus retratos desde que se pintaron hasta ahora', *El Censor*, II, 21 Sept. 1820, pp. 97-117. This text was first studied in conjunction with K1327 by José López-Rey, who recognized it as by Ceán ('On Velázquez's Portrait of Cardinal Borja', *Art Bulletin*, xxviii, 1946, pp. 270-4, p. 270), suggesting that the bulk of Ceán's text is based on now lost documents (p. 272). (14) Sisto Ramón Parro, *Toledo en la Mano*, Toledo, 1857, I, p. 451. (15) Carl Justi, *Diego Velázquez and His Times*, London, 1889, p. 289. (16) Karl Voll, *Velázquez*, Munich, 1889, p. 11. (17) Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, *Velázquez*, London, 1960, p. 62. This view was followed by A. F. Calvert and C. G. Hartley, *Velázquez*, London, 1908, p. 106. (18) August Liebmman Mayer, *Diego Velázquez*, Berlin, 1924, p. 134. (19) Juan Allende-Salazar, *Velázquez*, Stuttgart, 1925, p. xxv. (20) Mayer, 'A Re-discovered Portrait by Velázquez', *International Studio*, Apr. 1930, p. 52; 1936, p. 98. (21) Mayer, *Velázquez*, London, 1936, p. 98, Cat. No. 420. He described the Gandía Palace portrait as the lost model for those now in Frankfurt and Toledo (p. 98, Cat. Nos. 422-3). (22) José Gudiol, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Spanish Painting*, Toledo Museum of Art, 1941, p. 96. (23) Harry B. Wehle, 'A Great Velázquez', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, I, n.s., 1942-43, pp. 117-22, esp. p. 122. According to him, the canvas still in Toledo was copied for placement with the portrait series of Toledan prelates in the Cathedral *vestuario*. (24) Enrique Lafuente, *The Paintings and Drawings of Velázquez*, 1943, p. 25, Cat. No. LXXX. Lafuente suggested that a fragment - a hand in a black sleeve holding a *cartellino* inscribed with Velázquez's name (Madrid, Palacio Real) from a burnt portrait - may have been 'part of a lost original of the portrait of Cardinal Borja'. However, José López-Rey (*Velázquez*, London, 1963, p. 287, Cat. No. 48) has shown that the hand belonged to a portrait of Don Fernando de Valdés. (25) López-Rey, 1946, *op. cit.*, p. 274. (26) Pantorba, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-4, Cat. No. 166. (27) Tajawa Kaptereva, *Velázquez und die spanische Porträtmalerei*, transl. by U. Kuhirt, Leipzig, 1956, p. 78. (28) Kurt Gerstenberg, *Diego Velázquez*, Munich-Berlin, 1957, p. 154. (29) *Velázquez y*

lo Velázquez, *Catalogo de la Exposición Homenaje a Diego de Silva Velázquez en el III Centenario de su Muerte, 1660-1960*, Madrid, 1960, pp. 70-1, Cat. No. 67. (30) Theodore Crombie, 'The Portrait of Cardinal Borja by Velázquez', *Connoisseur*, cxlvii, Mar. 1961, p. 40. (31) López-Rey, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 281, Cat. No. 466. (32) *Ibid.*, pp. 278-9, Cat. No. 462, pl. 372. (33) José Camón Aznar, *Velázquez*, Madrid, 1964, II, pp. 675-80; I, 892. (34) B. de Pantorba, *Tutta la Pittura del Velázquez*, Milan, 1964, p. 82. (35) Gudiol, *Goya, op. cit.*, p. 387. (36) According to the Duveen brochure, K1327 is not mentioned in the three separate entries on the Labouchere collection given by Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, II (Letter XIX, p. 287; Letter XXII, pp. 416-20) and 'Supplement', IV, 1857, p. 104.

SPANISH MASTER, XVII Century in the Manner of Velázquez

K2168 : Figure 205

MARIANA OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF SPAIN. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61-44-25), since 1961. Oil on canvas. 27 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 22 in. (69.5 × 55.9 cm.). Restored by Modestini c. 1961; generally well preserved.

A young woman, presumably Queen Mariana of Spain, is shown in bust-length against a dark background, her head turned slightly to the left. Her hair is shoulder-length, adorned with a large pearl at the upper right. The jewel is known as 'La Peregrina'; it was sent by Philip IV to his fiancée at the Court of Ferdinand III. In Spanish court attire, the royal sitter wears a dark green dress with extremely full sleeves, pleated gauze at the neck, adorned by a brown rosette at the breast.¹ Queen Mariana was born in 1634, the daughter of the Infanta Maria of Spain (sister of Philip IV) and the Emperor Ferdinand III. She became the second wife of her uncle, King Philip IV of Spain, in 1649. The identification of the subject of the Kress portrait is not certain. According to Allende-Salazar the sitter is the Infanta Margarita, daughter of Philip IV and Mariana (born 1651; married Emperor Leopold I in 1666; died 1673).² Margarita in childhood portraits is shown as extremely fair-haired. She may well have worn her mother's jewel as a young woman, by which time her hair could have darkened.

K2168 was accepted as a work by Velázquez by Curtis in 1883.³ In 1895 the painting was described as 'One of the earliest portraits of the Queen, probably painted immediately after her marriage. Her hair is worn long, i.e. before she adopted the Spanish coiffure of the time.'⁴ As Velázquez was away from Spain at the time of Mariana's arrival there in 1649, Mazo was proposed as the artist who executed this portrait.⁵ When exhibited in 1913-14 K2168 was listed as 'ascribed to Velasquez'. Von Loga placed K2168 in the section of his Velázquez monograph containing works wrongly attributed to that master.⁶ The Kress

painting was included in Velázquez's oeuvre in the Baldry monograph.⁷ In 1925 Allende-Salazar listed K2168 among works by Velázquez's students and followers. He identified the sitter as the Infanta Margarita, depicted 1663-64, possibly by Carreño.⁸ The Cook catalogue of 1932 recorded K2168 as attributed to Velázquez, suggesting that it was probably painted by Mazo and showed the widowed Queen Mariana.⁹ In 1963 López-Rey listed it as 'so-called Queen Mariana' and wrote 'The identification of the sitter as Queen Mariana is rather unconvincing . . . the attribution of the painting to Velázquez . . . is quite groundless.' He concluded that the canvas is 'a derivative portrait by a late-seventeenth-century Spanish painter.'¹⁰

The Kress portrait is rendered in the manner of Velázquez. Although the sitter does not bear a striking resemblance to portraits of Queen Mariana, the painting is probably meant to represent her. Both the style of the dress and the presence of the pearl 'La Peregrina' point to the canvas as being based upon a portrait of Mariana as a very young woman. The canvas belongs in the circle of Juan Bautista Mazo (1612-67), Velázquez's son-in-law and successor as First Painter to the Spanish court, who portrayed Queen Mariana in her widowhood (London, National Gallery).

*Provenance:*¹¹ Sir John Charles Robinson, London, until 1872.¹² Cook Collection, Doughty House, Richmond, 1872-c. 1957,¹³ exhibited - London, New Gallery, *Exhibition of Spanish Art*, Winter Season of 1895, p. 33, Cat. No. 144. London, The Grafton Galleries, *Exhibition of Spanish Old Masters*, Oct. 1913-Jan. 1914, pp. 67-8, Cat. No. 63, as 'Ascribed to Velázquez'. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1957.

References: (1) See Jesús Hernández Perera, 'Velázquez y las Joyas', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxiii, 1960, pp. 251-86, esp. pp. 274-5. (2) Juan Allende-Salazar, *Velázquez, Klassiker der Kunst*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1925, pp. 232, 287. (3) Charles B. Curtis, *Velázquez and Murillo*, London and New York, 1883, p. 95, Cat. No. 243. (4) London, The New Art Gallery, *Exhibition of Spanish Art*, 1895-96, p. 33, Cat. No. 241. There are several portraits by or after Velázquez that show Queen Mariana with a long coiffure as in K2168. See López-Rey, *Velázquez, a Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre*, London, 1963, pls. 320, 324, 325, 327. (5) London, The Grafton Galleries, *Exhibition of Spanish Old Masters*, Oct. 1913-Jan. 1914, pp. 67-8, Cat. No. 63. The supposition that Mazo painted the first Spanish portrait of Queen Mariana was made by A. de Beruete, *Velázquez*, London, 1906, p. 101, but he does not mention K2168. (6) Valerian von Loga, *Velázquez, des Meisters Gemälde, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1914, pl. 233. (7) Alfred L. Baldry, *Velázquez*, London, 1922, p. 19. (8) Allende-Salazar, *op. cit.*, p. 232 and p. 287. (9) *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey*, London, 1932, p. 56, Cat. No. 502. (10) López-Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-8, Cat. No. 377. (11) The Cook Catalogue of 1915 (III, p. 141, Cat. No. 502) suggested that K2168 may be identical with the one in the collection of Louis Philippe,

sold at Christie's in May 1853, p. 21, Cat. No. 150. The measurements of the latter, according to William Stirling Maxwell (*Annals of the Artists of Spain*, London, IV, 1891, pp. 591-2), were 68.0 × 54.0 cm. According to López-Rey (*op. cit.*, pp. 242-3, Cat. No. 358) the Louis Philippe canvas was purchased by the Duc d'Aumale and then appeared at the Blakesley Gallery sale, New York, Apr. 1915, lot 501. It measured 69.9 × 50.9 cm. Many portraits from Velázquez's studio have measurements close to these, so that the French provenance for K2168 cannot be confirmed. (12) *Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond*, III, 1915, opp. p. 141, Cat. No. 502, stated that the painting was bought from Sir J. C. Robinson in 1872. (13) *Ibid.* and *Abridged Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 56, Cat. No. 502, as 'Attributed to Velázquez, probably by Mazo'.

FRANCISCO DE ZURBARÁN

Francisco de Zurbarán was born in the small town of Fuente de Cantos (Badajoz Province, Extremadura) in 1598.¹ He died in Madrid in 1664. In 1614-16, he was apprenticed to Pedro de Villanueva in Seville; Zurbarán's earliest extant painting, the *Immaculate Conception* of 1616 (Bilbao, Felix Valdés Collection) was executed at this time. In 1617, following his apprenticeship he settled in the town of Llerena, where he executed commissions originating in Seville. His patrons were for the most part monastic: Capuchins, Mercedarians, Carthusians, and Hieronymites. But Zurbarán was not exclusively a painter of religious subjects; he painted occasional still lifes, portraits, mythological and historical scenes. The young painter was dependent on Caravaggio and other Italian *tenebrists*. He created an art which combines mysticism and realism. In 1629 Zurbarán was invited by the city of Seville to establish official residence there. His stay was interrupted in 1634 by a visit to Madrid, where he was summoned to paint a series of the *Ten Labors of Hercules* (Madrid, Prado) and two battle scenes (one in the Prado, the other lost) for the Salon de Reinos in the Buen Retiro Palace and was given the honorary title of Painter to the King. He returned immediately to Seville, where he remained until 1658. After 1645 with the increasing success of Murillo, twenty years his junior, Zurbarán's popularity declined and he had to rely on commissions from the royal colonies in Latin America. Zurbarán's austere, direct art epitomizes Spanish religiosity of the first half of the seventeenth century.

Reference: (1) Martin S. Soria, *The Paintings of Zurbarán*, London, 1955; Paul Guinard, *Zurbarán et les peintres espagnols de la vie monastique*, Paris, 1960; Madrid, Cason del Buen Retiro, *Exposición Zurbarán en el III centenario de su muerte*, 1964.

K2119 : Figure 212

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. El Paso, Texas, Museum of Art (61-I-53), since 1961. Oil on canvas. 49 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 37 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (126.4 × 96.1 cm.). Considerable in-painting,

especially in area of Virgin's head. Pentimenti in the lower left and right of Virgin indicate changes in placement of drapery. Extensive losses in paint surface; restored in 1956 by Modestini.

El Paso, 1961, Cat. No. 45.

Mary, her hands folded in prayer, is in a red robe with a jewel-encrusted collar worn under a blue cloak. She has a twelve-star halo and stands upon a transparent orb which seems to combine the sun and crescent moon. About fifteen cherub heads appear in the uppermost section of the canvas. A harbor view below includes a fortified tower at the left, a spire, and a sailboat which is seen through the orb.

K2119 shows Mary *tota pulchra* – the all-beautiful Virgin of the Immaculate Conception – surrounded by symbols of Marian purity, a pictorial formula derived in large part from traditional Spanish art as codified by Pacheco.¹ The crescent moon pointing downwards follows Spanish prescriptions for this subject seen in Pacheco's *Immaculate Conception* (Seville, Cathedral). Both canvases show a sailing ship seen through the moon-orb, the ship referring to a legend involving the Immaculate Conception.² Zurbarán may also have been influenced by Velázquez's *Immaculate Conception* of c. 1618 (London, National Gallery). This theme is largely derived from the description of the Woman of the Apocalypse (Revelation 12:1) '... clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.'³ The sun at Mary's feet refers to the *electa ut sol* (Song of Solomon 6:9); the moon to *pulchra ut luna* (*ibid.*); the fortified tower to the *turris David* . . . *cum propugnaculis* (*ibid.*, 4:4); the church spire is the *templum spiritus sancti* (1 Corinthians 6:19); the city gate is the *porta caeli* (Genesis 28:17); the tree at the left is probably the *cedrus exaltata* (Ecclesiasticus 24:17) or the *cypressus in monte Sion* (*ibid.*). The city at the lower left is probably the *civitas Dei* (Psalm 86:3).⁴

Soria accepted K2119 as by Zurbarán, and dated it c. 1645 due to its 'vaporous' brush work. He related the painting to Zurbarán's *Immaculate Conception* (Seville, Ayuntamiento) which he dates 1645-50. Both of these works are based upon a painting by Zurbarán in Madrid (Museo Cerralbo) dated by Soria c. 1632.⁵ According to Guinard, K2119 is Zurbarán's simplified version of the Cerralbo canvas; he viewed them as contemporary, dating both c. 1640. The author graded the Kress canvas in his Category B (probably autograph), yet below the first rank in quality.⁶ In 1964 Guinard stated that K2119 is contemporary with the Seville Ayuntamiento *Immaculate Conception* (which he dated 1635-40) as well as the Cerralbo canvas.⁷

K2119 resembles aspects of Zurbarán's *Immaculate Conception* at the Prado, the Virgin is close to his *Immaculate Conception* in Seville (Cathedral) and to the one dated 1632 (Barcelona, Cathedral). Of all Zurbarán's depictions of the theme the Kress canvas is closest to the one in Madrid (Museo Cerralbo), but the latter includes more Marian

symbols in the landscape. Zurbarán is known as the principal painter of the Immaculate Conception in Seville (where this subject was especially beloved) prior to Murillo.⁸ Appropriately, the artist's first signed and dated work (1616, Bilbao, Valdés Collection) and his last (1661, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum) are of this subject. The Kress canvas is extensively repainted. No firm separation between Zurbarán's hand, that of studio assistants, and subsequent restorers can now be made. Some of the most freely rendered cherub heads, which would seem to suggest Zurbarán's late style, may themselves prove relatively recent. After 1640 the artist's oeuvre was generally limited to single figures. The Kress canvas appears to stem from this phase when Murillo captured the major commissions and Zurbarán became increasingly repetitive and the master of many studio assistants.⁹ K2119 is the smallest of Zurbarán's renderings of this subject and as they seem to diminish in size with his age, the latest dated painting (Budapest) being the next largest in size after K2119, the Kress canvas is probably a still later work, executed after the completion of the 1661 canvas.

Provenance: London, Sotheby's, 9 May 1934 (*Catalogue of Valuable Old Master Paintings and Drawings, the property of F. A. White and others* p. 25, Cat. No. 126, 'the property of a gentleman'), purchased by E. Spielman. Lisbon, private collection.¹⁰ New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1955, exhibited - Syracuse, New York, Museum of Fine Arts, and Atlanta, Georgia, Art Association Galleries, *Goya, Zurbarán, and Spanish Primitives, an Exhibition of Spanish Paintings*, 3-4 Feb., 10-25 Mar. 1957, Cat. No. 25.¹¹

References: (1) Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, 1638, ed. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, II, 'Pintura de la Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora', pp. 208-12. The manuscript is dated 1638. See also Diego Angulo Iñiguez, 'Velázquez y Pacheco', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXII, 1949, pp. 354-6. (2) For the ship as a symbol of salvation see Manuel Trens, *María, Iconografía de la Virgen en el Arte Español*, Madrid, 1946, p. 175. See Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, London, 1900, II, pp. 126-7. (3) For the iconography of the Immaculate Conception see Réau, II, 2, pp. 75 ff.; Trens, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-90; Halldor Soehner, *Spanische Meister, Alte Pinakothek*, Munich, 1963, I, pp. 24-6, 54-5, 95-7, 181; Elías Tormo y Monzó, 'La Inmaculada en el Arte Español', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XXII, 1914, I, pp. 108-32; 2, pp. 176-218. (4) See Trens, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff. (5) Martin Soria, *The Paintings of Zurbarán*, 2nd ed., London, 1955, Cat. No. 236, p. 190. The Seville canvas may be a school piece. (6) Paul Guinard, *Zurbarán et les peintres espagnols de la vie monastique*, Paris, 1960, Cat. No. 14, p. 40. (7) Paul Guinard, 'Aportaciones críticas de obras Zurbaranescas', *Archivo Español del Arte*, 1964, pp. 115-28, esp. p. 118. (8) Diego Angulo Iñiguez, 'La Obra de Zurbarán', *Exposición Zurbarán en el III Centenario de su Muerte*, Casón del Buen Retiro, Madrid, Nov. 1964-Feb. 1965, pp. 67-80, esp. pp. 78-9. Paul Guinard, 1960, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-11,

Cat. Nos. 3-19, lists seventeen paintings of the subject by or after Zurbarán. (9) For the artist's studio assistants see César Pemán, 'El Taller y los Discípulos de Zurbarán', in *Exposición Zurbarán*, Madrid, 1964, pp. 83-91. (10) Soria, *op. cit.*, p. 190. (11) The entry for K2119 confuses it with Zurbarán's *Immaculate Conception* in Budapest.

FRANCISCO DE ZURBARÁN

K1896 : Figure 213

SS. JEROME, PAULA AND EUSTOCHIUM. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1167), since 1953. Oil on canvas. $96\frac{1}{2} \times 68\frac{1}{8}$ in. (245.1×173.0 cm.). Pentimenti above and to the right of St. Jerome's head and in upper sections of female figures at left. Considerable losses in area of the right shoulder of Jerome and the robe below the right arm; small losses in sky. Restoration at a very early date in principal figure. Restored by Suhr c. 1951 when canvas additions squaring off the curved top were removed.¹ Slight restoration by Modestini, 1953.

Suida-Shapley, pp. 14, 28, Cat. No. 83. Reproduced in color, *Seymour*, pl. 134.

The arched composition shows the bald, bearded St. Jerome seated at the right, in a cardinal's red *mozzetta* (his red cardinal's hat hangs on wall to right) worn over the garb of a Hieronymite monk - a white habit with a brown central panel. Seen in three-quarter view, he holds a book (the Vulgate?) in his left hand, extending the right in an expository gesture toward two seated nuns at the left. They are also dressed in Hieronymite garb - their wimples are mustard color, their habits white and brown. The elder, seated at the left, shown in right profile, is St. Paula of Rome, holding her attribute, the Vulgate, on her lap. Her daughter Eustochium is seated to the right of Paula, shown almost frontally, her hands in her sleeves. While Jerome is placed against an architectural background (the wall to the left containing a niche or door), the nuns have a city view behind them. St. Paula, an extremely wealthy Roman aristocrat, was born in A.D. 347 and widowed in 379. A convert, she joined the disciples of St. Jerome, following him to Bethlehem on his second journey in 385. There Paula founded a monastery directed by St. Jerome, a convent of which she was abbess, and a pilgrims' hospice. After Paula's death, Eustochium succeeded her as abbess. The books prominent here refer to Jerome's Vulgate, his Latin translation of the Old Testament (from the Hebrew) and New Testament (from the Greek) was made in Bethlehem at Paula's foundation. Both mother and daughter were accomplished Hebraic scholars and aided Jerome in his great labor. He dedicated his translation of Kings to them and his eighteen prefaces to Isaiah to Eustochium, who was also the recipient of Jerome's twenty-second Epistle.²

The Hieronymite garb of K1896 indicates its having been painted for a convent of the order, which was founded in the late fourteenth century. Zurbarán was given extensive

commissions by Hieronymite monasteries, and this work was probably painted for the convent of St. Paula in Seville, founded in 1473.³ K1896 was first studied by Mrs. Jameson. The figure at the right had been listed in earlier collections as Dominic; she identified him as Jerome and those at the left as Paula and Marcella.⁴ Soria corrected 'Marcella' to Eustochium and described the canvas as 'a capital painting, entirely by Zurbarán but difficult to reproduce'.⁵ He dated the canvas c. 1638-40 on a stylistic basis, noting that it was painted for the Seville Hieronymite convent of St. Paula in these years when the convent is known to have been extensively rebuilt and to have commissioned many altarpieces.⁶ López-Rey observed 'that two hands at least are notable in this canvas. Even though, in its present condition, the lights and darks broadly correspond to Zurbarán's, it is more than questionable that he could have executed the poorly-drawn cape of St. Jerome or the ill-drawn group of nun-saints'.⁷ Suida-Shapley (pp. 14, 208, Cat. No. 83) quoted a suggestion that the central figure was added to chaperone the others due to the puritanism of the Counter-Reformation. They dated the painting c. 1640 and quoted F. J. Sánchez Cantón and M. L. Caturla as accepting it as an autograph work of Zurbarán. *Gaya Nuño* (p. 345, Cat. No. 3123) followed Soria's views, noting the rich color of K1896. The panel was dated 1640 by Réau.⁸ Guinard found similarities between this and Zurbarán's Hieronymite series for Guadalupe, executed 1638-40. Although he described the canvas as an important work, he found it uneven in execution (especially in the dry rendering of the nuns' heads) suggesting Zurbarán's collaboration with an apprentice. He also described the painting as a copy made in the artist's studio and catalogued in his second group (B) - works below the first quality, but probably autograph.⁹ Seymour (p. 143) characterized Jerome's hand as 'a symbol of a harsh, ascetic ideal'. The Zurbarán monograph by Torres listed the Kress painting as an autograph work of c. 1640.¹⁰ Vaquero also described K1896 as by Zurbarán, dating it 1638-42.¹¹

The depiction of St. Jerome with SS. Paula and Eustochium appears to be unique to the Kress painting.¹² In the seventeenth century, Spanish interest in Paula's biography led to the rendering of such narrative subjects as Claude Lorrain's *Paula Embarking from Ostia on her Journey to the Holy Land* (Prado) which is supposedly contemporary with K1896, painted for Philip IV in 1639-40.¹³ The general style and composition of K1896 is entirely consistent with Zurbarán's oeuvre. The artist no doubt designed the work and executed certain sections, most notably Jerome's extended hand. The rather dry, flat rendering of the nuns, awkward passages in the drapery and the often arbitrary character of the brush strokes point to studio assistants' collaboration. As noted by Guinard, the canvas is close to those of Zurbarán's Hieronymite cycle at Guadalupe, especially to the *Temptation of St. Jerome* (a subject which Jerome described to Eustochium). The Guadalupe series dates from 1638-39 and involved much studio assistance. A date of 1638-40 for K1896 seems reasonable.¹⁴ In his representation of Jerome, Zurbarán may have drawn upon the papal portraits of the High Renaissance and Michelangelo's biblical subjects.

Provenance: Said to have been from a convent in Seville. If so, it probably came from the Hieronymite convent of St. Paula. Frank Hall Standish (1799-1840), Seville. Bequeathed to King Louis Philippe of France (*Catalogue des Tableaux, Dessins et gravures de la Collection Standish Lugués au Roi par M. Franck* [sic] Hall Standish, Paris, 1842, p. 33, Cat. No. 161, 'Saint Dominique et deux religieuses'). King Louis Philippe, Paris, Louvre (sale, London, Christie's, 27-28 May 1853, *Catalogue des Tableaux formant la Célèbre Collection Standish Luguée à S. M. feu le Roi Louis Philippe par Mr. Frank Hall Standish*, p. 16, Cat. No. 112 as *Légende de Saint Dominique*). Alphonse Oudry, 1853-69 (sale, Paris, Hôtel des Ventes, 16-17 Apr. 1869, *Vente des Tableaux Anciens de la Galerie de feu M. Alphonse Oudry*, p. 57, Cat. No. 157 as *A Bishop and Two Nuns* [presumably bought in]). Alphonse Oudry, 1869-76 (sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 10 Apr. 1876, *Catalogue des Tableaux Anciens et d'une fresque de Raphael*, p. 25, Cat. No. 60). M. Scioletti, Paris.¹⁵ New York, M. Knoedler and Co., Inc. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) Martin Soria (*The Paintings of Zurbarán*, London, 1955, p. 182, Cat. No. 198) discerned a lion beneath Jerome's chair; it cannot be ascertained whether this is correct. (2) For Jerome see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Rome, 1965, vi, cols. 1109-37; for Paula, *ibid.*, 1968, x, cols. 123-36; for Eustochium, *ibid.*, 1964, v, cols. 302-4. (3) See 'Hieronymites', *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1910, vii, p. 345. (4) Mrs. Anna Brownell Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, New York, 1896, I, p. 293. (5) Soria, *op. cit.*, p. 182. (6) *Ibid.* '... between 1635 and 1642 documented work on altars, paintings and sculptures was carried out by A. Cano, the older Herrera, the sculptor Montañés, Murillo's teacher Juan del Castillo, and lesser artists.' (7) José López-Rey, review of the Soria monograph, first edition ('The Real Zurbarán?' *Art News*, May 1954, p. 52). (8) Réau, III, 2, p. 744. (9) Paul Guinard, *Zurbarán et les peintres espagnols de la vie monastique*, Paris, 1960, p. 267, Cat. No. 485, p. 115. (10) Ramón Torres Martín, *Zurbarán, el pintor gótico del siglo XVII*, Seville, 1963, Cat. No. 252. (11) J. Vaquero, *Kindlers*, v, p. 850. (12) It is the only one cited by Réau (*loc. cit.*) and by the *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (*op. cit.*, vi, col. 1137). (13) Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, New Haven, 1961, I, pp. 184-5, Cat. No. LV49. (14) For the artist's studio assistants see César Pemán, 'El Taller y los Discípulos de Zurbarán', *Exposición Zurbarán en el III Centenario de su Muerte*, Casón del Buen Retiro, Madrid, 1964, pp. 83-91. (15) M. Knoedler and Co., files.

BARTOLOMÉ ESTÉBAN MURILLO

Bartolomé Estéban Murillo, the youngest son of a barber-surgeon, was baptized in Seville on 1 January 1618.¹ Apprenticed at an early age to the Mannerist painter Juan del Castillo in Seville, Murillo remained in his native city throughout his life, painting religious subjects for the local religious institutions as well as a few portraits and genre pieces. In 1658 he visited Madrid, where he saw works by

Venetian masters and Correggio as well as Rubens, Van Dyck and Velázquez in the royal collections. His style then changed to a softer, more harmonious manner. There are also pronounced Bolognese and Neapolitan elements in Murillo's art. In 1645-46 he executed a widely acclaimed cycle of paintings for the Franciscan monastery at Seville and soon usurped Zurbarán's leadership. He was a founder and first President of the Seville Painting Academy in 1660. The major achievement of his middle years was the series of extremely impressive canvases for the Hospital de la Caridad (Seville, 1670-74). His great mastery of landscape is shown in the scenes of the Jacob story painted for the Marqués de Villamanrique: two in the Hermitage (Leningrad), one in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Ohio), and one in the Meadows Art Museum, Dallas. Murillo had a considerable workshop and many followers, including P. Núñez de Villavicencio, F. Antolínez y Sarabia and F. Meneses Osorio. His gentle, lyrical art was extremely popular and influential throughout Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The sentimental aspects of some of his best-loved works tend to obscure his great gifts.

Reference: (1) Juan Antonio Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes*, II, Madrid, 1800, pp. 48-65; Carl Justi, *Murillo*, Leipzig, 1904; August Liebmman Mayer, *Murillo, Klassiker der Kunst*, Berlin, 1913 and 1923; S. Montoto, *Bartolomé Estéban Murillo*, Barcelona, 1932; Diego Angulo Iñiguez, 'El viaje del pintor a Madrid', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxxii, 1959, pp. 148-9.

BARTOLOMÉ ESTÉBAN MURILLO

K1682 : Figure 214

DON DIEGO FELIX DE ESQUIVEL Y ALDAMA. Denver, Colorado, The Denver Art Museum (E-686), since 1961. Oil on canvas. $81\frac{1}{4} \times 42\frac{7}{8}$ in. (206.4 × 108.9 cm.). Arms at the upper right, the first quarter: quarterly one and four; or, an eagle in flight sable holding in its claws a coney proper; 2 and 3 azure, 3 bars argent, the whole within a bordure gules charged with saltire crosses or. The other quarterings have not been identified, but may be those of the sitter's wife. The cross of the Order of Santiago is set behind the arms, which are ensigned by a knight's helm. Several small losses; relined and restored by Modestini in 1953.

The Denver Art Museum, *A Guide to the Collections*, Spring 1965, p. 55.

The full-length portrait shows Don Diego de Esquivel y Aldama with his left hand resting on a chair back to the right. He wears a dark skin with the red emblem of the Order of Santiago on his breast. Hat and gloves are held in his right hand; his oversleeves are of white and gold brocade; his doublets are dark-colored. A sword pommel is seen at the right. On his cape, draped over his left shoulder, is the emblem of the Order of Santiago. Don Diego Felix de Esquivel y Aldama was born in Vitoria

(province of Alava) and baptized in the Iglesia Colegial on 4 June 1628. He became a probationary member of the Order of Santiago, to which his father and brother also belonged, in December 1652, achieving knighthood on 14 March 1653. Don Diego was Mayor of Vitoria. He died at the age of thirty-one in 1659.¹

Sentenach listed the portrait as a work of Murillo and identified the subject as Don Diego.² Mayer dated the canvas c. 1645, describing it as Murillo's first known portrait.³ It is included in Lafond's *Murillo* monograph of 1930⁴; it is mentioned by Santiago Montoto⁵ and described by Aguilera as an excellent Murillo portrait.⁶ In the Houston catalogue, the Kress canvas was considered among the earliest of Murillo's monumental portraits and dated c. 1645.⁷

Among the very few portraits in Murillo's oeuvre, K1682 was probably painted somewhat later than those of Capitán Don Diego Maestre and his wife María Felices (Seville, Collection Fernández de Córdoba). Compositionally, the work adheres to a long-established portrait convention carried into Murillo's century by Pantoja de la Cruz (see K1662). It may date from the time the sitter became Mayor of Vitoria, shortly before his death in 1659, functioning as an official portrait, or commemorate his entering the Order of Santiago in 1653. A certain lack of modulation, especially in the treatment of the legs, points to an early date in Murillo's career, when the young painter was still influenced by the leading artist of Seville, Zurbarán.

Provenance: Esquivel y Aldama family, Vitoria, until 1895. Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, Madrid, 1895-1932, exhibited - London, Art Gallery of the Corporation of London, *Descriptive and Biographical Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Works of Spanish Painters* (by A. G. Temple), 1901, p. 54, Cat. No. 62. London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of Spanish Painting*, Nov. 1920-Jan. 1921, p. 65, Cat. No. 84. New York, Montllor Brothers (Sale, New York, Plaza Art Galleries, 5-7 May 1932, Cat. No. 514). New York, French and Co., Inc. Kress acquisition 1949. Exhibited Houston, Museum of Fine Arts (*Houston*, 1953, no. 7, pl. 34), 1953-61.

References: (1) Francisco Fifferrer, *Nobilaro de los reinos y señoríos de España*, Madrid, 1858, 2nd ed., II, p. 273. His certificate of admission to the Order is in the Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, No. 2.781. Jesús Larios Martín very kindly provided archival and heraldic information (letter of 21/XI/66). Biographical information on the sitter is also given in the *Exhibition of Spanish Painting*, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1920-21, p. 65, Cat. No. 84. (2) N. Sentenach y Cabañas, *The Painters of the School of Seville*, London, 1911, pp. 196-7. (3) August Liebmman Mayer, *Murillo, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1912, pp. 295, 299, pl. 221. It is also mentioned by Mayer in his *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 345. K1682 is not included among the Murillo portraits in Mayer's entry in *Thieme-Becker*, xxv, pp. 285-7. (4) Paul Lafond, *Murillo*, Paris, 1930, pp. 102-3.

- (5) Santiago Montoto, *Murillo*, Barcelona, 1932, p. 211.
 (6) Emiliano M. Aguilera, *Murillo*, Barcelona, n.d., p. 19.
 (7) *Houston*, 1953, pl. 34.

K1866 : Figure 210

VIRGIN OF THE ANNUNCIATION. Houston, Texas, Museum of Fine Arts (AC 61-70), since 1953. Oil on coarse canvas. $28\frac{1}{2} \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ in. (72.4×57.2 cm.). Considerable abrasion. Restoration in area of left eye and where thumb joins hand. Cleaned and restored shortly before 1951.¹ *Houston*, 1953, pl. 35.

The Virgin is shown in half-length, her face in three-quarter view. She looks and turns to the left, a yellow scarf on her head and shoulders. Clad in a pink robe, her hands are closed over a blue mantle at her breast.

The Kress canvas was first described as an *Annunciation* by Waagen.² It is listed as the *Virgin Annunciate* in Curtis's *Murillo* with the suggestion that it was a study for an *Annunciation*.³

The painting was dated c. 1670-80 by Mayer,⁴ while Muñoz dated it 1660-70.⁵ The painting is placed in the following decade by Gaya Nuño who described it as a section from an *Annunciation*.⁶

The model in K1866 is typical of Murillo's Virgins, her pose is characteristic of such *Annunciations* as that in the Wallace Collection, London. The pink and blue drapery is also Marian. The painting is highly finished and was presumably cut from a much larger work in which Mary was shown kneeling at the right with Gabriel at the upper left. Mayer's original dating of 1670-80 was set back a decade by Muñoz. However, the model appears to be the same as the one for the Mary in the 'Pedroso' *Double Trinity* (London National Gallery), dateable to the late 1670s, lending some credence to Mayer's placement, according to Marcus Burke.⁷ The canvas is close in technique to the *Virgin and Standing Christ Child* (Florence, Pitti Palace) dated 1650-55 by Muñoz. Despite his productivity and equally great popularity, singularly little is known of the chronology of Murillo's works.

Provenance: Prince Joseph Bonaparte (according to Wynn Ellis sale catalogue, 1876).⁸ Wynn Ellis Collection (sold Christie's, 17 June 1876, p. 7, Cat. No. 36, as *Virgin in Prayer*), purchased by Waters.⁹ Sir Francis Cook as early as 1883.¹⁰ Sir Frederick Cook, until 1920. Sir Herbert Cook, until 1939. Sir Francis Ferdinand Cook. New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1951. Exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 - 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 70.

References: (1) See August Liebmman Mayer, *Murillo, Klassiker der Kunst*, Berlin, 1912, pl. 168, for the appearance of K1866 before more recent restoration. (2) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London,

1854, II, p. 295, Wynn Ellis Collection, No. 2. 'The *Annunciation*, half-length figures [*sic*], a tender and delicate contrast to the foregoing.' No. 1 was another Murillo in the collection, *St. Joseph and the Christ Child*. Perhaps K1866 was then part of a larger canvas including the archangel Gabriel at the left. (3) Charles B. Curtis, *Veldsquez and Murillo*, London and New York, 1883, p. 148, Cat. No. 74. K1866 is also in Paul Lefort, *Murillo*, Paris, 1892, p. 74, Cat. No. 72, as 'La Vierge'. (4) Mayer, *op. cit.*, pl. 168. (5) Antonio Muñoz, *Murillo*, Rome, 1942, p. xxix, and pl. 113. (6) Gaya Nuño, p. 253, Cat. No. 1975. (7) For the dating of the *Double Trinity* see Alan Braham, *The Spanish School*, National Gallery, London, 1970, pp. 61 ff. (8) Possibly acquired c. 1810, the time of the Napoleonic invasion of Seville. The Kress canvas may have been among the paintings removed from royal palaces and suppressed convents and distributed among several French generals by Joseph Bonaparte, according to a decree of 4 Jan. 1810. Many presented to General Dessolle came to England, and were purchased from Dessolle's daughter by Woodburn. See W. Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, 1848, II, p. 1397. (9) Noted in Herbert Cook, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond*, London, 1915, III, p. 161, Cat. No. 524. An annotated catalogue of the Wynn Ellis Sale gives the purchaser as J. C. R. [John Charles Robinson]. (10) Maurice W. Brockwell, *Abridged Catalogue of Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey*, London, 1932, p. 58, Cat. No. 524.

K2108 : Figure 209

ECCE HOMO. El Paso, Texas, El Paso Museum of Art (61-1-54), since 1961. Oil on cedar. $33\frac{3}{4} \times 31$ in. (85.7×78.7 cm.). Inscribed in upper left corner: A LVIS FELIPE DE ORLEANS REY DE LOS FRANCESE ('To Louis Philippe of Orléans King of the French'). At upper right: EL CABILDO DE LA SANTA METROPOLITANA Y PATRIARCAL YGLESLIA DE SEVILLA ('The Chapter of the Holy Metropolitan and Patriarchal Church of Seville').¹ Cradled at unknown date; re-cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1957/58.

El Paso, 1961, Cat. No. 46.

Christ is seen frontally in slightly more than half-length. He looks downward, his head turned slightly to the left. He wears the Crown of Thorns, a red cloak draped over his left shoulder. His hands are crossed and tied with rope at the wrists. A mock-scepter - the reed of the Flagellation - is held in his right hand (Matthew 27:29-30). Light emanates from his head.²

The composition goes back to early Christian sources modified in Northern Europe and Italy in the fifteenth century and converted into a High Renaissance style by Titian (Madrid, Prado) and Michelangelo (Rome, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva).³

When K2108 was illustrated in 1926 by Mayer (as in the collection of T. Morgan-Grenville-Gavin) the panel was in a curve-topped frame, which partially obscured the

inscription. It was erroneously described as on canvas.⁴ An *Ecce Homo* in Cádiz (Museo Provincial) is characterized by Mayer as weaker than K2108.⁵ He found the only Murillo version of the subject comparable in quality to the Kress *Ecce Homo* to be the one then in the Cook Collection. Suggesting a date of 1672–78 for the Kress painting, Mayer concluded that it is 'liquid in treatment and on general grounds a remarkable example of Murillo's religious art'.⁶ Many depictions of this theme are attributed to Murillo.⁷ The poorly preserved canvas in Cádiz (dated by Mayer 1680–82) is often regarded as the best Murillo *Ecce Homo*. The face in the Cádiz painting is more elongated than that of K2108. In the Cook *Ecce Homo* (1675–82) Christ's head is placed further to the left and is closer in type to the Kress panel.⁸ A bust-length *Man of Sorrows* by Murillo, his head turned to the right, is in the Prado, the pendant to a *Mater Dolorosa*. This is the most common formula used by Murillo and his followers for the *Ecce Homo*.⁹

K2108 is executed in an extremely free style characteristic of Murillo's late works. Certain weaknesses in brushwork suggest the possibility of some studio participation. The master is known to have had a very large atelier. Other than the *Ecce Homo*, the only subject known to have been executed by Murillo on panel is the *Immaculate Conception* in the Sala Capitular, Seville Cathedral, for which the Kress panel was also presumably painted (note the inscription).¹⁰ This unusual support may argue strongly for considerable participation by Murillo in the execution since a follower would hardly have selected panel in preference to canvas.

Provenance: Seville, Cathedral, Capilla de la Virgen del Pilar.¹¹ King Louis Philippe d'Orléans, Paris, before 1838¹² (sold London, Christie's, *Catalogue of the Paintings from the Galerie Espagnole of the King Louis Philippe*, 7–21 May 1853, p. 31, Cat. No. 240, 'Murillo, *Ecce Homo*. (bois)').¹³ Norton.¹⁴ Marquis of Breadalbane.¹⁵ Possibly Hon. Robert Baillie-Hamilton, Langton House, Scotland, exhibited – London, Royal Academy, 1881, no. 218, and 1893, no. 112.¹⁶ Sold London, Christie's, 8 July 1927, *Early British Portraits and Works by Old Masters*, Chichester-Constable et al, p. 20, Cat. No. 113, notation in catalogue that it was purchased by Arkwright, but with no indication of seller.¹⁷ T. Morgan-Grenville-Gavin (?). New York, David M. Koetser Gallery. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) The somewhat elongated, yet Neo-Classical character of the letters of the inscription may perhaps indicate that they were added at a more recent date than c. 1810 in order to further 'document' the Louis Philippe provenance. (2) For the iconography of The Man of Sorrows see Erwin Panofsky, 'Jean Hey's "Ecce Homo": Speculations about Its Author, Its Donor and Its Iconography', *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bulletin*, v, 1956, pp. 95–132. (3) See Erwin Panofsky, *loc. cit.* For an early sixteenth-century French depiction of the subject see K1873. (4) August Liebmman Mayer, 'Three Paintings by Murillo', *Burlington Magazine*, XLVIII, 1926, p. 251. Mayer's publication of K2108 is very confusing. He

described it (reproduced p. 251, pl. B) as on canvas, when it is clear from his illustration that it is on panel. Part of the inscription (revealed in its entirety when the frame was removed) is also discernible in Mayer's reproduction, but not discussed by him. He may, mistakenly, have reproduced a photo of the *Ecce Homo* in the Baillie-Hamilton Collection and given its provenance for a canvas which he discussed as from the T. Morgan-Grenville-Gavin Collection. The Baillie-Hamilton work is close in size to the Kress panel. Slight differences in modeling and the omission of records of an inscription on the Baillie-Hamilton *Ecce Homo* may be explained by its over-painting having been removed between 1882, when it was described by Curtis, and 1925. This painting as shown in a FARL photograph (no. 804 g) is in the same kind of arch-topped frame as the one in which the Kress panel was shown in the Mayer article. (5) Mayer, 1926, *loc. cit.* The Cádiz painting is reproduced in Mayer's *Murillo, Klassiker der Kunst*, Berlin, 1912, pl. 184 (dated 1680–82). (6) *Idem.*, 1926, *op. cit.*, p. 251. The Cook canvas is reproduced *ibid.*, pl. 183 (dated 1675–82). (7) Paul Lefort, *Murillo*, Paris, 1892, p. 82, Cat. Nos. 195–207. Several of these are the same works. No. 197 (Baillie-Hamilton, Louis Philippe) 'sur panneau' is probably K2108. See also Charles B. Curtis, *Veldáquez and Murillo*, London and New York, 1883, pp. 197–200, Cat. Nos. 197–9, 210 c and g. An enlarged version of K2108 was formerly in the Ehrich Galleries, New York (Mayer, 1912, *op. cit.*, Appendix of works wrongly attributed to Murillo, pl. 257). (8) *Idem.*, 1926, *loc. cit.* (9) *Idem.*, 1912, *op. cit.*, pl. 92. (10) Mayer (1912, *op. cit.*, pl. 85) erroneously listed the *Infant St. John the Baptist with the Lamb* (London, National Gallery) as on panel. See Neil MacLaren, *The Spanish School*, London National Gallery, 1952, Cat. No. 176. (11) According to William Stirling Maxwell (*Annals of the Artists of Spain*, London, 1891, iv, p. 1621), the Louis Philippe panel (presumably K2108) was presented to the King by the Cathedral Chapter 'in return for a bad, modern portrait of Columbus which hangs in the Cathedral library'. He lists the painting as 'Our Lord Crowned with Thorns'; no collection is given. Stirling-Maxwell errs in designating the Louis Philippe *Ecce Homo* on panel as no. 162 instead of no. 163 in the King's catalogue of 1838. (12) *Notices des Tableaux de la Galerie Espagnole exposées dans les salles du Musée Royal au Louvre*, Paris, 1838, p. 45, Cat. No. 163, as 'Murillo. Le Christ avec la couronne d'épines. 84 cm. × 76 cm.'. The inscription on K2108, long partially obscured by an arched frame, states that the panel was presented to Louis Philippe, King of France, by the Chapter of the Cathedral of Seville. Shapley (*El Paso*, Cat. No. 46) suggested that K2108 may have been presented to King Louis Philippe by the Cathedral Chapter in gratitude for his attempt to aid Seville's resistance to Napoleonic forces in 1810. In 1809 Napoleon's General Horace-François Sebastiani seems to have been 'given' important Murillos. See John Young, *Catalogue of the Paintings at Grosvenor House*, London, 1820, p. 24, Cat. No. 69. The bulk of the French king's collection of Spanish paintings was assembled by Baron Taylor in Spain between 1835–37. See Jean-François Revel, 'La Peinture Espagnole en France', *L'Œil*, 96, 1962, pp. 33–41. The Spaniards are said

occasionally to have given Louis Philippe old copies of Spanish paintings or to have had copies prepared rather than part with their originals. (13) Another depiction of a related subject, *Christ on His Hands and Knees after the Flagellation*, now in the Krannert Art Gallery, University of Illinois, Urbana, on canvas, by Murillo, 'Jesus Christ avec la couronne d'épines' was Cat. No. 76, p. 13 of the same sale. (14) According to Ellen E. Minor (*Murillo*, London, 1882, p. 85) no. 240 of the 1853 sale was purchased by Norton; no. 76 (Krannert Art Gallery) was withdrawn by the Queen. (15) Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 197, Cat. No. 199, stated that the Marquis purchased the painting from the 1853 sale. He described it as on panel, with a rounded top, 33 × 29 in. (16) *Ibid.*, noting that the Louis Philippe panel passed directly from the Marquis of Breadalbane to Baillic-Hamilton. Exhibitions listed in Algernon Graves, *A Century of Loan Exhibitions 1813-1912*, London, 1913, II, p. 846. (17) The entry reads: 'Ecce Homo, Our Saviour, in loose red drapery, covering his left shoulder, his right arm bare, wearing a crown of thorns, his arms bound, and holding a reed in his right hand. Arch top on panel, 33½ × 28½ in. from the collection of Louis Philippe, exhibited at Burlington House 1881 and 1893.'

IGNACIO YRIARTE

Ignacio Yriarte was born in the Basque country, in Azcoitia, (province of Guipúzcoa). He was active in Seville from 1642 until his death there in 1685. Although slightly Murillo's junior, Yriarte may have influenced the landscape style of the leading master of the School of Seville who exclaimed that 'Yriarte could not have painted such excellent landscapes without divine inspiration'.¹ The landscape sections in Murillo's Jacob series from the 1660s (Leningrad, Hermitage: *Jacob's Dream*; *Isaac Blessing Jacob*) were, according to some writers, initially to have been executed by Yriarte, but then painted by Murillo himself. Considerable influence from Bloemart, Berchem, and other Netherlandish landscapists may be seen in Yriarte's work.

SCHOOL OF SEVILLE

IGNACIO YRIARTE?

K1536 : Figure 216

LANDSCAPE WITH TOBIAS (?). Northampton, Pa., Northampton Area Joint School Board, since 1961. Oil on coarse canvas. 41¼ × 63⅜ in. (104.7 × 161.1 cm.). Varnished by Modestini in 1961.

In the right foreground a youth in tattered garb walks along a path through a wooded, mountainous landscape seen against a stormy sky. A dog runs to the left; two walking men are shown in the middle ground.

The canvas was accepted as a work of Murillo by Mayer.²

The extraordinarily free execution cannot be paralleled in any securely identified work by Murillo, although certain

sections of the canvas may be compared with details from that master's oeuvre. The Kress painting seems far closer in style to Ignacio Yriarte, its almost Gainsborough-like, romantic freedom resembling Yriarte's *Landscape with Tobias and the Angel* (Collection of the Master of Kinnaird).³ The Kress canvas may perhaps represent Tobias with his dog (Book of Tobit, 6:1), although the archangel usually associated with Tobias's journey is absent.⁴ This was an extremely popular theme in the seventeenth century, as it lent itself to the well-loved Spanish form of the *Paisaje de la Sagrada Escritura*, combining religious subject matter with an attractive landscape format. The Kress work, especially in its foliage, is extremely close in style to a *Jacob and Rachel* attributed to Murillo (Detroit Institute of Arts) which is probably by the same hand.

Provenance: Arthur L. Nicholson, London.⁵ New York, Arthur U. Newton Galleries. Kress acquisition 1948.

References: (1) See Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, pp. 312-14. (2) Certificate of 4/xii/34 in Kress Archive. (3) Reproduced by Theodore Crombie, 'The Spanish Exhibition at the Bowes Museum', *Apollo*, Aug. 1967, pp. 152-4, esp. p. 154, fig. 7. Yriarte's canvas is one of a pair, the other representing a *Landscape with Jacob and the Angel*. See the Bowes Museum, *Four Centuries of Spanish Painting*, 1967, Cat. Nos. 72-3, p. 55. Both measure 31½ × 50⅞ in. Another such horizontal pair of Old Testament subjects including Tobias is in the Cartwright Collection (Aynhoe Park, *Abraham and Isaac Going to the Sacrifice*, *Tobias and the Angel*). Soria accepts these as by Murillo (George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500-1800*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 277), but Wolfgang Stechow ('Bartolomé Estéban Murillo: Laban Searching for His Stolen Household Gods in Rachel's Tent', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Dec. 1966, pp. 367-77, esp. p. 377, n. 34) does not. See also the landscape signed by Yriarte, dated 1665, presented to the Prado in 1952 by Frederick Mont, measuring 194 × 106 cm. Reproduced as pl. 9 in F. J. Sánchez Cantón's 'Las adquisiciones del Museo del Prado en los Años 1952 y 1953', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxvii, 1954, pp. 1-14, esp. p. 7. For the figure of the young man walking to the right in K1536, see also pl. 8, attributed to Murillo (Madrid, Prado) but given by Soria to Yriarte (*op. cit.*, p. 277). (4) See Julius S. Held, 'Rembrandt and the Book of Tobit', *Rembrandt's Aristotle and other Rembrandt Studies*, Princeton, 1969, pp. 104-29; for Tobias see Réau, II, 1, pp. 318-27, esp. p. 323. (5) Supplied by Arthur U. Newton Galleries. Not in catalogues of Nicholson sales of 1933 or 1948.

JUAN DE VALDÉS LEAL

Juan de Valdés Leal was born in 1622 in Seville where he died in 1690. The painter was of Portuguese descent. Little is known of his early training; he was probably a pupil of Antonio del Castillo. His activity as an artist began in 1644

when his family moved to Córdoba where Valdés Leal's first-known painting, the monumental *St. Andrew* of 1649 (Córdoba, San Francisco), was executed in the manner of Castillo. From 1653-58 Valdés Leal worked both in Córdoba and Seville. In 1656 he established life-long residence in Seville but for visits to Córdoba in 1672 and Madrid in 1674. One of the founders of the Seville Academy of Painting in 1660, Valdés Leal served as its President c. 1664. His series for the Hieronymite convent of Buena-vista (Seville) are in his mature style with bright yet subtle coloring and swirling figures executed with great brio. He also worked as an etcher, recording Seville's pageantry for the entry of Ferdinand III in a sumptuous publication of 1672. Although two of his children, Luisa de Morales and Lucas Valdés, became painters, Valdés Leal's style was so highly individual that he left no school or immediate followers. However, his soft, sketchy, spontaneous manner and coloristic innovations make the Seville master's art a precursor of the Rococo.¹

Reference: (1) See J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Biografía de Pintor Juan Valdés Leal*, Seville, 1917; Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, *Valdés Leal*, Seville, 1917; Paul Lafond, *Juan de Valdés Leal*, Paris, 1922; C. López-Martínez, *Valdés Leal*, Seville, 1922; Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Valdés Leal, Spanish Baroque Painter*, New York, 1960.

JUAN DE VALDÉS LEAL

K2111 : Figure 217

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1409), since 1956. Oil on canvas (*tovaglia*). 84 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (215.1 × 156.3 cm.). Inscribed at lower left center: BALDES LEAL. Pentimenti in hand and arm of male figure in foreground and in profile of St. John the Evangelist at the right. Relined, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 188, Cat. No. 74. Reproduced in color *Evans*, p. 35.

Mary, her arms outstretched, is borne heavenward by three angels. She has the twelve-starred halo of the Woman of the Apocalypse (Revelation 12:1) and wears a blue cloak and a white dress, garb associated with her Immaculate Conception.¹ A choir of music-making angels is at the upper left; putti are in the upper right corner and to the right of the Virgin. Eleven Apostles are below; they hold Mary's shroud, surrounding the open sarcophagus, which is carved with putti. Two of the Apostles hold books: the Apostle standing at the left and the one in the right foreground in half-length, St. John the Evangelist, who shields his eyes from the brilliant light with his upraised right arm. The spectator, like him, was meant to witness the brilliantly colored Assumption from a rather low vantage point.

In 1916 Mayer is quoted as accepting the canvas as by Valdés Leal and finding it a most beautiful work.² Lafond

characterized it as 'plein de mouvement et d'une superbe allure'. He suggested that the Spanish painter may have been influenced by Northern artists such as Rembrandt.³ Milwart noted the Titian-like coloring of the *Assumption*: 'It is painted almost entirely without chiaroscuro and for this reason Valdés Leal is the precursor of Tiepolo and the entire eighteenth-century school in France.'⁴ Mayer implied that the Kress canvas was painted in Córdoba prior to the artist's residence in Seville (1656) and the ensuing influence of Murillo.⁵ Nieto noted the rapid, violent, charged ascent of the Virgin as breaking with the previous pictorial tradition in which serenity and suavity characterize the Assumption.⁶ On the basis of the similarity of K2111 to the same subject by Valdés Leal in Seville (Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes) *Suida-Shapley* (p. 188, Cat. No. 74) dated the Kress canvas c. 1670, the date given the Seville painting by Mayer.⁷ They noted that K2111 is sketchier in treatment than the Seville canvas, that 'the anticipation of eighteenth-century style is more noticeable: the angel supporting the Virgin suggests Ricci; the foreground Apostle is prophetic of Bazzani, and the distant putti make one think of Boucher and Fragonard'. It is suggested that the artist may have utilized prints after Rubens's *Assumption* (Antwerp, Cathedral) for the group of Apostles around the tomb. Soria dated the Kress canvas c. 1659, noting how Valdés Leal paralleled the development of contemporary Madrid painters, all moving toward the Rococo.⁸ The pronounced influence of Francisco de Herrera the Younger's *Apotheosis of St. Francis of Assisi* (Seville, Cathedral) is seen by Trapier. She compared the repoussoir role of the bearded Apostle in the foreground to that of the Franciscan in the left foreground of the *Apotheosis*. She also observed that the flying angels resemble those in Valdés Leal's *Assumption of the Virgin* (Seville, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes), dating the Kress canvas c. 1669-70.⁹

As has often been noted, the Kress canvas recalls Venetian art; the violent movement of the Apostles is seen earlier in Titian's *Assumption* (Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari). The sarcophagus with its carved putti is an antique quotation like the one in Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love* (Rome, Galleria Borghese). The Seville master's extraordinarily free brushwork may reflect the work of Schiavone. The vivid motion of the angels points to that first seen in Correggio and then in seventeenth-century sculpture such as that of Bernini. Northern influence may also be manifest: Rubens's *Assumption of the Virgin* (Düsseldorf, Kunstakademie) has some analogies. The group of Apostles is close to that in another Rubens *Assumption* (Rome, Galleria Colonna). The emphasis upon the Virgin's shroud is often seen in works by Annibale and Lodovico Carracci. In addition to reproductive prints after Flemish and Italian masters, Valdés Leal may have seen a Rubens School *Assumption* in Spain such as that from the Church of the Franciscans at Fuensaldaña (Valladolid, Museum). Rubens himself is sometimes thought to have painted this subject in Spain for the Duke of Lerma. By the early seventeenth century Seville painters were clearly aware of recent Italian innovations in depicting the Assumption of the Virgin. Juan del Castillo's canvas of the subject (Seville, Museo

Provincial de Bellas Artes) utilizes many of the new pictorial formulae for showing the Assumption. Valdés Leal may have followed Castillo's works. The angel musicians at the upper left here are very like those by Castillo, as is the grouping of the Virgin with supporting angels. Valdés Leal's other depiction of the *Assumption* (Seville, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes) omits the Apostles, showing putti at the sarcophagus at the lower right. The curve-topped canvas includes a standing Christ at the top and an angel holding a crown.¹⁰ Although the scale and pose of the Apostle at the lower right suggests that the canvas was meant to be seen from below, this device is found in such works as Valdés Leal's *Marriage of the Virgin* of 1667 (Seville, Cathedral), which does not seem to have been destined for placement at a great height. Soria's dating of c. 1659 seems reasonable in light of the stylistic affinities between K2111 and Valdés Leal's *Scourging of St. Jerome* (Seville, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes), signed and dated 1657.

Provenance: Prince Joseph Bonaparte (?)¹¹ Aguado Collection, Paris, 1843 (?)¹² Madame Landolfo Carcano, Paris; (Sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 30 May–1 June 1912, p. 158, Cat. No. 174, to M. Carvalho). Dr. Carvalho, Château Villandry, Touraine, Tours, exhibited – London, Grafton Galleries, *Exhibition of Spanish Old Masters* (entries by Maurice W. Brockwell) Oct. 1913–June 1914, p. 103, Cat. No. 102. New York, Rosenberg and Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 361–5; Benedicto Nieto, *La Asunción de la Virgen en el Arte*, Madrid, 1950, pp. 143 ff. For Assumption of the Virgin iconography, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 615–20. (2) José Gestoso y Pérez, *Biografía de pintor sevillano Juan de Valdés Leal*, Seville, 1916, p. 208. (3) Paul Lafond, *Juan de Valdés Leal*, Paris, 1923, p. 92. (4) Jo Milwark, 'The Carvalho Collection of Spanish Art', *The International Studio*, LXXXIV, no. 351, 1926, pp. 13–24, esp. p. 21. (5) August Liebmann Mayer, *Historia de la Pintura Española*, Madrid, 1942, p. 374. (6) Benedicto Nieto, *La Asunción de la Virgen en el Arte*, Madrid, 1950, p. 158. (7) A. L. Mayer, *Die Sevilaner Malerschule*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 191. (8) George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500–1800*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 294. (9) Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Valdés Leal, Spanish Baroque Master*, New York, 1960, p. 48. (10) Preliminary sketch, on panel, ex collection Lord Harewood, Leeds. It is the pendant to an *Immaculate Conception*. (11) In Manuel Gómez Imaz, *Inventario de los cuadros sustraídos por el gobierno intruso en Sevilla el año de 1810*, Seville, 1896, Appendix: 'Inventario de las Pinturas del Palacio y Salones del Alcázar de Sevilla pertenecientes a S.M.C. el Señor D. José Napoleon (q.d.g.)', p. 72; no. 198 is listed an *Assumption* by Valdés Leal measuring approximately $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ varas. A vara is 83.5 cm., so that at 167×250 cm., this painting would be fairly close to the Kress in size. (12) Suggested by Lafond, *op. cit.*, p. 92. However, in the Aguado sale of 1843 (Paris, 20–28 Mar.) the 'Résurrection de la Vierge' listed under

Juan Valdés Leal measures 164×111 cm., considerably smaller than the Kress painting. The description given corresponds closely to K2111.

K1700 : Figure 218

ST. THOMAS DE VILLANUEVA GIVING ALMS TO THE POOR. El Paso, Texas, El Paso Museum of Art (61–I–56), since 1961. Oil on panel. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$ in. (28.6×43.8 cm.). Inscribed on base of left newel post: J^V DE BADES F. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1954. *El Paso*, 1961, Cat. No. 48.

The composition shows Bishop Thomas of Villanueva standing on the steps of a palatial structure, with six attendants behind him. Clad in episcopal robes and miter, the bishop-saint holds a crozier and purse in his left hand, giving alms with his right to a beggar kneeling on the steps. Another beggar stands at the left. Additional mendicant groups are to the left and right, given food by Augustinian monks from within the episcopal palace. A patio is seen through the grill work at the upper left; a spire like that of the Cathedral of Seville is at the upper right. A statue of Charity is placed at the top of the balustrade.

Born in 1488 in Fuenllana, Thomas entered the order of Augustinian hermits at Villanueva. He was prior of Castilla and Andalusia and a chaplain at the court of Charles V. He became Archbishop of Valencia in 1544, dying there in 1555. His love of charity led to renown as Thomas the Almoner. Beatified in 1618, he was canonized in 1658. His attributes include episcopal vestments and an alms purse. The saint is known to have called the poor of Valencia to his episcopal palace daily in order to provide for their needs. This is the subject of K1700.¹

The first time the painting was published, it was suggested that the architectural setting resembled buildings designed by the mid-sixteenth-century architect Juan de Herrera as well as those contemporary with Valdés Leal.² Gudiol dated the Kress panel between 1674 and 1680, describing it as a sketch.³

In 1959 Soria described the work as executed 'in the same sparkling manner as the *Marriage of the Virgin*' dated 1667 (Seville, Cathedral).⁴ He dated the panel 1665–70. The panel was compared by Shapley with Valdés Leal's early works of the 1650s, such as his *Assault of the Saracens*, implying a similar date (1653) for K1700 (*El Paso*, Cat. No. 48). Its small size together with the support suggest that the panel is a preparatory sketch. Two such works by Valdés Leal, also on panel, are close in style and are generally placed in his last years.⁵ The painting probably relates to an Augustinian commission, as the bulk of the depictions of St. Thomas of Villanueva were destined for that Order. Since, at the time of the artist's death, the prior of the Augustinian monastery of Seville owed the artist payment for a retable of an unknown subject for the monastery church's *capilla mayor*, it may well be, as suggested by

Merribell Maddux Parsons, that the Kress panel was a preliminary sketch for this work, probably executed in the late 1670s or 1680s.⁶ K1700 could also have been intended as one of a group of predella panels showing scenes from the life of the saint. The artist may have drawn upon the series painted by Murillo for the same monastery c. 1663/64 and c. 1678 for some of the motifs. The opulent, Renaissance-style episcopal palace here is probably drawn from buildings in Seville. The painter's late works, such as the series of the *Life of Ignatius Loyola* (Seville, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes) painted between 1674 and 1676, manifest a great interest in architecture absent from Valdés Leal's earlier oeuvre.

Provenance: Pieter de Boer, Amsterdam.⁷ New York, Frederick Mont, exhibited – Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum, *A Loan Exhibition of Fifty Painters of Architecture*, 1947, p. 18, Cat. No. 47. Kress acquisition 1950, from Frederick Mont.

References: (1) Réau, III, 3, p. 1281. See also Ignacio Monasterio, *Místicos Agustinos Españoles*, El Escorial, 1929; P. Jobit, *L'évêque des pauvres, Saint Thomas de Villeneuve*, Paris, 1961; Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 91–2. (2) *A Loan Exhibition of Fifty Painters of Architecture*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, 1947, p. 18, Cat. No. 47. (3) José Gudiol, 'La Peinture de Valdés Leal, et sa Valeur picturale', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, L, 1957, pp. 123–36, p. 133. (4) George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500–1800*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 294, pl. 160A. The panel is omitted from Elizabeth du Gué Trapier's monograph on Valdés Leal (New York, 1960); she states on p. 1 that her work does not include the painter's oeuvre in its entirety. (5) See Trapier, *op. cit.*, fig. 114, *Assumption of the Virgin* (Lord Harewood, Leeds); fig. 111, *Immaculate Conception* (ex coll. Marcel Nicolle). They are placed by Trapier (*op. cit.*, pp. 46–7) in the artist's last period. Paul Lafond (*Juan de Valdés Leal*, Paris, 1922, p. 112) dates them c. 1675. Soria, *op. cit.*, p. 294, placed them a decade earlier. (6) The document is given by José Gestoso y Pérez, *Biografía del Pintor Sevillano: Juan de Valdés Leal*, Seville, 1917, p. 173. This debt may have been for sums owed Valdés Leal for paintings he executed on the walls and arch (or vault) of the monastery chapel. See Félix Gonzales de Leon, *Noticia artística histórica y curiosa de todos los edificios públicos, sagrados y profanos de la ciudad de Sevilla*, Seville, 1844. Part II, pp. 273–87, deals with the Convento de S. Agustín; see esp. p. 274. Paintings from the life of the saint were seen throughout the monastery and church. Such works by Murillo were described by J. A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, II, p. 60. Duncan T. Kinkead (Letter of 6/vi/72, Kress Archive) suggested that the sketch may have been made for one of the two lost canvases for the side walls of the *capilla mayor* of the Augustinian church of Seville. These works were long thought to have been by Herrera, but Ponz ascribed them to Valdés Leal. See J. de M. Carriazo, 'Correspondencia de don Antonio Ponz con el Conde del Aguila',

Archivo español de arte y arqueología, v, 1929, pp. 157–83, p. 14, Carta 5.a: 'Y de Juan de Valdés, no de Herrera, son los dos lienzos que estan enbebidos en las parades colaterales de la capilla mayor'. (7) Letter of 16/vii/68.

FRANCISCO ANTOLÍNEZ Y SARABIA

Francisco Antolínez y Sarabia, the nephew of the better known artist José Antolínez, was born in Seville in 1644 and died in Madrid in 1700. Throughout his life he was both an artist and a lawyer, without greatly distinguishing himself in either profession. In 1660 he entered the Academy of Seville, where he was probably Murillo's pupil. According to Beruete, he may have also studied under Yriarte.¹ From 1672–76 Antolínez lived in Madrid, the residence of his uncle, returning to Seville after the latter's death in 1676. Preferring to work on a small scale, he is best known for his landscapes and portrait miniatures. Several of his paintings are in the Prado and in Seville. Antolínez, with many other masters of the School of Seville, specialized in the Spanish genre of *Paisaje de la Sagrada Escritura*: usually a horizontal, rustic Bible scene, decorative in feeling, its religious content subordinated to an arcadian setting. These freely-brushed, romantically rendered scenes owed much to Bolognese and Netherlandish art of the earlier seventeenth century and to the Bassano tradition as brought to Spain by Orrente. The Seville artists reduced Murillo's much larger paintings of similar subjects to a smaller, more domestic scale. However, Murillo may himself have been influenced by the spontaneous, small-scale works of his lesser, younger colleagues. Palomino described the artist as producing these paintings in series of six, eight, or ten, but larger than K484.

Attributed to FRANCISCO ANTOLÍNEZ Y SARABIA

K484 : Figure 219

JACOB AND RACHEL AT THE WELL. El Paso, Texas, El Paso Museum of Art (61–I–55), since 1961. Oil on coarse canvas. 19½ × 29 in. (48.9 × 73.7 cm.). Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1938. *El Paso*, 1961, Cat. No. 47.

Jacob is shown at the right, about to water his uncle's flock with the well bucket in his hand. He has just met Rachel, who leans upon masonry at the well head (Genesis 29:10–11). To the left sheep are drinking from the trough. The rock which Jacob removed from the well opening lies in the center foreground. Two shepherds are in the background where a large house is seen. An impressionistically-rendered tree is in the right foreground. A female figure, seen from the back, behind Rachel, may be her sister Leah.²

Between 1826, when K484 was first published in the famous Lapeyrière sale, and 1961, the painting was always regarded

as by Murillo. A certificate to this effect was prepared by Mayer in 1922.³ In the same year Térey described κ484 as 'apparently a study for a great painting, which was lost, and may have belonged to the series representing the life of Jacob'.⁴ The series referred to by Térey was painted by Murillo in the late 1660s.⁵ The Kress canvas was characterized by Burroughs as a 'silvery and poetic little picture . . . one of his [Murillo's] rare landscapes, with smallish figures representing Jacob and Rachel'.⁶ In 1937 A. Venturi, F. Mason-Perkins, William Suida, and G. Fiocco supported a Murillo attribution for κ484.⁷ Gudiol suggested a dating of 1665 for this work, which he gave to Murillo.⁸ *Gaya Nuño* (p. 255, Cat. No. 2000) believed Murillo to have painted it toward 1670. Shapley first published the canvas as by Francisco Antolínez y Sarabia, noting its stylistic similarity to that master's series of scenes from the Life of the Virgin (Madrid, Prado). She found that Rachel is painted with 'the grace of Murillo . . . at least this detail of the picture should be re-attributed to this master. Possibly the picture dates from the mid-1670s when Antolínez was in Murillo's drawing school in Seville' (*El Paso, loc. cit.*).⁹ Stechow suggested the Kress canvas may be by Ignacio de Yriarte. Three years Murillo's junior, Yriarte, according to Soria and Stechow, may have influenced the better-known Seville master's approach to landscape.¹⁰

The landscape section of κ484 is close in style and feeling to a depiction of the same subject (Ponce, Musco de Arte, Puerto Rico) by José Antolínez, the uncle of the master of the Kress canvas. José was a pupil of the Seville landscape master Yriarte.¹¹ Nine years his nephew's senior, Antolínez was active in Madrid. Both uncle and nephew worked in a manner somewhat like that of Murillo. The Ponce painting is entitled *Landscape with Shepherds* but may, like the Kress example, belong to the category of *Paisajes de la Sagrada Escritura*. *Jacob and Rachel at the Well* resembles a series of three canvases of the same religious genre in Seville Cathedral by Francisco Antolínez, but the figures in the Kress canvas are more literal, less romantically and freely rendered. The attribution of κ484 to Francisco Antolínez y Sarabia is not entirely conclusive. However, it is more satisfactory than the previous suggestions – Murillo and Yriarte. The figures are insufficiently authoritative for the first and the landscape seems too conventional in execution for the second. Antolínez y Sarabia, an eclectic painter, may well have combined the style of Yriarte, who was his uncle's teacher, with that of Murillo, whose works dominated the School of Seville in the later seventeenth century.

Provenance: All of the following catalogues give κ484 to Murillo. Lepeyrière, Paris (sale, Paris, Le Brun Galerie, *Catalogue des Tableaux et autres objets de curiosité formant le Cabinet de M. Lepeyrière*, 19 Apr. [1825], pp. 37–8, Cat. No. 58, as *Paysage pastorale*). G. A. F. Cavendish Bentinck.¹² Sir Henry Hawley, Hove, Sussex, England (sale, London, Christie's, 16 Apr. 1919, p. 6, Cat. No. 7). A. Martin, London.¹³ Eugen Boross, as early as 1923, exhibited – New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Spanish Paintings from El Greco to Goya*, 1928, p. 44. Brooklyn, New York,

Brooklyn Museum, *Exhibition of Spanish Painting*, 1935, Cat. No. 48. New York, Kleinberger Gallery. Kress acquisition 1937, exhibited – New York, New York World's Fair, *Masterpieces of Art, Catalogue of European and American Paintings*, 1940, p. 89, Cat. No. 120. Toronto, Art Gallery, *An Exhibition of Great Paintings in Aid of the Canadian Red Cross*, 1940, p. 11, Cat. No. 53. Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art, *Spanish Painting*, 1941, pp. 114–16, Cat. No. 45. Montreal, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1952, p. 20, Cat. No. 20.

References: (1) A. de Beruete y Moret, *The School of Madrid*, trans. by Mrs. Steuart Erskine, London–New York, 1911, p. 211. (2) For representations of this subject see Réau, II, 1, pp. 148–50; Anton Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Berlin and Budapest, 1956, I, pp. 59–62. (3) 19/IV/22, transcription in Kress Archive, New York. (4) Gabriel de Térey, 'Die Murillo – Bilder der Sammlung Eugen Boross in Larchmond', *Cicerone*, xv, Sept. 1923, pp. 769–74. (5) See Wolfgang Stechow, 'Bartolomé Estéban Murillo, Laban Searching for his Stolen Household Gods in Rachel's Tent', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Dec. 1966, pp. 367–77. Murillo's canvas of *Jacob Meeting Rachel at the Well* is lost. It was last recorded in the Alexis Delahante sale of 1817. See Charles B. Curtis, *Veldzquez and Murillo*, London and New York, 1883, p. 119, Cat. No. 8b. (6) Bryson Burroughs, 'Spanish Paintings from El Greco to Goya', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, xxiii, 1928, pp. 39–44, p. 44. (7) Transcriptions in Kress Archive, New York. (8) José Gudiol, *Spanish Painting*, Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, 1941, p. 114. (9) Evidence for Antolínez y Sarabia's execution of a Jacob cycle may be found in his drawing for a *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* (Hamburg, Kunsthalle). (10) Stechow, *op. cit.*, p. 375. George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500–1800*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 277. (11) Julius S. Held, *Catalogue of the European and American Schools*, Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, 1965, I, p. 5. The subject appears to be *The Peeling of the Wands*, based upon the Murillo now in a Swiss private collection (reproduced by Wolfgang Stechow, *op. cit.*, fig. 6). (12) According to dealer's brochure. Neither the 8–11, 13–14 July 1891 nor 15–17 July 1891 sales (London, Christie's) of the G. A. F. Cavendish Bentinck Collection mentions κ484. (13) According to Térey, *op. cit.*, p. 770.

JOAQUIN X. INZA

Little is known of Inza's life.¹ He was probably born c. 1730; his first works are dated 1758 and 1763. The painter is last recorded in 1808. Influenced by Mengs, Inza became a Madrid court and society painter; his portrait of *Carlos III* is in the Academia de Jurisprudencia, Madrid. He depicted the Duquesa de Huéscar as Venus, embracing her little daughter, the future Duquesa de Alba. Inza also painted a portrait of the Duquesa de Huéscar's second husband, the Duke de Arcos (for which a record of payment survives), dated 1781–82, as well as executing miniatures for the same family. A later work attributed to Inza is a Goya-like

portrait of Señora Ceán Bermúdez, the pendant to Goya's depiction of her husband, the Spanish connoisseur (both Budapest, Magyar Szepművészeti Múzeum).²

Attributed to INZA

K2103 : Figure 220

MARÍA TERESA CAYETANA DE SILVA Y SILVA, XIII DUQUESA DE ALBA. Memphis, Tennessee, Brooks Memorial Art Gallery (61.214), since 1958. Oil on canvas. 34 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 26 in. (87.3 × 66.0 cm.). According to Joaquín Ezquerro del Bayo, Spanish scholars stated that K2103 was originally signed INZA, the signature removed before 1932.³ Pentimento in left hand. Some abrasion in flesh areas; incised line used by artist to define hat preparatory to painting. Cleaned c. 1946 when the painting was brought to the United States by Antonio Riportella. At this time a canary (linnet?) was revealed above the right shoulder of the Duchess after overpainting was removed. Cleaned and restored by Modestini, 1958. *Memphis*, 1958, p. 62.

The young Duchess, turned slightly to the left, is shown almost to the knee. She is probably seated, close to a gilt Louis XV console upon which she rests her right arm. A small long-haired dog is on the console. The Duchess holds a large key in her left hand, and a ring in her right. She has a bouffant coiffure topped by a broad-brimmed hat crowned with blue and white striped ribbons. The same type of ribbon is used in a bow on the breast of her striped grey, mauve, and white muslin dress, which has a decolleté neckline and lace at collar and cuffs. A black velvet ribbon around her waist has a cut steel buckle.

María Teresa, the thirteenth Duchess of Alba, was born in 1762, the daughter of Francisco de Paula de Silva y Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Huéscar, and of María Pilar Ana de Silva y Sarmiento, and the granddaughter of the twelfth Duke of Alba. She was married to a distant cousin, José Alvarez de Toledo y Gonzaga, Duke of Ferdinandina, in 1776. The family of Don José agreed that he would assume the Alba title upon the death of the twelfth Duke (d. 1775). The sitter for the Kress portrait was widowed in 1796, and died in 1802.

The Kress canvas was published by Von Loga as a portrait of the Duchess of Alba painted by Goya showing her somewhat younger than in the best-known depictions.⁴ It was included in the Goya monograph by Calvert.⁵ According to Stokes, Goya painted this canvas of the Duchess of Alba at an earlier date than the one in the Liria Palace, Madrid, of 1795. He viewed both of them as 'not wholly satisfactory' works by Goya and described the key as 'probably symbolical of her rights as mistress of San Lucar'.⁶ The canvas is included in Beruete y Moret's study of Goya's portraits as an autograph work.⁷ The painting, uncleaned at the time, was extremely dark, and the dog barely discernible. According to Beruete y Moret, there was a bird

in the background.⁸ Madsen dated the work c. 1795.⁹ According to Gold, the Kress canvas shows Goya's expressionistic distortion of a conventional fashionable figure.¹⁰ Goya's authorship of K2103 was not viewed as certain by Mayer.¹¹ In 1932 Ezquerro first suggested that the painting was by Inza.¹² Bourgeois wrote that a portrait of the Duchess of Alba's mother, *Doña María del Pilar, Ana de Silva y Sarmiento, Duquesa de Huéscar* (Coll. Duke of Alba, Madrid), one of Mengs's last works (1770s), shows her holding a key and ring in the same fashion as here.¹³ The Kress portrait was attributed to Inza by Lafuente, who described it as inferior to Goya's art and pointed out that the treatment of the arms and hands agrees with female portraits by Inza, such as that of *Doña Micaela . . . Marquesa de Pinales* (c. 1775).¹⁴ Goya Nuño (p. 160, Cat. No. 909) listed the portrait among Goya works of dubious authenticity, datable c. 1790. According to Martin Soria, K2103 does not belong to Inza's oeuvre.¹⁵

Too tight in execution to conform to Goya's art, the Kress canvas may be by Inza, a fashionable Madrid portraitist whose style was formed before Goya's.¹⁶ The portrait was probably commissioned by the Duquesa de Alba in the late 1780s, in view of the striking similarity of her attire to that worn by the Duquesa de Osuna in a portrait of 1785 (Madrid, Collection Juan March).¹⁷ It shows her at about thirty years of age and was painted a few years before Goya became the Duquesa's favorite artist in 1795. She is surrounded by emblems: the dog and the ring signify fidelity and eternity and the key is presumably to her heart.

Provenance: Don Rafael Barrio, Madrid.¹⁸ Trotti, Paris. Count Avogli, exhibited - Copenhagen, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings exhibited in the Danish Museum of Fine Arts*, 1920, p. 76, Cat. No. 47, by Karl Madsen. Heilbuth Collection, Copenhagen.¹⁹ Mrs. George Rasmussen, Copenhagen, 1938. Mrs. Aase Houmann, Copenhagen. New York, David M. Koetser Gallery. Kress acquisition 1955, exhibited - Winnipeg, the Winnipeg Art Gallery, *El Greco to Goya*, 16 Apr.-15 May 1955, p. 23.

References: (1) The biographical information came from notes of 1932 made by Joaquín Ezquerro del Bayo and published by Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Antecedentes, Coincidencias e Influencias del Arte de Goya* (Sociedad Española de Amigos de Arte), *Catálogo Ilustrado de la Exposición Celebrada en 1932*, Madrid, 1947, pp. 361-2. (2) Since Ceán Bermúdez omitted reference to Inza in his *Diccionario*, that artist's authorship of a portrait of Ceán's wife seems less than certain. Ezquerro del Bayo, *op. cit.*, p. 361, quoted anonymous Spanish scholars as saying that the *Portrait of Señora Ceán Bermúdez* once bore an Inza signature. (3) *Ibid.*, p. 161. (4) Valerian von Loga, *Francisco de Goya*, Berlin, 1903, p. 85, Cat. No. 166, p. 191. Same views given in 1921 edition, pp. 84, 189, Cat. No. 166. (5) Albert F. Calvert, *Goya*, London, 1908, p. 130, Cat. No. 73. (6) Hugh Stokes, *Francisco Goya*, New York, 1914, p. 190. (7) Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, *Goya, Pintor de Retratos*, Madrid, 1916, p. 175, Cat. No. 147. In the English

edition of 1922 (*Goya as a Portrait Painter*, Boston-New York), see pp. 71, 209, Cat. No. 155. (8) *Idem*, Goya, Madrid, 1928, p. 41. (9) Karl Madsen, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings Exhibited in the Danish Museum of Fine Arts*, Copenhagen, 1920, p. 76, Cat. No. 47. (10) Alfred Gold, 'Die Sammlung Heilbuth', *Cicerone*, XIII, 1921, pp. 89-93, esp. p. 91. (11) A. L. Mayer, *Francisco de Goya*, Munich, 1923, pp. 167-8, 187, Cat. No. 196. Same information in English edition, London, 1924, p. 150, Cat. No. 196. (12) Quoted by Lafuente Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 161. (13) Noted by Stephen Bourgeois in an unpublished study of K2103, dated 9 July 1946, in the Kress Archive, New York. The portrait is reproduced by Joaquín Ezquerro del Bayo, *La Duquesa Alba y Goya*, Madrid, 1928, pl. 6, p. 89. (14) Lafuente Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 163. (15) Letter of 25/IX/59, Kress Archive, New York. (16) It is close in style to a male portrait, attributed to Inza, at the Berry-Hill Galleries. Reproduced *Art Journal*, xxv, 1966 (Advertisement). (17) Reproduced by José López-Rey, 'Goya: Madmen and Monarchs', *Art News*, Oct. 1970, pp. 56-9, 81-2, esp. p. 56. (18) Von Loga, *op. cit.*, p. 191, no. 166; Calvert, *loc. cit.*; Stokes, *loc. cit.* (19) Gold, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

FRANCISCO DE GOYA

Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes was born in 1746 in Fuendetodos, near Zaragoza, the son of a gilder.¹ He died in Bordeaux in 1828. At fourteen, he was apprenticed in Zaragoza to José Luzán y Martínez, who had studied in Naples. In 1763 Goya moved to Madrid and became the pupil of Francisco Bayeu, a former apprentice of Luzán's, who was then the collaborator of the Neo-classical German master at the Spanish court, Anton Raphael Mengs. Goya traveled to Italy in 1766 and went there again in 1771 before settling in Madrid in 1773, where he married Bayeu's sister. His career at court began in 1774 with commissions for cartoons for the royal tapestry factory of Santa Bárbara. He entered the Academy of San Fernando in 1780, becoming Director in 1785. In 1786 he was appointed Painter to the King and in 1789 became Painter of the Household. The artist became completely deaf following a stroke in 1792. In 1799 he issued the *Caprichos*, a series of etchings showing the folly and cupidity of mankind, withdrawn immediately after publication, as was his *Desastres de la Guerra* of 1814. Goya's portraiture reveals incisive scrutiny in such works as *The Family of Charles IV* (Madrid, Prado) of 1800. With the political upheavals of 1805 onward, the elderly Goya's oeuvre became increasingly introspective as seen in the expressionistic wall paintings of 1820-22 for his home (Madrid, Prado). After the Restoration of 1823, Goya petitioned the court for a leave of absence. His last four years were spent in Bordeaux. Goya transformed Neo-classical and rococo conventions to create a profoundly personal, expressive art.

Reference: (1) See Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Vida y obras de Goya*, Madrid, 1951. Tomás Harris, *Goya, engravings and lithographs*, Oxford, 1964. José López-Rey, *Goya's Caprichos*, Princeton, 1953.

K1973 : Figure 223

DON RAMÓN (DE) POSADA (Y SOTO?). San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61-44-26), since 1955. Oil on canvas. 46 × 34½ in. (116.8 × 87.7 cm.). Inscribed at lower right corner of trompe l'œil frame: GOYA. Last restored, presumably by Knoedler, prior to acquisition; well preserved with the exception of abrasion on the left side of chest and circular loss in right shoulder.¹

The sitter, in a white wig, is shown approximately life-size, through an illusionistic pink-painted frame. He is in knee-length, in three-quarter view, turned somewhat to the left, seated on a balloon-backed chair. He wears dark-colored trousers, a dark blue *changeant* silk redingote and flowered gray and blue waistcoat with white lace at the collar and cuffs. He wears the Cross of Carlos III. The gentleman's left arm is crossed over his chest and tucked under his coat while his right is bent so that his hand rests on his hip.

In 1900 the sitter was first identified as Ramón de Posada y Soto, first president of the Tribunal of Cádiz in 1812 and an advisor to the Academy of San Fernando – the academy of Fine Arts – in 1814. He died in Toledo on 14 January 1815.² Some confusion over the position and nationality of Posada arose by 1951 when Sánchez Cantón referred to him as 'el mejicano'.³ In 1964 Trapier stated: 'The identity of the subject is still a matter of conjecture. Is he the Mexican Posada . . . or the man with the same name who was President of the Tribunal of Justice at Cádiz in 1812?'⁴ There is no reason to believe that there were two royal officials by the name of Ramón Posada, despite the fact that 'y Soto' is not cited in connection with Posada's Mexican activities. He is referred to several times in connection with his work on behalf of the Academia de San Carlos in Mexico, always as a *caballero* of the Order of Carlos III and as an official of the court. In the list of the members of the Order from its inception until 1847 only one Posada is given: 'Posada y Soto, Rivero y Posada (Ramón de), Fiscal de la Audiencia de Méjico, Caballero supernumerario. – Cangas de Onís (Oviedo), A. 1785 – Exp. 225.'⁵ Carrillo, in a book concerning the Academia de San Carlos in Mexico, referred to Posada 'Caballero de la Real Orden de Carlos Tercero, del Consejo de S.M., Fiscal de la Real Hacienda.' Carrillo related that c. 1792 'Para sustituir a Mangino como Presidente de la Junta de Gobierno de la Academia, fué designado don Ramón de Posada, Caballero de la Real Orden de Carlos III, del Consejo de S.M., Fiscal de la Real Hacienda, Académico de Honor y Mérito de la de San Fernando, de Madrid, y Consiliario más antiguo de la de San Carlos, de México.' In 1794 Posada went on a mission to Spain to acquire paintings for the Academy. On 26 November 1794, he wrote to Mexico that he had met Goya to discuss a painting commissioned by the Academy, which Goya had not executed because the terms were never worked out. Posada was still in Madrid in 1796, as a letter exists from that year.⁶ A document of 26 October 1808 listed Posada as member of a Tribunal created under the auspices of the Spanish king to deal with pro-French sentiment and activities.⁷

The Kress canvas was published in the Tormo monograph of 1902, which listed it as belonging to Goya's second period (1788-1800).⁸ Beruete y Moret characterized the portrait as beautiful in every way and noted that it was especially important for its clear presentation of Goya's techniques; painted on a red preparatory ground which the artist used for works in which the tonalities were somewhat grayed, a much lighter ground than the red he used in his earlier works and once again after 1795. He stated that the exact date of execution could not be determined.⁹ Mayer dated the canvas c. 1790-92. He noted that the compositions of Goya's male portraits of the last years of the eighteenth century resemble contemporary English ones and suggested that the artist might have used English mezzotints as models or been influenced by Pompeo Batoni's portraits of Englishmen resident in Madrid.¹⁰ According to López-Rey the Kress canvas, with its 'uneven, streaked surfaces and sharp contrasts in lights and shadows', belongs with Goya's portraits after 1793 when he rejects an emphasis upon grace and delicacy, emphasizing volume 'by means of a broader modeling and highlights, with the result that the accent is on the sitter's individuality. . . .'¹¹ K1973 is dated c. 1794 by Sánchez Cantón.¹² The canvas was executed c. 1797 according to López-Rey.¹³ Frankfurter, without documentary evidence, noted that the Kress portrait of Don Ramón de Posada y Soto 'is recorded to have been painted in 1801, in Goya's first maturity; the "porthole" is reminiscent of his early bent toward illusionism.'¹⁴ *Goya Nuño* (p. 169, Cat. No. 1001) dated the portrait toward 1801. The 1797 dating was also given by Trapier, who viewed the rectangular illusionistic frame as a later addition to an oval canvas.¹⁵ The trompe l'œil frame was similarly rejected by Despartmet Fitz-Gerald, who dated the oval area 1801.¹⁶

This canvas is a major example of Goya's art, moving from his more conventional portraits of the 1780s to the second phase of the 1790s. The bold assertive characterization of the sitter, artfully poised behind an illusionistic frame, points toward Goya's most powerful creations. It can be dated after 1794, the year of Posada's return to Spain. The trompe l'œil format was a very popular device in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout Europe, also employed by Goya in preliminary sketches for *The Family of Charles IV* (Madrid, Prado).¹⁷ Special attention may have been given this portrait by Goya, as the sitter was an important official in the Spanish and Mexican art worlds as an officer of the Academia de San Carlos.

Provenance: Don José María Pérez Caballero, Madrid, exhibited - Madrid, Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, *Catálogo de las Obras de Goya*, May 1900, p. 15, Cat. No. 35. Doña Pilar Pérez Caballero de Comas, Madrid, exhibited - New York, M. Knoedler and Co., *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Paintings by El Greco and Goya for the Benefit of the American Women War Relief and the Belgian Relief Fund*, Jan. 1915, pp. 26-7, Cat. No. 23. New York, M. Knoedler and Co., exhibited - San Francisco, California, The San Francisco Museum of Art,

Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Old Masters in the Palace of Fine Arts, 1920, p. 36, Cat. No. 80, catalogue by J. Nilsen Laurvik. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Forsyth Wickes, Newport, R.I. New York, Wildenstein and Co., exhibited - Wildenstein and Co., *A Loan Exhibition of Goya for the Benefit of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University*, 9 Nov.-16 Dec. 1950, p. 17, Cat. No. 12, catalogue by José López-Rey. Kress acquisition 1953, from Wildenstein, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 4 Dec. 1961 - 10 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 40, London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Goya and His Times*, Winter exhibition 1963/64, p. 38, Cat. No. 73.

References: (1) See photograph in Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Goya and his Sitters*, New York, 1964, fig. 23. Pl. 34 of Xavière Despartmet Fitz-Gerald, *L'Œuvre Peint de Goya, Catalogue Raisonné*, Paris, 1928-50, II, shows K1973 as it appeared prior to 1915, in an elaborately tooled rectangular frame with an oval opening (pl. 344) which presumably obscured the original format of the portrait, with its trompe l'œil frame. In plate 345, the painting is shown unframed, as a rectangular canvas. Traces of what appear to be the trompe l'œil frame are barely discernible. The illusionistic painted frame probably displeased a later owner of the canvas, who had it covered by the frame with an oval opening. (2) Madrid, Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, *Catálogo de las Obras de Goya*, May 1900, p. 15, Cat. No. 35 and supplement p. 11. (3) F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Vida y Obras de Goya*, Madrid, 1951, p. 59, n. 29. See also the catalogue of *Goya and His Times*, Royal Academy of Arts, Winter Exhibition, London, 1963/64, p. 38, Cat. No. 73. (4) Trapier, *op. cit.*, p. 12. (5) Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Índice de Pruebas de los Caballeros de la Real y distinguida Orden Española de Carlos III*, Madrid, 1904. Also published as a supplement to *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos*, Año 8, 1904, pp. 1-199. See also Alberto and Arturo García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispano-americana, Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos*, 74, Madrid, 1954, pp. 72-7. (6) Abelardo Carrillo y Gariel, *El Arte en México de 1781 a 1863. Datos sobre la academia de San Carlos de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1939, p. 17, pp. 28-9, and *Las Galerías de Pintura de la Academia de San Carlos*, Mexico, 1944, pp. 21-4. The section of the 1794 letter which concerns Goya: 'Con este fin, y el de conocer a Dn. Franco. Goya pasé a su casa, y le hallé de todo sordo, de manera que fué necesario hablarle pr. escrito. Así me informé del estado del Cuadro, que le ha encargado la Academia y respondió que como el asunto era de entidad, y nadie se había presentado a tratar en forma con él, no se había resuelto a emprender una obra de tanto empeño, y fatiga, en duda de la recompensa, y que los demás Profesores por la misma causa nada tentían hecho.' The preceding was also published by Diego Angulo Iñiguez, 'Un testimonio mejicano de la sordera de Goya', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XVI, 1944, pp. 391-2. (7) 'Compondrán este Tribunal los ministros . . . D. Ramón de Posada y Soto, del Consejo y Cámara de Indias. . . .' Quoted by Miguel Artola, *Los*

Afrancesados, Madrid, 1953, pp. 232, 260. (8) Elías Tormo y Monzó, *Las Pinturas de Goya y su clasificación cronológica*, Madrid, 1902, p. 213. Paul Lafond, *Goya*, Paris, 1902, p. 136, no. 191, erroneously listed the Kress canvas as 'figure en pied'. Albert F. Calvert, *Goya*, London, 1908, p. 139, Cat. No. 217a; Valerian von Loga, *Goya*, Berlin, 1921, p. 202, Cat. No. 310; Hugh Stokes, *Goya*, New York, 1914, p. 334, Cat. No. 158, all mention K1973. (9) A. de Beruete y Moret, *Goya, Pintor de Retratos*, Madrid, 1916, p. 45, p. 174, Cat. No. 125; English edition, *Goya as a Portrait Painter*, Boston and New York, 1922, pp. 56-7. (10) August Liebmman Mayer, *Goya*, Munich, 1923, p. 67, p. 199, Cat. No. 392; also English edition, London and Toronto, 1924, p. 310, Cat. No. 392. (11) *A Loan Exhibition of Goya for the Benefit of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University*, Wildenstein and Co., New York, 1950, p. 14. (12) Sánchez Cantón, *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 29. (13) López-Rey, *Goya*, New York, 1950, p. 11 and pl. 18. (14) Alfred Frankfurter, 'The Kress Gift to San Francisco', *Art News*, LIV, 1955, pp. 40-3, pp. 57-8. (15) Trapier, *op. cit.*, p. 12. (16) Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *op. cit.*, II, p. 139, Cat. No. 426. (17) *Ibid.*, pl. II, pls. 322-5. The portrait of Zapater of 1797 is oval with a trompe l'œil ledge in the foreground, pl. 299, Cat. No. 276.

FRANCISCO DE GOYA

K2087 : Figure 224

DON ANTONIO NORIEGA. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1626), since 1956. Oil on canvas, on red preparatory layer. $40\frac{3}{8} \times 31\frac{7}{8}$ in. (102.6 × 80.9 cm.). Inscribed on paper held by sitter: El S^{or} D^o/Antonio/Noriega/Tesorero/General/F. Goya/1801; on tablecloth at lower left corner: D^o Antonio Noriega de [Ba]da caballero y Regidor de la/R¹ y distinguida Orden Española de don. C.III; Diputado/en Corte del Principe de las Asturias. Director gen^l de las/Temporalidades de España e Indias y de la R¹ Negocia/cion del Giro: Del Consejo de S.M. en el R¹ y Supremo de/Hacienda y su Tesorero general &c. &c.¹ Labels on back: California Legion of Honor - lent by Wildenstein; Art Institute Chicago - Loan Exhibition Goya - 1941. Relined at unknown date; restoration along extreme left edge; generally very well preserved. Suida-Shapley, p. 90, Cat. No. 33 and *Goya Nuño*, p. 169, Cat. No. 993. Reproduced in color in *Apollo*, XXII, 1935, facing p. 46.²

Noriega, shown in knee-length, against a dark monochromatic background, is seated at a covered table in a gilded armchair upholstered in crimson. Although turned to the left, in three-quarter view, he looks toward the spectator. He wears a long dark coat, richly embroidered with galloon braiding; its orange and gold embroidered cuffs match the long vest seen below. The Order of Carlos III is pinned to his chest. The sitter's hair is powdered and he wears a white stock. His left hand is placed within the opened vest; his right holds the inscribed paper.

Antonio Noriega de Bada y Bermúdez was born at an unknown date in Bode, to a noble Asturias family, whose seat was at Torre de Noriega in the municipality of Rivadedeva Asturias, province of Oviedo near Santander. His father was Manuel Francisco de Noriega Pérez de Estrada and his mother, also from Bode, was Leonor Bermúdez. The sitter was *tesorero general* of the Spanish kingdom and held other positions at court, as given in the painted inscription. In 1799 he was appointed *Director general de las Temporalidades de España e Indias y de la Real Negociación del Giro* and awarded the Order of Carlos III on 23 July 1801.³ After the fall of his friend and associate Manuel de Godoy in 1808, Noriega was killed by his own countrymen at Badajoz, on 16 December 1808, during a popular uprising against Napoleonic power in Spain.⁴

Mayer noted the rich coloring of K 2087 as differing from the melancholy tonality of other Goya portraits painted in the very early years of the nineteenth century, its realism relating to Goya's portraits of the Spanish royal family.⁵ According to Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, the portrait was executed c. 1800.⁶ López-Rey noted that 'the undulating surfaces and mild colors now give way to uneven, streaked surfaces and sharp contrasts between lights and shadows.' The sitter's 'volume is accentuated by means of a broader modeling and highlights with the result that the accent is on... individuality rather than on... generic human grace.'⁷ The portrait is listed by Sánchez-Cantón.⁸ It is described as 'typical of Goya's official portraits' by Trapier. She noted that 'flecks of heavy impasto are used freely but with little skill; Goya seems bored with his task. The face of the model is dull with lackluster brown eyes, full lips, and rosy flesh tones brushed in over red priming. Difficult it is to decide whether he is wearing a wig or if it is his own gray hair. The figure is placed against a dull brown background as if the artist wished to subdue his rather garish color scheme.' Noting that Noriega received the Order of Carlos III in 1801, Trapier suggested that he may have 'sat for his portrait to celebrate the event'.⁹

The Noriega portrait shows Goya working within a conventional formula which he imbues with excitement through flamboyant brushwork. It has been suggested that 'the hand thrust inside the waistcoat is in imitation of Noriega's foreign master, Napoleon I, who regularly assumed this pose' as seen in the *David Napoleon in his Study* (K2046, see p. 352).¹⁰

Provenance: Private collection, Madrid. Freiherr von Stumm (German ambassador to Spain), Madrid (sale, Berlin, *Antiquitäten und Alte Gemälde aus dem Nachlass des verstorbenen Freiherrn F. von Stumm*, 4 Oct. 1932, p. 19, Cat. No. 87, Cat. by Dr. Günther Deneke). Paris, London and New York, Wildenstein and Co. Inc., exhibited - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Goya: Exposition de l'œuvre gravé de peintures, de tapisseries et de cent dix dessins du Musée du Prado*, Apr. 1935, p. 60, Cat. No. 351. Chicago, Ill., Chicago Art Institute, *The Art of Goya*, 1941, p. 45, Cat. No. 70. New York, Wildenstein and Co., *Goya: A Loan Exhibition for the Benefit of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University*,

9 Nov.-16 Dec. 1950, p. 18, Cat. No. 16. Houston, Texas, Allied Arts Association Annual Art Festival, *Masterpieces of Painting through Six Centuries*, 16-27 Nov. 1952, p. 12, Cat. No. 23. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) This transcription was made by Clara L. Penney, Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Hispanic Society of America. (2) August L. Mayer, 'The Portrait of Don Antonio Noriega [sic] by Goya', *Apollo*, xxii, July 1935, opp. p. 46. (3) Genealogical information is given in Alberto and Arturo García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispano-americana, Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos*, Madrid, lxii, 1948, pp. 135-45. See also *Gazeta de Madrid*, 19 July 1799, p. 63; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Indice de pruebas de los caballeros de la real y distinguida orden español de Carlos III*, 1904, p. 124. (4) See Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Goya and his Sitters*, New York, 1964, p. 23. According to Trapier, an account of Noriega's death is given by Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España*, Madrid, 1846, iii, p. 260; Román Gómez Villafranca, *Extremadura en la Guerra de la Independencia Española*, Badajoz, 1906, ii, pp. 95-6. (5) Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Mayer is quoted in 'Notable Works of Art Now on the Market', advertising supplement to *Burlington Magazine*, lxxi, 1937, pl. 18. (6) Xavier Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *L'Œuvre Peint de Goya*, Paris, 1928-50, ii, p. 289, no. 547. (7) José López-Rey in the introduction to Wildenstein (New York) exhibition, *Goya: A Loan Exhibition for the Benefit of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University*, 9 Nov.-16 Dec. 1950, New York. (8) Francisco Javier Sánchez-Cantón, *Vida y Obras de Goya*, Madrid, 1951, p. 170. English edition, Madrid, 1964, p. 159. (9) Trapier, *op. cit.*, p. 23, p. 54, Cat. No. 39. (10) National Gallery lecture script, 10 Dec. 1958.

After GOYA

K229 : Figure 221

EL PELELE. Mrs. Rush H. Kress, New York. Oil on canvas. $17\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ in. (44.5×25.4 cm.). On extremely thick preparatory layer, which completely obscures the canvas; few individual brushstrokes are discernible; very large crackle pattern. Considerable abrasion. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1932.

Four women in picturesque costumes, those of *majas*, are shown in a landscape setting, holding a large rectangular cloth. They look up at a large male puppet (*pelele*), which they have tossed in the air and is about to fall on their outstretched cloth below. A crenellated wall and gateway are seen at the upper left.

The tapestry of this composition, without the wall and gate at the left, was designed by Goya and completed at the Real Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara on 14 May 1793; it was hung in the Palacio del Pardo and is now in the Prado (no. 802). Goya's cartoon for the tapestry is also in the Prado (no. 822). It measures 2.67×1.60 m. A smaller

sketch (35.5×21.9 cm.) of the same composition, with the wall and gate, is now in the collection of Dr. Armand Hammer. It was formerly in the Henry Luce Collection and is presumably the canvas once owned by Juan Lafora, Madrid.¹ Beruete, writing of the Prado cartoon, described the scene as taking place in a meadow of the Manzanares river.²

K229 was first published by Longhi and Mayer as a work of Goya and described as 'one of the few existing sketches relative to the cartoons of larger dimensions which were painted by Goya for a series of tapestries. . . . This sketch, like the cartoon, can be dated 1791.'³ According to Sambricio, neither the Lafora nor the Kress sketches of *El Pelele* can be securely attributed to Goya. He found K229 to be a copy after the Lafora canvas.⁴ Certificates by William Suida (1935), Adolfo Venturi, F. Mason-Perkins, G. Fiocco, and Raimond van Marle state that K229 is by Goya.⁵ Gaya Nuño accepted Goya's authorship of K229, dating it c. 1791-92.⁶

The technique of K229 is alien to that of Goya. The heavy paint layer, with its unvariegated surface and large crackle pattern, point to the work of a later imitator.

Provenance: Z. M. Hackenbroch, Frankfurt, 1929. Florence, Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition, 1932. Roberto Longhi and August L. Mayer, *The Old Spanish Masters from the Contini Bonacossi Collection*, Rome, 1930, p. 21, Cat. No. 25. Exhibited - San Diego, California, The Palace of Fine Arts, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Official Art Exhibition of the California Pacific International Exposition*, 29 May-11 Nov. 1935, p. 30, Cat. No. 582. San Diego, California, The Palace of Fine Arts, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Official Art Exhibition of the California Pacific International Exposition* 1936, 12 Feb.-9 Sept. 1936, p. 31, Cat. No. 358. San Francisco, California, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, *Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Prints by Francisco Goya*, 5 June-4 July 1937, p. 29, Cat. No. 15. New York, World's Fair, *Catalogue of European and American Paintings*, May-Oct. 1940, p. 94, Cat. No. 129.

References: (1) Kenneth Donahue, *The Armand Hammer Collection*, 2 Oct.-30 Dec. 1969, Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, Tennessee, Cat. No. 6. (2) For the Prado cartoon see Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, *Goya*, Madrid, 1917, ii, pp. 49-50, Cat. No. 42. (3) Roberto Longhi and August Liebmman Mayer, *The Old Spanish Masters from the Contini Bonacossi Collection*, Rome, 1930, p. 21. A confused catalogue entry by Mayer in his Goya catalogue of 1923 (no. 570a) may be the first publication of K229. The measurements given by Mayer (34×15 cm.) are closer to another small-scale *El Pelele* in the Lafora Collection. In 1929, Mayer corrected the measurements previously given, stating that they should read 46×27 cm. ($18\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ in.), approximately the dimensions of the Kress canvas. (4) Valentin de Sambricio, *Tapices de Goya*, Madrid, 1946, pp. 171, 274, Cat. No. 58b. The Lafora example is Cat. No. 58a. (5) Kress Archive. (6) Gaya Nuño, p. 161, Cat. No. 919.

Follower of GOYA

K28 : Figure 222

MAJA AND MAJOS IN A PARK. Houston, Texas, The Museum of Fine Arts (AC 61-57), since 1953. Oil on loosely woven canvas. $72\frac{1}{8} \times 39\frac{3}{8}$ in. (183.5 \times 100.0 cm.). Extensive abrasion, especially in woman's face and breast; considerable in-painting. Cleaned, relined and restored by Pichetto, 1929/30. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1958; previous in-painting removed and replaced.

In the left foreground a young woman, her hands placed close to her hips, is turned toward a young man in left profile at the right, who grasps her left arm with his right hand and holds a scarf end or bag with the other. A tall figure clad in a straw hat and voluminous cape stands behind the couple, looking down as though engaged in conversation. They are seen against a background of trees. All three almost life-size figures wear the brilliantly colored garb often associated with the bullfight. These bohemian, picturesque, romantic costumes became the fashion among the Spanish aristocracy toward the end of the eighteenth century, known as that of the 'majos and majas'. The predominating colors are blue, orange and red.

According to Mayer, Goya designed and executed the work c. 1780 when he was providing tapestry cartoons for the Fábrica de Santa Bárbara. He believed the Kress canvas to belong to a series of tapestry projects which were never woven, relating K28 to *El Baile* and *La Merienda*, two very small sketches owned by the heirs of the Marqués de Torrecilla. Mayer described the free-flowing technique as an attempt on Goya's part to equal that of Velázquez.¹ Lafuente, accepting the idea that Goya designed unexecuted tapestry projects, mentioned K28 in this context.² Tietze related K28 to Goya's tapestry cartoons of 1779-80, listing it among the artist's works.³ The canvas was dated between 1776 and 1791 by Howe, executed 'when Goya was engaged in designing for the royal tapestry. . .'.⁴ Frankfurter described K28 as a tapestry cartoon by Goya, unique in America, 'showing the dash and insight of Goya's art at a particularly uninhibited moment'.⁵ The Kress canvas was entitled *Maja y Chisperos Conversando* ('Maja and two rough characters conversing') by Sambricio, who included it among those works mis-attributed to Goya by Mayer.⁶ Gaya Nuño accepted the work as Goya's, for the royal tapestry works, datable c. 1779-80.⁷

Several Spanish artists in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced works in the genre which is today associated exclusively with Goya. These artists include: Luis Paret y Alcázar (1746-99), José del Castillo (1737-93), Leonardo Alenza (1807-45), Eugenio Lucas y Padilla (1824-70) and Angel Lizcano (1846-1929). The insensitive and partially misunderstood brushwork precludes Goya's authorship of the canvas although, as most critics have pointed out, it is reminiscent of the subjects and partly of the style used by Goya in the tapestry sketches he prepared for the Spanish royal tapestry works. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, paintings dealing with *majos* have been in considerable demand especially if executed in a Goya-like style. K28 may have been executed long after Goya's death.⁸

Provenance: Quinones de León, Spanish ambassador to France, sold in Paris at an unknown date. A. Contini Bonacossi, Rome. Kress acquisition 1928, exhibited - San Diego, Palace of Fine Arts, *Official Art Exhibition of the California Pacific International Exposition*, 29 May-11 Nov. 1935, p. 5, Cat. No. 61, as 'Woman with Toreadors'. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Francisco Goya: his Paintings, Drawings and Prints*, 27 Jan.-8 Mar. 1936, Cat. No. 1, as 'Confidences in a Park'. San Francisco, California, Palace of the Legion of Honor, *Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Prints by Francisco Goya*, 5 June-4 July 1937, p. 25, Cat. No. 1. New York, World's Fair, *Catalogue of European and American Paintings 1500-1900, Masterpieces of Art*, May-Oct. 1940, p. 94, Cat. No. 134 (Catalogue by Walter Pach) as 'Confidences in a Park (Tapestry Cartoon)'. Chicago, Art Institute, *Paintings, Drawings and Prints - The Art of Goya*, ed. by D. C. Rich, 30 Jan.-2 Mar. 1941, p. 11, Cat. No. 3, 'Confidences in a Park (A Maja with Two Majos)'. Montreal, Canada, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, *Six Centuries of Landscape*, 7 Mar.-13 Apr. 1952, p. 22, Cat. No. 39, as 'Confidences in a Park'. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Carnegie Institute, Dept. of Fine Arts, *Pictures of Everyday Life: Genre Painting in Europe 1500-1900* (Intro. G. B. Washburn), 14 Oct.-12 Dec. 1954, Cat. No. 65 as 'Confidences in a Park (Tapestry Cartoon)'. Atlanta, Georgia, Atlanta Art Association Galleries, *Goya, Zurbarán and Spanish Primitives, An Exhibition of Spanish Paintings in the Syracuse Museum of Fine Arts, Syracuse, New York*, 3-24 Feb. 1957, Cat. No. 30, as 'A Maja and Two Toreros'. Baltimore, Maryland, *From El Greco to Pollock: Early and Late Works*, 22 Oct.-8 Dec. 1968, pp. 46-7.

References: (1) August Liebmann Mayer, 'A Tapestry Design by Goya', *Pantheon*, 1, 1928, pp. 10-11. Certificates attesting Goya's authorship of K28 were signed by A. L. Mayer (20/vi/27), Raimond van Marle, Roberto Longhi, G. Fiocco, Adolfo Venturi and W. Suida. A letter of Walter W. S. Cook (6/iv/34) described K28 as 'one of the few Goya cartoons for the famous tapestry series [outside the Prado]'. (2) Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, 'Los Tapices de Goya en la Exposición Centenario', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, xxxvi, 1928, pp. 47-55, esp. p. 48. (3) Hans Tietze, *Meisterwerke europäischer Malerei in Amerika*, Vienna, 1935, p. 324, pl. 28. (4) Thomas Carr Howe, Jr., 'San Francisco: Forty Goyas in the Far West', *Art News*, 1937, pp. 14-15, p. 20. (5) Alfred M. Frankfurter, '383 Masterpieces of Art: The World's Fair Exhibition of Paintings', *Art News Annual*, 1940, pp. 16-41, esp. p. 34. (6) Valentín de Sambricio, *Tapices de Goya*, Madrid, 1946, p. 173. K28 is grouped with *Una Maja y Una Vieja* (Madrid, coll. Luis MacCrohon). If the latter is identical with *Las Mozas de Cántaro* lent by MacCrohon to the Goya exhibition of 1928 (Cat. No. 10, pl. CLXXX), it is not close in style to the Kress canvas. (7) Gaya Nuño, *La Pintura Española . . .*, p. 157, Cat. No. 875. (8) For a thorough investigation of the artists who worked in the manner of Goya see Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Sociedad Española de Amigos de Arte, Antecedentes, Coincidencias e Influencias del Arte de Goya, Catálogo Ilustrado de la Exposición Celebrada en 1932*, Madrid, 1947. See also Valentín de Sambricio, 'José del Castillo, Pintor de Tapices', *Archivo Español de Arte*, xxiii, 1950, pp. 273 ff.

FRENCH SCHOOL

XV-XIX CENTURY

MASTER OF HEILIGENKREUZ

This master is named after a diptych from the Cistercian Abbey of Heiligenkreuz in Lower Austria (now Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) showing the *Annunciation* and the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*. His work was first studied by Kurth, who thought the painter was French, belonging to the Parisian School of the early fifteenth century, whose art was close to that of Broederlam and Malouel and resembled the anonymous *Carrand Diptych* (Florence, Bargello) of c. 1400. She dated the *Heiligenkreuz Diptych* between 1395 and 1410, finding indications of the artist's Northern French origin in the style of St. Catherine's costume and the clothed Christ Child.¹ According to Buchner the artist was an itinerant court painter active in Austria, a key figure in the early development of German painting and sculpture in the first decade of the fifteenth century.² Baldass agreed, suggesting that some of his works were executed in France for export.³

On the basis of his technique, Benesch noted that the Heiligenkreuz Master was not of French origin.⁴ But the extraordinarily delicate technique of the Heiligenkreuz panels, revealed during cleaning in 1929, led Tietze to affirm the master's French origin since such refinements in drawing and painting were unknown to indigenous Austrian art of the early fifteenth century. He stressed the correctness of Kurth's view, noting that the Cistercian Order (for whose monastery of Heiligenkreuz the panels were presumably painted) had its headquarters in Burgundy and noted that many links between Austrian and French art were to be found c. 1400.⁵ Baldass believed the painter to have developed within the Parisian court style and to have then worked in the region of Germany and Austria. He found the artist's works diminished in French influence as they advanced in date.⁶ The question as to whether the painter was a Frenchman or a German under French influence was described by Baldass as of slight importance.⁷ Oettinger singled out the artist as the major figure representing a trend toward Western influence within the Styrian-Austrian School.⁸

The connections between the reigning dynasty of Bohemia – the royal house of Luxembourg – and the French court led Francis to believe that the Heiligenkreuz Master was an itinerant artist originating in the West.⁹ Ring equated the painter with the illuminator active in Paris in the early fifteenth century named after his best-known manuscript – the Rohan Master.¹⁰ Finding the Heiligenkreuz Master to

lack Rohan's dynamism and genius, Sterling did not accept Ring's thesis. He believed the artist to be Austrian, or from adjacent German territory, for even a close study of Parisian art (possibly during his youth in Paris) could not obscure the master's Germanic character.¹¹ A Provençal origin was proposed by E. Larsen and L. Larsen-Roman.¹² Ring retracted her Rohan-Heiligenkreuz identification in 1941, no longer sure of the Heiligenkreuz Master's French origin.¹³ Vollmer described the painter as probably French but possibly Austrian, active c. 1395–1420.¹⁴

Suida-Shapley (p. 120) placed the artist in the Franco-Austrian school, noting that the difference of opinion concerning his origin 'merely indicates that we are dealing with a master of the International Style and, at that, an itinerant master. . . . Very likely he had some connection with Prague, one of the cosmopolitan art centers in the second half of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the Hussite wars broke out, many artists left Bohemia and spread out in all directions. The Master of Heiligenkreuz may have been one of those refugee artists.' Stange found the master to be of French origin, active in the environs of Vienna.¹⁵ The artist's activity as a manuscript illuminator was revived by Jean Porcher, who suggested that he worked in Paris.¹⁶ The somewhat exaggerated elegance of the Heiligenkreuz panels led Sterling to find the master of possible Franconian origin, under Austrian influence.¹⁷ Troescher believed the master to be German, influenced by Alsatian art and active in Austria.¹⁸

Suida-Shapley's views are probably correct – the painter's extensive use of extraordinarily delicate punches, while sometimes seen in France, is far more frequently encountered further to the east, centering around Prague. That city, long a stronghold of French influence, could have provided the Heiligenkreuz Master with the Parisian and Burgundian elements apparent in his works.

K1859 : Figures 225, 226

THE DEATH OF ST. CLARE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1162), since 1953. Mixed technique on canvas over pine. $26\frac{1}{8} \times 21\frac{3}{8}$ in. (66.4×54.5 cm.). The panel was covered with gold leaf preparatory to painting. The preliminary 'drawing' was incised. The six angels at the upper left with musical instruments and banners are all realized through the use of very fine punches, possibly

using a roulette¹⁹ and engraved line; the same is true of the cloud bank at the top; the four praying angels above the canopy; the drapery, wings and censers of the two angels below the canopy and the crowns and haloes of Christ and five of the female saints. Larger punches were employed for the border at the upper sides and top. An incised line runs down the center of the panel.

Panel very slightly cut down at right and bottom; small losses in left inner section of canopy and angels under canopy, lower left corner, and elsewhere. For the condition of K1859 in 1924, see Buchner (*op. cit.*, p. 3, fig. 2). Restored by Suhr c. 1950. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1953. Generally well preserved.

Suida-Shapley, pp. 120, 122, Cat. No. 46, as Franco-Austrian School, early fifteenth century. Reproduced in color, *Seymour*, p. 21, pl. 16.

The panel shows the death in 1253 of St. Clare, first female disciple of St. Francis and founder of the Second Order of St. Francis (Poor Clares). Born in Assisi c. 1193, Clare received the habit from St. Francis at the Porziuncula and was canonized by Alexander IV in 1255.²⁰ The dead saint, eyes closed and arms crossed on breast, is in nun's habit, under a white and blue coverlet. Her head is supported by a crowned female saint (probably the Virgin Mary), the first of a row of five blonde maidens behind the deathbed.²¹ A nun, her arms over the head end of the bed, supports St. Clare's shoulders; another nun holding her head in grief has a small red book in her right hand. Two censuring angels in golden garb are under the red canopy at the head of the bed. Three additional angels in gold are above the canopy, their hands folded in prayer. At the top center Christ the King, in red and white robes, holds Clare's soul in the form of a praying, crowned baby girl in white. They are accompanied by about nine angels (cherubim?) delineated in white against a blue background in a cloud bank at the upper left. Four angels with musical instruments – lute, vielle, portable organ and harp – and two angels with banners, celebrate the ascension of St. Clare's soul. To the left of the foremost crowned saint is St. Catherine, in green, holding a wheel (her attribute) in the left hand, a girdle of pearls around her hips. The next figure to the left (St. Helena?) wears a twisted diadem of pearls and rubies under her crown which has an imperial eagle in a medallion at the center.²² Her dress is gold and white with a blue and white jacket. She holds a chaplet of roses with the left arm. St. Barbara is to the left holding her attribute – a tower with a red roof – in her left hand. She wears a coronet and is in dark red robes with an orange girdle. St. Dorothy (?) is at the extreme upper left wearing a chaplet of flowers. She is in green robes, holding a spray of red flowers in her left hand and a tiny basket in her right. St. Margaret, standing in the left foreground, leans toward the right. In rich brocade robes, she has a wreath in her hair and holds her attribute – a minute dragon – in her right hand. Two Poor Clares with prayerbooks in their laps are seated to the left and right of the bedside. An unadorned tall female

figure in blue without a halo holds St. Clare's blue and white coverlet as though about to cover the body; this is probably her younger sister, the future Blessed (*Beata*) Agnes of Assisi.²³ Her attribute, a small lamb, lies on the bed's baseboard.

The scene is partly based upon the vision of Sister Benvenuta of Diambra who, while Clare was struggling with death, saw the Virgin Mary lead a procession of virgins dressed in white into the convent. They carried a gem-studded golden diadem and a magnificent mantle for St. Clare whose soul was plucked like a ripe fruit by the Queen of Heaven, borne by her and the other virgins to her bridegroom Jesus Christ.²⁴ The vision was included in Clare's Bull of canonization. The lower section of a panel showing the *Death and Coronation of St. Clare* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Museum No. 1161; Text Fig. 51), probably painted in Nuremberg c. 1365, is very close in composition to the Kress panel and points to the execution of the latter outside France, probably in south-east Germany or Austria.²⁵ The Kress panel appears to have originally formed the right half of a fixed diptych, the companion panel (Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art) showing the Death of the Virgin, with Mary attended by the twelve Apostles, her soul, at the top, borne by Christ (Text Fig. 50).²⁶ The compositions of both panels are very much alike, the foot end of each bed juxtaposed at the center of the diptych. In scale the Cleveland panel is very slightly larger than K1859, possibly reflecting the greater importance of its subject. The common theme of both panels suggests the diptych's original location in a Clarist convent, primarily for use in funerary or commemorative services. The diptych form is closely connected with prayers for the dead, since in the liturgy 'the reading of the diptychs' is the recitation during the Mass of names of the deceased written on the double tablet.²⁷ With its counterpart, K1859 was first published by Buchner who described the subject as the Death of the Dominican Abbess Agnes of Montepulciano. As Agnes was not beatified before 1534 and canonized only in 1726, this identification is not possible. Buchner stressed the brilliant, shimmering, jewel-like coloring of the Kress panel and the extensive employment of incision and punchwork, dating the panel c. 1420–25. He noted correspondences between K1859 and a diptych by the same master in Basle (Historisches Museum).²⁸ Suida noted the panel's undeniable French character, but with such French artists as Master André of Paris (active in Vienna in 1426, 1430 and 1434) painting in eastern Europe, he felt those arguing for an Austrian origin could also be correct.²⁹ Baldass thought the Heiligenkreuz panels, because of their pine support, naturalistic details and dark coloring, all associated with Central European art, were painted by a French master in that region.³⁰

Ring found numerous stylistic correspondences between the Kress panel and works by the Rohan Master in such illuminations by the latter as the *Vierge au Lait* (*Grandes Heures de Rohan*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 9471). She concluded that the Kress panel and the other

oeuvre of the Heiligenkreuz Master were executed by the director of the manuscript atelier which produced the *Grandes Heures de Rohan*, whose panel paintings were executed c. 1420-30 in France.³¹ The symmetry of the Cleveland companion piece to K1859 (Text Fig. 50) led Sterling to place it in Austrian or German territory. He also found the facial types Germanic, and dated the panel c. 1420-30.³² Compared with the Heiligenkreuz Diptych, Ring found the Kress panel less French in character, implying a later date.³³ The subject of K1859 was first identified by *Suida-Shapley* (pp. 120-2) as the *Death of St. Clare*. They noted the International style of the painting and related it to the art of Konrad von Soest, Gentile da Fabriano, and French manuscript illuminators. According to *Broadley* (p. 12) 'The attenuated, willowy proportions of [the] saints' figures suggest that they are not ordinary mortals. Indeed, the superiority of their holy state is emphasized by their being larger than the nuns in the lower corners, who apparently are unaware of the heavenly visitors' presence. Heightening the impression of otherworldliness . . . is the burnished gold background, suggesting the glorious splendor of celestial light.' *Seymour* (p. 18) noted that St. Clare 'is shown at the moment of her death. Sisters of her Order attend her in prayer and one is about to lower the body upon the bed. Meanwhile angelic visitors swing censers and a group of saints headed by the Virgin, dressed like an earthly Queen, who closes the corpse's mouth, miraculously appear in attendance. Above, the skies open and Christ, surrounded by heavenly presences, receives the newly liberated soul in the guise of a crowned infant girl. All of this narrative interest and closely observed characterization is organized in such a way that your eye catches without confusion what is going on once you are aware of the visual logic of presentation. The delicacy of execution, for example in the little musician-angels engraved directly on the gold background above the saints' haloes, constantly prepares surprises for a second glance. Tragedy and grief never emerge so strongly as really to disturb us, nor, it would seem, the medieval viewer either. The elongated proportions, the long, tapering fingers, the details of rich court dress, the jewels and brocade - all define a courtly ideal. The color and, above all, the line in its fascinating pattern carry not so much a story as the definition of a whole phase of European civilization.' Musper viewed the style of the Kress panel as pronouncedly Austrian, providing evidence for localizing the Heiligenkreuz Master's work in Austria.³⁴ It was believed by *Walker* (p. 108) to have been painted in Germany.

All the few French fifteenth-century paintings on pine stem from Provence. Should K1859 have been painted in France, it would certainly not have been done in Paris.³⁵ The panel was most probably executed in the region now covered by southeast Germany and Central Europe. The sophisticated use of punches, although found in France, is more common in Bohemia, supporting previous suggestions that the master had connections in that region. The use of this technique is especially close to that of the *Wroclaw Madonna*, dated shortly after 1420 (Wroclaw,

Archiepiscopal Diocesan Museum).³⁶ The punches used for the decorative, tooled framework of the Kress panel resembles those employed again by the Heiligenkreuz Master in his *Virgin and Child* and *Man of Sorrows* (Basle, Historisches Museum). Presumably the Kress and Basle works are close in date, probably executed in the 1420s and, as often suggested, somewhat later than the Heiligenkreuz panels. Another argument for a German or Central European origin for K1859 is its similarity to the earlier Nuremberg panel (Text Fig. 51) and to a later, also German, example of the rare subject.³⁷ With its pendant (Text Fig. 50), the painting is an outstanding monument of the International Style, its brilliant execution and coloring provide important early evidence for the diffusion of the Parisian court style to Central Europe.

Provenance: Possibly Convent of the Poor Clares (Eger, Bohemia or Hungary).³⁸ Possibly Kings of Saxony.³⁹ Munich, Karl Schäfer.⁴⁰ Prof. Walter Schnakenberg, Munich, 1936-51,⁴¹ said to have been exhibited, Munich, 1936⁴²; Paris, Jeu de Paume, *Flemish Masters*, 1937.⁴³ Dr. Karl Langbehn, Munich, 1951.⁴⁴ Mme. Marta Langbehn.⁴⁵ New York, M. Knoedler and Co., Inc. Kress acquisition 1951.

References: (1) Betty Kurth, 'Französische Tafelbilder aus der Wende des 14. Jahrhunderts in Österreichischen Sammlungen', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n.F., xxxiii, 1922, pp. 14-22. (2) Ernst Buchner, 'Eine Gruppe deutscher Tafelbilder vom Anfang des XV. Jahrhunderts', in Ernst Buchner and Karl Feuchtmeyer, ed., *Oberdeutsche Kunst der Spätgotik und Reformationszeit*, 1924, pp. 1-13 (1 of *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*). (3) Ludwig Baldass, book review, *Belvedere*, x, 1926, pp. 133-40. (4) Otto Benesch, 'Zur altösterreichischen Tafelmalerei', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s., ii, 1928, pp. 63-118, p. 66. In 1936 he ascribed several drawings to the Heiligenkreuz Master (*Österreichische Handzeichnungen des xv und xvi Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1936). He stressed the link between the master and France in 1930 ('Grenzprobleme der österreichischen Tafelmalerei', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, n.s., i, 1930, pp. 66-99). (5) Hans Tietze, 'Acquisitions Nouvelles de la Galerie de Vienne', *L'Amour de l'Art*, x, 1929, pp. 291-4. (6) Ludwig Baldass, 'Die Wiener Tafelmalerei von 1410-1460 (Neuerwerbungen des Wiener Kunsthistorischen Museums)', *Der Cicerone*, xxi, 1929, pp. 65-72. (7) Ludwig Baldass, *Österreichische Tafelmalerei der Spätgotik 1400-1525*, 1934, pp. 5 and 6. (8) Karl Oettinger, 'Zur Malerei um 1400 in Österreich', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.F., x, 1936, pp. 59-87. He included K1162 in the master's oeuvre on p. 78, listed as *Death of Agnes of Montepulciano?* (9) Henry S. Francis, 'A Panel by the Master of Heiligenkreuz, A Memorial to John Long Severance', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Dec. 1937, pp. 153-6. (10) Grete Ring, 'Primitifs Français', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., xix, 1938, pp. 149-68. (11) Charles Sterling, *La peinture française . . . les primitifs*, Paris, 1938, p. 31. This is reiterated by Sterling in the edition of 1941, published under the name of Charles

Jacques. (12) E. Larsen and L. Larsen-Roman, 'Les origines provençales du maître de Heiligenkreuz', *Apollo* (Brussels), 18, 1, pp. 17–19. (13) Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting 1400–1500*, London, 1949, p. 199, Cat. Nos. 58–9. (14) Hans Vollmer, *Thieme–Becker*, xxxvii, p. 144. (15) Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik: Österreich und der ostdeutsche Siedlungsraum von Danzig bis Siebenbürgen in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1500*, xi, 1961, p. 4. (16) F. Unterkircher, *Europäische Kunst um 1400*, Vienna, 1962, p. 179, Cat. No. 123. See also pp. 116–17, Cat. Nos. 50–1. (17) *Ibid.*, p. 74. (18) Georg Troescher, *Burgundische Malerei, Maler und Malwerke um 1400 in Burgund, dem Berry mit der Auvergne und in Savoyen mit ihren Quellen und Ausstrahlungen*, Berlin, 1966, p. 356. (19) Shirley Alexander suggested the use of the roulette. She found the technique of K1859 to be used both in France and Moravia. A panel in a French private collection, according to Laclotte, the work of a Franco-Flemish miniaturist active in the Domaine Royal between 1405 and 1425, includes angels supporting a canopy, who are punched and incised in very much the same fashion as those of K1859. Michel Laclotte, 'Tableaux de chevalet français vers 1400', *Art de France*, 1963, pp. 220–2, reproduced opp. p. 220. (20) See 'Chiara da Assisi', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 1963, III, *Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università Lateranense*, col. 1205 ff. Christiane Rousseau, *L'art et les saints: Ste. Claire*, Paris, 1930, pp. 52–6. A fresco of this subject by the Master of St. Clare (active in the last half of the thirteenth century) is in the right transept of Sta. Chiara, Assisi, reproduced by Rousseau on p. 54. (21) Her identification as Mary is supported by the Virgin's immediate proximity to the dying person in fifteenth-century *Ars Moriendi*. See Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1910, pp. 10–14. (22) This saint is listed as Cecilia by Suida-Shapley, p. 122, and by Broadley, p. 12. The identification of the saint with the eagle in her circlet as St. Helena is not entirely certain but seems plausible in view of the special devotion of the Franciscan Order to the True Cross. This subject looms large in many Franciscan churches of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in such fresco cycles as Agnolo Gaddi's (Florence, Sta. Croce) and Piero della Francesca's (Arezzo, San Francesco). Tommaso da Celano (*La Leggenda di Sta Chiara d'Assisi, cavata del codice magliabecchiano xxxviii*, 55, *della Biblioteca Nazionale de Firenze*, G. Battelli, ed., 1952, pp. 76–8) emphasizes Clare's devotion to the Cross and her frequent pious meditations on the *Delizie del Crocifisso*. In many instances her miraculous healings were effected by making the sign of the Cross over the sick, and she is often shown carrying a cross or kneeling at the foot of a cross. A panel by an anonymous follower of Guido da Siena (Wellesley, Mass., Wellesley College Museum of Art) shows the dead St. Clare surrounded by monastic and ecclesiastical figures immediately below a depiction of Christ ascending a ladder to the Cross (see James Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, Princeton, 1964, pp. 102–3, Cat. No. xxiii, fig. 59). (23) The Blessed Agnes of Assisi was cited by Voragine as the major mourner of Clare's 'college of sisters'. Jacopo de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, London, 1900, II, pp. 166–7.

The description of the death continues to p. 185. (24) For the iconography of the death of St. Clare see also Réau, III, 1, p. 319; George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, 1952, col. 272. George Ferguson (*Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, 1954, fig. 96) listed the panel as 'Death of a Nun, probably St. Clare'. He identified the saint holding the nun's head as the Virgin, and called the saint with the lamb St. Agnes (of Rome) or perhaps the Blessed Agnes (sister of St. Clare). For the vision see Tommaso da Celano, *op. cit.* See also the English translation by Charlotte Balfour of the French version of François Du Puis of 1563 (*The Life and Legend of St. Clare*, London, 1910). '... she saw a great company of holy virgins enter the house, all dressed in white robes and each carried a crown of gold on her head, and amongst the others there was one more bright and more beautiful than the others, who wore a crown pierced in the manner of a censer, and from the piercings shone forth so great a light that all the house was filled with it and night was turned into day. And this lady who was so bright came to the bed of the spouse of Her Son, and leant towards her very sweetly and kissed her tenderly. Then the virgins brought a mantle full of very great beauty and they hastened as if with desire to cover the body of St. Clare and to serve her and do well by the house. And the day after the feast of St. Laurina [10 August 1253] the noble virgin died and she gave up her soul which was crowned eternally. Very gloriously her soul was separated from her flesh when her body remained on earth and her spirit rose to be with Our Lord, who was her life.' The text goes on to contrast Clare's humble life on earth with the splendor of her eternal life in the Court of Paradise. (25) See *Katalog der Ausstellung Nürnberger Malerei 1350–1450 im Germanischen Museum*, Nuremberg, 1931, p. 23, Cat. No. 33, p. 93, by the Master of the High Altar of St. James in Nuremberg. As in K1859, a woman with a lamb as her attribute holds the coverlet. Christ and St. John the Baptist stand at the head of the bed, St. Margaret at the foot. The four women standing behind the bed from right to left are the Virgin (embracing St. Clare), SS. Catherine, Helena and Dorothy. A second German panel of the same subject from the Augsburg School dated by Stange c. 1430 (*Deutsche Malerei der Gotik: IV: Südwestdeutschland in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1450*, Munich/Berlin, 1957, fig. 186) shows Christ at the head of the bed. As in K1859, a figure with the attribute of St. Agnes is in the foreground with seated Poor Clares reading on either side. (26) The companion panel to K1859 (Cleveland Museum of Art, *The Death of the Virgin*, Text Fig. 50) has a back covered by a layer of gesso, with a few words still legible from a long inscription in ink '... Ego joannes Laurentius Mollitor ... Anno Domi ...'. (Buchner, *op. cit.*, Note 2 above, p. 1.) (27) For the significance of diptychs in the Mass see Dom Jean de Prunier, *The Mass*, London, 1931, pp. 73, 139, and 143. See also K. A. Wirth, 'Diptychon', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, IV, 1958, cols. 61 ff., and Wolfgang Kermer, *Studien zum Diptychon in der Sakralen Malerei von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Düsseldorf, 1967. (28) Buchner, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, 1924, pp. 1, 4, 5. The Basle diptych is reproduced by him on pp. 10–11, figs. 7–8, the

Heiligenkreuz Diptych (both front and back) on pp. 6-9, figs. 3-6. (29) Wilhelm S. Suida, *Österreichische Malerei in der Zeit Erzherzog Ernst des Eisernen und König Albrecht II*, Vienna, 1926, p. 25. (30) Baldass, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, p. 66. A detailed description is given. (31) Ring, *op. cit.* Note 10 above, pp. 161-2, 168. (32) Sterling, 1938, *op. cit.* Note 11 above, p. 31. Sterling, 1941, *op. cit.* Note 11, p. 13, Cat. No. 9. Listed under 'Atelier des bohémiens autrichiens'. The painting is listed as *Mort d'une Sainte Religieuse (Agnès de Montepulciano?)*. (33) Ring, *op. cit.* Note 13 above, 1949, p. 199, Cat. No. 59. (34) Hans Theodor Musper, *Gotische Malerei nördlich der Alpen*, Cologne, 1961, p. 119. (35) See Jacqueline Morette, *Connaissance des Primitifs par l'Étude du Bois*, Paris, 1961, Part IV, 'Répertoire des Tableaux... Classés', pp. 284-5, 50-1. (36) Noted by Marjory Strauss (reproduced by A. Matějček and J. Pěšina, *Gothic Painting in Bohemia*, Prague, 1955, pl. 214). See also the *Vyssi Brod* (Hohenfurth) *Madonna*, the *Madonna of St. Thomas's Church* (Brno, Provincial Museum) in Matějček and Pěšina, pl. 214, pl. 194. (37) See above, Note 25; for a later, fifteenth-century representation of the subject, compare to the embroidered Death of St. Clare of a Franconian antependium, illustrated in Anton von Euw, 'Zur Neugliederung des Aachener Suermondt-Museums', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXIX, 1967, p. 351, fig. 256. (38) According to Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, XI, Berlin, 1961, p. 4. In a letter (2/II/65) to the National Gallery (Washington, D.C.), Professor Stange gave his source as Prinz Joseph Clemens von Bayern, who in turn received his information from the Munich dealer Karl Schäfer. K1859 was also described as having come from an East Prussian castle (Buchner, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, p. 12), from the Radziwills, and from a private collection in Budapest (Sterling, 1941, *op. cit.* Note 11, Cat. No. 9). (39) *Ibid.* (40) *Ibid.* Evidently Schäfer obtained the painting from the royal Saxon collection. (41) According to Suida-Shapley (p. 122), the painting came to Schnakenberg in 1936 from a private collection (information received 31/1/52 from Frederick Stern). In a letter to Henry S. Francis of the Cleveland Museum of Art (which Mr. Francis quoted in a letter of 6/III/61 to John Walker of the National Gallery of Art) Richard Zinser said he 'knew of this precious Diptych many years in the private collection of Mr. Schnakenberg/Munich'. Zinser stated he later heard K1859 had come from one of the Radziwill family castles in East Prussia. (42) Suida-Shapley (pp. 120-2). Dr. Gisela Goldberg of the Munich Pinakothek wrote that there is no evidence of the painting's presence in Munich in 1936 (letter of 6/XI/68, Kress Archive). (43) Suida-Shapley, *loc. cit.* (44) Record of sale, M. Knoedler and Co. (45) *Ibid.*

FRENCH MASTER, XV Century

K1822 : Figure 227

THE EXPECTANT VIRGIN WITH ST. JOSEPH. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1111), since 1951. Tempera on pine. The curtain rod and the wheels at the

Virgin's neckline are executed in raised gesso (*pastiglia*). The crown seems originally to have been largely rendered in this technique also. 27 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (70.2 × 34.0 cm.).

The gold inscription on the border of the Virgin's cloak reads: REGINA CELI LET[ARE ALLELUIA Q]UIA QUAM [= QUEM] [MERUISTI PORTARE ALLELUIA RESURREXIT SICUT DIXIT ALLELUIA ORA PRO NOBIS DEUM] AL[L]ELUIA ('Queen of Heaven, rejoice, alleluia! For he whom you deserved to bear, alleluia! Is risen as he said, alleluia! Pray for us to God, alleluia!').¹ Inscribed in white on Mary's halo: [A]VE VI[RGO] or M[ATER] ? ? IHESUM ? NATO TU PEPERISTI [C]REATO[REM] SALVATORE[M] ('Hail, Virgin [or Mother], . . . you have borne the Creator and Redeemer . . . Jesus').² At the top of the bodice of the girl at the left, the letters F (?) N (to the left) and V B E (?) are inscribed. One vertical join running through Joseph's head and hands; a split to the left runs from the top through the Virgin's neck to just below the wheel at the right of her neckline; the third split is at the extreme upper left. These splits extend into the engaged (presumably original) regilded frame. Small losses in area of Virgin's and Joseph's heads; the head of attendant at left and the lower left of the Virgin's robes; at top, crown is abraded. The tassels are painted over a large loss. Some of the gold leaf is replaced. The background is tooled with a foliate motif. A coronet rather than the present 'Bridal Crown' at the top can be seen through the latter in an infra-red photograph. The panel was cradled and restored in Italy at an unknown date prior to acquisition.

Suida, p. 174, Cat. No. 76.

The pregnant Virgin, eyes downcast, stands in the foreground of an arched panel, where daisies, pansies, and strawberries bloom. She is turned to the left, in three-quarter view, a circlet in her long hair, wearing blue and green robes. Wheel-like devices at the neckline (fastening the cape to the dress) support two long crossed cords with tassels. A radiant motif is embroidered on the hem of her dress. She holds a book by its protective suede covering at her side with her right hand.³ Her left hand is placed upon her swollen stomach, one finger held by an angel (Gabriel?), who is seen to the waist, placed behind the horizontal gold brocade curtain dividing the composition. The angel is in three-quarter view, turned somewhat to the left, wearing liturgical garb; the crossed *stola* has the same wheel motif at the neck as the Virgin's. A cincture is knotted at the waist. The brooding, bearded St. Joseph, shown to the waist, stands behind the curtain to the right, holding a book with his left hand and a staff with his right. He wears a white, priest-like head covering, cloak, and hood. Two young blond girls (donors?) stand at the lower right, looking up to the Virgin, wearing orange-red dresses with very full skirts and long, white, apron-like fronts. At the very top, two small red angels (cherubim?) in a blue cloudbank hold a large bridal crown slightly to the right of Mary's head.

Depictions of the pregnant Virgin are infrequent.⁴ The subject was of considerable theological interest in the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially in Spain, but did not often inspire illustration later, excepting that of the Visitation. A feast of the pregnant Virgin (Virg  n de la Esperanza) was instituted by the Council of Toledo in 656 for 18 December, the beginning of the Spanish ecclesiastical calendar. The theme is known popularly as the 'Virg  n de la O', since antiphons between 17 December and 23 December begin with 'O' (O Sapientia, O Adonai, O radix Jesse, O clavis David, O Oriens, O Rex gentium, O Emmanuel).⁵ The episode shown in K1822 may precede that of Joseph acknowledging the Virgin as the Mother of God.⁶ The prominence of the book in depictions of the pregnant Virgin refers to the theme of the angel as instructor of the Virgin in the Temple. This apocryphal episode, in which the angel instructs Mary in her divine calling, was fused in the fourteenth century with that of the pregnant Virgin.⁷

The subject of the Kress panel stems from the apocryphal Protevangelium, and from the account in Matthew 1:18–25, where Mary is described as pregnant before her marriage to Joseph, while he, 'being a just man and not willing to make her a publick example, was minded to put her away privily. But while he thought on these things, behold, the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.' The painting seems to combine references to the troubled Joseph; his annunciation and that of the Virgin, both indicated by the angel at the left; their marriage, suggested by the little donor (?) attendants at the lower right and by the emphasis upon knots and cords; and to their flight into Egypt. The emblem of the wheel, seen on the Virgin's garb and that of the angel, refers to divine power, especially Charity, the chief theological virtue.⁸ The radiant, sun-like motifs on the virgin's cloak fastenings and the border of her mantle probably allude to the sun-surrounded Woman of the Apocalypse – the best-known image of the Immaculate Conception, but also connected with the Incarnation and Nativity. The emphasis upon holy books held by Mary and Joseph may refer to Biblical prophecy of the Advent of Christ and to their going to the Temple; the Virgin always seems to be shown with a book in Italian depictions of the *Madonna del Parto*.⁹

According to Longhi, K1822 is an important example of French painting from the first half of the fifteenth century. He found the panel eclectic, combining the last reflections of the International Style with aspects of early Netherlandish art. The cherubim at the top are described as stylistically anticipating Jean Fouquet. He related the rarity of the subject to that of the equally unusual *Priesthood of the Virgin* (Paris, Louvre), attributed to the School of Amiens and dated c. 1437.¹⁰ Suida (p. 174) attributed the panel to the School of Amiens, painted c. 1437, noting that it 'makes an essential contribution to our knowledge of a prominent French contemporary of Jan van Eyck.' The origin and sources of K1822 are open to question, as is the problem of possible links with Italy and Flanders, wrote Feudale.¹¹ Laclotte viewed K1822 as by an anonymous

French painter active c. 1420–25, identifying the young women at the lower right as donors.¹² Joseph's placement behind the curtain, separated from the Virgin, led Verheyen to stress Joseph's role as doubter, placed away from Mary, not recognizing the presence of God.¹³

The eclectic character of this panel, first noted by Longhi, is partly based on the art of the very early fifteenth century; Joseph recalls the style of the Limbourg brothers and that of the Boucicaut Master, one of whose works suggests a possible source for the composition.¹⁴ The device of a horizontal, dividing curtain is frequent in the early fifteenth century; it is used less often as the century advances. The depiction of Mary and the little attendants is closer to that of French mid-century art and seen at a slightly earlier date in Germany and the Netherlands. A facial type similar to Mary's is found in Limoges enamels and French sculpture of the later fifteenth century. The puzzling attire of the young women seems to be unique in fashion. The form of the angels at the very top points to French painting of the mid-fifteenth century when Italian Renaissance influence was first evident. The extreme verticality of the angel at the far left suggests the archaizing style of the late fifteenth century as seen in works by Memling, Colin de Coter, and the bronze angel by Jean Barbet (New York, Frick Collection) dated 28 March 1475. As the major figures are all turned toward the left, the panel seems to have been designed as the right half of a diptych. If there were a companion piece, it might have shown a subject completing the cycle of Christ's life and sacrifice, such as the Throne of Grace (God the Father holding the Cross, with the Holy Ghost in a position parallel to that of the flying angels in K1822). Scale, space, and figure relationships are highly puzzling. Is the angel at the left standing before or behind the curtain? Why, in view of the normal proportions of the young women at the lower right, is Mary shown with such large hands and head and a very short body and with such an awkwardly articulated right arm? Why is she not placed directly below the crown suspended overhead? Why does the patterned gold border on Joseph's robe cover the handle of his crook? If the ground level behind the curtain is the same as that of the foreground, there seems very little room for Joseph. A possible explanation for these distressing inconsistencies may be a lengthy interruption between the beginning of K1822 early in the fifteenth century and its completion at least four decades later. Extensive repainting at an unknown date might also be considered, but there is little physical evidence for such, although the totally different crown seen in infra-red photographs may argue for the merits of this hypothesis. Painted on pine, a support rarely encountered in French art of the fifteenth century and then only around Provence, the panel may have been painted in a truly provincial area, dependent upon archaic conventions, with a tincture of more advanced forms.¹⁵ The technique of K1822 is as eclectic as its style, combining methods of the late fourteenth and very early fifteenth centuries; the tooled gold foliate background, like that of the Beaumetz panels for the Chartreuse de Champmol (for example, the one in Cleveland Museum of Art) of the very late fourteenth

century, is juxtaposed with *pastiglia*, rarely used in Northern Europe, and found more frequently in Northern Italy. While K1822 is not close to the *Priesthood of the Virgin* (Paris, Louvre) to which it was related by Longhi, its patronage may perhaps stem from a similar source, a confraternity devoted, like the Puy d'Amiens, to the annual commissioning of a painting and poem on a devotional subject. This religious group ordered such works throughout the fifteenth century. In 1517-18 these paintings were copied in manuscript form at the order of Louise de Savoie. Perhaps the Kress panel represents such a later copy of a much earlier devotional panel.¹⁶

Provenance: Lyons, private collection. Florence, Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) The final Marian antiphon at the conclusion of the Divine Office, proper to Paschaltide. (2) The inscription has been reconstructed by S. J. P. van Dijk, letter of 5/III/69. (3) For bindings of this type see H. Alker, 'Das Beutelbuch in der bildenden Kunst: Konkordanz und Ergänzung zu O. Glaunings beschreibendem Verzeichnis', *Festschrift Ernst Kyriss*, Stuttgart, 1961, pp. 33 ff. (4) For this theme see Réau, II, 2, p. 90, 'La Vierge enceinte de l'Expectation.' She is known in Latin as *Maria Gravida*, in French as *Notre Dame de l'Attente* or *de l'Esperance*, in German as *Maria von der Hoffnung* or *Maria Erwartung*. (5) See Leandro Saralegui, 'Miscelánea de tablas Valencianas', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XI, 1932, pp. 295-307, esp. pp. 299 ff.; L. Duchesne, *Les origines du culte chrétien*, Paris-Fontemoing, 1925, pp. 257-63; M. Trens, *María: Iconografía de la Virgen en el Arte Español*, Madrid, 1946, 'Virgén de la Esperanza' (de la O), pp. 75-89. A fifteenth-century painting on panel (Tudela, Cathedral, *ibid.*, fig. 39) has two angels above Mary; one holds an inscribed scroll 'Veniet Dominus et non tardabit', the first words of the first antiphon of Lauds and Vespers for Sunday of the third week of Advent; the second angel seems to hold a crown on the Virgin's head. Kneeling donors are shown at the lower left. There is a hanging across the panel, reminiscent of K1822, supported by little angels at the left and right. The Virgin raises a book with the left hand; the right is on her stomach. Another depiction of the subject (*ibid.*, fig. 41, Vich, Episcopal Museum) shows the Virgin seated; an angel at the left, rather like that in the Kress panel, holds a scroll inscribed 'In octava die paries filium et vocabitur nomen eius Jesus'. This text, according to Trens, is not in the liturgy but recalls the O antiphons. A third panel (*ibid.*, p. 85, repr. p. 87, fig. 40, parish church of Pego, Alicante) shows the seated Virgin with angels, one with an open book, the other with a lily. The Holy Ghost is above; angels at the upper left and right place a crown on Mary's head. A related theme from a provincial painting of the second half of the century shows Joseph and the pregnant Virgin kneeling just before the Nativity, awaiting her delivery (Linz, private collection, reproduced by Otfried Kastner, *Die Krippe*, Vienna, 1964, pl. 59). (6) For this theme see Réau, II, 2, p. 210. An early example of the subject, a lower Rhenish painting of c. 1350, is at the Städelsches Kunstinstitut (Frankfurt;

Wilhelm Jung, *Deutsche Malerei des Mittelalters*, Taunus, 1967, pl. 31). Gertrud Schiller (*Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, Gütersloh, 1966, p. 299, fig. 141) lists the painting as in Berlin, Staatl. Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Inv. No. 1216. Another German (?) fourteenth-century cut-down panel shows the seated pregnant Virgin spinning, assisted by angels with the Holy Ghost above (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum). Gabriel kneels at the left; Joseph's staff, hat and keg are at the lower left. (7) See *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, v, 'Engel als Unterweiser der Tempeljungfrau Maria', col. 406; see *ibid.*, fig. 44, for a German painting of c. 1430 (Munich) with links to the Kress composition. (8) George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, 1954, p. 326. It may also relate to the letter 'O', see Note 5 above. (9) See Caroline Feudale, 'The Iconography of the Madonna del Parto', *Marsyas*, VII, 1954-57, pp. 8-24, esp. p. 13. The books held by Mary and Joseph may relate to Is. 29:11-12 and Ps. 139:16, references to Mary's purity. (10) Roberto Longhi, letter of 20/III/50 in Kress Archive. The Louvre painting is reproduced by Jacques Dupont, 'Le sacerdoce de la Vierge: le Puy d'Amiens en 1437', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., VIII, 1932, pp. 265-74, fig. 2. (11) Feudale, *loc. cit.* Note 9 above. (12) Michel Laclotte, *Les primitifs français*, Paris, 1966, pl. XIII. (13) Egon Verheyen, letter of 7/VII/67, Kress Archive. (14) See the *Hours of Philip the Good* (Paris, B.N., MS. lat. 10.538) in *Europäische Kunst um 1400*, Vienna, 1962, pp. 174-5, Cat. No. 116, pl. 143. It shows the Virgin and Child with angelic attendants; an angel flies overhead holding the crown. (15) See Jacqueline Morette, *Connaissance des primitifs par l'étude du bois*, Paris, 1961, Part IV, 'Répertoire des tableaux... classés', pp. 50-5, 284-5. (16) Dupont, *op. cit.* Note 10, p. 271.

NORTHERN EUROPEAN MASTER

K1597 : Figure 228

A MIRACLE OF ST. BENEDICT. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1124), since 1950. Tempera and gold leaf on uncradled pine or linden panel. 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (91.1 × 77.5 cm.). Original borders all around; two vertical joins. Extensive losses throughout. Cradled by Pichetto in 1948, restored by Modestini 1949-50. *Suida*, p. 176, Cat. No. 77. Reproduced in color in *The National Geographic Magazine*, CI, January 1952, p. 92.

The founder of the Benedictine Order, wearing its brown and white habit,¹ is seated at the left with a book in his lap; he is seen through a diaphragm arch. He grasps a crozier in his right hand and gestures to the right with the other. At prayer in his abbey at Subiaco, the saint has had a vision of the young monk Placidus drowning as he went to draw water for the monastery. Benedict sent Maurus to Placidus' rescue, instructing Maurus to walk upon the water. This rescue is the subject of the right half of K1597.² where Placidus holds a bucket in his left hand. A bridge and church are shown in the background. Both Maurus and Placidus were canonized.

Winkler first attributed the panel to Marmion on the basis of its affinity to that master's dedication page for the *Grandes Chroniques de Saint Denis* (Leningrad, City Library) and to the panels Marmion painted for the Abbey of St. Bertin (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) at St. Omer, describing it as well-preserved, painted with finesse, but somewhat weak in draughtsmanship and command of space.³ The work was considered Northern French or Flemish, painted c. 1480, by Friedländer.⁴ It has been suggested that the architecture is close to that shown in the St. Bertin panels and may represent the abbey church.⁵ Ring included the panel as 'attributed to Simon Marmion'.⁶ Suida (p. 176, Cat. No. 77) placed K1597 in the studio of Simon Marmion. The work is included by Hoffman among those panels attributed to Marmion, but is not accepted by her as autograph.⁷

The panel was probably one of a series showing scenes from the life of St. Benedict, possibly executed by a North German artist who may have been a contemporary of Bernt Notke (active from 1467). It bears an extremely slight resemblance to Marmion's St. Bertin panels, but this does not merit any direct link to that master's studio. Scenes from the life of St. Benedict were often depicted in Germany. A German origin for K1597 may be indicated by the similarity of its treatment of space to that found in woodcuts published in *Der Ackersmann aus Böhmen* printed by Albrecht Pfister in Bamberg in the early 1460s.⁸ The context in which K1597 might originally have appeared could have resembled the Altar of St. Benedict (formerly in the Stephanskirche, Augsburg) by Thoman Burgkmaier which, according to Stange, goes back to Netherlandish miniatures probably in the style of Simon Marmion; the same might be true for the Kress panel.⁹ The specific dating and locale of K1597 are extremely hard to establish. Spatial treatment of the left section suggests a provincial follower of Konrad Witz. Benedict's drapery also points to the style of an artist like Witz whose art had Burgundian sources. Other aspects of the work point to the remote possibility of its having been based upon a southern model – the facial types of the monks also seem alien to the north.¹⁰

Provenance: Eugene L. Garbaty, New York, exhibited – New York, World's Fair, *Catalogue of European Paintings and Sculpture from 1300–1800 – Masterpieces of Art* (text by George Henry McCall and William Valentiner), May–Oct. 1939, p. 116, Cat. No. 236A. Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, *Masterpieces of Art from Foreign Collections: European Paintings from New York and San Francisco*, 10 Nov.–10 Dec. 1939, Cat. No. 29. San Francisco, Palace of the Legion of Honor and M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, *Seven Centuries of Painting, a Loan Exhibit of Old and Modern Masters*, 29 Dec. 1939–28 Jan. 1940, p. 30, Cat. No. L-10; Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, *Masterpieces of Art from the New York and San Francisco World's Fairs*, 7 Feb.–7 Mar. 1940, p. 21, Cat. No. 48. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, *Masterpieces of Art, European Paintings from the New York World's Fair and the Golden Gate International Exposition*, 15 Mar.–14 Apr. 1940, Cat. No. 11 and St.

Louis, City Art Museum, 21 Apr.–19 May 1940. Hartford, Wadsworth Athenaeum, *A Loan Exhibition of Fifty Painters of Architecture*, 30 Oct.–7 Dec. 1947, p. 14, Cat. No. 30. Cambridge, Fogg Museum of Art, *Early Flemish Painting, exhibited to accompany the lectures of Erwin Panofsky*, 17 Feb.–20 Mar. 1948. New York, Drey Gallery. Kress acquisition 1948.

References: (1) The garb conforms to the description given by Filippo Bonanni, *Ordinum religiosorum in ecclesia . . .*, Rome, 1714, I, p. 99, but differs from that shown in a French mid-fifteenth-century Benedictine retable published by Charles Sterling ('Pour la peinture en Auvergne au XVe siècle', *L'Œil*, cxxxvi, Apr. 1966, p. 4). (2) For this subject see Réau, III, 1, p. 201; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, III, London, 1900, pp. 84–5. See also the entry for Benedetto da Norcia (c. 480–547) in the *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, II, Rome, 1962, cols. 1102–84. (3) Friedrich Winkler, 'Simon Marmion', *Pantheon*, XIII, 1934, p. 65. (4) Notes by Max J. Friedländer of Apr. 1939 and 1947, Kress Archive. (5) Wadsworth Athenaeum Exhibition Catalogue, 1947, p. 14. (6) Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting 1400–1500*, London, 1949, p. 222, Cat. No. 193. (7) Edith M. Hoffman, 'Simon Marmion'. Unpublished thesis written for the Courtauld Institute in 1958, p. 199. (8) See W. Worringer, *Die altdeutsche Buchillustration*, Munich, 1929, p. 31, fig. 2. (9) Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, VIII, Munich/Berlin, 1957, p. 49 and figs. 98–9. (10) Two Florentine fresco cycles – a lost one by Uccello of scenes from the life of St. Benedict, probably painted in the mid-1430s for Sta. Maria degli Angeli, and one by the Master of the Chiosstro degli Aranci, possibly a Portuguese artist active at the Badia (Florence) c. 1435–40, also showing the life of St. Benedict – may have contributed to the composition of K1597. See Millard Meiss, *The Great Age of Fresco*, London, 1970, pp. 120–1.

MASTER OF ST. GILLES

The Master of St. Gilles was active in Paris, probably under the patronage of Charles VIII and Louis XII at the end of the fifteenth century. Specific architectural and other references in his panels make the painter's Parisian residence secure. His art, related to that of Jean Fouquet and the Master of Moulins, has pronounced Netherlandish influences from the later fifteenth-century Schools of Ghent and Bruges. An interest in Italian art is demonstrated by some of his panels, such as the *Presentation in the Temple* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans–van Beuningen), which is partly derived from an engraving by Bramante. Tschudi named the master for two works in London (National Gallery), from a polyptych showing scenes from the Legend of St. Gilles. They are the *Mass of St. Gilles* (24½ × 18 in.) and *St. Gilles and King Flavius* (24½ × 18½ in., Text Figs. 53, 54).¹ Two additional panels, close to the above in style and size and now in the Kress Collection, were attributed to the same master by Friedländer, who suggested that all came from the same altarpiece.²

Three of the four scenes include specific references to the medieval architecture of Paris: the *Mass of St. Gilles* takes place in the Abbey Church of St. Denis; the *Baptism of Clovis* is set in the lower chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle and *St. Leu Curing the Children* is depicted before Notre-Dame. The Kress panels were first recognized in 1883 by Champeaux as views of the Île de la Cité in Paris. He described them as triptych wings showing *Clovis Baptized by St. Rémy* (K1422) and a scene from the life of St. Denis or St. Rémy (K1421).³ The back of each panel originally had a painting in grisaille showing a standing saint in an architectural recess. *St. Gilles and King Flavius* (Text Fig. 53) shows a bishop saint on the *verso* (probably St. Leu; Text Fig. 54). *The Mass of St. Gilles* (Text Fig. 53) has St. Peter on the *verso* (Text Fig. 54). The *Baptism of Clovis* (Text Fig. 53) probably had St. Denis (lost). *St. Leu Healing* (Text Fig. 53) also had a grisaille *verso*, now lost, probably showing St. Gilles. According to Davies, *St. Gilles and King Flavius* may have been the central panel of a small triptych with the *Mass of St. Gilles* as a fixed wing. He thought the Washington panels belonged to a separate altarpiece.⁴ Friedländer suggested that the London panels were probably placed one above the other to the left and those in Washington to the right, presumably wings of a lost central panel which he believed to have shown scenes from the lives of St. Denis and St. Peter, with the open altarpiece measuring approximately 1.30 × 2.0 m.⁵ Hinkle correctly identified the subject of K1421 as *St. Leu Healing* and thought the *Baptism* (K1422) to be that of Vissius rather than Clovis. He modified Davies's view, suggesting that the *Baptism* was the fixed left wing of a triptych with the London panels as the center and right wing (the Washington *St. Leu* being a separate votive picture) housed in the Parisian church of St.-Leu-St.-Gilles, which was dedicated to the saints whose lives are shown in these panels and linked to St. Denis. Saints Leu and Gilles shared the same feast day, 1 September.⁶ The extraordinarily high quality of the Kress panels was recognized in the nineteenth century with their initial attribution to Jan van Eyck (1833).⁷ At the end of the century (Lestang-Parade Sale, 1882) they were described as two works of the first rank by an unknown, fifteenth-century artist. Tschudi associated the Master of St. Gilles with the circle of the Flemish painter Gerard David.⁸ Friedländer placed the St. Gilles Master with such artists as the Master of Moulins, Juan de Flandes or Michel Sittow, who united Netherlandish observation of nature and 'pictorial science' with a Latin feeling for beauty.⁹ Conway characterized the master's origins as Northern French or South Netherlandish.¹⁰ Held also stressed the importance of Gerard David's art for the St. Gilles Master, dating the Kress panels after 1498, as he found them to depend upon the Bruges master's *Judgment of Cambyses* (Bruges, Musée Communal) of that date.¹¹ Even more than the Master of Moulins the St. Gilles Master enjoyed a complete command of Netherlandish luminism and encyclopedic detail. Sterling wrote that the Master of St. Gilles was probably a Fleming, his art directly influenced by Hugo van der Goes and that of the School of Bruges, but that the artist resided for a long time at the court in Paris.¹² Sterling also suggested that while the panels

are *en suite*, the Kress examples are more French in character than those in London, finding them larger in scale, lighter and less labored. He felt these differences were possibly the result of the master's having employed a French assistant.¹³ Tietze described the panels as important works of the School of Paris, painted c. 1500.¹⁴ 'No other painter and no other painting have quite the same close connection with Paris and the French monarchy toward 1500' according to *Seymour* (p. 66; p. 202, n. 16). He suggested that the Kress panels together with those in London were probably destined for the Royal Abbey at St. Denis.¹⁵

MASTER OF ST. GILLES

K1421 : Figure 230

ST. LEU HEALING THE SICK CHILDREN.¹⁶ Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1097), since 1951. Oil on oak. 24½ × 18 in. (61.6 × 45.8 cm.). Old sticker on back with number 5567. Two French customs stamps. Original borders all around. Losses in sky at upper right and along bottom; some restoration in arm of man at extreme right; blistering in green robe of man to the left of the woman and child. Cradled and slightly restored by Pichetto, 1946/47.

Suida, pp. 186, 188, Cat. No. 82. Reproduced in color by Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting*, London, 1949, p. 25.

One of two grisailles (now lost) showing St. Gilles and St. Denis (Text Fig. 54) was originally on the back of K1421.¹⁷

A bishop stands on the steps of the porch of a small church, St.-Jean-le-Rond, which formerly adjoined the north wall of the northwest tower of the façade of Notre-Dame de Paris and was the cathedral's baptistry.¹⁸ He wears a jeweled mitre, a cut-velvet cope with embroidered orphreys and a velvet border fastened by a trefoil morse, over an alb. Four attendants (including an acolyte in an alb who holds a book and the episcopal crozier) stand behind the bishop as he blesses a bearded kneeling figure in the center foreground. Shown in left profile, the kneeling man wears a white, knotted, turban-like headdress and a fur-lined coat, his fur hat is placed on the lower-most step. A woman with a little boy (probably the kneeling man's wife and son) are seated in the right foreground. A young man, his arms raised, is at her side, three older men are behind her. A man in pilgrim-like garb with a hurdy-gurdy stands in the center background, holding the hand of a boy to the left. A woman with a white headdress, arms crossed over her breast, stands at the side with three male onlookers. A man lies on the ground to the left, as though in a fit, restrained by a kneeling figure to the left and a standing one to the right. The monkey-like form just over the fallen man's head represents an exorcized evil spirit. Behind this group, by the church portal, stands an acolyte. A little male figure is seen from the back, leaning over the quay wall in the rear; a small family group is also in the

background to the right, just below the late Gothic chapel of the Hôtel-Dieu with its statue of the Virgin and Child. Two spectators stand on the chapel roof. The Chapter House is to the left. A view of the left bank of the Seine, with a crossed spire (most likely that of Ste.-Geneviève) is in the background.¹⁹ To the right of the baptistry entrance are the three Gothic portals of Notre-Dame with their column figures in the jambs and smaller, mostly half-length figures of saints in the archivolts. A statue of a standing saint (Peter?) is on the façade, just above the bishop; two other such figures appear to the right between the portals – Church and Synagogue (?). To the right of the bishop is the portal of the Virgin, the full-length statues show St. Geneviève and St. Silvestre.²⁰

K1421 was first recorded in the collection of a miniaturist, le Chevalier Lestang-Parade, in 1833, attributed by him to 'Jean de Bruges' (Jan van Eyck).²¹ When the panel later appeared in the Lestang-Parade Sale (1882) the bishop was called St. Rémy. In the Beurnonville Sale of 1883, it was given to the 'École de Bourgogne' (see *Provenance*). Friedländer, noting the similar sizes of K1421 and its companion in the Beurnonville Sale (K1422) and the two London panels, suggested that they may all have come from the same altarpiece. He proposed that if not painted for St. Denis, the altar was executed for another French church.²² Friedländer listed the panel as a scene from the life of St. Rémy. For his reconstruction of the altar, in which it, K1422 and the London panels may originally have appeared, see the biography of the Master of St. Gilles, p. 240 above.²³ The kneeling figure in the foreground was identified by Held as an Arian bishop because of the oriental form of his headdress. Held suggested that the exorcism scene in the background was probably an early miracle of St. Rémy, possibly the healing of a blind man at Chamussy who was plagued by evil spirits.²⁴ Sterling found the emphasis upon facial symmetry in the St. Gilles Master's work was especially pronounced in the Kress panels: a sign of their execution in France, possibly by an artist of Netherlandish origin.²⁵ Ring called K1421 *St. Remi Standing in front of Notre-Dame de Paris*. She listed the lost verso as St. Denis.²⁶ *Suida* (p. 186, Cat. No. 82) entitled K1421 *The Conversion of an Aryan [sic] by St. Remy*. He said it showed 'the Aryan bishop who came for a theological dispute with the Saint and suddenly lost the power of speech; it was given back to him and he was converted to the Catholic faith.'

Hinkle showed the headdress of the kneeling man to be late fifteenth-century Northern European attire. It was worn under the fur hat (placed on the step). He saw no reason for St. Rémy of Rheims (who is not known to have visited Paris) to be shown in a Parisian setting, before Notre-Dame; he proposed that the bishop of K1421 was St. Loupe (Leu) of Sens. Paris was long a suffragan see of Sens, and St. Leu, protector of mentally disturbed children and epileptics, according to Hinkle, is shown in the Kress panel blessing and healing such children and their elders. The kneeling man seems to intercede with the saint for the healing of his child, held by his wife at the right.

Other adults and children are shown on the right half of K1421. As St. Leu raises his hand in benediction, an epileptic at the center is exorcized of the monkey-like demon causing his ailment.²⁷ Although the front of Friedländer's reconstruction for the altarpiece is persuasive, the back – with three grisailles of one format and a fourth (K1421) of another – seems unlikely. If a lost, vertical, central panel belonged with the series (as he suggested) then there may have been two additional narrative panels (three to each wing) of which the upper pair had arched grisailles (K1421 and a lost panel). The proposed central panel would then be wide enough to allow the wings to close, revealing the grisailles. Hinkle's identification of the subject of K1421 is entirely convincing, but his separation of this panel from those showing scenes from the lives of St. Gilles (London) and St. Denis (K1422) seems unnecessary. As the verso of K1421 (showing St. Gilles in an arched grisaille niche) refers directly to the subject of at least two other panels, physical isolation from them is all the more unlikely. There may have been three panels (two now lost), each with a grisaille arched niche format on the reverse, placed on an upper register, over Hinkle's projected triptych. The frontal placement of the bishop-saint grisaille (St. Leu?) argues against Friedländer's view that it was vertically bracketed with a differently seen figure above or below. As observed by Hinkle, it would seem likely that the bishop and its suggested recto (*St. Gilles and King Flavius*) had a central position in the altar.

See K1422, below, for *Provenance* and *References*.

K1422 : Figure 231

THE BAPTISM OF CLOVIS BY ST. RÉMY. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1098), since 1950. Oil on oak. 24½ × 18¾ in. (61.6 × 46.7 cm.). Inscribed on tombstone at lower right: DOMINI LX.CC.LX OBIIT. DNS. IACOB. The bottom section is illegible. At lower left: C LXX MENSIS AUGUSTUS. ANNO DOMIN[1].²⁸ Original borders all around; two vertical joins, one through star on vestment at right, the other through lower corner of book at left. Considerable re-painting in heads of man and woman to the left of crowned figure and elsewhere; many blisters have been laid. Cradled and slight restoration by Pichetto, 1946/47. One of two grisailles (now lost) showing St. Gilles and St. Denis (Text Fig. 54) was originally on the back of K1422.²⁹

Suida, pp. 186, 188, Cat. No. 83. Reproduced in color by Michel Laclotte, *Primitifs français*, 1966, pl. xxxvi.

A nude, pensive king, wearing a crown of fleurs-de-lys, is shown in hip-length. He kneels in an early Gothic baptismal font, his hands folded in prayer.³⁰ To the right, a bishop, his left hand somewhat raised, pours holy water over the king's head from a small metal bowl held in his right hand. In full liturgical garb, the bishop wears a jeweled miter and cut velvet cope with embroidered orphreys showing standing saints including Peter and Paul, over a dalmatic and alb. His almost circular gold morse

shows God the Father in half-length, in benediction in a trefoil. A priest holds the bishop's crozier to the right, another raises the bishop's cope and wears a floor-length cope with oriental fantastic bird motif orphreys. The three additional attendants stand to the rear, the one at the extreme right holds the box of holy oils. Five spectators are shown in the organ loft at the upper right. A woman stands immediately behind the font with two richly garbed men to the left, each holding the left arm of the king. An acolyte in white stands in the left foreground, holding a book. Two men stand to the far left in the middle distance. A halberdier stands outside the church at the left with about seven other men. Additional figures are seen beyond the right portal. The scene takes place in the lower chapel of the Sainte Chapelle (consecrated 1248), whose porch is rendered with great accuracy. A male (?) statue with flowing locks (Christ?) is on the central pier of the lower porch, seen from the back.³¹ The statue on the central pier and the door to the right appear to have been modeled on those of the upper, rather than the lower, level of the Sainte Chapelle. The interior is not based on any part of that church. The royal palace and the palace courtyard (Place du Parvis) on the Île de la Cité, as they were c. 1500, are seen through the portal of the chapel at the upper left.³² 'The principal structure with the tall gable and the small corner turret is known to have been built around 1323 and probably housed the king's personal chaplains. In the further distance, to the left of the chaplains' house, can be made out a small section of the southern end of the royal apartments, the *logis du roi*'.³³

When K1422 was first published in 1833, it was attributed to Jean de Bruges (Jan van Eyck).³⁴ The sale catalogue of the Lestang-Parade Collection (1882) suggested that the scene was from the life of St. Rémy, and in the following year it was listed under the Burgundian School. The subject was described as *St. Rémy Baptizing King Clovis* (Beurmonville Sale, 1883, see *Provenance*). Clovis I (c. 466–511) was king of the Salian Franks and founder of the Franconian monarchy. He married the Burgundian princess Clotilda in 493 and was converted to Christianity in 496, baptized by St. Rémy at Rheims with 3000 of his followers.³⁵ Champeaux also entitled K1422 *The Baptism of Clovis by St. Rémy*.³⁶ Held singled out the seemingly objective rendering of the 'donor portraits' – presumably the three figures to the left of the man in the font – as showing the master's French orientation, despite his generally Netherlandish approach.³⁷ Friedländer noted the master's lack of interest in one-point perspective in his spatial rendering of K1422.³⁸ Hinkle did not accept the Baptism of Clovis as the subject. He noted that the presence of the box of holy oils at the extreme right was inconsistent with the legendary account of the king's coronation and baptism, in which the holy oils were brought by a dove.³⁹ The scholar thought the subject to be the Baptism of Lisbius by St. Denis. Lisbius was the first Christian martyr of Paris, a nobleman who presented the bishop-saint with the site for the first Parisian church, which was used as a baptistery for St. Denis's many converts. Lisbius was denounced by his wife Larcia after his baptism; Hinkle

suggested that the woman shown to the left, behind the baptized figure, was Larcia.⁴⁰ Medieval and sixteenth-century depictions of the Coronation and Baptism of Clovis stressed the presence of the miraculous dove, but in 1488, close to the date of execution for K1422, a major illustration of the subject in *La Mer des Histoires* (Text Fig. 52) omitted the dove. The dove does appear in the adjacent illustration of one of Clovis's battles.⁴¹ Hinkle described the face of the woman behind the baptized figure as sullen and therefore corresponding to the disapproving Larcia, but her expression is the result of restoration rather than the artist's intent. The panels' squarish proportions are usually found in altarpieces composed of fixed panels of uniform size, as opposed to the more elongated format devoted in the later fifteenth century to the wings of retables with a larger, stationary central panel. Therefore, Friedländer's reconstruction seems untenable. Davies and Hinkle rejected it on other counts. It is unusual to find a stationary altarpiece where panels are all of the same size, accompanied by a highly finished verso, since normally the back would not be visible. Presumably the altar was so placed as to be seen from both sides.

There is little need to follow Hinkle's isolation of the *St. Leu Healing* from the other panels. At present, a structure incorporating all of the Master of St. Gilles's surviving panels seems best. For a provisional reconstruction in this fashion, in which the lower register of the recto and verso conforms to Hinkle's, see Text Fig. 53–4. As one of the grisailles shows St. Peter, one of the presumed missing narrative panels was probably devoted to that saint's life;⁴² another may have shown Clovis's coronation as a separate subject.

Provenance: Presumably from an altarpiece in the church of St.-Leu-St.-Gilles, Paris, commissioned at the end of the fifteenth century. Chevalier Lestang-Parade, as early as 1833.⁴³ Comte Melchior de Lestang-Parade, Aix-en-Provence (sale, Aix, 19–20 May 1882, p. 37, Cat. Nos. 105 and 106, as by an anonymous fifteenth-century master showing a bishop blessing (K1421) and baptizing (K1422), probably both St. Rémy).⁴⁴ Baron E. de Beurmonville (sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 21–22 May 1883, p. 29, Cat. No. 43, as Burgundian School, fifteenth century, probably scene from the life of St. Rémy), purchased by Watel. Paris art market, 1937. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1946.

References: (1) Hugo von Tschudi, 'London. Die Ausstellung altniederländischer Gemälde in Burlington Fine Arts Club', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xvi, 1893, pp. 100–30, esp. pp. 105–6. The second panel was long listed as *St. Gilles and the Hind*. (2) Max J. Friedländer, 'Der Meister des H. Ägidius', *Antliche Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxiv, 10, July 1913, pp. 187–9. (3) Alfred de Champeaux, 'Deux vues de la Cité de Paris au XVe siècle', *La Chronique des Arts et de la curiosité*, 1883, pp. 186–7. He related the color of these panels to a portrait of Guillaume de Montmorency (Paris, Louvre). The architectural elements of K1421/2 have been further studied

by W. Martin Conway, 'The Abbey of St. Denis and its Ancient Treasures', *Archaeologia*, 2nd ser., xvi, 1915, pp. 103-58; Julius Held, 'Zwei Ansichten von Paris beim Meister des Heiligen Agidius', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, iii, 1932, pp. 3-15; Michèle Hébert, 'Les monuments parisiens dans l'œuvre du Maître de Saint-Gilles', *Mémoires: Fédération des Sociétés Historiques et Archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île de France*, i, 1949, pp. 213-36; William M. Hinkle, 'The Iconography of the Four Panels by the Master of St. Gilles', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxxviii, 1965, pp. 139 ff., 142-4. Hereafter referred to as *Hinkle*. (4) See Martin Davies, *Supplement to the 1926 Catalogue including Accessions to the End of 1937*, London, National Gallery, 1939, p. 27. See also his *Catalogue of Early Netherlandish Paintings*, London, National Gallery, 1955, p. 83. In this way, the altar would have resembled Roger van der Weyden's *Johannesaltar* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen). (5) Friedländer, 'Le Maître de Saint Gilles', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., xvii, 1937, pp. 223-4. This reconstruction was accepted by Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting 1400-1500*, London, 1949, p. 230, Cat. No. 239, and *Suida*, p. 186, Cat. Nos. 82-3. Charles Sterling, *La peinture française: les primitifs*, Paris, 1938, p. 135; Louis Réau, *La peinture française du xive au xvie siècle*, Paris, 1939, p. 16; Charles Sterling, *La peinture française: les peintres du moyen âge*, Paris, 1942, p. 51; Michel Laclotte, *Primitifs français*, 1966, pl. xxxvi. (6) *Hinkle*, pp. 140-4. *Hinkle* (p. 140) regarded Yves's *Vie de St.-Denis* (B.N. MSS. fr. 2090-2, lot 5286) to have been a major source for several of the panels, especially K1422 and the London *Mass of St. Gilles*. In this fashion, the perspectival and architectural construction of the three grisaille *versi* is consistent. The total width of the three panels of this triptych without frames would be 54 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (7) Jean Baptiste François Porte, *Aix, ancien et moderne*, Aix-en-Provence, 1833, p. 196. (8) Tschudi, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, pp. 105-6. (9) Friedländer, 1913, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, p. 231. (10) Conway, 1915, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 105. (11) Held, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 12 and p. 14, n. 2. (12) Sterling, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, 1938, p. 134. (13) *Idem*, 1942, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 51, Cat. No. 127 (for both Kress panels). (14) Hans Tietze, *Treasures of the Great National Galleries*, New York, 1954, p. 117, pp. 123-4. (15) See also Walker, p. 106. (16) This title was given to K1421 by *Hinkle* (p. 130-3). The former title 'The conversion of an Arian by St. Rémy' was assigned because its presumed pendant (K1422), which also shows a bishop, had been mistakenly identified as St. Rémy. (17) *Hinkle* (p. 115, n. 24) incorrectly described the grisailles of the London and Kress panels as 'effaced'; they were separated and are now lost. (18) Held, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 6; Champeaux, *op. cit.* Note 3, p. 187; *Hinkle*, p. 142, n. 49. (19) Held, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Champeaux, *op. cit.*, p. 187. (20) Held, *op. cit.*, p. 6. (21) Cited in Porte, *op. cit.* Note 7 above, p. 196. (22) Friedländer, 1913, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, pp. 187-9. Friedländer's views were followed by Conway (*op. cit.* Note 3, pp. 190-2). (23) Friedländer, 1937, *op. cit.*, Note 5, p. 223. (24) Held, *op. cit.*, p. 3. (25) Sterling, 1938, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 135. In 1942 (*op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 51, Cat. No. 127) K1421 and K1422 were listed as part of a

Retable de St. Gilles et St. Rémy. (26) Ring, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 230, Cat. No. 240b. (27) For documentary sources, see *Hinkle*, pp. 130-3. (28) See Held, *op. cit.*, p. 11. According to *Hinkle* (p. 122), the inscriptions do not correspond to any portion of the epitaphs recorded by Émile Raunié, *Épitaphier du vieux Paris*, II, Paris, 1893, pp. 460-91 and François de Guilhermy, *Inscriptions de la France*, I, Paris, 1873, pp. 72-98. (29) *Hinkle*, p. 115, n. 24, incorrectly described the grisailles as 'effaced'; they were separated and are now lost. (30) Held, *op. cit.*, p. 10, n. 11, observed that the font could be a reliable record of one at the Ste.-Chapelle; but if the small church shown in K1421 was a baptistery, it does not seem likely that the Ste.-Chapelle would also have had a font unless its use was restricted to the Court. (31) According to *Hinkle* (p. 122), the actual porch statue showed a Virgin and Child, the artist having selected the statue of the Savior which originally stood on the corresponding trumeau of the upper chapel. (32) The identification of the architecture was first made by Alfred de Champeaux, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 186. See also Held, *op. cit.*, p. 10 and *Hinkle*, pp. 121-3. (33) *Hinkle*, p. 122. (34) Porte, *op. cit.*, p. 196. (35) Réau, III, I, pp. 325-6. (36) Champeaux, *op. cit.*, p. 186. (37) Held, *op. cit.*, p. 10. (38) Friedländer, 1937, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 230. K1421/2 are both listed under his Cat. No. 9, p. 223. (39) *Hinkle*, pp. 114-15. (40) *Ibid.*, pp. 118-21. He identified the acolyte in the left foreground as Lisbius's son Vissius, and the bishop's identically vested assistants as St. Denis's co-martyrs Rusticus and Eleutherius (pp. 116-17). (41) *La Mer des Histoires*, printed by Pierre LeRouge, Paris, 1488, II, signature S. I. recto, 'La sizieme aage'. (42) The prominent *Hausmarke* incorporating the letter P on the grisaille showing St. Peter (verso, London, National Gallery, *Mass of St. Gilles*) suggests that the master's first name was Peter. For *Hausmarken*, see K1646, p. 46 above. (43) Porte, *op. cit.*, p. 196. (44) Said to be recorded in *Les Rues d'Aix*, 1846-48, as in the possession of Alexandre and Melchior de Lestang-Parade.

French (?) Master active late XV century

K1965 : Figure 236

PORTRAIT OF AN ECCLESIASTIC. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1606), since 1956. Tempera on oak. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (28.8 × 22.2 cm.). Small restorations in face. Very well preserved. Original borders all around. Varnished by Modestini in 1956. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 80, Cat. No. 28.

An elderly donor in black, probably ecclesiastical, garb, his hands folded in prayer, looks toward the left. He is seen in half-length against a red background.

The portrait was ascribed to Roger van der Weyden when exhibited in Bruges in 1902. A supplement to the Bruges catalogue (see *Provenance*) by Hulin de Loo placed it tentatively at the end of the fifteenth century, ascribing the work to an anonymous artist, whose school could not be

precisely determined.¹ *Suida-Shapley* (p. 80) dated the portrait c. 1480; according to them it 'approximates in some measure the style of the Master of Moulins.'

This panel was probably the right half of a diptych. The most common subject for the companion wing was a half-length Virgin and Child, possibly modeled on works by Roger van der Weyden. The red background is more commonly found in France and Germany than in the Netherlands. That the artist of K1965 was French is probable but not a certainty. Similar donor's caps are found in Germany and in the north and south Netherlands in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The portrait has not been included in any survey of French fifteenth-century painting.

Provenance: Leopold Goldschmidt, Paris, exhibited: Bruges, *Exposition des Primitifs flamands et d'art anciens*, 1902, p. 139, Cat. No. 381. New York, Drey Gallery. Kress acquisition 1953.

Reference: (1) Georges Hulin de Loo, *Catalogue Critique*, Ghent, 1902, p. 106, Cat. No. 381.

JOSSE LIEFERINXE (Master of St. Sebastian)

Josse Lieferinx was born at Enghien in the Hainaut (Southwestern Belgium) probably in the last third of the fifteenth century; he died in Marseilles sometime between 1505 and 1508.¹ He was recorded in Marseilles from 1493 when he worked for Philippon Mauroux. It has been suggested that his apprenticeship was to an artist familiar with the art of Geertgen tot Sint Jans. He married the daughter of Jean Changenet (known as 'le Bourguignon'), the outstanding painter of Avignon, in 1503. Lieferinx was long known as the Master of St. Sebastian after the *Retable de Saint Sebastien*, painted between 1497 and 1499, now dispersed. The central panel is in Antwerp (Musée des Beaux-Arts), with side panels in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (John G. Johnson Collection), Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery), Rome (Galleria Nazionale), and Leningrad (Hermitage). The contract for this altarpiece was dated 14 June 1497, ordered by the Confrérie du Luminaire de Saint Sebastian attached to the Church of the Accoules (Marseilles) to be executed together with a Piedmontese master, Bernardino Simondi (died in Aix, March 1498).² Lieferinx's second major project was the *Retable du Calvaire* probably painted in 1500-3, depicting a Crucifixion at the center (Paris, Louvre) and four scenes from the Life of the Virgin in the wings.³ Sterling suggested that Lieferinx's familiarity with the art of Antonello da Messina resulted from his study of copies in France after the Italian artist's works.⁴ Lieferinx combined North Netherlandish, Netherlandish, Burgundian, and Provençal currents of the late fifteenth century with Italian Renaissance elements which he may have received from his Piedmontese partner.⁵

JOSSE LIEFERINXE

K367 : Figure 229

ABRAHAM VISITED BY THREE ANGELS. Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum (E-953), since 1954. Tempera on cradled lindenwood. 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (46.1 × 66.7 cm.). Several linen patches were attached to the lindenwood support of K367 prior to painting. Cut down at left, bottom and top. Extensive worm-tunneling. Two vertical joins, through angel at left and angel at center.⁶ Recradled, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1936. Slight restoration by Modestini in 1954; in a fair state of preservation.

Denver, p. 18, Cat. No. 5.

Abraham kneeling in left profile at the lower right (his hat and stick on the ground) looks toward three standing angels in identical garb, each of whom holds a staff in one hand and points upward with the other. They announce that Abraham's aged wife Sarah, seen standing at the door of a dilapidated farmhouse at the right, will give birth to a son (Genesis 18:1-16). Sheepskins dry on the roof above a haystack to the left. Sheep graze on the steep hills behind the angels. The semicircle cut off by the left border is the right end of a table (see Text Fig. 55).⁷ A river winds through a valley to the left. The upper half of a winged heart-shaped object (gourd?) hangs from a tree stump in the foreground.⁸ As noted by Sterling, the winged form may be emblematic.⁹

The Kress panel is based upon a composition, presumably by the young Antonello da Messina, known through two examples. The first (Reggio Calabria, Museo della Magna Grecia), possibly painted by Antonello himself, fragmentarily preserved and in poor condition, shows the three angels and a landscape section to the left which includes a round table (Text Fig. 55). The panel measures 21.4 × 29.3 cm.¹⁰ The second is a copy, possibly a pastiche, by a Sicilian imitator of Antonello da Messina, at Forza d'Agrò (Chiesa della Triave); it shows the three angels seated at a circular table with Abraham kneeling at the lower right.¹¹ In 1935 Venturi ascribed K367 to Antonello de Saliba noting that the panel provided a reconstruction of the fragmentarily preserved painting by Antonello da Messina in Reggio Calabria.¹² Roberto Longhi, William Suida, and F. F. Mason Perkins followed Venturi's views.¹³ A Flemish element was detected in K367 by Van Marle who attributed the panel to the early Antonello da Messina, rather than to his follower, whom he did not find to have been influenced by northern art.¹⁴ In the early 1930s Fiocco viewed K367 as the work of a Lombard painter, superior in talent to de Saliba, based upon an early panel by Antonello da Messina (Reggio Calabria).¹⁵ Berenson observed that the Kress panel was probably by Francesco Napoletano, based upon the depiction of three angels (Reggio Calabria) by Antonello da Messina or Antonio de Saliba.¹⁶ The panel was attributed to Antonio de Saliba by Burroughs who found the subject rare in Italian art and the painting reminiscent of northern art. He related the

angels to those painted on the vault of the Hôtel Jacques Coeur at Bourges and described the landscape as reminiscent of those by Simon Marmion.¹⁷ K 367 is labeled by Bottari as a Lombard copy after Antonello.¹⁸ According to Lauts, it is an old copy, possibly by a Lombard imitator of Antonello da Messina based upon the work by Antonello at Reggio Calabria.¹⁹ In 1941 the panel was attributed to Antonello de Saliba.²⁰ The panel was attributed to the French Master of St. Sebastian (Josse Lieferinxe) by Ragghianti. The Italian scholar placed the work between Lieferinxe's *Pietà* (Antwerp, Musée des Beaux-Arts) and the St. Sebastian panels which he viewed as from the master's last period of c. 1500 when he was much influenced by Italian painting, becoming a 'Provençal Bramantino'.²¹ The compositional source for *Abraham Visited by Three Angels* was given by Bottari as Eyckian, perhaps by Petrus Christus. He found the Kress panel to be a Lombard or Provençal replica of Antonello's lost source, noting that the attire of Sarah and the Alpine landscape were not Italian, the angels recalling the one by Petrus Christus in the *Annunciation* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen).²² The Denver catalogue (1954, p. 18, Cat. No. 5) gave K 367 to a 'close pupil of Antonello da Messina . . . possibly painted by Antonello de Saliba.' According to Laclotte the Kress panel was painted in Lombardy c. 1490, close in style to the Master of St. Sebastian.²³ Sterling believed the painting to be copied by Josse Lieferinxe, after Antonello's depiction of the same subject. He showed the face of Abraham to be identical with that of one of the archers from *St. Martin and the Archers* (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Johnson Collection).²⁴ He suggested that the winged object hanging from the 'arbre sec' in the foreground might be a bellows or an escutcheon, possibly a device analogous to that of Louise de Savoie.²⁵ Castelfranchi Vegas catalogued the panel as by a 'Provençal painter (?) c. 1490', a faithful copy of Antonello's work of the same subject.²⁶

In Western typology the subject of the Annunciation to Abraham was viewed as a prefiguration of the Annunciation to the Virgin. The long narrow proportions of the Kress panel suggest that it may have functioned as a predella, placed in close proximity to the Marian scene. Although the composition resembles that of Antonello da Messina, the latter need not be its forerunner. Northern art, drawn upon extensively by Antonello for his own work, might also have provided the compositional source.²⁷

Provenance: Viscomte Bernard de' Hendercourt (?).²⁸ Sale, London, Sotheby's, 9 May 1934, the property of a deceased nobleman, p. 27, Cat. No. 136, attributed to Antonello da Messina. Florence, Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1935, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Preliminary Catalogue*, 1941, p. 8, Cat. No. 315.

References: (1) See Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Een onbekend werk van Meester van de Hl. Sebastian', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux de Belgique*, VII, 1958, pp. 18-28, and Charles Sterling, 'Josse Lieferinxe peintre provençal', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, XIV, 1964,

pp. 1-2. (2) Sterling (*op. cit.*, Note 1., pp. 6-9) related the specifications of this contract to the surviving eight panels showing scenes from the saint's life previously listed as by the Master of St. Sebastian. (3) For a reconstruction of the work see *ibid.*, p. 5. (4) *Ibid.*, p. 16. (5) J.-H. Albanes, *Bulletin archéologique*, 1884, p. 248 (cited by Sterling, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 9, n. 17). Sterling, 'Two XV-Century Provençal Painters Revived: II The "Master of St. Sebastian" Josse Lieferinxe?', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XXII, 1942, pp. 135-48. *Idem*, 'Saint Sebastian Interceding for the Plague-Stricken', *Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, pp. 216-23. Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting 1400-1500*, London, 1949, pp. 232-3, Cat. Nos. 258-64. Julius S. Held, 'Little-known French Paintings of the Fifteenth Century', *Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 1952, pp. 99-108. Marguerite Roques, *Les rapports néerlandais dans la peinture du Sud-Est de la France*, Bordeaux, 1963, p. 133, n. 44. (6) Both Carlo Ragghianti ('Bordeaux-Genova', review of the exhibition *Primitivi Mediterranei*, Bordeaux-Genova, 1952; *Sele Arte*, 1, Sept.-Oct. 1952, p. 79) and Charles Sterling (*op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 16, n. 52) have noted that K 367 is poorly restored. The bird at the lower left was originally a snail. (7) Sterling, *op. cit.* Note 1 above. (8) For the iconography of the subject see Réau, II, 1, p. 131. See also Karl Möller, 'Abraham IV', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, I, cols. 89-92. (9) For winged hearts see Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata*, Stuttgart, 1967, col. 1027. (10) For the restoration of the Reggio Calabria panel see Paolo della Pergola, 'Le tavolette antonelliane di Reggio Calabria', *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXXI, 3rd series, 1938, p. 515; also *Antonello da Messina e la Pittura del 1400 in Sicilia*, Messina, 1953, pl. II. (11) First published by Stefano Bottari, 'Ricerche intorno agli Antonelliani', *Bollettino d'Arte*, I, 2nd series (XXIV), 1931, p. 309, fig. 14, ascribed to 'Jacobello d'Antonio (?)'. The Forza d'Agrò panel is by Antonino Guiffré (Liana Castelfranchi Vegas, 'I rapporti Italia-Fiandra', Part 2, *Paragone*, n.s. 21, XVII, no. 201, 1966, pp. 42-69, esp. p. 52.). (12) Kress Archive. (13) *Ibid.* (14) *Ibid.* (15) *Ibid.* (16) *Ibid.* (17) *Ibid.*, c. 1933. (18) Stefano Bottari, 'Il primo Antonello', *Critica d'arte*, IX, 1937, pp. 97-109 (opposite p. 101, pl. 81, fig. 3). (19) Jan Lauts, *Antonello da Messina*, Vienna, 1940, p. 34, Cat. No. 10. See also his 'Antonello da Messina', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. VII, 1933, pp. 15-88. (20) *Preliminary Catalogue*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1941, p. 8, Cat. No. 315. (21) Ragghianti, *op. cit.* Note 6. (22) Bottari, *Antonello*, Milan-Messina, 1953, p. 14. (23) Michel Laclotte, *L'École d'Avignon*, Paris, 1960, p. 123, n. 67; p. 100. (24) Sterling, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, pp. 14 ff., figs. 31, 30. (25) Sterling, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 16, n. 52. Louise's device is reproduced by Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600*, I, 1958, fig. 2. (26) Castelfranchi Vegas, *op. cit.*, p. 5, pl. 41b. (27) The predella format is rarely found in Northern European altarpieces but Lieferinxe is known to have been employed upon a retable utilizing this convention (The *Pietà* of the *Retable de Saint Sebastien*, Antwerp, Musée des Beaux-Arts). As Lieferinxe worked with an Italian artist, Bernardino Simondi, the latter may have familiarized him with the

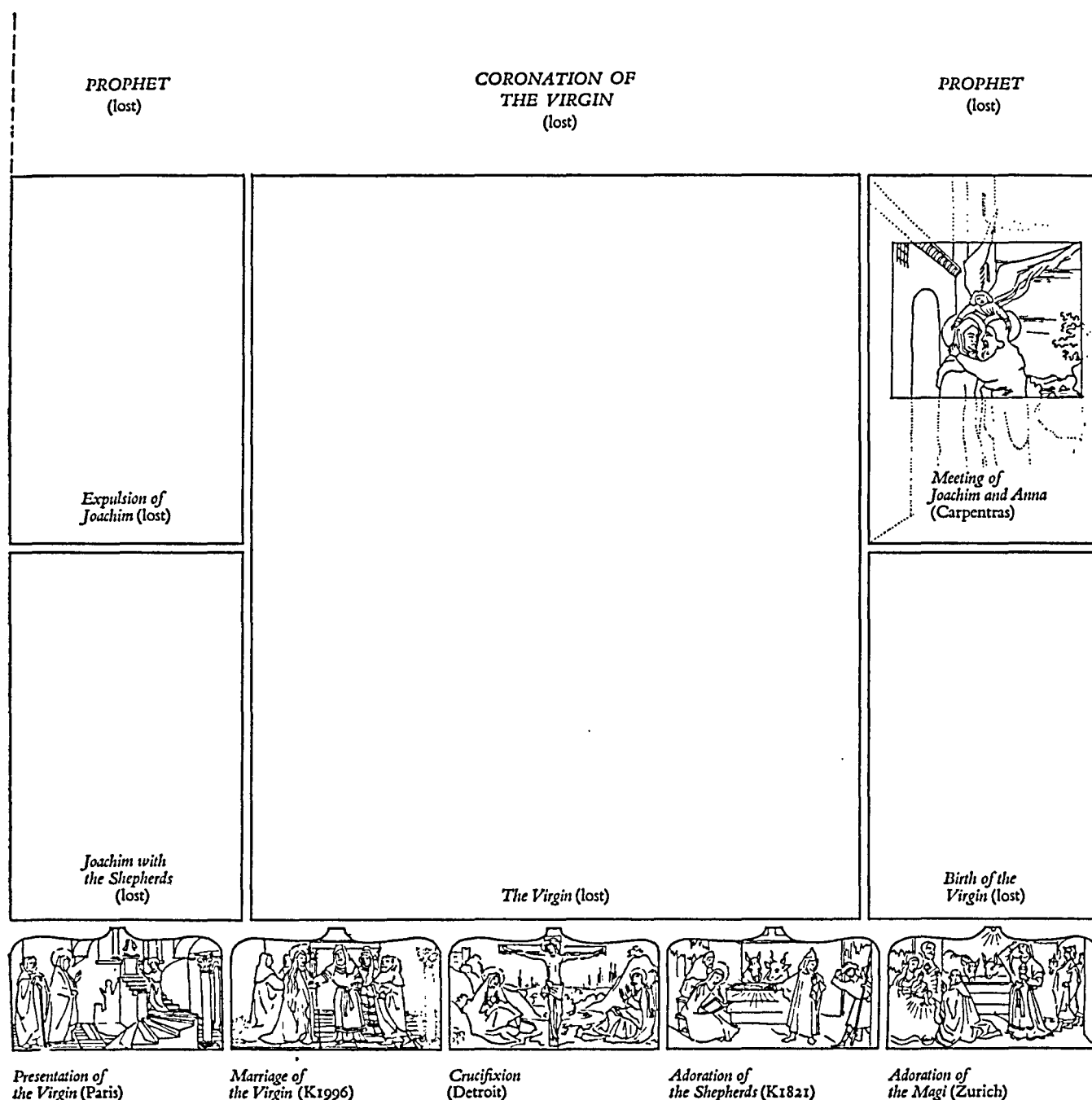
Italianate form which is also encountered in Provence. (28) Mason Perkins, *loc. cit.*, described K367 as having been discovered 'c. 1915' by de' Hendercourt.

NICOLAS DIPRE

Nicolas Dipre, son of Nicolas d'Amiens (also known as Nicolas d'Ypres), was born in Paris, probably in the last third of the fifteenth century and died in Avignon in 1532. He is first recorded in Avignon in 1495 where, in 1508, he married the daughter of Jean Bigne, a prominent wood-carver. The artist was employed upon the decorations for the triumphal Avignon entry of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (the future Julius II) in 1495. He received numerous commissions from 1500 onward, among them altarpieces,

polychromy for statues, cartographical renderings, frescoes and processional banners. Sterling described Dipre as the painter 'who best represents the Burgundian heritage of the Master of Aix: his statuesque style . . . [and] lyricism. His squat figures, their awkward and hearty gestures of vehement tenderness espouse with naïveté the simple human majesty of Biblical narratives.'¹

The Marriage of the Virgin (K1996) and *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (K1821) are two of five small horizontal panels, probably all forming the predella of a single large altarpiece commissioned on 11 March 1499 by the Confrérie de la Conception for St. Siffrein (the Cathedral of Carpentras at that time) and completed by 20 April 1500.² This altarpiece showed the Virgin in the center with depictions of the Expulsion of Joachim, Joachim in the



Partial reconstruction of Nicolas Dipre's altarpiece for St. Siffrein, Carpentras

Fields with Shepherds, and the Birth of the Virgin to the left and right. The predella was to show five unspecified scenes from the life of the Holy Virgin. The *superciel* (a canopy-like structure at the top) showed the Coronation of the Virgin between two prophets.³ A fragment showing the Meeting of Joachim and Anna (Carpentras, Musée Duplessis) known to come from St. Siffrein was related by Sterling to the commission of 1499.⁴ Some indication of the original format of the Carpentras altar may be found in fifteenth-century Provençal and Spanish retables in which the central fixed panel is very slightly broader than those flanking it and where the five predella panels do not conform in breadth to the three large vertical panels above. For a partial reconstruction of the altar see p. 246. Three of the five panels retain clear indications of ogival tops: (a) *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (K1821, 11½ × 18¾ in.); (b) *The Crucifixion* (Detroit, Institute of Arts, Text Fig. 56, 11½ × 17½ in.);⁵ the third, *The Adoration of the Magi* (Zurich, private collection, Text Fig. 57, 11 × 18½ in.) has the arch filled in at the upper left and right to make the panel appear rectangular. The other two, now rectangular in format, *The Marriage of the Virgin* (K1996, Fig. 233, 10½ × 13¾ in.) and *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (Paris, private collection, Text Fig. 58, 12½ × 19½ in.), were probably topped originally with an ogival arch as well.

References: (1) Reproduced by Charles Sterling, 'Two XV Century Provençal Painters Revived: 1 Nicolas Dipre', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., xxii, Oct. 1942, pp. 9-16, esp. p. 13, fig. 1. (2) The commission of 1499 has been published by H. Chobaut, 'Documents inédits sur les Peintres et Peintres-Verriers d'Avignon, du Comtat et de la Provence Occidentale, de la fin du xive au premier tiers du xvie siècle', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse*, iv, 1939, Avignon, 1940, p. 83. A translation of Chobaut's résumé (*op. cit.*, p. 101) is given by Sterling (*op. cit.*, pp. 13-14). Grete Ring (*A Century of French Painting*, London, 1949, p. 233) expressed reservations concerning Dipre's authorship of the predella panels which stem in part from her misreading of the contract of 1499. She did not fully accept Sterling's identification of the master of the Carpentras Meeting at the Golden Gate with Dipre. She called the former 'The Master of the Altarpiece of the Life of the Virgin'. (3) The *superciel* probably resembled that of the Mirailhet *Retable de la Vierge de Miséricorde* (Nice, Musée Massena) reproduced by Louis Dimier, 'Les Primitifs Français: iv Deuxième Production Provençale', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., xix, Apr. 1938, pp. 223-32, p. 25, fig. 1. See Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, viii, Part 1, Cambridge, 1941, p. 18, fig. 3 (The Siresa Master, *Retable of the Trinity*, San Pedro, Siresa). For the organization of the large central panels see Post, *op. cit.*, viii, Part 2, p. 712, fig. 338 (The School of Jacomart and Rexach, *Retable*, Demandolx-Dedons Collection, Marseilles). In the Carpentras panel the Virgin was probably shown standing rather than seated as in the Spanish altar. (4) Sterling, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 16. (5) Usually accepted as belonging with K1996, it was described by Paul L. Grigaut ('A Crucifixion From Provence', *Bulletin of the Detroit*

Institute of Arts, xxix, no. 4, 1949-50, pp. 90-3, esp. pp. 92-3) as a decade earlier in date than any works associated with Nicolas Dipre (the Master of the Altar of the Life of the Virgin), active c. 1490-1500. He found the difference in measurements and the more northern feeling of the *Crucifixion* to separate it from the other panels, but seemed to ascribe it to the same hand.

K1821 : Figure 232

THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61-44-29), since 1955. Mixed technique on cradled walnut. 11½ × 18¾ in. (29.2 × 47.9 cm.). The panel appears to have been removed from an engaged frame; losses at lower right and elsewhere. Extremely thinly painted; the preliminary underdrawing can be seen below the drapery of the man pointing to the Infant. The painted border is largely a later addition.

San Francisco, p. 74.

The Virgin is seated on a low stool at the left of a stable, looking down at a large book held in her lap, her left hand placed on the open pages. She wears a simple blue robe and has a golden halo. Joseph is seated on a taller stool behind her and to the left. The Holy Infant, surrounded by golden rays, is in swaddling clothes in the manger at the center of the composition. The ass is to the left and the ox to the right behind the manger. A shepherd in a brown hooded cloak stands to the right pointing to the Infant with his right hand while turning to the right and gesturing with his left hand toward two additional shepherds entering at the extreme right. One of them leans on a staff and touches his hat brim.

The group to the left refers to the Nativity (Luke 2:7); however, the depiction of Mary reading a holy book at this time appears to be unprecedented. Her grave demeanor suggests that she is reading a prophetic account of the fate of her son whose entombment may be indicated by the sarcophagus-shaped manger and shroud-like swaddling. The Adoration of the Shepherds (Luke 2:15-20) is interpreted as the first appearance of Christ to the Jews.¹

Longhi recognized K1821 as belonging with the works associated by Sterling with Nicolas Dipre, suggesting that it may have formed part of the Carpentras predella of 1499.² According to Suida (*San Francisco*, p. 74) the panel is by a French painter of the School of Provence active c. 1500 and closely related to Dipre's oeuvre. The differences in size among the four predella panels to which K1821 is linked led Suida to suggest that the *Adoration of the Shepherds* belonged with the *Crucifixion* and the *Adoration of the Magi* with the remaining two (now rectangular in appearance) coming from another altarpiece.

For a reconstruction of the altar to which K1821 probably belonged see the artist's biography above. This panel was probably placed to the immediate right of the *Crucifixion* (Detroit Institute of Arts), the central panel of a five-part

predella. The Infant's radiance is encountered in Northern art in the Netherlandish master Robert Campin's *Nativity* (Dijon, Musée de la Ville): the realistic treatment of the dilapidated wooden stable also stems from that master's innovative realism, followed by Dipre about seventy years later in this strongly conservative panel.³

Provenance: Probably part of the predella of the *Altarpiece of the Life of the Virgin* painted by Dipre for the Cathedral of Carpentras in 1499. Private collection, Italy. Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) For the iconography of the Nativity and Adoration of the Shepherds, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 218–31, 231–6. See also Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, *Meditation on the Life of Christ*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 46–7. (2) Transcription of document of 20/III/50, Kress Archive. He observed the links between Dipre's art and that of Italian painters of Piedmont, such as Giovanni Martino Spanzotti. (3) As Campin appears to have been active in Provence, Dipre may have drawn upon works seen in that region.

NICOLAS DIPRE

K1996 : Figure 233

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN. Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum (E-953), since 1954. Mixed technique on walnut panel. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27 × 35 cm.). Considerable losses around sides, probably caused by removal of engaged frame. The figure at the extreme right has extensive damages in head, along shoulder and back. Transferred from wood to masonite backed with oak veneer, probably c. 1953. Some restoration by Modestini after acquisition in 1954.

Denver, p. 66, Cat. No. 29. Reproduced in color by Louis Gillet, *Les Primitifs Français*, Marseilles, 1941, pl. 6.

Six full-length figures on a chequered floor are shown in an enclosure before an entrance flanked by Corinthian pilasters. A bearded figure in priestly garb stands at the center, grasping Mary's right hand with his right and Joseph's right hand with his left. The Virgin has a gold halo and long flowing hair and wears a cloak over a long dress. The old Joseph, wearing a grayish skull cap with a dark brown and red hood mantle, seems to hide the flowering rod (signifying his selection as the Virgin's bridegroom) under his mantle. A man in oriental garb between the priest and Joseph holds a rod, identifying him as an unsuccessful suitor. Two agitated women face one another to the extreme left.

The Marriage of the Virgin is not a Biblical subject.¹ The panel was recorded by Jonvine in 1914² and exhibited as an anonymous work from the chapel of the Trinitarian monastery at Marseilles, painted c. 1490 by an artist of foreign origin active in Provence.³ German influence was seen in the *Marriage of the Virgin* by Dimier who wrote that the panel came from Avignon to Marseilles.⁴ Sterling

noted the correspondence between K1996 and a fragmentarily preserved panel of *The Meeting of Joachim and Anna* (Carpentras, Musée Duplessis) which he identified as from an altar commission given to Nicolas Dipre in 1499. He viewed K1996 as a predella panel from the same altarpiece. The Italianate architecture of the Kress panel led Sterling to date it in the last year of the fifteenth century. According to him 'the similarity with Dipre in types, folds and hands is such that one is tempted to attribute it to him; or at least to believe it was from his workshop.' He reserved judgment as to a definite attribution pending study of its presumed pendant known to René Huyghe (*The Adoration of the Shepherds*, K1821).⁵ Suida (Denver, 1954, p. 66, Cat. No. 29) entered K1996 as 'French, School of Provence . . . probably the work of Nicolas Dipre'. K1996 and the *Presentation of the Virgin*, due to their present rectangular format, are described as from one altar, while the other panels with their arched tops (*Adoration of the Shepherds*, *Adoration of the Magi*, *Crucifixion*) are considered to be from another.

The panel has been considerably cut-down and, at some point, incorrectly restored. In all likelihood the priest would have been placed nearer the center of the composition, in an enclosure whose side walls were far more clearly indicated than they now appear. The drapery of the figure at the extreme left and the paving at the lower left corner originally extended all the way to the left but are now obscured by a strip of paint along the entire left edge. The column base at the lower right corner was clearly larger in the original composition which was probably terminated at that side by a column in similar fashion to that shown in the same artist's *Presentation of the Virgin* (Paris, private collection, Text Fig. 58). Joseph's garb is almost identical to that found in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (K1821). The art of Conrad Witz is manifested especially strongly in this scene whose block-like, powerful figures recall the Swiss master.

Provenance: Probably part of the predella of the *Altarpiece of the Life of the Virgin* painted by Dipre for the Cathedral of Carpentras in 1499. Secularized Monastery of the Trinitarians of Marseilles.⁶ Comte Demandolx-Dedons, Marseilles, exhibited – Paris, Palais National des Arts, Exposition Internationale, *Chefs-d'Œuvres de l'Art Français*, 1937. New York, Newhouse Gallery.⁷ New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) *The Apocryphal New Testament*, translated by M. R. James, Oxford, 1924, 'The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew', p. 73. For the iconography of the Marriage of the Virgin see Réau, II, 2, pp. 170–3; for the flowering rod see Jacques de Voragine, *La Légende Dorée*, translated by Teodor de Wyzewa, Paris, 1925, pp. 496–7, 'The Birth of the Blessed Virgin'. (2) According to the *Supplément au Catalogue* for the exhibition *Chefs-d'œuvre de l'art français*, Paris, 1937, p. 6, the painting was published by Alexandre Jonvine (*Promenade archéologique à Marseilles*, Marseilles, 1914, p. 46, repr. p. 46). (3) *Ibid.* (4) Louis Dimier, 'Les Primitifs Français: IV Deuxième Production Provençale',

Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6th ser., XIX, 1938, pp. 223-32, esp. p. 231. (5) Charles Sterling, 'Two XV-Century Provençal Painters Revived: I Nicolas Dipre', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XXII, 1942, pp. 9-16, esp. p. 16. A similar view is given in his *La peinture française, peintres du Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1942), p. 50, Cat. No. 29, where K1996 is listed as Provençal School, c. 1490. It is included by Louis Gillet, *op. cit.*, pl. VI as French School of the XV century. Grete Ring (*A Century of French Painting 1400-1500*, London, 1949, p. 233, Cat. No. 267) listed the work as by 'the Master of the Altarpiece of the Life of the Virgin'. She thought that it, together with the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Presentation of the Virgin*, and the *Crucifixion*, was part of the predella of the same altarpiece. She does not appear to have known of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (K1821). Ring noted that the *Presentation* might perhaps stem from the series devoted to the life of St. Anne rather than that of the Virgin while the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Crucifixion* could only pertain to a life of the Virgin. Misreading the contract of 1499, she assumed that the predella subjects were based upon 'scenes from the life of Anne' and therefore did not accept the identification of the master of the predella panels as Nicolas Dipre. (6) According to Dimier (*op. cit.* Note 4 above, p. 231), *Acheté d'une œuvre de bienfaisance installée aux Trinitaires sécularisées de Marseille, qui tenaient le tableau d'Avignon*. (7) Advertisement in the *Connoisseur*, CXXXII, Nov. 1953, p. lviii.

THE MASTER OF THE DE LATOUR D'Auvergne TRIPTYCH

The anonymous master of K2157 was active in the Auvergne in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Sterling noted that the roots of his art are centered in the environs of the Auvergne from Languedoc to the south and the Berri to the north with very considerable influence from Burgundy to the northwest. The artist may first have been active in Burgundy with its emphasis upon Flemish art and then received more southern influences when he resided in the Auvergne. Sterling found him to be a contemporary of the Maître de Moulins and Jean Perréal, both major French painters at the end of the fifteenth century. The diaphanous coloring and meticulous rendering of detail found in the Latour d'Auvergne triptych led Sterling to propose that the painter was also active as a manuscript illuminator and designer of stained glass.¹

K2157 : Figure 234

THE ANNUNCIATION WITH SAINTS AND DONORS. Raleigh, North Carolina, North Carolina Museum of Art (GL. 60.17.61), since 1960. Mixed technique (?) on oak. Central panel $28\frac{3}{4} \times 19\frac{7}{8}$ in. (73×49.4 cm.); wings $26\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{8}$ in. (67.3×23.8 cm.). Central panel cradled by Modestini in 1958. The triptych was cleaned and restored by him in 1959-60 and is well preserved. Pentimenti indicate change in placement of the head of the Virgin and the left hand of the angel, which was moved further up. In original

engaged frame. On the back of the central panel are two horizontal battens with a lengthy French genealogical inscription glued between them.² (Text Fig. 59).

Raleigh, p. 124. Reproduced in color by Sterling, pp. 6-7.

Inscribed on angel's speech scroll: AVE GRA[TIA] PLENA DOMINUS TECUM ('Hail [Mary] full of grace, the Lord is with you', Luke 1:28).

The scroll above St. John the Baptist in the left wing is inscribed: *Sacraire saint Vierge mere pucelle/bien te mo[n]stras a ton seigneur ancelle/quand ton aignel en ce mo[n]de apportas/dont Gabriel t'ami[n]ca la nouvelle/qui des humains la joie renouvelle/puis pour sa mort greifve doule[ur] port as/en ton ame dont beau te deportas/ce bon seigne[ur] en to[us] ses fais supporte/priant celui dont souverain portas/qui lui oeuvre [sic] de paradis la porte.* ('Sanctuary, holy Virgin, maiden Mother, well did you show yourself the handmaid of the Lord when you brought forth into the world your Lamb, news of Whom Gabriel announced to you, Who renews the joy of humankind; then you bore bitter grief in your soul for His death, in Whose beauty you rejoiced; support this good lord [the donor] in all his deeds, praying for him whose Sovereign you bore, Who opens to him the gate of paradise.')

The scroll above St. John the Evangelist in the right wing reads: *Royne regnante en iubilacion/de to[us] humaine la consolacion/je presente devant toy cette dame/qui dema[n]de p[ar] supplication/faire toujours juste operacion/par ton moyen celle ou jamez neust blasme/et po[ur] ta sainte annu[n]ciacion/je te prie q[ue] generacion/avoir puisse au salut de son âme.*³ ('Queen, reigning in jubilation, consolation of all humanity, I present to you this lady who asks you in prayer always to have fair dealing [with her] through your instrumentality. O dwelling where you never have had blame, and [for the sake of] your holy Annunciation I pray you that bearing offspring will be effective for the salvation of her soul.')

The backs of the wings are inscribed in gold on a blue ground with an eighteenth-century French genealogical text (see Text Fig. 60).⁴

The arms of the donors are depicted twice: in color, as though embroidered on the prie-dieu covers, and in grisaille on shields borne on straps across the fronts of little angels under the top arch to the central panel. The arms of the donor, Jean, comte de la Tour d'Auvergne are: quarterly 1 and 4 azure, semé of fleurs de lis or, overall a tower argent masoned sable (for de la Tour); 2 and 3 a gonfalon gules fringed sable (but should be vert) (for d'Auvergne); on an inescutcheon, or three balls gules (for Boulogne). The arms of the donatrix, Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme (widow of Jean II, duc de Bourbon) are as above dimidiating azure, three fleurs-de-lis or overall a cotise gules (for Bourbon).⁵

The Annunciation takes place in a French Renaissance loggia-like interior, c. 1500 in style, with a mountainous landscape seen through the piers at the left and right and continued in the wings. Mary kneels on a red cushion at

the right foreground (in front of a prie-dieu with an open book on it), her hands folded in prayer. She wears blue and gold jeweled robes and a jeweled circlet in her long hair. She faces the kneeling Archangel Gabriel, who is in liturgical garb and jeweled dalmatic. He holds a baton crested with fleurs de lis in his left hand, while pointing to the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove flying above with his right. God the Father is shown in half-length in a small window above, wearing red regal garb and holding an orb with his left hand, his right raised in benediction. A pot of lilies is seen below. The uppermost arched section of the exterior, a lunette painted in grisaille, shows two putti grasping stilt-like staffs, each bearing the donor's arms. A frieze of putti on dragons, putti, and a *mascon*, with two cornucopias is seen below. Similar figures are shown in the capitals and friezes of the chamber below. The figures in the wings are much larger in scale than those of the central panel. The kneeling donatrix in rich garb is before a prie-dieu hung with her arms; her patron saint John the Evangelist behind her is in the right wing. Her second husband, Jean de la Tour d'Auvergne, comte d'Auvergne et de Boulogne, kneels in the left wing before a prie-dieu hung with his arms; his patron saint John the Baptist stands behind him and grasps his right shoulder. The donor is in a fur-lined red cloak. The Baptist wears a brown reticulated hair shirt under a purple robe. A river runs from left to right with snow-capped mountains in the distance seen against a low horizon. The donors are Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme (the second daughter of Jean II, comte de Vendôme, and widow of Jean II, duc de Bourbon) and her second husband, Jean de la Tour d'Auvergne de Boulogne. The couple's second daughter, Madeleine de la Tour, would marry Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino (their daughter, Catherine, married Henri II of France). Two years after her husband's death in 1501, Jeanne took a third, François de la Pauze, baron de la Garde.

The donors are shown shortly after their marriage on 2 January 1495. The speech scrolls of their patron saints reflect the newly-weds' desire for progeny. In the fifteenth century, young couples often had themselves shown flanking the Annunciation to associate their wish for children with the Incarnation.

A late sixteenth-century copy after the central panel of K2157 was included in a sale at the Galerie Fischer (Lucerne), 11-15 November 1958, Cat. No. 2305, pl. 33, listed as Northern French. The panel measures 67.5 × 48.5 cm.⁶

The triptych was first published by Baluze, who reproduced it in 1709 in his genealogy of the house of Auvergne (Text fig. 60).⁷ Fournier-Sarlovèze studied the style and established the date c. 1495-98, noting that the omission of the Order of St. Michael from the donor's portrait meant that it was painted prior to 1498 (when he received the Order) and shortly after his marriage to the Countess Jeanne in 1495. He suggested that the same artist also painted the *Retable de Montluçon* (Montluçon Cathedral) of c. 1490.⁸ In 1938, Sterling characterized the master of K2157 as a faithful follower of the Maître de Moulins,

dating the triptych 1494-1500.⁹ Wescher (*Raleigh*, pp. 15-16) described the work as 'a monument of paramount importance in the history of early French painting', also noting 'a certain relationship to the frescoes representing the seven Liberal Arts [Le Puy-en-Velay, Cathedral] . . . located not too far from where this altar once stood.'¹⁰ Shapley (*Raleigh*, p. 124) listed K2157 as 'French School, late fifteenth century' and further stated: 'Remarkable features of the painting are the strong modeling of the figures and the convincing realism of the donor portraits. Special care has been given to the shadows cast on the wall by the dove and the scroll bearing the message of the Annunciate Angel, and very charming and unusual is the way the patron saints spread their mantles protectingly round their namesakes. A complete triptych from a fifteenth-century French atelier is rare. Small and provincial as this one is, it serves to recall that masterpiece of our painter's great Flemish predecessor, the triptych of the Nativity by Hugo van der Goes [Portinari Altar] in the Uffizi, Florence.' The model for the angels' wings was, according to Friedmann, the mallard duck. He also studied the medieval symbolic association of the putto riding on an elephant in the right-hand cornice and those on dragons above.¹¹ Sterling identified the landscape of all three panels as the valley of Allier with the snow-covered mountains of the Auvergne in the background (Puy de Sancy in the left wing and Puy de Dome in the right), depicted in the early spring, the season of the Annunciation (25 March). He related the landscape to that by Benedetto Ghirlandaio in the background of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* executed c. 1485-93 (Aigueperse, Parish Church),¹² not far from Vic-le-Comte. He also found a stylistic correspondence between the rendering of St. John the Evangelist in K2157 and the same figure painted on the stalls of the church at Saint-Chamant which he saw as influenced by Spanish art and typical of the Languedoc, the region to the south of the Auvergne. He dated K2157 c. 1497.¹³

Provenance: Jean and Jeanne de la Tour, Vic-le-Comte (Auvergne), commissioned K2157 c. 1497. Bequeathed by her to the Cordeliers de Vic-le-Comte, probably installed in their church at the time of her death in 1512 and placed near her tomb.¹⁴ It was presented by the Cordeliers to Emmanuel Theodosius de Latour d'Auvergne, Cardinal de Bouillon, the Grand Almoner of France, in 1703. Unknown public sale between 1872 and 1874. Prince de Latour d'Auvergne. New York, M. Knoedler and Co., Inc. Kress acquisition 1957, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Exhibition of Art Treasures for America from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 10 Dec. 1961 - 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 30.

References: (1) Charles Sterling, 'Pour la peinture en Auvergne au XVe siècle', *L'Œil*, No. 136, 1966, pp. 4-17, hereafter referred to as *Sterling*. (2) 'The Princess Jehanne de Bourbon-Vendôme, paternal great-aunt of Henry le Grand, widow by her first marriage of Jehan de Bourbon, duc de Bourbonnais, and by her second marriage (widow) of Jehan de la Tour d'Auvergne, comte de Boulogne, whose portrait as well as that of her second husband are

painted from life in this painting, was seized with love, after his death, for a young gentleman, a page in her household, named François de la Pause, she married him publicly, but she never took the name of this third husband, always calling herself up to her death and even after his death, the comtesse de Boulogne, the name of her second husband. The marriage contract inscribed here below is of the xvii day of March in the year MDIII: To all those who will see or hear these present letters, we, Jacques Du Puy, Equerry, Knight-Bachelor, Keeper and Holder of the Royal Seal, established at Montferrand in Auvergne, make known that we, by our power personally established, have commissioned our well-beloved and faithful Benoist Boyrier, notary sworn by our court and chancery of the said Montferrand, to see, hear, and receive the contents of these letters, that the noble Anne de la Pause, Seigneur of the said place, for himself and his [heirs], on the one part, and François de la Pause, his son, also free and heir of the late Demoiselle Catherine de la Ribe, his late mother, for himself and his [heirs], on the other part, and the very high and mighty Madame Jehanne de Bourbon, Dowager de Bourbonnais, comtesse de Boulogne et d'Auvergne, she who was married to the very high and mighty prince, Monseigneur the duc Jehan de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne and who afterwards married the very high and powerful Prince Monseigneur Jehan comte de Boulogne et d'Auvergne, lady of her estate and not being in the power of any man, thus affirmed by her oath for her estate in perpetuity, on the other part: – these parties of their own will, of sound mind, of free and liberal decision, and of their desire and agreement, have spoken and treated of entering into marriage, in the name of God, between the said François de la Pause on the one part, and the said lady, Jehanne de Bourbon, on the other part, do so and accomplish it in the presence of our Holy Mother the Church, as is good custom and fitting. The said François de la Pause has promised to take and takes the said lady Jehanne de Bourbon as his wife and spouse, and the said lady Jehanne de Bourbon has promised to take and takes the said François de la Pause as her husband and spouse, and in favor the said marriage, etc.' (3) As transcribed by Sterling, pp. 10, 16. The word *cella* is open to several interpretations. See Sterling, note 16. (4) 'This painting, painted at the earliest in the year MCCCXCIV and at the latest in the year MDI, was given by the Pères Cordeliers de Vic-le-Comte on 27 July 1703, to Monseigneur Emmanuel de la Tour d'Auvergne, Cardinal de Bouillon, Dean of the Sacred College, Grand Almoner of France, which painting, painted on wood, closing with wings, represents at the bottom the Annunciation; and in the vaulted arch above the cornice of an edifice finely built are painted two angels, the one on the right holding an escutcheon with the coat of arms of the husband, and the one on the left holding an escutcheon with the coat of arms of the wife. On the wing of the right side, representing Prince Jean de la Tour d'Auvergne, comte d'Auvergne et de Bologne, painted from life, kneeling at his prie-dieu, on which is painted his coat of arms, and being presented to God by a Saint John the Baptist; and on the wing of the left side, representing the princess, his wife, Jeanne de

Bourbon-Vendôme, first married to Prince Jean de Bourbon, duc de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne, High Constable of France, which princess is also painted from life, kneeling at a prie-dieu on which is painted her coat of arms, and being similarly presented to God by a Saint John the Evangelist; and it is this painting which this princess, interred in the church of the Cordeliers de Vic-le-Comte, founded and built by the father and mother of her second husband, had on her prie-dieu.' This inscription may have been painted c. 1708 when Baluze prepared the genealogy of the house of Auvergne (Étienne Baluze, *Histoire généalogique de la Maison d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1709, I, p. 351.). (5) See *État présent de la noblesse française*, 5th ed., Paris, 1883–87, p. 1722, 'Tour d'Auvergne'; also *Grand armorial de France*, Paris, 1949, VI, p. 330, 'De la Tour d'Auvergne'; J. B. Rietstap, *Armoiries des familles contenues dans l'Armorial Général*, Paris, 1903, pls. 287–8, arms of duke of Bourbon-Vendôme and dukes of Bourbon. The arms of the wife, Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme, do not show the three lions passant argent on the cotise, which distinguishes the house of Bourbon-Vendôme from the senior house of Bourbon. The omission of the brisure denoting the cadet family although infrequent, was permitted to daughters. (6) Sterling, pp. 11, 16, n. 21. A recent cleaning has shown this copy to include details (God the Father, Holy Ghost, and speech scroll) which had been overpainted. (7) Baluze, *loc. cit.* Note 4. The Baluze engraving illustrated by Sterling, p. 16, fig. 16. (8) Raymond Fournier-Sarlovèze, 'Quelques primitifs du centre de la France', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XXV, 1909, pp. 180–91, III: pp. 184–91. The Montluçon painting is reproduced by Sterling, p. 14, fig. 12. (9) Charles Sterling, *La peinture française: Les Primitifs*, Paris, 1938, p. 124, n. 120. K2157 is Cat. No. 37 in Charles Sterling, *La peinture française: les peintres du moyen âge*, Paris, 1942, p. 23. (10) See also Paul Wescher, 'Die Kress-Stiftung für Raleigh', *Pantheon*, XXI, 1963, p. 12. (11) Herbert Friedmann, 'A Fifteenth-Century French Triptych in the North Carolina Museum of Art', *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, VI, nos. 2–3, 1966, pp. 3–15. (12) Reproduced in Sterling, p. 14, fig. 13. (13) *Ibid.*, p. 15, fig. 14. (14) According to Baluze, *loc. cit.* Note 4, who also illustrated the tomb.

FRENCH MASTER Active first third of the Sixteenth Century

K1873 : Figure 235

THE MAN OF SORROWS, WITH SAINTS AND DONORS. Tucson, Arizona, The University of Arizona Museum of Art (K61,22), since 1957. Oil on oak. 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (46.7 × 55 cm.). Cut at bottom and probably at sides and top; two vertical joins. X-rays and pentimenti show extensive changes in composition. Minor losses throughout; sky at upper left and right may perhaps have been added at a later date. Cradled, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1953.

Tucson, 1957, Cat. No. 12.

Christ is shown as though at the time of the Mocking, hands tied, wearing the crown of thorns and royal purple mantle. His body is covered with streams of blood from the Flagellation.¹ His mock scepter, a bullrush held in his right hand, with the crown and mantle refer to Christ as King of the Jews. A yellow nimbus surrounds his head, and another is placed around his body.² A kneeling donor and his wife are shown at the lower left and right; the donor's patron saint, John the Baptist, stands at the left wearing a red mantle over a hair shirt. The donor's dark robes and white collar may be official attire. The Lamb, symbol of Christ's sacrifice and also the attribute of St. John the Baptist, is in the left foreground. The donatrix, wearing a dark hood, the back flap folded forward in cap-like fashion, kneels at the lower right. She wears a crimson velvet dress with broad fur cuffs and a jeweled girdle. Her holy book is on the lower step of Christ's pedestal. Her patron, St. George, stands at the extreme right, his attribute, the dragon, in the lower right corner. St. George is shown in full armor of late fifteenth-century style; his sallet is raised, and a mantle is draped over his shoulders. He grasps a halberd in his right hand; his left is on the donatrix's left shoulder. Pansies, primroses, and other plants carpet the ground on which the donors kneel. The figures are seen against a white sky with blue areas at the upper corners.

Sterling placed the panel in the Rhône School, painted c. 1510, including it with the 'Écoles Provençales'. Despite the rather weak draftsmanship, Sterling found 'the painting of interest for its spiritual force and light quality' which he thought differed from Flemish or Italian work.³

The panel was probably executed in northeastern France. The St. George is so close to Hans Holbein's St. Ursus in the *Altarpiece of Johann Gerster*, of Basle, dated 1522 (Solothurn, Kunstmuseum), that it is probably based upon the latter and executed in the later 1520s.⁴ The Man of Sorrows is related to local devotional types in North East France, the *Christ aux liens*.⁵ The Italianate quality of the Christ also argues for placement in the third decade of the sixteenth century. The curious yellow nimbi combined with a white and blue sky are first found in Netherlandish art at the end of the fifteenth century in the circle of Quentin Massys and in Bruges. This devotional subject, presenting a mystical, timeless image of the Suffering Christ, may have been placed in a chapel or on a domestic altar subsidized by the kneeling donors, whose names were probably Jean and Georgette. It is a provincial painting, executed by a master rooted in the northern French and Netherlandish style of the later fifteenth century with a slight admixture of Renaissance and newer northern currents, as seen in the style of the Christ, the nimbi, and the rendering of the saint at the right.

Provenance: Larrieu-Estellé, Toulouse.⁶ Private collection, Switzerland.⁷ New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) For this subject see Erwin Panofsky, 'Jean Hey's "Ecce Homo": Speculations about Its Author, Its

Donor, and Its Iconography', *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bulletin*, v, 1956, pp. 95-132. See also Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge en France*, Paris, 1925, pp. 85 ff. (2) The figure of Christ may be derived from prints close in style to those of the Monogrammist S. See F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts*, Amsterdam, 1956, xiii, pp. 178-80. (3) Charles Jacques, *La peinture française: les peintres du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1942, pp. 56-7. (4) Paul Ganz, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein*, London, 1956, pl. 47. (5) See Nicole Reynaud, 'Jean Hay peintre de Moulins et son client Jean Cueillette', *Revue de l'Art*, 1-2, 1968, pp. 34-7, 36-7. (6) According to Frederick Mont. A sale of this collection on 16 Mar. 1885, contained only nineteenth-century paintings. (7) *Ibid.*

FRENCH MASTER active 1561

K167 : Figure 238

PORTRAIT OF A MEMBER OF THE QUARATESI FAMILY. New York, New York, Collection of Mrs. Rush H. Kress. Oil on pine. $39\frac{3}{4} \times 33\frac{1}{2}$ in. (101 × 85.2 cm.). Inscribed: ANNO ÆTATIS SVE . 34 . ET DE + ANNO + 1561. Arms at the upper right: Or, on a chief azure, an eagle argent, were overpainted at least once; only the helm is original and indicates that the gentleman is not of exalted rank.¹ The letters A and M appear to the left and right of the arms and on the sitter's handkerchief.² Three vertical joins or splits; butterfly joins or splits running through left shoulder. Pentimenti surrounding the contours show a change in the placement of the figure. Re-cradled and considerably restored by Pichetto in 1932.

Twenty-five Paintings from the Collection of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, The University of Arizona, Tucson, 1951, no. 13.

The sitter is seen to the knees, turned slightly to the left, against an olive background. He rests his hand on a table at the lower left with a round watch lying on it. His right hand is on his hip, holding a handkerchief with a monogram. The nobleman wears a dark cap and an overtunic with wing-like pieces attached to the shoulders, sometimes known as a *picadels*. A sword is attached to a belt, the pommel seen at the left. A twisted blue and white girdle encircles the waist.

The painting was described by Longhi as one of the best examples of Antonio Mor's portraiture. He noted its emphasis upon contour rather than upon elaborately illusionistic effects. Longhi related the painting to one formerly in the Clemens Collection, Cologne.³ The portrait was viewed as Dutch by Suida who suggested that Pieter Pietersz. (1540-1603) may have been the artist. He believed that the monogram on the handkerchief was the sitter's not the painter's.⁴ Venturi and Mason Perkins stressed the elegance and vigorous contours of the portrait but were, with Friedländer, not certain of Mor's authorship.⁵ The portrait was published in the Tucson catalogue (no. 13) as

by Mor showing 'Count Adolf of Nassau-Weilburg-Saarbrücken' (1527-93) on the basis of the arms. This identification is erroneous. Similar attire is found in a portrait dated 1564 ascribed to Frans Pourbus (art market c. 1958).⁶ It also resembles that worn by Pierre Quthe in the portrait by François Clouet dated 1562 (Paris, Louvre).

The abstract quality of this mannered portrait with its emphasis upon elegantly defined contours and its austere use of color suggest a French origin. The painter may perhaps have been active in the environs of Alsace and Lorraine, his approach somewhat broader than that favored by the French court. The unidentified artist is a painter of considerable character and originality. The sitter belonged to a prominent Florentine family of merchants and diplomats. He may have had himself painted on a mission to France where so many of his fellow Florentines were attached to the court of Catherine de' Medici.

Provenance: Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1931.

References: (1) The arms were identified by Hilda Prucher, who noted that they are in the original form, before later modification by the family. Letter of 16/XI/70, Kress Archive. The later arms are recorded by Vittorio Spreti, *Enciclopedia Storico Nobiliare Italiana*, Milan, 1928-32, p. 556. See also J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général*, Paris, 1903, II, p. 505. (2) Alan Burroughs, c. 1935, suggested the initials AM to the left and right of the arms could be a later addition. The possibility of the portrait's being by a Dutch artist (follower of Heemskerck) of a Spanish sitter was raised. (3) Transcription and translation of statement of 1932 by Roberto Longhi in Kress Archive. Both G. Fiocco and Raimond van Marle accepted Mor's authorship for K167 in notes in the Kress Archive. (4) William Suida, statement of 1936, Kress Archive. (5) Notes and transcription by Adolfo Venturi and F. F. Mason Perkins in Kress Archive. (6) Marie C. Keith, 'The Early Development of Anthonis Mor 1544-52', Dissertation, New York University, 1958, fig. 166.

FRANÇOIS CLOUET

François Clouet, known as Jehannet or Janet, was first active c. 1536. He died in Paris in 1572.¹ He was the son and grandson of Netherlandish painters; his father Jean, also frequently referred to as Janet, was the leading portraitist at the court of François I. After Jean's death (c. 1541) François succeeded him as painter to François I, Henri II, and Charles IX. He also depicted mythological subjects and was active as pageant master, probably supervising manuscript illuminations and the execution of many projects in the decorative arts. Only three signed paintings are known: *Pierre Quthe* (Paris, Louvre) of 1562, depicting his friend the apothecary; *Charles IX* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) from the 1560s; and K2125. The fashionable portraitist had many assistants and followers, making it hard to isolate the autograph oeuvre with certainty. He was

a splendid draftsman, and many of his drawings have survived. Clouet's art, like that of his contemporary Antonio Mor, belongs to the international portrait style seen throughout Western Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century.

K2125 : Figures 241-3

LADY BATHING WITH CHILDREN AND ATTENDANTS, probably Mary Stuart. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1370), since 1956. Oil on cradled panel (oak?). 36½ × 32 in. (92.1 × 81.3 cm.). Inscribed on edge of bath near centre: FR. IANETII OPVS (not accepted as autograph until 1907).² Cradled while in Cook Collection. Three vertical splits or joins: near center of lady's head, down her right shoulder, and to left of nurse's face. Pentimenti along right side of woman's face, shoulder, and elbow, indicating changes in position; other pentimenti in infant's swaddling clothes and right hand and mouth of child. The pitcher in the background was extended to the left. The initial circular line suggests that the mirror may originally have been intended to be round.³ Considerable restoration in heads of nurse and servant. Blistering in breast of foreground figure set down by Suhr, c. 1944-45. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955. *Suida-Shapley*, pp. 52-4, Cat. No. 17. Head and right hand reproduced in color by Walker, p. 197 and Seymour, pls. 106-7.

A nude woman in half-length is shown seated in her bath.⁴ The lowermost part of the composition is cut off along the side of the rectangular tub, which is lined with a white sheet and hung on both sides with regal crimson silk curtains. These are drawn back, framing the composition at the top and partially enclosing the tub at the back. Across the tub to the left is a covered board on which are a shallow footed bowl of silver with gold border, full of fruit, and scattered fruits and flowers. The bather wears a cap with white gold-edged ruffles and a pendant jewel at the center. Her coiffure has a central part, waved to the left and right. She wears pearl drop earrings and a pair of gold and enamel bracelets. Her left hand, with a ring on the little finger, rests upon the side of the tub and draws back the bath sheet, revealing the artist's name below. She rests her right hand, holding a carnation, on the covered board. A little boy at her side grasps the edge of the tub with his left hand, reaching for grapes with his right. He is in courtly garb. A smiling wet-nurse wearing a hood and an orange-sleeved dress is seen in half-length at the left, suckling a baby whose swaddling is fastened by crossed black bands. In the background, to the left of a table with a green covering, a maid is seen holding a metal pitcher of bath water; more water is probably being heated on the fire at her side. Over the fireplace is a painting, its landscape partially visible, framed within the Italianate mantelpiece. An embroidered chairback (or fire screen) to the left of the fireplace shows a unicorn lying below a tree against an orange background. A rectangular mirror in Italian style hangs immediately above. Windows with leaded panels and a shutter are further left; the window at the extreme left is open, showing a leafy tree.

Several copies of K2125 are extant: Musée Condé, Chantilly;⁵ Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux;⁶ Musée de Versailles. The left half of K2125 was copied in a sixteenth-century canvas listed as 'School of Fontainebleau'.⁷ The composition of K2125 or a similar work was freely adapted near the end of the sixteenth century in a painting showing two female bathers identified as Gabrielle d'Estrées and her sister the Duchesse de Villars.⁸ In the late nineteenth century the sitter was described as *Diane de Poitiers*, painted by François Clouet.⁹ This identification was probably based upon Guiffrey's discussion of the Chantilly copy after K2125, in which he listed the bather as the mistress of Henri II, shown with the queen's children, who were often placed in her care. He suggested that the inclusion of the unicorn in the background referred to the 'powdered unicorn horn' long believed to have great healing powers, purchased by Diane for the royal children's health, mentioned in her letters to their nurse.¹⁰ Bouchot thought the sitter might be Gabrielle d'Estrées, mistress of Henri IV, her head painted over an earlier depiction of Diane de Poitiers. He proposed François Quesnel as the artist.¹¹ However, X-rays do not reveal another head below. Bouchot's view was rejected by Dimier in 1904, when he said, on the basis of the sitter's coiffure, that she must have been painted c. 1571, when Gabrielle was very young. He did not attempt to identify the subject.¹² La Fenestre recognized the influence of Pieter Aertsen in the realistic treatment of detail in the Kress panel.¹³ François Clouet's authorship of the panel was accepted by Durand-Gréville.¹⁴ In his 1912 Thieme-Becker entry, Dimier dated the Kress painting c. 1562, nine years earlier than he had thought in 1904. He now described the work as 'a remarkable painting by François Clouet of a bathing woman, one of Clouet's two signed works.'¹⁵ Phillips detected Italian influence in the panel's design.¹⁶ Brockwell catalogued the Kress painting as showing Diane de Poitiers, by a French artist (not Clouet) under strong Italian influence.¹⁷ A work from the School of Leonardo da Vinci, popularly known as the *Nude Gioconda* (Text Fig. 61), was viewed by Berenson and Herbert Cook as a source for the Kress composition.¹⁸ Reinach supported the traditional identification of the subject as Diane de Poitiers, in a beautifying bath, accompanied by the children of Henri II. He accepted Clouet's authorship, relating the painting to later sixteenth-century copies.¹⁹ In 1924 Dimier again listed the Kress panel as by Clouet, of an unknown woman, but he now speculated that, if she were a royal favorite, she might possibly be Marie Touchet.²⁰ The chief scholar of Clouet's oeuvre, Moreau-Nélaton, found K2125 undoubtedly by Clouet and the inscription entirely authentic.²¹ Venetian influence (from Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, Florence, Uffizi) was detected by Adler in the motif of the servant in the background; she also noted that the treatment of the nude recalled Bronzino and suggested that the subject might be Marie Touchet, mistress of Charles IX, with her two children.²² Jamot described the nude bust as 'partly veiled in a light and impalpable gauze', also commenting upon the 'incorporation of lovely elements from Venetian paintings translated into French. This painting, of which there are several replicas, is the starting point of a whole

series of variations on the theme of a lady dressing or in her bath, variations which persist into the early years of the seventeenth century.'²³ The figures at the left were regarded by Wilenski as shown reflected in a mirror.²⁴ The portrait was listed by du Colombier as 'Femme au bain', painted by François Clouet c. 1571, a rare inscribed work by the master.²⁵ Blunt suggested that Clouet's composition came from Leonardesque motifs as adapted by the circle of Joos van Cleve. This hypothesis is 'perhaps supported by the somewhat Flemish flavor of the painting and by the resemblance of the composition as a whole to certain paintings by Joos van Cleve representing half-length groups, usually of the Holy Family, behind parapets on which are depicted a dish of fruit and other objects.'²⁶ Sterling dated the work c. 1555-60, noting some analogies with the style of such painters as Hemessen and Jan Massys. He placed the panel in Clouet's third period in which the Netherlandish genre tradition is combined with influence from Fontainebleau.²⁷ Sterling also suggested that Clouet may have painted a pendant (lost) to K2125 showing a woman looking in a mirror, as known from a copy now in the Worcester Art Museum and a similar canvas at the Musée de Dijon. He found the Louvre *Gabrielle d'Estrées and the Duchesse de Villars* to represent the combination of K2125 and its presumed, lost pendant.²⁸

Suida-Shapley (pp. 52-4, Cat. No. 17) recorded the painting as 'Diane de Poitiers'. They noted Leonardesque elements in K2125 and the Bernardino Luini *Venus* (Washington, National Gallery of Art). 'There are harbingers of the future also: the still life of fruit and flowers anticipates Caravaggio by fifty years; the maid with her jug has the charm of seventeenth-century genre.' Béguin dated the painting c. 1570, tentatively favoring Marie Touchet as the subject, noting the similarity of curtains to those shown by Clouet in the *Pierre Quille* Louvre portrait of 1562 and proposing a possible source for the half-length format in Italian art.²⁹ A date close to 1550 was given the painting by *Seymour* (p. 114), too late, in his view, for the subject to be Diane de Poitiers; he suggested that the panel is an allegory referring to a general topic rather than to a specific person.³⁰ Châtelet and Thuillier, although listing K2125 as 'A lady in her bath, about 1550', seem to accept the sitter as Diane de Poitiers, finding the theme a transposition of *Venus* rising from the sea, and dating the work before 1559, if Diane is the subject.³¹ On the basis of the drapery style of the Kress canvas, Sterling revised his dating to c. 1570 in 1967.³²

Symbolic references in the composition argue against the sitter's being Diane de Poitiers, according to Mirimonde. He found the unicorn an emblem of chastity and the carnation held in the lady's hand a symbol of betrothal, neither of which was appropriate to the middle-aged Diane.³³ The contrast between the specific portraiture of the head and the generalized treatment of the torso was commented upon by du Colombier.³⁴ Both Ehrmann and Trinquet found the Kress panel a satire on Mary Stuart (1542-87). She was engaged to the Dauphin, and was sent to France in 1548, to be educated. In 1559 she married

François II. After his death in 1560 she returned to Scotland and claimed the right of succession to Elizabeth, intriguing against her and proposing the conquest of England. Tried and convicted for conspiracy, Mary Stuart was imprisoned for twenty years before her execution. According to Trinquet, K2125 was painted by Clouet for a prominent Huguenot patron of pro-English sentiments, possibly François, Maréchal de Montmorency, c. 1570–71. He noted that Mary Stuart, the only child of James V of Scotland and Marie de Guise, was a symbol of corrupt Catholicism to French Protestants. He cited the drawing ascribed to François Clouet showing Mary Stuart in white mourning attire (see Text Fig. 62) and another portrait of her at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery as showing the closest resemblance to K2125.³⁵ Ehrmann related the nurse's garb in the painting to the red and white Scottish peasant dress which Mary Stuart adopted for her prison escape.³⁶ Both Ehrmann and Trinquet identified the infant as Mary's only child, the future James VI of Scotland and James I of England, born in 1566. They believed the crossed black bands on the infant's swaddling alluded to the cross of St. Andrew and to the death in 1567 of the infant's father, Mary Stuart's second husband, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. The older boy is also referred to as James VI by Trinquet. Trinquet claimed that Diane de Poitiers could not have been shown in the Kress panel because of its style, the lady's age, and her sense of propriety. He also found Marie Touchet to bear no resemblance to the bather in K2125. According to him, Clouet based his composition on moralizing allegories by Jan Massys. The author stated that after c. 1560 references to the bath indicated the sitter's easy virtue.³⁷ Trinquet felt the Kress panel burlesqued the unicorn, the bath and the carnation – all traditional symbols of purity and chastity. He showed that the unicorn, as well as the grapes in the foreground, figured in emblematic devices of Mary Stuart (her Great Seal and a medal of 1557) and interpreted the gesture of the boy reaching for the grapes as the young king grasping the throne of Scotland.³⁸

Many scholars have suggested an allegorical content in K2125, usually associating the sumptuous setting and its royal crimson drapery with identification of the sitter as a royal mistress – Diane de Poitiers, Marie Touchet, or Gabrielle d'Estrées. That the painting has hidden references seems likely, as French sixteenth-century portraiture is often distinguished by such complex allusions.³⁹ The traditional identification of the bather as Diane de Poitiers (1499–1566) has lost critical favor as the painting has generally been dated within the seventh decade of the sixteenth century; Diane retired from court in 1559, the year of Henri II's death, when she was sixty years old. The clearly idealized, almost mask-like symmetry of the bather's head makes exact identification difficult. Her regular features, long straight nose, and small mouth conform to the aristocratic canon of beauty on which most sixteenth-century portraits were based, making Diane de Poitiers, Mary Stuart, and other prominent French figures resemble one another closely.⁴⁰ In addition to Flemish and Leonardesque sources, Clouet may have drawn upon a

canvas of *Venus with Erotes* (private collection, Ponte San Pietro) from the School of Primaticcio for his composition. Bronzino and Salviati, both associated with the French court, could also have contributed to the genesis of the panel's design.⁴¹ Figures of wet-nurses were popular in sixteenth-century France, and were even found in ceramics.⁴² Clouet was the master of an extremely large atelier. For the bulk of his portraits, he probably only executed the head and the hands, leaving the painting of the rest to studio assistants. However, in the Kress painting the alteration in shape of the mirror argues for Clouet's single-handed execution of the painting, since such a change would hardly have been made by an assistant. Glacially finished, this approximately life-size bathing scene may have been executed for installation in a *trompe l'œil* setting within a lavish bathing chamber. French Renaissance patrons emulated Classical baths, decorating their own with works of art inserted in the walls of the *appartement des bains*.⁴³ Ehrmann's and Trinquet's identification of the Kress sitter as Mary Stuart has much to recommend it. As other writers have also noted, the bather's cap is late in style, postdating Diane de Poitiers. It is closer to English than to French fashions, another possible argument for the sitter's being Mary Stuart.⁴⁴ The seemingly deliberate awkwardness in the relationship of head to bust may perhaps be satirical in intent; such a 'stuck on' quality is often encountered in the Massys burlesques of the 1560s. The latter, usually horizontal in format, nonetheless relate to the composition of K2125.

Sixteenth-century Northern artists included the visual pun (*rebus*) as a sign of their authorship. The bather's pink, held in pen-like fashion, may have this function since it combines two references to its painter. The flower is known as *Nagelbloem* or nail-flower in Clouet's ancestral Netherlands while *clou* signifies nail in France. The bather's left hand has revealed his name, inscribed on the edge of her tub, immediately below the bathing sheet. Its location lends the inscription an emblematic aspect, as though the artist quite literally placed his notorious subject 'in hot water' in a bath of his own devising, recalling expressions still current in France that if one is compromised or implicated it is 'to be in the tub'.

Bringing together the newly Italianate, classical rendering of his Venus-like bather with the Netherlandish heritage of the *trompe-l'œil* curtain and other details, Clouet's smoothly finished masterpiece shows the still novel union of Flemish, French and Italian elements with the same sense of the discovery of different styles that illuminates and enlivens French painting from Fouquet to Ingres.

Provenance: Sir Richard Frederick, Burwood Park (sold, London, Christie's, 6–7 Feb. 1874). Bought by Thibaudeau, presumably acting for Sir John Charles Robinson. Sir John Charles Robinson, London (as agent for Sir Frederick Cook?). Sir Frederick Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey. Catalogued by Brockwell as 'Diane de Poitiers by a French artist'.⁴⁵ Exhibited, Grafton Galleries, London, *Summer Exhibition, 1894* – 'Fair Women', p. 7, Cat. No. 20,

as Diane de Poitiers, lent by Sir Francis Cook, Bart.; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *Exposition des primitifs français au palais du Louvre (Pavillon de Marsan) et à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Apr. 1904, p. 88, Cat. No. 226, as 'François Quesnel?, vers 1550, Portrait d'une dame au bain'; Grafton Galleries, London, *Exhibition of Old Masters in Aid of the National Art-Collections Fund [Fair Children]*, 4 Oct.-28 Dec. 1911, pp. 86-9, Cat. No. 85, as Diane de Poitiers, attributed to François Clouet. Sir Herbert Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey - exhibited, *Exhibition of French Art*, Royal Academy of Art, London, 1932, and *Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of French Art 1200-1900*, Royal Academy of Art, London, 4 Jan.-12 Mar. 1932, p. 29, Cat. No. 53, as 'Dame au bain: "Diane de Poitiers", c. 1550'; Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art, *Masterpieces from the Cook Collection, 1944-45*, Cat. No. 426. New York, Rosenberg & Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) For the life and works of François Clouet, see E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet et leurs émules*, 3 vols., Paris, 1924; Irene Adler, 'Die Clouets', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. III, 1929, pp. 201 ff. (2) Before cradling, 'Fr. Janetii opus' was written on the back of the panel according to Claude Phillips in an article in the *Daily Telegraph*, 23 May 1908, quoted in Grafton Galleries, London, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Old Masters in Aid of the National Art-Collections Fund (Fair Children)*, 4 Oct.-28 Dec. 1911, p. 88, Cat. No. 85. Henri Bouchot (*Exposition des primitifs français au palais du Louvre [Pavillon de Marsan] et à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, Apr. 1904, p. 88, Cat. No. 226) did not accept the inscription as authentic, nor did L. Dimier (*French Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1904, p. 24). This suspicion was probably due to the panel's being owned by A. W. Thibaudeau, who was known to forge collectors' marks. The elaborately inscribed Clouet *Pierre Quthe* (signed and dated 1562) was not known widely until 1907, and following that date, the inscription on K2125 was generally accepted as authentic. See Louis Dimier, 'Clouet', *Thieme-Becker*, VII, 1912, p. 117; though the Cook catalogue of 1915 does not accept the inscription, rejecting Clouet's authorship. Perhaps it was in the Thibaudeau sale at Christie's on 5 Aug. 1879. (3) Observed by A. Contini Bonacossi, letter of 4/II/63. Kress Archive. (4) For the bathing practices of sixteenth-century France see Jules Guiffrey, *Lettres inédites de Diane de Poitiers*, Paris, 1886, p. 239; Salomon Reinach, 'Les portraits de Diane de Poitiers et de Gabrielle d'Estrées', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., II, 1920, pp. 173-4; Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, The Hague, 1931, I, p. 506; and the references given by Roger Trinquet, 'L'allégorie politique au XVI^e siècle: La dame au bain de François Clouet (Washington)', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1966, p. 101. See also Julius S. Held, 'Artis pictoriae amator, an Antwerp Art Patron', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., I, 1957, pp. 74-83, for the tradition of such subjects. (5) F. A. Gruyer, *Chantilly, notice des peintures*, Paris, 1900, pp. 92 ff., Cat. No. 36. He identified the subjects as Gabrielle d'Estrées with her son César, c. 1597. The bather wears pearls in her hair and around her neck and wrists.

Flowers seem to fall from the curtains. The fireplace is in the style of Primaticcio. Other copies of the Chantilly painting are mentioned in R. H. Wilenski, *French Painting*, Boston, 1936, p. 30; Reinach, *op. cit.* Note 4, pp. 167-8. (6) According to Jules Guiffrey (*op. cit.* Note 4, p. 239), this copy was made c. 1865 by Henri Lehmann after a painting at Chenonceaux. The latter was also referred to by Louis Dimier, *Le portrait du xvi^e siècle au primitifs français...*, Paris, 1904, p. 24; Reinach, *op. cit.* Note 4, p. 168. (7) London, Christie's Sale, 31 Mar. 1922, Cat. No. 40. (8) See Charles Sterling and Hélène Adhémar, *Musée du Louvre: Peintures: École française, xive, xve, et xvi^e siècles*, Paris, 1965, p. 33, Cat. No. 104. Several examples of the Louvre composition survive; see Reinach, *op. cit.* Note 4, p. 168; Reinach's *Répertoire des peintures*, Paris, 1922, v, p. 25, provides a confusing listing of other examples. (9) It was presumably listed as such while in the collection of Sir Richard Frederick and later listed as 'Diane de Poitiers in a milk bath' in an undated album of photographs of works in the Cook Collection, published by W. A. Mansfeld, text by John Charles Robinson. This publication is cited by Reinach, *op. cit.* Note 4, p. 174. (10) Jules Guiffrey, *op. cit.* Note 4, pp. 239-40. (11) Henri Bouchot, *Exposition des primitifs français au palais du Louvre (Pavillon de Marsan) et à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, Apr. 1904, p. 88, Cat. No. 226. (12) Dimier, *op. cit.* Note 6, p. 23. (13) Georges La Fenestre, 'L'Exposition des primitifs français', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser., XXXII, 1904, p. 138. (14) E. Durand-Gréville, 'The Sixteenth Century at the Exhibition of French Primitives', *Burlington Magazine*, VI, 1904, p. 148. (15) Louis Dimier, 'François Clouet', *Thieme-Becker*, cited Note 2 above. (16) Phillips, *op. cit.* Note 2 above. (17) Maurice W. Brockwell, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond, and Elsewhere in the Collection of Sir F. Cook*, London, 1915, III, p. 44, Cat. No. 425. (18) Noted by Reinach, *op. cit.* Note 4, p. 168. Leonardo's influence on other French half-length paintings of nudes was studied by André de Hevesy, 'L'histoire véridique de la Joconde', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XI, 1952, pp. 5-26. (19) Reinach, *op. cit.* Note 4, pp. 164, 168. (20) Louis Dimier, *Histoire de la peinture de portraits en France au xvi^e siècle*, Paris-Brussels, 1924, I, p. 95; II, p. 127. (21) E. Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.* Note 1, I, pp. 74-5. (22) Adler, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 227. (23) Paul Jamot, 'French Painting - II', *Burlington Magazine*, LX, 1932, p. 3. The painting is reproduced in color as the frontispiece of 'French Painting - I' in the preceding issue (LIX, 1931, p. 257). (24) R. H. Wilenski, *French Painting*, Boston, 1936, p. 30, n. 1. (25) Pierre du Colombier, *L'art renaissance en France*, Paris, 1950, fig. 115. (26) Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*, Baltimore, 1957, pp. 64, 246, notes 98-101. He cites the Joos van Cleve *Holy Family* (now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) reproduced by M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, IX, Leyden, 1931, pl. 65. (27) Charles Sterling, *A Catalogue of French Paintings*, Vol. 3, xv-xviii Centuries, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, p. 53, listed as 'The Lady in Her Bath', and p. 54. (28) Charles Sterling, *Le triomphe du maniérisme européen de Michel-Ange au Greco*, Amsterdam, Rijks-

museum, 1 July-15 Oct. 1955, pp. 57-8, Cat. No. 44. For these paintings, see also Francis Henry Taylor, 'La Belle Diane: Two Portraits of the French Renaissance', *Worcester Art Museum Annual*, III, 1937-40, pp. 45-6. (29) Sylvie Béguin, *L'école de Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1960, p. 95. R. Guilly, 'Clouet', *Kindlers*, I, p. 759, follows her views. (30) Marcel Brion, *Lumière de la renaissance*, Paris, 1948, p. 198, also noted the symbolic character of K1215. (31) Albert Châtelet and Jacques Thuillier, *French Painting from Fouquet to Poussin*, Geneva, 1963, pp. 129-30. (32) Charles Sterling, 'Un portrait inconnu par Jean Clouet', *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt*, London, 1967, p. 89. He found the still life very close to that of a Flemish *Merry Company with a View of Notre-Dame*, known in versions in the Musée Carnavalet and in Budapest, of c. 1535-40. Reproduced in *Le siècle de Bruegel*, Brussels, 1963, p. 175, Cat. No. 134 and there attributed to the Brunswick Monogrammist. (33) A. P. de Mirimonde, review of Albert Châtelet and Jacques Thuillier's *La peinture française de Fouquet à Poussin*, Geneva, 1963, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LXIII, 1964, p. 370. Hevesy, *op. cit.* Note 18, p. 19, had been puzzled by the presence of the unicorn. For the symbolism of the carnation see Ingvar Bergström, *Den symboliska nejlkan*, Malmö, 1961. (34) Pierre du Colombier, 'Dames et déesses de la renaissance', *Plaisir de France*, Nov. 1965, p. 38. (35) Trinquet, *op. cit.* Note 4, pp. 113, 115 ff. (36) Communications to the writer from Ehrmann. (37) Trinquet, *op. cit.* Note 4, p. 102. For such paintings, see A. P. de Mirimonde, 'Jan Massys dans les musées de province', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LX, 1967, pp. 543-62. (38) Trinquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff., 115-17. The Great Seal is shown as his fig. 7 and the medal as fig. 8. (39) See Edgar Wind, 'Studies in Allegorical Portraiture', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937/38, pp. 138-62. (40) For contemporary dress, see André Blum, *The Last Valois, 1515-90*, London, 1951. For portraits of Diane de Poitiers, see Reinach, *op. cit.* Note 4. Several of those included have subsequently been shown to represent other sitters. See also Louis Dimier, 'An Idealized Portrait of Diane de Poitiers', *Burlington Magazine*, XXIV, 1913/14, pp. 89-93; Françoise Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers et le mythe de Diane*, Paris, 1963; Philippe Erlanger, 'Diane de Poitiers: The Myth', *Connoisseur*, Am. ed., Oct. 1966, pp. 83-7. (41) Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Time, and Folly* (London, National Gallery) was given to François I by Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Salviati was briefly active in France. The royal collection may also have provided Clouet with the motif for the servant in the background, found in the School of Raphael *Johanna of Aragon* (Paris, Louvre). For some of the Italian paintings available to Clouet, see Jean Adhémar, 'The Collection of Paintings of Francis I', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., xxx, 1946, pp. 5-16. (42) Serge Grandjean and Germaine de Rothschild, *Bernard Palissy et son école (Collection Edouard de Rothschild)*, Paris, 1952, Cat. No. 39, pl. 37. (43) See Adhémar, *op. cit.* Note 41, pp. 14-15. (44) A similar head-dress is worn by Queen Elizabeth in the print by Remigius Hogenberg of c. 1570. Reproduced by Roy Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, Oxford, 1963, I, p. 108, fig. E7. For other portraits of Mary Stuart see Stefan Zweig, *The*

Queen of Scots, London, 1936: frontispiece, Mary Stuart in 1559, drawn by François Clouet; facing p. 32, Mary Stuart and François II from the *Hours of Catherine de' Medici*; Mary Stuart in white mourning, 1560, all in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. (45) Maurice W. Brockwell, *loc. cit.* Note 17.

FRENCH MASTER

K1527 : Figure 240

PRINCE HERCULE-FRANÇOIS, DUC D'ALENÇON. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1607), since 1956. Oil on canvas. 74½ × 40½ in. (188.6 × 102.2 cm.). Inscribed at upper left corner: .FRANCOIS.DVC.DALENCON./EAGE.DE.XVIII.ANS LE.XIX.^e/IONR.DE.MARS.AN.1.5.7.2/.FILS.DE.HENRY.II^e.DECE./NOM.ROY.DE.FRANCE. ('François, Duke of Alençon, at the age of eighteen years on the nineteenth day of March in the year 1572, son of Henry II of this name King of France.') Considerable abrasion and repainting, especially in face. X-rays show that originally the physiognomy was less swollen and pugnacious. Extensive losses throughout left side of face and nose. Right side of face also abraded. The canvas was relined and restored c. 1945; slight restoration and varnishing by Modestini in 1955. Some very small holes. Thinly painted; the technique, according to Charles Sterling (1970) is close to French followers of Niccolò dell'Abbate rather than to Flemish masters.

The eighteen-year-old duke is shown in white, standing in full length against a neutral background. He wears a velvet hat with a pearl band with five jeweled rosettes around it; a white plume at the left is fastened by a brooch with a portrait medal of Roman Imperial type in profile. A snow-leopard cape is over his shoulder. He wears a high ruffled lace collar and a doublet in a finely quilted pattern with self-covered buttons, the waist cut in a castellated design. The trunk hose is quilted and cut into open 'panes' mounted over a base of the same material. He wears white stockings and slipper-like shoes. His right hand holds gauntlets close to the hip and his left grasps a gadrooned sword suspended from his gadrooned belt. The gadrooned handle of a short sword is seen at his right hip. A long jeweled chain *en suite* with the one around his hat supports the Order of St. Michael (the standing Archangel vanquishing Satan underfoot) which Hercule-François received in 1566.¹ Hercule-François, the fourth son of Henri II and Catherine de Medici, was born in 1554 and known as the duc d'Alençon until the accession of his elder brother, the duc d'Anjou, to the throne as Henri III. At that time the king conceded the duchy and title of Anjou to Hercule-François at the Treaty of Beaulieu, 6 May 1576. The new duc d'Anjou headed the Flemish revolt against Philip II of Spain, proclaiming himself duc de Brabant and comte de Flandres in 1582 at the time of his triumphal Antwerp entry. For that occasion the great Valois tapestries, showing members of the family in allegorical compositions, were woven.² Negotiations for the homely prince's marriage to

Queen Elizabeth (twelve years his senior) began in 1572 and went on for about twelve years; the protracted courtship of the small, pock-marked duke was the subject of popular humor. Many portraits of him were prepared in conjunction with the proposals for marriage. Catherine de' Medici ordered two portrait drawings from François Clouet c. 1572 to be sent to Queen Elizabeth, but the French queen did not find them satisfactory. The duke's older brother, who had also been Elizabeth's suitor, was the subject of a large portrait sent to her. No doubt this procedure was followed when François became her suitor.³ A portrait was sent c. 1572 as noted in a letter of Dr. V. Dale to Burghley: 'For his (Alençon's) parsonage, me thinketh, the portraiture doth express hym very well; and when I saw hym at my last audience, he seemed to growe dayly more hansom than other' (February 1573). Several years later when Alençon was fighting in Flanders he sent Elizabeth a new portrait (in exchange for one she had sent him) accompanied by a note expressing his regrets that his portrait was not as beautiful as Adonis or Cupid.⁴ With the victorious revolt of his Flemish subjects the duke fled to France, dying there in 1584.⁵

When Waagen saw the portrait at Cobham Hall he attributed it to François Clouet.⁶ The painting was tentatively ascribed to Clouet by Errera.⁷ The canvas is described as a Pourbus and a most flattering presentation of the sitter by Kelly.⁸ Douglas ascribed K1527 to François Clouet.⁹ The portrait was at one time given to Jean Decourt, François Clouet's successor, who was a painter at the court from 1572 onward.¹⁰ Sterling noted that the manner in which K1527 is painted 'has absolutely nothing to do with the tight modeling of Clouet and his imitators, a manner in which one can still feel the tradition of Flemish training. On the contrary, the picture is painted in a rich and rather loose texture in which the training of the School of Fontainebleau is perceptible . . . although temporarily anonymous, it is one of the masterpieces of French portraiture of the Renaissance.' He described it as the finest likeness of the duc d'Alençon, by an artist of the French School, several indications suggesting that he might perhaps be Jean Decourt.¹¹

Provenance: The Kress portrait was long thought to be identical with the one listed as by Pourbus, dated 1574, showing the duc d'Alençon (London, Christie's, *Catalogue of a Capital and Valuable Collection of Pictures late the property of the Graave Lichtervelde, of Ghent*, 1 June 1801, Cat. No. 65).¹² However, the different date suggests that the Lichtervelde portrait is the one now in the Wallace Collection (London) by Pourbus the Elder, signed and dated 1574, inscribed in red (in a later hand) 'D: of Alençon 1574'. The portrait does not in fact represent the duke and is listed in the Wallace Collection catalogue as 'A Gentleman'.¹³ John Stuart Bligh, Sixth Earl of Darnley (1827–96), Cobham Hall, Kent. Edward Henry Stuart Bligh, seventh Earl of Darnley (1851–1900). Ivo Francis Walter Bligh, Eighth Earl of Darnley (1859–1927), (sold, London, Christie's, *Catalogue of Important Pictures by Old Masters –*

The Property of the Right Honourable the [Eighth] Earl of Darnley removed from Cobham Hall, Kent, 1 May 1925, p. 20, Cat. No. 57 as by François Pourbus. New York, Duveen and Co., 'Exhibit of Old Masters', 1946, no. 6, as by Pieter Pourbus the elder. Kress acquisition 1947, exhibited – Pittsburg, Carnegie Institute, *French Painting 1100–1900*, 18 Oct.–2 Dec. 1951, Cat. No. 45, fig. 45, listed as French School, quoting Sterling.

References: (1) See 'L'Ordre royal de Saint Michel', *Millénaire du Mont Saint-Michel, 966–1966*, Exhibition Catalogue, Paris, 1966, pp. 181–97. (2) Frances A. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries*, London, 1959. (3) H. de la Ferrière, *Les Projets de Mariage de la reine Elisabeth*, Paris, 1882, pp. 104, 105. (4) Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House*, II, London, 1888, pp. 475–6, no. 1116, cited by Langton Douglas in a study of K1527, made in 1946, p. 3 (Kress Archive). (5) For other portraits of the duc d'Alençon see Charles Sterling and Hélène Adhémar, *Musée du Louvre: Peintures: École française, xive, xve, et xvie siècles*, Paris, 1965, pl. 179, p. 26, Cat. No. 67; E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouets et leurs éniules*, Paris, 1924, III, p. 256, Cat. No. 30; Louis Dimier, *Histoire de la peinture de portrait en France au xvie siècle*, Paris/Brussels, 1926, II, p. 283, N. 1169; Paul André Lemoisne, *La Peinture au Musée du Louvre, école française xive, xve, xvie siècles*, Paris, 1925, p. 57, pl. 61. Other portraits of d'Alençon as a young man painted prior to his growing a moustache are at Chantilly (Musée Condé), reproduced by Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 462, attributed to François Clouet, and a drawing in the Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève (from the School of Clouet). (6) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, III, p. 25. (7) Isabelle Errera, *Répertoire des Peintures Datées*, I, Brussels/Paris, 1920, p. 134. (8) F. M. Kelly, 'On a Miniature in the Jones Collection at South Kensington', *Apollo*, XIII, 1931, pp. 15–19, esp. p. 17. See also the same author's 'Foreign Suitors of Queen Elizabeth and Their Portraits', *Apollo*, XVII, 1933, pp. 145–9, esp. p. 147. K1527 is listed by that writer as 'Pourbus Junior' ('Caveat some pitfalls in portraiture', *The Connoisseur*, CX, 1942, pp. 28–30, esp. p. 28). (9) Douglas, *op. cit.* Note 4, *passim*. (10) This name seems first to have been brought up by Bouchot, Dimier, and Moreau-Nélaton. Letter of 22/xi/55 to John Walker, Director of the National Gallery, from Charles Sterling. (11) Charles Sterling, *Great French Paintings in the Hermitage*, New York, 1958, p. 232. Sterling also noted a stylistic correspondence between K1527 and *Portrait of a Nobleman of the Valois Court* (Detroit, Institute of Arts) by a follower of François Clouet (p. 232, n. 22). Like the Kress canvas, the Detroit portrait is thinly painted. Its rendering of detail is less fine than K1527. (12) According to Ralph N. James (*Painters and Their Works*, II, London, 1897, p. 422) the painting was listed as by Frans Pourbus the Elder and sold for £26. George Redford (*Art Sales*, London, 1888, II, p. 315) wrote that it was purchased by the Earl of Warwick (George, the second earl, died 1816) for £26. (13) F. J. B. Watson, *Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1968, p. 244, Inv. No. p 26, as 'A Gentleman'.

FRENCH (?) ARTIST, ACTIVE XVII CENTURY (?)

K1596 : Figure 239

HENRI II AS DAUPHIN. Lincoln, Nebraska, The University of Nebraska (U-357-K), since 1962. Tempera (gouache) on vellum. $9\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ in. (25.2×16.9 cm.) painted area; the support measures $13\frac{3}{4} \times 11$ in. (34.9×27.9 cm.). Inscribed on cared tablet at lower left: HENRICVS/DELPHI-FR/AET. [S]VAE.XXI/ANN-MDXXXIX ('Henry, Dauphin of France, aged 21, in the year 1539'). Several tears and repairs; the vellum seems to have been restretched after wrinkling.

Henri II (1519-59), son of François I, married Catherine de' Medici in 1533, was crowned in 1547, and was accidentally killed in a tournament in 1559. He is shown full-length, his head in left profile, grasping his gauntlets with his right hand and a sword with his left. The dauphin wears a curious jacket and white hose, and a plumed beret with a brooch. He is seen against a background diapered with a fleur-de-lis motif. A long curtain and chair are partially shown at the right, an Italianate pilaster at the left. He stands upon an inlaid marble floor.

The entirely misunderstood costume, together with the impossibly proportioned figure and the very coarse technique, indicate that this work was probably painted in the seventeenth century when there was considerable interest in making copies after portraits of the preceding century. Once attributed to Jean Clouet, it is based upon such works as two French portraits on vellum now in the Louvre dated c. 1575-78.¹

The portrait was probably bound, together with a series showing the kings of France, in a historical text of the seventeenth (?) century.

Provenance: Paris, Arnold Seligmann (according to Paul Drey Gallery). New York, Kobler (according to Paul Drey Gallery). New York, Paul Drey Gallery. Kress acquisition 1948.

Reference: (1) Charles Sterling and Hélène Adhémar, *Musée du Louvre: Peintures: École française: xive, xve, et xvie siècles*, Paris, 1965; *Charles de Balzac d'Entragues* (Cat. No. 121, pl. 243) and *Paul Stuer de Caussade, marquis de Saint-Mégrin* (Cat. No. 122, pl. 243); both measure 22×15 cm. and come from the collection Gaignières (Sauvageot gift). Sterling and Adhémar attribute them to a French follower of Hilliard.

SIMON VOUET

Simon Vouet was born in Paris in 1590 and died there in 1649.¹ The son of Laurent Vouet, a prosperous *peintre-décorateur* from whom Vouet received his first training, the

young artist's talents seem to have been recognized early: he was sent to England at the age of fourteen to execute a portrait commission. In 1611 he went to Istanbul and then spent a year in Venice before settling in Rome (c. 1614), where he remained on a pension from Louis XIII for the next fourteen years. He married a Roman painter, Virginia di Vezzi, who is often assumed to have been his model for many works. First painting in a Caravaggesque manner, Vouet subsequently incorporated aspects of Guercino, Lanfranco, Reni, and others' art, uniting these in a brilliantly eclectic style.² He was soon extremely popular, winning the patronage of the discerning collector-antiquarian Cassiano dal Pozzo and of Maffeo Barberini (Pope Urban VIII). He was appointed head of the Roman Guild of St. Luke in 1624 and was active in Genoa and Venice before his recall to Paris by Richelieu in 1627. Vouet's strong sculptural art, distinguished by its silvery coloring, broke away from the late mannerism of the second School of Fontainebleau and made him the outstanding French master in the reign of Louis XIII. Employed at the court during a period of great French prosperity, Vouet received many commissions for large-scale painting cycles; very few of these survive *in situ*. Vouet dominated French art until Poussin's Parisian residence of 1641-42 and the death of Louis XIII in 1643. Although Vouet's career still seemed in the ascendancy with his appointment to the directorship of the Académie de Saint-Luc and his role as co-founder of the Académie Royale, his decorative classicism slowly lost patronage to Poussin's more profoundly beautiful and erudite art. Vouet, with Rubens, brought the Baroque grand manner to French seventeenth-century art; his approach was continued by his students Lebrun, Le Sueur and Mignard. His works were well known through the excellent reproductive prints made by his son-in-law Michel Dorigny.

References: (1) William R. Crelly, *The Painting of Simon Vouet*, New Haven-London, 1962; Yves Picart, *La vie et l'œuvre de Simon Vouet*, Paris [1962]. (2) Hermann Voss, 'Die Caravaggeske Frühzeit von Simon Vouet', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LVIII, 1924/25, pp. 56-67; Georgette Dargent and Jacques Thuillier, 'Simon Vouet en Italie, essai de catalogue critique', *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, IV, 1965, pp. 27-63.

K1891 : Figure 244

SAINT JEROME AND THE ANGEL. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1415), since 1956. Oil on coarse canvas. $57 \times 70\frac{3}{4}$ in. (144.8×179.8 cm.). Inscribed at lower left: 25, an inventory number (Barberini?).¹ Relined in Italy. Pentimento near Jerome's elbow. Slight restoration on left of saint's chest and elsewhere; angel's face somewhat darkened; slightly abraded; generally well-preserved. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 202, Cat. No. 80.

The elderly, bearded Church Father is seated at his desk, nude but for a red drapery across his arm and lower torso.

He gestures to the right, turning to the left, toward a white-winged curly-haired, brunette angel in yellow drapery worn over a white robe. The angel grasps a trumpet with his left hand and points to the left with the right. The figures are seen in half-length against a monochromatic background, the composition cut off in the foreground by the table's edge. A half-burnt candle stands on books in an arched niche at the right. Another book is at the lower right on the desk, next to an hourglass. The saint holds a quill pen in his right hand above an open book, with a scroll placed upon it. A second quill, an inkwell and eyeglasses are to the left with a skull. The skull faces the saint, and is placed on a book and a cloth on the left corner of the desk.

A replica of K1891 is at Chambéry (Musée Benoît-Molin).² The subject is usually identified with a passage from an apocryphal letter of St. Jerome in which he writes of constantly hearing the terrible trumpet of the Last Judgment.³ It is also linked with the saint's famous vision, described in his epistle to Eustochium, in which an angel berated him for a consuming interest in Classical rather than Christian subjects.⁴ Zucker noted that 'the angel does not actually blow the trumpet, it is perhaps only a moment of divine inspiration that is intended. . . . The angel seems to be instructing rather than admonishing or frightening the saint. . . . At any rate, the event is clearly not, as is usually stated, the famous vision or dream of St. Jerome, described by the saint in his epistle to Eustochium. . . .'⁵ K1891 combines two themes – that of the nude, penitent St. Jerome in the wilderness, sometimes accompanied by a trumpeting angel, with the presentation of St. Jerome in cardinal's attire, seated at his desk preparing the Vulgate. These scenes were combined in Italy following the Counter-Reformation.⁶ The skull, hourglass, eyeglasses and candle are all emblems of mortality, the *memento mori* (popular elements in *Vanitas* still-lives of the seventeenth century⁷ and often associated with St. Jerome). The red drapery may refer to Jerome's role as cardinal. The canvas, still in the Barberini Collection, was first attributed to Vouet by Longhi in 1935; seventeenth-century Barberini inventories listing the canvas as a Vouet were first examined in 1965.⁸ Longhi placed it in Vouet's Roman, Caravaggesque period (1613–27), possibly before 1620.⁹ This attribution was accepted by Zeri and all subsequent writers with the exception of Pauwels, who believed K1891 to be by Terbrugghen.¹⁰ Nicolson rejected Pauwels's view, noting that 'This beautiful picture follows on from the late Borgianni; in my opinion it has nothing to do with Terbrugghen. It fits well in style with Vouet of about 1620–24.'¹¹ Picart placed the canvas near the end of Vouet's first Roman period (1614–20), painted ninth of the eleven works which he viewed as executed within this time span.¹² Manning followed Longhi's dating, noting that a certain elegance in K1891 separated it from the art of Caravaggio.¹³ According to Seymour (p. 142), 'the presence of the models comes through insistently; but the magical quality of the brushwork transforms what might have seemed a literal view into a compelling artistic vision. The delicate yet logical effects of the light alone make of this picture a telling example of the double quality that the seventeenth-

century emulator of Vasari, Filippo Baldinucci, praised as the "sensitive and the true". The work is described as 'one of the most impressive and masterful of all the paintings attributed to Vouet in his Italian period . . .' by Crelly who suggested that Caravaggio's *St. Jerome* (Rome, Galleria Borghese) as well as the same artist's *St. Matthew and the Angel* (Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi, Contarelli Chapel) influenced Vouet's interpretation. Crelly found it characteristic of Vouet to make an 'elegant transformation of a stolid Caravaggesque formula through the use of richly painted draperies and refined rhetorical gestures', and suggested that the canvas dates from the middle or later 1620s, judging by 'its perfect ease of execution and the stylistic parallels between the figure of the saint and a Saturn figure in one of the last Italian paintings [*Self-Portrait*, Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts]'.¹⁴ The canvas is dated c. 1620 in the *Summary Catalogue* of the National Gallery.¹⁵

A date in the later 1620s seems correct for K1891, painted shortly before Vouet's leaving Rome for Paris in 1628. The canvas is an inspired restatement of Caravaggio's *St. Jerome Writing* (Rome, Galleria Borghese) of 1605–6. The all too human angel is also derived from those characteristic of the Italian master's art. Zucker's emphasis upon the benevolent rather than admonitory relationship between the figures is acceptable – the figures appear in dialogue, each making a rhetorical gesture. Jerome is depicted preparing a text, possibly a translation from the scroll to the open book before him. The canvas is among the most forceful and eloquent of Vouet's works, retaining a dramatic quality that was to be jettisoned in his later, more blandly classical works. It may perhaps have been commissioned by Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644) who became Urban VIII in 1623. In that year Vouet painted the newly elected Pope's portrait known only from a Mellan print.¹⁶ The artist's major Italian commission, given him in the following year, an altar for St. Peter's Chapel of the Canons, may also have been ordered by the Pope.¹⁷ Vouet was also patronized by the Pope's secretary Marcello Sacchetti, and by his nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini, either of whom could have ordered the Washington canvas. Exciting without vulgarity, realistic without cliché, Vouet's vast, splendid canvas unites the sacred and profane in a brilliant work of baroque beauty.

Provenance: Palazzo Barberini, Rome, as early as 1689 (?)¹⁸ and probably until 1952. Two canvases of St. Jerome and the Angel by Vouet are mentioned in seventeenth-century inventories of the Barberini Palace Collection. In the 1692–1707 inventory of Cardinal Carlo Barberini, Rome, are: No. 123, 'Un S. Girolamo al[to] plmi 7: l[argo] 7: Cornice marmorata e oro di monsù Ouet Leg[a]to di monsignore Felicia . . .' No. 337, 'Un S. Girolamo con l'angelo con Tromba in mano al[to] p[alm]i 7 l[argo] 9: Cornice dorata intagliata di monsù Ouet.'¹⁹ No. 123 seems also to have been included in the 1671 inventory of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, made at the Palazzo Giubbonari, No. 330, 'Un quadro di grandezza di p.mi 6½ p[er] ogni verso Con la figure

de S. Girolamo e l'Angelo, Mano di Monsù O.vett Con Cornice d'orata intagliata no. 1 - 100 - [scudi]. No. 337 measures about 20 cm. more in height and width than K1891, but the inventory measurements note probably includes the original frame. This presumably is the Kress canvas.²⁰ New York, Gabriel Sonnino. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) Rosemarie Garipoli suggested it may refer to the date 1625. Kress Archive, 1971. (2) Benedict Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, The Hague, 1958, p. 130. (3) See Réau, III, 2, pp. 747 ff. K1891 is included by the author as an example of this theme. See also É. Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trent*, Paris, 1932, pp. 501-3; A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Berlin-Budapest, 1956, I, p. 430. Robert L. Manning, 'Some Important Paintings by Simon Vouet in America', *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida on his Eightieth Birthday*, London, 1959, pp. 294-303, p. 294. For the iconography of St. Jerome, see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VI, Rome, 1965, cols. 1109-37. (4) For a discussion of the letter to Eustochium, see Anna Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Boston and New York, 1896, I, p. 281. (5) Mark J. Zucker, MS. catalogue entry for K1891, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (6) A *St. Jerome in His Study* by Caravaggio (Rome, Galleria Borghese) depicts the almost nude saint in an interior, his attributes similar to those shown in K1891 but without the angel. An early Guercino (Rome, Palazzo Patrizi) shows an almost nude Jerome at a desk in the wilderness working on his translation. A late work by the same artist (1641, Rimini, S. Gerolamo) represents the nude saint in the wilderness, at a desk, partially wrapped in a red drapery, with a trumpeting angel overhead. In France the subjects remained distinct, as seen in two depictions of St. Jerome by Georges de la Tour, one in cardinal's robe, at his desk (Paris, Louvre) and the other nude, penitent, in the wilderness (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum). (7) Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting*, London, 1956, pp. 155-8. (8) Roberto Longhi, 'I Pittori della realtà in Francia ovvero: Caravaggeschi francesi del seicento', *L'Italia Letteraria*, 1935, p. 6. (9) Longhi, 'Ultimi studi sul Caravaggio e la sua cerchia', *Proporzioni*, I, 1943, p. 56, n. 76 and p. 32. (10) Federico Zeri, *La Galleria e la Collezione Barberini, Catalogo del Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale*, Rome, 1954, p. 7, Cat. No. 89; H. Pauwels, 'Nieuwe toeschrijvingen bij het oeuvre van Hendrick TerBrugghen', *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XIII, 1951, pp. 153-67, esp. pp. 161-2. (11) Nicolson, *op. cit.* Note 2, p. 130, Cat. No. B.118. (12) Yves Picart, *La Vie et l'œuvre de Simon Vouet*, Paris, 1958, Part I, p. 25, Cat. No. 9. (13) Manning, *op. cit.* Note 3, p. 295. (14) William R. Crelly, *The Painting of Simon Vouet*, New Haven and London, 1962, pp. 43-4, 47, and 222, Cat. No. 153. He observed that Nicholas Renieri, a Northern painter whom Vouet probably knew in Rome, painted the same subject (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) in a manner comparable to Vouet's. It is reproduced by H. Voss, *Die Malerei des Barock in Rom*, Berlin, 1925, pl. 145. (15) Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Summary Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture*, 1965, p. 138, no. 1415. (16) Anatole de Montaiglon,

Catalogue Raisonné de l'œuvre de Claude Mellan, Abbéville, 1856, p. 469, Cat. No. 257. (17) Oskar Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 230-4. (18) C. 1689, one of the two (?) Vouet *St. Jeromes* was presumably seen in the 'appartement bas du Cardinal . . . 2^e chambre . . . St. Mathieu de Mr. vouet' and recorded in the de Cotte *Mémoires*. See the *Papiers de Cotte*, Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 9447, fols. 210-13, under the heading 'Mémoires du Palais Palestrin' a Barberini residence, and published in *Nicolas Poussin*, edited by André Chastel, Paris, 1960. The *Mémoires* are first mentioned by Georgette Dargent and Jacques Thuillier, 'Simon Vouet en Italie, Essai de catalogue critique', *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte*, IV, 1965, p. 43. Elsewhere in the de Cotte *Mémoires* the writer referred to a 'pallais Palestrin proche la place Barberini' (p. 203). At the time, Cardinal Carlo Barberini, Taddeo's son, lived on the ground floor of the Barberini Palace in Rome. This identification of K1891 as St. Matthew may have been based upon the fact that a *St. Luke* of 1631 by Guercino in the Barberini Collection is rather close in format and style and the French writer (supposedly the architect Robert de Cotte, who was in Italy 1689-90) may have thought it part of an Evangelist series along with Guercino's *Luke*. The latter could have been painted *en suite* with *Jerome*. The *Luke* is reproduced by Nefta Grimaldi, *Il Guercino*, Bologna, n.d., pl. 96. (19) Inventory still at the Palazzo Barberini. (20) I am indebted to Marilyn Aronberg Lavin for finding and transcribing these entries from the Barberini inventories.

SIMON VOUET

K2177 : Figure 245

THE MUSES URANIA AND CALLIOPE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1613), since 1960. Oil on oak. 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 49 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (79.8 × 125 cm.). Inscribed on fore-edge of book held in lap of woman to the right: *odiss* ['Odyssey']. Cradled in 1957 by Modestini; cleaned and restored by him in 1960 with some in-painting; very well preserved. Reproduced in color by Seymour, pl. 132.

Two allegorical female figures recline before a Classical portico. The one at the left, Urania, the Muse of Astronomy, is dressed in white with a blue mantle, and wears a diadem with six stars; she leans upon a large astral globe. She places her left hand upon the shoulder of Calliope, the Muse of Epic Poetry, who is attired in orange-yellow with a pink robe; she holds a book, Homer's *Odyssey*, in her lap and wears a gold diadem. To the right are three putti, each holding a laurel wreath, which, according to Ripa, are the rewards of poetry.¹ White and pink roses bloom at the left. The sandaled foot of a statue is at the upper left corner; the bases of two fluted columns are near the center.

K2177 is one of a series of perhaps nine panels, of which four others are extant:² 1. *Apollo and the Nine Muses*

(Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum). 80×125.7 cm. on pine. Text Fig. 63. 2. *Euterpe*, Muse of Lyric Poetry (Paris, private collection). 82×64 cm. on oak. Text Fig. 64. 3. *Clio*, Muse of History (Karlsruhe, Kunsthalle). 84×62 cm. on oak. Text Fig. 65. 4. *Polyhymnia*, Muse of Oratory, Sacred Music and Song (Paris, Louvre). 81×100 cm. on oak. Text Fig. 66. 5. *Thalia*, Muse of Comedy (Paris, Art Market, Before World War II).—Additional lost panels showed Erato (Erotic Poetry); Melpomene (Tragedy); and Terpsichore (Choral Song and Dance).

Manning grouped the Kress panels with nos. 1–3 noting that, as all are on panel, largely based on the Ripa *Iconologia* of 1611, in the same scale and from the same period in Vouet's art, 'it seems justified to assume that they at one time formed part of the decorations of a room in which all of the various Muses were used as the decorating theme'. He related the series to Vouet's *Parnassus* for Wideville (1636) and his decorations for the Hôtel de Boullion begun in 1634, implying a date of the mid-1630s for the Kress panel.³ These views were accepted by Picart, who placed the series in Vouet's most productive period, 1634–38, and juxtaposed the *Polyhymnia*, belonging in the same series as K2177, to Vouet's *Diana* (dated 1637).⁴ The panel was found by Seymour (p. 141) to illustrate Vouet's 'court-style': the 'wreath-bearing Italian *amorini*... have... begun the transition to French *amours*. The clear, fully-rounded shapes of the figures are not so much broken up by intricate effects of light and shade as in the classicism of Poussin or of his Italian forerunner Annibale Carracci. Instead outlines are kept unbroken and foreground and deep distance carefully differentiated. This style is clearer, more logical, if anything, more "classic" in the French sense than anything we have seen up to this point.' The possibility of a royal decorative commission for the Muse series was raised by Crelly, who found the group somewhat repetitious in conception and execution, and regarded the best of the series to show Vouet's 'meticulous elegance in the drawing of the forms and in the restrained richness of the colors.' He stressed the aesthetic importance of the rich architectural interior design for which the Muses were intended.⁵ An additional Muse, *Clio*, was added to the series by Lauts, who suggested that the cycle was seen as a frieze above eye-level in the upper section of a chamber somewhat like Le Sueur's *Cabinet des Muses* for the Hôtel Lambert of c. 1645–50 (now Paris, Louvre).⁶ As the Budapest panel is on pine rather than oak, the support for the others, Pigler did not view it as *en suite*.⁷

Rooms including the Muses in their décor so as to form a *Musaion* or Temple of the Muses first appeared in Italy in the late fifteenth century, where elaborate humanistic programs for decorative cycles alluding to knowledge were adopted for chambers housing books or used for literary pursuits. Diane de Poitiers's Château (Anet) had a room decorated with Muses. Another sixteenth-century chamber at Ancy-le-Franc has a series of recumbent oval depictions of the Muses, together with personifications of Logic, Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic, Grammar, and Astronomy.⁸ A Muse cycle by Giovanni Baglione was

ordered and sent to France by the Duke of Mantua, Ferdinando Gonzaga, to his aunt Catherine de' Medici (another Vouet patron) in 1624. The ten paintings (now in the Louvre) were installed in the Palais de Luxembourg in the *Cabinet des Muses*, located just before the gallery housing Rubens's *Marie de' Medici* cycle.⁹ Artemisia Gentileschi painted a cycle including the Muses for the Queen's House at Greenwich in the late 1630s.¹⁰ The Muses were often shown both individually as well as collectively with Apollo in seventeenth-century interiors such as the *Cabinet des Muses* by Vouet's pupil Le Sueur and Vouet's associate François Perrier.¹¹ The subject of Apollo and the Muses, included by Vouet in at least three of the pictorial cycles painted for members of the court of Louis XIII, flattered the patron's command of the arts and sciences.¹² The Muses were 'also the guarantors of terrestrial immortality'.¹³ The Kress panel exemplifies Vouet's art at the peak of his career as painter to the court of Louis XIII. It was probably executed c. 1637, as suggested by Picart. Four of the Muses are missing from the series, so that a reconstruction cannot be attempted. The panels must have been destined for a room of very considerable size. Vouet's *Muses* are among the major works in the classical manner to have been painted in France c. 1637 and his only cycle known to have been done on panel.

Provenance: M. de Mauméjan (sold, Paris, Rue St.-Honoré 294, 29 June–2 July 1825, p. 13, Cat. No. 47, as 'S. Vouet – Uranie et la Muse de la poésie épique').¹⁴ Sold London, Christie's, 1 July 1955 (Different Properties), 'S. Vouet, Two Muses', p. 19, Cat. No. 154. New York, David M. Koetser Gallery. Kress acquisition 1957, exhibited – Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America*, 10 Dec. 1961 – 4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 101.

References: (1) For the Muses in relation to poetry, see Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*..., Rome, 1593, pp. 215–17; and for a fuller treatment, the Venice 1645 edition, p. 493. For Muse cycles, see Anton Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Budapest and Berlin, 1956, II, pp. 34–6, 'Apollo and the Muses', and pp. 174–5, 'The Muses'. K2177 was possibly based on Ripa's descriptions of the Muses. Ripa specifies the following: *Urania* is dressed in blue, crowned with stars and holds a great globe in her hands. *Calliope* holds many laurel garlands in her left hand; in her right, she holds three books: the *Odyssey*, *Iliad* and *Aeneid*. She is crowned with gold because, according to Hesiod, she was the worthiest and principal Muse. Garlands are the symbol and reward of poetry, while the three volumes are works of the greatest poets who have written in heroic verse. (2) See Robert L. Manning, 'Some Important Paintings by Simon Vouet in America', *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida*, London, 1959, pp. 294–303, esp. pp. 297–300; Yves Picart, *La Vie et l'œuvre de Simon Vouet*, Paris, [1962], Part 2, p. 28. (3) Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 297–300. (4) Picart, *op. cit.* Note 2, pp. 28–9. The Le Sueur paintings of the Muses, now in the Louvre, were originally in alcoves (for the appearance of this chamber after some eighteenth-century modifications, see the reproductive print c. 1740 by B. Picart). (5) William R. Crelly, *The Painting of Simon*

Vouet, New Haven and London, 1962. K2177 is his Cat. No. 83, p. 186. The Muse series is discussed, pp. 89, 155, 202, 204. (6) Jan Lauts, *Katalog alte Meister bis 1800*, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe, 1966, p. 308, Cat. No. 2486. *Clio*, ex coll. William Niven, sold Christie's 24 Mar. 1961, Cat. No. 50. See also the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle *Katalog französische Meister*, 1963, Cat. No. 6. First published as 'Allegory of Fame' by Crelly (*op. cit.*, Cat. No. 53A), who dated it c. 1640. For the *Le Sueur Cabinet des Muses* see G. Rouchès, *Eustache Le Sueur*, Paris, 1923, pp. 33 ff. (7) According to Pigler, *Museum der bildenden Künste, Katalog der Galerie alter Meister*, Budapest, 1967, I, p. 762. (8) See Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1947, p. 138. The celebrated *studiolo* of Isabella d'Este was brought to France by Vouet's patron Cardinal Richelieu shortly before 1630 and may have again stimulated interest in complex intellectual schemes. (9) See E. Baudson, 'Apollon et les Neuf Muses du Palais du Luxembourg', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1941-44, pp. 28-33. A 'Chambre des Muses' for the Château de La Motte Ternant (executed before 1628) included a *Polyhymnia* by Philippe Quantin (now collection Comtesse de Durfort at Thoisly la-Berchère), Crelly, *op. cit.*, p. 202. Muses were also included in French sixteenth-century royal funerary sculpture and by Primaticcio at the Salle de Bal (Fontainebleau). See Victoria L. Goldberg, 'Graces, Muses, and Arts: The Urns of Henry II and Francis I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxix, 1966, pp. 206-18. (10) See R. Ward Bissell, 'Artemisia Gentileschi - a Documented Chronology', *Art Bulletin*, I, 1968, p. 169, n. 69; fig. 17. (11) Pigler, *op. cit.* Note 7, p. 762. (12) Crelly, *op. cit.* Note 5, pp. 108-10, 118, 225. (13) Goldberg, *op. cit.* Note 9, p. 217. (14) *Catalogue abrégé des tableaux, Dessins et Estampes formant le Cabinet de feu M. de Mauméjan*, Par le ministère de M. Lacoste, Commissaire-Priseur, rue Thérèse, no. 2. The inclusion of K2177 in this sale was first noted by Georges Isarlo, *Caravage et le caravagisme européen*, Aix-en-Provence, 1941, p. 263. As the *Apollo and the Muses* entered the Esterhazy Collection by 1812, the cycle to which K2177 belonged must have been broken up prior to that date, probably in the very late eighteenth or first years of the nineteenth century.

NICOLAS REGNIER

Known as Niccolò Renieri, the painter was born in Maubeuge (Flemish territory until 1678) c. 1590 and worked under Abraham Janssens in Antwerp before going to Italy c. 1615. Regnier resided in Rome, possibly influenced by Bartolommeo Manfredi's adaptation of Caravaggio's 'black manner', and enjoying the patronage of the great collector Vincenzo Giustiniani.¹ He left for Venice c. 1625 and guided Joachim von Sandrart around that city in 1629.² He is recorded in Venetian guild lists between 1626-41. According to Boschini, Regnier's studio was frequented by the Venetian aristocracy and he was in considerable demand as a portrait painter.³ He owned a splendid collection of paintings and was the father of four beautiful daughters who were also artists.

FRANCO-FLEMISH MASTER ACTIVE IN ITALY (Nicolas Regnier?)

K1823 : Figure 237

PORTRAIT OF A MAN WITH A FEATHERED HAT. Claremont, California, Pomona College, Kress Study Collection, since 1961. Oil on canvas. $25\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ in. (64.8 × 48.9 cm.). Very considerable losses - only left eye, left forehead, feathers, drapery at upper left and a few other areas are reasonably well-preserved.

A young man is shown in bust-length, turned slightly to the right, in a somewhat languid, introspective pose. He wears white plumes in a black cap and has long, tousled hair. A cape is thrown over the left shoulder. According to Longhi, the canvas was painted by Regnier in Rome in the 1620s when he was 'under the evident influence of Manfredi, who inspired almost all the Northern followers of Caravaggio who were living in Rome...'.⁴

Regnier's oeuvre is hard to isolate from that of other Northern Caravaggio followers such as Nicolas Tournier (who was also associated with Manfredi) and Valentin Boullogne. The portrait's state of preservation together with its possibly fragmentary nature further complicate its attribution. The rather heavy modeling recalls that of Regnier's *Self-Portrait* (Florence, Uffizi) and the *St. Sebastian* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie). The sitter may have been shown with a musical instrument in somewhat the same fashion as Tournier's *Flute Player* (Brescia, Pinacoteca).⁵ A *Guitarist* ascribed by Voss to Regnier may also indicate the painting's original format.⁶

Provenance: Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) For French followers of Caravaggio see *Caravage et les Peintres Français du XVII^e Siècle*, Galerie Heim, Paris, 1955; see also Arthur von Schneider, *Caravaggio und die Niederländer*, Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar, Marburg/Lahn, 1933. Reprinted Amsterdam, 1967. Hermann Voss, 'Die Caravaggeske Frühzeit von Simon Vouet und Nicolas Regnier', Part 3, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, LVIII, 1924, pp. 121-8. (2) Joachim von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Malerey-Künste von 1675*, Munich, 1925, pp. 25, 186, 368, 425. (3) Marco Boschini, *La carta del navegar pittoresco*, Venice, 1660, pp. 532-3; ed. Anna Pallucchini, Venice, 1966, pp. 569-70. (4) Translation of transcription in Kress Archive, 20/III/50. (5) *The Flute Player* reproduced by Robert Mesurer, 'L'œuvre peint de Nicolas Tournier', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, I, 1957, pp. 327-45; the *Sebastian* by Voss, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 123. (6) *Caravage et les Peintres Français*, *op. cit.* Note 1, Cat. No. 12.

FRANÇOIS PERRIER

François Perrier was born at Salins in 1590 and died in Paris in 1650. After early studies in Lyons, he resided in Rome from 1625 to 1629, where he worked in Lanfranco's studio.

The young artist was especially drawn to the art of Annibale Carracci and Pietro da Cortona. Perrier's first known project was a series of paintings for the Villa d'Este at Tivoli. He returned to France in 1629, and he executed a fresco cycle of scenes from the life of Saint Bruno for the Chartreuse of Lyons. He worked together with Simon Vouet on the chapel for the Château de Chilly and in the first half of the 1630s was employed in Paris. After another long Italian sojourn, from 1635 to 1645, Perrier returned to France and was commissioned by Louis XIV to depict *Acis and Galatea* (Versailles). Some of his best-known works were also done about this time in Paris: the Gallery for the Hôtel de la Vrillière (c. 1645) and the ceiling of the *Cabinet des Muses* at the Hôtel de Lambert. Perrier was a leading French master of his day; he received many commissions from Louis XIV. In addition to painting frescoes and canvases, he was also active as an etcher and engraver. A founding member of the Académie, Perrier was a teacher of Charles Lebrun.¹

FRANÇOIS PERRIER

K1636 : Figure 248

POLYPHEMUS AND THE SEA NYMPHS. Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, Bucknell University, since 1961. Oil on coarse Italian canvas. 59 × 68 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (149.9 × 174.7 cm.). Label formerly on back stated that K1636 was lent to the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition (1857) by Mr. A. Darby, Cat. No. 916 as '*Polyphemus and Galatea* by A. Carracci'. Relined and restored by Modestini in 1967-68. Long vertical tear on right side from sky to swimming figure at bottom. Several pentimenti in arm of figure at lower right.

Blanchard Gummo, *A study collection of Renaissance art, gift of the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa., 1961, p. 44.

A nude one-eyed giant – Polyphemus, son of Neptune and the nymph Thoösa – is seated on a cliff at the water's edge; he holds pipes of Pan (syrinx) and is turned toward a young female nude, his beloved Galatea, who stands at the right surrounded by billowing drapery. A putto holds drapery above her; another is at her side. Galatea seems to hide Acis, the young man crouched at her side, by partially covering him with her veil. Acis was later killed by Polyphemus. Galatea stands upon a shell-vessel with a dolphin at the side and a merman and two nereids at the front and back. Two men on seahorses, one blowing a conch, are to the right of Polyphemus. A nereid swims in the right foreground; another nereid riding on a goat is in the left foreground. At her right is a sea god with a conch who points toward Polyphemus, and at her left is a marine figure with leaves in his hair, who grasps the goat's beard with his left hand and holds its rope in his right. The painting shows Polyphemus wooing Galatea. The artist, like Annibale Carracci, whose Palazzo Farnese fresco he has partially followed in the canvas, also drew upon the text of Philostratus (*Imagines*, II, 18).² The purple color of Galatea's scarf follows the latter.

The canvas is probably the one first published by Waagen as a work of Annibale Carracci, showing 'Polyphemus and the Sea Nymphs'.³ It is described as differing from the representation of the same subject by Annibale at the Farnese Palace, and 'of great energy of drawing and expression, and capitally executed in a powerful brown tone'. If identical with K1636, it was then obscured by discolored varnish. It was recorded as by Annibale Carracci in the Cook Collection catalogues of 1915 and 1932.⁴ Longhi attributed the canvas to François Perrier, listing it as 'Polyphemus on the cliffs with Galatea and other figures of nymphs and tritons'. He noted the influence of Lanfranco's *Polyphemus and Galatea* (Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili) as well as that of Pietro da Cortona, finding this fusion of Bolognese and Cortona-like elements characteristic of Perrier, seen in the French artist's *Bacchanal* (Rome, Galleria Capitolina). Longhi dated the canvas c. 1645 when Perrier was in Rome.⁵ According to Manning the canvas stems from Perrier's second Roman residence of c. 1645, close in date to a *Bacchus and Ariadne* in the Manning Collection.⁶

The group at the left is freely adapted from a Classical Nereid sarcophagus such as the one which was at San Francesco a Ripa (Rome), moved to the Capitoline in the eighteenth century and taken to the Louvre in 1797.⁷ Perrier was especially drawn to mythological subjects with aquatic references as were his colleagues in Rome, Vouet and Poussin.⁸ He painted a *Neptune and Aeolus* (Rome, art market), a *Triumph of Amphitrite* (Carcassonne, Musée de Beaux-Arts) and a *Venus Imploring Neptune* (Épinal, Musée Départemental des Vosges).⁹ An early record of Perrier's works states that he often repeated the subject of Polyphemus and Galatea with great variety in composition. Another version of this subject by Perrier in the Louvre reverses the composition of K1636; Polyphemus is far smaller in scale, and the canvas is more Poussinesque. As in K1636, Acis is hidden by drapery, and the sea-borne chariot is much the same.¹⁰ The male figure at the lower right of K1636 is adapted from Raphael's *Galatea* of 1513 (Rome, Villa Farnesina); the composition in general relates to Annibale Carracci (Rome, Galleria Farnese). Perrier was deeply concerned with the art of the Carracci, his familiarity with the Farnese Gallery being such that he made drawings after rejected as well as executed subjects for the fresco cycle.¹¹ The group at the lower left is taken from Lanfranco's depiction of the same subject (Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili).¹² The same subject by Poussin (Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland), variously dated between the mid-1620s and 1631, like K1636, depends upon Carracci and Lanfranco and may have been painted at about the same time as the Kress canvas.¹³ The figures in the Kress canvas resemble those in Perrier's fresco of *Juno and Aeolus* (Rome, Palazzo Peretti-Altamagia), painted between 1624 and 1629. K1636 may date from a Lanfranco-influenced phase of the later 1620s or from the 1640s, when Perrier was again following that Italian master and the new classical style of Poussin (which was itself partially determined by Lanfranco). The earlier dating will probably prove to be correct; it is also indicated by the execution of the Kress painting on Italian canvas.

Provenance: Possibly identical with a canvas listed by Waagen as Annibale Carracci, *Polyphemus and the Sea Nymphs*. If so, it appeared in the Lord Northwick sale, Northwick Park, 1859, Cat. No. 119, p. 13, 'A. Carracci, *Polyphemus and the Sea Nymphs*', purchased by A. J. Abrahams for five guineas. Abraham Darby, exhibited – London, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom Collected at Manchester*, 1857, p. 35, Cat. No. 333 as Annibale Carracci, *Polyphemus and Galatea*. Art dealer, Richmond, Surrey. Purchased by Herbert Cook, 1941. Listed by him as Annibale Carracci, *Polyphemus and the Sea Nymphs*.¹⁴ Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) Comte de Caylus and P. J. Mariette, *Vie de François Perrier Peintre* (MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). Jean Laran, 'Une Vie inédite de François Perrier', *Archives de l'art Français*, 1913, pp. 198 ff. Thieme–Becker, xxvi, 1932, pp. 437–8. Walter Vitzthum, 'Zuschreibungen an François Perrier', *Walter Friedländer zum 90. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 211 ff. Walter Vitzthum, 'L'Album Perrier du Louvre', *L'Œil*, no. 125, May 1965, pp. 20–4. *Idem*, 'La Galerie de l'Hôtel de la Vrillière', *L'Œil*, Dec. 1966, pp. 24–31. Erich Schleier, 'Affreschi di François Perrier a Roma', *Paragone*, n.s., 37, no. 217, Mar. 1968, pp. 42–54. (2) See the edition translated by Blaise de Vigenère, Paris, 1637, pp. 436 ff. The illustration opposite page 436 shows a Galatea similar to that of Perrier. The latter may have had access to the print, since the Vigenère illustrations were prepared long before Vigenère's edition was published in 1637. See John Rupert Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*, Princeton, 1965, p. 109, for a discussion of the Carracci frescoes' iconography. For the iconographical background of K1636 and related subjects see Jan Bialostocki, 'The Sea-Thiasos in Renaissance Sepulchral Art', *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt on his 60th Birthday*, London and New York, 1967, pp. 69–74. (3) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, III, p. 200. As in the Collection of Lord Northwick, Cheltenham. (4) Herbert Cook, *Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond . . .*, London, 1915, p. 182, Cat. No. 540. Also Maurice Brockwell, *Abridged Catalogue . . .*, London, 1932, p. 82, Cat. No. 540. (5) Transcription of certificate by Roberto Longhi of Dec. 1948 in Kress Archive. This view is repeated by Longhi in a note appended to the Schleier article, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 54. (6) Robert L. Manning, *A Loan Exhibition, Vouet to Rigaud*, Finch College, New York, 1967, Cat. No. 11. (7) See Andreas Rumpf, *Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Berlin, 1939, no. 132. Reference courtesy of Phyllis Bober. (8) Reproduced in *France. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Colloques Internationaux. Sciences Humaines*, 1958: *Nicolas Poussin*, ed. André Chastel, Paris, 1960, II, fig. 245. (9) The first painting is reproduced by Schleier, *op. cit.* Note 1, fig. 23. The Galatea in the Carcassonne canvas is close to that in K1636. (10) Caylus–Mariette, *op. cit.* Note 1, *passim*. The Louvre painting is reproduced in color by Jacques Thuillier and Albert Châtelet, *French Painting from Le Nain to Fragonard*, Geneva, 1964, p. 67. (11) Roseline Bacou, 'Two unpublished Drawings by Annibale Carracci for the Palazzo Farnese', *Master Draw-*

ings, 1964, II, pp. 40–4. (12) A *Galatea* from the School of Vouet is discussed by William R. Crelly, *The Painting of Simon Vouet*, New Haven and London, 1962, pp. 202–3, no. 114. (13) For the Poussin, see Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin*, London, 1966, p. 89, Cat. No. 128. For the relationship between Perrier and Poussin, see Thuillier, 'Poussin et ses premiers compagnons français à Rome', *Actes*, I, 1960, pp. 71–116, esp. pp. 83–4. (14) See catalogues of 1915 and 1932 (see Note 4 above). Herbert Cook recorded the conflicting provenance as given, expressing uncertainty as to its accuracy, p. 82.

LOUIS LE NAIN

Louis Le Nain was born in 1593 in Laon, the son of a *sergent royal*; he died in Paris in 1648. There is little documentation concerning him or his two painter brothers, Antoine (1588–1648) and Mathieu (1607–77) Le Nain, with whom he was closely associated throughout his life. The brothers studied painting in Laon under a 'foreign' instructor (presumably Netherlandish).¹ According to Isarlo, the young Louis was influenced by the works of Pieter Aertsen, Bruegel and Bassano while he lived in Laon; later, on an Italian journey, he further concerned himself with the art of Caravaggesque and Bassanesque masters. An association with Pieter van Laer in Paris c. 1626 or in Italy, possibly between 1626 and 1630, was proposed by Blunt in view of the fact that Louis was referred to in early sources as a painter of *bambochades* – festive, rustic Italian scenes. Another possible indication of an Italian journey is Louis's identification as 'Le Romain' by eighteenth-century writers. His brother Antoine is recorded as a master painter at St.-Germain-des-Prés in 1629 and 1630, with Louis and Mathieu listed as fellow artists. By 1633 Mathieu was known as a master painter of the city of Paris. The three brothers shared a studio, and their works, according to P. J. Mariette, 'were so similar that it was practically impossible to distinguish what each had done on a particular painting, inasmuch as they all worked together'.² Fifteen canvases are signed 'Le Nain', none with a first name, of which ten are dated 1641–48. The three Le Nain brothers joined the Paris Académie Royale in 1648; Louis and Antoine died that same year. Louis Le Nain's scenes of peasant life present his subjects in dignified fashion unlike the more anecdotal burlesque of his Northern contemporaries. These austere peasants parallel Poussin's classicism in their almost stoical restraint and anticipate Chardin's serenely virtuous subjects of the next century. At the end of the eighteenth century, the work of Louis and his brothers fell into relative obscurity, to be revived in the middle of the nineteenth century by Champfleury, also a native of Laon, as harbingers of his friend Courbet's new realism.

References: (1) Paul Jamot, *Les Le Nain*, Paris, 1929. Paul Fierens, *Les Le Nain*, Paris, 1933. Georges Isarlo, 'Les Trois Le Nain et leur suite', *La Renaissance*, XXI, 1938, no. 1, pp. 1 ff. Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700*, Harmondsworth, 1957, pp. 155–7. Jacques

Thuillier, 'Le Nain Studies', *Burlington Magazine*, c, 1958, pp. 55 ff., 91 ff. Bernard de Montgolfier, 'Nouveaux Documents sur Les Frères Le Nain', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LII, 1958, pp. 267 ff. J. Thuillier, 'Documents pour servir à l'étude des frères Le Nain', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1963 (publ. 1964), pp. 155-284. (2) Pierre Jean Mariette, *Abecedario*, quoted by François-Georges Pariset in his excellent biographical survey, 'Le Nain', *Encyclopedia of World Art*, cols. 200-5.

LOUIS LE NAIN

K1392 : Figure 246

LANDSCAPE WITH PEASANTS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (783), since 1946. Oil on canvas. $18\frac{3}{8} \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ in. (46.5×57 cm.). Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1945. Considerable abrasion and restoration especially along lower edge and left side.

Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1945, p. 153. Reproduced in color in *Cairns and Walker*, p. 111; *Broadley*, p. 18.

A Northern (?) French landscape, with a church and houses in the background, is shown beneath a grayish sky and a low horizon. A seated old peasant woman is at the left, placed in front of a wall with a ruined postern gate. A little girl is in the center foreground, a piping boy to the right with another boy playing a hurdy-gurdy. These figures are shown on a slight rise; a youth holding a stick walks along the road below. Peasants with sheep and cattle grazing on a communal pasture are in the middle distance.¹ An old copy of K1392 is in the collection of the Duke of Westminster, Saighton Grange, at least since 1821.²

In 1829 the Kress *Landscape* was described as by 'Lenain, a favorite of Gainsborough, and was twice in his collection.'³ It was listed by Waagen as by Le Nain, showing children in a landscape with 'his usual truth, and also of transparent colouring and delicate effect'.⁴ Champfleury included K1392 in the brothers' work.⁵ Witt linked K1392 to a painting owned by Basil Ionides showing *La Halte du Cavalier* (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum). He described the Westminster painting as having a finer surface and assumed the collaboration of at least two of the Le Nain brothers on these landscapes.⁶ The canvas was grouped by Jamot with the *Charrette* dated 1641 (Paris, Louvre), and the *Paysans devant une Maison* (Duke of Rutland), *Repas en Plein Air* dated 1642 (Lille, Musée de Beaux-Arts) and the *Benedicite* (Leningrad, The Hermitage) as scenes of peasant life showing a profoundly moving simplicity and humble, penetrating poetry. Jamot attributed all of these to Louis Le Nain.⁷ According to Dezarrois, all the genius of the Le Nain brothers is expressed in Louis's *Paysans dans un Paysage* (K1392).⁸ Fierens characterized the canvas as an eclogue, stressing the close study of nature and observation of the sun's rays over the fields.⁹ K1392 was placed in Louis Le Nain's first period (1620-30) by Isarlo who described it as poorly preserved. He related the composition to Netherlandish masters of the early seven-

teenth century such as Esais van de Velde.¹⁰ Frankfurter found this landscape to resolve both Italian and Netherlandish influences, he placed it in Le Nain's early works, finding it less sentimental than Netherlandish scenes of peasant life.¹¹ The canvas was found by Walker to fulfill 'a demand among middle-class patrons for glimpses of rural life, a demand which the three brothers helped satisfy with the canvases they exhibited and sold at popular fairs, such as those at Saint-Germain-des-Prés.'¹² The model at the left is also shown in Louis Le Nain's *Le Retour du Baptême* (formerly Paris, Collection Paul Jamot).¹³

The Kress canvas is one of the very few by Louis Le Nain to include a sweeping landscape. It is his only known painting in which the landscape is clearly of primary and the figures of secondary importance. Its beautiful, reserved coloring and almost classical fusion of Netherlandish and Italianate characteristics explain the painting's attraction for Thomas Gainsborough, whose own landscape paintings were to exhibit many of the same characteristics. The work points to the early works of Corot. It is a subdued version of compositions by Netherlandish artists active in Italy known as the *Bamboccianti*.

Provenance: Listed in *A Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings of the Late Mr. Gainsborough*, exhibited after his death by his widow and his nephew, Gainsborough Dupont, at Schomberg House, in the spring of 1789 and offered for sale by private treaty. Lot No. 10 is listed as 'Le Nain, *Travelling Musicians*', measuring 22×17 in. It was purchased for fifty guineas.¹⁴ In the George Hibbard Sale (Christie's, 13 June 1829, p. 5, Cat. No. 36), the painting was listed as 'Le Nain, peasant children piping in a landscape, their mother sitting by and looking on near a gateway . . . this picture is recorded to have been a favourite of Gainsborough and was twice in his collection.' Possibly owned by Dr. Dibdin. Collection sold in 1829. Joseph Neeld, London. Sir Audley Neeld, Chippenham, Wiltshire, exhibited - *Pictures by the Brothers Le Nain*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1910, p. 32. Lent to the Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of French Art 1200-1900*, London, 1932, p. 57, Cat. No. 109, listed as '*Paysans dans un Paysage*, attributed to Louis Le Nain'. It is stated that K1392 once belonged to Dr. Dibdin. Lent to Petit Palais, *Le Nain: Peintures, Dessins*, Paris, 1934, Cat. No. 27. Sold, Christie's, 9 June 1944, *The Property of L. W. Neeld*, p. 7, Cat. No. 18, listed as 'Le Nain, Peasants in a Landscape'. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1946.

References: (1) According to Cooke, p. 18, such common grazing grounds were only to be found in France. (2) See John Young, *A Catalogue of the Pictures of Grosvenor House*, London, p. 39, Cat. No. 119, listed as 'an Italian scene, with figures, Le Nain'. (3) George Hibbert Sale, Christie's, 13 June 1829, p. 5, Cat. No. 36. (4) G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, II, p. 245. Collection of Mr. (Joseph) Neeld. (5) Champfleury, *Les Peintres de la réalité sous Louis XIII. Les Frères Le Nain*, Paris, 1862. Quoted by Gustave Geffroy, 'Les Frères Le Nain', *L'art et les artistes*, Dec. 1905, p. 64. (6) Robert C. Witt, *An*

Illustrated Catalogue of Pictures by the Brothers Le Nain, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1910, p. 32. (7) Paul Jamot, 'Sur les Frères Le Nain', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., v, 1922, p. 232. Similar information given by him in 'Essai de chronologie des oeuvres des frères Le Nain', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., vii, Mar. 1923, pp. 158-60, and in *Les Le Nain*, Paris, 1929, pp. 44, 48. The canvas is reproduced on p. 31 of Jamot's 'Autour du Problème des Le Nain', *Revue de l'art*, Jan. 1934, p. 31. The Hermitage painting is not by Louis Le Nain - it is published by Paul Fierens, *Les Le Nain*, Paris, 1933, pl. ix, as Antoine (?) Le Nain. (8) André Dczarrois, 'L'Art Français à Londres', *Revue de l'art*, LXI, 1932, p. 73. (9) Paul Fierens, *op. cit.* Note 7, p. 61, Cat. No. 19. (10) Georg Isarlo, 'Le problème des frères Le Nain; les deux Le Nain', *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, Dec. 1934, LXVI, no. 357, pp. 169-84, p. 170. He included K1392 in his 'Les Trois Le Nain et leur Suite', *La Renaissance*, Mar. 1932, p. 42, Cat. No. 70. (11) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Supplement, op. cit.*, p. 58. (12) John Walker, *The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*, New York, n.d., p. 202. (13) Reproduced by Fierens, *op. cit.* Note 7, pl. XLIV. She is also shown in *Grandmother's Birthday* attributed to Louis Le Nain (Leningrad, The Hermitage), reproduced by Fierens, pl. xxxix. (14) Ellis Waterhouse, Letter to the Editor - 'The Sale at Schomberg House, 1789', *Burlington Magazine*, 1945, pp. 76-8, p. 77.

K1418 : Figure 247

FRENCH PEASANTS IN AN INTERIOR. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1103), since 1950. Oil on canvas. 21 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 25 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (55.6 × 64.7 cm.). Several deep scratches. Stretcher marks along the top; some discolored old restoration in tabletop. The painting is well-preserved.¹ *Suida*, p. 212, Cat. No. 94. Reproduced in color by E. Tériade, *Masterpieces of French Painting, Seventeenth Century*, London, 1935, pl. XXI, as 'Repas de Paysans.'

Three seated figures in tattered garb are symmetrically placed around a table in the foreground of a peasant kitchen. A pensive old man, white-haired and bearded, is at the left, wearing a cape over rustic attire. A wooden dish is in his lap (probably a begging bowl), his hat held over his knees; a staff with a pointed end is between his legs, his head illuminated by fire in the hearth at the upper left and by light which seems to come from the front. A middle-aged woman at the center gazes thoughtfully at the viewer. Her hands are clasped on the table; she holds a distaff and spindle under her arm. A boy at the right holds a jug in his right hand and a wine glass in his left. Their table is a low barrel covered by a white cloth set with a laden pewter plate and a spoon. An open door is in the background with another table with kitchen utensils. A little girl stands at the hearth at the left looking downward as though watching the cooking.

The canvas was first known to Champfleury, Blanc and Valabrègue through a reproductive print in reverse by Elisabeth Cousinet entitled *Le Bénédicité Flamand*. Champ-

fleury referred to it as 'Repas de famille.'² K1418 was cited by Blanc as possibly indicating the artist's visit to the Netherlands; the scholar found the costumes Northern rather than French in character.³ The figure at the left is described by Valabrègue as a beggar reciting a prayer in a peasant home with the farmer's wife murmuring the benediction.⁴ The canvas reappeared in 1910 in the Le Nain exhibition, lent by the Duke of Leeds, as 'A Flemish Interior'. According to Witt, it shows a French interior. He noted the same still-life details in Matthieu Le Nain's *Peasants' Meal* dated 1642 (Paris, Louvre).⁵ The Kress scene was again entitled *Flemish Interior* by Vollmer who regarded it as typical of Louis Le Nain's oeuvre, characterized by broad, vigorous, painterly execution with a preference for gray and brown tones.⁶ The work is included in Fierens's monograph as a masterpiece of Louis Le Nain.⁷ The painting was singled out by Waterhouse as the only canvas by Louis Le Nain of that genre 'which is both clean and in good condition.'⁸ Jamot felt the title *Flemish Interior* to be incorrect. He described the canvas as showing an old peasant and his wife waiting for their son or grandson to pour them a glass of wine. He placed the painting a few years after *The Peasant's Meal* (Paris, Louvre), dated 1642, with the old man the same model as the one at the center of the Louvre work. The little girl at the left in K1418 is similarly placed in the Louvre canvas.⁹ The canvas was assigned to the first period of Louis Le Nain's activity, c. 1630, by Isarlo, who argued against the tendency to date all of Louis Le Nain's fine works around 1641-42, the dates inscribed upon *The Wagon* and *The Peasant's Meal* (both Paris, Louvre).¹⁰

The composition may perhaps have been freely inspired by a sixteenth-century depiction of the *Supper at Emmaus* - this is suggested by the extreme frontality and symmetry of the composition, not often encountered in Louis Le Nain's oeuvre.¹¹ The effect of almost miraculous illumination of the beggar's head by light from the fireplace also points to a religious image as a possible source for K1418, such as Dürer's *Supper at Emmaus* in the *Small Woodcut Passion* (B.48). A canvas of the *Supper at Emmaus* by Mathieu and Louis Le Nain (Paris, Louvre) is related in composition to the Kress canvas. The old man may represent a pilgrim; the staff, begging bowl and large hat point to such an identification. Some writers have thought him to be blind; perhaps Le Nain wished to contrast that state with the illumination of the fire in the background. Depictions of beggars (*Les Gueux*), often blind, with the attributes of a pilgrim, appeared often in early seventeenth-century Northern French art (especially that of Bellange and Callot) as political allegories. This canvas is among Louis Le Nain's most brilliant works, combining an almost classical austerity with a baroque sensitivity to mood and interaction. It was probably painted a few years after *The Peasants' Meal* (Paris, Louvre) of 1642 as the model for the old man looks younger in the Louvre canvas.

Provenance: Duke of Leeds,¹² London, exhibited - London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Illustrated Catalogue of Pictures by the Brothers Le Nain*, 1910, p. 32, Cat. No. 13, listed as *Flemish Interior*.¹³ Paris, Petit Palais, *Exhibition Les Le Nain*,

1934, p. 34, Cat. No. 15. London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Seventeenth Century Art in Europe*, 1938, p. 135, Cat. No. 338, as *Flemish Interior*. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1946, exhibited – New York, Wildenstein and Co., *Jubilee Loan Exhibition, Masterpieces from Museums and Private Collections*, 1951, Cat. No. 14 as *French Interior*.

References: (1) Possibly very slightly cut down all around. A copy after K1418 in a private collection near Strasbourg. Cited by G. Isarlov, 'Les trois Le Nain et leur suite', *La Renaissance de l'Art*, XXI, Mar. 1938, p. 42. K1418 is listed by him on p. 42, Cat. No. 57. (2) Champfleury, *Catalogue des Tableaux des Le Nain qui ont passés dans les ventes publiques de l'année 1755 à 1853*, Brussels, 1861, p. 44. (3) Charles Blanc, *Histoire des Peintres de toutes les écoles, École française*, I, Paris, 1862, p. 6. (4) Antony Valabrègue, *Les Frères Le Nain*, Paris, 1904, pp. 86, 87, 173. The print after K1418 was also cited by Gustave Geffroy, 'Les Frères Le Nain', *L'Art et les Artistes*, Dec. 1905, p. 64. (5) Robert Witt, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Brothers Le Nain*, London, 1910, p. 32. (6) Hans Vollmer, 'Le Nain', *Thieme-Becker*, XXIII, 1929, pp. 41–2. (7) Paul Fierens, *Les Le Nain*, Paris, 1933, p. 61, Cat. No. 20. See also pp. 36–7. (8) Ellis K. Waterhouse, 'Le Nain Exhibition in Paris', *Burlington Magazine*, LXV, 1934, p. 132. (9) Paul Jamot, *Les Le Nain*, Paris, 1939, p. 40. (10) George Isarlov, 'Le problème des frères Le Nain: les deux Le Nain', *Revue de l'art*, LXVI, 1934, pp. 173–4. Included in *Seymour*, p. 154. (11) Rubens's depiction of this subject may have provided Le Nain with a source for his composition. *The Pilgrims at Emmaus* was reproduced by Swanenburg in 1611 (published by Rudolf Oldenbourg, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich-Berlin, 1922, p. 78, fig. 37). The painting may have come to Paris in the seventeenth century. It is at St-Eustache (reproduced in *Caravaggio en de Nederlanden*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1952, pl. 79, Cat. No. 112). (12) *Historical and Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures Belonging to . . . the Duke of Leeds*, London, 1902, p. 70, Cat. No. 201, 'Flemish Interior . . . Le Nain'. (13) K1418 is here and henceforth listed as from the Orléans Gallery, but no painting by Le Nain is included in records of that collection. It may have been included as by a Flemish master. See Casimir Stryiński, *La galerie du Régent Philippe d'Orléans*, Paris, 1913.

NICOLAS POUSSIN

Poussin was born in 1594 at Les Andelys near Paris and died in Rome in 1665.¹ He was the son of a framer; his mother had previously been married to an attorney. The painter Quentin Varin, active at Les Andelys in 1612, encouraged the youth to become an artist. Poussin first worked for Varin, then painted in Rouen, and later under Ferdinand Elle and probably with Lallemand in Paris. Destined to be the greatest master of the classical style in mid-seventeenth-century Europe, Poussin may have made his first acquaintance with this approach through the art of the High Renaissance and works of the First and Second Schools of Fontainebleau, often seen in prints. He must

have known the art of Toussaint Dubreuil and Frans Pourbus the Younger. In the 1620s he received an important commission for an altar piece for Notre-Dame de Paris. He became a protégé of the celebrated Italian poet Marino who was at the court of the Queen Mother, Marie de' Medici, in 1624, where Poussin was working with Philippe de Champagne. After two unsuccessful attempts to reach Rome (in 1620–21 he got as far as Florence) the artist finally arrived there in 1623 and worked in the studio of Domenichino. He studied the works of the great Venetian and Roman masters of the High Renaissance – especially Titian and Raphael – as well as contemporary masters like Lanfranco and Albani. After five impoverished years, Poussin received a major commission in 1628 for *The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana) from Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII. The Cardinal's secretary, Cassiano dal Pozzo, became a great patron of Poussin. His paintings of the 1620s and early 1630s were influenced by the lush color, fluid brushstroke and romantic treatment of the Venetian School. In 1630 he married the sister of the landscape master Jacques Dughet. After this date Poussin no longer competed for large-scale commissions, restricting himself to the painting of cabinet-sized canvases for a growing circle of *cognoscenti* sympathetic to his uniquely sophisticated, often austere art with its complex allusions to Classical and Christian thought. Despite Poussin's preference for independence, he found the proposed title of First Painter at the court of Louis XIII irresistible and returned to Paris in 1640. He soon found court intrigue and the obligation to prepare large-scale decorative cycles (such as that for the Louvre's Grande Galerie) onerous and returned to Rome two years later. While in Paris he had acquired an important new circle of patrons led by Paul Fréart de Chantelou. As noted by Blunt, 'For these Paris intellectuals Poussin produced during the ten years after his return to Rome the paintings which were regarded in his own time as his most perfect, and which are now considered to be among the purest embodiments of French classicism'.² In his later years, the artist concentrated on New Testament subjects. In both those and the Classical subjects he continued to paint, he emphasized stoical themes.

References: (1) Otto Grautoff, *Poussin, sein Werk und sein Leben*, 2 vols., Munich, 1914; Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700*, Harmondsworth, 1957, pp. 158–71; Jacques Thuillier, 'Poussin', *Encyclopedia of World Art*, XI, cols. 549–60. *Idem*, 'Poussin et ses premiers compagnons français à Rome', *France, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Colloques Internationaux, Sciences Humaines, Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1960, I, pp. 72–114; Paris, Louvre, *Exposition Nicolas Poussin*, 1960; Denis Mahon, 'Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665)', *L'Ideale classico del seicento in Italia*, Bologna, 1962, pp. 150–65. Walter Friedländer, *Nicolas Poussin, A New Approach*, New York, n.d. Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue*, London, 1966. *Idem*, *Nicolas Poussin, The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts*, 1958, Washington, D.C., 1967. (2) Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France*, op. cit., p. 165.

K1876 : Figure 249

ISRAELITES WORSHIPPING THE GOLDEN CALF. San Francisco, California, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum (61-44-30), since 1955. Oil on very fine canvas. $39\frac{1}{8} \times 50\frac{5}{8}$ in. (99.4×128.6 cm.). The initials N.P. and the date 1626 or 1629, more likely the former, are inscribed at the extreme right on the tree trunk, just above the top of the vertical altar garland.¹ Many small losses throughout; head at top (third from left) considerably damaged, as is sky area. Relined and restored by Modestini in 1953-54; 1959. *San Francisco*, p. 76.

The Golden Calf is placed upon an altar at the right, both calf and altar with garlands. Burnt offerings are on a lower altar at the front end of the main one. Flaming candelabra with rams' heads are at the sides. A youth in classical garb pours oil into the candelabrum in the foreground.² Seven kneeling Israelite men and women perhaps led by the bearded figure (Aaron?) just behind the altar, worship the Golden Calf (Exodus 32:5-19).³ Included in this group are a woman in the left foreground pointing out the Calf to her infant son whose hands are joined in prayer, and a man at the center prostrate in prayer. Four standing men just behind the kneeling worshippers in the foreground gesture toward the Calf as though in surprise or dispute. Moses is in the middle distance holding the Tablets of the Law (Exodus 32:15), with the Israelite encampment in the background. The altar has three large trees behind it, mountains are seen in the distance and a large expanse of sky is at the upper left.

Poussin painted two versions of the Israelites with the Golden Calf about a decade before executing the National Gallery (London) canvas of c. 1637. One of these was partially destroyed in the Neapolitan revolt, c. 1647, and the surviving section taken to Rome by a collector, where it was seen by Félibien c. 1648.⁴ According to Blunt, the latter was painted c. 1629; he placed the Kress canvas close to it in date.⁵ A reproductive print after K1876 was engraved in reverse by Jean Baptiste de Poilly (1669-1728) with the caption *Peuple fou et insensé esce la ce que tu rends au Seigneur ton Dieu* (Deuteronomy 32:6), Text Fig. 67.⁶ A print based on Poilly's was included in Landon's Poussin survey in the early nineteenth century, by which time the location of the canvas was unknown.⁷ A preparatory drawing for K1876 (Windsor Castle, Royal Library, Windsor, 11884 verso, Text Fig. 68) in black chalk measuring 13.0×18.3 cm. was first cited by Friedländer.⁸ The group at the left is placed considerably higher in the drawing than it is in the canvas; and the upper section is more compressed. The drawing is fleetingly rendered, very hard to see, disfigured by large spots and much abraded. Friedländer noted that K1876 and this preparatory sketch must be dated in the second half of the 1620s. The Kress canvas may perhaps be identical with a painting of Poussin's recorded by Von Sandrart⁹ and was seen by Richardson in the Flinck Collection in Amsterdam before 1722.¹⁰ K1876 was rediscovered by Johnstone in 1919. He read the date as 1629 and described the technique as that

used by Poussin in his early Roman years: 'The paint is in general very thickly laid on over a red bole ground which shows through in places. The influence of Titian in the colouring is evident . . . there is a harmony . . . that suggests . . . Venetian painting.' The more severe discipline of the tradition of Raphael, the Carracci and Domenichino was also noted. The source of the composition in Roman bas-reliefs was suggested.¹¹ Friedländer described the canvas as 'one of the very few fully signed and dated paintings' by Poussin painted in Rome in the second half of the twenties, a good example of his style of the period, executed in 1628, the year the artist received his first Vatican commission, the *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus*. He stressed the influence on Poussin of the Bolognese School, especially Guido Reni and Domenichino.¹² (On the basis of the reproductive print, Friedländer in 1914 had dated K1876 contemporary with Poussin's second *Sacrament* series, c. 1644-48.)¹³ Bertin-Mouroit added the Kress canvas to the corpus of Poussin work by Grautoff.¹⁴ According to Davies, the date on K1876 should be read as 1626 rather than 1629.¹⁵ The painting was characterized by Blunt as 'typical of the mixed influences which affected Poussin at the end of the twenties. The composition is taken directly from Raphael's painting in the Loggia, in which Poussin has altered little except to eliminate the group of worshippers on the right, and to move Moses into a more central position. On the other hand the types are quite un-Raphaelesque, and remind us rather of the bearded figures which appear on Etruscan vases. The landscape and the lighting, moreover, show that Poussin was already beginning to come under the dominance of Titian, and the stormy sky with silvery leaves and dark trunks of trees standing out in emphatic silhouette against it reminds us that for the next few years his most frequent source of inspiration was to be [Titian's] series of Aldobrandini Bacchanals.' Blunt maintained a reading of 1629. He noted the doubts raised by Sheila Somers Rinchart and Charles Sterling as to the authenticity of the canvas, but found K1876 an original in very bad condition without entirely excluding the possibility of its being an old copy.¹⁶ Mahon found Davies's reading of the date as 1626, rather than 1629, correct, believing the later date to be totally unacceptable. According to Mahon, 'The *Golden Calf* is the picture of an artist who is as yet unsure of himself, the co-ordination of the figures and their gestures is awkward and unsatisfactory, Poussin has got himself into difficulties over problems of scale and perspective, and there are some passages which are strikingly inept. Such a state of affairs is far more plausible at the earlier date than the later one. . . . 1626 was the year when, as Bellori tells us, Poussin and Duquesnoy began to study Titian's so-called *Bacchanals*, adding that they also paid attention to the antique, and that Poussin tackled problems of scale and perspective; in addition it seems probable that Poussin's visits to Domenichino's studio for life drawing also began about this time. A picture such as the *Golden Calf* seems to reflect some of these labours: the Titianesque landscape, the Domenichinesque interest in the expression of the emotions, the presence of antiquarian accessories after the fashion of Cortona, no less than the comparative failure to master the subtleties of drawing in the classical

sense or to develop the fluent intricacies of composition in that of the nascent full baroque.¹⁷ Mahon retained his 1626 placement of the canvas, listing it with the rather awkward works of Poussin's early period, such as the *Entry into Jerusalem* (Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts) of 1626.¹⁸ In 1966 Blunt accepted a 1626 date for the canvas, finding it more in keeping with Poussin's early chronology.¹⁹ Badt placed the canvas with Poussin's first works, just after the *Battle* series of 1625.²⁰

As Poussin rarely signed or dated his works, the monogram and date on K1876 may have been added by another hand. (An exception was the *Adoration of the Magi*, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, signed and dated 1633, probably a reception piece for the Academy of St. Luke. The *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* (Vatican, Pinacoteca) of 1628-29 is signed in full *Nicolaus Pusin fecit.*) The 1626 reading first advanced by Davies and Mahon seems correct for the canvas. Mahon also noted that an additional argument for an early dating was the presence on the recto of the Windsor Castle drawing for K1876 of an Old Testament battle scene such as those in Russia and the Vatican which also appear to date from c. 1625.²¹ The Kress painting is close in size to the battle pieces and may itself have been pendant to another Old Testament subject. Poussin's *Worship of the Golden Calf* (London, National Gallery) was the companion piece to *The Crossing of the Red Sea* (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria) and the same subject may have been painted in conjunction with K1876, probably for a patron in the circle of Cassiano dal Pozzo.²²

The composition of K1876 is, as has been noted, dependent upon the School of Raphael fresco of the same subject in the Vatican Loggia, which may have been of special interest to Poussin since reproductive prints were made by Lanfranco (B.xviii, p. 347, Cat. No. 20) and another contemporary artist active in Rome. Two Poussin Biblical subjects close in style and date to the Kress canvas are *Moses Sweetening the Waters of Marah* (Baltimore, Museum of Art) and *The Flight into Egypt* (Lambourn, Lawrence Gowing).²³ Although it has been suggested that the canvas is an old copy after an early work by Poussin, his authorship seems likely; the doubts as to its autograph quality probably arose because, like many works from Poussin's first period, it is poorly preserved, and the inscription is uncharacteristic in form. The somewhat Caravaggesque male figure in K1876 is shown in reverse in Poussin's *Virgin Appearing to St. James* (Paris, Louvre) of c. 1629-30.²⁴ Poussin's *Lamentation* (Paris, Louvre) extends the expressive figure style of K1876 a few years later.²⁵ *The Israelites Worshipping the Golden Calf*, dependent upon Raphael and his followers, as well as Venetian, Bolognese and Roman art of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, is an important document for a critical phase in the formation of Poussin's authoritative classicism, achieved within two or so years after its completion.

Provenance: Probably Quirijn van Biesum Sale, Rotterdam, 18 Oct. 1719, lot 12.²⁶ Flinck family, Amsterdam, before 1722 sale.²⁷ Sale, Rotterdam, 4 Nov. 1754, no. 14.²⁸ Said

to have been in the collection of the Earl of Harewood and the Estate of Rudolph Bottenweiser.²⁹ Sackville Gallery, London, 1919.³⁰ Ernest May, Paris.³¹ New York, Durlacher Brothers, exhibited - New York, Durlacher, *Paintings by Nicolas Poussin*, 1940, Cat. No. 1. New York, Rudolph Heinemann. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) According to Anthony Blunt ('La première période romaine de Poussin', in *France. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Colloques Internationaux. Sciences Humaines*, 1958: *Nicolas Poussin*, ed. by André Chastel, 1, Paris, 1960, pp. 163 ff., esp. p. 163) the last digit of the date was removed recently during a somewhat harsh cleaning. (2) See Edmond Saglio, 'Candelabrum', pp. 869-75 in Charles Victor Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, 1, 2, Sect. C, Paris, 1908, for comparable examples. (3) For depictions of this subject see Réau, II, 1, pp. 205-6. It was current as an independent subject in Western painting from the first quarter of the sixteenth century onward. Poussin did many Moses scenes; see Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin*, London, 1966, pp. 11-23, Cat. Nos. 10-27 (hereafter cited as *Blunt*); Walter Friedländer, *Nicolas Poussin: a New Approach*, New York, 1966, p. 53; Roger Armand Weigert, 'Poussin et l'art de la tapisserie: Les Sacrements et l'Histoire de Moïse', *Bulletin de la Société Poussin*, I-III, 1947-50, pl. 71. Smith (VIII, p. 19) called the kneeling figure Aaron, and the robe before the altar an *ephod*, a Jewish liturgical garment. (4) For this fragment see André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les Vies et les Ouvrages des Plus Excellents Peintres Anciens et Modernes*, 1666-88, ed. of 1725, IV, p. 24; Smith, VIII, 1837, pp. 19-20, Cat. No. 34 gave the dimensions of the Naples canvas as 5 ft. 8 ins. × 4 ft. 5 ins. Anthony Blunt, *Exposition Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1960 (2nd ed.), p. 53, Cat. No. 13. (5) Blunt, 'Poussin Studies II: Three Early Works', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIX, 1947, pp. 266 ff., esp. p. 269. Blunt, p. 22, Cat. No. 27. (6) A. Andresen, *Nicolaus Poussin, Verzeichniss der nach seinen Gemälden gefertigten . . . Kupferstiche*, Leipzig, 1863, p. 23, no. 74. (7) C. P. Landon, *Vies et œuvres des peintres les plus célèbres . . .*, Paris, 1813, IV, pp. 2-3; VI, pl. xxv. (8) Walter Friedländer, Anthony Blunt, and Rudolf Wittkower, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, London, I, Part 1, 1939, p. 12, Cat. No. 22, pl. 13. Friedländer, 'Poussin', *Thieme-Becker*, XXVII, 1933, p. 324, mistakenly listed two drawings for K1876 at Windsor. Actually the recto of Windsor I1884 shows an Old Testament battle scene. See Anthony Blunt, *French Drawings . . . at Windsor Castle*, London, 1945, Cat. No. 180, pl. 34. Blunt (*Blunt*, Cat. Nos. 29-31) related the drawing on the recto to Poussin's Biblical battle scenes. It seems to show the victory of the Israelites over the Midianites. (9) Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675*, ed. by A. R. Peltzer, Munich, 1925, p. 258. Peltzer, p. 411, n. 1124, linked the description to the canvas now in the National Gallery, London. (10) Jonathan Richardson, *An account of the statues, bas-reliefs, drawings and pictures in Italy, France, etc.*, London, 1722, p. 1, cited in *Blunt*, p. 21 and Martin Davies, *The National Gallery Catalogues, The French School*,

London, 1957, p. 178. (11) J. H. Johnstone, 'An Early Picture by Nicolas Poussin', *Burlington Magazine*, xxxv, 1919, p. 91. (12) Friedländer, 'America's First Poussin Show', *Art News*, xxxviii, 9 Mar. 1940, pp. 7 ff., esp. p. 10. (13) Walter Friedländer, *Nicolas Poussin. Die Entwicklung seiner Kunst*, Munich, 1914, pp. 114-15. Friedländer mistakenly suggested that the canvas largely destroyed in Naples was identical with the print by Poilly (A 74). In 1933, he corrected his previous dating as too late, accepting the 1629 reading of the inscription given by Johnstone (*Thieme-Becker*, xxvii, 1933, p. 324). The same views are given in *Nicolas Poussin, a New Approach*, New York, 1966, p. 138. (14) Thérèse Bertin-Mouroit, 'Addenda au Catalogue de Grautoff, depuis 1914', *Bulletin de la Société Poussin*, 2ème Cahier, Dec. 1948, pp. 43-87, Cat. No. v, pp. 45-6. (15) Martin Davies, *loc. cit.* Note 10, p. 178. (16) Blunt, 1960, *op. cit.* Note 1, pp. 163, 174. K1876 and the Loggia fresco are juxtaposed by Friedländer (1966, *op. cit.* Note 3, p. 104, figs. 104-5). (17) Denis Mahon, 'Poussin's early development: an alternative hypothesis', *Burlington Magazine*, cii, 1960, pp. 288 ff., esp. pp. 290-1. (18) Denis Mahon, 'Poussiniana. Afterthoughts arising from the exhibition', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 1962, pp. 1 ff., pp. ix and 38. (19) Blunt, p. 21, Cat. No. 25. He listed as a copy after K1876 a canvas (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, No. 724) described as cut at the top, recorded in a 1765 catalogue as an original Poussin. However, the latter canvas (0.715 × 1.39 m.) was always a horizontal composition and is not cut at the top. It shows the sacrifice of Noah with the ark in the background. Only the general outlines of the altar complex at the right and the figure group at the left of K1876 have been followed in the Dresden Noah composition. (20) Kurt Badt, *Die Kunst des Nicolas Poussin*, Cologne, 1969, p. 293. (21) For the battle pieces see Blunt, pp. 23-4, Cat. Nos. 29-31. (22) *Ibid.*, p. 17, Cat. No. 20. (23) *Ibid.*, Cat. Nos. 28 and 60. (24) *Ibid.*, Cat. No. 102. (25) *Ibid.*, Cat. No. 82. (26) Gerard Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlyst van Schilderyen met derzelven Pryzen*, The Hague, 1752-70, I, p. 227. Size given as 'h. 3 v. 3 d., br. 4 v. 2 d.' (39 × 50 in.). Blunt, p. 21, gives it as Lot 11. According to Blunt (*ibid.*), a Poussin of the same subject as K1876 was in the Dufresne Sale, Amsterdam, 22 Aug. 1770, Lot 101, measuring 41 × 68 in., but the Dufresne painting is described as 'Israelites dancing around the Golden Calf'. (27) *Ibid.*, p. 21. (28) Hoet, *op. cit.* Note 26, II, p. 102. (29) Friedländer, 1940, *op. cit.* Note 12, p. 10. (30) J. H. Johnstone, *loc. cit.* Note 11. (31) The references to E. May and R. Heinemann are taken from Blunt, p. 21.

NICOLAS POUSSIN

K1391 : Figure 250

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (786), since 1946. Oil on canvas. 37½ × 47½ in. (95.5 × 121.0 cm.). Pentimenti in drapery. Small tear in drapery on ground in center; diagonal scratch across sky at left; white stains in sky at right; considerable loss of final glazes and darkening of colors throughout. An early reproductive print (Text Fig. 69) shows water to

have been far more dominant than it now appears; many of the darkened areas in the lowermost section may originally have shown the river. In the print the Jordan is uninterrupted by patches of dry land such as the area now between Christ and the Baptist and also extending to their left and right. Lined and restored in London by Biondi in 1786-87.¹ Stretcher marks all around. Cleaned c. 1937.² Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1945. Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 154. Reproduced in color in *Cairns and Walker*, p. 113.

The Baptism³ (Matthew 3:13-17) takes place on a very shallow tributary of the Jordan, which meanders across the painting in the middle distance. Thirteen figures are shown in the foreground and six small figures in the middle and far distance in the river valley.⁴ At the extreme right riverbank (the side of Paradise) are two figures—probably angels, though wingless—the one in the foreground kneeling to keep Christ's blue robe out of the water, the one behind holding a voluminous pink mantle, possibly also that of Christ, who stands enveloped in a blue robe, arms crossed on his bare chest in a gesture of humility. All three are reflected in the water below. To the left, on the earthly side of the Jordan, stands St. John, draped in red, holding a small vessel over Christ's head. The Holy Ghost—a dove—is in the sky above. This is the moment when the voice of the Lord is heard proclaiming 'This is my beloved son; in whom I am well pleased.' (Matthew 3:17, Luke 3:22). The source of the voice is indicated by the central, Zeus-like figure who points upward. Alarmed reactions to the voice are shown by the boy embracing the praying elder, the kneeling figure who seems to shield his eyes from the light and another man behind this group. A standing youth in a pink mantle, seen in right profile, points to the Baptism. Three men at the left—neophytes—strip preparatory to baptism; one, in the lower left foreground, a yellow mantle over his shoulder, is reflected in the water. The figure behind him is in red and blue, the one to his right strips off a white robe. Bright orange and white drapery lies in the center foreground.

A preparatory drawing, in pen and wash (Text Fig. 70, Chantilly, Musée Condé), 15 × 18.5 cm., has the large group of trees at the right, and the angel at the right is winged.⁵ The figure at the extreme left is standing, not bent over, holding his boot. A second *Baptism* drawing also in pen and bistre wash (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts) reverses the composition; the placement of the trees is close to those in the Chantilly drawing. Although often listed as preparatory to K1391, there are very many differences in figure type, placement and gesture; some of the K1391 figures do not appear. According to Friedländer and Blunt, 'this drawing seems to represent a development from the first version which Poussin did not follow'.⁶ Another drawing at Chantilly is a copy after the completed canvas. A reproductive print was prepared by Jean Dughet (1614-76) and dedicated to Poussin's patron Cassiano dal Pozzo (Text Fig. 69).⁷ A copy of K1391 was prepared c. 1785 for the Boccapaduli family, to replace the original which was sold at that time.⁸ Poussin planned the

composition of the *Baptism* by using figurines against a scenic backdrop in a miniature theater.⁹ His first series of the *Seven Sacraments*, to which K1391 belongs, was commissioned by his great Roman patron, Cassiano dal Pozzo,¹⁰ and executed between c. 1636 or more probably 1638 and 1642, the date of completion of the Kress canvas by the artist in Paris.¹¹ A larger series of the same subject (46½ × 70½ in., Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, lent by the Duke of Sutherland), commissioned by Paul Fréart de Chantelou, was painted between 1644 and 1648.¹² With the exception of the first and third paintings of Cassiano's series – the Kress *Baptism* and a depiction of *Penance* (destroyed, formerly Belvoir Castle) – the remaining canvases – *Confirmation*, *Eucharist*, *Ordination*, *Marriage*, and *Extreme Unction* – are in the collection of the Duke of Rutland (Belvoir Castle, Grantham). The then unfinished, probably only summarily indicated *Baptism* was taken by Poussin from Rome to Paris where it was completed in 1642 and returned to Rome.¹³ The other six canvases had been delivered to Cassiano dal Pozzo between c. 1637 and 1640.

Poussin's biographer, Bellori, noted that his most beautiful inventions were first created under the benevolent patronage of Cassiano, as a student in the latter's museum and in his home: 'The most famous of the works painted for Cassiano are the *Seven Sacraments*, expressing with the greatest excellence and with the most perfect idea of painting figures in the apostolic garb of the Early Christian church.' Bellori stressed the dramatic significance of the moment shown in the *Baptism*, in which one of the figures points toward heaven and another toward Christ, recognizing him as the son of God. He wrote that Christ's crossed arms indicated humility, using the term *affetti* to describe the appropriately-chosen gestures and physiognomies for the depiction of the participants.¹⁴ Christ's baptism initiates the most important of the Seven Sacraments – the instruments of divine grace on earth. It was at this moment that he was first acknowledged by the Godhead, when the Trinity was manifest. Only through the invocation of the Trinity in baptism may sins be washed away and their punishment remitted. The iconographical sources for Poussin's *Sacraments* were studied by Von Löhneysen, who stressed the importance of publications by the Jesuit Louis Richeome and their accompanying illustrations. Von Löhneysen found that these provided a prototype and point of departure for Poussin's cycle. He characterized the canvases as a rationalized version of Richeome's work, which reflected the revival of the significance of Early Christianity following the Council of Trent. Richeome's writings were published in French. Poussin, who worked in Paris on K1391 (the last canvas in the cycle) was receiving Jesuit commissions and possibly knew Richeome's works.¹⁵ According to Friedländer, 'Poussin removed the whole subject from the strictly liturgical sphere and depicted each Sacrament in a historical form that is both precise and idealized. He based his representation of four Sacraments on the New Testament: the *Baptism of Christ* (Baptism), the *Giving of the Keys to St. Peter* (Ordination), *Mary Magdalene Washing the Feet of Christ* (Penance), *The Last Supper* (Eucharist).

The other three, *Confirmation*, *Marriage*, and *Extreme Unction* have a more general character but they, too, conform to Poussin's ideas of ancient Christian custom.' Friedländer also observed that 'as a pictorial subject, the Seven Sacraments had more appeal in the North than South [Italy]; and it is not impossible that the source of this subject was in Piedmont, Cassiano's home province and the northernmost in Italy.'¹⁶ The Kress canvas, like Poussin's later *Baptism of Christ* (New York, Wildenstein and Co.),¹⁷ emphasizes Christ the King by showing him waited upon by two angels.¹⁸

The style of the *Seven Sacraments* series was discussed by Friedländer, who singled out the *Baptism* as especially beautiful.¹⁹ Grautoff stressed the Baroque elements predominating in the Kress canvas. He noted that the neophyte pulling off his shirt (third figure from the left) had been found in baptisms since the time of Masolino (Castiglione d'Olona, Baptistry, fresco of c. 1435).²⁰ The development of Poussin's landscape treatment in K1391 was emphasized by Blunt, who found a more complex figure-landscape integration and spatial treatment than had previously been evident in the master's works.²¹ According to Mahon, the *Seven Sacraments* evidence Poussin's new convictions concerning the use of specially appropriate treatment (modes) reserved for suitable subjects.²² Friedländer found a source for the Kress composition in the School of Raphael fresco of the same subject (Rome, Vatican Loggia).²³ According to him, K1391 shows Poussin's new, grandiose conception of art (*maniera magnifica*) differing from the first six canvases of the cycle 'he . . . enlarged the figures in proportion to the height of the painting, thereby giving them greater monumentality and representational power. The influence of Titian's art . . . is completely obliterated by the example of Raphael. This composition marks the hesitant beginning of Poussin's grand, mature style.'²⁴ The difference in manner of the *Baptism* from the rest of the series was also stressed by Blunt who considered it closer to Poussin's *Holy Family* (Detroit Institute of Arts, ex coll. Roccatagliata).²⁵ He found the figure of Christ recalled that of Jacopino del Conte's *Baptism* (Rome, Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato), and several others to have possibly been freely inspired by copies after Michelangelo's *Cascina* cartoon. Poussin's canvas is filled with stylistic references to the art of the Roman High Renaissance, especially to Raphael and Michelangelo. The asymmetrical placement of Christ and the Baptist, together with the large central rocky mass, points to reminiscences of North Italian and Northern European art. Baptisms in which Christ is shown much to the right or left of center are most frequently seen in Northern Italy and Northern Europe, beginning in the late fourteenth century. Prominent sixteenth-century examples are found in the work of Jan van Scorel, Tintoretto and Wtewael. Rubens in his *Baptism* of c. 1604–6 (Antwerp, Musée des Beaux-Arts), like Poussin, drew upon both the Raphael School Vatican Loggia fresco and Michelangelo's *Battle of Cascina*. Painted for Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga (Mantua, S. Trinità), Rubens's great canvas may have been seen *in situ* by Poussin on his early travels in Northern Italy (c. 1620–21). Christ's

voluminous drapery at the moment of baptism conforms to the dictates of the Council of Trent. The slight increase in scale of the figures at the right may be due to their having been executed in Paris when Poussin formulated a new monumental style – the remaining figures were probably previously sketched in Rome, where the other six canvases of the cycle had already been painted. In addition to Poussin's interest in the art of the early sixteenth century and antiquity, it is tempting to see indications of his admiration for Quattrocento classicism in Baptisms by such artists as Masolino, Piero della Francesca and Verrocchio with Leonardo.²⁶ The figure at the far left may combine two Roman references – the Belvedere Torso and Mantegna's much admired man (from the altar wall *Baptism* fresco for the Belvedere Chapel of Innocent VIII) who removed his sweat-clinging tights with great difficulty. The chapel was destroyed in 1780 to build the Museo Pio Clementino. The figure could also be derived from copies of Michelangelo's *Cascina* project. Others are somewhat in the style of Domenichino, whose art Poussin placed on the same level as Raphael's.

Provenance: Commissioned in Rome by the Cavaliere Cassiano dal Pozzo in the late 1630s, as part of Seven Sacraments pictorial cycle, K1391 was brought by Poussin to Paris in unfinished state early in 1642 and completed there by May and then returned to his Roman patron to join other canvases in the cycle. The paintings were inherited by Cosimo Antonio dal Pozzo, grandson of Cassiano's younger brother, Carlo Antonio. In Dec. 1715 the cycle was exhibited at the church of S. Salvatore in Lauro, lent by Cosimo Antonio dal Pozzo.²⁷ By 1725 the series was pledged to the Marchese del Buffalo for a debt by Cosimo Antonio. In 1729 Buffalo offered the *Sacraments* for sale to Louis XV, who did not buy them.²⁸ By Feb. 1730, Pozzo redeemed his debt and recovered the paintings.²⁹ The cycle was in the Palazzo Doria-Pamphili, Rome, in 1733 and 1739.³⁰ The canvases were inherited, probably in 1739, by Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo's daughter, Maria Laura, who married a member of the Boccapaduli family in 1727.³¹ The series was sold to Sir Robert Walpole at an unknown date, but no export licence was given.³² The *Sacraments* were offered to Charles, fourth Duke of Rutland by James Byres, who arranged to have copies substituted for the originals in Rome so as to smuggle them out of Italy.³³ Bought by the duke in 1786 upon the recommendation of Sir Joshua Reynolds.³⁴ The cycle was kept in the latter's house at Leicester Fields.³⁵ The paintings were exhibited in the Council Room at the Royal Academy in 1787.³⁶ The 9th Duke of Rutland, exhibited – London, Royal Academy, *Seventeenth-Century Art in Europe*, 1938, Cat. No. 318 (Catalogue by Ellis K. Waterhouse). New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1944.

References: (1) Sir Joshua Reynolds (Frederick Whitley Hilles, ed.), *Letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, Cambridge, 1929, p. 163, letter of 4 Oct. 1786) named a Neapolitan restorer, Biondi, as having cleaned and relined the *Sacrament* series for him. Reynolds wrote that Gavin Hamilton had

described the paintings as in bad condition and he noted that it was 'extraordinary that [that painter] . . . should not distinguish between mere dirtiness and what is defaced or damaged'. Wellbore Ellis Agar declined purchase of the series a few years earlier due to Hamilton's views, and upon seeing the recently cleaned paintings was 'mortified and down at the mouth on seeing their good condition' (*Ibid.*, pp. 163–4 and p. 175). According to Eller Irvin, *The History of Belvoir Castle*, London, 1841, pp. 291–2, 'The picture is injured by cleaning and the canvas appears in various places'. (2) According to Tancred Borenius ('The French School at Burlington House', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXII, 1938, pp. 54 ff.), the series was 'recently cleaned . . . allowing us fully to appreciate the brilliantly luminous scheme of the *Baptism*'. Otto Grautoff (*Nicolas Poussin: sein Werk und sein Leben*, Munich, 1914, p. 162, Cat. No. 99) had earlier considered the painting well preserved. (3) For other Baptisms by Poussin see Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue*, London, 1966, p. 51, Cat. Nos. 71–2 (hereafter referred to as *Blunt*). (4) For the iconography of Baptism, see Réau, II, 2, pp. 300–1. See also Émile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 261–2. (5) Walter Friedländer with Anthony Blunt and Rudolf Wittkower, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, London, 1939, I, Part 1, pp. 40–1, Cat. No. 75 (hereafter cited as *Friedländer-Blunt*). (6) *Ibid.* (7) Also Georges Wildenstein, 'Les Graveurs de Poussin au XVII^e siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XLVI, 1955 [1958], p. 224, pl. 90; A. Andresen, *Nicolas Poussin, Verzeichniss der nach seinen Gemälden gefertigten gleichzeitigen und spätern Kupferstiche*, Leipzig, 1863, no. 246. (8) See *Provenance* above. According to *Blunt*, p. 74, a copy was sold at Ritter van Klarwill Sale, Berlin, 17/IV/28, Lot 50, ex coll. Lassus, Paris. (9) Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin, The A. W. Mellon Lectures*, Washington, 1967, Text, pp. 243–5. For a reconstruction by Lawrence Gowing of Poussin's stage see p. 243, figs. 200, 201. (10) Sheila Somers Rinehart, 'Poussin et la famille dal Pozzo', *France. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Colloques Internationaux. Sciences Humaines*, 1958: *Nicolas Poussin*, ed. by André Chastel, Paris, 1960 (hereafter referred to as *Colloque Nicolas Poussin*), I, pp. 18–29, in her Appendix lists forty-one Poussin paintings owned by Cassiano. For Cassiano as patron, archaeologist, naturalist and collector see Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, New York, 1963, pp. 44–6. (11) Charles Jouanny, *Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1911. (12) The first *Sacrament* series is surveyed by Blunt, *Exposition Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, Louvre, 1960, pp. 94–5. For its early documentation see also *Blunt*, p. 74. The first series is discussed on pp. 73–6; the second series on pp. 76–9. The *Baptism* from the second Seven Sacraments series is *Blunt*, p. 78, Cat. No. 112. (13) The following extracts from Poussin's letters written in Paris to his Roman patron are taken from the edition by Charles Jouanny, *op. cit.* Note 11. On 7 Jan. 1641 (No. 22, p. 47), Poussin wrote he would not fail to start work on the little painting of Cassiano's *Baptism*. On 18 Apr. (No. 29, pp. 56–67) he wrote again of intending to work on the canvas. On 6 Sept. (No. 45, pp. 93–4) he had not yet had a chance to work on the canvas. On 20 Sept. (No. 46, p. 97) and

25 Oct. (No. 49, p. 103) the project seems to be referred to. On 17 Jan. 1642 (No. 53, p. 111) he enquires as to how the painting could be sent to Cassiano dal Pozzo. On 14 Mar. (No. 55, p. 119) Poussin has not been able to complete the *Baptism* due to a severe cold. By 27 Mar. (No. 57, pp. 124-5) Cassiano had sent him instructions as to how to send the canvas to Rome, but 'the Christ and two small angels remain unfinished, but I hope that in this coming week I will give it the final touches'. On 4 Apr. (No. 58, p. 127) it was agreed to send the canvas by a courier from Lyons to Rome to avoid the danger of a sea trip. 'I . . . assure you that tomorrow it will be completely finished. I will not fail to give it a look from time to time to see if I can improve it.' On 18 Apr. (No. 60, pp. 137-8) Poussin wrote about the picture's transport. On 22 May (No. 64, pp. 153-5) the painting (with another by Poussin) was given to a M. Carlo, head of Cardinal Mazarin's household. On 30 May (No. 66, pp. 159-60), changes in transportation are discussed. In letters of 13 June (No. 68, p. 163) and 27 June (No. 69, p. 165), transport was discussed further. Judging by the letter of 25 July (No. 70, p. 169), the painting was en route since 18 July. Letters of 5 Sept. (No. 73, pp. 175-6) and 18 Sept. (No. 74, p. 177) further discuss transporting the picture. According to Félibien, the *Baptism* was only sketched out when Poussin brought the canvas to Paris. André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres Anciens et Modernes*, Paris, 1688, London, 1705, IV, p. 207. (14) G. B. Bellori, *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Moderni*, Rome, 1672, pp. 416-17: *Nel Battesimo esprime un bellissimo concetto, mentre San Giovanni versando l'acqua sopra il capo di Christo nella sponda del Giordano, all'udirsi in alto la voce del Padre Eterno verso il suo figliuolo diletto, volgonsi alcuni a quel suono che scende dalle nubi, & uno di loro addita il cielo, l'altro accenna Christo, riconoscendolo per figliuolo di Dio. Risplende sopra il suo capo lo Spirito Santo in forma di Colomba, e piegando egli le mani al petto humilmente, vien servito da gli Angeli che gli reggono il manto. Vi sono altri che si spogliano, e si riuestono, & aspettano l'acqua, con varia despositione d'ignudi, e d'affetti.* (15) Hans Wolfgang von Löhneysen, 'Die ikonographischen und geistesgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der "Sieben Sakramente" des Nicolas Poussin', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, IV, 2, 1952, pp. 133-50. (16) Walter Friedländer, *Nicolas Poussin*, New York, n.d., pp. 56-7. For the genesis of the theme in Poussin's first and second *Sacrament* series see also Blunt, 1967, *op. cit.* Note 9 above, pp. 186-90. (17) Blunt, Cat. No. 71. (18) For this conception see Réau, II, 2, p. 301. (19) Walter Friedländer, *Nicolas Poussin, die Entwicklung seiner Kunst*, Munich, 1914, p. 76. See also Émile Magne, *Nicolas Poussin, premier peintre du roi, 1594-1665*, Brussels and Paris, 1914, pp. 122, 133. (20) Grautoff, *op. cit.* Note 2, I, pp. 172-4. K1391 is his Cat. No. 99, p. 162. The Louvre *Baptism* and K1391 seem confused in his discussion and similarly by Friedländer ('Poussin', *Thieme-Becker*, xxvii, Leipzig, 1933, p. 325). (21) Anthony Blunt, 'The Heroic and the Ideal Landscape in the Work of Nicolas Poussin', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VII, 1944, p. 154. Fred Stephen Licht (*Die Entwicklung der Landschaft in den Werken von Nicolas Poussin*, Basel and Stuttgart,

1954, p. 130) also stressed Poussin's new concern with landscape unification. (22) Denis Mahon, 'Poussin au carrefour des années trente', *Colloque Nicolas Poussin*, I, pp. 262-3, 237-64. (23) Friedländer, n.d., *op. cit.* Note 16, p. 56. K1391 and a reproductive print of the fresco are juxtaposed by him on p. 57. In the preparatory drawing (Chantilly), Poussin included the angel's wings from the fresco; these were omitted in the canvas. (24) *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3. (25) Blunt, pp. 74-5, Cat. No. 105. (26) The unusual wingless angels of K1391 are also found in the Leonardo section of the Verrocchio *Baptism* (Florence, Uffizi) and in a Van Scorel *Baptism* (Paris, private collection). Poussin's trompe-l'œil drapery details in the foreground and emphasis upon reflections may relate to the concept of the *Paragone* and to Leonardo's theoretical writings with which he was much concerned just before completing the *Baptism*. For Leonardo and Poussin see Jan Bialostocki, 'Poussin et le "Traité de la Peinture" de Léonard', in *Colloque Nicolas Poussin*, I, pp. 133-40. See also Blunt, 1967, I, *op. cit.* Note 9 above, pp. 155, 364. (27) Francis Haskell and Sheila Rinehart, 'The dal Pozzo Collection, some new evidence', *Burlington Magazine* (special issue), CII, 1960, pp. 318 ff. (28) Haskell-Rinehart, *ibid.*, p. 319. See Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey, *Correspondance des Directeurs de France à Rome avec les Surintendants des Bâtiments, 1666-1793*, Paris, 1887-1912, I-XVIII, VIII, pp. 40, 70, 87. (29) Montaiglon and Guiffrey, *op. cit.*, p. 87. (30) The paintings were seen there by the Hon.—. Sempill (*Diaries*. Manuscript in the possession of Lord Sempill, Craigievar Castle, Aberdeen), who was in Rome in 1733 (cited by Blunt, p. 73) and by Charles de Brosses (*Lettres familières sur l'Italie*, ed. Yvonne Bézard, Paris, 1931, II, p. 456, letters dated 1739-40). (31) Blunt, p. 73. The date of Cosimo Antonio's death is not known. (32) William T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799*, London, 1928, II, p. 75. Sir Robert Walpole died in 1745. (33) *Ibid.*, pp. 75-7. (34) *Ibid.*, p. 76, and Reynolds, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 160. (35) Whitley, *op. cit.* Note 32 above, p. 77. According to a contemporary newspaper, *The World*, King George II's favorites were, in ascending order: *Extreme Unction*, *Confirmation*, and K1391. (36) Joshua Reynolds, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, pp. 125-6, 160, 163-4, 175, 177.

NICOLAS POUSSIN

K1642 : Figure 251

THE HOLY FAMILY ON THE STEPS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1128), since 1950. Oil on canvas. 27×38½ in. (68.6×97.8 cm.). Unidentified stamped collector's mark and wax seal with shield and crown attached to stretcher. Agnew number 13077. Old French printed label from catalogue entry with number 150 and the measurements 32p. 56p. 1938 Royal Academy label. Some discolored areas of old restoration along bottom of canvas.¹ Generally well preserved. The infant St. John's loincloth may be a later addition. Last relined by Pichetto in 1949; restored by Modestini in 1950 and 1955. *Suida*, p. 218, Cat. No. 97. Reproduced in color *Seymour*, p. 139, pl. 130.

The Holy Family, with the nude infant St. John the Baptist and an old woman, probably St. Elizabeth (John's mother and Mary's cousin), are on the steps of a great Classical sanctuary, probably the Temple of Jerusalem, all seen against a brilliant blue and white sky. Joseph, in shadows, wearing a blue cape and leggings, is in right profile, holding a compass in his right hand and a tablet with the other. He sits upright with his right leg stretched out on the step, his left bent to support the tablet. His T-square leans against the balustrade at the right. Mary, with white headcloth, red dress and blue mantle, is seated on a raised platform at the center, her head turned slightly to the left. Her left foot rests upon an urn, elevating the knee upon which the infant is seated. She holds Jesus with both hands, keeping a white cloth around his buttocks. He is turned to the left, reaching with his right hand toward an apple extended by St. John. St. Elizabeth, wearing a white headcloth and yellow drapery, is seated at the extreme left; she seems to be wringing her hands. On the lowermost step, across the foreground, are a basket of apples, an urn, and a rectangular footed casket, probably an incense burner.² A fountain with water streaming over the footed basin is at the left. Immediately behind the basin is seen the upper part of an orange tree beyond which rises a pair of huge Tuscan columns. To the rear of Mary and Christ is a portico with Corinthian columns.

A fragment of a preparatory drawing for K1642, in pen, shows the lower part of Joseph (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 758 v.) (Text Fig. 71). It is probably the earliest surviving study, dated by Kauffmann c. 1645.³ A second drawing in pen and wash is also at the Louvre (Text Fig. 72). It includes an arbor-like covering and an arcade at the upper left. Instead of the columns at the left, there is a wall with an aperture. This drawing is usually regarded as a preparatory study but may represent a plan for a related composition, using that of K1642 as a point of departure. The arcade and the other architectural elements differing from K1642 seem to be laid over a completed rendering of the latter.⁴ A drawing (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) in pen and wash, shows the figure group in the same fashion as K1642, but the setting, excepting the steps and vessels, is different (Text Fig. 73). Joseph's compass and a T-square are on the lower steps; an angel behind St. Elizabeth scatters petals.⁵ A sheet showing the Holy Family with three additional small figures (Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts) is also generally viewed as a preparatory study for K1642 (Text Fig. 74).⁶ A reproductive print was made by Claudine Bouzonnet-Stella c. 1668, inscribed: 'Verè tu es Deus absconditus' (Isaiah 45:15) ('Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself'). A coat of arms, placed in the foreground between the basket and the urn, is that of Amelot du Quailou, Marquis de Mauregard.⁷ Another reproductive print in reverse, inscribed 'L. st. F.' [*La Sainte Famille*] was made by Jean-Baptiste de Poilly (1669–1728) without the arms shown in the example above.⁸ A print based upon the one by Poilly was included by Charles Paul Landon in his *Vies et œuvres des peintres* . . .⁹ A contemporary example of the same composition as K1642 is in the collection of Thérèse Bertin-Mouro, Paris (72.0 × 101.0 cm.), formerly

owned by Henry Lerolle.¹⁰ An eighteenth-century copy is at Chaumont (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire), there wrongly ascribed to Sébastien Bourdon.¹¹ A drawing after K1642 is in Dijon (Musée Magnin), 15 × 12 cm.¹²

In 1914, when the Bertin-Mouro canvas was first known to Poussin scholars, K1642 was owned by the Duke of Sutherland and had been identified with the Poussin canvas described by Félibien in 1688 as 'Une Vierge assise sur des degrez' sent by Poussin from Rome in 1648 to a Parisian patron, Nicolas Hennequin de Fresne.¹³ In 1914 Grautoff accepted K1642 as the 1648 canvas, describing the Bertin-Mouro canvas as 'an old copy, in heavy, cold coloring.'¹⁴ Friedländer, in the same year, found the latter to be the original painting of 1648, his view followed by Magne.¹⁵ In 1933 and again in 1964, Friedländer described K1642 and the Bertin-Mouro canvas as of equal quality, making it hard to determine which was the original.¹⁶ Waterhouse found the Bertin-Mouro example to be an old copy after K1642.¹⁷ Blunt noted that a comparison of K1642 'with the version belonging to M. Lerolle has recently shown that the latter is a contemporary seventeenth-century copy.'¹⁸ Friedländer and Blunt listed the Kress canvas as the original and the ex coll. Lerolle example as a contemporary copy.¹⁹ Sutton, sharing the same view, described the latter as 'an old copy'.²⁰ Both K1642 and the Bertin-Mouro painting were listed by Bertin-Mouro as two examples of Poussin's *Madone sur l'escalier*, her Catalogue No. x, in the 'Addenda to Grautoff'.²¹ Wildenstein suggested that the Bertin-Mouro painting was by Jacques Stella, identifying it with a canvas recorded in the Bouzonnet-Stella inventory.²² However, the latter's dimensions are far too small. According to Bertin-Mouro 'Une Vierge assise sur de degrez' (with which the *Madonna of the Steps* is usually identified) is a now lost painting showing the Virgin actually sitting on the steps, rather than placed upon an elevation on the steps, as seen in K1642. She thought the 'lost' work to be reflected in a reproductive print ascribed to Gantrel.²³ It is hard to accept the print as after Poussin for it shows a rather confused composition which is a pastiche probably freely based upon several works by Poussin (Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth, *Holy Family with Eleven Figures*; Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum, *Holy Family with a Bathing*). There is a remote possibility of the print's being based upon a very late Poussin. According to Bertin-Mouro, K1642 or an example of the same composition in her own collection was probably owned by Amelot du Quailou, Marquis de Mauregard. She found the composition of K1642 to be identical with the one described in the inventory of Claudine Bouzonnet-Stella as '... Une Vierge qui a le pied sur un Vase, Saint Joseph tien un compas . . .' and inaccurately described by Florent Le Comte. On the basis of the arms on the Bouzonnet-Stella reproductive print after the *Holy Family on the Steps*, she concluded that the canvas in her collection was the original painting owned by Amelot du Quailou.²⁴ Thuillier did not include K1642 in his list of documented works by Poussin; he tentatively suggested that the *Holy Family* described by Félibien as painted in 1648 may be the canvas in a Parisian private collection – presumably the Bertin-Mouro canvas.²⁵

Mahon found the Kress painting a fine, original work by Poussin, far superior to the other example.²⁶ Blunt accepted K1642 as the Hennequin de Fresne canvas, calling the other 'a version'.²⁷ The Kress canvas is the original and the Bertin-Mourot example a copy, according to Von Einem.²⁸ Sterling considered the Washington canvas more convincing as an original work by Poussin than the other.²⁹ Rosenberg regarded both as equal in quality.³⁰ Huyghe described the Kress canvas as a very good copy of the Lerolle canvas, which he felt to be the original.³¹

The identification of the figure at the far left as St. Elizabeth was first made by *Smith* (VIII, p. 41, Cat. No. 78) and has always been accepted. Blunt found Joseph's mathematical attributes – the compass in the painting and the T-square included in the preliminary drawings – to be based on Isidor Isolanus's *Summa de Donis S. Joseph* (Pavia, 1522) in which the saint is described as possessed of the most profound knowledge in all branches of philosophy and theology. As Isolanus specifically mentions philosophy, Blunt concluded '... the compass and ruler ... have their currency as the symbols of philosophical and particularly of mathematical knowledge'.³² Blunt noted that 'this obvious emphasis on the mathematical structure of the space composition reminds one that Descartes was a contemporary of Poussin, and that he conceives of the physical universe as being subject to the laws of mathematics'.³³ Aspects of the mathematical construction of K1642 were also explored by Kauffmann, who suggested a link between Poussin and the geometer Abraham Bosse.³⁴ Kauffmann related the canvas to neo-Platonic concepts of *Misura* and *Idea*, and thought Poussin anticipated some of Bellori's writings.³⁵ The author noted Elizabeth's role as prophetess, her headband a symbol of prophecy, and her gesture (described as a wringing of hands) foretold the Passion. He remarked that the relationship between Christ and St. John is based upon Franciscan meditations in which the latter proclaims Christ as *humanitas Salvatoris nostri*, and that Christ's acceptance of the apple, symbol of sin, shows his role as Redeemer. He viewed the setting as that of the Temple of Jerusalem, and related the steps to the scale of Marian virtue and the fountain and the column to other Marian emblems.³⁶ According to *Seymour* (p. 139) 'The precisely shaped stone forms of an idealized architecture, also based on the remains of Antiquity, provide a harmonious environment. Behind the darkened profile of Saint Joseph, who is shown here as a geometer or mathematical philosopher, a second flight of steps continues to the suggestion of a high, broad platform. This we feel, but cannot see, as a climax of pure space and intellect – an imagined acropolis. Beyond it, as in Raphael's architecture of the *School of Athens* in the Vatican, there is only the clear ether of the heavens and the purity of a light-filled cloud.' Several of Kauffmann's views on neo-Platonic references in K1642 were rejected by Bialostocki, who found 'the general meaning of the picture is still first of all religious: the monumental architecture is a *Civitas Dei*, a simple carpenter at the construction of which was St. Joseph, covered by the shadow of the Virgin. The steps to the kingdom of God are "unhumanly high, hard to climb – the only possible

way leads to Christ and His Passion, symbolized by the fruit given by St. John to the Holy Child"'.³⁷ Michelangelo's *Madonna of the Steps* (Florence, Casa Buonarroti) was linked to the theme of K1642 by von Einem in his study of the symbolism of the Kress canvas; he also provided text sources for the role of Joseph.³⁸ Blunt accepted Kauffmann's suggestion that the Holy Family is shown on the steps of the Temple, noting that Poussin's other compositions show the Temple in similar form. He found the T-square and compass to be associated with the Temple as it was built according to the measurements divinely revealed to Solomon. He proposed that the two vessels at the right held the gifts of the Magi, frankincense and myrrh.³⁹ The architecture in the background was found by Blunt to be based upon a woodcut of the side portico of the Temple at Trevi, as shown in Andrea Palladio's *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura*.⁴⁰ Badt suggested the Kress canvas contained allusions to Classical masques and Byzantine art.⁴¹ The extensive use of yellow in K1642 led him to surmise that Poussin was working in the ancient Greek Hypolydian mode, in which that color is used to depict sacred subjects. Van Helsingingen noted that several elements of K1642 and associated drawings related to symbols of the Immaculate Conception, and to Mary as the *scala caelestis*, the stair to Heaven.⁴² The column and the orange tree are also Marian symbols.⁴³

Although the various scholars concerned with the symbolism of K1642 often disagree with one another's interpretations, almost all the suggested sources were current in mid-seventeenth-century Rome at the time Poussin painted the *Holy Family on the Steps*. The architectural setting probably refers to both the Temple of Solomon and the City of God; the steps may indicate Platonic concepts of measurement, Marian virtue and the steep ascent to Heaven. The seated, melancholic, saturnine Joseph and his mathematical attributes relate to his role as builder and wise man. The reflection in K1642 of the popular concern with the Immaculate Conception, as suggested by van Helsingingen, is a most reasonable assumption.⁴⁴ The text from Isaiah on the reproductive print may have been chosen as all the participants in the *Madonna of the Steps* seem to have recognized or are about to recognize Christ as the Savior. This might be indicated by Mary's stoical gaze; John's offering the apple to Christ the New Adam, Elizabeth's prophetic grief and Joseph's philosophical investigation. The triangular format of the holy group suggests a New Testament pediment to crown the temple of the Old, rising in the background.

K1642 was included by *Smith* (VIII, p. 41, Cat. No. 78) in Poussin's oeuvre. Waagen characterized the Kress canvas as Poussin's 'Holy Family, uncommonly powerful, clear and brilliant in the colouring'.⁴⁵ In 1914, Friedländer related the figure of Mary in the composition of the *Madonna of the Steps* to Poussin's depiction of Rebecca, also painted in 1648 (Louvre, *Eliezer and Rebecca*; Blunt, Cat. No. 8).⁴⁶ Sources for the classical style and pyramidal composition of the *Holy Family on the Steps* have been found by many writers in works of the High Renaissance,

especially those of Raphael: the setting and figures in the *School of Athens* fresco (Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura) and several of the same artist's depictions of the Holy Family especially the *Holy Family with the Fish* (Madrid, Prado).⁴⁷ Blunt noted that the Andrea del Sarto fresco of the *Madonna del Sacco* (Florence, SS. Annunziata) was also an important source for the composition and found that Michelangelo's *Naason* (lunette fresco, Sistine Chapel) was a prototype for the figure of Joseph.⁴⁸ He linked Poussin's new style of the 1640s as seen in the Kress canvas to the master's recent Parisian residence, where he came into contact with the new French patrons 'from the class of merchants and financiers who were about to make the Fronde and were in an aggressive and vital state of excitement. . .'.⁴⁹ Blunt noted that, despite the High Renaissance sources, the essential features of the composition are Poussin's own.⁵⁰ The influence of Venetian art and of Caravaggio for the still-life elements in the foreground and other aspects of the canvas was proposed by Friedländer.⁵¹ Quotations from the Antique were stressed by Seymour (p. 139) and Friedländer, who both thought the Roman fresco known as the *Aldobrandini Wedding* (Rome, Vatican Museum) may have been a source for the composition. The latter found that 'the first of the later series of Holy Families was painted in the late 1640s, the splendid *Madonna on the Steps*, a particularly fine example of an ancient scheme utilized for Poussin's new plastic and intellectual ideal. The composition of the work is thoughtfully planned to make every plane parallel as exactly as possible to the surface of the picture, in the manner of an ancient relief. The broad triangular composition extends across the entire width of the canvas.'

The planimetric scheme of the *Madonna on the Steps* is combined with a severe, tightly controlled arrangement of figures which anticipates the more vertical compositions of Poussin's later Holy Families.⁵² Blunt observed 'This is one of Poussin's most compellingly beautiful pictures, one in which he has attained the aim of the classical artist that nothing could be added to it or taken away from it but for the worse. It has a finality rare even in classical art.'⁵³

During a twenty-year period prior to 1655, Poussin is known to have painted approximately twenty depictions of the Holy Family. Several of his drawings, although related in composition to K1642, need not necessarily have been preparatory to the Kress *Holy Family on the Steps*, but may represent variations on its theme for similar projects that were executed shortly before or after the Washington canvas. Among Poussin's most monumental works, the Washington canvas is fully expressive of the master's *maniera magnifica*. The symmetry and authority of the *Holy Family on the Steps*, as often noted, go back to Antiquity and to the art of the High Renaissance; most notably to the Vatican frescoes of the *School of Athens* and *Strength, Truth and Moderation* in the Stanza della Segnatura. The characterization of St. Elizabeth and St. John may also originate with Raphael. The unusually low pedimental confines of the figure group recall those established by Michelangelo for the Ancestor of Christ compositions of

the Sistine Chapel ceiling. A Fontainebleau print in the manner of Giulio Romano may also have been partially adapted by Poussin.⁵⁴ Genre elements of the painting may stem from Venetian sources such as Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin* (Venice, Accademia) and Tintoretto's *Last Supper* (Venice, Scuola di San Rocco). Although several critics have expressed a preference for the Bertin-Mouroit painting, the Kress canvas seems superior; it is more accomplished in handling and articulation, especially in Mary's neck and head. Bertin-Mouroit's argument that the presence of a loincloth on K1642's St. John points to that canvas's inferiority to her version (where this is absent) seems doubly irrelevant since this feature is shown in several of Poussin's preparatory studies and it may have been added to the Washington painting.

Provenance: Questions raised by Bertin-Mouroit concerning the exact identification of this composition with 17th- and 18th-century descriptions of the *Vierge assise sur des degrés* and the *Madone sur l'escalier* and by the provenance of the Kress canvas prior to its ownership by the Marquis de Lassay in 1775, seem, in her words, 'sans fin'.⁵⁵ The Washington canvas is probably the one sent by Poussin to Nicolas Hennequin de Fresne, Master of the Royal Hunt,⁵⁶ in 1648, described by Félibien in his publication of 1688 as 'Une Vierge assise sur de degrés', then at the Hôtel de Guise.⁵⁷ The arms of Jacques Amelot du Quillou, Marquis de Mauregard, later Marquis de Gournay, on the reproductive print by Bouzonnet-Stella suggest that he may have owned the *Holy Family on the Steps*;⁵⁸ it is otherwise hard to explain the presence of his arms on the reproductive print. Could he have owned the painting after the death of Hennequin de Fresne? Probably the same work as the canvas in the Marquis de Lassay Sale (Lugt no. 2413), Joullain fils, Paris, 22 May 1775, Lot 43, 25 × 36 in., listed as 'N. Poussin – Sainte Famille où la Vierge est représentée assise; elle tient l'Enfant Jesus qui avance la main pour recevoir une pomme que St. Jean lui présente. Ste Anne et St Joseph les accompagnent. Ce dernier tient un compas. Une noble architecture où principalement se voit un escalier enrichissent ce tableau. On en connaît l'estampe par J. Pesne, d'après N. Poussin. Il porte deux pieds un pouce de haut sur trois pieds de large. Toile.'⁵⁹ Abbé Le Blanc Sale, Le Brun, Paris, 14 Feb. 1781, Lot 39 (as 'Un Repos en Egypte', 27 × 38 in.; as engraved by Poilly). Cabinet de M.^{xxx} [Comte de Vaudreuil] Sale, Le Brun, Paris, 26 Nov. 1787, Lot 29 (as 'Repos de la Sainte Famille en Egypte' from Le Blanc Sale). La Reynière Sale, Le Brun, Paris, 3 Apr. 1793, Lot 2 (originally announced for Nov. 1792; Lugt nos. 4965, 5025), as 'Repos de la sainte Famille en Egypte' from Vaudreuil Sale. John Trumbull Sale, Christie's, London, 17–18 Feb. 1797, Lot 81 (as 'A Holy Family' from La Reynière Sale; bought by Smith). Described as 'A capital and classic composition, in highest preservation, well known by print engraved by Poilly; from choice collection of M. De La Reynière.' Anonymous Sale, Christie's, London, 7 Mar. 1801, Lot 85 (as 'Holy Family' from La Reynière Sale). Erroneously listed by Smith (p. 41, Cat. No. 78) to have been in the Walsh Porter Sale, Christie's, 14 Apr. 1810, Cat. No. 32.⁶⁰ Duke of Sutherland, Stafford House, probably acquired between

1833 and 1837. Placed at auction, Christie's, 11 July 1913, Cat. No. 34, exhibited – London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Seventeenth-Century Art in Europe*, 1938, Cat. No. 337. New York, Wildenstein and Co., *French Painting of the XVIIIth Century*, 1947, Cat. No. 33.⁶¹ London, Agnew & Son, 1947. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) In 1914, Otto Grautoff described the condition of K1642 as discolored and dry. (*Nicolaus Poussin: sein Werk und sein Leben*, Munich, 1914.) (2) This is derived from a Roman relief at the Capitoline Museum (Rome), the subject of a sixteenth-century reproductive print by N. Beatrizet. Also reproduced by G. Du Choul as *Petit coffre, ou tenoyent leurs encens les sacrificateurs* (*Discours de la Religion des anciens romains*, Lyons, 1581, p. 325). A drawing after the Beatrizet print was made by Poussin (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts). Reproduced by Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin, The A. W. Mellon Lectures*, Washington, D.C., 1967, Text, p. 141 and p. 143, fig. 133. See also his 'Poussin et les cérémonies religieuses antiques', *Revue des Arts*, 1960, II, pp. 57–66, fig. 8. (3) See Georg Kauffmann, "La Sainte Famille à l'Escalier" et le problème des proportions dans l'œuvre de Poussin', *France. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Colloques Internationaux. Sciences Humaines*, 1958: *Nicolas Poussin*, ed. by André Chastel, Paris, 1960, I, pp. 141–50, fig. 117 (hereafter referred to as *Colloque Nicolas Poussin*). See also his *Poussin Studien*, Berlin, 1960, pp. 42–3. (4) See Walter Friedländer, with Anthony Blunt and Rudolf Wittkower, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin, A Catalogue Raisonné*, London, 1939, I, Cat. No. 47, referred to hereafter as *Friedländer-Blunt*. An old copy after the Kress composition, also in the Louvre (Inv. No. 32557) is recorded on p. 26. Another copy drawn by Poussin for Chantelou is at the Musée Bonnat (No. 257), Bayonne. (5) *Ibid.*, Cat. No. 46, described as 'possibly a clever imitation'. (6) *Ibid.*, Cat. No. 45. For studies of the sequence and significance of drawings preparatory to K1642, see *ibid.*, Cat. Nos. 45–51; Kauffmann, *Colloque Nicolas Poussin*, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, pp. 141–50, and *Poussin-Studien*, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, pp. 42–8; Friedländer, *Nicolas Poussin: a New Approach*, New York, 1964, p. 160; Herbert von Einem, 'Poussins "Madonna an der Treppe"', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, xxviii, 1966, pp. 31–48, esp. pp. 37 ff.; Kurt Badt, *Die Kunst des Nicolas Poussin*, Cologne, 1969, pp. 232 ff. (7) See Thérèse Bertin-Mouro, 'Poussin Inconnu II', *Bulletin de la Société Poussin*, Jan. 1959, pp. i–viii, esp. p. vii. There are many inaccuracies in the entry for this print prepared by Georges Wildenstein, 'Les Graveurs des Poussin au XVII^e siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1955, 6th ser., XLVI, pp. 169, 170, Cat. No. 52. For this print see also Roger Armand Weigert, *Inventaire du Fonds Français, Graveurs du XVII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1939, Cat. No. 11. (8) A. Andresen, *Nicolaus Poussin, Verzeichniss der nach seinen Gemälden gefertigten, gleichzeitigen und spätern Kupferstiche*, Leipzig, 1863, p. 39, Cat. No. 136, hereafter referred to as *Andresen*. (9) C. P. Landon, *Vies et œuvres des peintres . . .*, Paris, II, 1803–17, p. 30, cited in Bertin-Mouro, 1959, *op. cit.* Note 7 above, p. vii, n. 3. (10) According to Rouart, it was formerly in the collection of Lord Ashburton and appeared in an anonymous sale at

Christie's (17 June 1908, Lot 150), purchased by Quinto, then acquired by Henry Lerolle. It was bought by Bertin-Mouro at an anonymous Lerolle sale (Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 10 May 1944, Cat. No. 6). See Louis Rouart, 'Un tableau de Poussin', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1909, pp. 92–3. The canvas is reproduced in color by Paul Jamot, *Connaissance de Poussin*, Paris, 1948, pl. 139, and Jean Alazard, *Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665*, Milan, 1957, Cat. No. 39, with the erroneous caption 'Washington, Coll. Priv.'. For an extensive study of this canvas see Bertin-Mouro, *Supplément à l'Addenda au Catalogue de Grautoff paru dans le second Cahier (Décembre, 1948) du Bulletin de la Société Poussin, 'Poussin Inconnu'*, Paris, 1957, pp. 1–8. A lost copy (12 × 24½ in.) made by Poussin's friend Jacques Stella, the uncle of the engraver Claudine Bouzonnet-Stella, is listed in the 'Testament et Inventaire . . . de Claudine Bouzonnet-Stella Rédigés et Écrits par elle-même. 1693–1697.', ed. by Jules Guiffrey, *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 1877, pp. 1–113, p. 30, Inv. No. 40. (11) Reproduced by Bertin-Mouro, 1957, *op. cit.*, second unnumbered plate, following p. 6. Three additional copies are listed by Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin, a Critical Catalogue*, London, 1966, p. 40, Cat. No. 53 (hereafter referred to as *Blunt*): John Bryson, Oxford; Earl of Caledon Sale (Christie's, London, 9 June 1939, Lot 62); Anonymous Sale (Christie's, 21 Dec. 1950, painted by N. Verendaal, the figures surrounded by a wreath of flowers, Lot 78). (12) Reproduced by Jeanne Magnin, *Peintures et dessins de l'École française, Musée Magnin*, Dijon, 1938, p. 176. According to her also reproduced *Cabinet d'un amateur parisien en 1922*, Paris, 1922, II, p. 41; Cat. No. 262, p. 40. (13) André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres . . . 1688*, Paris, 1725. (14) Grautoff, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, I, pp. 269–70. (15) W. Friedländer, *Nicolas Poussin: die Entwicklung seiner Kunst*, Munich, 1914, pp. 92, 119; Émile Magne, *Nicolas Poussin*, Brussels and Paris, 1914, p. 213, Cat. No. 241. (16) W. Friedländer, 'Nicolas Poussin', *Thieme-Becker*, xxvii, pp. 321 ff.; *idem*, 1964, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, p. 160. (17) Ellis K. Waterhouse, *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Seventeenth-Century Art in Europe*, London, Royal Academy of Art, 1938, pp. 134–5, Cat. No. 337. (18) Blunt, 'Blake's "Ancient of Days"', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938–39, p. 55, n. 1. (19) Friedländer-Blunt, I, p. 22. (20) Denys Sutton, *French Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1947, p. 19, Cat. No. 33. (21) T. Bertin-Mouro, 'Supplément à l'Addenda . . .', 1948, *art. cit.*, pp. 43–87. (22) Wildenstein & Co., London, *Artists in Seventeenth-Century Rome. Catalogue*, 1955, p. 170. (23) She believed (*Poussin Inconnu*, Paris, 1959, p. 1, n. 3) the 'lost' *Madone sur l'escalier* to be the canvas listed by Jacques de Cambry (*Essai sur la vie et sur les tableaux de Poussin*, Paris, 1783, p. 53) as 'une Sainte Famille, tantôt sur le parvis d'un temple magnifique, tantôt sous une chaumière que, par un contraste poétique, il appuie sur les ruines d'un ancien temple renversé.' She reproduced the print on an unnumbered plate. The print is comparable in style to Bourdon's *Holy Family* (Saltwood, Lord Clark, reproduced by Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700*, p. 146, fig. A). Bertin-Mouro, 1959, *op. cit.* Note 7 above, p. vii. (24) *Ibid.*, pp. vii–viii.

See Florent Le Comte, *Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture et gravure*, Paris, 1669, II, p. 132. The description is of a print, not of a painting. (25) Jacques Thuillier, 'Poussin', *Encyclopedia of World Art*, XI, 1959, col. 557. Kauffmann (*Poussin-Studien*, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 36, n. 2) considered the Lerolle canvas an old copy of K1642. (26) Denis Mahon, Transcription of comments made at the National Gallery, Washington, D.C., 28/x/64. (27) Blunt, p. 39, Cat. No. 53. (28) Von Einem, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, p. 46, n. 1. (29) Charles Sterling, Kress Archive, 1968. (30) Pierre Rosenberg, Letter of 14/vi/68 in the Kress Archive. (31) René Huyghe, National Gallery Archive, Washington, D.C., 16/x/68. (32) Blunt, 1938-39, *op. cit.* Note 18 above, pp. 55-6, and n. 3, p. 55, for further notes on the iconography of Joseph. See also von Einem, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, p. 48 and n. 62. (33) Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1957, p. 168. (34) Kauffmann, *Colloque Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 141 ff., and *Poussin-Studien*, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, pp. 50-3. (35) Kauffmann, *Poussin-Studien*, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-65. (36) *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9, n. 8-9. (37) Jan Bialostocki, Review of Kauffmann's *Poussin-Studien* in *Art Bulletin*, XLIII, 1961, pp. 68-72. Leopold Ettlinger ('Georg Kauffmann, Poussin-Studien', *Kunstchronik*, XIV, pp. 196-201, p. 198) also discounted Kauffmann's view that Poussin was concerned with neo-Platonic *Misura*. (38) Von Einem, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, pp. 41-2, p. 47, n. 25, and for Joseph see pp. 45 and 48, n. 62. For symbolism of the steps see W. Menzel, *Christliche Symbolik*, Regensburg, 1856, II, p. 507. (39) Blunt, 1967, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, pp. 181-4. *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, IV, Venice, 1570, chap. 25. (40) The Palladio illustration is reproduced by Blunt, 1967, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, p. 236, fig. 188. (41) Badt, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, p. 361; pp. 232-4, 498-501. For Poussin's use of the modes, see Paul Alfassa, 'L'origine de la lettre de Poussin sur les modes d'après un travail récent', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1933, pp. 125 ff. See also Blunt, 'Poussin's notes on painting', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937-38, pp. 349 ff.; and Kauffmann, *Poussin-Studien*, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, pp. 63-4. (42) H. W. van Helsdingen, 'Aantekeningen bij de ikonografie van Poussin', *Simiolus*, III, 1968-69, pp. 153-79; p. 174-6, and his nn. 94-6. (43) For the significance of the column in Marian subjects see Günter Bandmann, 'Höhle und Säule auf Darstellungen Mariens mit dem Kinde', *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten*, Cologne, 1970, pp. 130-48 *passim*. It is linked to the birth of Christ, Flagellation and the prophecy of Isaiah. The latter's words are inscribed on the print after the *Holy Family on the Steps*. According to Mirella Levi d'Ancona (25/vi/70), the orange tree is a symbol of purity and chastity, the Trees of Knowledge, Life, and Paradise. The orange tree is an attribute of the Virgin Mary and of her Assumption, mentioned by Armando de Villosvisu from Bologna (1296-1323) in *De B. Virgine Maria Collatione super Psalmos* (in P. de Alva y Astorga *Bibliotheca Virginalis*, III, Madrid, 1648, p. 181, col. 10). A sixteenth-century poem on the Assumption states: 'Fulcite floribus/Fessam languoribus;/ Stipate citreis/Et malis aureis.' (R. Zoosman, *Laudate Dominum* . . ., Munich, 1928, p. 674, poem xxxi, strophe 2). In a fourteenth-century prayer in the Prague City Library,

Mary is hailed as follows: 'Gaude, cuius eloquia/Sunt sicut mala aurea.' (in Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, XXX, p. 129, *Horae Beatae Mariae V.* strophe 10). (44) The placing of Mary's foot on a vessel may be emblematic, possibly referring to the sealed font of Marian purity or to Psyche or the New Pandora - the latter's 'vase of classical shape is filled exclusively with all the fortunate gifts of the heavenly powers'. (The quotation is from Erwin and Dora Panofsky, *Pandora's Box*, New York, 1956, pp. 60-1.) (45) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 1854, II, p. 66, Cat. No. 1, seen at the Duke of Sutherland's residence at Stafford House. (46) Friedländer, 1914, *op. cit.* Note 15 above, p. 92. In *Friedländer-Blunt*, p. 22, the canvas is placed first on a list of the Holy Family Type c (late forties and fifties). (47) See Grautoff, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, pp. 269-70; Tancred Borenius, 'The French School at Burlington House', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXII, 1938, pp. 54 ff., p. 63; Alfred M. Frankfurter ('Interpreting Masterpieces: Twenty-four Paintings from the Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, XXI, 1951, pp. 116-17) thought the figure of Joseph derived from the soldier on the steps in Raphael's *Deliverance of St. Peter* (Vatican, Stanza d'Elidoro). Suida (p. 218) suggested Poussin's adaptation of the Sibyls in Raphael's frescoes for the Chigi Chapel (Rome, Sta. Maria della Pace). A print by Marcantonio after Raphael, *Martha and the Magdalen Going to the Temple* (B.45) may have been used by Poussin. He may also have been interested in a print of the *Holy Family* (B.19) after Rosso. (48) Blunt, 1938-39, *op. cit.* Note 18 above, p. 56, n. 1 and 2. The *Naason* was also copied by Rubens. For Michelangelo and Poussin, see Von Einem, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, pp. 35 ff. Von Einem (*ibid.*, pp. 32 and 35) related the composition to Andrea del Sarto's *Madonna della Scala* (Prado, Madrid). (49) Blunt, 'The Royal Academy Exhibition of Seventeenth-Century Art', *Apollo*, XXVII, 1938, pp. 3 ff., p. 9. (50) Blunt, 1957, *op. cit.* Note 33 above, pp. 167-8. (51) Friedländer, 1964, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, pp. 29, 67. For the still-life areas of K1642, see also François-Georges Pariset, 'Les "Natures Mortes" chez Poussin', *Colloque Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 215-24, esp. p. 221. (52) Friedländer, 1964, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, pp. 67-8, 160 ff. (53) Blunt, 1967, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, I, pp. 263-4. (54) By Jean Mignon (no. 5). Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau*, New York, 1969. Another possible print source is Marcantonio, B.45, *Christ Entering the Temple*, after Raphael. (55) Bertin-Mouroit, 1959, *op. cit.* Note 7 above, p. vii. (56) Blunt, 1967, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, p. 215. (57) André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres* . . ., IV, edition of 1725, p. 59. Suida (p. 218) implied that K1642 was in the collection of Roger de Gaignières since his collection was installed in the Hôtel de Guise, but Blunt (pp. 39-40) found no case for its ownership by Gaignières. (58) Bertin-Mouroit, 1959, *op. cit.* Note 7 above, p. vii. (59) See L. Clément de Ris, *Les Amateurs d'Autrefois*, Paris, 1877, 'Léon de Madaillan, Comte de Lassay, 1683-1750', pp. 229-52. The lover of the Duchesse de Bourbon, Lassay started his fine collection of paintings after the completion of the Hôtel de Lassay (begun 1724), adjacent to the Palais de Bourbon. Clément de Ris (pp.

243-4) referred to a study by [Alexis] Paulin Paris, 'Le Marquis de Lassay et l'Hôtel Lassay', *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1847, as his source of information, but this is incorrect. De Lassay, supposedly keeping copies he had made of the original works owned by the Duchesse, kept the originals instead and had the copies installed in her palace. (See the *Mémoires et Anecdotes pour servir à l'histoire de Perse*, quoted by Clément de Ris, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-5). He inherited her paintings as well as many from the Comtesse de Verrue. It is tempting to think of both K1642 and the Lerolle canvas as from the Lassay collection. For Poussins linked to Lassay's collection, see *Blunt*, pp. 84, 88, Cat. Nos. 124, 126. Lassay's estate was divided into two parts, half going to the descendants of his father's third marriage, the other to his wife, many of the paintings going to the Comte de la Guiche. As no work of Poussin is among the list of fifteen paintings lent by the Marquise de Lassay to la Guiche in 1755, the Poussins must have remained at her Hôtel, but the *Holy Family on the Steps* is not included among the four Poussins recorded by Antoine Nicolas Dézaillier d'Argenville (*Voyage Pittoresque de Paris*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1757, p. 414). She died in 1763. The cataloguer of the 1775 sale may have confused Pesne with Poilly who prepared a reproductive print after the *Holy Family on the Steps*. No print by Pesne of the subject of K1642 survives; his work after the *Holy Family with a Bathing* (Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum) (*Blunt*, p. 40, Cat. No. 54, and *Andresen*, Print Cat. No. 137, Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 22 above, Cat. No. 53) could have been mistakenly referred to as after the Kress canvas. (60) The Porter painting is the *Holy Family with St. John Holding a Cross*, sometimes known as the *Pearson Madonna*, now at the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (*Blunt*, Cat. No. 48). (61) Erroneously listed in both as in the Marquis de Véri Sale, Paris, 12 Dec. 1785, Cat. No. 1, as noted by Bertin-Mourore, 1948, *op. cit.* Note 21 above, p. 47, n. 1. The Véri canvas is now in the O. Reinhart Collection, Winterthur, Switzerland.

Attributed to NICOLAS POUSSIN

K1440 : Figure 252

THE NURTURE OF JUPITER. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1104), since 1950. Oil on Italian *spinata* canvas with an irregular surface providing a poor support for pigments.¹ 46½ × 61½ in. (117.4 × 155.3 cm.). Slight losses in area of man with staff at left. Relined in the eighteenth century; cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1947-48; very well preserved. *Suida*, p. 216, Cat. No. 96.

The infant Jupiter, hidden by his mother Ops on the island of Crete from his murderous father Saturn, is nurtured on goat's milk and honey by two naiads, Amalthea and Melissa. Amalthea, seated on the ground, her upper drapery blue, the lower golden yellow, pours milk into the infant's mouth from a goat's horn while Melissa, whose upper drapery is gray-green and lower drapery pinkish, stands over him at the right. To the left of Jupiter and Amalthea is a kneeling, bearded man in

brownish-gold drapery milking a goat; he reaches for the horn so that he may fill it with more milk. A second seated, wreathed goatherd, holding a crook draped in blue is at the far left. Behind the central group of Jupiter and Amalthea is a grotto with a rocky outcropping above, on which wreathed, nude nymphs recline before a bank of rushes. Water issues from the jar on which the nymph at the left rests her arm. Vine entwined, gnarled trees (probably ash) are at the left and at the right. A mountainous landscape vista is in the distance, with Mt. Ida at the left.

A drawing of the subject by or after Poussin is in Stockholm (Nationalmuseum, Text Fig. 75). Two nymphs are at the extreme right, Melissa stands at the center foreground with the reclining Amalthea slightly to the right. A figure is shown in the sky at the upper right. The composition is more fluid and harmonious than that of K1440. Unlike the other painted versions of the subject (Dulwich, Berlin) which show only one shepherd, the drawing includes two, very close in pose and placement to K1440.² A copy of K1440 is in the collection of George Tait (Malibu, California) 38¾ × 52¾ in. (97 × 133 cm.). Another canvas, inferior to the above copy, is in a private Argentinian collection.³ The two paintings by Poussin of the same subject (both usually placed in the second half of the 1630s) are in the Dulwich College Picture Gallery, London, and in Berlin (Staatliche Museen). In the Dulwich canvas Jupiter is suckled by the goat, whose horns are held by a kneeling goatherd and hindleg by Amalthea. Melissa stands behind Amalthea. Only one nymph with an urn is shown, at the right. In the Berlin canvas, Jupiter drinks from a metal vessel held by Amalthea. Melissa tends beehives which are at the extreme left. Only one goatherd is shown, milking at the right.⁴ No known Classical source or later mythographer provides a specific text for all the elements of K1440. This canvas may well prove to be based upon a sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century depiction of the unusual subject, which then enjoyed considerable popularity. The precise humanistic *raison d'être* for the representation of the Nurture subject is not certain, but may be due to Zodiacal associations, since the episode is sometimes linked to the constellation Capricorn, the beginning of the winter solstice in the tenth month, making it an allegory of the month October. The Nurture, according to Blunt, was also a sign of fertility and resurrection.⁵ The tree at the left of K1440 resembles an ash and suggests that Poussin may have consulted Callimachus, where the maidens nurturing Jupiter are described as the ash tree nymphs: however, the background indicates Virgil's 'low cave of Crete'.⁶

The canvas was praised by Triqueti for its beauty when owned by Sir John Easthope. He compared it favorably with Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* (Paris, Louvre), perhaps on the basis of the similarity of the male figures.⁷ Friedländer viewed K1440 as executed by Poussin in Rome, c. 1640 (just before his Parisian residence), between the Dulwich and Berlin canvases.⁸ The painting was first published by Blunt as showing a Poussin composition which, with the

Tait canvas, was based upon the Stockholm drawing.⁹ According to Friedländer and Blunt, the composition is one of three devoted by Poussin to the same pastoral myth, all dating from the second half of the 1630s. They described both K1440 and the Tait canvas as examples of one of the three Nurture compositions.¹⁰ The Kress painting was associated by Thuillier with two mythological subjects in the Brunswick Landesmuseum (*Psyche and her Father Consulting the Oracle of Apollo; Apollo and Diana Hunting*). He suggested that all three are the work of a completely distinct, less skillful painter than Poussin. This artist may have executed the canvases during early years of apprenticeship, combining Poussinesque grace with his own naïve style.¹¹ The Nurture was attributed by Blunt to a French follower of Poussin working in Paris or Italy whom he named the Hovingham Master after a *Toilet of Venus* and *Leda and the Swan* (both owned by Sir William Worsley, Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire). He placed K1440 among the later, more consciously neo-Classical works of this master, possibly dating, along with the Brunswick canvases, after 1650. Blunt doubted that the Stockholm drawing of the Nurture of Jupiter was done by Poussin, suggesting that it too might be the work of the Hovingham Master.¹² According to Mongan, the Kress canvas is 'a slightly different and rather cold replica' of the Tait painting which she viewed as an original work by Poussin.¹³ In 1966 Blunt ascribed both K1440 and the Tait copy as well as the Stockholm drawing to the Hovingham Master.¹⁴ The attribution of the Kress canvas to the Hovingham Master was disputed by Wild, who described it as a charming and intelligent painting, probably an original work by Poussin or a copy. According to her, one of the goatherds in K1440 was reproduced by Jean Pesne in the *Livre pour apprendre à designer* (pl. 13) as 'Le berger avec sa houlette', such an adaptation supporting the authorship of the Nurture of Jupiter composition by Poussin.¹⁵ Rosenberg noted that the canvas was by an artist of the first rank, superior to the Hovingham Master, possibly Poussin himself.¹⁶ Mahon accepted the Nurture as by Poussin, noting its beautiful use of greens in the foliage, datable between the *Worship of the Golden Calf* (London, National Gallery) of c. 1637 and the *Finding of Moses* (Paris, Louvre) of 1638.¹⁷ Huyghe was struck by the unevenness in execution of K1440, especially in the dry, weak rendering of the men at the left in contrast to the excellent quality of the underdrawing seen in X-rays. He suggested that the canvas might have been begun by Poussin; then, pressed for time, the artist may have employed an assistant, adding the finishing touches himself.¹⁸

The restrained, beautiful color in the Nurture is used with great finesse. The canvas is not entirely characteristic of Poussin's oeuvre, as sudden shifts in scale and sharp contrasts between the highly idealized and the extremely realistic contribute to a somewhat awkward effect, but it must be noted that the same idiosyncratic elements are found in Poussin's *Venus Arming Aeneas* (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts), painted in 1639.¹⁹ The latter's landscape setting is closer to K1440 than the corresponding elements in Poussin's depictions of the Nurture in Dulwich and

Berlin. The Kress canvas is superior in quality and more sensitive and individualistic in treatment than those grouped by Blunt as by the Hovingham Master. The striking correspondences between the nymphs in the middle distance of K1440 and those in the Hovingham Master's *Birth of Bacchus* may be explained by that artist's adaptation of these figures from K1440 or a similar work. Blunt's rejection of Poussin's authorship of the Stockholm drawing is not entirely convincing. It may stem from a later phase of Poussin's art than the composition of K1440, representing a return to the theme in his old age, comparable to the *Apollo and Daphne* of 1665 (Paris, Louvre). The Kress canvas seems considerably earlier than the Brunswick paintings (placed by Blunt in the 1650s). Friedländer's dating of c. 1640 appears correct, as that is close in time to the Rouen canvas. Blunt's characterization of the latter might well be applied to K1440. He noted that 'during the last years of the 1630s Poussin seems to be moving toward a colder and more classical manner. The color becomes first blond in the paintings of 1636-37, and then almost gray in 1638-39. The forms become more monumental, as in the Berlin *Jupiter*, and finally almost frozen in their movements, as in the Rouen *Venus*, in which the goddess is a statue floating in the air almost without movement.'²⁰ If the Rouen painting is by Poussin, as believed by most critics, then the Kress canvas must also be accepted as such.

Provenance: Sir Robert Walpole, Houghton Hall.²¹ Horace Walpole, Strawberry Hill²² (sale, London, 18 May 1842, Cat. No. 46, purchased by Sir John Easthope, Bart., M.P.).²³ Mrs. Doyle. Major Uvedale Corbett, Bridgnorth, Salop. Major Cecil Corbett, Stableford Hall, Salop.²⁴ C. Marshall Spink, sold to New York, Wildenstein and Co. 1947. Kress acquisition 1947.

References: (1) According to Madeleine Hours, X-rays reveal that K1440's canvas and technique are close to the *Finding of Moses* (Paris, Louvre) (Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue*, London, 1966 [hereafter referred to as *Blunt*], Cat. No. 11 or 12) and are also fairly close to the *Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus* (Paris, Louvre) (*Blunt*, p. 127, Cat. No. 178). Letter in National Gallery of Art Archive, Washington, 30/vi/58. (2) Walter Friedländer and Anthony Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, London, 1953, III, pp. 13-14, hereafter referred to as *Friedländer-Blunt*. The Stockholm drawing is Cat. No. 165 reproduced on p. 136. *Blunt* (p. 175, Cat. No. 180) rejects Poussin's authorship of the drawing. He attributed it to the Hovingham Master. See also Per Bjurström, *Drawings from Stockholm, A loan exhibition from the Nationalmuseum*, New York, 1969, p. 43, Cat. No. 89. (3) Photo in Kress Archive. (4) *Friedländer-Blunt*, pp. 13-14. *Blunt*, p. 117, Cat. Nos. 161 (Dulwich) and 162 (Berlin). (5) Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin, The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts*, 1958, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1967, Text, pp. 151-2. For the varying accounts of the Nurture of Jupiter see Ovid, *Fasti*, v, l. 111-28; Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, l. 149 ff.; Callimachus, 'Hymn I' (to Zeus), l. 45-50. Callimachus and Lactantius describe Jupiter as suckled by the goat who is called Amalthea; see also

Diodorus, v. 70; Apollodorus, Book 1.1, 1. 5-7; Aratus, 161. Later retellings of the legend are given by Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum*, libri xv; Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae*, Venice, 1551; Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De Deis gentium varia et multiplex historia*, Basle, 1548; Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini. Con la Sposizione de i dei degli antichi*, Lyons, 1581, pp. 125-7. For depictions of the theme in Antiquity see C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, Paris, 1877, I, pp. 219-20. A Roman relief in the Capitoline Museum shows the infant suckled by a goat; another Roman relief at the Lateran portrays Jupiter drinking from a horn held by a nymph; the tree and rocks resemble those of the Kress canvas. Renaissance and later depictions of the subject are listed by Anton Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Berlin and Budapest, 1956, II, pp. 131-2. According to Blunt (p. 117, Cat. No. 161) the Dulwich canvas is probably derived from Callimachus and the one in Berlin (Paris, Louvre, *Exposition Poussin*, 1960, pp. 93-4, Cat. No. 60) from Virgil. (6) Blunt, 1967, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, pp. 151-2, discussed the theme and related the ash tree in the Dulwich canvas to the Callimachus text. (7) Quoted from Baron Henri Triqueti's manuscript *Catalogue de l'œuvre de Poussin* (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts, c. 1850) by Walter Friedländer, in his 1947 unpublished study of K1440. (8) *Ibid.* (9) Blunt, 'Poussin Studies III: The Poussins at Dulwich', *Burlington Magazine*, xc, 1948, pp. 4-8. Thérèse Bertin-Mouroit viewed the Tait canvas as earlier in date than those in Berlin and Dulwich but does not seem to have been aware of the existence of K1440 when she expressed this view in 'Addenda au Catalogue de Grautoff depuis 1914', *Bulletin de la Société Poussin*, II, 1948, pp. 44-54, esp. p. 51, n. 4. The same volume on p. 92 describes and illustrates the front and back of the Tait canvas. (10) Friedländer-Blunt, pp. 13-14. (11) Jacques Thuillier, 'Tableaux attribués à Poussin dans les archives révolutionnaires', *France, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Colloques Internationaux. Sciences Humaines*, 1958: Nicolas Poussin, ed. André Chastel, Paris, 1960, II, pp. 27-44, esp. p. 42. (12) Blunt, 'Poussin Studies XII: The Hovingham Master', *Burlington Magazine*, ciii, 1961, pp. 454-61. The Brunswick canvases are reproduced on p. 459, figs. 22-3. Fig. 24 shows a *Birth of Bacchus* (London art market) in which two nymphs resemble those of K1440. (13) Agnes Mongan, *Great Drawings of All Time*, III, New York, 1962, text for pl. 660. (14) Blunt, p. 175, Cat. No. 180. (15) Doris Wild, 'Charles Mellin ou Nicolas Poussin', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LXIX, 1967, pp. 3-44, esp. pp. 3 and 43, n. 33. (16) Letter of 2/viii/68 in Kress Archive. (17) From notes made by David Rust of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 28/x/64, National Gallery Archive. (18) René Huyghe, written comment in National Gallery Archive, Washington, 16/viii/68. (19) The Rouen painting is illustrated on pl. 59, *Exposition Nicolas Poussin, op. cit.*, pp. 92-3, Cat. No. 59. Blunt, pp. 133-4, Cat. No. 191. (20) Blunt, 1967, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 151. (21) *Catalogue of Pictures at Houghton Hall*, 1736, p. 15. Listed by Horace Walpole as *The Education of Jupiter* by Nicolas Poussin (3 ft. 8½ in. × 5 ft. 2 in.). (22) *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill. Education of Jupiter* in the round drawing room, 1764, p. 75.

Reprinted in 1798 in *The Works of Horatio Walpole*, II, 1798, p. 470. (23) Information courtesy of Wilmarth S. Lewis. (24) The three preceding names were provided by C. Marshall Spink.

CLAUDE LORRAIN

Claude Lorrain, whose real name was Claude Gellée, was born in the Champagne in 1600 and died in Rome in 1682. By 1613, he was in Rome and subsequently with the painter Agostino Tassi first possibly as a servant and then as an assistant. It is assumed that he helped Tassi on the decorations for the Casino at Bagnaia (now destroyed) in 1619. During these early years, Claude familiarized himself with the newly created type of Italian landscape painting practised by the group of Northern artists in Rome led by Paul Bril and Adam Elsheimer. In 1626, Claude went to the Lorraine for one year, returning to Rome as a painter exclusively of landscapes. By the end of the 1630s, he had established an international reputation and was patronized by the French Ambassador, Pope Urban VIII, and Cardinal Richelieu. His vast success led him to prepare the *Liber Veritatis* (London, British Museum), a record book of drawings after his original paintings, made between c. 1630-78, designed to distinguish genuine works from the many imitations and forgeries of the time. Claude re-affirmed the role of landscape painting, which he gave new independence and authority. He specialized in depicting the effects of light on landscape. The direct influence of his mastery of luminism continued well into the nineteenth century, where it is clearly visible in the works of Turner and Corot.¹

Reference: (1) Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, I-II, New Haven, 1961. *Idem*, 'Les Fresques de Claude Lorrain', *Paragone*, IX, 109, 1959, pp. 41-50. *Idem*, 'Claude Lorrain and the *Liber Veritatis*', *Burlington Magazine*, CL, 1959, pp. 14, 328, 381.

K1438 : Figure 253

LADING VESSELS ON THE PO. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1123), since 1950. Oil on imperial canvas.¹ 38½ × 56½ in. (97.2 × 143.6 cm.). Inscribed on edge of the barge on the left: CLAUDIO...LO... Some restoration stains show; some overpainting in trees at left.² Restored by Pichetto in 1947/48. Generally well preserved. *Suida*, Cat. No. 98. Reproduced in color in *Cooke*, p. 17.

In the foreground of a panoramic landscape is the bank of a winding river with three vessels at anchor, the one at the right being loaded with cargo. Several merchants, one in Near Eastern (Turkish) garb, and their assistants conduct business surrounded by their wares, which include potted plants,³ casks, full sacks, furniture, and musical instruments (a theorbo and viola). The trees at the left, some of which extend to the top of the canvas, are silhouetted against an

early-morning sky of pale blue and yellow. In the middle distance a rowboat with several passengers approaches the bank on the left where animals graze. On the opposite bank is a water mill and a bridge which two figures are about to cross. On a wooded hill rising to the right of the mill is a turret with small outbuildings. The hill slopes down toward a city beyond which mountains can be dimly seen.

A reproductive print entitled *View of the River Po in Italy, ou la Soirée d'été* was made by James Mason in 1769 [before inscription] and 1771, copied by Lemaître in 1822.⁴ In 1837, Smith listed K1438 as a work by Claude.⁵ Cooke (p. 16) cited *Lading Vessels on the Po* as 'an example of Claude's picturesque type of imaginary classical landscape', noting that Claude occasionally hired assistants to paint the figures. Röthlisberger grouped K1438 with two other landscapes – *A Pastoral Landscape* (Philadelphia, Museum of Art) and *Landscape with Rural Dance* (St. Louis, City Art Museum) – which he viewed as by an early imitator of Claude active c. 1635.⁶ He suggested that the artist who painted the figures in the Washington canvas also executed those for the one in St. Louis.⁷ In his discussion of Claude's early works, Röthlisberger included the Kress painting with 'borderline cases'. He considered these works coarser in execution than the secure works after 1636. He acknowledged that this lack of refinement may be explained by the early date of these paintings and that it was impossible to draw firm conclusions as to their authenticity.⁸ Knab accepted the canvas as an early work by Claude, grouping it with a *Landscape with Shepherds* (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst) and *A Pastoral Landscape* (Philadelphia, Museum of Art), dating all of these paintings in the early 1630s. He stressed the influence of Claude's teacher Agostino Tassi in the representation of the foreground figures, pointing out that similar Oriental types are found in a drawing by Tassi (British Museum) and a fresco by the same master (Rome, Quirinale, Sala de' Corazzieri). The stress upon depth in K1438 was influenced by Bril or Breenbergh. Knab also found early drawings and etchings by Claude (especially a landscape study of the Gianicolo in the British Museum) close to the Washington landscape.⁹ Röthlisberger included K1438 in his section 'The Most Notable Imitations'. He stated that 'the inferior, broad handling . . . makes me question the authenticity of the work'. He also viewed the still life motifs in the foreground as foreign to Claude and concluded 'The picture may be by Claude around 1629/31; or one of the numerous fakes of the 1630s of which Baldinucci speaks; . . . or from the circle of Tassi, i.e. earlier than the above-mentioned works by Claude of the late 1630s. It is unlikely that in 1638 Claude would imitate so closely a work of a predecessor. Until more is known about the circle of Tassi and the beginnings of Claude, the problem seems insoluble.'¹⁰ A review of Röthlisberger's monograph strongly suggested that K1438 be accepted as an autograph Claude and noted that it, with the *Pastoral Landscape* (Philadelphia Museum of Art) are 'the nearest of all Claude's case paintings, genuine or otherwise, to works of Master Tassi'.¹¹ In 1968 Röthlisberger stated firmly that the '... whole group [of questionable early

Claudes] should be regarded as Claude's earliest known phase. . . . Likewise into this context belong the river scene in Washington, signed and dated apparently 16–2 (for 1632). . . . These works thus form a consistent group of broadly executed paintings in the tradition of Tassi.'¹² Relating K1438 to a recently discovered large landscape of c. 1630, Röthlisberger in 1969 accepted the Kress canvas as by Claude, executed at about the same date.¹³

This sharply defined, unusually animated canvas is entirely acceptable as a work painted by the young Claude in Rome in the early 1630s, much in the manner of Tassi. The earliest description given this work *View of the River Po, ou la Soirée d'été*, has been revived in the present title, since the presence of Near Eastern figures supports the designation, the Po being accessible to Eastern trade. The tight-knit, almost miniature aspect of this scene recalls works by Claude's great Northern predecessor active in Rome, Adam Elsheimer. As is true for many other Claude canvases, the figures may be by another hand, possibly, as suggested by Röthlisberger, by the painter who executed those in the Philadelphia canvas.

Provenance: Robert Hampden Trevor (created Viscount Hampden in 1776), as stated on reproductive print of 1771. Viscountess Hampden Collection (sale, London, Christie's, 19 Apr. 1834, Cat. No. 85, bought by Mr. Brown). Anonymous sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 18 Dec. 1920, no. 38, catalogued as *Vue d'un Port, attribuée à Claude*. Paris, Galerie Jean Charpentier, 1926.¹⁴ New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1947.

References: (1) According to Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, 2 vols., New Haven, 1961 (hereafter referred to as *Paintings*), I, pp. 300, 379, 'tela d'imperatore' measures 134 cm. in width as described by Baldinucci. (2) Noted by Röthlisberger, *ibid.*, p. 535. (3) According to Eckhart Knab ('Die Anfänge des Claude Lorrain', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* (n.F. xx) LVI, 1960, pp. 63–164, esp. p. 142), the pots contain orange trees. (4) Charles Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, II, Paris, 1856–88, p. 613, Cat. No. 58. (5) John Smith, *Catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French painters*, London, 1837, VIII, p. 374, Cat. No. 4000. (6) Röthlisberger, 'Les fresques de Claude Lorrain', *Paragone*, IX, 1959, pp. 41–50, esp. p. 50, n. 21. *Idem*, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, Los Angeles–Berkeley, 1968, hereafter referred to as *Drawings*, I, p. 531. (7) *Ibid.* (8) *Paintings*, I, pp. 14–15, and II, figs. 340–5. (9) Knab, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–2. (10) *Paintings*, I, p. 534, Cat. No. 279. (11) *The Times Literary Supplement*, 31 May 1963, p. 382. The Philadelphia painting is in *Paintings*, I, p. 528, Cat. No. 266. (12) Röthlisberger, 'Additions to Claude', *Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, pp. 115–19, esp. p. 116; also his *Drawings*, p. 75. (13) *Idem*, 'Claude Lorrain in the National Gallery of Art', *Report and Studies in the History of Art*, 1969, Washington, 1970, pp. 35–57, pp. 36–7. See also Röthlisberger, 1968, *art. cit.*, p. 115. (14) According to *Paintings*, I, p. 535.

CLAUDE LORRAIN

K1894 : Figure 254

CLASSICAL LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES AT SUNSET. San Francisco, California, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum (61-44-31), since 1955. Oil on imperial canvas. $38\frac{3}{4} \times 52$ in. (96.8×132.1 cm.). Cleaned and restored by Suhr about 1950. Relined by Modestini in 1954; minor conservation by him in 1959. Generally well preserved.¹ San Francisco, 1955, p. 24 (reproduced in color).

In the foreground three peasants (two men and a woman), accompanied by a dog, follow a herd of cattle and goats fording a placid stream. The woman gathers her skirts preparatory to crossing the stream; the man in the rear drives the cattle with a staff in his right hand. Trees on each bank frame the central group. In the middle distance on higher ground, the stream cascades over rocks and seems to flow to the right around a finger of land. A stone bridge crosses the stream above the falls, and to the right of the bridge on a rocky promontory are the ruins of the Roman circular Temple of the Sibyl (so-called) at Tivoli. Beyond is a fortified city. The city, the far distant hills at the left, and the plain extending to more distant hills at the right, are illuminated by a sunset, which tints the sky yellow and orange at the horizon, with pale violet clouds above.

A preparatory drawing in black chalk with gray wash for the three figures is in London (British Museum) (Text Fig. 77) 18×26 cm. The man is almost identical to the one beside the woman in K1894. The woman is shown frontally rather than in profile, as is the youth who holds two dogs on a leash; there is only one dog in the painting.² Two drawings in the *Liber Veritatis* have many elements in common with the Kress canvas, although neither reproduces the entire composition precisely: *Landscape with Tobias and the Angel* (*Liber Veritatis* no. 65) is very close to K1894 in the landscape and architecture. In the center foreground, Tobias and the angel are shown walking toward the right, away from the stream. Just behind them a cowherd, following his cattle, is about to climb onto the left bank. The foreground is overgrown with foliage; the stream forks both left and right (Text Fig. 78).³ *Pastoral Landscape* (*Liber Veritatis* no. 81, Text Fig. 79) depicts a more limited space than either K1894 or *Liber Veritatis*, no. 65. There are several differences between this drawing and the Kress canvas: the fortified city is closer, the mountains at the left are omitted, the bridge has two arches instead of one, the temple is seen from a different angle, the stream is wider in the foreground and less of the right bank is shown. Crossing the stream are, from left to right, a herd of cattle, a peasant carrying a woman on his back, and another peasant accompanied by a swimming dog. On the right bank are two more peasants.⁴ Of *Liber Veritatis* no. 81, Röthlisberger stated in 1968, 'This is supposedly a record of the San Francisco painting, with different figures.' He explained the compositional differences between K1894 and the drawing as 'the kind of deviation in proportion often found in the *Liber*.'⁵ The Kress canvas is mentioned

in the *Cook Catalogue* of 1915 as having many points of contact with Claude's *Liber Veritatis* no. 65.⁶ K1894 was identified in 1902 with *Liber Veritatis* no. 81 'with a different arrangement of the figures'.⁷ Suida (*San Francisco*, p. 24) dated it c. 1640. Röthlisberger placed the Kress canvas in his 'variant' category, painted in 1644 by Claude in a slightly different version of the composition recorded by the master in his *Liber Veritatis* no. 81 of a now unknown painting which Claude inscribed as executed *pour Paris*.⁸ Röthlisberger noted that it is hard to tell whether K1894 is closer to the *Liber Veritatis* no. 65 (which includes Tobias and the Angel) or no. 81. 'It differs from both and has elements in common with both. From the version listed above, it differs in more than just the figures (e.g. the horizon is somewhat higher in the present work). The handling leaves no doubt that it belongs to the mid-1640s. I have no explanation why the picture is not recorded in the *Liber*, while no originals of the two similar *Liber* drawings exist. *A priori* it seems unlikely that Claude made three nearly identical pictures in the same years. A record in the *Liber* of a genuine variant is likely to differ from the picture: this is the "rule" for three cases of the same years where both the original and the autograph repetition exist and are recorded (cf. nos. 61, 86, 88). We have no reason to distrust the accuracy of LV 65, although the picture which corresponded to the drawing has been unknown since 1785. On the other hand, drawing 81 might record the present original, with the deviations found in cases of repetitions. The obstacle to this interpretation is the version listed above, which corresponds to the drawing – unless one assumes that it was copied from the present original, but with figures taken from Earlom. This may well be the solution of the problem; both pictures first appear in England in the late 19th century.'⁹ The Kress canvas was later described by Röthlisberger as 'an original with different [from *Liber Veritatis* no. 81], but still pastoral, figures . . . in San Francisco. Since the setting [of *Liber Veritatis* no. 81] repeats LV 65, Claude may have taken liberties in recording the painting [K1894?], as he did in other similar instances. As to the prototype, LV 65, the painting was last mentioned in 1785. It is thus, at present, impossible to gain clarity in this matter.'¹⁰

The *Classical Landscape* is typical of Claude's masterful theatrical assemblage of elements from the Italian landscape, which the artist drew upon throughout his career. Almost every aspect of the canvas can be found in others by Claude, depicted with very slight variation. The painter was especially attracted to the picturesque ruins at Tivoli with their romantic combination of medieval and Classical buildings; many of his drawings and paintings are partially based on this beautiful site in the vicinity of Rome. Röthlisberger's dating of K1894 in 1644 is acceptable; the precise relationship between the canvas and the *Liber Veritatis* remains unclear.

Provenance: 12th Duke of Somerset (sale, London, Christie's, 28 June 1890, p. 12, Cat. No. 50, purchased by Agnew). Sir Frederick Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey,¹¹ exhibited – London, Royal Academy of Arts,

Works by the Old Masters, 1902, p. 17, Cat. No. 57. Sir Herbert Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey.¹² M. Knoedler and Co., Inc., New York, exhibited—Baltimore, Museum of Art, *Themes and Variations in Paintings and Sculpture*, 1948, Cat. No. 101. Dallas, Museum of Fine Arts, *Four Centuries of European Painting*, 1951, Cat. No. 49. Pomona, Los Angeles County Fair, *One World of Art*, 14–30 Sept. 1951, no. 62. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, *French Painting 1100–1900*, 18 Oct.–2 Dec. 1951, fig. 62. Kress acquisition 1952, exhibited—Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Art Treasures for America . . .*, 10 Dec. 1961–4 Feb. 1962, Cat. No. 18.

References: (1) The brushwork in the lower half of the canvas may have lost some of its modeling in an old relining. Marcel Röthlisberger in *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, New Haven, 1961 (hereafter referred to as *Paintings*), I, p. 231, stated that the woman's right arm is overpainted. (2) See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1968 (hereafter referred to as *Drawings*), I, p. 224, Cat. No. 555. (3) According to Röthlisberger (*Paintings*, I, pp. 231–2), the painting after which Claude drew this record was probably executed in 1642 and was last known in 1785. A picture corresponding to LV 65 in the Collection of the Countess de Verrue was sold in 1737, and sold again in 1776 from the Collection of M. Blondel de Gagny, according to John Smith, *A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French painters*, London, 1837, VIII, p. 226, Cat. No. 65. (4) Röthlisberger suggested the date 1644 for *Liber Veritatis* no. 81. See *Paintings*, I, pp. 230–1, and *Drawings*, I, p. 224, Cat. No. 556. (5) *Drawings*, I, p. 224, Cat. No. 556. (6) Herbert Cook, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond . . . in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook*, London, 1915, III, p. 61, Cat. No. 443. Repeated in the *Abridged Catalogue* of 1932, p. 8, Cat. No. 443. (7) London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters*, winter, 1902, p. 17, Cat. No. 57. (8) *Paintings*, I, p. 231. What seems to be a copy based on the *Liber Veritatis* no. 81 drawing was formerly in the collection at Harewood House. Reproduced in *Paintings*, II, fig. 393. The canvas measures 37×50 in. In 1968 Röthlisberger (*Drawings*, I, p. 224) called the canvas a 'later imitation'. (9) *Paintings*, I, pp. 231–2. (10) *Drawings*, I, p. 224, entry for his Cat. Nos. 555–6; No. 556 is the *Liber Veritatis* no. 81, *Pastoral Landscape*. (11) Cook, *Catalogue*, op. cit. Note 6, III, p. 61, Cat. No. 443. (12) *Idem*, *Abridged Catalogue*, op. cit., p. 8, Cat. No. 443.

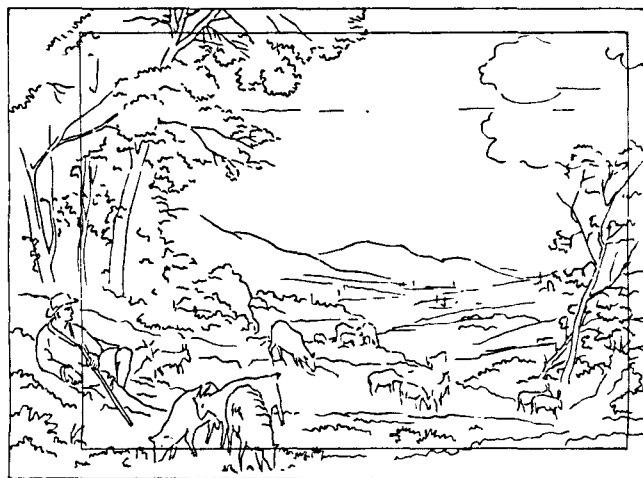
CLAUDE LORRAIN

KI406 : Figure 255

LANDSCAPE WITH HERDSMAN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (784), since 1946. Oil on canvas. 47 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×63 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (121.5×160.5 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: CLAUDIO RO . . . at a later date, on substituted strip. Canvas cut down all around at unknown date losing outermost area (18 cm. on left, cutting through the herdsman's hands, 6 cm. along top and right, 9 cm. along bottom).

This loss was probably due to theft or damage. The canvas was then set into a larger one, painting in the lost borders prior to 1825.¹ See reconstruction, below.² Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1968.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 155. Reproduced in color Cairns and Walker, p. 114.



A herdsman, shown in right profile in a semi-recumbent pose in the lower left corner, watches over his herd of sheep, goats and cattle. The animals graze in the fore- and middle ground beyond which the level falls away to a winding gray river obscured by mist. At the right is a bridge with two muleteers and pack animals crossing it. Barely discernible through the mist are distant buildings and a high mountain range. The sky is yellow with white clouds partly visible, and the sun can be seen under a low branch of a tree at the left. Although usually regarded as a sunset scene, it may represent a sunrise.

Smith included KI406 in his catalogue, entitling it *A Shepherd tending his Flock*.³ In a review of the *French Landscape Exhibition*, Bodkin wrote that the Kress Claude was unsurpassed by any of his works in France.⁴ According to the Royal Academy of Arts catalogue of 1932, KI406 was painted for Giulio Rospigliosi on the basis of the presumed resemblance between the canvas and the *Liber Veritatis* drawing no. 15, which is inscribed '*faict por mons^{re} Roispiose Roma/Claudio fecit in V.R.*'⁵ Friedländer described KI406 as depicting a remote spot in the Roman *campagna*, in Claude's monumental style of the 1650s or the early 1660s.⁶ In 1951, Frankfurter dated the Kress canvas c. 1650–60.⁷ *The Herdsman* was dated c. 1655/60 by Shapley and also by Gombrich.⁸ Röthlisberger first regarded KI406 as 'a good imitation, intimately related to Claude's early works, possibly by an artist from the circle of Both. Composition, handling, and coloring differ from Claude, all of whose early pastorals are considerably smaller.'⁹ He found 'the herdsman and sheep in the foreground far larger than they ever are in Claude' noting that large herdsmen are only found in a few early drawings by Claude such as the one in the British Museum *View of the Aventine* of 1656 and in Haarlem (Teyler Foundation). Rosenberg placed KI406 among Claude's works most highly influenced by Dutch landscape masters.¹⁰ Upon

seeing K1406 after cleaning in 1968, Röthlisberger accepted the canvas as an early work by Claude, datable 1635. He noted that 'Claude's natural sense for the solidity of the forms rarely led him to create views as vaporous as this one. Among the manifold possibilities which he explored in his younger years, the closest parallels to *The Herdsman* are three smaller landscapes at the Newhouse Galleries, Holkham, and Detroit, . . . the latter dated apparently 1637 and recorded in the *Liber Veritatis* as number 12. All this points to a date of about 1635 for *The Herdsman*. Compared with the *Landscape with Merchants*, its composition is not only more complex – which is partly accounted for by the size – and widened into a scenery with unmistakable allusions to the Tiber valley above Rome; Tassian formulas have now been refined by the study of nature, and the atmosphere captures a specific hour. These qualities are new indeed and represent an artistic breakthrough which opens up possibilities exploited from Both, Cuyp, de La Hire, to Zuccarelli, Wilson, and Turner.'¹¹

This early Roman landscape view by Claude probably dates from the later 1630s, the golden coloring relating closely to Dutch landscape masters of the period. The canvas includes one of his largest figures. An early etching, *The Goats*, is related in composition but does not show a river.¹²

Provenance: Lapeyrière, Paris, sold 19 Apr. 1825, pp. 59–61, Cat. No. 72, as '*Paysage vue en automne, au coucher du soleil*', 44p × 59p (approximately the same as the canvas is today), the shepherd is described as old. Chevalier Erard, La Muette, sold 7 Aug. 1832, Cat. No. 183, purchased by Henry for W. Williams Hope. Hope, sold Paris, second sale, 11 May 1858, p. 1, Cat. No. 1, purchased for Baron de Rothschild.¹³ Baron Gustave de Rothschild, Paris, by 1864.¹⁴ Marquess of Cholmondeley, Houghton Hall, exhibited – Paris, Petit Palais, *Le Paysage de Poussin à Corot*, 1925, Cat. No. 121; *French Art 1200–1900*, London, Royal Academy, 1932, Cat. No. 161. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1945.

References: (1) Revealed after the recent cleaning. Virtually the same dimensions were given in the Lapeyrière Sale catalogue of 1825: 44p × 59p (119 × 159 cm.). According to Röthlisberger ('Claude Lorrain in the National Gallery of Art', *National Gallery of Art, Report and Studies in the History of Art*, 1969), the original borders became damaged and were replaced by a restorer, based upon the original areas. (2) First noted by Théodore Lejeune: '*Ce tableau a été agrandi de plusieurs centimètres . . .*' (*Guide théorique et pratique de l'amateur de tableaux*, Paris, 1864, I, p. 152). Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain, The Paintings*, New Haven, 1961 (hereafter referred to as *Paintings*), I, p. 536, first ascribed the line around the sides to the canvas's having been in a smaller frame, which left its mark on the surface. (3) John Smith, *A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters*, London, VIII, 1837, Cat. No. 402. As noted in *Paintings*, p. 536, n. 4, Smith erroneously described the shepherd as seated at the right,

gave the wrong measurements and mistakenly listed the canvas as purchased by 'Mr. Douglas, an American gentleman'. (4) Thomas Bodkin, 'Exhibition of French Landscapes in Paris: I. From Poussin to Corot', *Burlington Magazine*, XLVII, 1925, pp. 3–9, esp. p. 4. In reviewing the same exhibition, Louis Hourticq referred to K1406 as an incomparable masterpiece ('L'Exposition de paysages français de Poussin à Corot', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XLVIII, 1925, p. 14). (5) *French Art 1200–1900*, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1932, Cat. No. 161. This erroneous identification was followed by Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Supplement to the Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, 1946, p. 56. For LV 15 see *Paintings*, I, pp. 127–31. (6) Letter of 7/1/46, Walter Friedländer, Wildenstein and Co., New York. (7) Alfred Frankfurter, 'Interpreting Masterpieces: Twenty-four Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, XXI, 1951, pp. 82–129, esp. 117–18. (8) Fern Rusk Shapley, *Comparisons in Art*, New York, 1957, p. 142. E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, New York and London, 1960, p. 46. (Illustrated in color, fig. 21.) (9) *Paintings*, I, pp. 535–6, Cat. No. 380. (10) Pierre Rosenberg, Notes of 1967 in Kress Archive. (11) Marcel Röthlisberger, 'Claude Lorrain in the National Gallery of Art', *National Gallery of Art, Report and Studies in the History of Art*, 1970, pp. 34–57, pp. 41–4. (12) The etching is reproduced by André Blum, *Les Eaux-fortes de Claude Lorrain*, Paris, 1923, pls. XXVI–XXVII, and dated by him c. 1630–33. For the drawings see Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1968, nos. 795, 796, 808 and others. (13) Théodore Lejeune, *op. cit.*, Note 2, p. 152. (14) *Ibid.*

CLAUDE LORRAIN

K 599 : Figure 256

LANDSCAPE WITH COWHERD PIPING. New York, Mrs. Rush H. Kress. Oil on imperial canvas. 39 × 53½ in. (99.0 × 135.9 cm.). Inscribed on tree stump at bottom centre: CLAUDIO G. IVF 16. Canvas slightly rubbed in area of central cluster of trees. Cleaned at Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1946.¹ Relined and restored by Modestini in 1955; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1967.

This pastoral landscape has two figures in the left foreground – a cowherd with staff sitting on a rock piping to a girl with a staff in a bright blue dress who stands before him, her left arm outstretched. A herd of cattle, scattered behind the figures, graze or drink from teal-blue pools of water in which they are reflected. In the central middle ground is a dense grove of trees with foraging cattle beneath, and to its left a small waterfall. Beyond the grove to the left is a high road with agitated figures running to the left and right. A cliff is above and behind the road. Framed by the central trees and tall trees in the right foreground, a vast plain with a fortified city stretches to distant pink and blue mountains. The blue sky is streaked with gray and white clouds, but the pink glow of sunset tints the horizon, the mountains and the city. The composition of K 599 was

reproduced by Claude in his *Liber Veritatis* (London, British Museum), no. 121 (Text Fig. 76). The drawing is inscribed: 'Claudio iv. f / instradam [for Amsterdam] / Claudio / fecit.'²

An enlarged copy of K599 (Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili), measuring 172 × 225 cm., shows the Flight into Egypt at the lower left. According to Röthlisberger the copy (by an unidentified artist) was probably prepared for Claude's patrons, the Pamphili, in 1650, prior to the shipment of K599 to Amsterdam.³ Röthlisberger suggested a date of 1649/50 for K599. In discussing the drawing *Liber Veritatis* no. 121, he noted that 'The combination of such noble motifs as the tall framing tree, the rocks, the town, and the wide expanse of the foreground plain goes beyond Claude's earlier, more idyllic pastorals.'⁴ When K599 was exhibited in 1967, it was dated 1649–50, as an example of 'the landscapes of the late 1640s [which] betray a totally idealized vision of an Arcadian world'.⁵

Unfounded doubts as to the authenticity of the inscription led the Springfield Museum to sell the canvas in 1946. The landscape is an extremely fine example of Claude's oeuvre at mid-century.

Provenance: According to the *Liber Veritatis* no. 121 drawn by Claude after K599, the painting was made for a Dutchman.⁶ London, A. Arnold Hannay. Weybridge, Surrey, Walter Howard. New York, Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell (Sale, New York, American Art Galleries, 7–8 Apr. 1904, with the above mentioned provenances). W. Sturgis, New York (given in Springfield Cat. *infra*). New York, Julius Weitzner, until July 1933. The Springfield Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Mass., exhibited – Springfield, Mass., the Museum of Fine Arts, *Opening Exhibition*, 1933, Cat. No. 69. San Francisco, California, Palace of the Legion of Honor, *French Paintings from the 15th Century to the Present Day*, 1934, Cat. No. 17. New York, Durlacher Brothers, *Paintings and Drawings by Claude Lorrain*, 1938, Cat. No. 5. Sold at New York, Tobias Fischer, 26 Nov. 1946; bought by Duveen, New York. Rush H. Kress acquisition 1947, exhibited – New York, Finch College Museum of Art, *French Landscape Painters from Four Centuries*, Oct. 1965–Jan. 1966, Cat. No. 1; Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *La Peinture française dans les collections américaines du XVII^e siècle à Picasso*, May 1966, Cat. No. 8; New York, Wildenstein and Co., *The Italian Heritage*, 1967, Cat. No. 73.

References: (1) Inscription discovered at this time. (2) Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings*, Los Angeles – Berkeley, 1968, I, p. 266, Cat. No. 688. Claude mistakenly inscribed this drawing with the title of the preceding entry in his *Liber Veritatis* (no. 120). A sheet of figure studies for K599 is in the British Museum, London, noted by Röthlisberger, *Drawings*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 265; II, no. 687. According to him the composition of K599 is anticipated by Claude's landscape drawing at Chatsworth (*ibid.*, II, fig. 463). (3) Röthlisberger, *Drawings*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 266. (4) *Idem*, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, I,

New Haven, 1961, pp. 299–300. (5) New York, Wildenstein and Co., *The Italian Heritage*, 17 May–29 Aug. 1967, Cat. No. 73. (6) For paintings by Claude in Holland in the seventeenth century see Röthlisberger, *Paintings*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 209, n. 1.

PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE

Philippe de Champaigne was born in Brussels in 1602 and died in Paris in 1674. At first the pupil of Jean Bouillon and Michel de Bordeaux in Brussels, Champaigne also studied landscape painting under Jacques Fouquières. He came to Paris in 1621 and entered the studio of Georges Lallemant. At the Jesuit Collège de Laon he soon became a friend of the young Poussin with whom he collaborated; he also worked under the court painter Nicholas Duchesne on decorations for the Luxembourg Palace. After 1630, Champaigne succeeded Duchesne and became famous as a portraitist and painter of religious subjects, receiving the patronage of Louis XIII, Marie de' Medici, Anne d'Autriche and Cardinal Richelieu, whose gallery he decorated in 1635. He was a founder of the Académie Royale in 1648. A young widower, Champaigne had his daughters educated at the Jansenist convent of Port Royal; they later joined that Order, whose austerity influenced the artist's approach to religious subject matter. A master of brilliant technique, Champaigne tempered Netherlandish realism with French rationalism and was a major exponent of the monumental, restrained, classical style in France.¹

K1837 : Figure 258

OMER TALON. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1114), since 1951. Oil on canvas. 88½ × 63½ in. (225.0 × 161.6 cm.). Trompe l'œil 'carved' inscription at lower left on base of column: P. champagne. F.A.^o 1649. ÆTA^s 54. [Talon's age].² Patched 3 in. hole on lower part of column; old tear on left knee. Vertical join in canvas about one-third from the right. Restored along bottom and left side. Relined c. 1943; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1950/51.

Suida, p. 210, Cat. No. 93. Reproduced in color by Thuillier and Châtelet,³ and detail in *Seymour*, pl. 142.

In this official portrait, the *Avocat Général*, Omer Talon, is shown full length, about life-size, in three-quarter view, seated in a chair covered in fringed plum purple velvet. The chair is set upon a marble elevation framed by classical architectural elements: the lower half of a marble column on a pedestal on the left and a niche containing a partly visible statue of Justice on the right (with its attribute, the *fascis*).⁴ A curtain of pale reddish satin falls in deep folds across the upper half, behind the sitter. Talon wears a black cap and official robes: a brilliant orange-red mantle with broad black velvet cuffs.⁵ Beneath his gown he wears black contemporary garb with a broad white collar. In his right hand Talon holds a folded sheet of paper; his left hand rests on a book on the table to his left. The table is

covered with a contemporary Turkish carpet, on which are set a quill pen and a single hand, bronze gilt, striking table clock. Omer Talon was born in Paris in 1595 and died there in 1652. He was the son of Omer Talon, a distinguished *Avocat* at the Parlement de Paris. By 1613 the young Talon also was *Avocat* and became *Avocat Général au Parlement de Paris* in 1631. Ten years later he was appointed *Premier Avocat Général*. Held in high esteem, Talon successfully reconciled his duties as a magistrate and protector of the people's private and political interests with maintaining the respect and loyalty owed the monarchy. He was a firm believer in the importance of the Parlement, advancing its authority to prevent the excesses of absolute power by the king or his ministers. Voltaire described Talon's memoirs as 'useful, worthy of a good magistrate and a good citizen'.⁶ In his funerary oration, Talon was praised as 'circumspect and prudent in his counsel, quick to understand, ingenious in discussion, lively and urgent in his arguments, resourceful in dispute, eloquent in speech, as well as vehement in attack, energetic and powerful in defence; he knew how to unite prudence to genius, clarity of reasoning to vigorous method, eloquence to erudition'.⁷ A reproductive bust-length print in an octagonal frame on a rectangular sheet after K1837 was prepared by Jean Morin, inscribed '*Audomarus Talaeus, in Supremo Senatu Aduocatus Catholicus, Christianissimo Regi à Secretioribus Consiliis*'.⁸ Another portrait of Omer Talon (160.0 × 104.0 cm.) is in Bologna, Palazzo Sampieri, Collection of the Marchese Sampieri.

The seated judge is shown as though about to hand down a brief (held in his right hand) formulated with the help of the book in his left hand and written with the quill pen and ink on the table. The qualities of Temperance (indicated by the clock on the table), Fortitude (the column at the upper left) and Justice (the statue partially shown at the upper right) are all indicative of Talon's virtues as judge. He may himself epitomize Prudence, as Temperance, Fortitude, Justice and Prudence are the four cardinal virtues.⁹

Thuillier and Châtelet noted that Champaigne's 'feeling for lyrical effect is always tempered by a certain restraint; the human face is never submerged by the ornate setting; even in his most elaborate show-pieces such as the *Omer Talon* the personality of the sitter is analyzed with that shrewdness and serenity, but without a trace of malice or censoriousness, which is peculiar to [him]'.¹⁰ K1837 was described by Suida (*loc. cit.*) as 'one of Philippe de Champaigne's monumental portraits, a harmony in reds, dramatic in color as well as size. The main elements of the composition, with the sitter in an armchair, can also be found in the portraits of the two cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin...'.¹¹ According to Frankfurter, 'The King's counsel sits here, secure in the logic of his own mind and prestige of his office'.¹² Seymour (p. 150) found the canvas 'worthy of a royal portrait. The style is uncompromising in every detail: from the chipped stone of the pavement to the time of day marked by the meticulously-rendered clock... Two discordant reds harmonized by black,

white, and gray, form its startling and bold color combination. It is a superb psychological study of an intelligent and not untroubled man.'

The portrait formula used in K1837 stems from Italian works of the High Renaissance, its use continued into the seventeenth century (e.g. Domenichino's *Gregory XV* of 1621). Champaigne, who never went to Italy, probably adapted a work by his compatriot Anthony van Dyck (who came to Paris in 1641) such as the *Cardinal Bentivoglio* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti), c. 1623-25.¹³ For all its smoothness of handling the canvas communicates excitement in its dramatic color contrasts and textural variety, bringing together Northern realism and Italian classicism. This major portrait by Philippe de Champaigne was ordered in 1649, possibly commemorating an important accord reached in that year between the Parlement de Paris and the court of Louis XIV.

Provenance: Joly de Fleury, son-in-law of Omer Talon. Later a Joly de Fleury married a member of the De Buttet family. Recently the De Buttet family sold the painting which had been at their castle at Bourget du Lac, Savoie.¹⁴ New York, Rosenberg & Stiebel. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) A. Mabille de Poncheville, *Philippe de Champaigne*, Paris, 1938; Bernard Dorival, *Philippe de Champaigne*, Paris, 1952 (Cat.); *Idem*, *Philippe de Champaigne et Port Royal*, Paris, Musée National des Granges de Port Royal, Paris, 1957 (Cat.). (2) The omission of the 'i' in the artist's signature on K1837 is highly unusual. (3) Jacques Thuillier and Albert Châtelet, *French Painting from Le Nain to Fragonard*, Geneva, 1964, pp. 33, 34. (4) Noted by Cooke, p. 14, see Bartsch, XXI, 113, 57, for a reproductive print of Justice by Cesio after Carracci. The other, raised hand of Justice in K1837 probably held scales. (5) The attire follows that illustrated by Abraham de Bruyn, *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Africae atque Americanae gentium habitus*, Antwerp, 1581, under 'Avocatus Parisiensis'. (6) Eugene Asse, 'Omer Talon', *Nouvelle biographie générale*, ed. by Hoefer, Paris, 1898, XLIV, cols. 850-3. (7) The oration was given by Pierre Lallemand. *Oeuvres d'Omer et Denis Talon, avocats au Parlement de Paris, publié par B. D. River*, Paris, 1821, I, p. xxvii ff. See also A. Petitot et Monmergué, *Collection de Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, 2nd ser., Paris, 1827, LX-XI, *Mémoires d'Omer Talon*. (8) Another print after the Morin print, in an oval frame on a rectangular sheet, was made by B. Moncornet. His arms are illustrated at the upper left corner of the sheet; and the inscription below the frame gives Talon's rank and position. (9) Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* listed the *fascies* as one of the emblems of Justice (Rome, 1593, p. 108, 'Giustitia Essecutiva', Venice, 1645, p. 246, 'Giustitia'), the time-piece of Temperance (1593, p. 269; 1645, p. 619; both as 'Temperanza'), and the column of Fortitude (not mentioned in 1593; 1645, p. 226, 'Fortezza'). (10) Thuillier and Châtelet, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 35. (11) For the Richelieu portrait, see Tony Sauvel, 'Deux oeuvres peu connues de Philippe de Champaigne', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LVII, 1961, pp. 181-7. (12) He related the background to the

design for an altar for the Parisian church of Saint Nicolas des Champs. Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'Interpreting Masterpieces: Twenty-four Paintings from the Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, XXI, 1951, pp. 127-8. (13) Noted by Rosemarie Garipoli. (14) According to *Suida*, *loc. cit.*, from dealer's brochure.

SÉBASTIEN BOURDON

Bourdon, a painter and etcher, was born in Montpellier in 1616 and died in Paris in 1671.¹ His father was a Calvinist artist. Pupil of Jean Barthélemy in Paris from 1623-30, Bourdon visited Italy from 1634-37, where he was influenced by the Bamboccianti, Castiglione and Poussin. Known among the Roman art dealers for his facile imitations, Bourdon was sometimes hired to produce forgeries. Returning to Paris in 1637, Bourdon's works were well-received and by 1643 he was commissioned to paint the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* for Notre-Dame and became one of the twelve founding members of the *Académie* in 1648. In 1652 he was made portrait painter to the Swedish court, where he remained until Queen Christina's abdication in 1654, when he returned to Paris. His last years were dominated by the influence of Poussin; Bourdon may have contributed to the popularization of that master's austere oeuvre through his more decorative adaptations. He was an accomplished master in his own right, distinguished for the great beauty of his silvery landscapes.

Reference: (1) See Charles Ponsonailhe, *Sébastien Bourdon, Sa Vie et Son Oeuvre*, Paris, 1883. Charles Sterling, *Les Peintres de la Réalité en France XVII^e Siècle*, Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1934, pp. 10 ff. (Cat.). Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*, London, 1953, p. 203. Jacques Thuillier and Albert Châtelet, *French Painting from Le Nain to Fragonard*, Geneva, 1964, pp. 75-8.

K1598 : Figure 257

THE FINDING OF MOSES. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1617), since 1956. Oil on canvas. 47×68 in. (119.6×172.8 cm.). Very thinly painted and slightly rubbed; old stretcher mark running horizontally through middle of canvas and around sides. An X-ray shows the lady-in-waiting in three-quarter view was originally painted in profile. Pentimenti in feet of lady-in-waiting in blue and white. Probably original frame. Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1948; cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955.

Suida-Shapley, 1956, p. 40, Cat. No. 11. Reproduced in color by Thuillier and Châtelet.¹

Pharaoh's daughter, in left profile, points toward the baby Moses (Exodus 2:5). She wears a diadem and chrome yellow drapery, standing in the foreground with her ladies-in-waiting and two young girls (the one at the extreme right with a nosegay and flower basket) on the Nile bank. All the women are in Classical garb; from left

to right the colors of the drapery of the standing attendants are: rose, pale yellow, blue and white, chrome yellow. Two additional female attendants, to the left, take the smiling infant in his rush basket from the arms of a young man standing amid the bullrushes at the water's edge. The attendant in the foreground, seen from the back, in orange and white draperies, supports the basket with her left arm, uncovering the infant with her right; the other, seen to the waist in left profile, is in pale green. A second youth, to the left, emerges from the water, reaching for an ochre mantle on the masonry blocks at the extreme left. A fisherman in a shallow boat draws in his net; masonry blocks are in the water at the left of the middle-ground. On the far bank of the river two men stand in conversation by a pyramidal structure at the extreme left. Two women stand by a fountain at the river's edge further to the right. A classical, 'Egyptian' city is seen in the background with a statue of a charioteer at the upper right, and palm trees against a mountainous background with a turbulent, predominantly lavender sky. A copy of K1598 is in the collection of Mrs. Judy Gendel, Rome.²

Suida-Shapley (p. 40, Cat. No. 11) dated the painting c. 1650. They noted that 'while the chief source of influence seems to be Poussin's version of the same subject painted in 1638 [Louvre], some details and especially the general composition, with the landscape given greater importance, would presuppose acquaintance with Poussin's version of 1645-47. The group of Pharaoh's daughter and her little maidservant, as well as the man with the child Moses, are taken faithfully from Poussin's earlier version. But Bourdon shows the figures turned in the opposite direction, which would suggest that he may have used an engraving as his model. His figures are softer and more graceful than Poussin's. But it is in the idyllic, decorative setting that he has shown his own personality most clearly. Here, especially in the delicate coloring, he anticipates the French painters of the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century.'³ Commenting upon Poussin's influence on K1598, Thuillier and Châtelet found that Bourdon studied that master's works in the great Parisian collections as well as those which he saw in Rome.⁴ They pointed out Bourdon's early interest in the coloring of Sacchi and the art of Pietro da Cortona and Reni which is reflected in the Kress canvas. The painter's adherence to seventeenth-century rules of 'decorum' was cited by *Cooke* (p. 22) to make 'sure that the stage setting and the costumes and gestures of the persons involved are appropriate to the time and place of the action . . . [and] to the emotions and social status of the respective actors.'

Poussin's quasi-archeological re-creations of the subject were based on ancient texts such as Philo's. This episode from the life of Moses - a precursor of Christ - is interpreted theologically as anticipating the waters of baptism and the wood of the Cross, the latter indicated by the basket.⁵ The extraordinarily rich yet pale coloring of K1598 was perhaps inspired by artists such as Federigo Barocci. A member of the French Academy, Bourdon is known to have spoken on the subject of light on 9

February 1669. The artist's concern with this subject is clearly evident in K1598 with its rich luminosity and emphasis upon reflections and *changeant* coloring.⁶ Little is known of the chronology of Bourdon's works; the master rarely dated his paintings and worked with extraordinary facility in many styles. The canvas would appear to date after 1647, when Poussin's depiction of the same subject for Pointel, one of the sources for Bourdon's composition, was completed.⁷ *Suida-Shapley's* dating (*ibid.*) of c. 1650 is plausible, yet Bourdon's female types may well be derived from Poussin's works of the mid and later 'fifties.

Provenance: Possibly K1598 was the Bourdon *Finding of Moses* included in the catalogue of paintings owned by Mr. Bryan from Robit's Collection and others (London, 1801-2, p. 67, Cat. No. 44). It is identical with the Bourdon *Finding of Moses* exhibited in New York in 1802-3 at Edward Savage's Columbian Gallery, according to Gottesman.⁸ A. L. Nicholson, London, and Crosby, Highcliffe,⁹ exhibited - Paris, Palais National des Arts, *Chefs d'œuvres de l'art français*, 1937, p. 36, Cat. No. 65. Liège, *Rétrospective d'art*, 1939. New York, Paul Drey, exhibited - Rochester, N.Y., Memorial Art Gallery, *A Group of Old Master Paintings*, 1948. Kress acquisition 1948.

References: (1) Jacques Thuillier and Albert Châtelet, *French Painting from Le Nain to Fragonard*, Geneva, 1964, p. 78. (2) A Bourdon painting of the *Finding of Moses*, 26½ × 38 in., was sold at Sotheby's (Collection Mrs. A. G. Innes and others) 29 Jan. 1958, p. 16, Cat. No. 119. Another canvas by Bourdon of the same subject, measuring 58½ × 71 in. was in the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (and others) Sale, Christie's, 22 Dec. 1927, p. 4, Cat. No. 12, the property of Sir Richard Waldie-Griffith, listed as ex coll. Hibbert, 1830. George Hibbert's Collection was sold at Christie's on 13 June 1829, and the Bourdon canvas is p. 11, Cat. No. 73. (3) The 1638 canvas (Paris, Louvre) is Anthony Blunt *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue*, London, 1966, p. 13, Cat. No. 12 (illus.). The later Poussin, also in the Louvre, is *ibid.*, p. 13, Cat. No. 13. No reproductive print after the 1638 canvas is known prior to Jean Mariette's of 1692, which, like K1598, shows the composition in reverse. See Georges Wildenstein, 'Les graveurs de Poussin au XVII^e siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XLVI, 1955, p. 115, Cat. No. 12. A print after the 1640s Poussin was made in 1676 (*ibid.*, p. 114, Cat. No. 11). (4) Thuillier and Châtelet, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 96. (5) See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin, The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts*, 1958, New York, 1967, I, pp. 179-81, 213. (6) See André Fontaine, *Académiciens d'Autrefois*, Paris, 1914, p. 188. (7) Wildenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 115, noted that a reduced copy of the painting was in the inventory of Claudine Bouzonnet-Stella (1693-97, no. 84); perhaps Bourdon may have consulted this work. (8) R. S. Gottesman, 'New York's first major art show as reviewed by its first newspaper critic in 1802 and 1803', *New York Historical Society Quarterly*, XLIII, July, 1959, pp. 289-305, p. 293; p. 305. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 40, lists K1598 as exhibited

at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor Museum, San Francisco, in 1948, but this is not correct. (9) Presumably Arthur L. Nicholson, Llandaff House, Weybridge, Surrey.

SÉBASTIEN BOURDON

K1439 : Figure 259

COUNTESS EBBA SPARRE [Queen Christina of Sweden]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1113), since 1950. Oil on canvas. 41¾ × 35½ in. (106.1 × 90.2 cm.). Extensive blistering; some modifications in face probably made to resemble Queen Christina of Sweden (see Text Fig. 80 for appearance of K1439 in 1786). Poorly preserved.¹ Varnished by Pichetto in 1948.

Suida, p. 222, Cat. No. 99.

The sitter is shown in three-quarter length, turned to the left, yet looking out at the viewer, in a blue silk dress with white sleeves. She holds a wreath of flowers in her left hand, her right touching some gauze drapery at her breast. Her hair is tied at the sides with bows and she wears a choker of large pearls. A tapestry or curtain is pulled back at the left.² Ebba Sparre, born in 1626, married Count Jacob Kasimir de la Gardie on 10 January 1653. She was lady-in-waiting to Queen Christina of Sweden and one of her favorites, found elegant, charming and intellectual; Christina entitled her 'la belle Comtesse'. She died in 1662. A reproductive print based upon a drawing by Vandenberg after K1439 was engraved by Alexandre Tardieu c. 1786 for the publication *La Galerie de . . . M. le Duc d'Orléans* with the inscription: 'Christine, Reine de Suède'. A small copy on panel (21 × 17 in.) after K1439 is at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.³

The Kress canvas was included in Ponsonailhe's Bourdon monograph as a work by that master and long mistakenly identified as the painter's patroness, Queen Christina of Sweden. He found the sitter's 'exquisite features' unlike those of the queen known from several prints. On the basis of the sitter's attire, he believed the portrait was painted in Sweden.⁴ The likeness was identified as Ebba Sparre by Carl Bildt.⁵ The above authors based their arguments on the reproductive print after K1439, rather than on the painting itself. Sterling maintained that K1439 showed the Swedish queen.⁶ It was pointed out by Steneberg that, as Christina did not take any portrait of herself to Rome, K1439, listed in the inventory of her collection there as 'that of a beautiful Swedish lady', could not represent the queen.⁷ He suggested that the sitter's wreath may be a bridal one - a symbol of her maidenhood, indicating that the portrait was executed close to the date of her wedding (1653). The great exhibition devoted to Christina also considered the Kress portrait to be Ebba Sparre at the time of her marriage.⁸

The Kress portrait was first described as Queen Christina c. 1786. In the earlier Italian inventories it was called

'portrait of a beautiful Swedish lady'. Presumably the face was slightly re-painted to resemble the queen. The sitter's characterization is not in accord with Christina's assertive, somewhat masculine nature. The queen was portrayed by Bourdon in a pose similar to that of K1439, but she is not in *décolleté*. Her hair in Bourdon's equestrian portrait (Madrid, Prado) of 1653 is much longer than that of the sitter in K1439.⁹ Showing Ebba Sparre, the favorite of the Queen, the wreath of flowers may refer to the lady-in-waiting's friendship for Christina as well as to her marriage.¹⁰

Provenance: Queen Christina of Sweden.¹¹ Cardinal Decio Azzolini, inherited from Christina in 1689. Marchese Pompeo Azzolini, the cardinal's nephew (sold in 1696 to Livio Odescalchi). Baldassare Odescalchi Erba, Duca di Bracciano, inherited from Livio Odescalchi¹² (sold 14 June 1721, Inv. No. 171, to Louis Philippe d'Orléans).¹³ Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, until 1785.¹⁴ Philippe Egalité, Duc d'Orléans, sold 1792 to Vicomte Edouard de Walckiers [Walkuers], Brussels; sold 1792 to Laborde de Méréville, London.¹⁵ Jeremiah Harman, London, sold to a consortium of the Duke of Bridgewater, Earl of Carlisle, and Earl Gower, exhibited - London, Lyceum, 26 Dec. 1798 - end of Aug. 1799, no. 257, as 'Portrait of Queen Christina'.¹⁶ Sold 14 Feb. 1800 (Peter Cox, Burrell and Foster, *Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Orléans Collection of Italian Paintings... at Mr. Bryan's Gallery*, p. 8, Cat. No. 11, as 'The Portrait of the Queen of Sweden'). John Maitland, Woodford Hall, Essex (sold London, Christie's, 30 July 1831, Cat. No. 14). Presumably identical to the 'Christine, Queen of Sweden' in the Duc de Berri sale (Christie's, Apr. 1834, p. 11, Cat. No. 2). It was exhibited but not sold; the same painting is included in the Duchesse de Berri Sale held in Paris, 1837. Joseph Grittleton Neeld.¹⁷ L. W. Neeld (sold London, *L. W. Neeld Collection Sale Catalogue*, 13 July 1945, p. 9, Cat. No. 52). New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1947.

References: (1) An X-ray shows a head in reverse, just below the one now on the surface. (2) The portrait format is derived from that known as 'à crevés'. Georges Isarlo, *Le peinture en France au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1960, pp. 140-1. (3) Reproduced in *Christina, Queen of Sweden*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1966, pp. 213-14, Cat. No. 454. Another portrait, after the countess had smallpox, was Cat. No. 455. (4) Charles Ponsonailhe, *Sébastien Bourdon, Sa Vie et son Oeuvre*, Paris, 1886, pp. 125-7, 284, 310. Ponsonailhe suggested that K1439 went from the Orléans to the Berri Collection (see *Provenance*). L. Dussieux, *Les artistes français à l'étranger*, Paris, 1876, p. 585, listed K1439 as Queen Christina. (5) Bildt studied Christina's collection in his 'Queen Christina's Pictures', *The Nineteenth Century*, lvi, 1904, pp. 994 ff. Casimir Strykowski (*La Galerie du Régent, Philippe, Duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1913, pp. 99-100, 179, Cat. No. 358) accepted the new title, as did Karl Eric Steneberg, 'The Portrait Collection of Queen Christina', *Connoisseur*, Mar. 1935, pp. 130-4. (6) Cited by Suida

(p. 222, Cat. No. 99). A study by Charles Sterling is in the Kress Archive. (7) Steneberg, *Kristinatidens maleri*, Malmö, 1955, pp. 184-5. (8) Stockholm Cat., 1966, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, pp. 213-14. (9) Steneberg, 1935, *op. cit.* Note 5, p. 131. Stockholm Cat., 1966 (Christina, Queen of Sweden, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). (10) See Katherine K. Gordon, 'Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship', *Art Bulletin*, l, 1968, pp. 249-62. For the earlier symbolism of floral wreaths, see Julius S. Held, 'Flora, Goddess and Courtesan', *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, De Artibus Opuscula xl*, New York, 1961, I, pp. 201-18. (11) Almost certainly Cat. No. 157 in Christina's Roman Inventory of 1662 (*un Ritratto d'una Donna con fiori in Mane, di palmi quattro senza cornice*), on the basis of the description and similarity of dimension (4 palmi = 0.89 cm.). It also seems likely that K1439 is the work listed in the Antwerp Inventory of 1656 as *un pourtrait de la belle Comtesse* and in the Roman Inventory of 1689, Cat. No. 171, *un altro quadro ritratto di bella donna Svedese, vestita d'azzurro, che tiene la mano destra al petto e con la sinistra una ghirlanda di fiori, in tela in piedi alta p^{mi} e mezzo e larga p^{mi} tre e mezzo, senza cornice*. The 1689 inventory is given by Olof Granberg, *La Galerie des Tableaux de la Reine Christine de Suède*, Stockholm, 1897, p. lxxvi, no. 171. (12) See Bildt, *op. cit.* Note 5, pp. 994-6. Probably Odescalchi Inventory of 1714, no. 1312, f. 780 v^o, agreeing in size with K1439, as *Ritratto de una altra dama*. (13) The inventory of Queen Christina's Collection taken at the time of its sale by Odescalchi to the Duc d'Orléans in 1721 is published in Granberg, *op. cit.* Note 10; K1439 is on p. ciii, no. 171, *Bourdon, Ritratto di S.^{ua} M.^a [aestà] cornice d'oro liscia*. (14) J. B. Couché, *Galerie du Palais Royal... Paris, 1786-1808*, III, as Christina, Queen of Sweden. (15) William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, London, 1824, I, p. 17, no. 11. (16) *Ibid.* (17) Suida, p. 222. The Joseph Neeld Collection is described by Gustav Friedrich Waagen (*Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, IV, London, 1854) but this painting is not mentioned. Waagen records K1439 (II, p. 487) in a list of Orléans paintings but did not know its location.

NICOLAS DE LARGILLIÈRE

The artist was born in Paris in 1656 and died there in 1746. His parents brought him to Antwerp, and there he was apprenticed to Antoine Goubaud I. Largillière entered the guild in 1672 and left shortly thereafter for England, where he worked for Peter Lely over the next four years, painting the still lifes and draperies in many of Lely's portrait commissions. The artist went to Paris in 1680 and in 1684 was received by the Academy, eventually becoming one of its most prominent members. He was an extremely popular portraitist, whose oeuvre presents an adroit fusion of Baroque splendor and Gallic scrutiny. Despite their considerable formality, Largillière's depictions maintain a warmth reflecting his Flemish training. Although he received important court commissions, the bulk of Largillière's works represented members of the Parisian upper bourgeoisie. A splendid colorist, Largillière

maintained an influential role well into the first half of the eighteenth century, his many works providing a bridge from the grandiose theatricality of the later seventeenth century to the fresh informality of the Rococo.¹

Reference: (1) Georges Pascal, *Largillière*, Paris, 1928.

NICOLAS DE LARGILLIÈRE

K2083 : Figure 262

A YOUNG MAN WITH HIS TUTOR. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1386), since 1956. Oil on canvas. $57\frac{1}{2} \times 45\frac{1}{8}$ in. (146.0 \times 114.8 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: *N. De Largillière F. 1685*. In contemporary English or possibly French frame. Relined, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955; very well preserved. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 114, Cat. No. 43. Reproduced in color: *Connoisseur*, v, 133, June 1954, p. 233.

A youth stands to the right and his tutor to the left. Both are bare-headed, shown to mid-calf, before a portico with a wooded background against a blue sky. The youth, wearing his own long curly hair, rests his left arm upon a chipped parapet and points to the spaniel in the foreground with his right hand. His pale grayish coat is unbuttoned from waist to collar, revealing a gilt brocade vest. A large orange bow is at the throat with a white lace jabot. His white half-sleeves are extremely full, trimmed with pink bows. A gold-colored silk drapery falls over his right arm, partially obscuring the lower torso. The other end of the drapery is placed over a corner of the parapet, where it is grasped by the youth's left hand. The tutor, in black with a white clerical or juridical collar, looks to the left. His left hand is placed protectively on the young man's right shoulder; the other draws a voluminous black velvet robe to his side.

Another composition of a similar theme by an artist close to Largillière places the tutor to the right of his charge (Louvre, Text Fig. 82).¹ In 1890 K2083 was entitled *Bossuet and the Grand Dauphin of France* – the Duc d'Anjou who was the son of Louis XIV (see *Provenance*). Pascal accepted the identification and described the canvas as 'one of the most expressive paintings of the seventeenth century', painted at the beginning of the mature Largillière's Parisian sojourn.² Roger-Milés was the first to note that the Grand Dauphin was too old to have been portrayed in K2083.³ He suggested that the young man was James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick (1670–1734), the illegitimate son of James II and Arabella Churchill. The best known of the king's bastards, the boy was kept in France where he was educated at Jesuit colleges. He came to England c. 1687. His tutor was the Abbé de Noailles, younger brother of the Duc de Noailles, Maréchal de France. While in Paris James was educated by Irish priests and in the care of the Oratorian Father Gough, who placed him at the Collège de Juilly. He also attended the Collège du Plessis until 1684.⁴ In 1935 it was suggested that the young man was a Stuart,

probably the future James III (the Old Pretender), shown with his tutor Jeremy Bentham. However, James Stuart was born three years after the date inscribed on K2083.⁵ The tutor was described by Virely as wearing the habit of an English priest, and thus definitely not Bossuet. He noted that the Grand Dauphin was fair-haired and too old to have been the subject of K2083. He believed the youth to be a Stuart and found the tutor's hand awkwardly drawn, possibly painted by another artist.⁶ Blunt felt that 'the angular draperies of the pupil and the schematic drawing of his face belong to the English convention, whereas the head of the tutor is in a quite different vein of naturalism, suggesting rather a knowledge of Dutch painting. The pattern itself, with the two figures cut off at three-quarter-length, is a formula derived from Van Dyck and much favored by his English followers. But the affectation of the boy's pose and the unexpected placing of the dog in the foreground, facing into the composition, distinguish the painting from English models.'⁷ These views are followed by *Suida* (p. 114, Cat. No. 43), who entitled the canvas *A Young Man with his Tutor*. No identification was found satisfactory by *Einstein* (p. 215) who thought the portrait might have been painted in England due to the tutor's attire. Waterhouse doubted whether any Catholic nobleman would have been painted with his tutor as shown in K2083; he suggested that the sitters must be 'sought in France'.⁸

The garb of the older man resembles that of a deacon. The year 1685 (when K2083 was painted) was in a transitional period when deacons' bands changed from white to black with a white edging. As the tutor is shown without a *manteau*, he is not in priest's orders but rather an *abbé commendataire* – usually the younger son of a great family in deacon's orders, who was presented with an abbey benefice by the court.⁹ Dr. W. M. Hargreaves-Mawdsley is inclined toward the identification of the youth as the Duke of Berwick for physiognomical reasons (a resemblance to portraits of the Churchill family in portraits at Blenheim Palace) and also because Berwick's tutor, the Abbé de Noailles, was an *abbé commendataire*. It is hard to see the pensive, hesitant young man in the Washington canvas as the Duke of Berwick, the future Maréchal de France. He may prove to be Louis Auguste de Bourbon, Duc du Maine (1670–1736), aged fifteen (Text Fig. 81). There is no securely identified portrait of him.¹⁰ A shy, sickly boy, Louis was the second of nine children of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan. Often severely ill as an infant, he was crippled at the age of four when one leg remained partly paralyzed and much shorter than the other. First reared in obscurity, Louis was cared for by Madame de Maintenon. He was named Bourbon in 1680 and received the Ordre du Saint-Ésprit in 1684, the year of Madame de Maintenon's secret marriage to his father. The subject's curious physique – large head, short neck, narrow shoulders, very long arms, and extremely slender torso – seem appropriate to an adolescent after a sickly childhood. Even the architecture seems designed to disguise the sitter's ungainly proportions. He is placed in a puzzling recess between the parapet behind and the masonry on which he

leans. The prominent swag of drapery, although appearing in other fashionable portraits such as Van Dyck's *Lord Philip Wharton* (Washington), together with the dog, seem also intended to conceal and distract. Louis had several tutors, one of whom, Henri de Mornay, first Marquis de Montchevreuil (1622-1706), was instructed by Madame de Maintenon to 'not be afraid to be familiar with him, and caress him as much as respect and decorum allow.'¹¹ Although Montchevreuil was too high in rank to be an *abbé commendataire*, the tutor may have been Urbain Chevreau, who was appointed Louis's tutor in 1681.¹² The tutor is portrayed far more freely and impressionistically than the youth, recalling the art of Van Dyck, and by seventeenth-century standards the tree and sky area appear somewhat incomplete. This marked difference in handling between the left and right halves of the Kress canvas suggest that it may perhaps have been executed in two stages or with the help of an assistant. Largillière could have started with the right half of the canvas, not completing the left until after returning from his English journey of 1685, when he was once again exposed to the manner of Van Dyck and his English followers. The somewhat disparate portrait styles may have led Largillière to include an uncharacteristically large signature. Should the sitter be the Duc du Maine (Text Fig. 81), the omission of the Ordre du Saint-Ésprit, which he received in 1684, may perhaps be explained by the two-stage execution. Toward the end of the seventeenth century there was a marked revival of depictions of noble children with their tutors, which had been in the humanistic tradition of the Renaissance.¹³

Provenance: Baron de Marenzi, Bruges (d. 1845).¹⁴ Dowager de Donquers, Bruges, inherited from Marenzi.¹⁵ Prosper Crabbe (sold Paris, Galerie Sedelmeyer, 12 June 1890, Cat. No. 38, as 'Bossuet et le Grand Dauphin', to Gramont). Duc de Gramont (sold Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 22 May 1925, Cat. No. 10, as 'Bossuet et le Grand Dauphin', to Fuller Feder). Joseph Fuller Feder, New York, exhibited - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Troisième Centenaire de l'Académie Française*, 1935, p. 52, Cat. No. 266, as 'Bossuet et le Grand Dauphin'. New York, French and Co. Kress acquisition 1955.

References: (1) See Philippe Erlanger, *Les Peintres de la Réalité*, Paris, 1946, pp. 25-6, listed as 'Le Précepteur et son élève - Claude Lefebvre, Louvre'. (2) Georges Pascal, *Largillière*, Paris, 1928, pp. 44-5, p. 58, Cat. No. 33. (3) Léon Roger-Milés, 'Les grandes ventes prochaines', *Bulletin de l'art* (supplement to *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*), XLVII, 1925, pp. 170-2, 174. For portraits of the Duke of Berwick, see the Duque de Berwick y de Alba, *Mariscal de Berwick*, Madrid, 1925, pl. 1, print by Pierre Drevet after Benedetto Gennari, executed after 1707; pl. XXVI, *Portrait of the Duke with the Order of the Golden Fleece*, Madrid, Palacio de Liria. (4) For the Duke's education, see A. Pettitot et Monmergué, *Collection des Mémoires Relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1828, LXV, LXVI, pp. 311-12. (5) The identification appeared in the second edition of the Bibliothèque Nationale exhibition of 1935 (see

Provenance). The first edition retained the *Bossuet et le Grand Dauphin* title. The latter was tentatively accepted by Louis Gillet, 'L'Exposition de l'Académie Française', *Revue de Deux Mondes*, 1 July 1935, p. 228. (6) André Virely, *Bossuet: essai d'iconographie*, Mâcon, 1938, pp. 307 ff. (7) Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1957, p. 230. (8) Washington, National Gallery Archive, 1959. (9) Dr. W. Norman Hargreaves-Mawdsley, letters of 21/1/71, 15/11/71, Kress Archive. (10) The canvas by François de Troy dated 1716 (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, destroyed during World War II), long identified as the Duc du Maine, is sometimes listed as Louis XV. A print by Croisier (Text Fig. 81), presumably after the Dresden canvas, is quite close to the youth in K2083. (11) W. H. Lewis, *The Sunset of the Splendid Century*, New York, 1955, p. 64. (12) *Ibid.*, p. 72. (13) See the series of articles by Émile Dacier concerning commissions for such paintings ordered by the Duchesse de La Ferté showing her family's role as governors and governesses (*Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1920, pp. 40 ff.; 1922, pp. 15 ff.; 1952, pp. 154 ff.). (14) According to Crabbe Sale. (15) *Ibid.*

Attributed to NICOLAS DE LARGILLIÈRE

K116 : Figure 261

PORTRAIT OF A MAN. El Paso, Texas, Museum of Art (61-1-59), since 1961. Oil on finely woven canvas. 52 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 40 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (134 × 103.5 cm.). X-rays show that this portrait was painted over one of a woman (Text Fig. 83). Losses in lower part of the face, some abrasion and loss of glazes. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1931. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1961. *El Paso*, 1961, Cat. No. 51. *Washington, D.C.*, 1945, p. 156.

The sitter, in an armchair, is shown to just below the knee, turned to the right but gesturing to the left with his left hand. He wears a wig, a white shirt, and a long plum-colored silk indoor gown with a long-sleeved, unbuttoned brocade vest beneath. A curtain hangs behind him. The portrait was probably painted c. 1717, judging by the high placement of the wig.¹

The attribution to Largillière was accepted by Longhi.² According to Frankfurter, this portrait was executed 'just after the turn of the century [c. 1710] as is indicated in the association of its flamboyant robe, painted in such shimmering lavender texture, with the flying drapery of Bernini'.³ The portrait was dated about 1715 by Shapley (*El Paso Catalogue*, Cat. No. 51), who linked it to the artist's portrait of his own family (Paris, Louvre). The style of K116 led Rosenberg to place it between the art of François de Troy and Robert Tournières.⁴

The sitter's thoughtful, rhetorical pose was a fashionable portrait convention since the later seventeenth century and

does not necessarily designate him as a member of the intelligentsia. The portrait is unusually beautiful in coloring. Rosenberg's suggestion that it may have been painted by Jean-François de Troy could prove correct; it is very close to the latter's oval *Portrait of a Man* in the Louvre. The large, rather awkward voids at the top and sides and the way the sitter's bulk now dwarfs his head and hands suggest that these aspects of the canvas were originally modified by an elaborate, almost oval, Louis XV frame. This would have rounded off the corners and provided richly gilded rococo highlights to complement the picture's shimmering textures.

Provenance: Rome, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1930, exhibited – Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, 1931; *Golden Gate International Exposition*, San Francisco, California, 1940, Cat. No. 209; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1945 to 1961.

References: (1) Noted by Stella Mary Newton, Kress Archive, New York. (2) Kress Archive, New York. (3) Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'French Masterpieces in the Kress Collection', *Art News*, XLIII, 1944, p. 172. (4) Pierre Rosenberg, Kress Archive, Letter of 8/vii/68.

HYACINTHE RIGAUD

Hyacinthe Rigaud was born of Catalan ancestry in Perpignan in 1659 and died in Paris in 1743.¹ He studied in Montpellier with Paul Pezet and Antoine Ranc, who introduced him to the art of Van Dyck. In 1681 Rigaud went to Paris where he won the Prix de Rome one year later. However, the young painter followed Le Brun's advice to become a portrait painter and remained in Paris where he soon became extremely successful. He was admitted to the Académie Royale in 1684. Rigaud's portrait of 'Monsieur', Louis XIV's brother (Philippe d'Orléans), in 1688 led to innumerable commissions. In 1700 he became *Peintre du Roy* and had a large studio to meet the great demand for his works painted with the collaboration of many studio assistants. Few of Rigaud's portraits are exclusively autograph. The artist was granted the Ordre de St. Michel and a royal pension in 1727. He became director of the Académie Royale in 1733. His formal portraits are partly based on Flemish models for composition and coloristic effects. The affluent artist was also a great admirer and collector of Rembrandt's works. At their best, Rigaud's works convey considerable individuality, permitting the sitters' personality to transcend the heavy weight of formal accoutrements decreed by contemporary fashion. Like his equally gifted contemporary Largillière, Rigaud had an almost sculptural sense for form and mastery of rich, deep color.

K1393 : Figure 263

A MAÎTRE DES REQUÊTES (Président André Pierre Hébert?). El Paso, Texas, Museum of Art (61-1-58), since 1961. Oil on canvas. 54½ × 41 in. (137.5 × 104 cm.). Relined,

cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1945-46. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1960; generally well preserved.

El Paso, 1961, Cat. No. 50; *Washington, D.C.*, 1945, p. 157.

A middle-aged man wearing a wig and black and white legal attire is seated in a gilt armchair with violet upholstery, which is turned slightly to the left. He has a forthright expression and ruddy complexion. He wears a narrow black sash around his waist and a white collar (*rabat*) and cuffs. His right hand points downward, his left rests upon a book standing upright on a covered table at his side. Additional books are shown in a bookcase at the upper left, partially obscured by a great velvet curtain of violet and gold with two tassels at the left. Part of a fluted pilaster can be seen at the upper right.

Einstein (p. 214) accepted Rigaud's authorship for K1393.¹ Frankfurter dated the portrait c. 1700, commenting upon its combination of grandeur with verisimilitude.² According to Shapley (*El Paso, loc. cit.*), 'It is tempting to connect this painting with the entries in Rigaud's account book recording the portraits of M^r Hébert and Mad^e Hébert for which the artist was paid 400 fr. each in 1702.'³ The editor of Rigaud's account book identified 'the M^r Hébert painted in 1702 with André-Pierre Hébert [1637-1707], seigneur du Bec et de Villiers, conseiller au parlement de Paris in 1659, maître des requêtes in 1675'. Hébert had this post from 1675 to about 1707. A *maître des requêtes* was a magistrate whose office it was to justify to the Council of State the legality of petitions made to the Supreme Court.⁴ The Hébert commission of 1702 was followed in 1707 (the year of Hébert's death) by a request for a half-length copy showing only one of his hands.⁵ Rigaud is known to have painted thirteen magistrates between 1682 and 1727 with the title of *maître des requêtes*, of which only six can be ruled out as the subject of this canvas. The pose and attributes of K1393 are often found in Rigaud's works, in such portraits as that of Nicolas Le Camus of 1701, engraved in 1708.⁶ Shapley (*El Paso, loc. cit.*) noted similar props in Rigaud's *Portrait of Dangeau* (Musée National, Versailles) painted in the same year as the Kress canvas.

Although there is no surviving documentary evidence for the identification of this *maître des requêtes* as Hébert, Rigaud frequently signed and dated his works on the back; such information may originally have been on the back of this canvas and lost in relining. The sitter's sumptuous surroundings do not eclipse his shrewd visage. His elevated position, the books at his side, the gesture of his left hand are all associated with the French tradition of magistrate depiction. The master of an extremely large studio, the fashionable, popular Rigaud was a slow worker and employed many assistants for the painting of drapery and other still life details. Like most of the artist's oeuvre, K1393 may well incorporate areas by such helpers.

Provenance: Marquis de Sinety, Paris, from his Château at Chazeron.⁷ Duchesse de Brancas, née Chazeron, until 1859. New York, Wildenstein and Co., exhibited – New York,

New York World's Fair, *Masterpieces of Art, European Paintings and Sculpture from 1300-1800*, 1939, p. 154, Cat. No. 316, listed as 'Président Hébert'; New York, Wildenstein and Co., *A Loan Exhibition of Fashion in Headdress, 1450-1943*, 1943, Cat. No. 35. Kress acquisition 1944, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1945 to 1961.

References: (1) Joseph Hippolyte Roman, *Le Livre de Raison du Peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud*, Paris, 1919. Louis Réau, *Histoire de la Peinture Française au XVIII^e Siècle*, 1, Paris, 1925, pp. 58 ff. Werner Weisbach, *Französische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1932. (2) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Supplement to the Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, New York, 1946, p. 61. (3) See Roman, *op. cit.*, p. 94. (4) George van Derveer Gallenkamp, Letter of 16/II/67, Kress Archive. (5) Roman, *op. cit.*, p. 133. (6) *Ibid.*, p. 84, no. 450. (7) According to Wildenstein and Co., New York.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS MILLET II

Jean-François Millet II was born in Paris, 1666 and died there in 1723. He was the son of Jean-François Millet, the painter of classical landscapes in the manner of Gaspar Dughet. Probably first trained by his father, the young Millet was received by the Académie in 1709 and made court painter in the same year. Watteau added figures to a landscape of Millet's now in the Musée de Peinture et Sculpture, Grenoble. Another work by this master is at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux.¹

Attributed to JEAN-FRANÇOIS MILLET II

K1913 : Figure 260

DRUNKEN HERCULES WITH NYMPHS AND SATYRS. [The Triumph of Silenus]. Portland, Oregon, Portland Art Museum (61.60), since 1952. Oil on finely woven (probably Northern European) canvas. 9¼ × 19¼ in. (23.6 × 48.9 cm.). Well preserved.

Handbook of the Samuel H. Kress Collection Paintings of the Renaissance, Portland, 1952, p. 25, Cat. No. 8, as by Giulio Romano.

Eleven figures in brown monochrome with additional coloring at a later date² are shown as though in high relief, attached to a Bacchic sarcophagus or frieze. The nude drunken Hercules,³ grapes and vine-leaves in his hair, is supported by a satyr to the left and right. Two other satyrs are to the right, a nude woman between them. A nude man stands at the extreme right. To the left are four dancing, music-making figures: a nude woman playing cymbals, a bearded piper in Phrygian (?) garb, a dancing woman wearing long classical attire with one breast exposed grasping the hand of a satyr (Pan?), a serpent-entwined dead tree is behind them. A fallen urn with wine flowing from it is near the lower center. Sky is shown at the right; additional architectural elements are at the left, bottom and top.

According to Matz, the relief does not go back to any specific antique source, being a free invention on the painter's part. Matz pointed out that the two figures at the left are doing a *contredanse* which is never found in antiquity; he also identified the drunken figure as Hercules and suggested that the dancing satyr may stem from a well-known sarcophagus from Sta. Maria Maggiore (Rome) now in the British Museum.⁴ The canvas was related by Wilkinson to "a little piece of a Bacchus Triumph", many little entire figures', listed in Van der Doort's Whitehall Palace Inventory as a *chiaroscuro* done in Venice by Giulio Romano.⁵ This seventeenth-century attribution was challenged by Zeri who suggested that the canvas was by the young Rubens, painted during his Italian residence c. 1606. He related the slightly mannered, Spranger-like figures to Rubens's *Judgment of Paris* (Madrid, Prado) dated by Burchard c. 1604-5.⁶ Müller Hofstede did not accept K1913 as by Rubens, proposing a French artist of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.⁷ Rosenberg attributed the canvas to Jean-François Millet II.⁸ In 1969 Zeri also ascribed the canvas to Jean-François Millet II noting its similarity to a pair of classical scenes by that master, which include very large reliefs in the antique style with 'real figures', small in scale, seen below. He suggested that the Kress canvas was cut out of a similar work.⁹

The painting is close to those cited by Zeri, but the figures are rendered with greater sharpness and are less elongated in proportion. While Jean-François Millet II may have painted K1913, other French artists of the early eighteenth century such as Jean Le Maire might also be considered. As suggested by Fahy, there is a specifically Venetian quality in the Kress picture. It recalls Giovanni Ghisolfi's works but may prove to be by a French master (such as Boyer) influenced by Pellegrini and Ricci, who were both active in Northern Europe.¹⁰ A popular Renaissance theme, the subject of the Kress canvas was treated with increasing gaiety, most notably and expansively by Gillot, whose satyr series, dating early in the eighteenth century, made fun of mankind.¹¹ The small size of K1913 indicates that it was probably cut from a larger work. The Pembroke family, renowned for its celebrated collection of antique marbles purchased by the eighth Earl, may have been especially drawn to the pseudo-classical subject.

Provenance: Catherine, Countess Woronzow, second wife of George Augustus, 11th Earl of Pembroke (married 1808, died 1856).¹² Sidney, 14th Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House, Salisbury, 1907.¹³ Reginald, 15th Earl of Pembroke (sold, 22 June 1951, Christie's, Cat. No. 49, as *A Triumph of Silenus* by Giulio Romano). New York, David M. Koetser Gallery. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) See Martin Eidelberg, 'The Painters of the Grenoble "Flutist" and some other Collaborations', *Art Quarterly*, xxxii, 3, 1969, pp. 282-91. (2) Observed by Dr. Erich Schleier, letter of 7/v/68, Kress Archive. (3) Identified as such by Dr. F. Matz, letter of 30/iv/68, Kress Archive. (4) Letter of 30/iv/68, Kress Archive. (5) Neville R. Wilkinson, *Wilton House Pictures*, II, 1907, p. 249, Cat.

No. 189. For the inventory see the transcription from the MS. at the Ashmolean Museum by Van der Doort, published by George Vertue, *A Catalogue and Description of King Charles I's Capital Collection*, London, 1757, p. 169, Cat. No. 8, 'Done at Venice. Item. In the Queen's bed-Chamber, a little piece of a Bacchus triumph, many little intire figures, done in black and white.' (6) Federico Zeri, 'Un ritratto de Pietro Paolo Rubens a Genova', *Paragone*, LXVII, July 1955, pp. 46-52, esp. pp. 51-2. (7) Justus Müller Hofstede, 'Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren', *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, II, 1965, pp. 89-154, esp. p. 146, n. 77. (8) Letter of 2/v/68, Kress Archive. In a letter of 8/viii/68 in the Kress Archive, Anthony Clark suggested a French origin for the painting 'This highly intelligent object can only be French...' from the time of Louis XIV (1638-1715). He quoted Everett Fahy as suggesting that the canvas might be by a Venetian contemporary of Sebastiano Ricci. (9) Zeri, letter of 2/iii/69, Kress Archive. The pair of canvases were sold as by Jean-François Millet Lot 54A (*Judgment of Paris* on relief) and Lot 54B (*Daughters of Cecrops Finding Erichthonius*), Sotheby's 6 Dec. 1967. Each measures $15\frac{3}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ in. (10) Everett Fahy, as told to this writer in 1969. (11) See Émile Dacier, 'Gillot', *Les Peintres Français du XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Louis Dimier, I, Paris and Brussels, 1928, pp. 157-215, esp. pp. 173-6. (12) A note on the back of the canvas, according to the 1907 Pembroke catalogue states: 'Catherine, Countess of Pembroke's property'. The painting is not mentioned in any of the early catalogues of Wilton House. (13) Wilkinson, *loc. cit.* Note 5.

French Master active first half of
XVIII Century

[Watteau]

K1390 : Figure 264

PORTRAIT OF A LADY ['Sylvia']. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (789), since 1946. Oil on canvas. $27\frac{1}{4} \times 23\frac{1}{8}$ in. (69 × 59 cm.). Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto c. 1945; slight abrasion; generally well-preserved. Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 159.

The sitter, in half-length with powdered hair, wearing a red cape and a décolleté black velvet dress over a white chemise, is seen against a neutral background. Her body is turned slightly to the left, her face and her left shoulder parallel to the picture plane. A brooch is on her breast and a small covering on her head.

Since entering the Kress Collection, K1390 has been entitled 'Sylvia', actually Jeanne (Zanetta)-Rose-Guyonne Benozzi, of the Comédie Italienne, well-known for acting the part of Sylvia with the troupe. Born in Toulouse, c. 1700, she married Joseph Antoine Baletti (1701-58), an actor in the same company, in 1720. Her portrait in later life was reproduced in a print by Surugue Fils after La Tour.¹ She died in 1759. Frankfurter described K1390 as one of the three portraits painted by Watteau, and accepted the sitter as 'Sylvia',² an authorship and identification also

followed by Einstein (p. 216). The identification of the sitter as Jeanne-Rose-Guyonne Benozzi was accepted by Pierard, Lefrancq and Consten.³ Pierard and Lefrancq believed the portrait to have been painted over a decade after Watteau's death, c. 1730-35. Pierard noted that Largillière and Toqué had been suggested as possible authors. Consten listed the portrait as painted by Watteau c. 1720, suggesting that doubts concerning his hand may be due to the great speed with which the canvas was executed.⁴ Berckenhagen viewed Pierre Subleyras as a possible master of K1390.⁵ Macchia and Montagni stated that K1390 is probably later than Watteau's oeuvre.⁶

The canvas follows the Grand Manner of French seventeenth-century portraiture best known in the art of Rigaud and Largillière, here modified by a new note of intimacy more common to painting of the early eighteenth century. Both Rigaud and Largillière lived into the 1740s and the Kress portrait could be by a gifted follower whose less formal style was influenced by Watteau's generation. It may prove identical with a portrait listed as by Largillière in the Fourmont sale of 1892. A depiction of unusual sensitivity and compassion, K1390 suggests special rapport between artist and subject. It was possibly painted in the 1730s. The young woman bears considerable resemblance to depictions of Jeanne-Rose-Guyonne Benozzi toward the end of the celebrated actress's life, and may show her in her youth. Perhaps this beautiful portrait is so difficult to place because it may have been by a French or French-trained artist active outside France or in the provinces, where a less sophisticated, broader, franker art than that of Paris prevailed.

Provenance: Sometimes said to have been in the collections of Abbé Thuclin (Paris), James Rothschild (Paris), and Lamorélie (Brittany). Possibly Baron de Fourmont, Château de Cercamp (sold 21 Apr. 1892, p. 8, Cat. No. 50, as 'Largillière. Bon Portrait de Femme').⁷ New York, Wildenstein and Co., exhibited - New York, Wildenstein and Co., *French XVIIIth Century Painting*, 1929, Cat. No. 14 (as 'Watteau, Portrait of a Lady, presumably Mlle. Siros' ex coll. de Fourmount [sic]); New York, Wildenstein and Co., *The Sources of Modern Painting*, 1939, Cat. No. 6. Kress acquisition 1944.

References: (1) Reproduced by Albert Besnard, *La Tour - La Vie et l'Œuvre de l'Artiste*, Paris, 1928, fig. 160, pl. xcii, Cat. No. 491. Jeanne Benozzi is shown in half-length in middle age. A painting of Sylvia Benozzi (*Silvia Baletti*) as by La Tour is his No. 492, described as showing her with *un loup dans la main droite, robe de soie violette avec cuivées aux manches, corsage satin blanc*. The painting is recorded as having been in the second Despinoy Sale, 27-8 Mar. 1851, Cat. No. 128. For Sylvia see also Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle*, I (by Jacques Hérold and Albert Vuaflart), *Notices et Documents Biographiques*, Paris, 1929, pp. 66-8. A print by J. M. Liotard after Watteau (Dacier-Vuaflart, *op. cit.*, III, 1922, pp. 21-2, Cat. No. 34) with a verse below, the first line of which is *La plus belle des fleurs n'endure*

qu'un matin is sometimes regarded as a portrait of Jeanne-Rose-Guyonne Benozzi. Another print by Liotard after F. de Troy (Duke of Portland coll.) of a woman with an aquiline nose, somewhat younger in appearance than the above, is also occasionally viewed as a portrait of Benozzi (reproduced by Lucien Dubech, *Histoire Générale illustrée du Théâtre*, Paris, 1931-34, IV, p. 83). A print by L. Cars (Bocher No. 80) after Lancret, the frontispiece to Boissy's *Le Je ne sçay quoi*, Paris, 1731, was described by Dacier and Vuaflart (*op. cit.*, I, p. 67) as showing Sylvia (Jeanne Benozzi Baletti dancing with Harlequin [Thomassin?]). It is reproduced by Georges Wildenstein, *Lancret*, Paris, 1924, fig. 210, his Cat. No. 580, p. 109. Parker and Mathey believed a drawing by Watteau, their Cat. No. 768 (II, p. 344) probably to represent Sylvia (K. T. Parker and Jacques Mathey, *Antoine Watteau, Catalogue Complet de son Œuvre Dessiné*, Paris, 1957). (2) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Supplement to the Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, New York, 1946, pp. 62-4. (3) Gabriel Pierard and Paul Lefrancq, 'Au Cercle Archéologique: Watteau a-t-il pu être l'auteur du portrait de la Benozzi - la Silvia de Marivaux - du musée de Washington?', in the newspaper *La Voix du Nord*, Valenciennes, 3 Feb. 1966, p. 241. (4) Eleanor von Erdberg Consten (*Watteau*, Berlin, n.d., p. 24, Cat. No. IX) dated the canvas c. 1720 and noted that the sitter's crossed eyes correspond to other depictions of the actress. (5) Letter of 16/xi/67, Kress Archive. (6) Giovanni Macchia and E. C. Montagni, *L'Opera Completa di Watteau*, Milan, 1968, p. 126, 3^o-H. (7) The Fourment painting measured 29×23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in., according to the sale catalogue.

ANTOINE WATTEAU

Watteau was born in 1684 in Valenciennes (a Flemish city annexed by France in 1678) and died in Nogent-sur-Marne in 1721. He was apprenticed at an early age to an obscure local painter and went to Paris in 1702 where he first worked as a copyist for an art dealer on the Pont Notre-Dame. In 1703 he entered the studio of Claude Gillot where he was introduced to contemporary theatrical subjects whose characters were to people Watteau's art. After falling out with Gillot in 1708, Watteau worked for the decorator, Claude III Audran, the *conservateur* of the Palais Luxembourg where Rubens's *Marie de' Medici Cycle* was housed. The Flemish series had a profound influence on Watteau's art. Having failed to win the Prix de Rome, Watteau went back to Valenciennes for a year in 1709 where he painted several military scenes. Returning to Paris in 1710, he lived with the art dealer Sirois (who may have commissioned the military pictures) and was given provisional membership of the Académie Royale in 1712. He became a member in 1717 as painter of *fêtes galantes*, his diploma painting being the *Embarcation from Cythera* (Paris, Louvre). He then resided for three years on the grounds of Crozat's Parisian manor. A great collector and patron of the arts, Crozat's magnificent Venetian paintings and drawings inspired Watteau. Plagued by tuberculosis in his last six years, the restless artist moved

from one residence to another. In 1720, he went to London probably for treatment from the famous physician, Dr. Meade, who was to own *Les Comédiens Italiens*. The dying painter returned to Paris; he stayed with the picture-dealer Gersaint (Sirois's son-in-law), for whom he painted the *Shop-Sign* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen). Among the greatest of draughtsmen and a superb colorist, Watteau created a scintillating yet melancholy art that brought a new note of subtlety and introspection to Western Art.¹

Reference: (1) Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e Siècle*, 4 vols., Paris, 1921-29. Hélène Adhémar, *Watteau*, Paris, 1950 (many early biographical texts are reprinted here). Karl T. Parker and Jacques Mathey, *Antoine Watteau: Catalogue Complet de Son Œuvre Dessiné*, 2 vols., Paris, 1957. Jean Lévy, 'Une vie inconnue d'Antoine Watteau', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1957, pp. 175-203.

K2048 : Figure 266

ALLEGORY OF SUMMER (CERES). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1413), since 1956. Oil on canvas. 56 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×45 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (142.0×115.7 cm.) oval. Large, slash-like tears in middle of breast; others at lower center; very considerable losses and abrasion.¹ Relined and restored, probably in Florence, by G. Marchig, c. 1952. Modestini applied coat of varnish in 1955. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 204, Cat. No. 81. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, p. 176, pl. 166.

Ceres, blonde goddess of Summer, is shown with her symbols - the sickle in her left hand, the wheat stalks, poppies, and cornflowers in her crown, and the sheaf of wheat at her side. She is seated on a white cloud bank against a blue sky and wears a white shift and pink silk mantle. Two additional figures to the right of Ceres are shown within the oval composition: a blonde maiden with white drapery grasping a wheat sheaf and another fair-haired attendant to the rear also carrying wheat. They represent Gemini, the astrological twins. Together with a lion (Leo) to the lower left of Ceres, his head and one forepaw visible, and a crayfish (Cancer) seen below, they depict the Zodiac for the summer months.²

The head of a model close to the one used for Ceres is, according to Parker-Mathey, portrayed on a study sheet (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, No. 3368).³ The Kress painting is the only known survivor of a cycle of the Four Seasons, known as the *Saisons Crozat*, formerly decorating the dining room of the Paris hôtel of Watteau's great patron Pierre Crozat.⁴ The building, by Jean Sylvain Cartaud, was begun in 1704 and completed c. 1707 when Charles de la Fosse (1636-1716) began painting its interior decorations which were to include drawings for the *Seasons*. Watteau's series was engraved in reverse, with added trompe l'œil masonry 'frames', by L. Desplaces (*Spring*); Renard du Bos (*Summer*); E. Fessard (*Autumn*); J. Audran (*Winter*).⁵ (See Text Figs. 84-7). Of the other three

paintings, *Winter* was last recorded in 1858 when found in poor condition at the Château de Chenonceaux,⁶ *Spring* (Text Fig. 88) was burned during a robbery when owned by Robin Grant in 1966⁷ and *Autumn* has been lost since 1772.

The series was first described by Caylus who found it 'clumsy and dry', based upon preparatory sketches by Charles de la Fosse, whose death in 1716 prevented his completing the project.⁸ The latter, like Watteau, resided in Crozat's house and was one of Watteau's first sponsors at the Académie Royale. Goncourt, who owned two of Watteau's preparatory drawings for *Spring* and *Autumn*, discounted the possibility of de la Fosse having executed preliminary sketches for the series.⁹ Hérold and Vuaflart dated Watteau's commission for the *Seasons* c. 1711.¹⁰ Both Adhémar and Levey believed Watteau to have based his project on de la Fosse's designs, Levey noting that two oval drawings by de la Fosse, both of Flora and Zephyr (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Nos. 27, 429), were projects for Crozat's *Seasons*, closely followed by Watteau for the *Spring*. Adhémar dated Watteau's execution c. 1716. Levey characterized the canvas as 'virtually Veronese but Veronese as seen through the eyes of Rubens' and dated it 1712–16.¹¹ According to Seilern, the 'Seasons were executed under the fresh inspiration of the treasures which Crozat brought back from Italy in 1715.' He dated the commission to the same year.¹² Marcel found the lion in K2048 to be derived from the one at the left in Rubens's *Marriage of Henri IV and Marie de' Medici* (Paris, Louvre).¹³ The *Ceres* composition is slightly reminiscent of a Gobelin's tapestry from a *Seasons* series designed by Claude III Audran, engraved by his brother Jean.¹⁴ *Einstein* (pp. 217–18) dated *Summer* c. 1712 as did *Seymour* (p. 176).¹⁵ According to *Cooke* (p. 24): 'The canvas was painted at a time [1713] when there was a sharp reaction against the stiff formality of the reign of Louis XIV, and the relaxed pose and casual dress of the model in this picture are in the spirit of the new age.'

References to sowing, reaping, and consumption of food in at least two of the four *Seasons* made the theme popular for the decoration of dining rooms, where one wall was often devoted to each allegory. According to Hanfmann, the appeal of the motif lay in its reference to 'the existence of a divine, rational order.' He noted 'Rococo art reveals a widespread interest in the perpetual regularity in the changes of nature. Underlying this enthusiasm for the cycle of *Seasons* is the feeling nature is the infinite mother who embraces all'.¹⁶ The young Watteau executed several *Seasons* cycles, some of these for reproduction in print form; others were based upon commissions received by him for dining room decorations.¹⁷ The bulk of these, unlike the classical *Saisons* Crozat, are in the rustic genre. When the *Winter* was rediscovered by Clément de Ris, he described the series as overdoors. However, they may have been placed in *boiserie* to the upper left and right of mirrored mantels or on carved wooden panels not necessarily with doors below. Such paintings were enclosed by elaborately carved frames to suggest that the subject was 'seen' through an aperture.¹⁸ The *Allegory of Summer* is one of Watteau's

very few surviving figure paintings on a large scale, conceived in the grand manner, reminiscent of Venetian sixteenth-century art. The formal, conventional de la Fosse, a now little-known, but important French painter, initiated the *Saisons* design in conformity with his patron's taste for Venetian art.¹⁹ The brilliantly blonde coloring of K2048 is reminiscent of Veronese, whose *Allegory of Venice between Hercules and Ceres* (Venice, Accademia) may also have provided a model for the composition. The same artist's *Allegory of Summer* (Maser, Villa Barbaro) shows Ceres in the clouds. Early eighteenth-century Paris abounded with Venetian painters, whose art, together with that of the sixteenth century and Rubens, formed the basis of this representation of *Summer*. Seilern's dating of K2048 to c. 1715, on the basis of Veronese drawings brought from Italy by Crozat about that year, is plausible.

Provenance: One of the Four Seasons commissioned by Pierre Crozat for the dining room of his hôtel on the rue Richelieu, probably c. 1715. Upon his death in 1740 the hôtel appears to have been left to Crozat's nephew, Louis-François Crozat, marquis du Châtel. He left the hôtel to his eldest daughter, the duchesse de Gontaut-Biron, who willed the hôtel to her younger sister, the duchesse du Choiseul. *Summer* was sold by the duc du Choiseul, Paris, 18 Dec. 1786, Cat. No. 3 (with *Winter*). With *Winter* from the Crozat series, in the Le Brun Sale, Paris, 11 Apr. 1791, Cat. No. 204. Acquired in Paris by the painter Alphonse Roehn at unknown date [1830s?].²⁰ Sold by Roehn to an English collector before 1850.²¹ Charles Wertheimer, London. Possibly H. A. J. Munro of Novar. Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer Galleries, 1895.²² Lionel Phillips, Tylney Hall, Winchfield, as early as 1906, exhibited – London, Grafton Galleries, *National Loan Exhibition*, 1909–10, Cat. No. 95.²³ Sold by Phillips, London, Christie's, 25 Apr. 1913, Cat. No. 72. H. Michel-Lévy, Paris (sold Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 12–13 May 1919, Cat. No. 28). Léon Michel-Lévy, Paris (sold Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 17–18 June 1925, Cat. No. 160). Charles-Louis Dreyfus, Paris, as early as 1928.²⁴ Paris, Wildenstein and Co., exhibited – Copenhagen, Palais de Charlottenborg, *L'Art français au XVIII^e siècle*, 1935, Cat. No. 262; London, Wildenstein and Co., *Watteau and his Contemporaries*, 1936, Cat. No. 27; New York, Wildenstein and Co., *French Painting of the Eighteenth Century*, 1948, Cat. No. 45. Kress acquisition 1954, exhibited – New York, Wildenstein and Co., *Masterpieces; a Memorial Exhibition for Adele R. Levy*, Cat. No. 20.

References: (1) Extensive damage, possibly resulting from spilled solvent, is shown in X-rays of the area between the breast and the top of the sickle. According to Louis Gillet (*Watteau*, Paris, 1921, p. 65), the canvas has suffered but 'not enough to lose grace . . .'. Antoine Seilern (*Paintings and Drawings of Continental Schools other than Flemish and Italian at 56 Princes Gate*, London, 1961, III, p. 79) found 'the surface . . . in such poor condition that I doubt if one can draw any stylistic conclusions from it'. Montagni suggested that K2048 was heavily restored by the painter Roehn (1799–1864), who worked in the manner of

Watteau, supporting this view with the steep rise in price from Roehn's purchase to its resale (Giovanni Macchia, E. C. Montagni, *L'Opera Completa di Watteau*, Milan, 1968, p. 104, Cat. No. 107). Roehn specialized in finding works by Watteau in France, where their price was low, to sell in England where they were in demand (Hélène Adhémar, *Watteau, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1950, pp. 148-52). He owned K2048 probably in the 1830s. Montagni also thought that the canvas was probably reduced in size on the basis of the larger format of the print (Text Fig. 85). (2) All noted by Cook, p. 24; A. P. Mirimonde, 'Statues et Emblèmes dans l'Œuvre d'Antoine Watteau', *Revue du Louvre*, I, 1962, pp. 11 ff., esp. p. 15. (3) Karl T. Parker and Jacques Mathéy, *Antoine Watteau, Catalogue Complet de son Œuvre Dessiné*, II, Paris, 1957, Cat. No. 720, pl. 720, p. 339 (hereafter referred to as *Parker-Mathéy*). This or a very similar model was often used by Watteau. See Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e Siècle*, 4 vols., Paris, 1922-29 (hereafter referred to as *Dacier-Vuaflart*), III, pp. 50-1, Cat. Nos. 105-8. For preparatory drawings for the lost canvases en suite with K2048, see *Parker-Mathéy*, I, p. 73, Cat. No. 513 (for *Spring*, a figure of Flora, Louvre No. 4111); Cat. Nos. 511-12 (for *Autumn*, two Bacchus figures, Louvre No. 28980 and Musée Cognacq-Jay, No. 186). They date the preparatory drawing 1713. (4) Copies (seemingly reduced in size) of the Four Seasons were included in the Prince de Carignan Sale, Paris, 18 June 1743, Cat. No. 63. A version of the Kress canvas thought to be in a French private collection may stem from this source. For location and patronage, see L. Clément de Ris, 'Pierre Crozat', *Les Amateurs d'Autrefois*, Paris, 1887, pp. 183-207; Émile Dacier, 'Les Premiers Amateurs de Watteau en France', *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, xv, 1921, pp. 115-30; *Dacier-Vuaflart*, I (Notices et Documents Biographiques), pp. 45 ff. Brice's description of the hôtel (1752) with a Mariette addition, is quoted in its entirety by Clément de Ris (*op. cit.*, pp. 186-90). (5) *Dacier-Vuaflart*, III, pp. 50-1, Cat. Nos. 105-8. (6) Clément de Ris, *op. cit.* Note 4, p. 190, n. 2. (7) Michael Levey, 'A Watteau Rediscovered: *Le Printemps* [sic] for Crozat', *Burlington Magazine*, cvI, 1964, pp. 53-8; *Chroniques des Arts* (supplement to *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LXVIII), Oct. 1966, p. 23. (8) Comte de Caylus, *Vie de Watteau*, 1748, reprinted by Hélène Adhémar (*op. cit.* Note 1 above, pp. 175-83, esp. p. 180. According to Mariette (reprinted by Adhémar, *ibid.*, p. 173), de la Fosse painted the ceiling for Crozat's Galerie in 1707. Hérold and Vuaflart (*Dacier-Vuaflart*, I, p. 47) thought that Caylus confused the commission for Crozat's hôtel with one given by Crozat to de la Fosse for a cupola at his château at Montmorency. The latter's lost fresco showed Phaethon asking the Sun for the chariot; Phaethon is introduced to the Seasons, which would probably not have been represented again in individual ovals as they are in the series to which K2048 belonged. A description of Crozat's château is in the *Mémoires Inédits sur la Vie et les Ouvrages des Membres de l'Académie Royale*, Paris, 1854, p. 5. De la Fosse's lost painting probably resembled Poussin's or Le Sueur's work on the same theme. For the first, see Georges Wildenstein, 'Les Graveurs de

Poussin au XVIII^e Siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XLVI, 1955, p. 282, no. 136. The Le Sueur is known from a drawing in the Louvre, no. 597 (Cabinet des Dessins). (9) Edmond de Goncourt, *Catalogue Raisonné de l'Œuvre Peint, Dessiné et Gravé d'Antoine Watteau*, Paris, 1875, pp. 50-1. K2048 is his Cat. No. 47. Virgile Josz (*Antoine Watteau*, Paris, n.d., p. 74) followed Goncourt's view as did Paul Mantz (*Antoine Watteau*, Paris, 1892, pp. 65-6) and Edmond Pilon (*Watteau et son École*, Paris, 1912, pp. 118-20). See Note 3 above for the sketches, *Parker-Mathéy*, nos. 511, 513. (10) *Dacier-Vuaflart*, III, pp. 50-1. (11) Adhémar, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, pp. 85-6; Levey, *op. cit.* Note 7, pp. 53-4, 57. Crozat's drawing collection included six by the Venetian master. The Rubensian aspect of *Ceres* was previously stressed in 1938 ('Notable Works of Art now on the Art Market', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIII, 1938, Text for pl. XVII; see also LXIX, 1936, p. 230). For Watteau's copies after these works, see *Dacier-Vuaflart*, I, p. 50. See also Valentine Miller, 'The Borrowings of Watteau', *Burlington Magazine*, LI, 1927, pp. 37-44, *passim*. June Hargrove suggested to this writer that K2048 may be derived from a Pietro Testa drawing of Justice owned by Crozat, Cat. No. 274 in his sale (Paris, 1740). (12) Seilern, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Drawings for Watteau's *Crozat Seasons* were dated 1716 in *Europäisches Rococo* (Munich, 1958, p. 141, Cat. No. 352). (13) Pierre Marcel, *La Peinture Française, le XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1921, p. 23. For Watteau and the Rubens series, see *Dacier-Vuaflart*, I, p. 51. (14) For the tapestry, see H. Göbel, *Die Wandteppiche . . .*, Part I, Section 2, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 150 ff., esp. p. 155. Prior to the execution of K2048, Watteau depicted a *Triumph of Ceres* known from a reproductive print of L. Crépy (*Dacier-Vuaflart*, IV, Cat. No. 112) which Adhémar (*op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 213, Cat. No. 101) recognized as based upon the same sources as those of K2048 - Venetian art and Charles de la Fosse. (15) *Einstein*, pp. 217-18. (16) George M. A. Hanfmann, 'The Cycle of Seasons in European Art', *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, Cambridge, 1951, I, Chap. 10, pp. 262-80; II, pp. 125-6. For depictions of the Seasons, see Anton Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Budapest and Berlin, II, 1956, pp. 492-9. For depictions of *Ceres*, see Leopold Ettlinger, 'Ceres', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, III, 1954, cols. 397-403. (17) See *Dacier-Vuaflart*, III, Cat. Nos. 68-71, 186-91, 200-3 (*Les Saisons Julliennes*), 296-9 (*Les Saisons Cossés*). See also Martin P. Eidelberg, 'A Cycle of Four Seasons by the Young Watteau', *Art Quarterly*, XXIX, 1966, pp. 269-76. (18) For an indication of the appearance of Watteau's canvases in their original settings, see the *boiserie* of the *chambre de parade* of the Hôtel d'Évreux (or Élysées) by Armand-Claude Mollet (reproduced by Fiske Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo*, New York, 1964, fig. 161), c. 1720. The original format of Crozat's dining room is unknown. Cartaud's interior was extensively changed by Oppenord and again by Le Carpentier (from *Dacier-Vuaflart*, I, p. 46). An oval *Autumn* (Paris, Louvre) close in style to the Kress canvas, probably from another Seasons cycle is believed (Adhémar, p. 225, Cat. No. 179, pl. 105) to have been painted when Watteau was *chez Crozat*. The Louvre work looks almost *en suite* with an oval *L'Amour*

Désarmé (Chantilly, Musée Condé) which, like K2048, is close to Veronese, based (according to Adhémar, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 224, Cat. No. 177) upon a drawing by that master in Crozat's Collection (Mariette Inv. No. 4645, now in the Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins). (19) See Margret Stiffinmann, 'Charles de la Fosse et sa position dans la peinture française à la fin du XVII^e siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LXIV, 1964, pp. 1-121. (20) See Pierre Hédouin, 'Catalogue de l'Oeuvre de Watteau', *L'Artiste*, 1845, reprinted in Hédouin's *Mosaïque*, Paris, 1856, p. 96, Cat. No. 17 (K2048). According to Hédouin, 'Ce tableau, après avoir été vendu plusieurs fois à la salle des commissaires priseurs 10 et 12 francs, a été acheté 200 frs par M. Roelin. Ce connaisseur distingué l'a revendu 2000 frs pour une collection de Londres.' (21) According to Mathey, *Antoine Watteau, Peintures Réapparues*, Paris, 1959. (22) *Second Hundred Paintings by Old Masters*, 1895, p. 84, Cat. No. 71. Listed as from the Munro of Novar Collection. An H. A. J. Munro of Novar Sale took place in London at Christie's, 1 June 1878. The Crozat Spring was also in that sale. (23) Included in Arundel Club Portfolio of 1906, no. 13. (24) According to Louis Dimier, *Les Peintres Français du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1928, p. 31, Cat. No. 26.

ANTOINE WATTEAU

dk 505 : Figure 265

THREE FEMALE HEADS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22, 400) since 1963. Red and black chalk, wash added at lower right. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{5}{16}$ in. (18.4 × 15.7 cm.). Collector's mark of Charles Gasc at lower left (Lugt 544). Inscribed on old frame: 1525. Inscribed in pen on label on back: *Watteau/Coll. Tabourier.../ 144... Trois têtes de femmes/Étude/Crayon noir et sanguine/En bas et à gauche: cachet de collection/*.

Three studies of the head and shoulders of a young woman are shown. All three could have been drawn from the same model. Each wears a hat perched to the left side of the head; their dresses are in rather low décolleté. A study at the left of one hand laid over another appears to belong with the head above. The studies of the hands and the woman at the upper left correspond to the woman seated at the right in Watteau's *La Contredanse*,¹ according to Parker-Mathey, who also identified the head at the lower right with that of the figure to the far right of the painting (Text Fig. 107).² Another drawing for the same painting is in the Ashmolean.³ The pose of the head at the upper left is found again in a drawing in a French private collection.⁴ Adhémar placed *La Contredanse* among those paintings executed for the Parisian dealers between 1712 and 1715, closer to 1716,⁵ a view followed by Montagni.⁶ The painting was once owned by a cousin of the artist's great friend and patron Jean de Julienne (now collection of Clarence S. Postley, Long Island). By the dating of the painting, the study is datable c. 1715. The wash covering the hair of the head at the lower right may not be original. It has been suggested that dk 505 may have been cut from a larger sheet, but the *mise-en-page* recalls other complete pages by

the master.⁷ The delicate draughtsmanship of this page loses far more in reproduction than that of most Watteau drawings.

Provenance: Charles Gasc, Paris (c. 1850). Not included in his sale (Paris, 17 Jan. 1865). L. Tabourier, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 20-22 June 1898, p. 99, Cat. No. 144. Richard Owen, Paris. Kress acquisition, 1937.

References: (1) See Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Julienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1923, III, p. 86, Cat. No. 177. The reproductive print by Brion is reproduced in IV, pl. 177. Publication of the print was announced by the widow of Chereau and by Surugue in the *Mercur* for July 1731, p. 1780. (2) Karl Parker and Jacques Mathey, *Antoine Watteau: Catalogue complet de son œuvre dessiné*, Paris, 1957, II, p. 346, Cat. No. 781. (3) Parker, *The Drawings of Antoine Watteau*, London, 1931, p. 167. (4) See Marianne Roland Michel, *Watteau et sa Génération; Exposition organisée au profit de la Société des Amis du Louvre*, Paris, 1968, color plate before introduction, Cat. No. 39. (5) Hélène Adhémar, *Antoine Watteau - sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1950, p. 221, Cat. No. 156. (6) E. C. Montagni, *L'Opera Completa di Watteau*, Milan, 1968, p. 108, no. 131. (7) Parker-Mathey, II, pp. 345, 355, Cat. Nos. 778, 779, 809.

Attributed to WATTEAU

K1344 : Figures 267-9

THE ITALIAN COMEDIANS.¹ Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (774), since 1946. Oil on very finely woven canvas. $25\frac{1}{8} \times 30$ in. (64 × 76 cm.). Small tears at upper right corner, at lower left near right hip of crouching jester and elsewhere. Considerable abrasion along left arm of central standing figure and elsewhere. Male heads nearest to left and right of central figure relatively unfinished. Ultra-violet revealed small losses on brow of jester, in child next to his shoulder; other minor losses. Restored and last relined by Pichetto in 1943.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 158. Reproduced in color in *Cairns and Walker*, p. III.

Fifteen figures in the guise of characters from the *Comédie Italienne* are shown on a stone stage in a garden setting, against a curved wall with rustication. Gilles (or Pierrot) at the center, dressed in white with a straw hat, is framed by the entrance to an *allée*. His arms at his sides, he is the only completely frontal figure in the composition. A curved pediment overhead encloses a satyr's head - the garden god - possibly representing humorous drama, i.e., satire. A youth at the extreme right (Scapin?) raises a red curtain. To the left is the Doctor, a bearded figure leaning on a stick and wearing a dark red hat and dark robe. A young man pointing toward the central figure is in an ochre suit with a blue cape over his left shoulder (Scaramouche?). Heads of a young couple (Mario and Isabella?) are seen to the left. A young woman (Sylvia or Flaminia) stands to the immediate right of the central figure, wearing

a pale blue dress with a gauze collar and rose on her breast, a tricorn on her head. To the left of the central figure is an unidentifiable young man, resting his left hand on the left jamb. Further to the left, Harlequin, his face blacked, wears a multicolored, lozenge-patterned suit and a straw hat, the brim of which he holds with his left hand. To the left is a seated guitarist wearing a tricorn, red cap, ochre suit, and white stockings. At the extreme left a young man (Mezzetin?) in right profile, wearing a striped silk suit and cap, gazes amorously toward the young woman before him. At the extreme lower left are a crouching boy and girl, the former holding a garland. A jester in orange is seated on the steps holding a *marotte* adorned with roses; a garland of roses lies on the steps in the foreground.

Nine preparatory drawings by Watteau for *Les Comédiens Italiens* survive:² 1. Figure study for man at extreme right, in three-quarter length, raising a curtain with his left hand. London, British Museum P.43. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 329, no. 682. (Text Fig. 95). 2. Study of hands for man in right foreground, verso of above. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 357, no. 827. (Text Fig. 96). 3. Counter-proof of a study for the Doctor, in three-quarter length, facing left. P. Bordeaux-Groult, Paris. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 329, no. 683. (Text Fig. 97). 4. Counter-proof of three figures to the right of Pierrot. Earl of Iveagh, Elveden Hall, Suffolk. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 368, no. 877. (Text Fig. 94). The figure who introduces Pierrot is shown in some detail; the woman behind him is sketchily executed and Flaminia is barely noted. 5. Two studies of head of child at extreme lower left, with study of adult hands in the position of that child's. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 333, no. 702. (Text Fig. 99). 6. Head of the woman to the right of Pierrot. London, British Museum, P.42. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 341, no. 739. (Text Fig. 98). 7. Head of the woman to the left of Pierrot. Earl of Iveagh, Elveden Hall, Suffolk. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 344, no. 768. (Text Fig. 100).³ 8. Seated guitarist, study for figure at left. Alençon, Musée de la Maison d'Ozé. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 356, no. 810. (Text Fig. 92). 9. Study for standing man at extreme left. Minneapolis, Institute of Art. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 328, no. 681. (Text Fig. 91). Five other drawings have also been cited by Parker and Mathey as resembling the corresponding figures in *Les Comédiens Italiens*, but the relationship is less specific than in those listed above. They may represent preliminary studies for alternative projects. a. Pierrot, in the foreground toward the right, is shown with five figures at the left and three at the right. London, British Museum 1933-5-16-1. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 368, no. 876. b. Comedians near a fountain with a naiad. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 367, no. 873. c. Scene from the Italian Theatre. Hubert Chanler, Genesco, New York. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 367, no. 875. d. Sheet of studies with a Harlequin. Paris, École Nationale des Beaux-Arts. *Parker-Mathey*, p. 311, no. 561. Close to the same figure in K1344 and the Harlequin in many other Watteau compositions.⁴ e. Study of roses. Collection L. F. (Leonard Franklin?), London, *Parker-Mathey*, p. 371, no. 883. Resembles the garland in the foreground of K1344. A copy of *Les Comédiens Italiens*, from the Groult Collection, according

to two chalk notations on the back (Text Fig. 93, now in the Study Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington), may be identical with the canvas first published by Mantz in 1890 as the long lost work painted for Dr. Mead, which had reappeared in London, a 'Watteau of the first importance'.⁵ Until c. 1932, when it was first described as a replica, the Groult canvas was generally accepted as the original painting. It was presented by Georges Wildenstein to the National Gallery of Art. More vertical in composition than K1344, the Groult work has an additional area along the top which completes the central archway, the curtain at the right and masonry at the left. It omits the man standing at the central figure's side. The cap of the man to the right, seen behind the tall woman, is light in the Groult canvas and dark in K1344. In general, the Study Collection canvas is pale in tonality, with many color variations from K1344. Another reduced example of *Les Comédiens Italiens* was listed by Hédouin as in the collection of Ries, a member of the Ministère de Commerce.⁶ A tapestry, probably woven in Würzburg c. 1740-45 employed the figures of *Les Comédiens Italiens*, but placed them in a different setting.⁷ A reproductive print, almost identical in composition (in reverse) to K1344 was etched by Bernard Baron (b. Paris, 1696, d. London, 1762) c. 1733 and entitled *Les Comédiens Italiens* (Text Fig. 90). It was announced by the 'Veuve de F. Chereau et Surugue' in the *Mercure de France* for March 1733 (p. 554): ... une estampe nouvellement gravée en Angleterre par le sieur Baron, d'après un tableau de feu Watteau qui est dans le cabinet de M. Mead, médecin du Roy de la grande Bretagne. Il le fit faire à Watteau dans le voyage qu'il fit à Londres. Ce tableau est gravé sous le titre des Comédiens Italiens; ce sont presque tous portraits de gens habiles dans leur art que Watteau peignit sous les différens habits des acteurs du Théâtre Italien. [... a print, newly engraved in England by Mr. Baron after a painting by the deceased Watteau, which is in the collection of Mr. Mead, physician to the King of Great Britain. He ordered it from Watteau during his London residence. The painting is engraved under the title *Comédiens Italiens*; they are almost all portraits of people skilled in their own art, whom Watteau painted in the different costumes of actors of the Italian Theater.]⁸ Under the print, to the left, is inscribed: COMEDIENS ITALIENS Gravez d'après le Tableau original peint par Watteau haut de 2 pieds 1 ponce sur 2 pieds 6 ponce de large.

The subject of the Kress canvas stems from 'A troupe of Italian Comedians which was in Paris under Louis XIV, but in 1697 they offended the king by their piece, *La Fausse Prude*, thought to be aimed at Mme. de Maintenon. They were expelled from the country and their theatre closed. *Le départ des comédiens italiens*, engraved by L. Jacob (1729) after a picture by Watteau, commemorates this episode. Actually, however, members of the troupe lingered behind performing at the *théâtres des foires* or merely as ambulant troupes of actors. Characters from the Comedy, such as Arlequin, Mezzetin, Pantaloon and Sylvia, had already passed into French popular drama. In June 1716 the Comedians were formally re-assembled by permission of the Regent, christened *Les Comédiens Italiens de S.A.R.*

Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans, and played at the opera till their own house, the Hôtel de Bourgogne, was ready. The origin of their characters and the precise composition of the Italian Company are not entirely clear. The popular Italian character-comedy is traced back to the Atellane fables of early Roman times, in which stock characters took part in an improvised drama. In the xvth century this reappears in a double form: that of the *commedia dell'arte*, with scenes written only in outline, and linked together by the part of Arlecchino; and that of masked comedy in written form, acted by typical figures speaking local dialects, viz., *Pantalone* (a Venetian merchant), *Dottore* (a Bolognese doctor), *Arlecchino* (a blundering servant from Bergamo) and others, along with some women's parts, such as *Colombina*. In Watteau's time there was probably a fluctuating company, as one actor or another developed a part, and to the characters above we may add *Pierrot*, who becomes *Gilles*, *Mezzetin* (brought in as a sort of double of *Pierrot*), *Scaramouche* (in a Spanish don's dress), and *Scapin*. For Watteau the attraction, besides that of picturesque costume, was the vague web of dalliance and intrigue called up by these characters, who told half his story for him, but allowed him to give it his own dreamy, slightly bittersweet turn. The whole troupe is brought together in his picture *L'Amour au Théâtre italien*, and contrasted with *L'Amour au Théâtre français* (both at Berlin).⁹

Mantz suggested that the tall woman to the right of Gilles was an English model, a type not hitherto seen in Watteau's oeuvre. He noted that the artist posed friends as members of a theatrical troupe.¹⁰ Watteau's patron, Dr. Mead, was thought by Jamot to have been the model for the central figure of *Les Comédiens Italiens*.¹¹ Dacier and Vuaflart believed the figures in *Les Comédiens Italiens* to be actors from the *Comédie Française* who went to London on 5 March 1720, suggesting that Watteau could have drawn their portraits at the café near the Haymarket where they performed.¹² According to Schéfer, the identification of the individual figures in *Les Comédiens Italiens* is extremely difficult. He believed Watteau to have used the same male model for many of them.¹³ K1344 shows the final curtain with all the actors in the court theater, according to Frankfurter.¹⁴ Cairns and Walker (p. 110) believed all the actors to have been painted from drawings, presumably made in France or from memory, finding the troupe to be the same as that shown by Watteau in the Louvre *Gilles*. The woman at the upper left of K1344 is shown in almost the same pose at the lower right of the Louvre painting. They dated the Kress canvas 1720 and regarded the drawings now in the Musée Jacquemart-André and the Chanler Collection as among the preparatory studies, following Parker and Mathey. The scene, according to Gillet, represented an opening parade at the entrance to the theater before the curtain went up.¹⁵ *Pierrot* (*Gilles*), the dominant, central figure of K1344, is not a character in the *Comédie Italienne* according to Panofsky, who wrote that K1344 represents no specific scene from the Italian Comedy, nor is it an arbitrary group of actors; she followed Frankfurter in suggesting that it shows the farewell of the entire cast at the end of the play and might be entitled 'The Curtain

Call'. 'All await applause after the curtain is drawn by Scapin – while other actors engage in music and love-making – an impudently elegant young fellow who may be Scaramouche presents the white, motionless figure of *Pierrot* who, stationed in the center, finds himself embarrassed yet remote in the focus of public attention.' She stressed Watteau's use of Dutch seventeenth-century sources such as Rembrandt's *Hundred Guilder Print* and *La Petite Tombe*, as well as the *Ecce Homo*, relating *Pierrot* and the figure at the right side to the form and meaning of the group of Christ and Pilate.¹⁶ Panofsky's interpretation was partially accepted by Mirimonde, who suggested K1344 be entitled *Le dernier vaudeville de l'opéra comique*. He found that several of Watteau's paintings depict the end of comic operas, when, after several scenes, the major figures appear on stage for the vaudeville – meaning a diversion in which chanted couplets, broken by choral responses and dances, are given. The scene is one of *adieu* and *hommage*. While the Doctor at the right watches without understanding and the Lovers at the left are oblivious to all else, two actors at the center present the hero – *Pierrot*.¹⁷ According to Nicoll, the central figure of *Les Comédiens Italiens* contributed to the new, romantic interpretation of Gilles in the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Huyghe (following the sequence given by Dacier-Vuaflart) viewed Watteau's *Les Comédiens Français* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) as pendant to the Italian ones.¹⁹ Despite slight disparity in original size, this suggestion is probably correct.²⁰ Watteau is known to have painted pendants of such a nature: see *L'Amour au Théâtre Français* and *L'Amour au Théâtre Italien* (both Berlin, Staatliche Museen). See Text Figs. 89, 90 for the appearance of the reproductive prints after *Les Comédiens Français* and *Les Comédiens Italiens* as a pair. Several aspects of the composition go back to a print by a follower of Abraham Bosse of the *Comédie Italienne* at the Hôtel de Bourgogne as it appeared toward the middle of the seventeenth century.²¹ As Watteau portrayed his friend, the art dealer Sirois, in the garb of Gilles (London, Wallace Collection) (preparatory drawing is Parker-Mathey, II, p. 380, no. 932) and also showed him as Mezzetin (Parker-Mathey, II, p. 380, no. 931) it does not seem necessary to assume that actors were used as models for Watteau's theatrical subjects. The title of the Kress composition is probably not of Watteau's making. It first appeared below the reproductive print by Baron, and many such captions were invented by the print editors. The artist seems to have drawn upon Jan Steen's works for the figure style of *Les Comédiens Italiens*, while Frans Hals provided the basis for the canvas's presumed pendant – *Les Comédiens Français* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).²² The approximate date of *Les Comédiens Italiens* coincides with Marivaux's play written for the Italian Comedians in 1720, but the subject matter of the composition cannot be specifically keyed to that of the drama.²³ Waagen was the first scholar to publish K1344, in 1857, describing it as 'of such vivacity in the heads, clearness of colouring, and carefulness of execution, that I do not hesitate to pronounce it one of the most remarkable works of the master I know'.²⁴ He compared the canvas to the Watteau *Gilles* (Paris, Louvre). Most critics place the Louvre painting approximately one

to two years before *Les Comédiens Italiens*. Staley praised the Kress painting as a fine work by Watteau.²⁵ Although *The Italian Comedians* was exhibited in 1871 and 1902, it was overshadowed by another example of the composition then in the Groult Collection, Paris (now Study Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington), which many critics believed to have been the original canvas by Watteau. In 1932, when K1344 was exhibited in London, both the Kress and Groult examples were viewed as replicas.²⁶ Since then the Kress canvas has generally been accepted as the work painted by Watteau in England, c. 1719/20 and owned by Dr. Mead, reproduced as such in the print by Baron of c. 1773.²⁷ Macchia and Montagni mentioned reservations as to Watteau's role in the execution of K1344. Some of these doubts were raised as a consequence of the painting's condition, described by Macchia and Montagni as having suffered from a very poor cleaning. They also quoted anonymous sources which saw an additional hand at work, if not that of a copyist.²⁸

It is not certain that the Kress canvas is identical with the painting reproduced by Baron c. 1733 (Text Fig. 90). Some passages in the print (the treatment of hands, the space-creating effect of the rose garland) seem superior to the rendering of these areas in K1344. Neither is it sure that Dr. Mead acquired *Les Comédiens Italiens* directly from Watteau, although a contemporary account by George Vertue stated that it was painted in England (during Watteau's residence of c. 1719–20). Vertue saw two paintings by Watteau in Mead's collection, presumably identifiable with *Les Comédiens Italiens* and *L'Amour Paisible*, as the doctor does not seem to have owned any others by Watteau. Vertue's account was written 1724/25: 'two pictures painted by . . . Watteaux Conversations. painted in England'.²⁹ According to Adhémar, the celebrated physician and Francophile purchased Watteau's *L'Amour Paisible* prior to the artist's coming to London.³⁰ If Vertue is correct, Mead could have bought *Les Comédiens Italiens* any time between c. 1720 and 1724/25. Both paintings were reproduced by Baron and both were in the Mead sale of 1754, together with three Watteau drawings. Starting with Goncourt, nineteenth-century scholars made much of supposed links between Watteau and Mead, without substantial documentary evidence. Goncourt suggested that the tubercular artist presented *Les Comédiens Italiens* to Mead, and that Watteau went to London to consult the noted physician in search of a cure.³¹ However, the journey may have been motivated by the artist's need for new patronage (in the country where his work was to be of constant popularity) and to recoup financial losses in the South-Sea Bubble.³² Dr. Mead was unusually generous in making his fine collection in Great Ormond Street open to art students and to professional copyists.³³ Perhaps the uneven quality of the Kress canvas may be explained by Watteau's having worked in collaboration. The large number of preparatory drawings by Watteau for *Les Comédiens Italiens* might be interpreted as facilitating the completion of the canvas by another hand. Philippe Mercier (1689–1760),³⁴ Watteau's probable London host and an adept imitator of the master's painting, is a

likely candidate for such co-operation, but it does not seem probable that the great artist would then have worked in such a manner. Some of his finest canvases were completed in his last months – only at the very end did he entrust another artist with the completion of a canvas and even then Pater's contribution was primarily restricted to non-figural areas.³⁵ If K1344 was begun by Watteau he may have left England before its completion, which could have been undertaken by Mercier. The latter may have gone to London in 1716; he is first documented there in 1720, residing in the French Quarter. He was probably working in a Watteauesque manner in Berlin, his birthplace, where he was trained by his father, a Huguenot tapestry maker. Mercier occasionally passed off his canvases as works by Watteau, 'authenticating' them as by the great master by fabricating spurious reproductive etchings 'after Watteau'. According to Mercier's teacher, Antoine Pesne (who himself worked in a manner based on Watteau), Watteau and Mercier made an etching in collaboration – Watteau providing the preliminary outlines of the Mercier family group which Mercier then completed.³⁶ With the exception of his earliest, most Watteau-like canvases (pre-1730), Mercier is rather a coarse painter. The physiognomy of Gilles in K1344 is more reminiscent of Mercier's Watteau adaptations than of Watteau's own work. Close ties existed between Mercier and Baron, the French printmaker active in London who reproduced the two Watteaus in Dr. Mead's Collection and sold Mercier's prints in his shop at Pantion Square.

The rather flat, lifeless surface of K1344 is not characteristic of Watteau; it may be due to an old, unskillful relining. Certain areas such as Gilles's face are executed in an extremely dry, meticulous fashion, lacking the French master's spontaneity. Some heads, most notably that of the man to the right of the lady with the tricorne, appear to have been worked over, probably at a date considerably after the painting's completion. The male heads to the left and right of Gilles are very thinly painted and seem to have been left in an unfinished state. Perhaps the present condition of the surface is the result of an old, drastic restoration necessitated by Watteau's at times extremely poor technique. Several eighteenth-century critics commented on the master's use of potentially destructive, fast-drying media when anxious to complete a work.³⁷ This was perhaps especially true toward the end of his life. X-rays of K1344 show the underpainting to be in a more rigid, sharply defined manner than that usually encountered in Watteau's art. The elongation of the central figure and the extremely small heads of most of the actors are atypical. See for example, the treatment of hands in the probable pendant to the *Comédiens Italiens*: the *Comédiens Français*. Considering the number of problems raised by K1344, the canvas may well prove to be an excellent, very early copy after the *Comédiens Italiens*.

The Italian Comedians' scenario was known as a *canovaccio*, a canvas, providing the actors – whose stock characters were well known – with the broad outlines of the plot they were to follow, largely using improvisational

dialogue. Watteau may well have loved this form for its combination of stereotype and spontaneity, so intimately allied to the painter's view of the human comedy in many of his own finest *canovacci*.

Provenance: Many Watteau paintings showed figures from the Italian Comedy, and numerous entries in sales catalogues (often without measurements) referring to pictures as the *Italian Comedians* need not necessarily refer to the same composition as that of K1344.³⁸ Possibly Dr. Richard Mead, London (sale by Langford, 20-22 Mar. 1754, Cat. No. 43, as 'The companion [to *L'Amour Paisible*], *Italian Comedians*, same size, engraved by Baron',³⁹ purchased by A. Beckford).⁴⁰ Possibly Alderman William Beckford, Fonthill House. Roger Herenc?⁴¹ Duke of Grafton?⁴² Sir Thomas Baring, London,⁴³ as early as 1857,⁴⁴ exhibited - London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Works of the Old Masters*, 1871, p. 17, Cat. No. 176, as 'Pierrot, a group, 24 × 30 in.'. Thomas George, first Earl of Northbrook (Baring's nephew).⁴⁵ Asher Wertheimer, London (sold to Thomas Agnew and Sons, London, 1888). Edward Cecil Guinness, First Earl of Iveagh,⁴⁶ County Down, from 1888, exhibited - London, Guildhall, *Exhibition of a . . . Selection of works by French and English Painters of the . . . Eighteenth Century*, 1902, p. 42, Cat. No. 40. Walter Edward Guinness, son of the Earl of Iveagh, London, from 1927.⁴⁷ Wildenstein and Co.⁴⁸ Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, Schloss Rohoncz, Rechnitz, Hungary, exhibited - Munich, Pinakothek, *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, 1930, Cat. No. 348. London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of French Art, 1200-1900*, 1932, pp. 91-2, Cat. No. 177; until c. 1936. New York, Wildenstein and Co. c. 1936. Kress acquisition 1942.

References: (1) As it is not entirely certain that K1344 was the model for the print *Les Comédiens Italiens* (Text Fig. 90), the Washington canvas will be designated by its English title throughout. (2) Their links to the composition have been noted by Karl T. Parker and Jacques Mathey, *Watteau, son Œuvre Dessiné*, Paris, 1957, II, hereafter referred to as *Parker-Mathey*. (3) Parker and Mathey identify this character as 'Sylvia', often played by Jeanne-Rose-Guyonne Benozzi. For another, similar, study, see *Parker-Mathey*, p. 358, no. 830 (London, British Museum p.44). (4) See Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean Jullienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1922-29 (hereafter referred to as *Dacier-Vuaflart*), III, Cat. Nos. 95, 114, 311. (5) Paul Mantz, 'Watteau, VI', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser., III, 1890, pp. 224-5. In the same article (p. 227) Mantz published *L'Heureuse Rencontre*, then in the collection of Marcel Bernstein, as by Watteau, but this has been shown to be by Philippe Mercier (see Hélène Adhémar, *Watteau, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1950, p. 233, Cat. No. 221 (hereafter referred to as *Adhémar*); see also Philip Mercier 1689-1760, an *Exhibition of Paintings and Engravings*, City Art Gallery, York, and Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, 1969, p. 18, Cat. No. 4). Groult owned at least one other Watteau copy, *Mezzetin* (*Adhémar*, p. 240, Cat. No. 310). The following critics, who do not appear to have seen it, accepted the Groult canvas as by Watteau: Claude Phillips (*Antoine Watteau*, London, 1895, p. 7);

Adolf Rosenberg (*Antoine Watteau*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 76); Lady Dilke (*French Painters of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1899, p. 87, n. 5). Virgile Josz (*Watteau, Mœurs du XVIII^e Siècle*, Paris, 1904, p. 92) referred to the Groult canvas as 'of incomparable brilliance'. In 1921 Jamot said that the original by Watteau was 'probably the example in the Groult Collection' ('Watteau Portraitiste', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., IV, 1921, p. 268). Dacier-Vuaflart referred to the Groult canvas as the original (III, p. 94, Cat. No. 204), as did Louis Réau (section on Watteau in Louis Dimier's *Les Peintres Français du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1928). In the London Exhibition Catalogue of 1932, the Groult version is first referred to as a replica. (6) Pierre Hédouin, 'Catalogue de l'œuvre de Watteau', *Mosaïque*, Paris, 1856; 'Watteau III', *L'Artiste, Revue de Paris*, 4th ser., V, 1845. Adhémar (p. 231) tentatively proposed that the Rics canvas might be the one shown in Lille in 1899 in the Watteau de Lille (the artist's grand-nephew) exhibition, Cat. No. 111. She also suggested that it might be the canvas owned by Leclerc which was in the Wilson Sale in 1861 (Cat. No. 76). The latter measured 20 × 23 cm. A very coarse copy of the composition is on the New York art market (ex coll. Mainwaring, Ottley, Salop.). (7) It omits the children and moves the male figures at the left and right of Gilles to the decorative framework. See Dacier-Vuaflart, III, pp. 94-5. It was formerly in the collection of Albert Lehmann (sold Paris, 4-5 June 1925, p. 40, Cat. No. 134, there attributed to Beauvais factory). For comparable works, see Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, III, 1, Leipzig, 1933, p. 266, pls. 239-41. Information courtesy of Edith Standen. The tapestry probably corresponds to the *kleine italienische Komödienfiguren*, no. 6 in the de Vigne inventory of the Berlin Tapestry Works, made in 1745. See Hans Huth, 'Zur Geschichte der berliner Wirkteppiche', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LXV, 1935, pp. 80-99, esp. p. 97. (8) Quoted Dacier-Vuaflart, III, p. 94, Cat. No. 204. For biographical data on Baron, see p. 72. (9) Quoted from *Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1968, pp. 355-6. Very few of the plots involve a little boy and girl. Of the fifty in Flaminio Scala's anthology, *Il Teatro delle favole rappresentative*, only three bear any relationship to the cast of the *Comédiens Italiens*. See Scala's text, published as *Scenarios of the Commedia dell'Arte*, translated and edited by Henry F. Salerno, New York, 1967, 'The Two Disguised Gypsies' (pp. 235-41), 'The Disguised Servants' (pp. 218-26), and 'The Faithful Friend' (pp. 210-17). See also Giacomo Oreglia, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, New York, 1968. (10) Paul Mantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-38, esp. pp. 224-5. *Parker-Mathey* (p. 344, no. 768) believed her to be taking the role of Sylvia. (11) Paul Jamot, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-78. For contemporary portraits of Dr. Mead, see Dacier-Vuaflart, I, pp. 98-9, figs. 34-5. (12) *Ibid.*, p. 96. (13) Gaston Schéfer, 'Le Portrait dans l'œuvre de Watteau', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser., XVI, 1896, pp. 177-89, esp. pp. 186-8. He suggested that Pierrot could be Corneille van Cleve, Rector of the Académie Royale de la Sculpture. As the latter was born in 1645, this seems highly unlikely. John Edgcumbe Staley (*Watteau and his School*, London, 1902, p. 68) quoted a view that all the figures in the *Italian*

Comedians were sculptors, probably adapted from Schéfer. (14) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *The Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, New York, 1944, p. 78. He found the painting to indicate Watteau's saying, 'Hail and farewell to the brilliant life of Versailles' (when the Italian Comedians were expelled). See also his 'French Masterpieces for the National Gallery', *Art News*, XLIII, Aug. 1944, pp. 8-10. (15) Louis Gillet, *Watteau*, Paris, 1921, p. 242. (16) Dora Panofsky, 'Gilles or Pierrot? Iconographic Notes on Watteau', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XXIX, 1952, pp. 319-40, esp. pp. 322-3. (17) A. P. Mirimonde, 'Les sujets musicaux chez Antoine Watteau', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LVIII, 1961, pp. 249-88, esp. pp. 271-5. Cook, p. 26, follows Mirimonde's view. (18) Allardyce Nicoll, *The World of Harlequin*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, pp. 92-3. (19) René Huyghe, 'L'Univers de Watteau', in *Adhémar*, p. 50. Anita Brookner (*Watteau*, London, 1967, p. 40) followed this interpretation. *Dacier-Vuaflart* (III, pp. 94-5, Cat. Nos. 204, 205) implied chronological proximity of the two compositions by listing them in sequence as does *Adhémar* (p. 231, Cat. Nos. 211-12) who placed K1344 as the second of two works executed by Watteau in England, immediately followed by *Les Comédiens Français*, the first of his latest works, in France. (20) A comparison of the Metropolitan Museum painting with its reproductive print shows that it was cut down at the top, bottom, and right side. The print is our Text Fig. 89. Color reproductions of both paintings are shown in juxtaposition by Anita Brookner, *op. cit.* Note 19 above, pls. 45-6. On the eighteenth-century reproductive print the size of *Les Comédiens Français* is given as '1 pied 10 pouces sur 2 pieds 4 pouces' and that of *Les Comédiens Italiens* as '2 pieds 1 pouce sur 2 pieds 6 pouces.' (21) Reproduced in George R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, Chicago, n.d., p. 209, fig. 62. On the basis of illustrations of Louis Riccoboni's *Histoire du Théâtre Italien* (Paris, 1727), the figure at the center of *Les Comédiens Italiens* is *Pierrot* (see Riccoboni, pl. 17); the costume of the man introducing him at the right resembles that of *Scapin* (pl. 8); the bearded figure may be Riccoboni's *Docteur Ancien* (pl. 5), but is shown by him as beardless in somewhat more elaborate garb; the man with a mask to the left of the central figure is the *Arlequin Moderne* (pl. 2), and the seated musician has some resemblances to both the *Capitan Espagnol* and the *Capitan Italien*, although neither of them carries a musical instrument. The man at the far left is *Mezzetin* (pl. 13). The comedienness, the jester and children, the man in the flame-like hat (mostly obscured by the harlequin) are not illustrated by Riccoboni. (22) For Steen's treatment of a similar subject, see S. J. Gudlaugsson, *De Komedianten bij Jan Steen en zijn Tijdenoten*, The Hague, 1945, pp. 44, 51, 69. (23) See G. Larroumet, *Marivaux*, Paris, 1882, p. 175 (cited by *Adhémar*, p. 158). (24) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, IV, London, 1857, pp. 96-7. (25) Staley, *op. cit.* Note 13 above, p. 68. (26) London, Royal Academy, *Exhibition of French Art 1200-1900*, Jan.-Feb. 1932, pp. 91-2, Cat. No. 177. (27) K. T. Parker, *The Drawings of Antoine Watteau*, London, 1931, p. 35. Hans Vollmer (*Thieme-Becker*, xxxv, 1942, pp. 190-6, esp. p. 190) called K1344 (then in the Thyssen

Collection) *Gilles with the Italian Comedians* and dated it 1719-20 (p. 194). The following also identify the Kress canvas with the original painted by Watteau for Dr. Mead: *Adhémar* (p. 231, Cat. No. 211) and *idem*, in 'Watteau', *Encyclopedia of World Art*, New York, n.d., p. 830; Einstein, pp. 218-21. Brookner, *op. cit.* Note 19, p. 40. Gilbert W. Baker (*Antoine Watteau*, London, 1939, pp. 103-4) accepted both the Kress and Groult canvases as originals, linking K1344 to the one owned by Dr. Mead. (28) Giovanni Macchia and E. C. Montagni, *L'Opera Completa di Watteau*, Milan, 1968, p. 121, Cat. No. 203. (29) 'The Vertue Notebooks III', *Walpole Society*, XXII, 1933-34, p. 23. (30) *Adhémar*, p. 216, Cat. No. 126. (31) Edmond de Goncourt, *Catalogue Raisonné de l'œuvre peint, dessiné, et gravé de A. Watteau*, Paris, 1875, pp. 66-7, Cat. No. 68. *Dacier-Vuaflart* believed Watteau to have included Mead's portrait in several works (*L'Amour Paisible*, *L'Accord Parfait*, III, pp. 112-13, 15-16, Cat. Nos. 268, 23). (32) *Ibid.*, III, p. 88. *Adhémar*, p. 231. (33) W. T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England, 1700-1799*, London and Boston, 2 vols., 1928, I, p. 28. (34) For Mercier, see Robert Rey, *Quelques Satellites de Watteau*, Paris, 1931, pp. 65 ff.; Paul Wescher, 'Philippe Mercier and the French Artist in England', *Art Quarterly*, XIV, 1951, pp. 179-92; Ellis K. Waterhouse, 'English Painting and France in the eighteenth century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xv, 1952, pp. 122-35; Robert Raines, 'Philip Mercier, a little-known eighteenth-century painter', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, XXI, Part 2, 1967, pp. 124-237; *Mercier Exhibition Catalogue*, *op. cit.* Note 5 above; Frederick Antal, *Hogarth and his Place in European Art*, London, 1962, p. 35. (35) Goncourt, *op. cit.* Note 31 above, p. 49, Cat. No. 530. (36) Information received and recorded by Mariette when he was having his portrait painted by Pesne. Noted in Mariette's *Abeceario*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr., IX. For the problem of Mercier's Watteauesque etchings, see *Adhémar*, pp. 233-4, Cat. Nos. 218-26 and *Dacier-Vuaflart*, I, pp. 100-3. The print of Mercier and his family is *Adhémar*, p. 233, Cat. No. 218, reproduced in the *Mercier Exhibition Catalogue*, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 18, Cat. No. 3, fig. 3. For Pesne and Watteau, see *Dacier-Vuaflart*, I, pp. 165-7. (37) For compilation of these eighteenth-century texts, see *ibid.*, pp. 145-6. (38) For example, the sale of Salomon Gautier (London, 18 Jan. 1726?) lists an 'Italian Comedians' by Watteau, together with four other works by the same artist. By this time, the Mead canvas had been seen by Vertue. (39) Sold for £52.10.0. No. 42 of the catalogue reads, 'A Pastoral Conversation: L'Amour Paisible F.2 x F.2.6 Eng. by Baron', sold for £42.0.0. (40) The Frick Art Reference Library has a hand-written catalogue of the sale which reads, 'Italian Comedians . . . engr . . . Baron, Beckford'. *Adhémar* (p. 231, Cat. No. 211) also gave A. Beckford as the buyer. (41) 'A Musical Conversation [L'Amour Paisible] and Italian Comedians, its companion' by Watteau were sold from the collection of Roger Harenc (Harene) by Langford, London, 3 Mar. 1764, Cat. No. 53. (42) According to a copy of the Harene sale catalogue in the Netherlands Institute at The Hague, these paintings were bought by the Duke of Grafton for £8.18.6. This drop in

price suggests that the Mead (-Beckford) and Harene paintings are not identical, unless the Mead *Italian Comedians* and *Pastoral Conversation* were among those works damaged in the Fonthill House fire of 1755. If they then entered the Harene Collection, their condition would explain the low price. The Harene canvases may have been among the many copies made in the eighteenth century after Watteau. If the canvas in the W. Balbach sale (*Summer Pleasures*, New York, 1911, Cat. No. 30) is indeed identical with the Mead one then on the basis of the reproduction in the sale catalogue, it has undergone considerable damage. (43) Waagen, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7: 'Pierrot, in his white dress, surrounded by ladies and cavaliers, the background a garden. This picture . . . about 2 feet high by 3 feet wide. It recalls the picture of . . . Lacaze . . . in Paris' [Gilles, now Paris, Louvre]. (44) Christie's *Bi-Centenary Review of the Years 1766/1966* mistakenly listed K1344 (p. 272) as 'The Italian Comedians by Watteau sold on 2 June 1848 from the Collection of Sir Thomas Baring'. The *Italian Comedians* was no doubt confused with another of the several Watteau paintings from the Baring Collection (*Adhémar*, Cat. Nos. 94, 110, 120, 130, 163), perhaps *L'Accord Parfait*, whose later provenance is close to K1344, or *L'Amour au Théâtre Italien*. (45) Ronald Gower, 'The Northbrook Gallery', *The Great Historic Galleries of England*, v, 1885, p. 25. (46) Created Earl of Iveagh in 1919; died 1927. (47) Listed in Munich Exhibition Catalogue, 1930, see *Provenance*. (48) The canvas was shown to René Gimpel at Nathan Wildenstein's suggestion on 13 Oct. 1924. See René Gimpel, *Diary of an Art Dealer* (transl. John Rosenberg), New York, 1966, p. 275.

JEAN BAPTISTE PATER

Pater was born in Valenciennes in 1695 and died in Paris in 1736.¹ The son of a sculptor, Pater came from Watteau's native town, first studying under the little known painter, J.-B. Guidé. Whether Pater worked with Watteau during the latter's brief visit to Valenciennes in 1710 is not known. In 1713, he entered Watteau's Paris studio, but this association was short-lived, no doubt due to Watteau's quixotic temperament. Eight years later, when Watteau lay dying of tuberculosis, he regretted the rupture with his colleague and summoned Pater to his bedside for a final month of instruction. This proved crucial to Pater's career, since he inherited many of Watteau's patrons, including Jean de Jullienne and the Comtesse de Verrue. In 1728, Pater was elected to the Académie Royale. A prolific master, Pater's decorative, speedily executed works are often highly repetitive.

K1408 : Figures 271, 274

FÊTE CHAMPÊTRE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (883), since 1946. Oil on canvas. 29½ × 36½ in. (74.5 × 92.5 cm.). Stretcher line has worked through along top of canvas; restoration along right border and upper left edge. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1945/46. Reproduced in color *Cairns and Walker*, p. 121, and detail in *Seymour*, p. 181, pl. 171.

Amorous couples are shown in a rustic setting, a statue of a nereid and dolphin with cupid at the upper left (above a fountain). In front of the statuary group, which symbolizes the swift passage of love, a page places a wreath on the head of a lady turning to the left.² She wears a shell-pink gown under a beige mantle. Another lady holds an apron filled with flowers to the left. A pair of dancers is to the right, a couple conversing is further to the right. Two girls, one dressed in rose, the other in blue, play with a dog in front of them. Smaller figures are in the background; buildings are seen in the distance. In the foreground a couple stands at the extreme right, the woman in black, the man in crimson; another couple, both attired in rust-colored garb, is seated at the extreme left. The sky, a deep blue turning to pink at the horizon, indicates that the setting is late afternoon; the sun is seen at the left.

K1408 was first published in 1932, when it was dated c. 1730-33.³ According to Frankfurter, the sources for Pater's composition were Rubens's scenes of country dances, the *Kermesses*.⁴ Seymour (pp. 175, 180) noted that '... Jean-Baptiste Pater, of Watteau's own generation, was best known for his figure compositions in the *fête galante* genre, placing fashionable ladies and their amorous admirers in the setting of a park. In this genre, which Watteau seems to have initiated, memories of Rubens and Giorgione were fused in the subtlest possible way with the gracefully erotic tendencies of the French Regency. Such paintings recreate a new kind of Arcadia. Seldom did such attractive ladies receive more daintily attentive homage.' Cairns and Walker (p. 120) related K1408 to Pater's painting of the same subject in the Wallace Collection (p. 460).

The couple at the far left is particularly reminiscent of Watteau. Several of the costumes do not appear to be contemporary - the figure at the extreme right is seventeenth-century Flemish in style. The statuary group and patterns made by the swirling trees recall the contemporary craze for the rocaille, with its intricately curvilinear forms. For an earlier example of such quasi-rustic/romantic subjects, see K2059 (fig. 127). Pater may have been inspired by two much copied paintings of Rubens: *The Garden of Love* (Madrid, Prado; Waddesdon Manor). Both paintings include a fountain with a nereid, dolphin and putti, and were well known from the fine woodcuts by Jeghers. The placement and costume of some of Rubens's figures recall those of K1408.⁵ The canvas may perhaps have been a pendant to another *Fête Champêtre* by Pater, measuring 28½ × 35 in.⁶ The figural components of the Kress canvas appear in many of Pater's paintings and drawings.

Provenance: Baronne Wilhelm Carl R. von Rothschild (1832-1924),⁷ Grüneburg, Frankfurt. Paris, Wildenstein and Co., exhibited - London, Royal Academy of Arts, *French Art, 1200-1900*, Jan.-Feb. 1932, Cat. No. 257 as 'Conversation Galante'; New York, Wildenstein and Co., *The Great Tradition of French Painting*, 1939, Cat. No. 14. Kress acquisition 1946.

References: (1) F. Ingersoll-Smouse, *Pater*, Paris, 1921. (2) For this motif see W. Sauerländer, 'Über die ursprüngliche

Reihenfolge von Fragonards "Amours des Bergers"', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd ser., XIX, 1968, pp. 127–56. (3) London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of French Art 1200–1900*, Jan.–Feb. 1932, Cat. No. 257; also by Einstein, p. 26. (4) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Supplement to the Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, Washington, D.C., 1946, p. 57. (5) See Gustav Glück, 'Rubens Liebesgarten', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, XXV, 1920, pp. 49–98; Mary Myers, 'Rubens and the Woodcuts of Christoffel Jeghers', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXV, 1966, pp. 7–23. (6) London, Sotheby's, 10 July 1968, Cat. No. 12. At the time of the Royal Academy exhibition, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, London, winter, 1968 (p. 106, Cat. No. 537, fig. 95) the painting was owned by Messrs. Leslie Mortimer, Nathanson and Alan David Nunes Nabarro. (7) Her husband (1861–1901) was from the Naples branch of the family. She was Hannah Mathilde von Rothschild of Vienna.

NICOLAS LANCRET

Lancret was born in Paris in 1690 and died there in 1743.¹ Failing to qualify in the Académie Royale's competition for history painters in 1711, Lancret entered the studio of Claude Gillot, which specialized in theatrical and popular subjects. At the same time he met Watteau, Gillot's former pupil, who was to become his close friend and a major influence on his art. In 1719, Lancret was admitted to the Académie Royale as painter of 'modern subjects' and soon became extremely popular, patronized by *amateurs* such as Crozat and the duc d'Antin, and known to the public through numerous prints after his works. After Watteau's death in 1721, Lancret was the leading French painter of 'modern subjects'. He married the daughter of the playwright Edmé Boursault in 1740. With Lancret's death three years later, the depictions of scintillating *Fêtes Galantes* (first created by Watteau) diminished in frequency.

KI420 : Figure 270

THE REPAST OF THE HUNTING PARTY. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1105), since 1950. Oil on canvas. $24\frac{3}{8} \times 29\frac{3}{8}$ in. (61.5 × 74.8 cm.). Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1946/47. Very well preserved. *Suida*, p. 224, Cat. No. 100. Reproduced in color in Jean Robiquet, *La Femme dans la peinture française, xve–xxe siècle*, Paris, 1938, p. 66; detail in *Seymour*, p. 183, pl. 173.

Two hunt couples, the ladies in riding habits, are shown under a clump of trees, taking refreshment. Two men recline on the ground before them. Four grooms attend horses at the right, two servants, one decanting wine, the other serving fruit, are at the left, near the horse with picnic supplies in panniers attached to the saddle.

A reproductive print after KI420 is included in Matthieu Österreich's description of the Potsdam Collection of 1773.² It was mentioned in Seidel's Potsdam inventory.³

The painting was listed in Wildenstein's Lancret monograph.⁴ It was included by R. Graul in the *Thieme–Becker* entry (XXII, p. 287). *Suida* (p. 224, Cat. No. 100) stressed the prominent place that KI420 occupies in the Lancret oeuvre and in the literature. He noted that 'this painting was part of the famous collection of French paintings owned by King Frederick II of Prussia. He was particularly fond of Lancret and acquired no less than 26 of his paintings, thus forming the largest collection of the master's works.'⁵ The Kress canvas is approximately contemporary with one of Pipon's letters describing the life of French society, dominated by Louis XV's obsession with the hunt, written in October 1732. He observed 'The days come and go, and all are identical. Every day there is a hunt, and there are more kennels and horses. The baying of hounds, the blowing of horns, rain, wind, mud, that is our daily bread.'⁶ A similar subject by de Troy (London, Wallace Collection, No. 463), dated 1737, has a pendant – *The Death of a Stag. The Repast of the Hunting Party* may have had such a companion piece. However, when in the collection of Frederick II, the pendant was a *Ball*, the same size as the Kress canvas.⁷

A fine example of Lancret's oeuvre, the Kress canvas has much of the same small scale and intimate charm of the contemporary conversation pieces of Thomas Gainsborough. Many Lancret drawings resemble the poses of the figures in KI420 but none corresponds precisely.⁸ The subject of the Kress painting was often seen in his works.

Provenance: Frederick II of Prussia, Palace of Potsdam, acquired by him or Prince August Wilhelm.⁹ Kings of Prussia and German Emperors, Neues Palais, Potsdam.¹⁰ Purchased from Kaiser Wilhelm II, Doorn, The Netherlands, by Georges Wildenstein in 1923, exhibited – London, Royal Academy of Arts, *French Art, 1200–1900*, 1932, Cat. No. 186; New York, Wildenstein and Co., *The Great Tradition of French Painting*, 1939, Cat. No. 16. Kress acquisition 1946, exhibited – New York, Wildenstein and Co., *Jubilee Loan Exhibition, 1901–1951, Masterpieces from Museums and Private Collections*, 1951, Cat. No. 23.

References: (1) Jules Guiffrey, *Nicolas Lancret, sa Vie et son Oeuvre*, Paris, n.d.; Georges Wildenstein, *Nicolas Lancret*, Paris, 1924. For the art of Lancret and his contemporaries in Germany, see Louis Étienne Dussieux, *Les artistes français à l'étranger*, Paris, 1876, pp. 220–1. (2) Emmanuel Bocher, *Les Gravures Françaises du xviii^e siècle*, Paris, IV, 1877, p. 82, Cat. No. 556, listed as 'Le Déjeuner'. (3) Paul Seidel, *Les Collections d'œuvres d'art français du xviii^e siècle appartenant à sa majesté l'empereur d'Allemagne*, trans. Paul Vitry, J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, Paris, 1900, pp. 93–4. (4) Wildenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 99, Cat. No. 444. (5) See also Dussieux, *op. cit.*, Note 1, pp. 220–1, who reported that 23 paintings by Lancret were in the collection of Frederick II; also Paul Seidel, *Friedrich der Grosse in der bildenden Kunst*, Leipzig–Berlin, 1922. (6) Letter to Abbé le Gendre, quoted by Louis Ducros, *French Society in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1926, p. 66. (7) The Kress painting was Inv. No. 45, and *The Ball* Inv. No. 46. *The*

Ball is probably identical with *The Dance before the Tent*, now at Doorn (Holland). Information courtesy of Dr. Ilse Franke, 20/v/68, in Kress Archive. (8) See the sketch, *The Repast of the Hunting Party* (Detroit, Institute of Arts), reproduced in *France in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Royal Academy of Arts, Winter Exhibition, 1968, p. 89, Cat. No. 386, fig. 98. Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 1, Cat. No. 462. (9) Matthieu Österreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur des deux palais de Sans-Souci, de ceux de Potsdam et de Charlottenbourg*, 1773, p. 109. Friedrich Rumpf, *Beschreibung der aeußern und innern Merkwürdigkeiten der Königlichen Schlösser in Berlin, Charlottenburg, Schönhausen in und bey Potsdam*, Berlin, 1794, p. 137. (10) Paul Seidel, *Gemälde alter Meister im Besitze seiner Majestät des deutschen Kaisers und Königs von Preussen*, Berlin, n.d., p. 199, no. 46. See also his *Les collections d'œuvres d'art français . . .*, *op. cit.* Note 3. C. F. Foerster, *Das Neue Palais bei Potsdam*, Berlin, 1923, p. 21. See also R. Dohme, 'Die Kunstsammlung Friederichs der Grossen. Die französische Schule des XVIII. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der allerhöchsten preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, IV, 1883, pp. 217 ff., p. 246, Cat. No. 6, as 'Jagd-Frühstück - The Hunt Breakfast'. Max Schaster, *Berlins Kunstschatze*, Berlin, 1856, II, p. 32, Cat. No. 1325; Gustav Parthey, *Deutscher Bildersaal*, Berlin, 1863-64, II, p. 10, Cat. No. 10.

NICOLAS LANCRET

dk 547 : Figure 272

TWO SEATED WOMEN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22, 382), since 1963. Red chalk on laid paper. $6\frac{9}{16} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ in. (16.7 × 20.2 cm.). Top right corner of drawing lost; replaced with other paper.¹

The woman seated in the background is turned to the left, in profile, her hand under her chin. The second woman, in the foreground, her head turned away from the spectator, is holding a fan. Both figures are probably drawn after the same model.

Godefroy compared the drawing to another study in red chalk in the Louvre showing a young man and young woman.² The informal, relaxed poses of the figures suggest that Lancret made these studies preparatory to a *Fête Galante* in the manner of Watteau, such as Lancret's canvas in the Kress Collection (K1420). A comparable figure disposition is found in a black and white chalk drawing by Lancret in the Georges Bourgairel Sale (Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 15-16 June 1922, no. 119).

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris. Kress acquisition 1939, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Drawings from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art*, 1966 (no catalogue); London, Royal Academy of Arts, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 1968, p. 90, Cat. No. 394.

References: (1) The somewhat pale appearance of the sanguine suggests that counterproofs may have been made from K547. (2) Louis Godefroy, printed but undated

Parisian expertise (*Études pour le Personnage Féminin d'une Fête Galante*). He described the support of K547 as 'papier chamois'.

JACQUES-ANDRÉ PORTAIL

Portail was born c. 1694; he died in Brest in 1759.¹ In addition to his activities as a painter of genre, landscape and flowers, Portail was a civil engineer and architect, building houses and roads for Louis XV in Brittany. The artist resided at Versailles, and is best known for his beautiful Watteauesque figure drawings, usually in red chalk. Many of them portray members of the court. In 1738 he was appointed Dessinateur du Roy and in 1740 Garde des tableaux du Roy, placed in charge of a studio which copied portraits of court officials. Many other court appointments followed. In 1750 Portail directed the installation of paintings from the royal collections at the Palais de Luxembourg and the Louvre.

dk 589 : Figure 273

A CAVALIER. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22, 390), since 1963. Red chalk and black pencil (mine de plomb). Face, coat and breeches in red chalk, remainder in black. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ in. (26 × 13 cm.). Inscribed on verso in brown ink: *chez . . .*

A young cavalier in right profile wears a tricorne and sword, his coat unbuttoned, his right arm on his hip. He is in a dance-like pose with the left leg extended to the left. Portail used this model for several studies.²

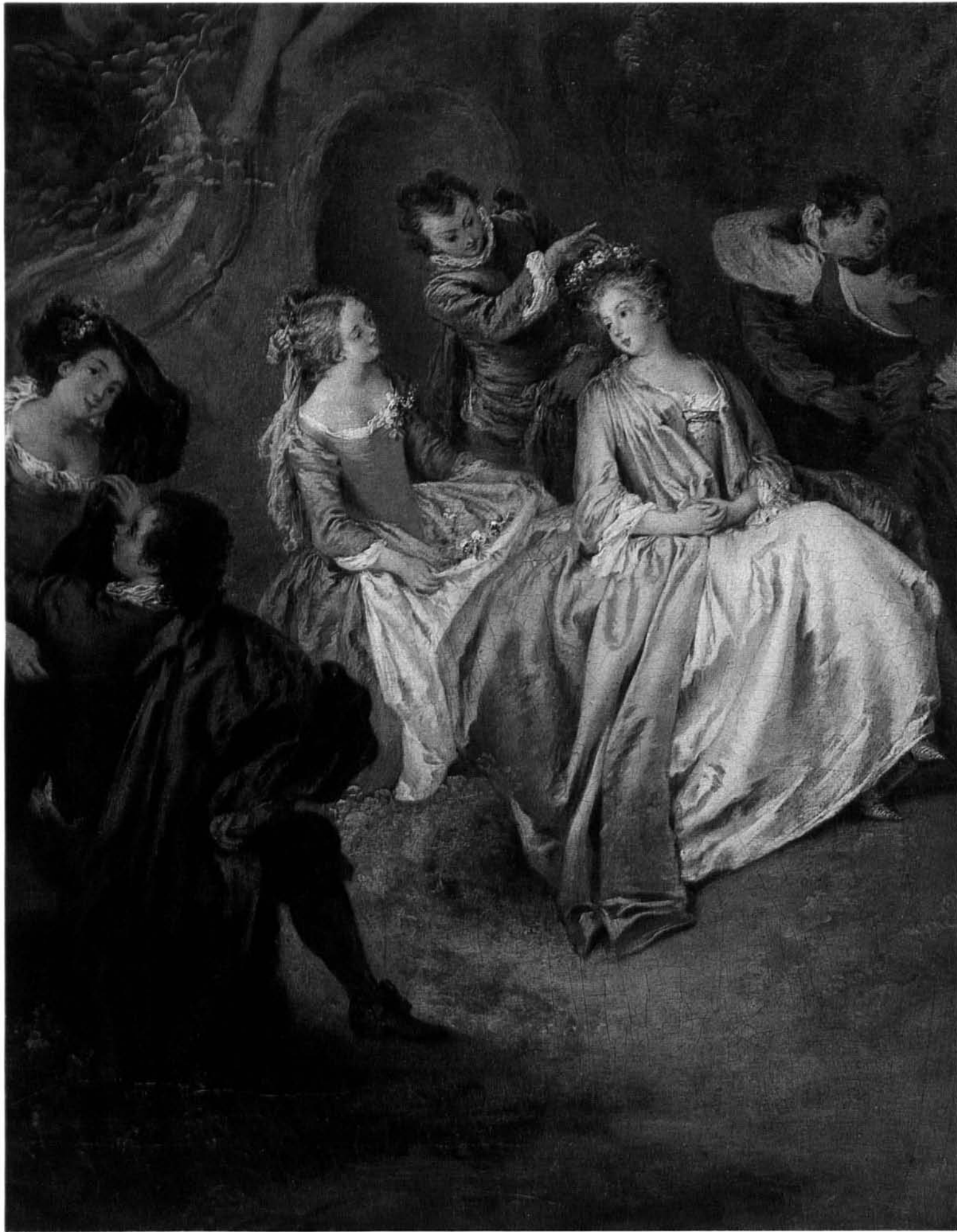
This fine, vivacious drawing is much in the spirit of Watteau's early *figures des modes* - etchings begun c. 1710. The freely rendered sketch recalls the characterization of Watteau's own drawings in the same medium as *Pensées à la sanguine* (thoughts in red chalk).

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen.³ Kress acquisition 1940.

References: (1) H. Frantz, 'Portail', *L'Art et les Artistes*, II, no. 21, 10 Dec. 1906; Charles du Peloux, *Répertoire Bibliographique des Artistes du XVIII^e siècle français*, Paris, 1930, pp. 115-16. (2) a. Léon Michel-Lévy Sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 17-18 June 1925, p. 60, Cat. No. 86. This figure is also shown in a dance-like pose. This reference is courtesy of Jean Cailleux. b. Ex coll. Richard Owen, Paris. Model is seated (photograph at Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.). c. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Model is seen from the back, without a tricorne. d. Ex colls. Marquis de Chennevières and René Fribourg. Shows model in a similar pose, turned to the left. (3) Possibly identical with the Portail drawing exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.



Antoine Watteau: *Allegory of Summer* (к 2048). Washington, D. C. (p. 297)



Jean Baptiste Pater: Detail from *Fête Champêtre* (c. 1408). Washington, D.C. (p. 306)

JEAN-MARC NATTIER

Jean-Marc Nattier was born in 1685 and died in 1766.¹ His father was a portrait painter, his mother a miniature painter. Nattier and his elder brother, Jean-Baptiste, were trained first by their parents as draftsmen for engravers. Apprenticed to Rigaud, the brothers prepared drawings after Rubens's *Marie de' Medici* cycle for publication in 1710. Nattier applied for membership as a history painter in the Académie Royale in 1715, submitting his reception painting, *Perseus Turning Phineus to Stone* (Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts), in 1718. However, he soon gave up such projects for the more lucrative area of portrait painting, first preparing a series showing members of the court of Peter the Great who came to Amsterdam. In 1729, Nattier's adroitly contrived *Mlle. de Clermont Taking the Waters* (Chantilly, Musée Condé) led to extensive patronage by the aristocracy and members of the royal family eager to be shown in bland, flattering mythological guise, Nattier's specialty. From 1737 on, he exhibited regularly at the Salons and in 1752 was made Professor of Painting at the Académie Royale. His portraits are polite rather than probing, repetitious in their use of the same formulae: lady upon lady depicted as Hebe or Diana. Nattier could be counted upon to produce an extraordinarily becoming image, exquisite in technique and decorative effect, without losing the distinctly recognizable character of the sitter, no matter how unattractive she might have been.

Reference: (1) Pierre de Nolhac, *Nattier*, Paris, 1905, 1910, 1925; G. Huard, 'Nattier', in Louis Dimier, ed., *Les Peintres Français du XVIII^e Siècle*, Paris, 1930, II, pp. 93-133.

K2041 : Figure 275

JOSEPH BONNIER DE LA MOSSON. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1391), since 1956. Oil on canvas. $54\frac{1}{2} \times 41\frac{1}{2}$ in. (137.9×105.4 cm.). Inscribed on base of column at left: *Nattier 1745*. Some abrasion and discolored old restoration; generally well-preserved. *Suida-Shapley*, 1956, p. 134, Cat. No. 51. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pl. 175, p. 185.

The sitter is shown in three-quarter view looking to the right, wearing informal attire – a fur-lined coat (*'habit de hiver'*) fastened by Brandenburgs, a partly-unbuttoned sleeved undercoat, and a white shirt. His hair is powdered and tied with a bow. He holds open a book with his left hand as it rests across his knees. The letters *E VI* are visible in the upper right corner of the left page. Seated upon a carved and gilt armchair upholstered in plum-colored velvet, Bonnier de la Mosson leans toward the left, resting his right arm upon a book (bound like the other one) inscribed *Histoire/Naturelle/Tom I*,¹ placed upon a Louis XV-style carved and gilt console table with a marble top. A fluted Corinthian column is at the upper left. A blue velvet curtain with a golden tassel is drawn at the upper right to reveal shelves. The upper shelf displays, from left to right, a model of a catapult and an Archimedean screw gear working a tooth wheel;² both of these devices were in the

sitter's 'Cabinet de Mécanique ou de Phisique'.³ Several covered glass jars below contain biological specimens preserved in alcohol (a snake at the right) from Mosson's 'Cabinet des Animaux en Fioles'.

Joseph Bonnier, Baron de la Mosson, was born near Montpellier on 6 September 1702, the son of a great financier of the same name who was Trésorier Général des États (Tax Collector) for the province of Languedoc.⁴ Upon his father's death in 1726, the young Joseph completed the family's château, begun in 1723. He shared the then fashionable interest in science and accumulated a massive collection of scientific instruments and specimens of natural history. He was also interested in, and collected, Netherlandish and French painting, graphic arts, porcelains, and automata. He was also well known for his extravagant amours.⁵ Bonnier's Paris residence – the former Hôtel du Lude, at 62 rue St. Dominique – with its series of opulently designed cabinets housing the collections and library, was open to all who wished to see it.⁶ Bonnier married Gabrielle-Magdeleine-Constance de Monceil de Louraille in 1740. She was also portrayed by Nattier (as Diana in 1742, ex coll. Julia Berwind, Newport) as was the collector's sister (the Duchesse de Chaulnes as Hebe) in 1745 and the latter's husband (as Hercules) in 1747. Following Bonnier's death in 1744, at the age of forty-two, his collection was dispersed at a sale; Buffon acquired some of the prize specimens.⁷ Much of Bonnier's scientific library of 1624 volumes is now in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

The painting was first described as 'Le Portrait de M. Bonier de la Mosson dans son cabinet' in the *Livrets* of the Salon of 1746. The portrait was singled out by Nolhac as the most interesting of the six works exhibited by Nattier at the Salon of 1746.⁸ Nolhac pointed out that the early nineteenth-century identification of the portrait as Buffon was mistaken, re-establishing the sitter as Bonnier de la Mosson. He suggested in 1932 that Nattier's execution of K2041 was interrupted by the sitter's incessant travels and therefore only completed a year after Bonnier's death in 1744. Despite the prominent inscribed date of 1745, Huard believed the work to have been executed c. 1740.⁹

Suida-Shapley (p. 134) noted that the portrait 'is a worthy emulation of Maurice-Quentin de la Tour's pastel portrait of Duval de l'Épinoi [Musée Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon], which met with great success in the Salon of 1745'.¹⁰ The asymmetrical composition typical of rococo art was observed by *Cooke* (p. 32), who suggested the influence of Rosalba Carriera's fashionable pastels on painters in oil who, according to him, adopted the delicate touches and shimmering effects of her new technique. He thought the book held by the sitter might be Buffon's *Natural History*, which he proposed Mosson helped to finance. *Seymour* (p. 185) found it 'perhaps above all the perfect image of the enlightened private individual of elegance, culture and intellect which France produced in quantity although the contrary impression is given by Voltaire's satire.' He also stressed the relationship of the delicate brushwork to pastel.

The canvas was not painted in the sitter's house – Nattier used his studio props, substituting the models and jars at the upper right from the sitter's collection for the conventional bookshelves included in portraits of jurists and other learned men (as in Rigaud's portrait, K1393). Classical in reference, the rivergod-like pose of the sitter was one frequently employed by the artist. Although best known for his flattering portraiture of French women of the aristocracy, Nattier's *Bonnier de la Mosson* shows the artist's ability to convey the complex nature of this dissolute amateur. It is among Nattier's finest male portraits. K2041 was probably commissioned early in 1744 when Bonnier was making large purchases to enlarge his shell collection, four months before his death in June, at the age of forty-two.¹¹ The pastel-like quality of K2041 stressed by several writers probably reflects Nattier's own work in this medium rather than the influence of de la Tour. In the same year that K2041 was shown at the Salon, Nattier also exhibited a pastel (no. 6, a pastel portrait of Monsieur Logerot).¹²

Provenance: Exhibited – Paris, Salon du Louvre, 1746, Cat. No. 67, as 'M. Bonier de la Mosson dans son cabinet'.¹³ Théodore Richard, Paris (sold, Paris, Hôtel des Commissaires-Priseurs, 19–22 Mar. 1858, Cat. No. 176, as 'Portrait de M. de Buffon', from the collection of the Duc de Mailly). Anonymous Sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 27 Mar. 1877, Cat. No. 42, as 'Portrait présumé de Buffon.' Gustave Rothan, Paris, exhibited – Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Tableaux anciens et modernes*, 1878, Cat. No. 195, as 'Portrait de Buffon'; Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *L'art du XVIII^e siècle*, Dec. 1883–Jan. 1884, Cat. No. 108, as 'Portrait d'homme'. Sold, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, M. G. Rothan, 29–31 May 1890, Cat. No. 176, as 'Buffon'. Comte Cahen d'Anvers, Paris,¹⁴ exhibited – Paris, *Exposition Universelle de 1900; Exposition Retrospective de la Ville de Paris*, Cat. No. 208, as 'Portrait de Buffon'; London, Royal Academy of Arts, *French Art, 1200–1900*, 1932, Cat. No. 239, as 'Bonnier de la Mosson'. Sold, 18 Mar. 1937 (Comte de X [Cahen] Sale, Paris, Galerie Charpentier, Cat. No. A). Bought by M. Damidot. Jean Cailleux, Paris, exhibited – Paris, Galerie Charpentier, *Cent Portraits d'Hommes du XIV^e siècle à nos jours*, 1952, Cat. No. 70. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) The book at Mosson's side is probably the *Histoire du monde de Pline*, translated by Antoine du Pinet (Lyon, 1584). The album on his knees could be the second volume of the *Histoire naturelle de Pline*. It might also be Cat. No. 812 in the Sale of Bonnier's collection, 'Un Volume de forme oblongue, qui contient les représentations de plusieurs bâtimens anciens des Juifs, des Persans & autres, gravez en Allemagne.' Information kindly communicated by M. Jacques Guignard. (2) An Archimedean screw 'de seize pouces de haut . . .' is listed as Cat. No. 407, p. 97, in the catalogue of the Bonnier de la Mosson Sale of 8 Mar. 1745. Cat. No. 453, p. 111, includes 'le modèle d'une Vis d'Archimède', which might be the Archimedean screw in K2041, rather than Cat. No. 407. (3) The Cabinet de Mécanique ou de Phisique is reproduced by Frank Bourdier, 'L'Extravagant Cabinet de Bonnier', *Con-*

naissance des Arts, Aug. 1959, pp. 52 ff., fig. 6; the other is his fig. 4. Kindly identified by Derek J. de Solla Price. Edouard Gélis, 'A propos d'un tableau mécanique du Musée des Arts Décoratifs', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1924, pp. 254–72. (4) Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Portraits Intimes du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1857, pp. 94 ff.; L. Grasset-Morel, 'Les Bonnier ou une famille de financiers au XVIII^e siècle', *L'Artiste*, 1, 1886, pp. 125–35; 277–94. (5) An anonymous publication (by Bernier? Voltaire?), *Turlubeu, Histoire grecque tirée d'un manuscrit gris de lin, trouvé dans les cendres de Troye*, Amsterdam, 1745, satirizes Mosson's scandalous life. (6) Seven wash drawings of the Cabinets by Courtonne in 1739–40 are now in the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université de Paris. Reproduced by Bourdier, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, figs. 1–7. One of the overdoors painted for the Cabinets – the one devoted to dried animals by J. Lajoue – survives, signed and dated 1734. Reproduced in *Connoisseur*, cxlv, 1960, p. 162, fig. 13. (7) E.-F. Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné d'une collection considérable de diverses curiosités de feu M. Bonnier de la Mosson, bailli et capitaine des chasses de la Varenne des Thuilleries et ancien colonel du régiment Dauphin*, Paris, 1744. (8) Pierre de Nolhac, *Nattier, Peintre de la Cour de Louis XV*, Paris, 1905, p. 105, and in the 1910 edition, pp. 168–9. (9) Georges Huard, 'Nattier', in Louis Dimier's *Les Peintres Français du XVIII^e Siècle*, II, Paris, 1930, p. 123; followed by author of text for *French Art, 1200–1900*, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1932, which suggests before 1740 (Cat. No. 239). (10) See also John Walker's introductory text, p. 15, and also *Einstein*, pp. 229–30. (11) See Gélis, *op. cit.*, p. 260, n. 1. Portraits of aristocratic sitters in their scientific *Wunderkammer* are found in the second half of the century in such works as Lorenzo Pécheux's *Marchesa Gentili Roccapaduli*, 1776 (Rome, private collection), reproduced by Mario Praz, *An Illustrated History of Furnishing*, New York, 1964, p. 171. (12) Cited by Nolhac, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 250. The only other pastel by Nattier to be exhibited at the Salon was shown in 1748 (of de Maupeou). (13) *Collection des Livrets des Anciennes Expositions, Exposition de 1746*, Paris, 1869, p. 19. (14) According to *Einstein* (pp. 229–30) it was owned by Mathis.

JEAN-MARC NATTIER

K1395 : Figure 276

MADAME DE CAUMARTIN AS HEBE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (785), since 1946. Oil on canvas. 40 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 32 in. (102.5 × 81.5 cm.). Inscribed at lower left: *Nattier pinxit 1753*. An inscription on the back (lost in an old relining) read: *Mlle de . . . [Mouffle],¹ femme de M. de Caumartin, prévôt des marchands 1780.*² Small holes at left; small loss in left shoulder; small tear upper right section of hair. Restored by Pichetto in 1945/46.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 160.

Reproduced in color in *Cairns and Walker*, p. 119.

The sitter is shown to just below the knee against a blue and white sky, seated on a cloud bank. A strand of pearls

entwined with flowers is in her powdered hair, which is drawn back with one long curl over the left shoulder. Her very décolleté white silk dress has a bow and flowers at the breast. A girdle of pearls is at her waist, blue drapery over her left arm and across her lap. Mme. de Caumartin, who looks young and delicately beautiful, is shown as Hebe, who in Greek mythology was the daughter of Zeus and Hera and cup-bearer to the gods. Hebe married Hercules after his ascent to Olympus. Later mythology assigned the role of cup-bearer to Ganymede, abducted by Zeus in the form of an eagle. Hebe's father is shown here by Nattier as the fierce bird, and an eagle's head is also shown as part of the handle of her ewer. The ewer's band of dancing celebrants is adapted from sixteenth-century models such as those of Polidoro da Caravaggio. The sitter is about to pour ambrosia from the ewer into a shell-like wine cup ornamented with a reclining female figure in repoussé held in her other hand. Neither the ewer nor the cup are meant to be from Nattier's day but in the Classical style.

The sitter (née Mouffle) married François de Caumartin in 1749. Her husband seems to have been Prévôt des Marchands from 1778 to 1784.³ Huard included the Kress canvas in his study of Nattier's oeuvre.⁴ The combination of portraiture with Classical references was found by Frankfurter to be typical of the taste of the sophisticated court of Louis XV, which permitted the elimination of individual traits to glamorize the sitter.⁵ Einstein (p. 229) related the Kress canvas to Nattier's portrait of the Duchesse d'Orléans in Stockholm, which uses the same theme.

The portrait is a typical example of Nattier's conventionally attractive art, echoing that of Antiquity and of the Venetian sixteenth century. Since the 1740s Nattier found the depiction of his sitters in the guise of Hebe – goddess of youth – a flattering formula in which his sometimes less than youthful subjects could be legitimately endowed with the goddess' major attribute. At first, as in the *Louise-Henriette, Duchesse d'Orléans* of 1744, the eagle swoops down toward the wine cup. In later applications of the Classical theme, such as K1395, the eagle is in a more passive pose. These subjects led Cochin to satirize the taste of Nattier's patronesses, whose portraits 'would lead one to believe that one of their favorite sports was the breeding of birds, even those hardest to tame, such as eagles, to whom they gave white wine in golden cups.'⁶ According to Nolhac, when the artist started portraying members of the bourgeoisie in this fashion, the aristocracy sought other guises.

Provenance: Traditionally, Comtesse de Gramont d'Aster;⁷ Comtesse de Fleury, Paris;⁸ Comtesse Louis de Montesquiou, Paris, 1930.⁹ Wildenstein and Co., New York. Kress acquisition 1944.

References: (1) The sitter's maiden name, illegible by the time the old inscription on the back was transcribed by Huard, is recorded by the Marquis d'Argenson. See the *Journal et mémoires du marquis d'Argenson*, Paris, 1862, v, p. 489. D'Argenson references found by Elizabeth Puckett.

(2) Noted by G. Huard in Louis Dimier, *Les peintres français, XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1930, II, p. 124. (3) D'Argenson, *loc. cit.* (4) Huard, *op. cit.*, p. 124, Cat. No. 64. (5) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Supplement to the Kress Collection at the National Gallery*, New York, 1946, p. 62. (6) Quoted by Nolhac, *op. cit.*, 1910, pp. 96–7. (7) The canvas is not in Gramont sales of 1775, 1794, 1797, and 1842. (8) The canvas is not in de Fleury sales of 1756, 1788, 1844, 1855, 1859, 1868, 1890, 1891 (two), 1931 and 1941. (9) Huard, *op. cit.*, p. 124, Cat. No. 64.

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON CHARDIN

Chardin was born in Paris in 1699 and died there in 1779;¹ he was the son of a game-table maker. His early training was with Cazes, Noël-Nicolas Coypel, and Jean-Baptiste Vanloo, but his independent study of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish genre and still life painting was far more important for Chardin's art. While under Coypel, Chardin painted a surgeon's signboard (now lost), which helped make his reputation. His first affiliation, with the Paris Académie de Saint-Luc, kept Chardin in close touch with the still-life painting of the preceding century and away from the classical currents of the Académie Royale. In 1728, Chardin was admitted to the Académie Royale as a 'genre painter of animals and fruit' and received official appointments throughout his lifetime. Highly successful at the Salon of 1737, his works were bought by such leading collectors as Tessin and Prince Charles of Liechtenstein. Many prints after his domestic subjects made Chardin known to the general public. In 1740, he was presented to Louis XV, who bought two of his paintings and, later, gave him an apartment in the Louvre and a pension. Between 1734 and 1751 Chardin painted many scenes of bourgeois life. Still lifes predominate in his later oeuvre when the artist often repeated his popular early works. From 1771–75 Chardin also experimented with pastel portraits. Although his style and values were often far from those of contemporary fashion, Chardin's art, celebrating the simple yet comfortable life, enjoyed the respect of his colleagues and critics and the steady patronage of collectors until his declining years. His still lifes received their greatest homage in emulation by Manet and Cézanne and in the writings of Proust.

Reference: (1) See Jules Guiffrey, *Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint et dessiné de J.-B.-S. Chardin*, Paris, 1908. Herbert E. A. Furst, *Chardin*, London, 1911. André Pascal and Roger Gaucheron [pseud. for Henri de Rothschild], *Documents sur la vie et l'œuvre de Chardin*, Paris, 1931. Georges Wildenstein, *Chardin*, Paris, 1933. Bernard Denvir, *Chardin*, Paris, 1950. Pierre Rosenberg, *Chardin*, Geneva, 1963.

K1847 : Figure 278

THE KITCHEN MAID (*La Ratisseuse de Navets; The Turnip Scraper*). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1117), since 1951. Oil on canvas. 18½ × 14¾ in. (46.2 × 37.5 cm.). French eighteenth-century (but not

original) frame. Inscribed at upper left of chopping block: *chardin 1738*. Very thinly painted. Large crackle pattern, result of the artist's having begun the painting before the preparatory layer was completely dry. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1951; very well preserved. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pl. 174.

The kitchen maid, seated to the left, in right profile, holds a turnip in her left hand and a knife in her right. She wears a white cap and white apron over an orange skirt and a brown overdress; a brown and white scarf is over her shoulders. A pumpkin, turnips and parsnips are on the floor to the left, an earthenware bowl with blue glazed interior contains the peeled vegetables; copper vessels are to the right. A blood-stained block and chopping knife are to the right. Peelings from the vegetables are shown on the maid's apron and (earthen?) floor.

Three other signed but undated examples of the same composition survive: 1. Berlin, Charlottenburger Schloss. 41 × 33 cm. Cut down at bottom. Purchased by Frederick II of Prussia in 1746.¹ 2. Royal Collection, Groningen, The Netherlands (ex coll. David-Weill and Sir Hugh Lane). 45 × 36 cm.² 3. Munich, Pinakothek. 46 × 37 cm.³ A reproductive print in reverse was made by Lépicié (Text Fig. 101) in 1742 (published by L. Surugue) with the following legend: *LA RATISSEUSE Quand nos ayeux tenoient des mains de la nature, / Ces légumes, garants de leur simplicité, / l'Art de faire un poison de notre nourriture, / N'étoit point encore inventé.* ['When our forefathers held nature in their hands, / These vegetables were guaranteed pure, / The art of making poison of our nourishment, / Had not yet been invented.'] As the Kress canvas probably left France c. 1740, the print, in which the model is plumper, appears to have been made after one of several replicas, probably the one in Berlin.⁴

The Kress painting was the *Ratisseuse* exhibited at the Louvre by the Académie Royale in 1739, as none of the other examples of the subject by Chardin are dated. As it was taken to Vienna shortly thereafter, the canvas was not called to the attention of French scholars until the Goncourts saw the painting in Austria. They characterized the Kress canvas (with the three other Chardins in the Liechtenstein Collection) as in warmer, more bituminous tones than those they knew in France. The *Kitchen Maid* (K1847) is described as a signed sketch.⁵ The same authors identified K1847 as the original, exhibited in 1739 and engraved by Lépicié.⁶ Bocher referred to the Kress (Liechtenstein) canvas as a replica and the one at Munich as the original.⁷ The Washington painting was included in Chardin monographs by de Fourcaud, Normand, and Schéfer.⁸ The Berlin example of the *Kitchen Maid* was viewed by Dayot and Vaillat as the original work exhibited in 1739; they described the Kress canvas as a replica.⁹ Guiffrey found it the very well preserved original, the Berlin painting a replica, suffering from overcleaning.¹⁰ An anonymous writer also stressed the high quality of the Liechtenstein canvases, 'unsurpassed by others', and judged the Berlin *Kitchen Maid* 'not of the finest quality'.¹¹

Reversing his earlier views in a catalogue for Dayot's Chardin monograph, Guiffrey described the Kress canvas as a repetition of the Berlin and Munich examples.¹² The subject of K1847 was related by Furst to Caspar Netscher's (1635-84) *Woman Sewing* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), stressing Chardin's affinity for Dutch masters.¹³ Henriot quoted Monod as calling the Berlin version the original.¹⁴ According to Wildenstein, the Washington painting was probably the one engraved by Lépicié in 1742; he described the other examples as replicas.¹⁵ The Kress canvas is also included in the Chardin monographs of de Ridder, Lasareff, Jourdain and Nemilova.¹⁶ It was listed as the original in *The Age of Rococo* Catalogue.¹⁷ The *Ratisseuse* was cited by Adhémar as a noteworthy example of Chardin's simplified subjects and technique, starting after 1737, and leading to his success.¹⁸ *Seymour* (p. 180) emphasized the influence of de Hooch. Writing of K1847 he found Chardin's 'feeling for paint-texture together with the effect of complete stillness which suggests a subtle chord of harmony between the human and the inanimate' prefiguring Cézanne's early still lifes.

The Kress canvas is the earliest, and most delicately executed example of this composition painted by Chardin, rendered in one of his most inventive and productive years. *La Ratisseuse* was probably hung as pendant to *La Pourvoyeuse* of 1739 (Text Fig. 102; now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa) when both paintings were in the Liechtenstein Collection. The same model was included in many of Chardin's domestic subjects of the 1730s, such as the *Kitchen Maid* of 1738 (Glasgow, Hunterian Museum) and *La Pourvoyeuse*. Although Dutch art of the seventeenth century is often, quite rightly, cited as underlying Chardin's modest yet monumental depictions of domestic life, such as Nicolas Maes's depiction of the same subject (London, National Gallery), paintings of the Le Nain brothers should also be borne in mind as possible sources.

Provenance: Exhibited - Paris, Salon du Louvre, 1739. Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna and later Vaduz (probably acquired by Prince Joseph Wenzel von Liechtenstein when Ambassador to France, 1737-41),¹⁹ exhibited - Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Chardin et Fragonard*, 1907, Cat. No. 22; Berlin, Royal Academy of Art, *Exposition d'œuvres de l'art français du XVIII^e siècle*, 1910, Cat. No. 25; Lucerne, Kunstmuseum, *Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, 1948, Cat. No. 8.²⁰ New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1951.

References: (1) Georges Wildenstein, *Chardin*, Paris, 1933, p. 159, Cat. No. 48; and *idem*, *Chardin*, Greenwich, Conn., 1969 (revised and enlarged by Daniel Wildenstein), p. 178, Cat. No. 169. (2) *Ibid.*, 1933, Cat. No. 49; 1969, Cat. No. 170. (3) *Ibid.*, 1933, Cat. No. 47; 1969, Cat. No. 171. (4) The engraving was cited in the *Mercure de France*, Jan., 1743, p. 149; see Roger Portalis and Henri Béraldi, *Les Graveurs du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1880-82, II, 2, pp. 659, 663. (Unlike most of his prominent contemporaries, Chardin had no reproductive printmakers in his employ.) (5) Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal de la Vie littéraire*, I,

1851-1861, Paris, n.d., pp. 265-6, entry for 24 Sept. 1860. (6) *Idem*, *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1880, I, p. 122. (7) Emmanuel Bocher, *Les Gravures français du dix-huitième siècle*, fasc. III, 'Chardin', Paris, 1876, p. 48, Cat. No. 46. Emilia F.-S. Dilke ('Chardin et ses oeuvres à Potsdam et à Stockholm', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser., XXII, 1899, pp. 170-90, 333-42, esp. p. 186) also identified the Berlin composition (then Potsdam) with that engraved by Lépicié in 1742. (8) L. de Fourcaud, *J. B. S. Chardin*, Paris, 1900, pp. 30, 34; Charles Normand, *J. B. S. Chardin*, Paris, 1901, p. 56; Gaston Schéfer, *Chardin*, Paris, 1904, p. 59. (9) Armand Dayot and Léandre Vaillat, *L'Œuvre de J. B. S. Chardin et J.-H. Fragonard*, Paris, 1907, pl. 29. (10) Jean Guiffrey, 'L'Exposition Chardin-Fragonard', *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, II, 1907, pp. 93-106, pp. 94-5. (11) *Burlington Magazine*, XI, 1907, p. 263. (12) Guiffrey, 'Catalogue Raisonné de l'Œuvre peint et dessiné de J. B. S. Chardin', in A. Dayot, *J. B. S. Chardin, 1699-1779*, Paris, n.d. [1908], pp. 7, 60, 104, Cat. No. 20. (13) Herbert E. A. Furst, *Chardin*, London, 1911, pp. 72, 87, 119. (14) Gabriel Henriot, *Collection David-Weill*, Paris, 1926, I, pp. 47-9. (15) Wildenstein, 1933, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 159, Cat. No. 46. See also 1969, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 178, Cat. No. 168. (16) André de Ridder, *J. B. Siméon Chardin*, Paris, 1932, pp. 33, 87. Victor Lazarev, *Chardin*, Moscow, 1947-48. F. Jourdain, *Chardin*, Paris, 1949, pp. 13-14. I. S. Nemilova, *J. B. S. Chardin and his Pictures in the Hermitage*, Leningrad, 1961, pl. 2. See also Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'Interpreting Masterpieces: Twenty-four Paintings from the Kress Collection', *Art News Annual*, XXI, 1951, pp. 128-9. (17) Munich, 1958, text for Cat. No. 38 (the Munich example). (18) Hélène Adhémar, 'Chardin', *Encyclopedia of World Art*, III, 1960, pp. 382-7, esp. p. 383. (19) J. Falke, *Katalog der Fürstlich Liechtensteinschen Bildergalerie*, Vienna, 1873, Cat. No. 558; A. Kronfeld, 1931, pp. 82-3, Cat. No. 369. According to Wildenstein, 1933, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 159, Cat. No. 46. André Pascal and Roger Gaucheron (pseud. for Baron Henri de Rothschild) in *Documents sur la Vie et L'Œuvre de Chardin* (Paris, 1931, p. 72) call the ambassador Charles de Liechtenstein but this is not correct. (20) K1847, *La Pourvoyeuse, La Gouvernante* (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada), *Les Aliments de la Convalescence* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, K1838). This does not seem correct as the prince bought the *Gouvernante* from the chevalier Despuechs in 1739.

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON CHARDIN

K1838 : Figure 279

NOURISHMENT FOR CONVALESCENCE (*Les Aliments de la Convalescence*). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1116), since 1951. Oil on coarse canvas. 18½ × 14½ in. (46.2 × 37.0 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: *J.B.S. Chardin*.¹ Losses along left side of canvas.² Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1951.³

Suida, p. 226, Cat. No. 101. Reproduced in color by Georges Wildenstein (revised by Daniel Wildenstein), *Chardin*, Greenwich, Conn., 1969, pl. 35.

A woman, preparing the patient's meal, has just cooked two eggs in a long-handled copper pot.⁴ She is cracking an egg with a spoon; tiny fragments of shell are on the ground and on her apron. She stands before a fireplace with a chair to its left, at the side of a seventeenth-century-style table partially covered by the white cloth. Bread, a white earthenware jug, a wood or bone handled knife, a plate with another egg, and an egg cup are on the table. Two covered vessels are on the floor. The woman wears a white bonnet tied under the chin, a blouse with large pink dots on a white ground, a pink apron over a pink, white, and lavender striped skirt, and blue mules. A monochromatic preparatory sketch (42 × 32 cm.) for K1838 or another, unknown version of the same subject is in a Swiss private collection (Text Fig. 103).⁵ The sketch brings the scene closer to the picture plane with the figure in larger scale. The nurse wears a dark hood and there are other slight variations in attire. The table is eighteenth-century in style. The fireplace is to the left, as is the large jug on the floor, and the covered pot in the foreground is omitted.⁶ Edmond Pilon mentions a replica of K1838 which may refer to this sketch. He seems to imply that the replica was owned by the Prince of Liechtenstein, which may not be correct.⁷ K1838 was exhibited in the Salon of 1747 (no. 60) listed as *Les Aliments de la Convalescence* (also known as *La Garde Attentive* or *La Garde-Malade*). The Abbé Le Blanc, commenting on Chardin's canvases at the Salon of 1747, including the Kress painting, wrote 'Another French painter, working in a very different genre, has discovered the secret of treating everyday subjects without ever lapsing into vulgarity. I am referring to M. Chardin. He has achieved a manner peculiar to himself and truly lifelike. We admire equally the care with which he scrutinizes nature and his felicitous rendering of it.'⁸ The Goncourts, commenting on the four Chardins in the Liechtenstein Collection, described them as warmer in tone and more bituminous than those known in France, giving the subject as a woman breaking an egg preparatory to cooking.⁹ The Goncourts stated that K1838 was the only great Chardin composition not to have been reproduced by contemporary printmakers, because the Prince of Liechtenstein had taken the canvas directly from the Salon of 1747.¹⁰ Entitling the canvas 'La Convalescence', Fourcaud thought it might perhaps refer to the artist's long-ailing wife, Marguerite Saintard, who died on 14 April 1735.¹¹ The Kress canvas is listed by Guiffrey as pendant to *La Gouvernante* of 1738 (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, which was also long in the Liechtenstein Collection).¹² Furst stressed the beauty of K1838.¹³ The painting is characterized by Ridder as one of Chardin's finest, as *une œuvre de souvenir*. He believed the standing figure to be the sick lady herself, preparing her own meal; presumably Ridder regarded the sitter as a portrait of the artist's first wife.¹⁴ K1838 is first in Wildenstein's alphabetical listing of Chardin's oeuvre.¹⁵ *Suida* (*loc. cit.*) listed the canvas as *The Attentive Nurse*. According to Walker the painting was probably executed in 1738, the date of its pendant.¹⁶

The death of the young artist's first wife at an early age, together with that of their little daughter, may have led to

Chardin's concern with health and nurture, a theme underlying many of his works from the late 1730s onward. The Kress canvas was probably painted about a year before its presumed pendant. It presents Chardin's mastery of modest domestic subjects which were enthusiastically received by the most fashionable, powerful collectors of Europe.

Provenance: Exhibited – Salon du Louvre, Paris, 1747, Cat. No. 60 as 'La Garde attentive ou les aliments de la convalescence'.¹⁷ Probably bought by Prince Joseph Wenzel Liechtenstein (*Suida, loc. cit.*), *Liechtenstein Collection*, Vienna, 1885, 1927 and 1931, Cat. No. 379,¹⁸ exhibited – Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Chardin et Fragonard*, 1907, Cat. No. 25 as 'Le Dejeuner préparé'; Berlin, Royal Academy of Art, *Exposition d'œuvres de l'art français du dix-huitième siècle*, 1910, Cat. No. 22 as 'Cuisinière écorçant une orange'; Lucerne, Kunstmuseum, *Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, 1948, Cat. No. 5. New York, Frederick Mont. Kress acquisition 1950.

References: (1) The name is difficult to read, with illegible letters – presumably J.B.S. – before it. (2) The fine state of preservation of K1838 was stressed by Jean Guiffrey, 'L'Exposition Chardin – Fragonard', *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, xxii, 1907, pp. 93–106, esp. pp. 94–5. (3) Before relining, a Liechtenstein oval sticker with pencilled number 379 and a Lucerne 1948 exhibition label were visible on stretcher. A round stamp with the numbers $\frac{99}{11}$ was printed on the stretcher and on the back of the canvas. Photograph in Kress Archive. (4) A similar pot containing two eggs is shown in Chardin's *Le Bénédicité* (1746?), known from several versions, for example one in The Hermitage, Leningrad. (5) Reproduced by Georges Wildenstein, *Chardin*, Greenwich, Conn., 1969, pl. 61, pp. 192–3, Cat. No. 217. (6) The sketch was erroneously reproduced in reverse by Wildenstein, *ibid.*, fig. 103. A reproductive print of this sketch was prepared by Jules de Goncourt for inclusion in the Goncourt brothers' Chardin study of 1864. (7) *Chardin*, Paris, n.d. [1909], p. 45. (8) Abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc, *Lettre sur l'Exposition des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, etc., de l'année 1747, et en général sur l'utilité de ces sortes d'exposition, à Monsieur R.D.R.*, 1747, reprinted by André Pascal and Roger Gaucheron, *Documents sur la vie et l'œuvre de Chardin*, Paris, 1931, p. 82. (9) Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal de la vie littéraire*, I, 1851–61, Paris, n.d., pp. 265–6, entry for 24 Sept. 1860. (10) *Idem*, *L'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, I, 1880, pp. 78, 123. (11) L. de Fourcaud, 'Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin', *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, vi, 1899, pp. 383–418, esp. p. 406. The same remark is made in that author's *Chardin* monograph (Paris, 1900, p. 24). The Kress canvas is cited by E. F. S. Dilke, 'Chardin et ses œuvres à Potsdam et à Stockholm', 2, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser., xxii, 1899, pp. 333–42, esp. p. 334. It was also included in Gaston Schéfer, *Chardin*, Paris, n.d. [1904], pp. 75 and 77, and in the monograph by Armand Dayot and Léandre Vaillat, *L'œuvre de J.-B.-S. Chardin et de J.-H. Fragonard*, Paris, 1907, note on p. v. (12) J. Guiffrey, *Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint et dessiné de J.-B.-Siméon Chardin, suivi de la*

liste des gravures exécutées d'après ses ouvrages, Paris, 1908, p. 8 and p. 59, Cat. No. 17. (13) Herbert E. A. Furst, *Chardin*, London, 1911, p. 42. (14) André de Ridder, *J. B. S. Chardin*, Paris, 1932, pp. 12, 33. (15) Georges Wildenstein, *Chardin*, Paris, 1933, p. 154. (16) John Walker, *The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*, New York, n.d., p. 208. (17) Abbé Le Blanc, *loc. cit.* Note 8 above. (18) The 1927 and 1931 catalogues of the Liechtenstein Gallery are by A. Kronfeld; also in catalogues by J. Falke, 1873, no. 559 and the catalogue of 1885, no. 379. According to Pascal and Gaucheron, *op. cit.* Note 8 above, Prince Charles of Liechtenstein acquired *La Gouvernante* from the collection of the chevalier Despuechs in Dec. 1739. However, Prince Joseph Wenzel Liechtenstein appears to have been the purchaser of K1838 from the Salon, and of the *Gouvernante*.

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON CHARDIN

K1419 : Figure 277

STILL LIFE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1115), since 1950. Oil on canvas. $19\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{3}{8}$ in. (49.6 × 59.4 cm.). Inscribed at lower left: *chardin* (illegible date below). Some restoration along borders all around, except for the right edge and at the bottom near the right corner. No restoration since Kress acquisition; generally well preserved.

Suida, p. 228, Cat. No. 102. Reproduced in color by Georges Wildenstein, *Chardin*, Zurich, 1963, pl. 1, and Pierre Rosenberg, *Chardin*, trans. by Helga Harrison, Geneva, 1963, p. 73; detail of fruit, p. 80.

Dead game and a bitter orange are placed on a stone ledge against a neutral background. The fruit is at the extreme left, with a pheasant to the right and two rabbits further to the right.

The canvas was first catalogued by Henriot as *Two Hares with a Pheasant and an Apple*,¹ followed by Wildenstein.² *Suida* (*loc. cit.*) described the canvas as 'one of the most refined in color and composition among Chardin's still lifes. . . . Painted about 1760–65.'³ In 1963, Wildenstein proposed a date of c. 1726–28.⁴ The Kress canvas is grouped by Rosenberg with the *Wild Rabbits* (Amiens, Musée de Picardie) and the *Large Hare* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum). ' . . . These count among the best still lifes ever painted. In them the French term *nature morte* finds an expression as exact as it is tragic.'⁵ Rosenberg proposed a date of c. 1750–60.⁶

This small still life is among the very finest of Chardin's many splendid essays in the genre. A date of c. 1760 as indicated by *Suida* and Rosenberg seems correct; the canvas should be compared to *The Jar of Olives* (Paris, Louvre) painted in that year.

Provenance: Paris, Wildenstein and Co. D. David-Weill, Paris,⁷ exhibited – New York, Wildenstein and Co.,

Pictures from the David-Weill Collection, 1937, Cat. No. 5. New York, Wildenstein and Co., *The Great Tradition of French Painting*, 1939, Cat. No. 18. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1946.

References: (1) Gabriel Henriot, *Catalogue de la collection David-Weill*, Paris, 1926, I, p. 43. (2) Georges Wildenstein, *Chardin*, Paris, 1933, p. 210, Cat. No. 714. (3) *Loc. cit.*; Einstein, p. 234, followed Suida's dating. (4) Wildenstein, *Chardin*, Zurich, 1963, p. 146, Cat. No. 30. The same information given in the 1969 edition, p. 147, Cat. No. 30. (5) Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 73. The Stockholm painting is reproduced in color on p. 74; the Amiens painting in color on p. 72. (6) Letter of 8/vii/68 in Kress Archive. He identified the animals as *lapins de garenne* and the fruit as a *bigarade*, a bitter orange often used in the eighteenth century to flavor desserts. (7) Henriot, *loc. cit.*

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER

François Boucher was born in Paris in 1703 and died there in 1770.¹ The son of a Parisian embroidery designer who served as his first drawing instructor, Boucher later studied with the painter François Lemoyne. In 1721 he worked under the print-maker François Cars, for whom he prepared many book illustrations. Jean de Julienne employed the young artist to prepare more than one hundred prints after Watteau's paintings and drawings for the so-called *Recueil Julienne*. Boucher won the Prix-de-Rome in 1723, but only left for Italy in 1727, remaining there for three years. He returned to Paris in 1731 and was admitted to the Académie Royale. He soon became an extremely successful painter, also working on Molière illustrations, cartoons for the Beauvais tapestry factory and decorations for the theater and opera. Like Rubens, whose art often inspired him, Boucher was a brilliant designer, able to integrate his works within a larger decorative ensemble with consummate skill. Boucher was the favorite painter of Madame de Pompadour, and her brother, the Marquis de Marigny, who as Superintendent of the King's Buildings, employed Boucher from 1746 onward for decorations at the royal residences of Marly, Versailles, and Bellevue. Many honors followed: an apartment in the Louvre in 1752, an inspectorship at the Gobelins tapestry factory in 1756, an appointment as 'First Painter to the King', and the directorship of the Académie Royale in 1765. Despite such official recognition, Boucher was to come under sharp attack from Diderot, who desired a more moralistic art, and from the neo-Classicists, who urged a return to the values of antiquity. Nonetheless Boucher assumed an artistic dictatorship not seen since Le Brun. His vivacious, decorative handling of all subjects, stressing those tactile, erotic elements that so much appealed to the pleasure-seeking spirit of the time, was to be continued in his pupil Fragonard's oeuvre.

Reference: (1) André Michel, *François Boucher*, Paris, 1906; Pierre de Nolhac, *Boucher*, Paris, 1907; Louis Réau, *Dessins de François Boucher*, I, Paris, 1928; Ragnar Hoppe, *François*

Boucher, Malmö, 1930; Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *French XVIIIth-Century Painters*, trans. Robin Ironside, London, 1948, pp. 55-105.

K2148 : Figure 281

EVILMERODACH FREES JEHOIACHIN FROM PRISON. Columbia, South Carolina, Columbia Museum of Art (62.37.23), since 1962. Oil on very coarse canvas. 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 28 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (57.9 × 72.7 cm.). Inscribed at lower edge to left of center: *boucher*. Restored in London c. 1953. Columbia, 1962, pp. 95-6, Cat. No. 33.

A crowned, enthroned ruler seen from the left, holds a scepter in his right hand, and points toward an old, bearded man standing in front of the throne steps. The ruler's shield and sword are at his side; he is in military garb and pale red drapery. A second old man kneels on the bottom step before the throne, in left profile, resting both hands upon a stick. A young man in a white turban, wearing blue and looking toward the ruler, is placed between the latter and the first old man. He points to a young woman dressed in yellow and lavender who stands just behind the elders; the head of another young woman is seen at her right shoulder. Six kneeling male figures are at the extreme right. A young man, kneeling at the extreme right, holding a staff, is in salmon-beige. The scene takes place in a magnificent interior with four twisted columns, two at either side of an archway with the open sky in the background.

Voss identified the Kress canvas as painted by Boucher in 1723 at the age of twenty for the Académie Royale competition.¹ The Academy met on 20 August 1723, to examine the paintings submitted.² Though Boucher was awarded the prize, an Italian journey as 'Pensionnaire du Roy', the trip was eventually made at his own expense.³ The subject assigned was 'Evilmerodach, son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, frees Jehoiachin from the chains in which he had been kept for so long' (II Kings 25:27; Jeremiah 52:31). Jehoiachin, who became King of Judah at the age of eighteen, was imprisoned by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in the eighth year of his reign. Thirty-seven years later, Evilmerodach, the new king of Babylon, ordered the old king to be freed in view of his great age. The standing young man with the turban was thought by Voss probably to represent Evilmerodach's grand vizier, executing his master's order. Voss noted that Boucher's composition was based upon earlier depictions of mercy such as the Clemency of Scipio or Alexander. He found several analogies between the figures in K2148 and early works of Boucher such as the *Eliezer asking for Rebecca's Hand for Isaac*, known from the print by Louis Cars. He also compared the young woman standing to the right to one in the middle distance of Boucher's *La Vie Champêtre* (London, private collection). Before Voss's article, the painting had been listed, on its reappearance in 1953, as François Boucher's *The Continence of Scipio*.⁴ According to Contini Bonacossi (*Columbia, loc. cit.*), 'No matter where the theme of this painting originated, nor the names of the

characters in the story, the composition of the painting shows that the youthful Boucher had a vast knowledge of classical themes which represented the familiar situation of the victorious king on his lofty throne, showing mercy and granting pardon to his vanquished enemy bending before him in humble submission. In this painting, the artist displayed a freedom and virtuosity in brushwork which fully forecast his success and the admiration he earned among his contemporaries.⁵ Several preparatory drawings made by Boucher when he was eighteen for P. Gabriel-Daniel's *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1722) were shown by Ruch to relate closely in style to the Kress canvas. He singled out Louvre drawing no. 25174 (Text Fig. 109) as the basis for K2148: 'Like the drawings for Daniel's history, it possesses a sketchy, nervous quality indicating the youthful artist's uncertainty.'⁵

The subject of *Evilmerodach* does not seem to have been depicted prior to the execution of K2148 and may have been selected by the Academy for this very reason – forcing the young contestants to create a composition without famous precedents. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Prix-de-Rome subjects were almost all from the Old Testament. The Boucher canvas omits indications of the chains which loom large in the Biblical account. The presence of two prominent elders detracts from the emphasis that one might expect on *Evilmerodach*. Boucher may have drawn upon his first recorded canvas, the *Judgment of Daniel*, when he was seventeen, for the composition of K2148. Just as the *Evilmerodach* won Boucher recognition from the Academy, so the *Judgment of Daniel* had given him entry to the studio of Lemoine a few years earlier.⁶ The two old men, of equal prominence in the Kress canvas, could have been based on the Elders in the lost *Judgment of Daniel*; their poses suggest supplication rather than gratitude. The young woman behind them might have been modeled upon Susannah; her prominence and emotional isolation are not suitable to the subject of *Evilmerodach* and Jehoiachin. The young man with the turban, who seems to be pleading a case, probably follows the figure of Daniel from the lost work. The twisted columns in the background – commonly known as 'Solomonic' – were in all likelihood used as emblems of justice in the young artist's lost *Judgment*, and are also appropriate to the subject of K2148. The scepter held by the king refers to lawful power and justice.⁷ The broad outlines of this composition are taken from Venetian works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which in turn depend upon those of Raphael and his school (especially *The School of Athens* and *The Healing of the Lame Man*). The Kress canvas is of unusual importance, being the earliest surviving painting by one of the major masters of the eighteenth century.

Provenance: Awarded the Premier Prix de Peinture of the Académie Royale in 1723. Private collection, London (sold London, Sotheby's, 20 May 1953, *Catalogue of Old Master Drawings and Paintings*, p. 13, Lot 99 as *The Continence of Scipio*); purchased by Molesworth. International Financing Co., Panama, S.A. Kress acquisition 1957.

References: (1) Hermann Voss, 'François Boucher's Early Development – Addenda', *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, pp. 206–10, esp. pp. 206–7. See also his 'François Boucher's Early Development', *Burlington Magazine*, xcv, 1953, pp. 81–93. K2148, known to André Michel only through Academy records, was no. 694 in his *François Boucher* (Paris, 1906, p. 39). (2) *Procès-Verbaux de l'ancienne Académie Royale*, iv, 1723, pp. 360–1 (printed Paris, 1881): 'Du samedi vingt un Aoust 1723. Aujourd'hui, samedi vingt un Aoust mil sept cent ans vingt trois, l'Académie s'est assemblée extraordinairement, pour examiner les tableaux et bas-relief que les Etudiants ont fait pour les Grands Prix, avant de les exposer. La compagnie a résolu que ces tableaux, qui représentent Evilmerodach, fils et successeur de Nabucodonosor, qui délivre des chaînes Joachim que son père avoit tenu captif depuis dissept ans, seront exposés mercredi prochain . . .'. (3) The awarding of the Prix de Rome to Boucher was transcribed (from the *Procès-Verbaux* . . ., *ibid.*) in 'Liste des Élèves de l'ancienne école Académique et de l'École des Beaux-Arts qui ont remporté les grands prix . . .', *Archives de l'Art Français*, ix, Documents, v, 1857–58, p. 288. (4) London, Sotheby's, 20 May 1953, p. 13, Lot 99. (5) John E. Ruch, 'An Album of Early Drawings by François Boucher', *Burlington Magazine*, cvi, 1964, pp. 496–500, esp. p. 500. The drawings were long mistakenly ascribed to Pierre-Jacques Cazes. J. Guiffrey, P. Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles, École Française*, iii, Paris, 1909, p. 55, Cat. No. 2189. The seven-volume publication includes illustrations at the beginning of the discussion of each reign. The drawing, inscribed *Hommage à un roy de France*, was not utilized for the series. The authors of the Louvre catalogue (*ibid.*) question the title given in the inscription. (6) Pierre de Nolhac, *François Boucher*, Paris, 1907, pp. 7–8, 19. (7) See William S. Heckscher, *Maces*, Duke University Museum of Art, 1970, p. 8.

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER

K1336 : Figure 280

THE PERSONIFICATION OF PAINTING. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (766), since 1946. Oil on canvas. 40×51½ in. (101.5×130 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: *F Boucher 1765*. Some white stains in upper part; corners repaired. Original frame may have obscured upper corners when canvas was presumably installed as an over-door panel. Restored along right and left borders. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1943. Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 162.

K1337 : Figure 282

THE PERSONIFICATION OF MUSIC. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (767), since 1946. Oil on canvas. 40¾×51½ in. (103.5×130 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: *FBoucher 1764*. Illegible musical notations at lower right.¹ Presumably an over-door panel. Canvas rubbed in area of clouds at left. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1943.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 163. Reproduced in color, Cairns and Walker, 1952, p. 127.

In K1336, a maiden representing the art of painting reclines in the clouds against a blue and white sky. She is seen from the back while sketching an *amour*, using a white chalk on an oval canvas. Her model, also reclining in the clouds, holds a flaming torch in his right hand, with a quiver just below his left. Another *amour* is beside him to the left, watching the artist at work, while a third supports the oval canvas with one hand, extending a laurel wreath to the maiden with the other. The artist wears a blue-green silk mantle over a white dress, and leans against a pale blue cushion with a large gold tassel.² Her palette with brushes is at the lower left corner, placed upon several sheets of paper. A red drapery is along the lower left border of the composition.

In K1337 a young woman personifies Music. She is semi-recumbent in the clouds, in a somewhat Danaë-like pose, her left breast bared. Enveloped in orange and blue drapery over a white chemise, the girl points downward with her left index finger and holds a golden lyre, plucked by a singing *amour*, with the other hand. A second *amour* flying above holds a laurel wreath in his right hand and an ivory *flûte à bec* in his left. One dove is near the maiden's left shoulder and two others nestle at the lower right before an open music album. A trumpet entwined with a laurel wreath is placed below the girl's legs; a blue plumed helmet and a sword with a golden hilt and a laurel wreath are in the lower left corner.

The canvases were first published in 1873 by Mantz, who noted that they were traditionally thought to have been painted for the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian III Joseph. He commented upon their excellent condition, and thought they were painted for a salon decorated in white and gold.³ The Goncourts were impressed by the high price fetched by the Kress paintings at the Rothan sale.⁴ The pair is included in Mantz's Boucher monograph of 1880, Michel's of 1906 and Nollac's of 1907.⁵ According to Mirimonde, the central figure in K1337 represents Venus with her traditional attributes: roses, doves, and the helmet and sword of Mars. He pointed out that the *flûte à bec* is the erotic emblem for the invocation of the Carnal Venus while the music of the seven-stringed lyre, invented by Mercury and given to Apollo, leader of the Muses, corresponds to the harmony of the spheres and is an allusion to the celestial Venus. Mirimonde also noted that Boucher's imagery stems from Plato's *Banquet*. He observed that in the Kress canvas Venus chooses the music of the spheres, indicated by her grasping the lyre in preference to the flute.⁶ Mirimonde's Platonic interpretation of K1337 may be somewhat overstated, as the flute-bearer is about to wreath the lyre-bearer. *Music* by Fragonard (also an over-door) shows a Venus-like figure embracing Cupid with one arm while holding a lute and short trumpet with the other; a long wreathed horn and an open music album are at the lower right. Another Fragonard *Music* (painted for Bergeret, c. 1766-67) has a reclining female figure holding

an open music album, two turtledoves and a tambourine to one side, a music sheet and wreathed lute at the other.⁷ In *Music* the references are made to the art of love flourishing in peace. The helmet, sword and wreathed trumpet, probably signify Mars's return to Venus after victorious battle. Turtledoves, roses, flute and lyre, and cupids are all amorous emblems. In each canvas the cherubs represent genius.

The intimate relationship between Art and Love was an especially popular subject in art and literature in the eighteenth century, encompassing both Boucher canvases. Such themes as that of the prominent Venetian Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini's *Painting and Drawing Educating Love* (Paris, Louvre) of 1733 may well have interested the young Boucher as the Venetian master was active in France and his canvas permanently at the Académie Royale.⁸ *Amours* symbolize the gift of divine knowledge and love – the inspiration of the artist. In K1336 Boucher stresses the academic concept of Design, the primary importance of the initial rendering of the artist's divinely inspired concept. Her crayon holder is held so that it seems a continuation of the torch of enlightenment held in the drawn cupid's hand; brush and torch together resemble cupid's arrow. Palette and brush are distinctly subsidiary in placement. She may represent *Pictura*, the muse of painting. The over-doors were probably destined for a Louis XV room from a set of four or more – the missing canvases referring to literary or other arts, installed in a music room or library. See, for example, Fragonard's *Painting, Sculpture, Poetry and Music* for Bergeret.⁹ The paintings' motif – the link between the arts of love and the love of arts – was popularized by Madame de Pompadour's extensive patronage; she died a year before the canvases were completed. Boucher prepared several over-doors with personifications of the arts for the Pompadour. Often these canvases portrayed Muses. A *Clio* (London, Wallace Collection) and an *Erato* were both reproduced in 1756 by J. Daullé as painted by Boucher for Louis XV's mistress.¹⁰ The *Clio* is slightly cut-down; it or a similar canvas may well have been *en suite* with the Kress paintings. When Boucher signed these canvases in 1765, he was at the height of his prestige as newly appointed Director of the Académie Royale. But he was plagued by illness, past his creative peak, not exhibiting in the Salon of that year. He probably had a considerable atelier. While *Personification of Music* is consistently in Boucher's style, the execution of *Painting* may perhaps be partially the work of an excellent associate.

Provenance: Said to have been painted for the Elector Maximilian III Joseph of Bavaria (1745-77) and brought back to France in the early nineteenth century by General de Saint-Maurice.¹¹ M. Maillet du Boullay, Paris (sold, Paris, 22 Jan. 1870, Cat. Nos. 1 ['La Musique'] and 2 ['La Peinture']). M. Gustave Rothan, Paris, exhibited – Paris, *Ouvrages de peinture exposés au profit de la colonisation de l'Algérie par les Alsaciens-Lorrains*, 1874, p. 14, Cat. Nos. 20 ('La Peinture') and 31 ('La Musique'); Paris, *Tableaux anciens et modernes exposés au profit du Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Aug. 1878, p. 3, Cat. No. 14 ('La Peinture') and p. 4, Cat. No. 15 ('La

Musique'). Rothan Sale (Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 29-31 May 1890, p. 94, Cat. No. 122 ['La Musique'] and p. 95, Cat. No. 123 [La Peinture]). Adèle Livingston-Sampson, Fourth Duchesse de Dino (1841-1912), 1907.¹² Comte Orłowski, 1937.¹³ New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1942.

References: (1) According to Edwin M. Ripin, 'If Boucher intended the music to be examined with any closeness (which I doubt), he clearly intended only to convey the notion that it was a work for three instruments.' (Letter of 31/XII/68, Kress Archive.) Although there are three instruments in the painting, the trumpet is clearly subordinate to the others and its part was probably not written into the music. (2) *Pictura*, the Muse or goddess of painting, together with *Sculptura* and *Design* (usually shown as a man) were invented in the later Renaissance to supplement the Muses of the liberal arts and sciences. See Matthias Winner, 'Die Quellen der Pictura-Allegorien in gemalten Bildergalerien des 17. Jahrhunderts zu Antwerpen', Dissertation, University of Cologne, 1957. For an early example see Veronese's *The Muse of Painting* (Detroit, Institute of Arts) in *Paintings and Sculpture given by Edgar B. Whitcomb and Anna Scripps Whitcomb to the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1954, p. 108. For a listing of some similar works see Anton Pigler, 'Personifikationen der Künste', *Barockthemen*, II, Berlin-Budapest, 1956, pp. 471-4. A cupid posing for *Pictura* is found in a drawing by Stradanus of 1564 (Windsor Castle). See Günther Thiem, 'Studien zu Jan van der Straet, genannt Stradanus', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, VIII, 1958, p. 94, fig. 5. Guercino's Dresden canvas of 1656 shows *Pictura* painting a sleeping cupid; the muse is accompanied by an old man (*Design*) holding a drawing of the same cupid. (3) Paul Mantz, 'La Galerie de M. Rothan', Part 2, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., VII, 1873, pp. 428-49, esp. p. 443. (4) Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *L'Art du XVIII^e Siècle*, Paris, I, 1880, p. 195. (5) P. Mantz, *François Boucher, Lemoyne et Natoire*, Paris, 1880, p. 153; André Michel, *François Boucher*, Paris, n.d. [1906], p. 51; Pierre de Nolhac, *François Boucher*, Paris, 1907, pp. 148-9. (6) A. P. de Mirimonde, 'Les Allégories de la Musique, I: La Musique parmi les Arts Libéraux', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LXXII, 1968, pp. 295-324 and '... II: Le Retour de Mercure et les Allégories des Beaux-Arts', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LXXIII, 1969, pp. 343-62, esp. p. 360. (7) The imagery of Boucher's *Allegory of Music* is also found in Fragonard's *Venus Binding Cupid's Wings* and *Music*. In the first painting Venus embraces Cupid while binding his wings; the scene includes turtledoves. The second shows Venus as Music holding the lyre and short horn with her left hand and embracing Cupid with her right. An open music album is at the lower right with a wreathed trumpet below. These were executed during Fragonard's early years when he was a pupil of Boucher (1748-52) and were occasionally ascribed to Boucher. See Georges Wildenstein, *The Paintings of Fragonard*, New York, 1960, Cat. No. 60, pl. 5. *Ibid.*, Cat. Nos. 51 bis and ter. (8) See André Fontaine, *Les Collections de l'académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, Paris, 1930, p. 189, Cat. No. 471. For an emblem of Love

teaching Music, see Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata*, Stuttgart, 1967, col. 1299. Cupids linked to the Muses (including the Arts) are specified as in a pure role. (9) Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 7 above, p. 208, Cat. Nos. 57-60, figs. 41, 42 (illustrating Cat. Nos. 57, *Painting* and 59, *Poetry*). There are also records of single pairs of overdoors, such as the *Day and Night* for Bellevue, ordered from Fragonard by Madame de Pompadour shortly before her death. According to R. Portalis, the Fragonards were executed 1766-67 (*Les Peintures décoratives de Fragonard à Grasse*, Paris, 1885, p. 483). (10) See *Wallace Collection Catalogues, Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1968, p. 37, Cat. No. 481. A painting now called *Nymph and Cupids with Musical Emblems* (London, Wallace Collection) was also owned by the Pompadour and has some of the same elements as K1337; it may similarly have belonged to a 'Muse' cycle. For the Erato see the same catalogue, p. 43. For additional Boucher personifications of the Arts see Nolhac, *op. cit.* Note 5, pp. 144-50. See Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, Part 2, II, Leipzig, 1928, pl. 175 for a tapestry woven in the atelier of P. F. Cozette, which is dated 1761 by the German scholar, but which seems to have been executed in 1763. Several of the motifs of the Kress paintings relate to this tapestry. (11) Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 51. There is no specific reference to the canvases in the Bavarian *Staatsarchiv für Oberbayern* (StAfObb., HR 279-13) according to I. A. Scherl (Kress Archive, 11/1/68), concerning the paintings installed in the new Ducal Cabinet of 1767. Joseph von Dufresne, a prominent courtier of the Duke, with a considerable collection of French paintings, may have given Boucher the commission for the overdoors; but there is no documentation to this effect. (12) Nolhac, *op. cit.* Note 5, p. 146. (13) According to Wildenstein.

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER

dk506 : Figure 283

DANAË RECEIVING THE GOLDEN SHOWER. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,370), since 1963. Red, white, and black chalk (*trois crayons*) and gouache on buff-colored paper. $12\frac{3}{8} \times 18\frac{1}{8}$ in. (31.1 x 47.6 cm.). Inscribed at lower left: *f. Boucher 1757*. Laid down.

The nude Danaë, seen from the back, reclines on a cushion in the clouds. She looks toward the upper right, partially supported by her left arm. The figure's right arm and right leg are outstretched and her left foot is tucked under the right knee. It was prophesied to Acrisius of Argos that the son to be born to his daughter would kill him. This led the king to imprison Danaë in a tower, keeping her from all suitors. However, Zeus came to her in the form of a shower of gold. Their son, the hero Perseus, was to fulfill the prophecy by accidentally slaying Acrisius with a discus.¹

A replica of dk506 (Text Fig. 110) was in the Guyot de Villeneuve Sale (30 x 47 cm.).² A Boucher drawing in the

Arago Sale (present location unknown) on reddish paper (29×45 cm.), there described as a Danaë seen from the back, may prove to be another example of the Kress composition.³ According to Cailleux, dk 506 was preparatory to an oil sketch of the same subject now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Text Fig. 112), which he dated c. 1755–60.⁴ Another Boucher oil sketch of the same subject, executed c. 1740, is now in the Helsinki Athenaeum.⁵ The Kress sheet is no. 732 in Ananoff's corpus of Boucher drawings.⁶ An eighteenth-century reproductive print (Text Fig. 111) was prepared by Louis Bonnet after dk 506 or a similar Boucher drawing.⁷ Slatkin suggested that the *Danaë* may belong with a group of highly finished preparatory drawings, copied after Boucher originals by contemporary engravers for reproductive prints. The pose appears in the engraving by Louis Bonnet and in another by Jean Robert Petit, each print claiming to be after a drawing owned by M. Montullé. Of these, Slatkin notes that the Petit engraving is much closer to dk 506. Because of its like degree of finish to the Stockholm oil sketch, he considers the Villeneuve drawing more probably a Boucher original.⁸ The Kress drawing's superior quality to the assumed copies, however, seems to mark it as one of the models executed by Boucher himself. The Washington drawing should not be viewed as preparatory to the Stockholm *Danaë*. The canvas' style is much less classical than that of the drawing; the figure more dynamic in its pose. The Kress *Danaë* is a highly finished drawing, probably prepared independently for sale as such. It is close to French and Flemish seventeenth-century masters, such as Girardon (see the marble relief, *Nymphs of Diana*, 1675, Versailles) and Rubens, who, in turn, founded their concept of beauty on Correggio.

The *Danaë* resembles Louison O'Murphy, a mistress of Louis XV by the early 1750s. The same girl had previously posed for Boucher, as had her younger sister Victoire.⁹ By the time Boucher executed the Kress drawing in 1757, he no longer drew from life. Five years before, when Sir Joshua Reynolds was struck by the absence of models in Boucher's studio, the French master stated that having previously made the necessary life studies, he now kept his model in his mind.¹⁰ The absence of a model may explain the fact that the pose shown in this drawing combines a seated figure with a recumbent one. The artist based dk 506 upon a figure study in which the model is sitting up with her legs stretched out, perpendicular to her torso. This design has been turned 45° to the right. The fact that this figure is entirely surrounded by clouds, in heaven as it were, would seem to argue against an identification with *Danaë*, since she was very much on earth. However, a darkened area, not visible in a reproduction, between the nude's outstretched right arm and right leg was presumably intended to indicate the presence of Zeus. Since Boucher prepared drawings such as dk 506 for the amateur's cabinet, beauty rather than iconographical exactitude was the order of the day.

Provenance: Possibly Marquis de Cypierre, Paris (sold 10 Mar. 1845, p. 28, Cat. No. 174).¹¹ Possibly Étienne

Arago, Paris (sold Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 8–9 Feb. 1872, p. 39, Cat. No. 112).¹² Ludwig Neumann, London.¹³ Richard Owen, Paris.¹⁴ Kress Acquisition, 1937, exhibited – Washington, D.C., *Drawings from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art*, 1967 (no catalogue). London, Royal Academy of Arts, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, Winter Exhibition, 1968, p. 53, Cat. No. 96.

References: (1) Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv, 607 ff. (2) *Catalogue des dessins de l'école française du XVIII^e siècle...*, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 28 May 1900, p. 5, Cat. No. 1. Illustrated in Regina Shoolman Slatkin, 'Some Boucher Drawings and Related Prints', *Master Drawings*, x, 1972, pp. 264–83, pl. 37. (3) *Catalogue des Tableaux Aquarelles et Dessins anciens et modernes formant la Collection de M. E.A. [Étienne Arago]*, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 8–9 Feb. 1872, p. 39, Cat. No. 112. There is a very remote chance that it is identical with dk 506, despite slight disparities in size and technique. (4) Jean Cailleux, *François Boucher, Premier Peintre du Roy, 1703–1770* (Exhibition), Paris, 1963, Cat. No. 72; ex coll. data on dk 506, given here as owned by Montullé, is erroneous. This information was followed in *Masters of the Loaded Brush, Oil sketches from Rubens to Tiepolo*, M. Knoedler and Co., New York, 1967, p. 88, Cat. No. 63 (entry for Stockholm painting); and *France in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Royal Academy of Arts, Winter Exhibition, 1968, p. 53, Cat. No. 96. (5) See *Statens Konstsamlingars tillväxt och Förvaltning*, Helsinki, 1964, p. 21, illustration. (6) Alexandre Ananoff, *Cœuvre dessiné de François Boucher*, Paris, 1966, I, p. 192. (7) Paul d'Air ('Liste des pièces gravées par et d'après François Boucher', *Les Bulletins des Beaux-Arts*, II, 1884–5, pp. 1–55, esp. p. 4, Cat. No. 105) recorded an anonymous print after a Boucher *Danaë*. (8) Slatkin, *op. cit.*, p. 275; the only mention of a Boucher *Danaë* in the 1738 Montullé catalogue is no. 112, *Deux dessins aux trois crayons, sur papier gris, dont un représente une Danaë, accompagnée de deux Amours* (p. 173). (9) See Charles Sterling, 'Boucher et les O'Murphy', *L'Amour de l'Art*, 1932, pp. 191 ff.; Paul Frankl, 'Boucher's Girl on the Couch', *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, I, New York, 1961, pp. 138–52. (10) Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Literary Works*, London, 1851, II, p. 58. (11) *Danaë; Jeune femme nue et couchée, le regard vers le ciel*. (12) *Danaë, vue de dos, recevant la pluie d'or. Dessin retouché au pastel, sur papier rougeâtre (Gravé)*. Haut., 29 cent., larg., 45 cent. (13) According to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (14) Possibly identical with one of eight Bouchers exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.–6 Nov. 1933.

KI335 : Figure 284

MADAME BERGERET. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (768), since 1946. Oil on very fine canvas. 56½×41⅝ in. (143×105 cm.). Inscribed at extreme left just below back rest on bench and above topmost rose: *F. Boucher/1746*. Stretcher marks all around; small tear on

skirt near hat; very considerable restoration along top; varnish discolored. Relined, slight cleaning and restoration by Pichetto in 1943.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 164. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pl. 176.

The sitter is shown in fanciful costume, a full-sleeved, plain white satin dress adorned with blue ribbons at the breast and sleeves; a ruff is at the neck. She wears a four-strand pearl bracelet with a female portrait miniature. A spray of flowers is in her hair and one is pinned to her left shoulder. She holds a broad-brimmed straw hat in her right hand. The lady stands in a park; her left arm extends to touch a bronze urn overflowing with roses; the ground and a bench behind her are strewn with roses. Shrubbery brushes the back of the bench and the trellis behind it. In the right background, the grey-blue smoky sky is seen.

Marguerite Josephine Richard was the granddaughter of the prominent seventeenth-century academician, the *peintre du roy* Louis de Boullogne. Her mother, Marie Anne, married the extremely wealthy Jean-Pierre Richard, the Receveur-Général of finances and lawyer to the king. Marguerite seems to have been the oldest of their four children. Her brother, Jean-Claude Richard, was the Abbé de Saint-Non, the celebrated amateur, draftsman and engraver, one of Boucher's and Fragonard's major patrons. She became Jacques Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt's first wife on 28 August 1741, when she was about twenty.¹ They had two sons and two daughters. She died in 1751, seven days after childbirth. An inventory was drawn up at this time, but no portrait is mentioned. The widower remarried in 1766 and again in 1777; he died in 1785 and his collections were sold on 24 April 1786.

According to *Cairns and Walker* (p. 116), this portrait is probably the earliest of the relatively few painted by Boucher. Frankfurter noted that K1335 'shows portraiture developed in both intimate terms and ultimate grandeur by associative devices . . . its mauve and silver tones as well as its candid appreciation of femininity anticipating Renoir . . .'.² The age of the sitter was described as 'just past her prime' by *Einstein* (pp. 227-8). *Seymour* (p. 185) noted 'Out of a mass of heavy silks and a veritable shower of blossoms emerges the presence of a pleasant, not over-prettified, and intelligent young woman. The color of the picture is cool, the handling is swift but not in any way careless.'

The artist had already been in Madame de Pompadour's employ by the time Madame Bergeret was painted. He reversed the latter's pose in a portrait of the *Pompadour* of 1759 (London, Wallace Collection), who is also shown in a park setting, but in more formal, fashionable attire, with an allegorical statue in the background. Madame Bergeret's guise and sylvan setting refer to her name (*bergère* signifying 'shepherdess'); she is shown as such in 'rustic' dress, with a straw hat and theatrically simple attire. *Bergeries* and *Bergerettes* were popular musical comedies and a poetic genre in France since the Middle Ages. The lady is placed

in a charmingly artificial evocation of nature, surrounded by swags of silk-like roses – emblems of love and friendship.³

Rococo re-creations of pastorals were among Boucher's most successful works. K1335 is still reminiscent of Flemish Baroque art, but its elegantly romantic rusticity prefigures Marie Antoinette's labors as a milk-maid and the settings of English portraiture in the second half of the century. The artist executed few commissioned portraits, of which the Kress canvas is one of the finest.⁴

Provenance: Wildenstein identified the Kress canvas with that listed in the inventory of paintings taken at Jacques Onésyme Bergeret's death in 1785, p. 66, no. 22: *A l'égard du portrait de Madame Bergeret par Boucher, il n'en a été fait aucune prise comme portrait de famille, pourquoy mémoire*.⁵ Pierre-Jacques Bergeret (son of the above), until 1827. Ange Philibert de la Girennerie, Casson, France (P.-J. Bergeret's son-in-law).⁶ Barbe Françoise Victoire Poisson de la Chabeaussière (wife of Cotillon de Torcy) to her daughter, Françoise-Julie Cotillon de Torcy (wife of Contre-Amiral Le Bos de Sainte Croix), to her daughter, Angélique Le Bos de Sainte Croix (wife of Comte Fontaine de Resbecq). The Fontaine de Resbecq family sold K1335 to Wildenstein and Co. before 1920. Kress acquisition 1942.

References: (1) See Georges Wildenstein, 'Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret, un amateur de Boucher et de Frago', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LVII, 1961, pp. 39-84. (2) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *The Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, New York, 1944, p. 78. (3) See 'Les attributs de la Bergère' as shown in such works of the same title as a gouache by Boucher's follower Jean-Baptiste Huet in the collection of Alexandre Doucet. Reproduced in *Le XVIII^e siècle aux champs*, Bagatelle, 1929; Bernard Houthakker, *Master Drawings*, Amsterdam, 1967, no. 28. (4) A lady in similar attire in a park setting, shown in right profile, is known from copies after Boucher drawings and may perhaps represent an alternative project to K1335. See Ragnar Hoppe, *François Boucher*, Malmö, 1930, pl. xxv. (5) Wildenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 42. (6) According to notations in the Kress Archive, Girennerie was the son by a previous marriage of P.-J. Bergeret's wife Catherine Poisson de la Chabeaussière. All subsequent owners, as given by the same source, are descendants of the Chabeaussière family.

MAURICE QUENTIN DE LA TOUR

La Tour, the son of a map-maker, was born in Saint-Quentin in 1704, and died there in 1788.¹ He studied briefly in Paris in 1723 with the painters Spoëde and Claude Dupouch (the sitter for the Kress pastel, K2129). From 1724-27, La Tour may have lived in London. A candidate for the Académie Royale in 1737, La Tour was not fully admitted until 1746 when he submitted the pastel portrait of the painter Jean Restout as his reception picture. From 1737-73 the pastellist exhibited regularly at the Salon, and in 1745 was granted an apartment in the Louvre.

Known as a brilliant conversationalist, La Tour drew sitters of the intellectual community as well as the aristocracy. The artist was also a favorite of the Philosophes; Voltaire designated him his Apelles. La Tour founded a free drawing school in his native Saint-Quentin, where he eventually retired. Rapidly rendered, La Tour's pastel portraits, like those of Liotard (1702-89), are striking in their spontaneity, intimacy and vivacity, like mirrors of the mind. La Tour, especially during his early years as a portraitist, exhibited at the Salon pastels of painters, architects, and other prominent figures in the Parisian art world.

K2129 : Figure 290

PORTRAIT OF CLAUDE DUPOUCH. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1628), since 1956. Pastel on paper. $23\frac{3}{8} \times 19\frac{3}{8}$ in. (59.4 × 49.4 cm.). Inscription on the back: *Portrait de Dupouch peintre par La Tour son élève*. Loss near center of lips; water damage on left cheek, left eye and left forearm; hole at right edge above cuff; strips added along top and at upper right. The pastel may originally have had slightly larger borders at the top, judging by the version at the Musée Lécuyer, St.-Quentin,² (Text Fig. 106), which measures 60 × 50 cm.

The middle-aged painter, resting his crossed arms on a chair back, is shown in half-length in front of an easel at the right. He wears a black *robe-de-chambre* and a white shirt with ruffles at the wrist, and is holding a blue-and-white striped scarf in his left hand. His black silk furred cap is similar to the one in which La Tour portrayed himself (Musée Lécuyer, St.-Quentin). The chair on which Dupouch sits is upholstered in a pinkish brocade with gleaming brass studs.

The sitter is identified by an old inscription on the back of the Kress pastel as Dupouch, La Tour's teacher. On the frame of the Musée Lécuyer replica, La Tour's brother, J. F. de la Tour, wrote: *Dupouch, peintre, maître de mon frère*. Dupouch was also a teacher at the Académie de Saint-Luc;³ he died in Paris in 1747. He appears to have been court painter to Stanislaus I (1677-1766), King of Poland, who resided in Lunéville from 1736 to 1766.

Further pastels of Dupouch by or after Latour are in the collections of Georges Dormeuil, Paris (78 × 70 cm.) and Pierre G. May, Paris.⁴ Additional examples are recorded in the Laperlier Sale, 11-13 Apr. 1867, Cat. No. 67, described as of Dupouch holding a palette, wearing a blue *robe-de-chambre*, 64 × 53 cm.⁵ and in the Collection of M.— (1860), then Henry Didier Sale, 15-17 June 1868, Cat. No. 159 and Anonymous Sale, 21 Feb. 1880, Cat. No. 29, 64 × 53 cm.⁶ A portrait of Dupouch is mentioned in *Archives de l'Art Français*, II, *Le Musée des portraits d'artistes*, 1886, p. 37 and may be any one of the above; it was in the collection of Maurice Gallay in 1886.⁷ Dacier and Ratouis de Limay did not commit themselves as to which of three pastels of Dupouch was shown at the Salon of 1739. They did not

know of K2129.⁸ La Tour is known to have made many repetitions of his works. There are sometimes as many as four examples of the same subject; when the sitter was celebrated, such as Rousseau, many more replicas exist. The finest portrait of Dupouch is the one from La Tour's own collection (Text Fig. 106) and is probably the one exhibited in 1739. The Kress pastel is slightly less brilliant in modeling. The Dormeuil and May examples are inferior in quality. The artist probably presented the sitter with a replica, perhaps the Kress portrait. This strikingly informal depiction of the unshaven artist in his studio, momentarily at rest, places Dupouch in a pose popular in seventeenth-century Dutch art. Hals, whose animated painting was no doubt admired by La Tour, made several portraits, some believed to be of artists, using a similar formula (for example, *Isaak Abrahamsz. Massa*, Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario).

Provenance: Possibly exhibited in the Salon de l'Académie Royale, Paris, 1739.⁹ It appears to have been in the same collection since the eighteenth century – that of Louis Duval de l'Épinoy, who was the subject of one of La Tour's major pastels (Salon of 1745; now Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian). Perhaps he acquired the Dupouch as well; it may have come as a gift from the artist. Marquis Joffroy de Beaumont-Beynac, Château de La Roque, Dordogne.¹⁰ Paris, Jean Cailleux, exhibited – Zurich, Kunsthhaus, *Schönheit des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, summer, 1955, Cat. No. 177. Kress acquisition 1956.

References: (1) For further biography on La Tour, see Champfleury, *La Tour*, Paris, 1886. Gaston Brière and Élie Fleury, *Pastels de Maurice Quentin de La Tour*, Paris, 1920. Émile Dacier and P. Ratouis de Limay, *Pastels Français des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris and Brussels, 1927. Albert Besnard and Georges Wildenstein, *Latour*, Paris, 1928. Dacier and Ratouis de Limay, *Le Pastel en France au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1946. A. Leroy, *Maurice Quentin de La Tour et la Société du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1953. (2) Hermann Erhard, *La Tour, Der Pastellmaler Ludwigs XV*, Munich, 1917, pl. 3. Reproduced in color by Erhard, *op. cit.* Note 2, pl. 3. Besnard and Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 140, Cat. No. 122. (3) Jules Guiffrey, *Histoire de l'Académie de Saint-Luc, Archives de l'Art Français, Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, n.s., IX, 1915, p. 279. Dacier and Ratouis de Limay (1927, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 56, Cat. No. 35) noted that 'Dupauche [sic], peintre du roi de Pologne' was the title of a pastel by La Tour in the Laperlier Sale of 1867 (Cat. No. 67). See also Leroy, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 19. (4) The Dormeuil picture is *ibid.*, pp. 140-1, Cat. No. 123, pl. xxxviii, fig. 57; the May example is *ibid.*, p. 141, Cat. No. 124, pl. cxvi, fig. 232. (5) Besnard and Wildenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 141, Cat. No. 125. (6) *Ibid.*, p. 141, Cat. No. 126. (7) *Ibid.*, p. 141, Cat. No. 127. Another *Dupouch* by La Tour (?) is owned by the Earl of Wemyss, Gosford House. (8) Dacier and Ratouis de Limay, 1927, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 56, Cat. No. 35 is the example owned by Georges Dormeuil. (9) See Jules Guiffrey, *Collection des Livrets des anciennes . . . Salons . . .*, Paris, 1869, volume for 1739, p. 19, as 'M. Dupouche appuyé sur un fauteuil'.

(10) According to Jean Cailleux. In the mid-eighteenth century, the château was the residence of Duval de l'Épinoy, whose pastel portrait, prepared by La Tour, was in the Château de Beaumont - La Roque Sale of 1903. The Marquis de Beaumont-Beynac may have inherited the *Dupouch* from Duval de l'Épinoy, who may have been acquainted with La Tour's teacher, as according to Cailleux, the name Dupouch is native to the Périgord, where the Château de La Roque is situated.

FRANÇOIS HUBERT DROUAIS

Drouais was born in Paris in 1727 and died there in 1775; his father, a portrait painter, was his first teacher.¹ He also studied with Donatien Nonnotte, Carle Vanloo, Natoire and Boucher. In 1755, Drouais was admitted to the Académie Royale, exhibiting regularly at the Salons until his death. In 1756, he portrayed the Dauphin's two little sons - the future Louis XVI and the future Louis XVIII - playing with a dog. This painting was greatly admired for its spontaneity and originality, and Drouais soon became a favorite portraitist to the royal family, aristocracy, and upper bourgeoisie. Popular among theater people, Drouais's portrait of *Madame Favart* of 1757 ranks among his finest. Besieged by commissions, Drouais allowed his later works to become mannered and somewhat mechanical in execution but remained the outstanding portraitist of the second half of the reign of Louis XV. His delicate art anticipates the style of Louis XVI, whose patronage he barely lived to enjoy.

K1328 : Figure 285

FAMILY PORTRAIT (April Fool's Day 1756). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (769), since 1946. Oil on canvas. 96 × 76½ in. (244 × 195 cm.). Inscribed on edge of box: *fs [fils] Drouais ce 1 avril 1756*. Some losses in drapery of dressing table; discolored restoration in area of clouds. Pentimenti. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto about 1938. Minor restoration by Modestini in 1958; generally very well preserved.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 165. Reproduced in color in *Cairns and Walker*, p. 113.

The extremely large canvas shows a prosperous family group near the window of a dressing or bedroom on 1 April 1756. The mother, in powdered hair, is seated en negligée, wearing a white peignoir over a corsage covered with lavender ribbons and a skirt of pale gold taffeta. She holds a cluster of flowers with her right hand, placing them on the head of her daughter; she points to the little girl with her other hand as she turns toward her husband, who stands behind her to the right, resting his right arm on the back of her chair and looking down at their daughter. He wears a powdered wig, a fancy silk morning-gown with argentan lace at the wrists, rose-colored breeches, white stockings and buckled shoes. He holds a letter in his right hand, his left placed on his hip.

The little girl has powdered hair and wears a blue dress. She looks out at the viewer, resting her right arm, holding a basket of flowers in her mother's lap. A spray of roses is at the lower left; an opened box containing hair ornaments, a striped gauze scarf, pink ribbons and pearls is on the floor to the right. The group is placed in a corner, to the right of a large window with a white half-curtain across the lower section and a blue-green taffeta drape along the right side. A dressing table covered with white material is placed directly below the window, its oval mirror draped in a strong pink material. The table is set with silver-gilt toilet articles, including a helmet-shaped ewer at the left and a simple baluster candlestick (both in Louis XIV style), two silver-gilt boxes and a silver gilt powder box with a convex top. Two glass bottles and other articles are also on the table. At the upper right, on the wall above the man, is an elaborate gilt bronze rococo cartel clock, its hands at 11:17. The unusual specification of month and day as well as year accompanying the artist's signature on K1328 indicate Drouais's desire to call attention to the fact that his canvas refers to his sitters' being shown on 1 April. April Fool's Day is known in France as *Poisson d'avril* after its astrological symbol of Pisces (the fish, *poisson*). It is celebrated by the exchange of small presents, practical jokes and mock messages, all of which, with their 'victim'-recipients, are known as *poissons d'avril*. The letter held by the father with the flowers and trimmings may belong in that category. The calendar year began on 25 March, the New Year festivities at their height on 1 April, until the late sixteenth century, when France, the first nation to adopt the Reform (Gregorian) Calendar, shifted New Year's Day to 1 January.

Phillips described the Kress canvas as a Drouais of 'important dimensions. . . . The portraits here combined have in themselves great attractiveness; so clear in its even brightness is the color, so well-sustained the tone, so careful yet moderate the elaboration of the whole.'² According to Collins-Baker, the portrait is one of Drouais's most important works, showing 'how thoroughly he had mastered, at the age of twenty-nine, the technique not only of his father (Hubert) and Van Loo, but also of Nattier. The mother in this group would generally pass as a Nattier atelier piece. In the father Drouais is more individual; . . . but the little, delicate girl is entirely individual; she shines with a naïve charm which is exceptional in French dix-huitième portraiture.'³ Huyghe included the canvas in his study of French painting.⁴ The group portrait was characterized by Frankfurter as a 'monument to one of the most ingenious artists of his day.'⁵ Cooke (p. 36) stressed the significance of 1 April for the Kress canvas. *Cairns and Walker* (p. 112) suggested that the sitters might possibly represent the de Meulan family on the basis of their resemblance to the Drouais group portrait of that family. Richardson noted that the portrait stemmed from Drouais's first successful years and might represent his earliest important commission. He felt Drouais had been influenced by one of Greuze's first works, *Father Explaining the Bible to his Children* (now lost, Salon of 1755), which was favorably received by Diderot and reflected a new wave of family feeling in French art.⁶ The accessories

on the dressing-table are, as noted by Verlet, a little old-fashioned by the time the canvas was painted – still in the style of Louis XIV rather than that of the then-reigning monarch Louis XV.⁷

Monumental in size, this canvas was painted by the twenty-nine-year-old artist a year before he was commissioned to portray the comte de Provence and the duc de Berry, both small boys, Drouais's major commission prior to his being made a member of the Académie Royale in 1757. Although the sitters' rich attire suggests a family of unusual wealth, the silver-gilt service on the dressing table appears to have been a studio prop, also included in a very similarly composed canvas, *La Comtesse de Meulan à sa toilette* (64½ × 50¾ in.), which shows the countess accompanied by her husband and little girl in a setting very close to K1328.⁸ The same clock appears in many Drouais portraits. Boucher placed his signature in exactly the same location in his *La Modiste* of 1746 (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum). Like the Kress canvas, *La Modiste* shows a lady at her dressing table in the morning; it belonged to a series showing the four times of day that was engraved by Gaillard (1722–85) and might have interested Drouais.⁹ Drouais may also have modeled his composition on works by Nattier such as *Madame Marsollier and her Daughter* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), exhibited at the Salon of 1750, showing the little girl holding a box of hair ornaments, her mother placing one on the child's brow and holding a second in her other hand. The handsome, prosperous family of K1328 cannot be securely identified. The picture seems to have long been regarded as showing Madame de Pompadour with her husband, Charles Guillaume Lenormant d'Étoiles, and her daughter Alexandrine. However, as the little girl died on 15 June 1754, this is impossible. As Madame de Pompadour's maiden name was Poisson, the canvas, referring as it does to *Poisson d'avril*, may for this reason have been associated with the King's mistress, but this would hardly have been a flattering basis for a group portrait.¹⁰ None of the proposed identifications of the family are convincing. Like Nattier and Gainsborough, Drouais tended to make his fashionable subjects look alike. Among Drouais's finest canvases, the family portrait shows him following the conventional style of Nattier, but adding a new directness and austerity, possibly influenced by Alexander Roslin's northern clarity.

Provenance: Aristide Bruant? Paris.¹¹ Samuel Cunliffe-Lister, 1st Lord Masham (1815–1906), Swinton Park, Masham, Yorks., bought from Wertheimer in 1889, exhibited – London, Guildhall Corporation Art Gallery, *A Selection of Works by French and English Painters of the Eighteenth Century*, 1902, p. 26, Cat. No. 18 as 'A Family Group'. John Cunliffe-Lister, 3rd Lord Masham (1867–1924). Mary Constance Boynton, Lady Swinton, inherited in 1924 from her brother, 3rd Lord Masham, exhibited – London, Thomas Agnew and Sons, *Pictures by Old Masters*, 1925, p. 6, Cat. No. 9; Leeds, City Art Gallery, *Exhibition*, 1936, Cat. No. 29. Lord Duveen, Millbank, exhibited – Paris, Palais National des Arts, *Chefs d'œuvres de l'art français*, 1, 1937, pp. 289–90, Cat. No. 108, pl. 291. New

York, Duveen, exhibited – New York, New York World's Fair, *Masterpieces of Art*, 1940, pp. 135–6, Cat. No. 197. Kress acquisition 1942.

References: (1) Anonymous, *Éloge de Monsieur Drouais, Peintre du Roi, Conseiller de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, Premier Peintre de Monsieur et de Madame*, Paris, 1776. P. Dorbec, 'Les Drouais', *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, xvi, 1904, pp. 409 ff.; xvii, 1905, pp. 53 ff. C. Gabillot, 'Les Trois Drouais', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser., xxxiv, 1905, pp. 177–94, pp. 288–98. Georges Wildenstein, 'A Propos des Portraits Peints par François-Hubert Drouais', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., li, 1958, pp. 97–104. (2) Claude Phillips, 'French and English Art at the Guild Hall', *Daily Telegraph*, 21 June 1902. (3) C. H. Collins-Baker, 'Old Masters at Messrs. Agnew', *Burlington Magazine*, London, xlii, June 1925, p. 300. (4) René Huyghe, *La peinture française, XVIII et XIX siècles* (figures et portraits), Paris, 1937, pl. 16. (5) Alfred M. Frankfurter, '383 Masterpieces of Art', *Art News Annual*, Supplement, xxxviii, no. 34, 1940, Section I, pp. 16–43, 62–6, esp. p. 64. See also his *The Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, New York, 1944, pp. 78–9. In *Art News* for Aug. 1944, 'French Masterpieces for the National Gallery', p. 24, he described K1328 as the last echo of Titian's triple portrait of Pope Paul III with his Nephews (Naples, Museo Nazionale). (6) E. P. Richardson, 'A Family Portrait by Drouais in the National Gallery', *Art Quarterly*, summer 1944, pp. 225–6. (7) Pierre Verlet, *The Eighteenth Century in France, Society, Decoration, Furniture*, Rutland, Vermont, 1967, p. 85, pl. 58. (8) See François Boucher, 'L'Exposition de la Vie Parisienne au XVIII siècle au Musée Carnavalet', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., xvii, 1928, pp. 193 ff., repro. p. 201. As this canvas is close in scale to K1328, it may well prove to have been cut down. (9) See *The Wallace Collection Catalogues, Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1968, pp. 30–1. (10) A former owner of the painting, Samuel Cunliffe-Lister, 1st Lord Masham, was told by the dealer Wertheimer that the previous owner refused to have his or her name disclosed. In 1924, Lady Masham was informed by Wertheimer's descendants that the portrait showed the family of a 'banker to Louis XV, who had tried to corner wheat in France in the best Chicago manner' (Letter of Lord Masham, 1 June 1950). This would seem to refer to Madame de Pompadour's father who was associated with the scandalous purchase of provender in 1725. (11) According to *Einstein* (p. 231), the canvas belonged to Aristide Bruant, the French singer (1850–1925). The collection of a widow Bruant (Vente Veuve B, Hôtel Drouot, 18–20, 22 June 1908) included one work attributed to Drouais of a boy on a hillock (p. 29, Cat. No. 226).

PIERRE-ANTOINE BAUDOUIN

The artist was born in 1723 in Paris, where he died in 1769. His father was a print maker. He studied under Boucher, marrying his master's youngest daughter. Baudouin exhibited at the Salons regularly between 1761 and 1769

entering the Académie in 1763. He was a favorite artist of Madame de Pompadour, for whom he did many commissions, especially religious subjects for Versailles. The artist worked with Mariette.¹ His friend Diderot characterized him in the Salon of 1765 as 'Bon garçon, qui a de la figure, de la douceur, de l'esprit, un peu libertin.'² Baudouin was a master of light, picaresque subject matter; and Fragonard supposedly first took up this genre only on the death of Baudouin, who seems to have had a monopoly of it.³ His oeuvre is restricted to works in gouache and watercolors, many of which were reproduced in print form.

References: (1) See J. and E. de Goncourt, *L'Art du dix-huitième siècle*, I, pp. 272-3; and H. Bouchot, 'Baudouin, peintre religieux', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1897, Part 1, pp. 391 f., Part 2, pp. 69 f. (2) Denis Diderot, *Salons*, ed. J. Seznec, and J. Adhémar, Oxford, 1960, II, p. 137. (3) Georges Wildenstein, *Fragonard*, London, 1960, p. 16.

PIERRE-ANTOINE BAUDOUIN

dk468 : Figure 286

THE COQUETTE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22, 367), since 1963. Black chalk with gray wash and bister, in an eighteenth-century style mount. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{5}{16}$ in. (31.7 × 23.5 cm.). Inscribed on mount: *La gaze et le satin, les rubans, les dentelles, / Disposés avec art, rehaussent tes attraits. / Redoute les galants, à leurs vœux sois rebelle, / Souvent coquette est prise à ses propres filets.* ('Gauze, satin, ribbons and laces, Artfully placed, heighten your charms. Beware of flirts, repel their advances, Often coquettes are caught in their own webs.')

A seamstress with tape measure and scissors suspended on a ribbon from her waist seems to be arranging dress material on her client who stands to the left, a kitten playing at her hem. A muff (?) is on a tabouret at the lower left. A little boy is seen at the lower right holding a drum and with a toy horse. Behind, to the left, another seamstress is seated by the window, light streaming in on her and on an older man who taps her on the shoulder. A *dessus-de-porte* shows Venus with a bird, Cupid at her side. The scene may take place at a couturière's boutique or in a domestic interior.

The drawing is attributed to Baudouin in the Coty sale of 1936. The style seems to uphold this attribution, and to be datable in the 1760s at the height of the artist's powers.

Provenance: Sale: François Coty, Galerie Charpentier, 30 Nov. - 1 Dec. 1936, p. 1, Cat. No. 1. Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1937.

dk469 : Figure 287

KINDLY MARTINE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22, 368), since 1963. Black chalk with gray wash and bistre, in a recent mounting. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31.7 ×

23.5 cm.). Inscribed on mount: *Contemple, ô triste époux, l'appétissant minois / De l'aimable Martine et sa taille élégante. / Je me consolerais bien vite, je le crois, / Si j'étais à ta place, auprès de la servante.* ('Gaze, oh melancholy spouse, on the delicious face / Of kindly Martine and her elegant form. / I would console myself very quickly, I am sure, / With that servant, if I were in your shoes.')

A young washerwoman standing in the center foreground by an ironing table fills a basin held by a little boy. Behind the large steaming vat seen to the right, is a man embracing another washerwoman. A small boy kneels at the lower left, using bellows on a small fire. What appears to be a classical relief is seen at the extreme left. A laundry line is behind the figures, a dog and chickens in the right foreground corner. An agitated figure enters the scene at the upper right, gesticulating, his mouth open, about to descend the ladder at his feet. Martine was a common servant's name in mid-eighteenth-century French literature.

dk469, like dk468 (q.v.), was attributed to Baudouin in the Coty sale, and is datable in the 1760s. The two may always have formed a pair, and are certainly contemporary, as the handling and typing are very similar. The outdoor setting of dk469 is reminiscent of Italy. The top part of the drawing, above the clothes line, is stylistically very close to Hubert Robert.

Provenance: Sale: François Coty, Galerie Charpentier, 30 Nov. - 1 Dec. 1936, p. 1, Cat. No. 1. Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1937.

JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE

Jean-Baptiste Greuze was born in Tournus in 1725 and died in Paris in 1805.¹ Little is known of his early years; from 1745-50, he studied under the painter Charles Grandon in Lyons. Shortly before 1755 Greuze went to Paris, where he entered the Académie Royale, and studied under Natoire. In 1755, the young painter attracted public attention with his cleverly contrived *Reading the Bible* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) which reflected the sentimental morality of Diderot who was to admire Greuze's works. He exhibited successfully at each Salon until 1769. In that year, hoping to achieve the status of 'history painter', Greuze finally submitted *Severus Reproaching Caracalla* (Paris, Louvre), a history painting in the newly fashionable neo-Classical manner, as his reception painting. Academy officials repudiated this work, only admitting Greuze as a 'painter of genre scenes'. Disgruntled, the artist refused to show at the Salons again. With great success, he proceeded to sell his paintings from his studio to such patrons as Catherine the Great, Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry. Best known for his anecdotal and erotic paintings, Greuze excelled as a subtle colorist. He was a brilliant draughtsman and fine portraitist, as seen in his *Lalive de July* (K1326), the amateur who introduced Greuze to the Parisian art world. The Revolution reversed his fortune. Poor investments, his wife's extravagance



Jacques-Louis David: *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries* (κ 2046). Washington, D.C. (p. 352)



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres: *Monsieur Marcolte d'Argenteuil* (κ 1650). Washington, D.C. (p. 364)



Text Fig 50 *Death of St. Clare*.
Nuremberg, Germanisches
Nationalmuseum (see K 1859).



Text Fig 51 *Death of the Virgin* by the Master of Heiligenkreuz. Cleveland,
Museum of Art (see K 1859).



Text Fig 52 *Baptism of Clovis and Clovis in Battle* by Pierre Le Rouge.
Woodcut from *La Mer des Histoires*, Paris, 1488, II, Leaf Capital s.1. recto
(see K 1422).



Text Fig 53 Left, above and below: *St. Leu healing the sick Children and Baptism of Clovis*.
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art.
Center and right: *St. Gilles and King Flavius and Mass of St. Gilles*. London, National Gallery.
All by the Master of St. Gilles (see K 1421).



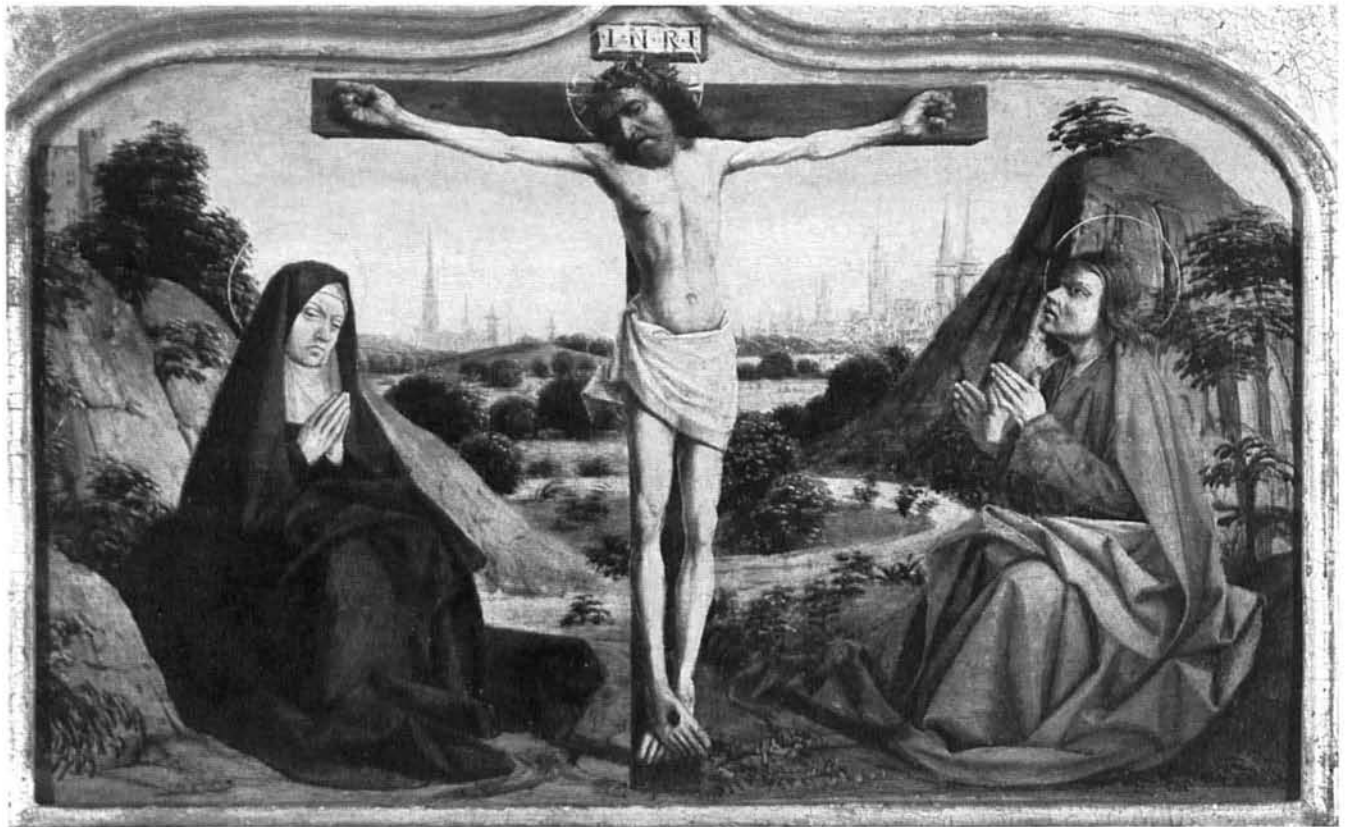


Text Fig 54 Left and center: *St. Peter* and *St. Leu*. Grisailles by the Master of St. Gilles. London, National Gallery.
Right, above and below: *St. Gilles* and *St. Denis*. Lost grisailles by the Master of St. Gilles.





Text Fig. 55 *Three Angels in a Landscape* by Antonello de Messina. Reggio di Calabria, Museo della Magna Grecia (see κ 367).



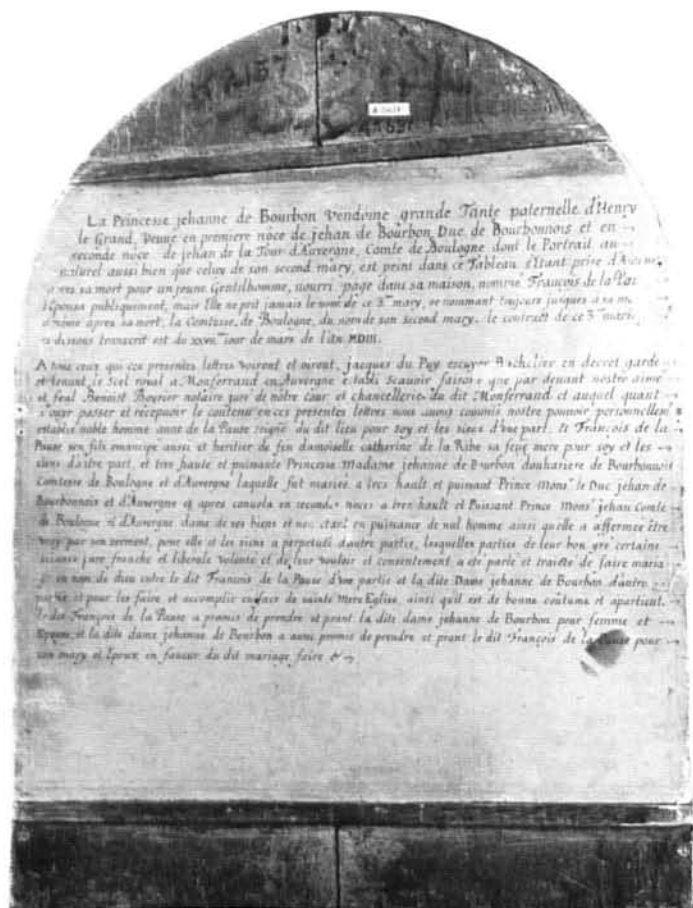
Text Fig 56 *Crucifixion* by Nicolas Dipre. Detroit, Institute of Arts (see κ 1821).



Text Fig 57 *Adoration of the Magi* by Nicolas Dipre. Zurich, private collection (see K 1821).



Text Fig 58 *Presentation of the Virgin* by Nicolas Dipre. Paris, private collection (see K 1821).



Text Fig 59 Genealogical inscription on the back of central panel of the Master of the de Latour D'Auvergne triptych (κ 2157).



Text Fig 60 Eighteenth-Century Genealogical Table on back of the wings of the de Latour D'Auvergne triptych (κ 2157).



Text Fig 61 Nude Gioconda, School of Leonardo, Chantilly, Musée Condé (see κ 2125).



Text Fig 62 Mary Stuart, drawing ascribed to François Clouet, Chantilly, Musée Condé (see κ 2125).



Text Fig 63 *Apollo and the Nine Muses* by Simon Vouet. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (see κ 2177).



Text Fig 64 *Euterpe* by Simon Vouet. Paris, private collection (see κ 2177).



Text Fig 65 *Clio* by Simon Vouet. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle (see κ 2177).



Text Fig 66 *Polyhymnia* by Simon Vouet. Paris, Louvre (see κ 2177).



Text Fig 67 Reproductive print by Jean Baptiste de Poilly engraved in reverse after κ 1876.



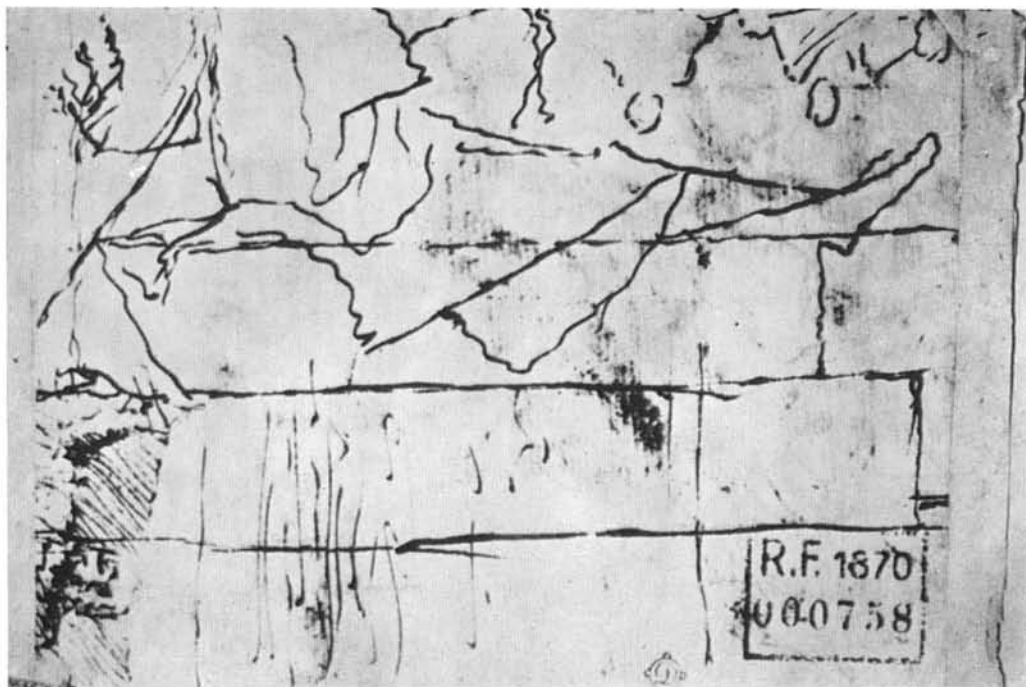
Text Fig 68 *Israelites Worshipping the Golden Calf* by Poussin. Preparatory drawing for κ 1876. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, 11884 verso.



Text Fig 69 Reproductive print by Jean Dughet after κ 1391



Text Fig 70 *The Baptism of Christ* by Poussin, preparatory drawing for κ 1391. Chantilly, Musée Condé.



Text Fig 71 *The Holy Family on the Steps* by Poussin (κ 1642): fragment of a preparatory pen drawing.
Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 758 v.



Text Fig 72 *The Holy Family on the Steps* by Poussin (κ 1642). Preparatory drawing.
Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 32.439.



Text Fig 73 *The Holy Family on the Steps* by Poussin (κ 1642). Preparatory drawing, pen and wash.
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.



Text Fig 74 *The Holy Family on the Steps* by Poussin (κ 1642). Preparatory drawing. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



Text Fig 75 *The Nurture of Jupiter* by or after Poussin (κ 1440). Drawing. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.



Text Fig 76 *Landscape with Cowherd Piping* by Claude Lorrain. In his *Liber Veritatis* No. 121 (see κ 599). London, British Museum.



Text Fig 77 *Classical Landscape with Figures and Sunset* by Claude Lorrain (κ 1894). Preparatory drawing in black chalk with grey wash. London, British Museum.



Text Fig 78 *Landscape with Tobias and the Angel* by Claude Lorrain. In his *Liber Veritatis* No. 65 (see κ 1894). London, British Museum.



Text Fig 79 *Pastoral Landscape* by Claude Lorrain. In his *Liber Veritatis* No. 81 (see κ 1894). London, British Museum.



Text Fig 80 Engraving by Tardieu (1786) after *Countess Ebba Sparre* (κ 1439) by Sébastien Bourdon.



Text Fig 81 Print by Croisier after a painting by François de Troy (see κ 2083).



Text Fig 82 *Youth and his Tutor* by a French Master active in the second half of the seventeenth century. Paris, Louvre (see κ 2083).



Text Fig 83 *Portrait of a Man* attributed to Nicolas Largillière (κ 116). X-ray.



Text Fig 84 *Spring* by L. Desplaces after Watteau.



Text Fig 85 *Summer* by Renard du Bos after Watteau.



Text Fig 86 *Autumn* by E. Fessard after Watteau.



Text Fig 87 *Winter* by J. Audran after Watteau.



Text Fig 88 *Spring* by Watteau (lost 1966) (see K 2048).



Text Fig 89 *Les Comédiens Français*. Reproductive print after Watteau by Jean Michel Liotard.



Text Fig 90 *Les Comédiens Italiens*. Etching by Bernard Baron after Watteau. The print is reproduced here in reverse, to correspond with K 1344.



Text Fig 91 *Les Comédiens Italiens* by Watteau. Preparatory drawing. Minneapolis, Institute of Arts.



Text Fig 92 *Les Comédiens Italiens* by Watteau. Preparatory drawing. Alençon, Musée de la Maison d'Ozé.



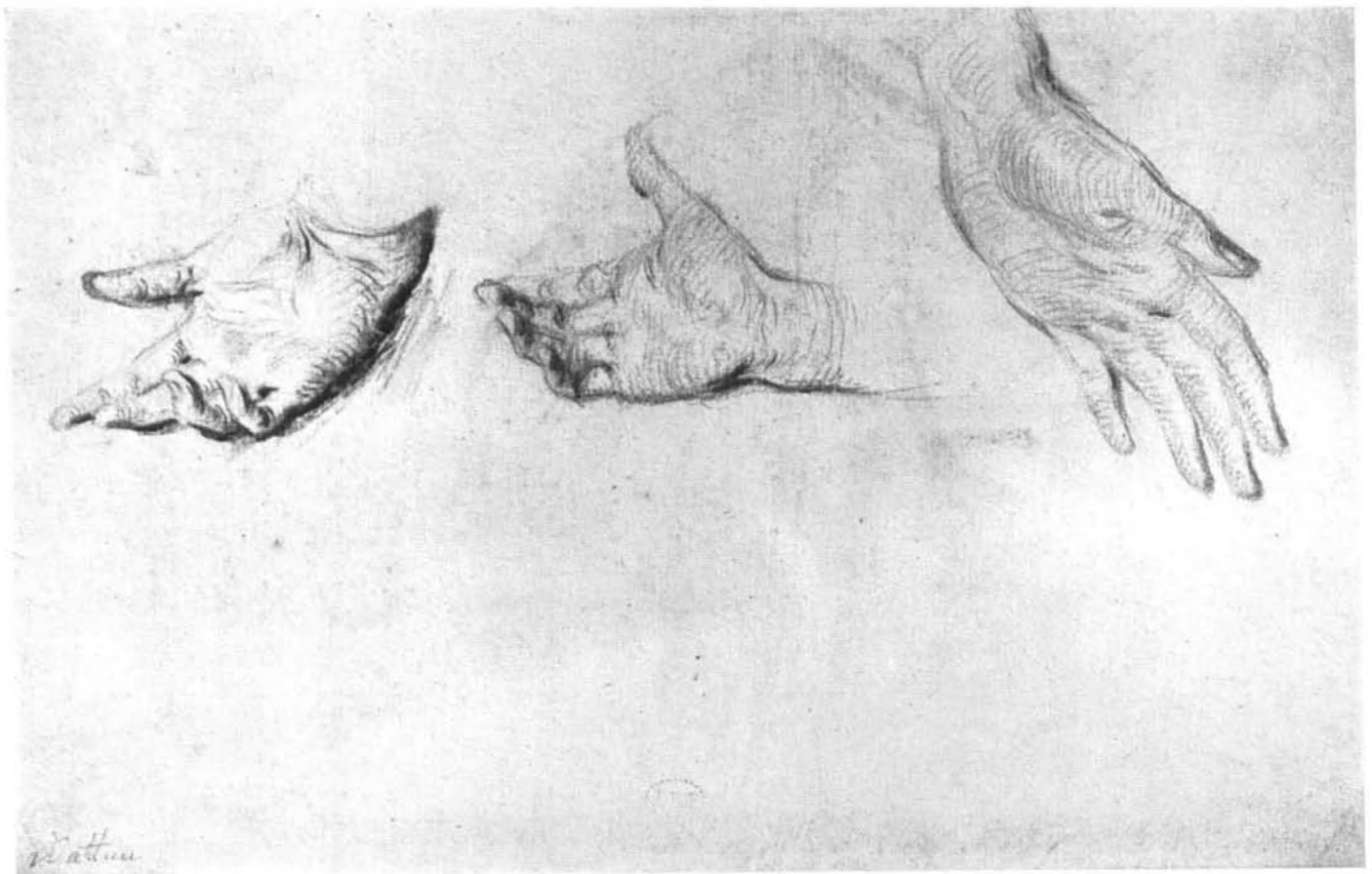
Text Fig 93 *Les Comédiens Italiens*. Copy after Watteau (see K 2048). Washington, National Gallery of Art Study Collection.



Text Fig 94 *Les Comédiens Italiens* by Watteau. Counterproof of preparatory drawing. Collection Earl of Iveagh, Elveden Hall, Suffolk.



Text Fig 95 *Les Comédiens Italiens* by Watteau (K 1344). Preparatory drawing. London, British Museum, p. 43.



Text Fig 96 *Les Comédiens Italiens* by Watteau (K 1344). Preparatory drawing. London, British Museum, p. 43 verso.



Text Fig 97 *Les Comédiens Italiens* by Watteau. Preparatory drawing. Paris, P. Bordeaux-Groult.



Text Fig 98 *Les Comédiens Italiens* by Watteau. Preparatory drawing. London, British Museum, p. 42.



Text Fig 99 *Les Comédiens Italiens* by Watteau. Preparatory drawing. Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum.



Text Fig 100 *Les Comédiens Italiens* by Watteau. Preparatory drawing. Collection Earl of Iveagh, Elveden Hall, Suffolk.



Text Fig 101 *La Ratisseuse*. Reproductive print by Lépicic (1742) after Chardin (κ 1847).



Text Fig 102 *La Pourvoyeuse* by Chardin (1739). Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada.



Text Fig 103 *Nourishment for Convalescence* by Chardin. Preparatory sketch for κ 1838 or another work. Switzerland, private collection.



Text Fig 104 Bureau from Lalive de Jully's 'Cabinet dans le goût grec'. Chantilly, Musée Condé (see κ 1326).



Text Fig 105 *A Young Ecclesiastic* by Vincent (κ 1663). Watercolor from his *Liber Veritatis* v. II, f.7.



Text Fig 106 *Portrait of Claude Dupouch* by Maurice Quentin de la Tour. Pastel. St. Quentin, Musée Lécuyer (see κ 2129).



Text Fig 107 *La Contredanse* by Watteau. Ex. coll. Sterling Postely (see dk 505).



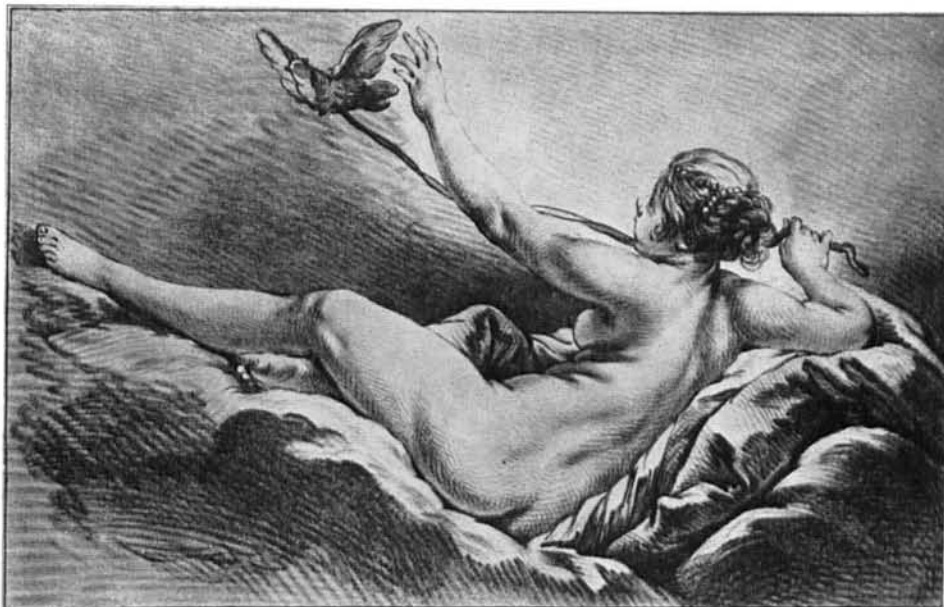
Text Fig 108 *Interior of the Coliseum* attributed to Hubert Robert.
Rome, private collection (see κ 1843).



Text Fig 109 François Boucher: Preparatory drawing for P. Gabriel Daniel's *Histoire de la France*, Paris, 1722. (See κ 2148.)
Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 25174.



Text Fig 110 *Danaë Receiving the Golden Shower* by Boucher. Drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries. Guyot de Villeneuve Sale, Paris 1900 (see K 506).



Text Fig 111 Engraving by L. Bonnet (1764) after *Danaë Receiving the Golden Shower* by F. Boucher (see DK 506).



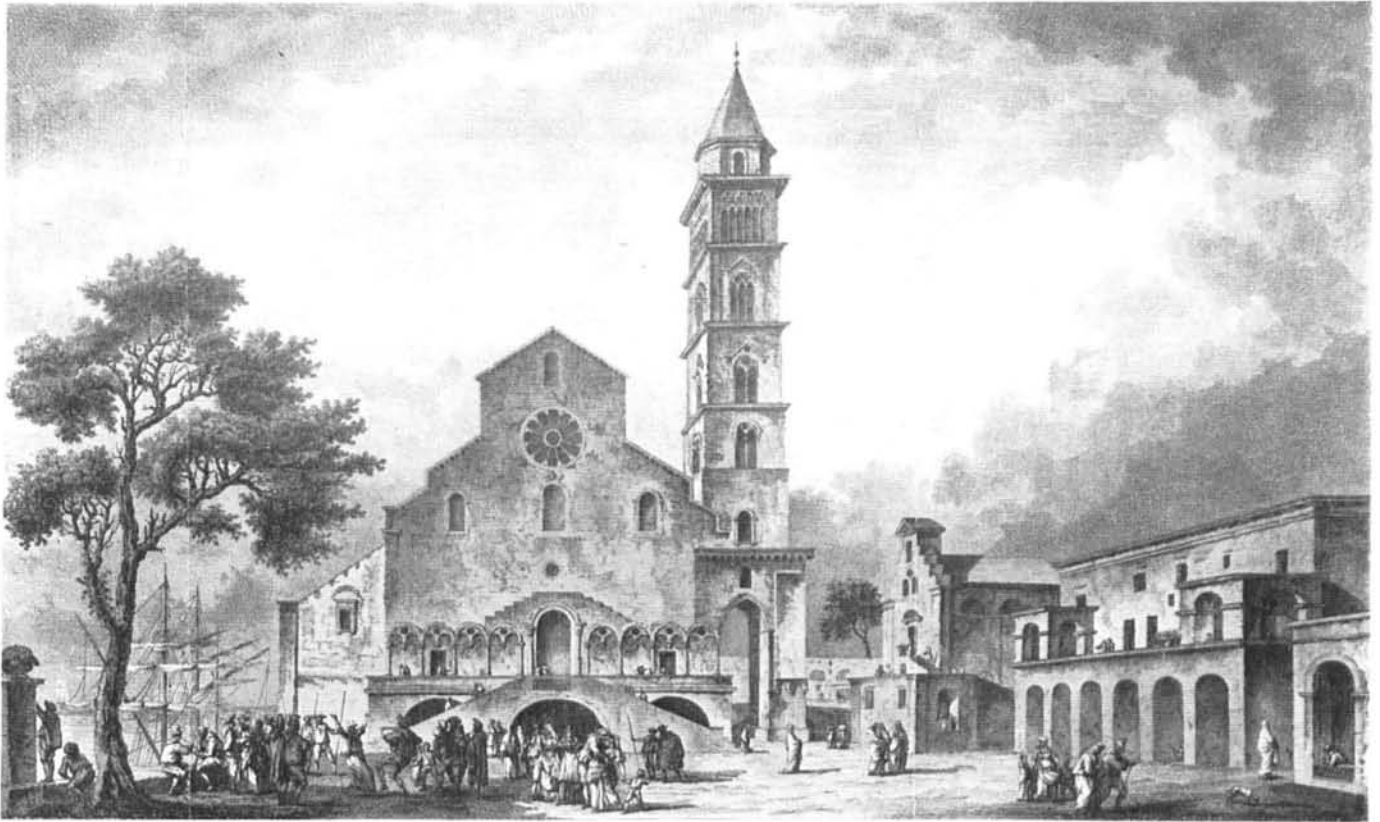
Text Fig 112 *Danaë Receiving the Golden Shower* by F. Boucher. Oil on canvas. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm Inv. NM5761 (see DK 506).



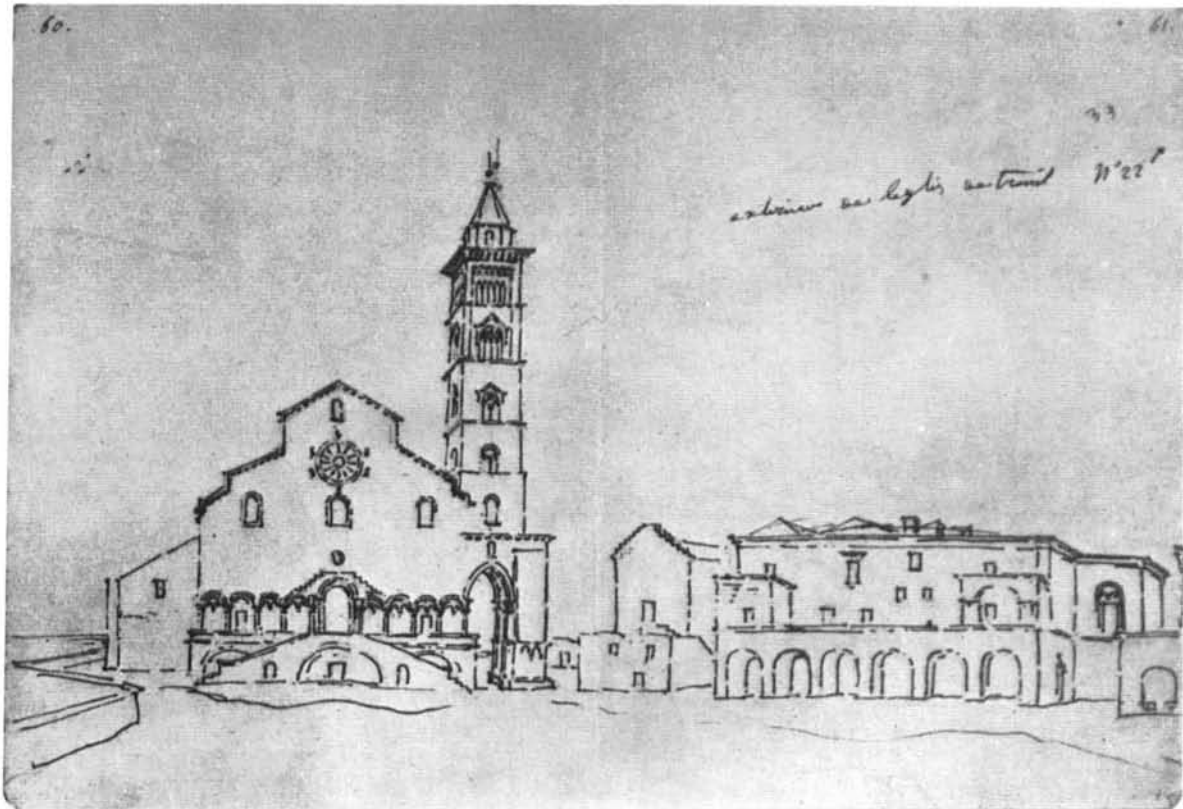
Text Fig 113 *Ponte Salario* by Hubert Robert, Ex. coll. S. Bardac (see K 1417).



Text Fig 114 *Ponte Salario* by Piranesi. Etching, 1754 from the *Vedute di Roma* (see K 1417).



Text Fig 115 *The Cathedral at Trani*, etching after dk 386 by Berteaux and Desquauvilliers.



Text Fig 116 *The Cathedral at Trani*, preparatory drawing for dk 386 by Louis-Jean Desprez, Stockholm Academy of Fine Arts.



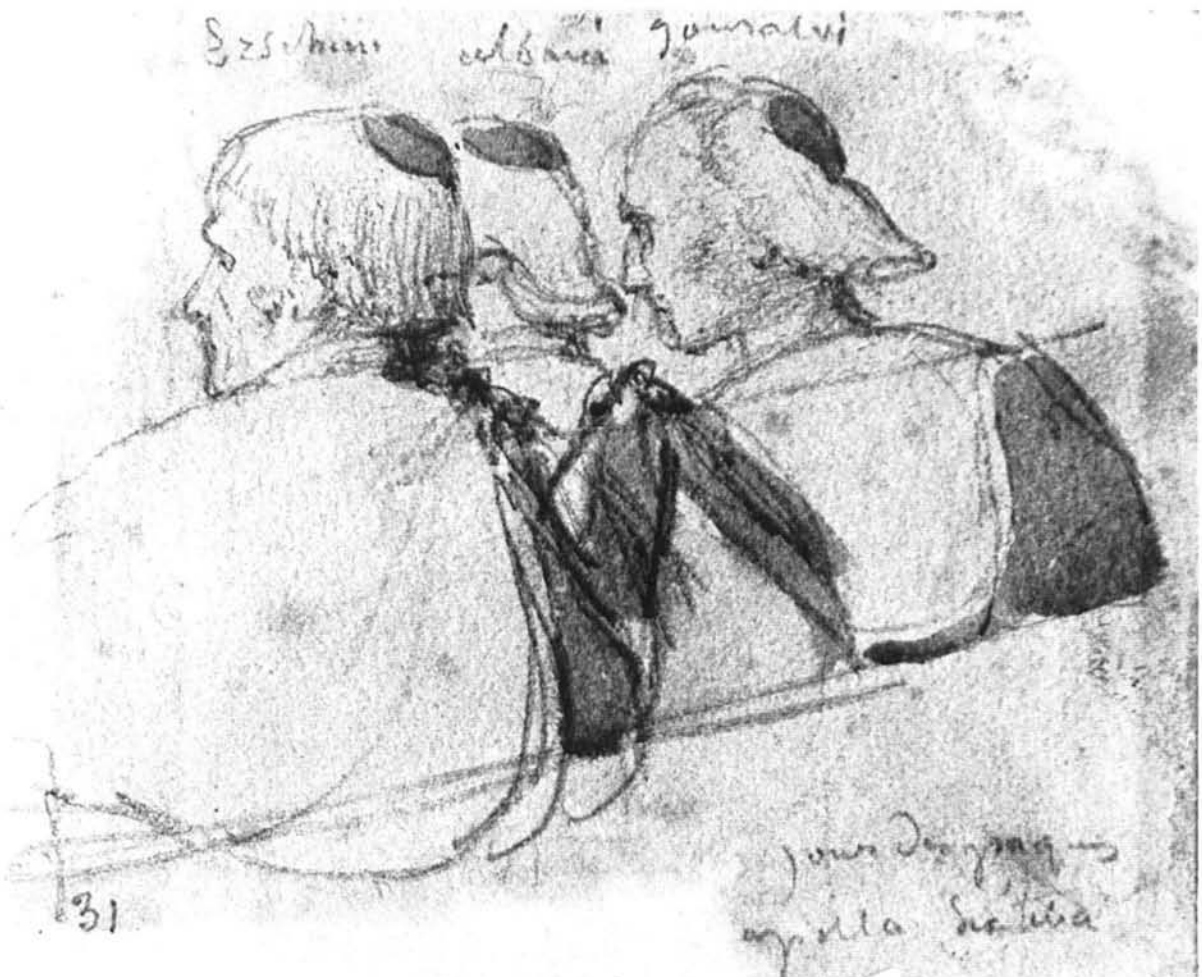
Text Fig 117 *Cardinal Consalvi* by Ingres. Chalk study for κ 1649.
Montauban, Musée Ingres.



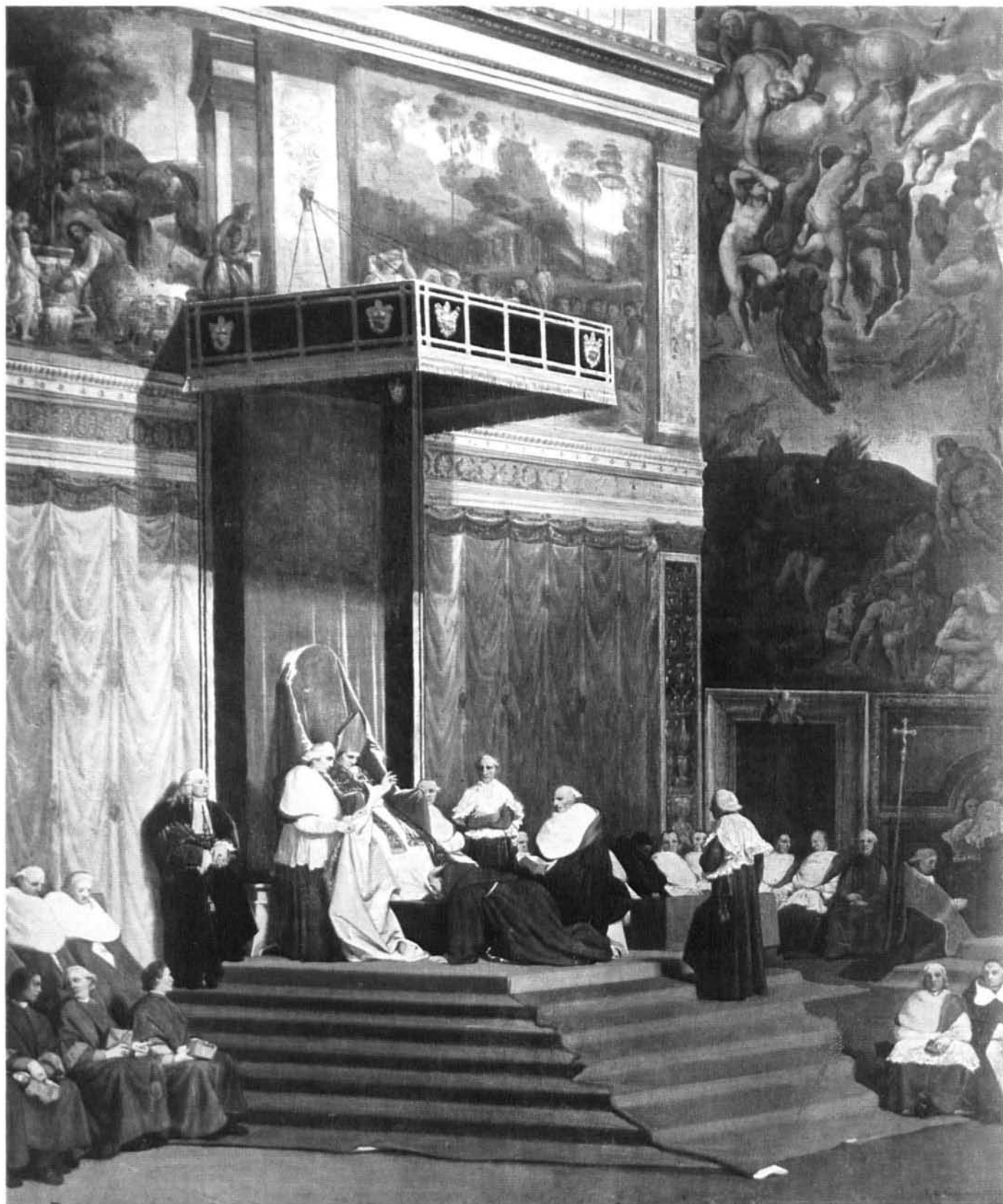
Text Fig 118 *Sixteen Preparatory Studies* for κ 1649. Mounted on one sheet by Ingres. Montauban, Musée Ingres.



Text Fig 119 *Pius VII in the Sistine Chapel with Two Cardinals and a Halberdier* by Ingres. Watercolor and pencil drawing. Besançon Musée des Beaux-Arts (see K 1649).



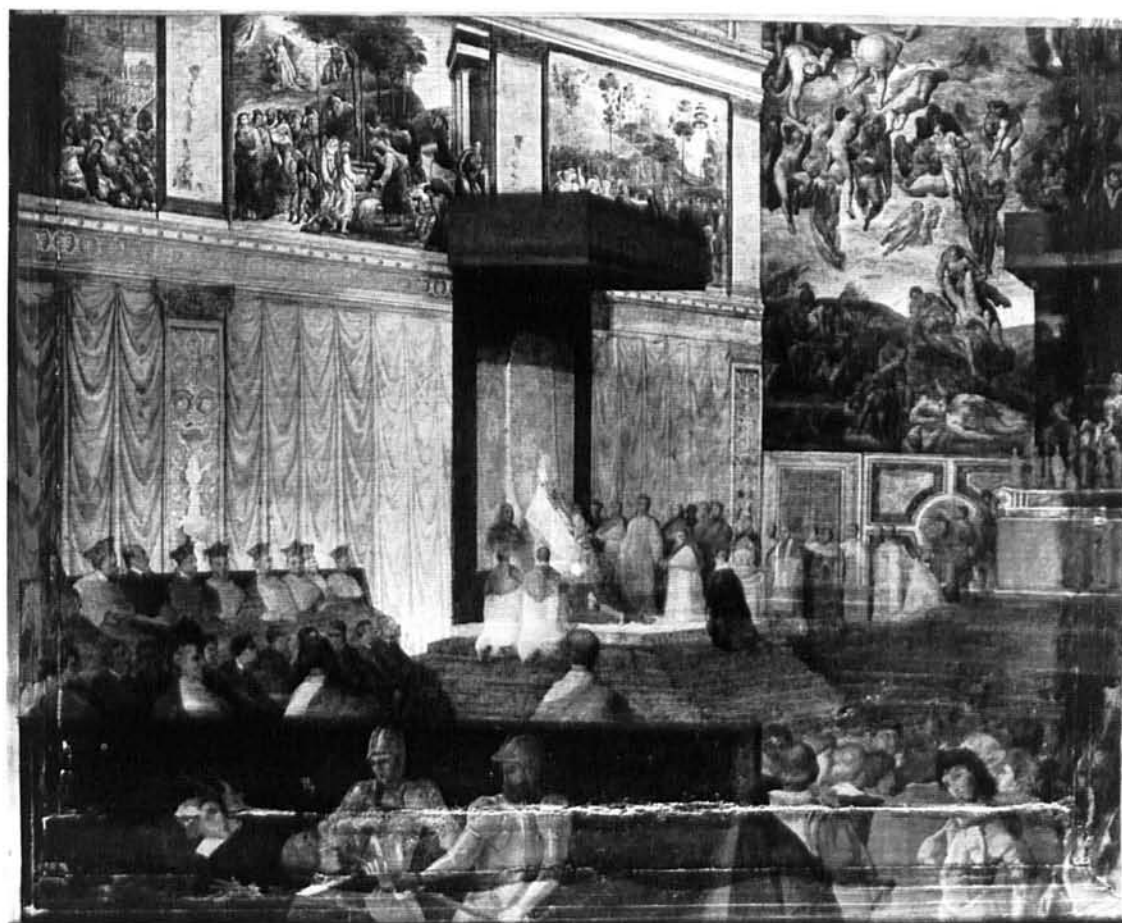
Text Fig 120 *Cardinals Erskine, Albani and Consalvi* by Ingres. Preparatory drawing for K 1649. Montauban, Musée Ingres.



Text Fig 121 *La Chapelle Sistine* by Ingres. Paris, Louvre (see K 1649).



Text Fig 122 *La Chapelle Sistine Miserece* 1848 by Ingres and his studio. Montauban, Musée Ingres (see κ 1649).



Text Fig 123 *Investiture of Taddeo Barberini as Prefect of Rome in the Sistine Chapel* by the studio of Ingres. Montauban, Musée Ingres (see κ 1649).



Text Fig 124 *Two Arm Studies* by Ingres in pencil for K 1407.
Montauban, Musée Ingres.



Text Fig 125 *Madame Moitessier Standing* by Ingres. Pencil drawing.
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art.



Text Fig 126 *Madame Moitessier Standing* by Ingres. Pencil drawing. Paris, coll.
J. Dupont.



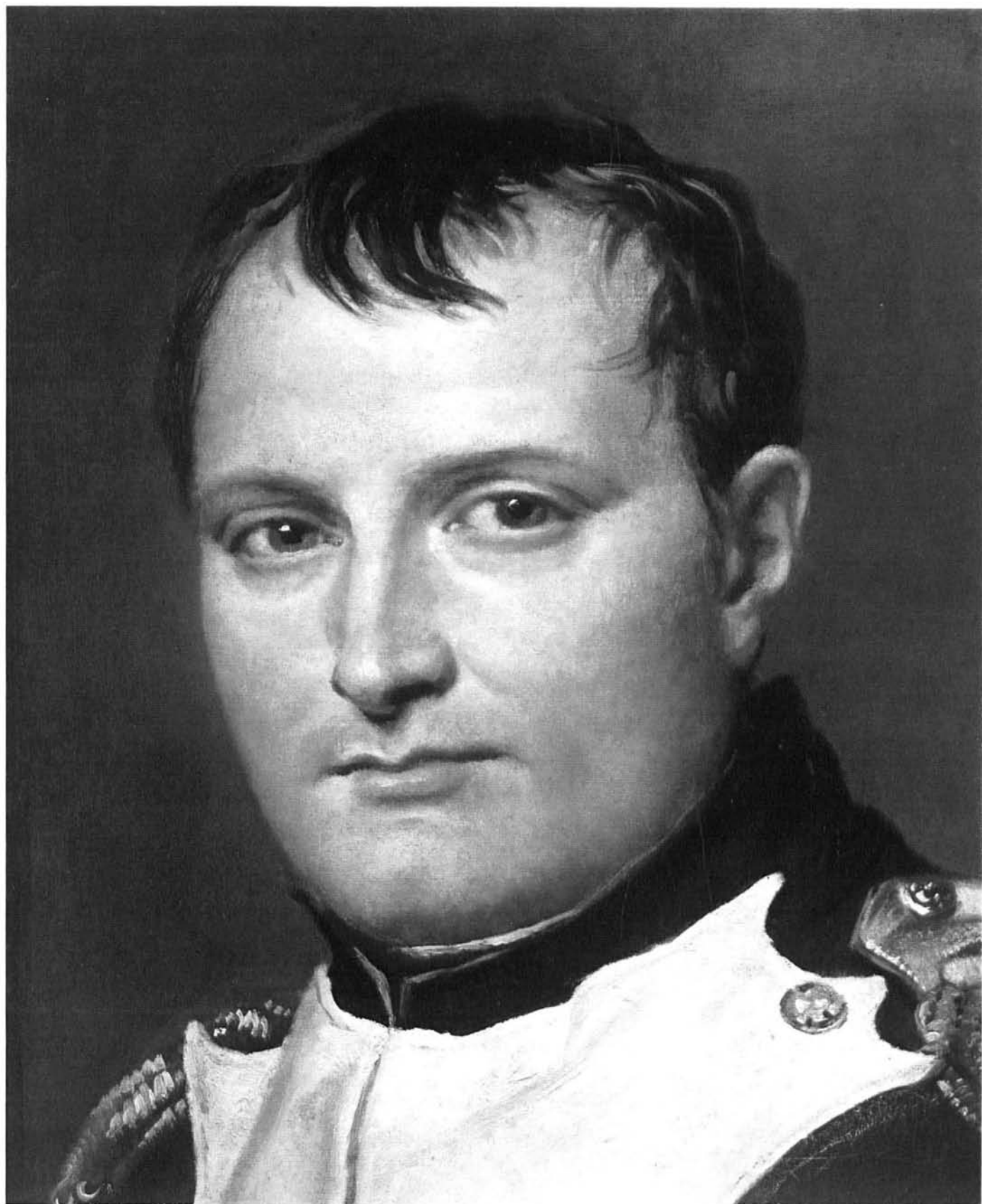
Text Fig 127 *Madame Moitessier Standing* by Ingres. Pencil drawing. London, private coll.



Text Fig 128 *Madame Moitessier Seated* by Ingres. London, National Gallery (see K 1407).



Text Fig 129 *Madame Moitessier Standing* by Ingres. Pencil drawing. New London, Conn., Lyman Allyn Museum.



Text Fig 130 *Head of Napoleon*. Detail of κ 2046 by David.



Text Fig 131 *Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*. Watercolor attributed to Isabey. Formerly in the Hugo Finaly collection (see K 2046).



Text Fig 132 *Napoleon in his Study*. Preparatory drawing by David for K 2046. Musée de Besançon.



Text Fig 133 *Napoleon in his Study*. Preparatory drawing by David for K 2046. Collection of Mrs. Rush H. Kress.

(their marriage was annulled in 1793), and the diminished popularity of Greuze's works led to abject poverty by the time of his death.

K1326 : Figure 289

ANGE-LAURENT DE LALIVE DE JULLY. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (773), since 1946. Oil on canvas. 46 × 34½ in. (117.0 × 88.5 cm.). Much abrasion, small losses throughout, large crackle pattern possibly due to poor preparation of canvas. Judging by a reproduction of 1878, the canvas was then still well preserved.² Before 1900 extensive inaccurate repainting took place, especially at the left where the restorer misunderstood the form of the statue, changing the top of the tablet into a stick which extended over the right shoulder.³ Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1943.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 167. Reproduced in color in *Cairns and Walker*, p. 119.

Lalive is shown to just below the knee, seated on a throne-like chair upholstered in blue, seen against a neutral (probably originally pale gray) background. He is harping in his study, which was designed by the architect of his hôtel, François-Dominique Barreau de Chefdeville (1725–65).⁴ Lalive described this room as leading to the extreme fashion for works in the Greek manner.⁵ Facing left, Lalive turns toward the spectator, his head in three-quarter view. He is informally attired, in a white silk summer *robe-de-chambre*; his hair is powdered, a scarf around his neck; he wears reddish breeches unbuttoned at the knees and white stockings. In the background is Lalive's celebrated writing table (*table de bureau*), which with his chair and other furnishings were innovational works in the neo-Classical style (*à la grecque*), designed by the painter Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain (1715–59),⁶ with bronze mounts by Philippe Caffieri (1714–74). The furniture was commissioned c. 1755 from the Parisian *marchand mercier* Lazare Duvaux and presumably paid for by 10 March 1757.⁷ Lalive is seated at the left end of the desk, the corner just visible. At the right end was a filing cabinet (*corps d'armoire*) surmounted by a gilt bronze vase-shaped clock, probably designed by Le Lorrain and cast by Caffieri. (The writing table, clock and cabinet are now at the Musée Condé, Chantilly; see Text Fig. 104). The statue at the right is the *Erythrean Sibyl*, by Jean-Jacques Caffieri (1725–92), Philippe's brother. Signed and dated 1759, it is now in the Louvre and was one of the best received works at the Salon of 1759.⁸

According to Lalive's will, there were several other portraits of him.⁹ Greuze first drew Lalive's portrait in 1754 (Geneva, collection Pierre A. Lalive d'Épinay).¹⁰ It appears to have been reproduced in print form by Lalive himself with the possible assistance of Augustin de Saint-Aubin, showing him at work on his major literary project, the continuation of Perrault's *Hommes illustres de France*.¹¹ Lalive is shown in his study in a print of uncertain date probably by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin after Jean-Baptiste Greuze.¹² A

Greuze pastel portrait of Lalive was exhibited at the Salon of 1765.¹³ An oval portrait showing Lalive's head based upon K1326 is in the Chicago Art Institute. It measures 25½ × 21 in. and is signed at the lower right: *J. B. Greuze*. The background is light in color, like the appearance of K1326 in the reproduction of 1878.¹⁴

Ange-Laurent de Lalive de Jully de Bellegard was born in Paris on 2 October 1725 to a wealthy family. His first wife, whom he married in 1741, died childless in 1752, when, in addition to the fortune inherited at his father's death in 1751, he received her estate. In 1756, Lalive was given the title *Introduit des Ambassadeurs* after having functioned as such as early as 1752. The major patron of Falconet (who designed his first wife's tomb) and of Greuze, Lalive bought the latter's first important painting, *La Lecture de la Bible* (Paris, private collection), c. 1755.¹⁵ By 1754, Lalive had been nominated *Associé Libre* de l'Académie de l'Écriture in recognition of his unusually generous patronage. This title was changed in 1769 to *Amateur*. He was a print-maker and became a close friend of Madame de Pompadour, through whose support he received a diplomatic post in Geneva for 1757–58. By 1759, as evidenced by furniture in his portrait of that date by Greuze (K1326), Lalive played an important role in the creation of the neo-Classical taste, largely a revival of that of Louis XIV.¹⁶ The relatively austere, often rectilinear and planimetric furniture style popular later in the century is first documented in Lalive's writing table and chair. Lalive seems to have been guided by Mariette in formulating a project to elevate French contemporary art by establishing a special collection that was then to be emulated by royal patronage.¹⁷ Lalive also owned many Netherlandish and French seventeenth-century paintings and considerable sculpture, especially *modelli*. In 1764 Lalive completed a catalogue of his collection of French paintings and sculpture, probably prepared with Mariette's aid, stating that he collected French paintings because of the love he had for his country and from the desire to familiarize foreigners with the French School. Lalive was described by Grimm as 'an amiable man and generally liked. He did not have a great intellect; he did not have a vast estate; but he was pleasant and agreeable in society, rich besides and of attractive appearance, somewhat devout with some little accomplishment as a musician and an engraver – nothing more is necessary for being in fashion at court and in Paris. At the age of forty, remarried [in 1762], to a woman whom he loved, surrounded by [three] little children whom he adored, he has fallen into a state of melancholy which has affected his mind and cut him off from society.'¹⁸ Lalive's splendid collection of paintings was sold in 1770, five years before his death, when Grimm wrote that he was 'in such a deplorable state of health that his family has decided to have his collection sold for the benefit of his minor children'.¹⁹ He died in Paris in 1775.²⁰

The Kress portrait was exhibited in the Salon of 1759, p. 25, no. 108, in the *Livret* for that year.²¹ Diderot, writing of Greuze's entries, did not find them marvelous that year, describing them on the cold side with rather

flat, whitish coloring. The critic noted that while he had liked the artist's works in former times, he did not care for them any more. The painting was described by the sitter as beautiful in coloring, a perfect likeness, executed with the greatest finesse, its silken robes rendered with brilliance and truthfulness to nature.²³ The canvas, included in Hébert's list of outstanding paintings in Lalive's collection, hung in the Premier Salon which overlooked the garden.²³ The work was described by Clément de Ris as the major portrait of Lalive and Greuze's best painting.²⁴ According to Mantz, K1326 shows unusual care on Greuze's part, the color scheme being very soft, the grayed tones almost lilac in the shadows; he thought it one of the artist's most delicate, finely rendered paintings.²⁵ K1326 was included in the Greuze catalogue of Maclair.²⁶ The contemporary characterization of Lalive by Grimm as an *amateur*, musician, and print-maker, sweet and amiable in society, was related by Pilon to the Kress portrait.²⁷

The Kress canvas together with Greuze's portrait of Anne-Marie Bazin, Marquise de Besons (Baltimore, Baltimore Museum of Art), also dating c. 1758, show Greuze working in a fresh, direct, still somewhat Boucher-like style. *Lalive de Jully* is among Greuze's finest portraits. The sitter, harping in his celebrated *cabinet à la grecque*, is shown in a relatively austere style consistent with Lalive's neo-Classical taste. His head, turning toward the spectator, offers the sole break in the strict parallelism of all elements in Greuze's composition. The interior was completed very shortly before the execution of the canvas. Seemingly avant-garde, Lalive's furniture was closely modeled on that of Louis XIV, reviving the formal grand manner of the late seventeenth century and was described at the time of its sale in 1770 as 'an imitation of the works of the famous Boulle'. The interior design anticipates the severity of Napoleon's *cabinet* as shown by David (K2046). The pale, nacreous coloring of K1326, so disliked by Diderot (who preferred Greuze's works in a more Flemish manner), also reflects that of Lalive's study, whose walls appear to have been pale gray, judging from the background of the very well-preserved oval canvas showing Lalive's head (Chicago, Art Institute), which is based on the Kress canvas. In addition to the statuary at the right, the room probably contained further small sculpture in the Classical manner; possibly Pajou's *Peace* which was also exhibited in the Salon of 1759. Lalive owned a *Sibyl* by Pierre-François Berruet. A series of *Sibyls* seems to have been placed in his garden.

The classically-enthroned sitter, known as an amateur etcher, biographer, and musician, a friend of the *Philosophes*, may be here represented as an Apollo-like figure with that god's attribute, the harp (lyre). Just as Apollo was the leader of the Muses and deity of the Liberal Arts, so is Lalive shown as master of the musical, visual, and literary arts, indicated by works on the writing-desk behind him. Lalive may have revived the courtly classical analogies of Louis XIV together with the furniture style of the late monarch, who was often referred to as an Apollo and a Hercules. References to the former are found in the golden laurel swags, to the latter in the prominent lion *maskaron*

and lion feet of the writing-table (Text Fig. 104), which, together with the table's triumphal swags, are emblematic of Herculean strength (*virtus*). The Classical concept of *virtus* and later views of the *virtuoso* are reflected in Lalive's portrait, referring to his mastery of the arts. The amateur's major literary pursuit, a continuation of Perrault's *Hommes illustres de France*, was prepared at the same table where Greuze depicted him at work in another portrait. The painting may reflect the sitter's first names, Ange referred to by his harping and Laurent signifying the laurel wreathed one, the victorious master of the arts. Seated in his study, saturated with classical references at every turn, Lalive is shown almost as a source of Apollonian light, enveloped in pale, gleaming silks as he plays his golden harp upon gold-encrusted furniture. Lalive's expression, caught between the beckoning and the introspective, could, with his music-making, also point in part to the darker side of inspired creativity, to the Orphic spirit which might have appealed to that romantic, melancholic patron of the arts, who, as a widower, may have seen himself as an Orpheus, beloved of the Muses and magical master of the arts.

Provenance: Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully, exhibited - Salon du Louvre, Paris, 1759, Cat. No. 108,²⁸ 'M. de . . . Jouant de la Harpe'. *Catalogue historique du cabinet de peinture et sculpture française de M. De Lalive*, an inventory prepared by Lalive, possibly with Mariette's assistance, Paris [1764], p. 55. His daughter, Louise de la Live (1764-1829 or 1832), Comtesse de Montesquiou-Fezensac. Duc de Montesquiou-Fezensac. Vicomtesse Charles de Goyon,²⁹ exhibited - *Ouvrages de peinture exposés au profit de la colonisation de l'Algérie par les Alsaciens-Lorrains*, Paris, 1874, Cat. No. 207; *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, Palais du Trocadéro, 1878, Cat. No. 701 (as from Collection of Comtesse de Fezensac). Comte Alexandre de La Borde, a descendant of Lalive's brother-in-law, exhibited - *Les grandes salons littéraires*, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, 1927, Cat. No. 173; *Exposition de l'art français*, Paris, Société des amateurs d'art, 1931, Cat. No. 193;³⁰ *Exposition de l'art français au XVIII^e siècle*, Copenhagen, Palais de Charlottenborg, 1935, Cat. No. 86. Duveen Bros., New York, exhibited - *Five Centuries of History Mirrored in Five Centuries of French Art*, New York, New York World's Fair, 1939-40, Cat. No. 227. Kress acquisition 1942.

References: (1) Camille Maclair, *Jean-Baptiste Greuze, with Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings by J. Martin and Charles Masson*, Paris, n.d. [1905?]. Edmond Pilon, J.-B. Greuze, Paris, 1912. Louis Hautecœur, *Greuze*, Paris, 1913. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *French XVIII Century Painters*, transl. by Robin Ironside, London, 1948, pp. 207-57. Anita Brookner, 'Jean-Baptiste Greuze', *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1956, pp. 156-62, 192-7. R. Guilly, *Kindlers*, II, pp. 757-62. (2) Paul Mantz, 'Les portraits historiques au Trocadéro', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., xviii, 1878, p. 877. (3) See Maclair, *op. cit.*, facing p. 6. (4) See François Georges Pariset, 'L'architecte Barreau de Chefdeville', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1962, pp. 77-99, esp. pp. 78-80. (5) *Catalogue historique du cabinet de peinture et sculpture française de M. De*

Lalive, Paris [1764], p. 110; quoted by Svend Eriksen, 'Lalive de Jully's Furniture "à la grecque"', *Burlington Magazine*, ciii, 1961, p. 340. The *Catalogue* was actually an inventory prepared by Lalive, possibly with the assistance of Pierre-Jean Mariette. (6) For Le Lorrain, see Jean Locquin, *La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785*, Paris, 1912, pp. 198-9. (7) See the *Livre-Journal de Lazare Duveau marchand-bijoutier ordinaire du Roy, 1748-1758*, II, Paris, 1873, p. 239, entry no. 2577 for *Journal du crédit commencé au nom de Dieu le 16^e septembre 1748*. The entry for Aug. 1756 states: 'M. de La Live de Jully: Un corps de bibliothèque en marquetterie de Bouille, composé d'armoires et pilastres, très-orné en bronze doré d'or moulu, 12,000 l. - Sur quoi receu ledit jour en argent 4,000 l.; en deux billets payables au porteur, un pour le 10 décembre 1756, 4,000 l.; un pour le 10 mars 1757, 4,000 l.' A 'commode de Bouille en marquetterie, garnie de bronze doré moulu, 6000', possibly also for the cabinet, was recorded for Oct. 1756 (*ibid.*, p. 297). The table was no. 268 in the Lalive sale of 1770; the chair has disappeared. For Lalive's furniture, see Fiske Kimball, 'Les influences anglaises dans la formation du style Louis XVI', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., v, 1931, pp. 29-44, 231-55; *idem*, *The Creation of the Rococo*, Philadelphia, 1943, pp. 186-8, 198-200; *idem*, 'The Beginnings of the Style Pompadour, 1751-1759', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., xlv, 1954, pp. 57-64, esp. pp. 62-4; Eriksen, *op. cit.* Note 5; John Harris, 'Early neo-classical Furniture', *Furniture History: The Journal of the Furniture History Society*, II, 1966, pp. 1-6; Ralph Edwards, 'Neo-classical Furniture', *Burlington Magazine*, cviii, 1966, p. 636; Pierre Verlet, *The Eighteenth Century in France: Society, Decoration, Furniture*, Rutland, 1967, p. 30; Hugh Honour, *Neo-classicism*, Baltimore, 1968, pp. 26-9, 193; Raoul de Broglie, 'Enfin vu complet', *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 223, Sept. 1970, pp. 89, 128. (8) Identification by Mrs. Raymond Z. Fahn. See Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar, *Diderot: Salons*, I, Oxford, 1957, p. 203. See Michele Beaulieu, 'La Sibylle Erythrée de J. J. Caffieri', *Bulletin des Musées de France*, Mar. 1946, pp. 10-12. For the *Livrets* of the Salon of 1761, Gabriel de Saint-Aubin drew a figure in the Antique style, seen frontally, inscribed as 'La Sybille Erythrée en marbre du cabinet de M. de La Live'. The drawing is reproduced by Émile Dacier, *Catalogues de ventes et livrets de Salons illustrés et annotés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*, Paris, 1909-21, III, Part 6, 1911, pl. 31. According to Beaulieu, the sculpture is no. 2 in the 1764 inventory of Lalive's collection. The marble *Erythrean Sibyl* is recorded in the *Catalogue Raisonné des Tableaux qui composent le Cabinet de M. de La Live de Jully par Pierre Remi 5 mars 1770*, Paris, p. 69, Cat. No. 156: 'Jean-Jacques Caffieri, La Sybille Erythrée 2 pieds 4 pouces.' Described as in the Antique style, it was included in the *Almanac des Beaux-Arts* of 1761 as placed on or near a bookcase, with works by Pajou, Pigalle and Falconet. See 'Les cabinets de Monsieur de la Live de Jully', reprinted in *Livre-Journal*, *op. cit.* Note 7, I, pp. cclxxxvi-cclxxxvii. (9) According to that document, he asked his brother-in-law 'Mr. de la Borde de vouloir bien accepter un de mes portraits à son choix'. Transcription courtesy of Dr. Svend Eriksen. The will is in the Archives Nationales, Minutier Central des Notaires, Étude XLVIII liasse 253, dated 24 Aug. 1766. (10)

See Emmanuel Bocher, *Les gravures françaises du XVIII^e siècle*, v, Paris, 1879, pp. 103-4, Cat. No. 332. This print was to be the frontispiece for Lalive's fifty biographies (begun c. 1752) *en suite* with Perrault's. Eriksen, *op. cit.*, in caption for fig. 16, dated the print 1764. Lalive also reproduced his portrait in right profile as drawn by C. N. Cochin fils. (11) According to Eriksen (*op. cit.* Note 5, p. 344, n. 16) it dates from 1764, as the sitter looks older than in K1326. (12) A copy of the print by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin at the Cabinet des Estampes has an old inscription stating that the preparatory drawing was made in 1754, but Eriksen believed this to be an error. (13) J. Seznec and J. Adhémar, *Diderot: Salons*, II, Oxford, 1960, p. 35, Cat. No. 22. (14) Ex coll. E. Sichel, Paris, 1898; Mrs. Henry Walters (sale New York, Parke-Bernet, 30 Apr.-3 May 1941, Part 2, p. 287, Cat. No. 977). Lalive wears a print silk scarf and white silk coat. (15) See Brookner, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 158; Louis Réau, *Étienne-Maurice Falconet*, Paris, 1922, pp. 74-6. (16) See Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Mémoires inédits . . .*, ed. by Charles Henry, Paris, 1880, pp. 142-3; quoted by Eriksen, *op. cit.* Note 5, p. 340. (17) See Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Abecedario*, Part 3, *Archives de l'art français*, VI, 1854-56, p. 53. As late as 1845, according to Thoré, there were still no paintings by Boucher, Chardin, Nattier, or Fragonard in the Louvre. However, the author also stated that only since the opening of the 'galleries near the water' were paintings by Boucher and Chardin displayed. T. Thoré, *Catalogue de tableaux . . . de feu M. de C(y)piere*, 10 Mar. 1845, pp. 5-7. (18) Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique, et critique par Grimm, Diderot, etc.*, Paris, 1879, VIII, for the year 1770, pp. 464-5. (19) *Loc. cit.* (20) For Lalive's biography, see also L. Clément de Ris, *Les amateurs d'autrefois*, Paris, 1877, pp. 383-405. (21) *Explication des peintures, sculptures, et gravures de messieurs de l'Académie Royale*, Paris, 1759, p. 25; Seznec and Adhémar, *op. cit.* Note 8 above, p. 63, Cat. No. 108. (22) Lalive (possibly with the aid of Pierre-Jean Mariette), *Catalogue historique du cabinet de peinture et sculpture française de M. de La Live . . .*, Paris, 1764, p. 55. The measurements are given as '2 pieds 9 pouces' in width and '3 pieds 7½ pouces' in height. (23) Joachim Hébert, *Dictionnaire pittoresque et historique*, Paris, I, 1776, p. 124. (24) L. Clément de Ris, *op. cit.* Note 20 above, p. 401. (25) Paul Mantz, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, pp. 879-80. (26) Maclair, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, p. 73, Cat. No. 1184. (27) Pilon, *op. cit.* Note 1 above, pp. 53 ff. (28) Much of Lalive's collection was sold in 1770 (Pierre Remy, *Catalogue des tableaux . . . composant le cabinet de M. de la Live de Jully*, Paris, 1769), but this portrait was not included. (29) L. Clément de Ris, *op. cit.* Note 20 above, pp. 401 ff. discusses the succession from Louise de la Live to the Comtesse de Goyon. According to the Duveen brochure, the portrait was owned by 'Comte Alexandre de Laborde (1774); Comtesse Edouard de Fitz-James (1778); Henri Clarke, Comte d'Hunebourg; Duc de Feltre, Maréchal de France (1818)' but there does not appear to be documentary foundation for most of this sequence. A Mlle. Clarke de Feltre was the wife of Lalive's grandson the Duc de Montesquiou-Fezensac. The eldest of their sons became Duc de Feltre; he or his brother the Comte Charles de

Goyon owned the portrait before it came to the Vicomtesse de Goyon. (30) This exhibition of 1931 is recorded by Duveen.

JEAN-BAPTISTE HÜET

Hüet was born in the Louvre in 1745, the son of an armorial painter; he died in 1801.¹ He studied under Dagomier, a *peintre-animalier*, and then with J.-B. Leprince who was trained by Boucher and followed his master's example throughout his career. Hüet's works were shown at the Académie de Saint-Luc in 1762; he was accepted by the Académie Royal in 1768, becoming a member in the following year, exhibiting at the Salons of 1768-87, 1800, 1802. He prepared designs for the tapestry centers at Gobelins and Beauvais. Hüet executed many book illustrations. His most successful works were done in a decorative Boucher-like manner.

dk380 : Figure 288

A FARM SCENE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22, 381), since 1963. Pastel and black crayon on buff paper. $11\frac{5}{8} \times 15\frac{7}{8}$ in. (29.5 × 40.3 cm.). Inscribed at lower right in ink: *J B hüet 1779*. Water damage at upper left corner.

A dilapidated farmhouse and attached barn in the woods are shown at the center. A figure is seated at a doorway and another shown on a balcony above. A pond is in the foreground, with children fishing at the lower left and a young man with a bull at the lower right. Four fowl are at the center.

Hüet executed many drawings, paintings and other projects close in subject and style to dk380. The Northern origin of such scenes is to be found in works by Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651) whose picturesque concept of peasant life was followed closely by Boucher. The setting, technique, style and staffage (such as the fishing children) of dk380 are all adapted directly from Boucher's oeuvre, possibly first brought to Hüet's attention by Leprince. By the time this richly colored, characteristic drawing was made, Hüet's still Rococo manner was no longer entirely fashionable. It was probably prepared as a finished work, ready for framing, rather than as preface to a larger project or for adaptation in another medium.

Provenance: Georges B. Lasquin, Paris (sold, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 7-8 June 1928, Cat. No. 97 as 'Cour de ferme'). Paris, Richard Owen.² Kress acquisition 1935.

References: (1) C. Gabillot, *Les Hüet, Jean-Baptiste et ses trois fils, Les artistes célèbres*, xvii, Paris, n.d. (2) Possibly identical with the J.-B. Hüet exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD

Fragonard was born in Grasse in 1732 and died in Paris in 1806; his family was of Italian origin.¹ At eighteen he went to Paris where he became the pupil of Boucher and possibly of Chardin. In 1752, Fragonard won the Prix-de-Rome. He went to Italy in 1756, after studying with Carle Vanloo and Lépicier. In 1759, Fragonard and Hubert Robert were invited by the noted amateur, the Abbé de Saint-Non, to join him on travels through Southern Italy and Sicily to study monuments and landscapes; these travels were to influence the work of both artists. Upon his return to Paris in 1761, Fragonard was made an associate of the Académie Royale after the acceptance of *Coresus Sacrificing Himself to Save Callirrhoe* (Paris, Louvre). By 1765, Fragonard had abandoned historical and religious subjects for landscapes and amorous scenes. He also executed decorative panels such as those for the financier Bergeret de Grancourt, Madame de Pompadour and the actress Marie-Madeleine Guimard and the four panels probably commissioned in 1771 for Madame du Barry's pavilion at Louveciennes, known as *The Progress of Love* (New York, Frick Collection). Fragonard made another Italian journey, with Bergeret, in 1773, shortly after a trip to the Netherlands.² With the advent of the Revolution, the painter fled to Grasse where he spent several years in seclusion. Under the Directory, he became a curator of the newly-created Musée du Louvre, but fell from favor when neo-Classicism became the official Napoleonic style. Deprived of his pension in 1806, Fragonard was forced to leave his apartment in the Louvre and died in poverty. Master of the amorous art of the Rococo, the painter's most forceful and profound gifts as a portraitist and master of landscape are often overlooked. His expressive, vigorous brushwork provides a link between the pictorial achievements of seventeenth-century Holland and those of Delacroix and Daumier.

References: (1) Roger Portalis, *Honoré Fragonard, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1889; Louis de Fourcaud, 'Fragonard', *Revue de l'Art*, xxi, 1907, pp. 5-20, 95-110, 209-28, 287 ff.; Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *French XVIII Century Painters*, trans. Robin Ironside, London, 1948, pp. 259-312, from text first published in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, i, 1865, pp. 32-41, 132-62; Louis Réau, *Fragonard: sa Vie, son Œuvre*, Brussels, 1956 (text of 1933); Georges Wildenstein, *Fragonard aquafortiste*, Paris, 1956; *idem*, 'L'Abbé de Saint-Non artiste et mécène', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., liv, 1959, pp. 225-44; *idem*, *Fragonard: l'œuvre complète*, Paris-London, 1960; Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Œuvre dessiné de Fragonard*, Paris, 1961-63, i-iii; Jacques Thuillier, *Fragonard*, Geneva, 1967. (2) Alexandre Ananoff, 'La réalité du voyage de Fragonard aux Pays-Bas', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1959, pp. 15-22.

K2051 : Figures 295, 297

BLINDMAN'S BUFF (*Le Colin-Maillard*). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1376), since 1954. Oil on canvas. $85\frac{1}{8} \times 77\frac{7}{8}$ in. (216.2 × 197.8 cm.), in two sections,

with horizontal seam one-third from the top. Last relined in Europe. Minor restoration by Modestini in 1959. Generally better preserved than K2050.

Suida-Shapley, p. 76, Cat. No. 26. Reproduced in color Seymour, p. 188, pl. 178.

K2050 : Figures 296, 298

THE SWING (*La Balançoire*). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1377), since 1954. Oil on canvas. 85 × 73 in. (215.9 × 185.5 cm.). Two sections of canvas, with vertical seam one-third from right. Last relined in Europe. Minor restoration by Modestini in 1959; less well preserved than K2051.

Suida-Shapley, p. 76, Cat. No. 27. Reproduced in color Seymour, p. 189, pl. 179.

The canvases were shown in proximity, presumably K2051 on the left of K2050.

In K2051, three main figural groups are shown in an autumnal park setting with many lattice-work enclosures. To the left, young men and women are playing Blindman's Buff; a young woman is blindfolded. She wears a polonaise – a looped-up overskirt. In the center, an amorous couple is shown half-reclining on the ground. At the right, six people are at a round luncheon table in a bower. One of these, a young woman, has her right foot on the table and points to the lovers at the left with her right hand. A man is seated at her side. A woman with a child is behind the table at the right; a young woman with a little girl stands before it to the right. A fountain with a single jet, its basin supported by a columnar base flanked by statues of Vestals, placed at the center of a circular pool, is in the lower left foreground. A classically draped statue of a seated woman with helmet and shield (Athena?) is placed near the balustrade of an elevated curved terrace at the upper right above the bower. A great jet of water rises at the upper right, to fall in a cascade between the two great poplars. This would be seen near the center of the composition resulting from the placement of K2051 to the left of K2050. Flowering plants are placed in beds in the foreground. Additional figures are dimly seen at the extreme left and in the middle distance. The amorous associations of Blindman's Buff made it a popular subject from medieval times onward.¹

Similar figures are shown on K2050, cavorting in a park. The lattice work and foliage at the lower right corner of K2051 (*Blindman's Buff*) appears contiguous to that of the lower left corner of K2050 (*The Swing*). A girl in a yellow and pink dress is on a swing, suspended from great trees at the left; its guide lines are held by a young man and woman placed behind the swinger, between a pair of lion fountains, at the lower left of the composition. The crouching stone lions spit water into urns, which spill into circular pools. A young woman kneeling in the center foreground seems to be pulling her white puppy out of the water, her male companion lying at her side in the foreground. Six young people recline at the center, some of them looking at the

swinger who extends her left hand toward them holding a flower (?). At the extreme right, near a curved balustrade surrounding the terrace on which all the couples play, a girl is seated on a pedestal and looks through a telescope, a man behind her leaning against the pedestal. A mountainous landscape is seen in the far distance.

Wildenstein noted (without further specification) that very summary preparatory drawings exist for 'one of the large pictures in Washington. These sketches are almost without artistic interest'.² Many known Fragonard drawings show comparable individual motifs but none in the Ananoff corpus is close to the canvases in their entirety. Fragonard's drawings *Réunion à la Lisière d'un Bois* (Wildenstein Collection, New York) and *Jardin d'Italie* (listed as Collection G. Blumenthal) have figure groupings reminiscent of K2051/2050.³ Portalis included the canvases in his Fragonard monograph.⁴ According to Nollhac, K2051/2050 are contemporary with Fragonard's *La Fête de Saint-Cloud* (Paris, Banque de France). He suggested that the canvases were originally joined, as a single painting, subsequently divided to suit an owner's whim. The author described the setting, pine trees, and architecture as Italianate, while the fresh, atmospheric quality was French. Nollhac noted that the model on the swing is also found in Fragonard's *Les Hasards Heureux de l'Escarpolette* (London, Wallace Collection).⁵ Réau related the coloring of K2050 to that of the *Fête de Saint-Cloud*; he felt that the paintings were executed after Fragonard's first trip to Italy, still influenced by the gardens of the Villa d'Este, stressing the Kress canvases' independence of Boucher in contrast to Fragonard's earlier paintings of similar themes.⁶ Wildenstein described the works as among the artist's best, dating from c. 1775, placing them with Fragonard's oeuvre in the years 1773–76.⁷ According to Wentzel, the settings were influenced by the fashionable 'natural' landscaping of gardens and parks in the English manner; English painters in Italy may have familiarized Fragonard with the new style. Wentzel described the landscape as Italian and the carved lions as in the Egyptian mode; he also found indications of Claude's and Poussin's art in the canvases and suggested that they, in turn, determined David's classicism.⁸

The amorous themes of these canvases, as well as their style are, for the most part, anticipated by Watteau and by Fragonard's *The Swing* (*Les Hasards Heureux de l'Escarpolette* of c. 1767; London, Wallace Collection).⁹ K2051/2050 are less Boucher-like than *The Swing*, although still reminiscent of that master. The subject of K2050 was well described by Frankl in his commentary on Boucher's and Fragonard's themes: 'Stern morality is static and firmly grounded, the morality of the Rococo swims. Or it swings. Boucher also painted, or etched, the swing, and in his picture of the swing (in the Wallace Collection) Boucher's pupil, Fragonard, created the perfect symbol of the charming and amoral period.'¹⁰ Fragonard is known to have had a child's swing in his studio on which he posed his models.¹¹ The sometimes erotic motif of a girl playing with a little dog is found in many of Fragonard's paintings. The telescope reflects the fashionably 'Newtonian' scientific

interests of the Enlightened lady. It may contrast idle curiosity for what is beyond her with her oblivion to what surrounds her. The artist seems to juxtapose the folly of love (indicated by the group playing Blindman's Buff) with the austerity of the Vestal Virgins of the fountain at the lower left. Fragonard painted a bust of Minerva with helmet and shield (Detroit, Institute of Art) seemingly *en suite* with the same statuary elements as those found in K2051.¹² He saw many great villas of the later Renaissance and Baroque when he returned to Italy with Bergeret de Grancourt. Aspects of *The Swing* (K2050) are related to the garden and architecture of the Villa Albani. A drawing in red chalk by Adrian Pâris (1747-1819) of that villa shows a somewhat similar disposition of an elevated central mass with lions at the foot of a staircase (at the right). Such lions are also found at the Villas d'Este and Doria-Pamphili reproduced by Fragonard in several drawings and etchings.¹³ The imaginary setting combines aspects of Italian villa architecture and garden design with the landscape of southern France.

Present scanty knowledge for the dating of Fragonard's oeuvre precludes a secure chronological placement for the Kress canvases. They may have been executed as early as the mid-1760s; according to Stella Newton, the women's hair styles and attire belong to that time, or to 1768 at the very latest. They could have been done in the late 1760s, shortly after *The Swing* (London, Wallace Collection) of c. 1767, which shows the same motif as K2050, but in a far more explicit manner. K2051/2050 are relatively free of the Northern influence found in Fragonard's oeuvre of the later 1770s, so they might predate his Netherlandish journey of 1772-73. However, the possibility of a considerably later date cannot be excluded for these extraordinarily freely, yet securely rendered works. Seen next to one another, the composition of the Kress canvases would be divided by a great central jet, similar to that of the *Fête de St. Cloud* (Paris, Banque de France), for which a date in the mid-1770s is often suggested. The neo-Classical features of the fountain at the lower left of K2051 may also argue for a date in the later 1770s, if not at an even more advanced time. A similar Vestal appears in Fragonard's *Nature Awakening*, dated 1780.¹⁴ The treatment of the sky area and broad masses of trees and flowers in the *Fête* are all close to K2051/2050, as is the contrast between the partially autumnal foliage and brilliant sky. However, the style of the *Fête* is still freer than that of the Kress works. The lower right corner of K2051 matches the lower left of K2050, but the canvases do not continue to correspond.¹⁵ Their squarish format is uncommon in French eighteenth-century art. The canvases were not originally joined, nor do they look cut down. Like Fragonard's *Progress of Love* series for the salon at Louveciennes (Frick Collection), the Kress paintings may have been placed upon curved walls. Such an installation would both minimize the massive quality of their proportions and provide an almost stereopticon *trompe l'œil* effect, which, with an architectural element such as a column or pilaster between them, would provide a unified panoramic view. These canvases are among Fragonard's major achievements, ranking with

those painted for Madame Du Barry (Frick Collection, New York) and for Louis de Bourbon, duc de Penthièvre (Banque de France, Paris).

Provenance: According to Wildenstein, collection of Richard, Abbé de Saint-Non (d. 1792) recorded in the latter's posthumous inventory of 1792.¹⁶ Marquis de Cypierre, Paris (sold, Paris, 10 Mar. 1845, p. 15, Cat. Nos. 52, 53). Possibly Montesquiou-Fezensac, Paris.¹⁷ Camille Groult, Paris, by 1889 (sold after 1927).¹⁸ New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) See the Alsatian tapestries of c. 1375-1400 (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum), reproduced in Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, 1, Brunswick, 1963, pl. II, opposite p. 40. For other examples of Fragonard's treatment of the theme of Blindman's Buff, see Georges Wildenstein, *The Paintings of Fragonard*, London, 1960, Cat. Nos. 45 (lost), 47 (lost), 237, and 438 (hereafter referred to as *Wildenstein*). (2) *Ibid.*, p. viii. (3) Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Œuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard*, 1, Paris, 1961, pl. E, p. 151, Cat. No. 336; pl. F, p. 156, Cat. No. 357. (4) Roger Portalis, *Honoré Fragonard, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1889; his ex coll. information for K2050/2051 is erroneous. (5) Pierre de Nolhac, J.-H. Fragonard, Paris, 1906, pp. 69-71, 150. (6) Louis Réau, 'Les Colin-Maillard de Fragonard', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., xv, 1927, pp. 148-52, esp. pp. 150-1. (7) *Wildenstein*, p. 24; p. 297, Cat. Nos. 447 (*Swing*), 448 (*Blindman's Buff*). Details from K2050/2051 are reproduced by him on pls. 94, 95. (8) Hans Wentzel, 'Jean-Honoré Fragonards "Schaukel"', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, xxvii, 1965, pp. 187-219, esp. pp. 214-16. (9) See *Wallace Collection Catalogues, Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1968, pp. 118-19. (10) Paul Frankl, 'Boucher's Girl on the Couch', *De artibus opuscula XL, Essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York University Press, 1961, pp. 138-52, p. 151. (11) *Wildenstein*, p. 24, n. 3. (12) The *Minerva* is *Wildenstein*, p. 287, Cat. No. 407, fig. 168; the *Vestal* is his p. 287, Cat. No. 406. (13) Alexandre Estignard, *A. Pâris, sa Vie, ses Œuvres*, Paris, 1902, fig. 63. Fragonard, the Abbé de Saint-Non and Hubert Robert were resident at the Villa d'Este (Tivoli) in the summer of 1760. See David R. Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*, Princeton, 1960, pp. 130-2. (14) *Wildenstein*, p. 309, fig. 202. (15) See *The Frick Collection, an illustrated catalogue*, II, New York, 1968, pp. 106-7 for the curved installation of two scenes in Fragonard's *Progress of Love* series, now New York, Frick Collection. See also J. de Cayeux, 'Le Pavillon de Madame du Barry à Louveciennes', *La Revue de l'Art*, xxxix, 1935, p. 45, Note 1. Such curved walls were then becoming increasingly fashionable in French architecture. In his decorations for the house of Mlle. Guimard, built by Claude-Nicholas Ledoux c. 1770, the artist may also have encountered this format. (16) *Wildenstein*, p. 297, Cat. Nos. 447-8. K2051/2050 are probably identical with Nos. 1-2 in the Saint-Non Inventory (*Premièrement, un tableau peint sur toile dans son cadre doré, représentant une étude de paysage fait en Italie par Fragonard avec figures, sujet de la Main chaude; un autre tableau sur toile, par le même, représentant aussi un paysage d'Italie avec figures,*

sujet d'une Balançoire, prisés ensemble cent livres, cy... 100 1.) Alternatively they might be No. 11: Item, *un tableau sur toile, étude de paysage par Fragonard avec cascade et figures, vue de Tyvoli*, and No. 20: Item, *un tableau sur toile, représentant un paysage d'Italie avec figures d'un repas (ou repos) champêtre par Fragonard*. See also Wildenstein, 'L'Abbé de Saint-Non, artiste et mécène', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LIV, 1959, pp. 225-37. Wildenstein (p. 227) noted that Saint-Non returned all except four of the many paintings he had acquired from his brilliant protégé, namely Nos. 1, 2, 11, 20 of the inventory. The inventory, 'Inventaire après décès de Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non dressé par M^e Giard, notaire, les 21-28 janvier et 3, 8, 15 février 1792 (étude de M^e Tollu, rue St-Lazare, texte collationné in 1925)' was published by Wildenstein (1959, pp. 238-44.) (17) Wildenstein included this reference in the English edition of his monograph (p. 297), but omitted it from the later French edition. However, an annotated copy (L. Soullie) of the Montesquiou-Fzensac sale catalogue of 1897 (Paris, Hôtel Drouot, p. 1) stated that two Fragonards and a Chardin had been purchased from the collection prior to the sale, via Henri Haro, for Groult; these are possibly K2051/2050. (18) Portalis, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-3. K2051 was still listed in that collection by Réau, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD

K1338 : Figure 293

A GAME OF HORSE AND RIDER (*Le Cheval Fondu*). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (770), since 1946. Oil on canvas. $45\frac{3}{8} \times 34\frac{1}{2}$ in. (115.0 × 87.5 cm.). Some pentimenti. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1943. Very well preserved.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 169. Reproduced in color in Cairns and Walker, p. 125.

Playful figures are shown in the foreground of a park, possibly on an island. A stand of birches is at the extreme left; a gnarled autumnal tree to the far right. In the middle distance, at the center, is a river with boaters and the shore-bound members of their party. A couple is on the ground at the lower left; two youths, one reclining and the other running, are also to the left. A group of six boys plays Horse and Rider in the right foreground, the boy at the left of the group beckoning to the runner who joins the game. Players are divided in two teams for Horse and Rider (*le cheval fondu*), alternately playing 'horse' and 'rider'. The 'horses' place themselves one behind the other, bent over, arms and head resting upon the next player. The 'riders' jump on the horses' backs and must get off when the last one gives the signal; if they touch the ground, they become horses.

K1339 : Figure 294

A GAME OF HOT COCKLES (*La Main Chaude*). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (771), since 1946. Oil on canvas. $45\frac{1}{2} \times 36$ in. (115.5 × 91.5 cm.). Small losses

in trees near middle of painting on left side. Some restoration in area of back of kneeling man at lower right with raised arm. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1943. Generally well preserved.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 168.

Young people are frolicking in an autumnal park setting with statuary. Nine of them play Hot Cockles at the right; further to the right a young man kneels before a seated girl who is about to cover his head with a cloth. An amorous couple are on a low bench in the lower left foreground; a small white dog is at his mistress' side. In the middle distance, two women are shown on a path. To the left, boxed orange trees and flowers are seen. The sculpture at the extreme left represents a vestal-like figure in austere classical drapery on a rectangular pedestal. At the far right is a statue of a seated, winged cupid, his fingers on his lips, placed on a tall, cylindrical base with figures in relief. The statue, by Falconet, is *L'Amour Menaçant*, executed for Madame de Pompadour and exhibited at the Salon of 1755,¹ and often included in *fêtes galantes*. In the game of Hot Cockles (*la main chaude*) one of the players hides his head on the knees of another, holding his hand open at his back. The other players hit the exposed hand of the player, and when he successfully identifies the name of the striker the latter takes his place.² The statuary at the right should be understood as an altar, related to the one shown by Greuze, c. 1767, in *L'Offrande à l'Amour* (London, Wallace Collection).

Fragonard's drawings *Réunion à la Lisière d'un Bois* (Wildenstein and Co. Collection, New York) and *Jardin d'Italie* (G. Blumenthal Collection) have figure groupings reminiscent of K1338 and K1339.³ The canvases were published by Bürger, who described them as executed in Fragonard's 'first manner', using a lively impasto, Watteau-like in effect, showing children in fairy-tale landscapes.⁴ The Boucher-like aspects of the paintings were noted by de Fourcaud who pointed out that Fragonard's works often recalled his master's.⁵ *Hot Cockles* was mistakenly identified as the game of 'Touch Wood' and wrongly listed as painted for the Baron de Saint-Jullien, when the canvas was shown in London in 1932; most subsequent writers quote this provenance.⁶ According to Frankfurter, *Hot Cockles* showed Fragonard's 'typical electric movement'. The scene is shown in a 'wondrous autumnal afternoon tone which ends in a blue haze... where every tree, for all its mistiness, is in perfect drawing. This is the Fragonard who comes out of his pilgrimage to Italy which stamped all his art, and it is this *plein air* that he first learned to render in the Campagna...'.⁷ Carpenter placed the canvases in the 1780s when the artist revived Watteau's themes for his own '*fête galante* style', also noting the influence of Luca Giordano on works of this period. He singled out the running youth at the left of *Horse and Rider* as related to the Italian master's sword-bearing angels in the vault showing St. Judith (Naples, S. Martino), seen by Fragonard on his second Italian journey of 1773.⁸ Dutch landscapists of the seventeenth century such as Berchem and Ruisdael were stressed by Carpenter as sources fo

K1338/1339. Comparing the Kress canvases to similar themes by Watteau, Einstein (pp. 246–7) noted that the younger artist omitted the archaisms in costume so often found in works on similar themes by Watteau and his immediate followers. The impression of playful and care-free ease achieved by Fragonard in these paintings was stressed by Einstein, who found a luminosity similar to Hubert Robert. Wildenstein grouped the canvases among those executed around c. 1775. However, he also suggested that *Hot Cockles* might postdate the painting of the same subject exhibited by Hubert Robert at the Salon of 1779, executed by Fragonard in competition with his friend's. The author included K1338/1339 and K2050/2051 as among the artist's best works.⁹

Games, since the Middle Ages, were understood as allegories of folly and vanity. Pieter Bruegel included Horse and Rider in his visual encyclopaedia of *Children's Games* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). The extreme youthfulness of the features of the participants in K1338/1339 makes it hard to tell whether these are children acting as adults or whether the pursuits of love turn adults into children. Fragonard's beautiful canvases, no doubt planned as pendants, seem to contrast the passing pleasures and follies of young love with the passage of time – indicated by the autumnal setting. He stressed this *vanitas* theme by placing his playful figures between statues possibly emblematic of Classical virtue (at the left) and amorous restraint (at the right). In this, Fragonard followed Watteau who often included statues in *fêtes galantes* to 'suggest a moral attitude of reasonable restraint over sensual abandon'.¹⁰ The somewhat ambiguous pose of Falconet's popular *L'Amour Menaçant* was interpreted as an injunction to restraint and self-protection. The following lines by Voltaire were often engraved on the base of the statue in reproductive prints: 'Qui que tu sois, voici ton maître/Il l'est, le fut ou le doit être' ('Whoever you may be, behold your master/He is, was, or should be.') The dating of Fragonard's works such as K1338/1339 has not yet been established. Their Mozartian fusion of gaiety and melancholy might point to a relatively advanced stage in the painter's life. The elongated, somewhat mannered treatment of the figures in the background of K1339 suggests that this canvas with its pendant may have been painted shortly before the artist's somewhat neo-Classical phase, which began c. 1780.

Provenance: W. Hope (see below). E. and I. Pereire, Paris (sold, 6–9 Mar. 1872, pp. 37, 38, Cat. Nos. 60, 61,¹¹ as from the collection of William Hope, who gave them to Madame Jenny Colon [1808–42],¹² bought by Pillet-Will). Comte Pillet-Will, Paris, exhibited – Paris, Salle des Etats du Louvre, *Au profit de l'œuvre des orphelins d'Alsace-Lorraine*, 1885, Cat. No. 192 (K1338) as *Le Colin Maillard*,¹³ and Cat. No. 193. Berlin, Royal Academy of Arts, *L'Art français au XVIII^e siècle*, 1910, Cat. Nos. 44, 45. New York, Wildenstein and Co., exhibited – London, Royal Academy of Arts, *French Art, 1200–1900*, 1932, Cat. Nos. 183, 211. Calouste Gulbenkian.¹⁴ New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1942.

References: (1) See Louis Réau, *Étienne-Maurice Falconet*, Paris, 1922, pp. 183–5. (2) T. de Moulidars, *Grande Encyclopédie des Jeux*, 1888, p. 300. See also Thomas Wright, *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England*, London, 1862, pp. 230–2. (3) Alexandre Ananoff, *L'œuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard*, 1, Paris, 1961, pl. E, p. 151, Cat. No. 336; pl. F, p. 156, Cat. No. 357. (4) W. Bürger, 'Galerie de M. M. Pereire', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xvi, 1864, pp. 193–213, esp. p. 201. K1338/1339 were also included in the following publications: Roger Portalis, 'Les peintures décoratives de Fragonard et les panneaux de Grasse', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., 1885, xxxii, pp. 481–93, esp. p. 483. *Idem*, *Honoré Fragonard, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1889, p. 82. Félix Naquet, *Fragonard*, Paris, 1890, p. 36. Lady Dilke, *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century*, London, 1899, p. 64. W. Fred (pseudonym for Alfred Wechsler), *Fragonard*, Berlin, n.d., p. 66 (K1339). Virgile Jozs, *Fragonard, Mœurs du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1901, p. 124. Camille Mauclair, *Fragonard*, Paris, 1904, p. 36. Pierre de Nolhac, *J. H. Fragonard, 1732–1806*, Paris, 1906, p. 159 and 1931 edition, p. 133. Jean-Louis Vaudoyer, 'Exposition d'œuvres de l'art français au XVIII^e siècle à l'Académie Royale des Arts (Berlin)', *Les Arts*, July 1910, pp. 1–30, no. 20. Armand Dayot, *La peinture française au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1928, p. 220. Georges Grappe, *La vie et l'œuvre de J.-H. Fragonard*, Paris, 1929, p. 12. Henri Algoud, *Fragonard*, Monaco, 1941, p. 16. (5) Louis de Fourcaud, 'Honoré Fragonard', Part 2, *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, xxi, 1907, pp. 209–28, p. 225. (6) *Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of French Art*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1932, p. 46, Cat. Nos. 166–7. This error is probably due to the presence of the same statue by Falconet in Fragonard's *The Swing* (London, Wallace Collection) which was painted for the Baron Saint-Jullien c. 1767. (7) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *The Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, New York, 1944, p. 79. He seems to date the canvases 1762–64. (8) Richard Bruce Carpenter, 'The Dutch Sources of the Art of J. H. Fragonard', Harvard University Dissertation, 1956, pp. 20, 21, 27. For Fragonard and Neapolitan art see A. Pigler, 'Fragonard et l'art napolitain', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., v, 1931, pp. 192–7. (9) Georges Wildenstein, *The Paintings of Fragonard*, New York, 1960, p. 296, Cat. No. 443 (K1338), and Cat. No. 444 (K1339). The Robert reference is p. 24. (10) See Edgar J. Munhall, 'The Statues in Watteau's Paintings', Thesis, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1957, p. 43. (11) Reproductive etchings for the catalogue by Jules Jacques Veyrassat. (12) According to the *Illustrated London News*, 9 Apr. 1932, p. iii, William Hope, the eccentric Englishman who maintained a court of eighteen women chosen for artistic talents, bequeathed the canvas to Jenny Colon; however, the latter predeceased Hope. (13) This mistaken identification of the subject may have led to the false assumption (in 1932) that K1338 was the painting *Le Colin-Maillard* owned at one time by Saint-Jullien. (14) A letter from Georges Wildenstein to John Walker (21/1/52, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Archive) stated that the former's father bought the paintings back from Gulbenkian.

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD

K1340 : Figure 292

VISIT TO THE NURSERY (*La Visite à la Nourrice*). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (772), since 1946. Oil on canvas. 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 36 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (73.0 × 92.0 cm.). Surface has a granulated texture seemingly from sand that was mixed with the primer. Relined with minor restoration by Pichetto in 1943; well-preserved.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 170. Reproduced in color in *Cairns and Walker*, p. 123.

A young couple (the man kneeling on a stool, the woman to the left, in white and wearing a straw hat) embrace as they look down at their infant sleeping in a wicker cradle at the left. The baby is turned toward the left where an elderly nurse in a white bonnet and pinkish dress and epron is seated on a trunk. She holds a spindle in her right hand and raises a curtain from the head of the cradle with her left; a cat sleeps at her feet. A partial light source is provided by the curtained window at the upper left, a lantern is placed on the window sill. In the background is an *armoire*. Hay (?) is seen behind the open door at the right; three little children stand just inside the threshold, behind their father. The colors are predominantly pale – beiges and yellows.

Another canvas by Fragonard deals with the same theme: Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Pregny, Switzerland. 32 × 40 cm.¹ The nurse is younger, shown without a spindle or white bonnet. The cradle is obliquely placed; the infant is nude; the *armoire* is smaller and obliquely placed. The father looks up at the mother. A bird cage hangs near the window; the cat is omitted. This painting, together with K1340, was owned by Leroy de Senneville (Lot 51).² The Kress canvas was first recorded by Paillet in his catalogue for the Leroy de Senneville Sale (1780), described as from a story, the *Roman de Miss Sara par M. de St. Lambert*. With a note that '*Le moment que représente cette composition intéressante est celui où les deux époux viennent visiter leur enfant. Ce morceau ingénieusement composé est d'un grand effet, malgré qu'il soit peu terminé.*'

Jean François de Saint-Lambert's popular story was first published in the *Gazette Littéraire de l'Europe* of 15 August 1765, under the deliberately misleading title *Sara Th...* *Nouvelle traduite de l'Anglais*. It describes the parents, a young farmer and his wife, entering 'a room that looked on the garden, its window open. Together they went to the cradle where their fifth-born infant lay, they both bent over the cradle smiling first at the child and then at one another, their hands clasped. I was enchanted by this touching scene of conjugal love and parental tenderness.' In much of the early literature K1340 was referred to as a sketch, first entitled *La Visite à la Nourrice* in 1861.³ The Goncourts described the composition as *une esquisse représentant de jeunes époux contemplant un enfant endormi* (H. 26 p., L. 32 p.) *se payait 7 francs*.⁴ Mantz considered the canvas 'a delightful composition in a sweet and tender

vein... of irresistible eloquence', treated in a sketch-like manner.⁵ It was noted by Portalis that Fragonard executed two versions of the same subject, both owned by Senneville, the larger of these (K1340) described as a superb sketch. The smaller, more finished canvas (Pregny, Rothschild Collection) was preferred by Portalis. He believed the paintings to have been executed prior to Rousseau's *Émile* (published 1762) which denounced the practice of sending children to wet nurses.⁶ The 'modern sincerity and realism' of the Kress canvas were compared by Jozs to Greuze's treatment of similar subjects.⁷ Contrasting *Visit to the Nursery* with Greuze's oeuvre, Mauclair found it more sumptuous in color and spontaneous in execution.⁸ The young mother in the Washington painting was considered by Nolhac as an example of Fragonard's ideal model.⁹ In addition to borrowing the theme of K1340 from Saint-Lambert, Fragonard was observed by Fourcaud to have found sources for such subjects in Diderot, Rousseau, P. C. N. de la Chaussée, and Sedaine.¹⁰ Brinton considered the canvas *avant-garde*, commenting that the birth of Fragonard's daughter and son contributed to 'his devotion to domestic life... [he] assumed new depth and stability. He became almost a little Flemish master, painting with unsuspected penetration and insight such episodes as "*La Jeune Mère*", "*La Visite à la Nourrice*".'¹¹ A dating of 1780 was implied for the Kress canvas by Wildenstein, who noted that the birth of the artist's second child in that year provided him with models for familial subjects.¹² Réau found Rousseau's writings together with those of Saint-Lambert to have influenced Fragonard's discovery of the lyrical quality of familial subjects.¹³ The simplicity of K1340 was noted by Grappe as exceptional in eighteenth-century art. He felt that the taste for such paintings was partially due to the influence of Diderot and Rousseau.¹⁴ Rembrandt's influence on the Kress canvas was observed by Réau who pointed out that Fragonard made three copies after the Dutch master's religious subjects while studying with Boucher, recalling them in his own works such as K1340.¹⁵ A dating of c. 1765 was proposed by Frankfurter, who found the golden tonality of K1340 to be derived from Rembrandt and Jordaens.¹⁶ Hauteceur noted Fragonard's use of the composition of Rembrandt's *Holy Family* (Paris, Louvre), at one time owned by the prominent Parisian collector, the Comtesse de Verrue (1670–1736).¹⁷ The French scholar cited works by Eisen, Moreau le Jeune, and Aubry together with Fragonard's as influenced by Saint-Lambert's text and quoted an art critic's comment of 1775 which denounced the practice of using hired nurses, and consequently the paintings of this theme.¹⁸ Réau, believing the woman at the left to be a wet-nurse, did not accept the source to be Saint-Lambert's text which does not refer to that character.¹⁹ Einstein (p. 244) thought that Fragonard seemed less comfortable in painting this scene of simple family life than he did with his earlier manner. The canvas was placed by Wildenstein with thirty-four other works in the years 1777–79 in which he characterized Fragonard as being 'the painter of family life'.²⁰ Entitling K1340 *The Visit to the Foster Mother*, he described it as 'a very sentimental scene; the elegant young woman shows her child in its cradle... The scene takes

place in a cottage looking on a cowshed where, Mme. de Genlis [1746-1830] asserts in her *Contes moraux*, weakly young children from the town should be brought up.' He did not believe the literary source to have been Saint-Lambert's text, finding only the two depictions of *The Happy Family* to be taken from that short story devoted to 'charm and sweetness of peasant life . . .'.²¹ The author linked the theme to contemporary subjects by Théaulon, Aubry, and Greuze.²²

Among the most popular themes of Fragonard's scenes of family life is that of a loving young couple admiring their infant offspring who is often shown in the care of a nurse.²³ These paintings stem in part from Fragonard's admiration of Rembrandt, especially the Dutch master's depictions of the Holy Family; seven Fragonard copies of such subjects by Rembrandt are known.²⁴ They are placed by Wildenstein in the artist's early years, 1748-52. Some of these canvases may prove considerably later in date as Fragonard probably made a journey to the Lowlands c. 1774 and appears to have utilized Dutch paintings which came to Paris after 1752.²⁵ Although the parents' garb in K1340 is relatively simple, Wildenstein rightly found it inappropriate for the peasant described in Saint-Lambert's text. The painting was listed in 1780 as derived from the French writer's work, but the association is probably a very free one as literature abounds in texts dealing with the joys of parenthood and the simple life. Several of Fragonard's works related in style and subject to the Kress canvas are reliably dated in the late 1770s, by which time Greuze's works of a similar character had already met with great success. First recorded in a sale of 1780, K1340 was probably completed about a year or so earlier. A drawing which appears to be after the Kress canvas is inscribed *frago 1779* on the mount (Paris, Ananoff Collection), an entirely satisfactory date for K1340.²⁶ The artist's dated etching *L'Armoire* of 1778 is close to the *Visit to the Nursery* in theme and style and the latter must have been painted within a few months of the etching.²⁷ Fragonard may have been interested in Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo's print of the Holy Family, from his *Idee pittoresche sopra la fuga in Egitto*, published in 1753, for the outlines of his composition.²⁸ The somewhat subdued coloring of the Kress canvas is in a very different vein from that of the artist's *fêtes galantes*. It is as though he were following the restrained tonalities of seventeenth-century Dutch art, especially that of Rembrandt, whose links to K1340 have often been noted. Despite free rendering and informal subject, Fragonard's work is rooted in the compositions of the High Renaissance, whose pyramidal structure was preserved in France through Poussin's art (see K1642).

Provenance: Leroy de Senneville, Paris (sale, 5-11 Apr. 1780, Lot 50, bought in; sold Paris, 26 Apr. 1784, Lot 26 to Basan).²⁹ Madame Goman, Paris (sold Paris, Salle de M. Le Brun, 6 Feb. 1792, Cat. No. 100). M. Constantin, Paris (sale, 18 Nov. 1816, Lot 365, as 'Deux jeunes époux venant contempler leur enfant, endormi dans son berceau', bought in by Pérignon).³⁰ Jules Burat, Paris,³¹ exhibited - Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *L'Art au XVIII^e siècle*, 1883-84, Cat.

No. 50 (sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 28-29 Apr. 1885, Cat. No. 71,³² bought in). Madame Burat, Versailles,³³ later Paris, exhibited - Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Chardin-Fragonard*, 1907, Cat. No. 90. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Œuvres de J. H. Fragonard*, 1921, Cat. No. 69. New York, Wildenstein and Co., exhibited - New York, Wildenstein and Co., *The Great Tradition of French Painting*, 1939, Cat. No. 22. New York, World's Fair, Masterpieces of Art, 1940, Cat. No. 201. Kress acquisition 1942.

References: (1) Georges Wildenstein, *The Paintings of Fragonard*, New York, 1960, p. 300, Cat. No. 458, fig. 192. Hereafter referred to as *Wildenstein*. (2) An oil sketch of the same composition as K1340 was also in the collection of Staub-Terlinden and listed by *Wildenstein* as a work of Fragonard (p. 301, Cat. No. 460, fig. 193). (3) 'Cabinet de M. Burat', *L'Artiste*, 7th ser., XII, 1861, p. 247. (4) Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *L'art du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1882 (3rd ed.), II, p. 376. Reprinted in 1912-14, III, p. 334. (5) Paul Mantz, 'La Collection Burat', *L'Artiste*, I, 1885, p. 294. (6) Roger Portalis, *Honoré Fragonard, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1889, pp. 64, 119, 202, 291-2, 331. (7) Virgile Josz, *Fragonard, mœurs du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1901, p. 154. (8) Camille Mauclair, *Fragonard*, Paris, 1904, pp. 20, 51. (9) Pierre de Nolhac, 'Fragonard et Chardin', *Les Arts*, no. 67, II, 1907, p. 43. The canvas is no. 120 in the catalogue by Armand Dayot and Léandre Vaillat, *L'œuvre de J.-B.-S. Chardin et de J.-H.-Fragonard*, Paris, c. 1907. See also Dayot, *La peinture française au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1928, p. 227. (10) Louis de Fourcaud, 'Honoré Fragonard', *Revue de l'Art*, XXI, 1907, pp. 287-302, p. 292. (11) Christian Brinton, *Modern Artists*, New York, 1908, p. 13. Robert de la Sizeranne (*Le miroir de la vie, Essais sur l'évolution esthétique*, Paris, 1909, p. 111) followed Brinton's view. (12) Wildenstein, 'L'Exposition Fragonard au Pavillon de Marsan', *La Renaissance de l'art français*, IV, 1921, p. 362. (13) Louis Réau, *Histoire de la Peinture française au XVIII^e siècle*, II, Paris, 1926, pp. 30-1. (14) Georges Grappe, *La Vie et l'Œuvre de J.-H. Fragonard*, Paris, 1929, pp. 139, 153-4. See *idem*, Monaco, 1946, p. 105. (15) Réau, 'Les influences flamandes et hollandaises dans l'œuvre de Fragonard', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 1932, II, pp. 97 ff., esp. pp. 101-2. K1340 was included in his Fragonard monograph (Paris, 1938, p. 4). (16) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *The Kress Collection in the National Gallery*, New York, 1944, p. 79. K1340 was also mentioned in 'Kress Makes Important Donation of French Painting to Nation', *Art Digest*, XVIII, 1944, p. 5 and Cairns and Walker, p. 122 (dated before 1784). (17) Louis Hauteceur, *Les Peintres de la Vie Familiale*, Paris, 1945, p. 39. (18) *Ibid.*, pp. 80-1. 'Des sentiments qui tiennent à un usage si peu dans la nature de confier ses enfants à une femme mercenaire ne doivent pas être fort naturels et, par conséquent, ne peuvent toucher un homme raisonnable.' The text is from *Les Tableaux du Louvre*, 1775, p. 17. (19) L. Réau, *Fragonard, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1956, pp. 171-2. Réau's objection to the Saint-Lambert text as a source for K1340 on the grounds of its not including one is not entirely conclusive, as the figure in the canvas is too old to fill that function. How-

ever, the more finished variant of K1340 (Pregny) shows a far younger nurse than the one in Washington. Perhaps the older woman was a 'stand-in' for the younger. (20) *Wildenstein*, Cat. Nos. 451-86. (21) *Ibid.*, p. 313, Cat. Nos. 501-2. (22) *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7. (23) In addition to the canvases closest in composition to the Kress painting, Fragonard dealt with a related theme in which the figure of the nurse is far more subsidiary, placed in the background behind the happy parents (*Wildenstein*, p. 299, Cat. No. 453, fig. 189, p. 300 and Cat. No. 454, fig. 190, p. 301). In these works - usually entitled *The Return Home*, *The Reconciliation*, or *The Happy Family* - the couple is somewhat more fashionably dressed than that of K1340 and the interior is more formal. (24) *Ibid.*, pp. 191-3, Cat. Nos. 7-13. (25) See Alexandre Ananoff, 'La Réalité du Voyage de Fragonard au Pays-Bas', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1959 (publ. 1960), pp. 15-22. See also Richard Bruce Carpenter, 'The Dutch Sources of the Art of J.-H. Fragonard', Harvard Univ. diss., 1956. (26) The drawing measures 26×29 cm. See Ananoff, *L'Œuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard*, II, Paris, 1963, p. 39, Cat. No. 634. It is slightly closer to the ex coll. Staub-Terlinden canvas and may have been based upon the latter rather than upon K1340. (27) *Wildenstein*, *Fragonard Aquafortiste*, Paris, 1956, p. 32, Cat. No. xxiii. (28) Pompeo Molmenti, *Acquaforti dei Tiepolo*, Venice, 1896, pl. 59. (29) *Wildenstein*, p. 301, gave Basan as the buyer. (30) *Ibid.*, gave Pérignon as buyer. The Constantin sale catalogue listed him as 'expert'. (31) According to Dayot and Vaillat, the canvas was acquired by Burat's father in 1851 (*op. cit.* Note 9, pp. xv-xvi, Cat. No. 120). (32) Reproductive print by Charles Courty for catalogue. (33) Portalis, *op. cit.* Note 6, pp. 291 ff.

Attributed to FRAGONARD

K1908 : Figure 291

HUBERT ROBERT. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1378), since 1956. Oil on canvas. 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ ×21 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (65.3×54.4 cm.). Small losses at right of chest, upper left corner, bottom edge and top center. Two holes at right edge; repair at bottom center. Stretcher marks visible on all sides. Minor restoration by Modestini in 1955. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 74, Cat. No. 25.

A vivacious, ruddy-complexioned man of uncertain age is shown in three-quarter view turned to the right, his eyes toward the spectator. He is shown to just below the waist, in the informal attire often worn in portrayals of artists. His coat is open at the collar over a white open shirt and a green-and-white-striped kerchief; he seems to be wearing his own hair, powdered and tied with a black ribbon. His right arm is placed over his left as though he were resting them on a chair back. The background is gray. The canvas probably shows the prominent French painter Hubert Robert (1733-1808), Fragonard's friend and traveling companion in Italy; for that painter's biography see p. 337, below.¹ Another portrait (Zurich, Bührle Collection) is also thought to be a Fragonard depiction of

Robert, showing him in half-length, seated, leafing through a book.² The canvas bears considerable resemblance to several portraits reliably documented as of Hubert Robert. The somewhat irregular features, animated expression, receding hairline and squarish hands all correspond to the artist's portrait by Madame Vigée-Lebrun (Paris, Louvre).³

The painting was published by Dayot and Vaillat as Fragonard's *Portrait d'Homme*.⁴ It was first listed as possibly showing Hubert Robert, executed by Fragonard between 1756-67, in the Fragonard exhibition catalogue of the Louvre in 1921 (see *Provenance*). K1908 was included in Grappe's Fragonard monograph.⁵ It was described as by Fragonard, of Hubert Robert, in the catalogue of *Exhibition of French Art, 1200-1900*.⁶ Florisoone listed the canvas as by Fragonard, painted between 1756 and 1767.⁷ The Fragonard exhibition catalogue of 1954 referred to the Kress portrait as by Fragonard showing Hubert Robert.⁸ Carpenter found the Kress canvas an example of the influence of Hals's portrait style upon Fragonard. He also suggested the influence of Rembrandt's etchings. As Carpenter referred to K1908 as the 'so-called *Portrait of Hubert Robert*', he had reservations concerning the sitter's identification.⁹ *Einstein* (p. 236) described the portrait as of Robert by Fragonard who, 'As in his other portraits . . . imparts his own gay vivacity and animation to this fine picture in which the eyes, mouth, and even the nose of his sitter seem to have something to say. He conveys an impression of life to the features of his friend whose talent, unlike his own, showed itself principally in depicting the mellow serenity of dead ruins . . .' *Suida-Shapley* (pp. 15 and 74) published K1908 as 'Painted perhaps c. 1760 when Hubert Robert, then less than thirty years old, and Fragonard were studying together in Italy. . . . Comparison of the portrait with the one of Robert in the Louvre, painted many years later, in 1788, by Vigée-Lebrun, lends support to the identification of the present portrait. The hair had receded from the forehead when Vigée-Lebrun painted Robert, but his irregular, vivacious features were much the same.' The Washington portrait was included in Réau's compilation of Fragonard's oeuvre as showing Robert.¹⁰ Commenting upon *Wildenstein's* omission of the Kress canvas from his Fragonard monograph, Carpenter wrote 'A case against the Kress portrait would be difficult, if not impossible, to make.'¹¹

Robert's nose was not usually depicted as distinctly turned-up as it is in K1908. However, the terracotta bust by Pajou (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts) shows the painter, aged sixty-three, with a somewhat upturned nose.¹² A portrait of Hubert Robert (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts) is thought to have been copied by him after the one by Madame Vigée-Lebrun (Paris, Louvre). The Kress painting may also prove to be a copy by Robert or a contemporary copy after a lost portrait of him by Fragonard. It seems to combine images of Hubert Robert as a young man and one of middle age. The canvas is executed using the broad, fresh brushstrokes associated with the art of Hals. Fragonard, working in the speedy manner linked to the

Neapolitan master Luca Giordano, sketched so rapidly that he is supposed to have been able to produce a portrait in oils in a single hour. Several of Fragonard's male portraits in half-length, showing amateurs, artists, and members of the intelligentsia, are somewhat similar in format to K1908. However, the latter has a certain inertness for all the spontaneity it may convey at first glance. In all likelihood the canvas is by an artist working in the manner of Fragonard in the late eighteenth century.

Provenance: Félix Doistau, Paris, exhibited – Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Chardin-Fragonard*, 1907, Cat. No. 102, as 'Portrait d'homme' (sold, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 9–11 June 1909, Cat. No. 37, as 'Portrait d'homme inconnu'). Dr. Tuffier, Paris, exhibited – Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Œuvres de J. H. Fragonard*, 1921, Cat. No. 20, as '“Portrait d'homme”'. On croit que ce portrait est celui du peintre Hubert Robert. *Peint entre 1756 et 1767.* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Exposition Rétrospective d'art français*, 1926, Cat. No. 51 as 'Portrait d'Hubert Robert'. Paris, Galerie Charpentier, *Portraits français*, 1945, Cat. No. 44.¹³ New York, Jacques Seligmann. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) For a list of portraits of Hubert Robert, see C. Gabillot, *Hubert Robert et son temps*, Paris, n.d. [1890s], pp. 287–8. (2) Louis Réau, *Fragonard, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Brussels (Paris), 1956, p. 174. Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of French Art 1200–1900*, London, 1932, p. 133, Cat. No. 269. (3) Reproduced by Gabillot, *op. cit.*, frontispiece. (4) Armand Dayot and Léandre Vaillat, *L'Œuvre de J.-B.-S. Chardin et de J.-H. Fragonard*, Paris, n.d., p. xi, Cat. No. 76. (5) Georges Grappe, *La vie et l'œuvre de J.-H. Fragonard*, Paris, 1929, pl. VIII facing p. 32. (6) London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1932, p. 133, Cat. No. 269. (7) Michel Florisoone, *Portraits français*, Paris, 1946, p. 114. (8) Musée des Beaux-Arts, Berne, Aug. 1954, p. 19, Text for Cat. No. 17. (9) Richard Bruce Carpenter, 'The Dutch Sources of the Art of J. H. Fragonard', Dissertation, Harvard, 1956, pp. 75, 128. (10) Réau, *op. cit.* Note 2, p. 174. (11) Richard Bruce Carpenter, Review in *Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1962, p. 60. (12) Henri Stein, *Augustin Pajou*, Paris, 1912, reproduced pl. 3 opposite p. 64. A highly-finished portrait drawing by Isabey dated 1799 shows the artist with a less turned-up nose (Loan Exhibition, *Selection from the Drawing Collection of David Daniels*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, Cat. No. 31). A self-portrait of Robert sketching near the Coliseum (Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Collection Pierre-Adrien Pâris) bears some resemblance to K1908 as does the portrait of the artist by Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. The Kress sitter also looks like an unidentified individual – formerly referred to as Hubert Robert – in a Fragonard drawing probably prepared at the Villa Medici, Rome (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) and to another Fragonard drawing of an unknown sitter also drawn in Rome, in 1774 (reproduced by François Fosca, *Les Dessins de Fragonard*, Paris, 1954, p. 49, fig. 2). The Kress sitter resembles the artist in *The Drawing Lesson*, a painting believed to be by François-André Vincent, work-

ing in collaboration with Jean-Honoré Fragonard (ex coll. David-Weill and Morris I. Kaplan, Chicago). For this canvas, see Georges Wildenstein, 'Un Amateur de Boucher et de Fragonard. Jacques Onésyme Bergeret (1715–55)', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LVIII, 1961, pp. 39–84, fig. 23 (p. 65). It was recorded in the Bergeret inventory as no. 21, among the *œuvres romaines de Fragonard*. According to Wildenstein (*ibid.*), Saint-Aubin noted in his copy of the *Salon Livret* of 1777 for the same painting (no. 196) that it was *commencé par Fragonard dit-on*. According to Wildenstein, it was executed between 1774 and 1777 (*ibid.*). (13) According to the Seligmann Gallery, K1908 was still owned by Dr. Tuffier at this time.

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD

dk 548 : Figure 299

THE PARK OF A VILLA. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,373), since 1963. Yellowish wash. 5½ × 6½ in. (14.2 × 17.5 cm.). Somewhat faded.

Umbrella pines are at the left surrounding a statue on a circular base (a fountain?). There are washerwomen here and in the foreground. Elaborate terraces rise to the right. Gardeners are at work in the foreground. One of these is on a ladder to the right. An oxcart is at the center.

Ananoff included dk 548 in his Fragonard drawing corpus. He noted that a copy with modifications (omitting ladder) was made by Jean-Baptiste-Louis Le Faivre (1766–98) which is now in Besançon (Musée des Beaux-Arts).¹ A series of Italian views by Fragonard in Besançon (Musée des Beaux-Arts) are close in size to dk 548; the latter may well have belonged with them.² Despite the bleaching of its washes, this work is a very good example of the almost Rembrandtesque aspect of Fragonard's oeuvre. The identification of the site is not entirely certain. The drawing dates from Fragonard's second Italian voyage (c. 1773–74) with Bergeret, when he worked in bistre rather than red chalk. This fluid medium allowed for far greater rapidity in execution than did the more laborious red chalk.³

Provenance: M. Marquiset, Paris (sold, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 28–29 Apr. 1890, Cat. No. 90). M. Cournerie, Paris (sold, 8–9 Dec. 1891, Cat. No. 72). Guiraud, Paris.⁴ Paris, Richard Owen.⁵ Kress acquisition 1939.

References: (1) Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Œuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard*, III, Paris, 1968, p. 90, Cat. No. 1446, *Jardin de la Villa Médicis*. The Besançon drawing was published by Lucie Cornillot, *Collection Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Besançon, Inventaire général des dessins des Musées de Province*, I, Paris, 1957, Cat. No. 106. Pâris wrote at the lower left of this drawing: *copie de Fragonard par J. B. le F.* (2) Cornillot, *op. cit.*, Cat. Nos. 45, 49. (3) For works by Fragonard close to dk 548 in style, see: *Les Pins de la Villa Pamphili* (ex coll. David-Weill), reproduced by Gabriel Herriot, *Collection David-Weill*, III, Paris, 1928, p. 169.

See also *Jardin aux Pins parasols à Rome* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon), *Exposition J.-H. Fragonard*, Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1956, p. 7. (4) Ananoff, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 90, Cat. No. 1446, gave the Cournerie and Guiraud ex colls. (5) Possibly identical with one of the three works by Fragonard exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.

dk451 : Figure 300

THE BEDROOM [Ma Chemise Brûle]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,376), since 1963. Pen and brush drawing in sepia ink on heavy paper. $9\frac{7}{8} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ in. (24.0 × 36.9 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: *frago*. Unidentified collector's mark at lower left: blue star. Rectangular sticker on back with provenance. Considerable foxing; laid down.

A girl *en négligé* sits on a made bed at the left. Another girl seems to be undressing at the side of the bed, nearest the picture plane, resting her left arm on a footstool. Some clothing is on the floor at her side. A servant is seen from the back, to the right of a fireplace at the rear. To the right of the servant is a door which has just been opened by a young woman and her child, who are entering the room. A dog leaves its kennel in the lower right foreground, approaching the open door. Above the fireplace is an oval decoration with a standing figure (Venus?); to the right of this a birdcage hangs from the ceiling.

The same setting (with minor modifications) was used by Fragonard for his drawing *Ma Chemise Brûle*, reproduced in a print by Augustin Le Grand on 1 Jan. 1789.¹ Although listed in the Fauchier-Magnan sale as *Ma Chemise Brûle*,² dk451 was correctly entitled *Le Coucher* by Ananoff, who included it in his corpus of Fragonard drawings.³

Because of similarities in style and technique with *Ma Chemise Brûle* (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins), the Kress drawing was probably executed at about the same date, presumably in the late 1780s, although the possibility of a later date cannot be excluded. Fragonard was a specialist in the execution of intimate, charmingly erotic scenes such as the one shown in dk451.⁴

Provenance: Adrien Fauchier-Magnan, London (sold, London, Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1935, p. 12, Cat. No. 13, to Owen). Paris, Richard Owen.⁵ Kress acquisition 1936.

References: (1) The drawing is in Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Camondo Bequest. Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Œuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard*, 1, Paris, 1961, pp. 64-5, Cat. No. 86. (2) It was also incorrectly listed by Louis Réau, *Fragonard, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1956, p. 198. (3) Ananoff, *op. cit.*, p. 65, Cat. No. 87. (4) For a discussion of these subjects, see Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *French XVIII Century Painters*, trans. Robin

Ironside, London, 1948, pp. 284-5. (5) Possibly identical with one of the three Fragonards exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.

Imitator of FRAGONARD

dk279 : Figure 301

THE SEE-SAW [La Bascule]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,394), since 1963. Pen and ink and watercolor. $14\frac{5}{8} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$ in. (37.0 × 47.0 cm.). Very well preserved.

Young people cavort in an Italianate park setting of umbrella pines and poplars. A ruined, circular Roman temple (based on one at Tivoli) is at the extreme left; a masonry archway with terrace above is at the center; a statue of a male figure is at the extreme right. Six figures are on a see-saw at the center; a reclining couple is at the lower right foreground, with additional figures under the arch and in the temple. A horse is in the left foreground near a pond.

The drawing was included in the Royal Academy exhibition in 1968 as by Hubert Robert (see *Provenance*).

This sheet is based upon many horizontal compositions drawn by Fragonard, most notably *La Bascule* (Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut) executed in chalk, preparatory to the same subject in Paris (École Polytechnique)¹; dk279 may also have derived elements from Hubert Robert's vertical composition of the same subject (Paris, Wildenstein Collection), dated 1786.² The *pasticheur* responsible for dk279 may have drawn upon the work of Italian as well as French artists. The statue at the extreme right recalls etchings by Tiepolo. The drawing was probably prepared in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Provenance: Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition, 1934, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Drawings from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art*, 1966 (no catalogue). London, Royal Academy of Arts, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, 1968, p. 114, Cat. No. 613.

References: (1) Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Œuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard*, II, Paris, 1963, p. 94, Cat. No. 821, fig. 223 (Frankfurt). (2) These sources were noted by Jean Cailleux (letter of 10/1/69, Kress Archive), who also pointed out that a similar horizontal composition was included in the Galerie Charpentier Sale, 24 May 1955, Cat. No. 123, pl. II, also executed in eighteenth-century style.

HUBERT ROBERT

Hubert Robert was born in Paris in 1733 and died there in 1808.¹ After first studying under the sculptor Michel-Ange Slodtz, Robert left to study painting at the French Academy in Rome in 1754, having obtained the support

of the Minister of Fine Arts, the marquis de Marigny and that of the duc de Choiseul. He remained in Italy for eleven years where he became a close friend of Piranesi and Pannini, adapting their romantic approach to landscape subjects. His journey to southern Italy in 1761 (with Fragonard and their patron, the Abbé de Saint-Non), expanded his knowledge of historic monuments, views of which he combined in his paintings with imaginary vistas. Throughout his lifetime Robert drew upon the large number of studies made during his Italian years. Establishing permanent residence in Paris in 1765, Robert was admitted to the Académie Royale, and was soon widely patronized for his decorative panels. Robert's works were often reproduced in print form. He worked extensively on the design of parks and gardens of Versailles. Under Louis XVI, he was named 'Keeper of the King's Pictures'. Imprisoned during the Revolution, the artist was not released until 1794, when he was appointed to the governing board of the Louvre. Robert's love of picturesque decay earned him the sobriquet, 'Robert des Ruines', causing his admirer, Catherine the Great, to remark that one beneficial effect of the French Revolution was that it provided Robert with 'the most beautiful and freshest ruins in the world'.

Reference: (1) C. Gabillot, *Hubert Robert et son temps*, Paris, 1895; Pierre de Nolhac and G. Pannier, *Hubert Robert 1733-1808*, Paris, 1910; Charles Sterling, *Hubert Robert* (exhibition catalogue), Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1933; Georges Isarlo, 'Hubert Robert', *Connaissance des Arts*, XXI, 1953, pp. 28 ff.

HUBERT ROBERT

K1417 : Figure 305

THE PONTE SALARIO [The Old Bridge]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1129), since 1950. Oil on canvas. 35 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 47 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (91.3 × 121.0 cm.). Vertical stretcher marks at center. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1946-47. Very well preserved.

Suida, p. 230, Cat. No. 103. Reproduced in color in *Frankfurter*, 1951, p. 121.

This old bridge composed of two piers is adapted from the Ponte Salaro which was built in the sixth century. The bridge of Narses, it carried the Via Salaro over the river Anio, a tributary of the Tiber.¹ The landscape is the Roman Campagna. Five washerwomen together with a standing man are placed to the left beneath the arch of the bridge. A man with a gun stands on the right bank; a seated woman in peasant costume is to the right, pointing to the left. The arch in the left pier has been converted into a barn-like structure. A fortified archway tollhouse with Gothic windows and crenellations is built upon the upper left portion of the bridge; a papal escutcheon is above the doorway that leads to the tollhouse residence. A woman stands on the balcony of the apartment, another on the steps to the right. A man (in pilgrim's attire?) stands before the archway with two companions. A cowherd is on the bridge

to the right. A ferry boat is seen through the bridge opening. Dominated by the monumental, partly-ruined bridge, Robert's composition is relieved by small touches of bright red drapery on the balcony, the bridge and the figures below.

K1417 is based upon a Robert canvas signed and dated 1783, in the Bardac Sale (Text Fig. 113), presumably the painting of the subject exhibited by Robert in the Salon of 1783.² The *staffage* differs, more of the right section of the bridge is shown and the tollhouse differs in details. Nolhac recorded the painting as in the Raguse Sale of 1857.³ Guiffrey found the Kress canvas characteristic of Robert's picturesque, decorative manner.⁴ The canvas was reproduced by Gillet in his essay 'Hubert Robert, peintre des ruines'.⁵ *Suida-Shapley* (p. 230, Cat. No. 103) identified the structure as the Ponte Salaro, noting variations of the old bridge motif in several of Robert's works. There are small differences between Robert's canvas and the etching of the Ponte Salaro by Piranesi (Text Fig. 114) which was published in 1754 in the *Vedute di Roma*,⁶ issued when Robert first came to Rome, as noted by Frankfurter. The work shows poetic license and invention rather than a documentary rendering of the site. Frankfurter stressed the romantic aspect of Robert's depiction of Classical antiquity in ruins, shown in the pink rays of the setting sun. He dated the painting c. 1785.⁷ The canvas is placed with Isarlo's Group 98 of Robert's oeuvre.⁸ *Cooke* (pp. 11, 40) stressed the imaginative quality of K1417. He described it as a caprice, 'an arbitrary arrangement of more or less accurate features of the Roman campagna.' He noted that after Robert's return to Paris 'he used his sketches, combined with his memories of sunny Italy, to produce nostalgic scenes such as this. Like many other eighteenth-century artists Robert often introduced amusing anecdotal material in his pictures; here, for example, the woman on the balcony is calling the cat to come in and the soldier below looks wistfully at the pretty washerwoman on the opposite bank.' *Cooke* found the canvas to be a harbinger of the neo-Classical style which was to sweep over France by 1785. Robert's dependence upon Piranesi's Roman views was stressed by Burda, who found the bridge in K1417 more frontal than in the print where it is seen slightly from the right.⁹

Bridges, emblematic of the passage of life, were a popular theme in Robert's art. The Kress canvas is a fine example of the French master's ability to combine the grandeur that was Rome with picaresque, *Opéra comique* figures. The smoothly painted landscape view that is framed by the central archway is still reminiscent of such seventeenth-century masters as Claude. The whimsical cow and insouciant young cowherd on the bridge recall the art of Robert's traveling companion, J.-H. Fragonard. A dating shortly after 1783, when the first version was shown in the Salon of that year, seems reasonable. Robert drew upon his Roman notebooks and Piranesi's views countless times. The Kress canvas shows him working in an authoritative manner different from the slap-dash execution of his works toward the end of the century.

Provenance: Madame La Maréchale, Duchesse de Raguse, Paris. Sold, 14–15 Dec. 1857 (p. 17, no. 42). Madame Louis Stern, Paris (1911). Sold, 22 Apr. 1929 (Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, p. 13, no. 19, bought by Wildenstein). New York, Wildenstein and Co., exhibited – *Eighteenth-Century French Art*, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Museum, 1931, no. 31; *French Painting*, San Francisco, California, Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1934, p. 41, no. 53; *Paintings and Drawings by Hubert Robert*, New York, Wildenstein and Co., 1938, no. 21. Kress acquisition 1946.

References: (1) Alfred M. Frankfurter, 'Interpreting Masterpieces', *Art News Annual*, I, 1951, p. 151. (2) 'Un pont antique à trois milles de Rome, sur le Tibre, 5 pieds 9 pouces de large sur 4 pieds 6 pouces de haut'. Cited by Gabillot, *op. cit.*, p. 277. Reproduced in the Sigismond Bardac Sale Catalogue, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 10–11 May 1920, p. 36, Cat. No. 32. (3) Pierre de Nolhac, *Hubert Robert*, Paris, 1910, p. 127. (4) Jean Guiffrey, 'La Collection de Mme. Louis Stern', *Les Arts*, Nov. 1911, p. 22. (5) Louis Gillet, in *L'Illustration*, Christmas issue, 1922; it was also illustrated in a review (*Revue de l'Art*, LXV, 1934, p. 24) of the Hubert Robert exhibition at the Tuileries (1933) but not included in that show. (6) For the influence of Piranesi on French eighteenth-century artists see Henri Focillon, *G. B. Piranesi*, Paris, 1928, p. 84. (7) Frankfurter, pp. 118, 127. The canvas is included by Einstein, p. 236. (8) Georges Isarlo, 'Hubert Robert', *Connaissance des Arts*, XXI, 1953, pp. 28 ff.; p. 33. (9) Hubert Burda, *Die Ruine in den Bildern Hubert Roberts*, Munich, 1967, p. 45.

Circle of HUBERT ROBERT

K1843 : Figure 302

INTERIOR OF THE COLISEUM. New York, N.Y., Mrs. Rush H. Kress. Oil on canvas. 29 × 38½ in. (73.7 × 97.8 cm.). Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1951.

The interior of the Coliseum is seen from the lower right – a picturesque view through the most decayed part of the structure. Two men and two women recline on a cloth in the foreground, a woman and child are at the lower right, and additional small figures are placed in the middle and far distance.

The Kress canvas was first published by Nolhac as one of ten views of Rome (owned by the duc d'Atri), among Robert's earliest works, painted when he knew Piranesi but was the student of Gian Paolo Pannini. Nolhac described the series of portal-like structures at the left of K1843 as altars of the Stations of the Cross where pilgrims came to pray. He noted that Hubert Robert was especially concerned with measuring the Coliseum, preparing scale drawings which necessitated his climbing the outer wall.¹ Voss illustrated four of the series of ten Roman views (ex coll. d'Atri) to which K1843 belonged, using these as the basis for three further attributions of Classical views to the young Robert – *Roman Ruins* and *The Arch of Titus* (both in Florence) and *Roman Ruins* (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte

Antica, Rome). On the basis of K1843, whose attribution to Robert was accepted by Voss, that scholar also ascribed a similar composition (in 1928 in a Roman private collection, Text Fig. 108) to the French artist; it had previously been given to Robert's teacher Pannini by Ozzola.² The Kress canvas was published by Buscaroli as a work of Pannini. The Italian author dated the Kress canvas some years before 1743.³ Although the *Interior of the Coliseum* was not specifically referred to in Arisi's Pannini monograph, the scholar accepted the d'Atri series to which it belonged as by Hubert Robert.⁴

Although aspects of the Kress canvas recall Hubert Robert's early art, it is not certain that the *Interior of the Coliseum* is by that master. The painting shows considerable awkwardness and lack of spatial realization, differing from the Fauchier-Magnan *Coliseum View* and from the one formerly in a Roman private collection (Text Fig. 108). The latter rendering is more romantic (still close to Pannini) than K1843, and may possibly have provided a point of departure for the Kress canvas, which is more in keeping with Piranesi's starkly dramatic art. Mary Ellen Fahs has suggested that the *Interior of the Coliseum* may prove to be by the Abbé de Saint-Non who is known to have copied many of his protégé's works in etchings and some in painted form. Saint-Non's inventory listed a view of the Coliseum, a canvas copied by him after Robert.⁵ This view of the Coliseum would have been described in Robert's lifetime as *du côté de la destruction la plus pittoresque*.⁶

Provenance: One of ten Roman views owned by the duc d'Atri, Paris, exhibited – Galerie d'Atri, 1922.⁷ Podio, Bologna (1935).⁸ New York, Paul Drey Gallery,⁹ exhibited – Honolulu, Academy of Arts, *Four Centuries of European Painting*, 1949–50, no. 17. Kress acquisition 1951.

References: (1) Pierre de Nolhac, 'Les premières œuvres romaines d'Hubert Robert', *La Renaissance de l'Art Français*, VI, Jan.–June 1923, pp. 27 ff. (2) Hermann Voss, 'Opere giovanili di Hubert Robert in Gallerie italiane', *Daedalo*, VIII, 1928, pp. 743–51; p. 751. Leandro Ozzola, *Gian Paolo Pannini, Pittore*, Turin, 1921, pl. 30. (3) Rezio Buscaroli, *La Pittura di paesaggio in Italia*, Bologna, 1935, p. 340, pl. LXVIII. (4) Ferdinando Arisi, *Gian Paolo Pannini*, Piacenza, 1961. (5) Georges Wildenstein, 'L'Abbé de Saint-Non artiste et mécène', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XLIV, 1959, pp. 225–37, esp. p. 239. (6) C. Gabillot, *Hubert Robert et son Temps*, Paris, 1895, p. 279. A canvas of the Coliseum shown by him in the Salon of 1795 was so described (Cat. No. 432). (7) Nolhac, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 33. (8) According to Buscaroli, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, pl. LXVIII. (9) When it was in his collection, Drey confused K1843 with a canvas of the same subject by Hubert Robert formerly in the collection of Adrien Fauchier-Magnan. The latter canvas was reproduced by Pierre de Nolhac, *La Renaissance de l'Art Français*, VI, Jan.–June 1923, p. 27. In the Fauchier-Magnan Sale (Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1935), two canvases (Cat. Nos. 96–7) of the Coliseum by Robert are listed, differing from both K1843 and the one published by Nolhac.

HUBERT ROBERT

dk242 : Figure 303

STROLLING MUSICIANS [Charitable Ladies]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,391), since 1963. Pen and watercolor. $14\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in. (37.8 × 26.8 cm.), within drawn line. Inscribed at lower left: *Robert*. The device (*paraphe*) attached to the 't' is one used by the artist on works executed during his imprisonment at Saint-Lazare during the Terror in 1794. Light foxing.

Three young women lean out of a window of a villa (resembling Michelangelo's Campidoglio) with a picturesque decaying cornice. The girl in the foreground holds out a canister which contains coins about to fall into the outstretched left hand of a little boy who, with another boy holding a staff and a dog, accompany a barefoot strolling musician who stands at the right. The latter plays a guitar, wears a cloth hat and cape over a vest and trousers with many buttons along the sides. A cape, hat, and staff rest on the ground before a strigillated sarcophagus below the ladies' window. Water falls into the sarcophagus from a *mascaron* spout. An obelisk with mock hieroglyphs rises from the woods at the right, possibly derived from the one in the gardens of the Château de Bagatelle.

This watercolor was mentioned by Isarlo in an article on Robert.¹ Planned as an independent, finished work, dk242 is a typical example of Robert's late decorative draftsmanship. The composition, with considerable changes, was painted in reverse (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).² The drawing is close in composition to a Robert painting of the same subject in Paris (Lacaze Collection, Louvre, Inv. No. 1962). In the latter the figures are small in scale, with a larger landscape vista; spectators are shown peering down from a balustrade on the roof of the villa.³ Jean Cailleux and Victor Carlson agreed that dk242 dates from the late 1770s or the early 1780s.⁴ They pointed out that the Louvre canvas was probably executed later than dk242. Jean Massengale dated the drawing c. 1794 on the basis of paper size and the *paraphe*.⁵ There are several other examples of the theme of mendicant musicians in Robert's art (e.g., a drawing, Paris, M. and Mme. Jean Cailleux Collection).

Provenance: George Blumenthal, Paris (sale Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 1-2 Dec. 1932, p. 37, Cat. No. 43 as 'Les Dames charitables'). Wessel. Kress acquisition 1933.

References: (1) Georges Isarlo, 'Hubert Robert', *Connaissance des Arts*, 15 Aug. 1953, p. 32 ('Groupe 46, Avec obélisque. Obélisque à droite. dessin Blumenthal'). (2) Charles Sterling, *A Catalogue of French Paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1955, pp. 165-6 (17.190.30). He mentioned a related drawing at the Musée de Valence, *Catalogue* of 1914, p. 30. (3) Reproduced by Pierre de Nolhac, *Hubert Robert*, Paris, 1910, facing p. 28. (4) Oral communication from Mr. Carlson and letter from M. Cailleux of 10/1/69, Kress Archive. (5) Mrs. Massengale

noted also that dk242 is close in style to Robert's watercolor *Visitors leaving a Prison*, of 1794, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (23.280.6).

dk243 : Figure 304

RUINED FARM. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,393), since 1963. Counterproof of black chalk drawing reworked in ink and brown, blue and gray washes with some additional black chalk. $14\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$ in. (36.5 × 29.0 cm.). Inscribed at lower left corner: *Robert*. Inscribed on old mount at lower right: *Hubert Robert*. A.D. No. 196. Octagonal sticker on back of mount inscribed: 940 Robert 39. *Hubert Robert. L'Interieur*. Paris customs stamps. Rectangular sticker inscribed: *Fogg P.P. 243*.

Three men and a woman in peasant garb are seated in the left corner of a ruined, roofless, rustic structure, possibly a collapsed hayloft with a brick wall at the left and a timber one in the background. The couple to the right are in woeful attitudes. Two men at the left hold or point to a curving object (textile or paper?). The scene may be meant to represent a meeting after a fire or similar disaster. Agricultural implements, pails and barrels are in the foreground.

Victor Carlson has pointed out that dk243 is one of many counterproofs by Robert which the artist himself reworked by adding color. The original chalk drawing is unknown.¹ Bernard Schackenburg found that dk243 is derived from a pen and wash drawing by or after Izaak van Ostade (Stockholm, National Museum, NN 2137/1863). As counterproof, the Kress drawing reverses an original which would have been in the same direction as its seventeenth-century model. A Boucher drawing (New York, collection Emile Wolf), executed in black chalk, also faces in the same direction as the van Ostade and is very probably the original source for the Kress counterproof. The Boucher was presumably purchased by Robert following his master's death in 1770, when Robert is known to have made many such acquisitions, using them as the basis for his own later works. In van Ostade's drawing the men are playing cards; in the Kress version they seem to be stuffing or covering a chair; in the Wolf, one is holding a hoop-like object in front of the upright plank, which resembles a chair-back in dk243. The other major difference between the Dutch original and the Kress drawing is that the barn roof of the former is omitted by Robert (in Wolf's version it is maintained).

According to Jean Massengale, dk243 may date as early as the 1760s, executed by Robert in Italy.² It could prove considerably later in date.

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen.³ Kress acquisition 1933.

References: (1) Oral communication. (2) Oral communication. It is close in style to a scene by Robert formerly in the

Yturbe Chassenau Sale (Paris, Galerie Charpentier, 1950, 3-4 June, Cat. No. 56, pl. XXI, reproduced by C. Gabillot, *Hubert Robert*, Paris, 1895, pl. opp. p. 209). (3) Probably identical with one of the sixteen works by Robert exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.

dk470 : Figure 310

THE PEASANT DANCE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,392), since 1963. Counterproof of black chalk drawing reworked in black ink, black chalk, and brown and gray washes. $14\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$ in. (36.2 x 28.3 cm.). Mounter's drymark at lower right corner: FR.¹ Indication of an earlier drawing of the trumpeter further to the right, covered with white. Laid down.

A peasant couple dance in a barn to the music of a trumpeter who is seen from the back, standing on a barrel in the lower left corner. Three adults and a child are at the right and a group of five children are at the left; they all watch the dancers, as do two children on a ladder at the center.

Victor Carlson and Jean Cailleux both placed dk470 in the 1770s, probably after 1774.² Jean Massengale found it one of the pen and watercolor drawings of which Robert did many after 1780. Robert drew upon Dutch and Flemish seventeenth-century sources for his composition, most notably the art of Adriaen van Ostade. The Dutch master's *Dance under the Trellis* (etching, B.47) shows a similar placement of figures, but they are far stockier than those of dk470.³ Robert's Italian residence may have influenced the chiaroscuro, which is somewhat reminiscent of Tiepolo.

Provenance: François Coty, Paris (sold, Paris, Galerie Charpentier, 30 Nov.-1 Dec. 1936, Cat. No. 13). Paris, Richard Owen.⁴ Kress acquisition 1937.

References: (1) Frits Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections des dessins et d'estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921, no. 1042 - François Renaud. He was active in Paris c. 1776. (2) Oral communication from Victor Carlson. Letter from Cailleux, 10/1/69, Kress Archive. Massengale in a letter of 11/11/73. (3) K. G. Boon and J. Verbeek, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, xv, Amsterdam, n.d. [1964?], p. 62 (illus. p. 61). (4) Possibly identical with one of the sixteen works by Robert exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.

dk452 : Figure 306

TERRACE AND GARDEN OF AN ITALIAN VILLA. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,377),

since 1963. Red chalk. $9\frac{1}{16} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ in. (24.6 x 37.7 cm.). Collector's mark at lower right: FR.¹ Water stains along top of paper; rubbed at lower left.

A couple under a pergola lean against a railing. They look down to a fountain below where a gardener fills a vessel with water from the *mascaron* spout above the basin. A male bust is at the lower right with benches on either side. A small figure is seen through the trees at the top of steps at the lower left. Poplars, pines, and other trees are shown.

This work was included in Ananoff's corpus of Fragonard drawings, as *Fontaine sous la pergola*.² He observed that it probably dates from the artist's first Italian voyage, when Fragonard was a student at the French Academy (in Rome), c. 1761.³ Massengale believed the Italian scene was drawn in the artist's studio in Paris (accounting for a certain lack of luster) a few years after his return and before he started using bister washes instead of chalk for his landscapes. She found it especially close to the black chalk drawings in the British Museum done by Fragonard for Saint-Non in 1761, and to *Le Jet d'Eau dans un Parc* (Paris, coll. Georges Dormeuil).⁴

Although this fine drawing recalls many works by Fragonard from his first Italian journey and is influenced by him, it was probably drawn by his travelling companion Hubert Robert. Throughout his career Robert repeated and reworked motifs from the years in which he and Fragonard did Italian views for their patron, the Abbé de Saint-Non.⁵

Provenance: Gaston Le Breton, Paris (sold, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 6-8 Dec. 1921, p. 30, Cat. No. 63, as 'Fontaine dans le parc d'une villa italienne' by Fragonard). Eugène Rodrigues, Paris, exhibited - Paris, Petit Palais, *Le Paysage français de Poussin à Corot*, 1925, p. 114, Cat. No. 439; Sold, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 28-29 Nov. 1928, p. 26, Cat. No. 113 as *Parc de villa italienne* by Fragonard. Paris, Richard Owen.⁶ Kress acquisition 1936.

References: (1) Frits Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections des dessins et d'estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921, no. 897 - Eugène Rodrigues. (2) Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Œuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard*, 1, Paris, 1961, p. 143, Cat. No. 313. (3) Letter of 14/11/69, Kress Archive. (4) Letter of 11/11/73. Ananoff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 136, no. 938, fig. 174. (5) See the Robert red chalk *Temple rond avec cascade* (Paris, Louvre, No. 32.731), inscribed, '1769'. (6) Possibly identical with one of the three drawings listed as by Fragonard and exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.

ANONYMOUS FRENCH ARTIST

dk508 : Figure 307

PARK OF AN ITALIAN VILLA [View in the Villa d'Este]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,378),

since 1963. Black chalk (*pierre noire d'Italie*) and sepia wash. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{8}$ in. (24.8×37.0 cm.). Illegible inscription in ink across bottom.¹

A sheet on the back of the mount, presumably taken from sale catalogue of 1929 (see *Provenance*), printed: 'Vue dans la villa d'Este JH Fragonard Pierre noire au lavis de sépia. H 24.7 x 37.4. Colls: Louis Paraf, S.S. Bond et marque ARD (Lugt 172: marque non identifiée appartenant suivant Fagan, à un monteur de dessins, vivant en France au XVIII^e siècle). Ce dessin est certifié par Monsieur Wildenstein.' Small hole at lower left.

A small cascade, falling into a grotto-like pool, with a stone lion at the top and small supporting figures (tritons?) below is shown to the left of an elaborate villa garden with umbrella pines and other trees. Standing, Vestal-like statues are shown at the extreme left and toward the right, the latter placed upon a low wall together with two large, squat urns. Steps are in the middleground to the right, placed near a wall with an aedicule. A statue of a kneeling female figure is in the background, to the left of the lion.

When first published in the anonymous sale of 1929, dk508 was listed as *View in the Villa d'Este* by Fragonard; the following year, the Kress drawing was described as an Italian park view, a strong work by Fragonard (see *Provenance*). Ananoff included dk508 in his corpus of Fragonard drawings (listed among those which he had not been able to examine), but he is now inclined to ascribe it to the Abbé de Saint-Non, Adrien Pâris or Joseph Barthélemy Le Bouteux.²

After Fragonard with Hubert Robert and the Abbé de Saint-Non resided in Tivoli in the summer of 1760, many artists, including the Abbé de Saint-Non, utilizing prints after Fragonard and Robert, produced drawings reminiscent of those masters. The Kress drawing seems to adapt the themes and techniques of several different artists and may well prove the work of a gifted amateur such as the Abbé.³ Two signed Robert drawings of Roman views, dated 1785 (Narbonne, Musée Archéologique et des Beaux-Arts) are close in style to dk508.

Provenance: ARD.⁴ Louis Paraf.⁵ S. S. Bond.⁶ R. W. P. De Vries, Amsterdam (sold there, *Dessins des maîtres anciens et modernes*, Part II, 1929, p. 46, Cat. No. 1 as 'Vue dans la villa d'Este'). 'Collection d'un Amateur hollandais' (sold, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 23 May 1930, Cat. No. 16, as 'Coin de parc de villa italienne avec cascade, balustre, statue et vases, terrasse et pins parasols').⁷ Paris, Richard Owen.⁸ Kress acquisition 1937.

References: (1) According to the anonymous sale at De Vries in 1929 (Amsterdam, *Dessins des maîtres anciens et modernes*, Part II, p. 46, Cat. No. 1), there was a collector's mark on dk508 - ARD (Lugt 172). The (lost?) mark is unidentified and the De Vries catalogue quoted Fagan as saying it belonged to an eighteenth-century French *monteur*. (2) Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Œuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard*, III, Paris, 1968, p. 110, Cat. No. 1529. Letter of

18/11/69, Kress Archive. (3) For comparative material, see Fragonard's oil *The Gardens of the Villa d'Este, Tivoli* (London, Wallace Collection, No. 1379) after which Fragonard made a print entitled *Le Petit Parc*. Wallace Collection Catalogue, *Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1964, p. 116 (illus.). The print is fig. 2 in Georges Wildenstein, *Fragonard Aquafortiste*, Paris, 1956, p. 9. The oil was also copied in a print by the Abbé de Saint-Non. (4) See Note 1. (5) According to De Vries Catalogue, *supra*. (6) *Ibid.* (7) Catalogue has same information on collectors as De Vries catalogue. (8) Possibly identical with one of the three works listed as by Fragonard exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933. The names of the earlier owners sound fictitious.

FRENCH ARTIST active last third of XVIII Century [Fragonard]

dk137 : Figure 321

VIEW OF A VILLA [Landscape at St. Tropez]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,375), since 1963. Watercolor heightened with gouache. $14\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ in. (36.0×24.8 cm.). At lower right, mark: ER [collection Eugène Rodrigues].

Octagonal sticker on back: No. 996. J. H. Fragonard. On the back of the mount: *La St. Tropez*. On the verso of the old mount, in an old hand: *Fragonard*. Additional text is covered by the following typewritten legend: *A St. Tropez ou sur la route d'Antibes, au départ du voyage avec Bergerets en 1773. Au fond les arrêtes de l'Esterél ou des 'Maures'. Voir dans l'ouvrage de Portalis¹ sur Fragonard la reproduction du même Temple en Ruines aux pages 28 (Chaumière dans les Ruines d'un Temple), 32 (Le Temple de Vesta à Tivoli).*² Typewritten label at lower left on back of present mount: 'PP 137. A watercolor drawing by Jean Honoré Fragonard, representing a scene at St. Tropez, on the road to Antibes. This is one of the drawings executed by Fragonard during his journey to Italy with Bergeret in 1774. Paris, Richard Owen 1930;' price in code.

A villa is shown at the upper left on a terrace, with a curved temple-like structure to the right. On a lower level, a gardener is shown with a wheel barrow. In the center is a row, stretching to the back, of pomegranate (?) trees in boxes. Four women are at the right, seemingly picking fruit. A stand of trees is at the extreme right. Mountains are seen in the distance.

The drawing was listed as 'attributed to Fragonard' when first published in the Reprine Sale (see *Provenance*), and described as *L'Allée de Grenadiers* [Pomegranates], and the building on the terrace considered to be an Italian villa. At the time of the Rodrigues sale (see *Provenance*), it was given to the master himself and recorded as *An Italian Villa Overlooking a Park*. When owned by Richard Owen, dk137 was believed to show St. Tropez, at the time of Fragonard's departure for Italy with Bergeret in 1773. It

was included in Ananoff's Fragonard corpus as *L'Allée de Grenadiers*. M. Ananoff has not seen the drawing itself and now feels that it may be by Maréchal.³

The scene appears more Italian than French. The draughtsmanship of dk137 is not consistent with Fragonard's, and must be regarded as that of a lesser contemporary whose graphic style is freely based on that of Fragonard and Hubert Robert.

Provenance: Prince Repnine, Paris (sold, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 6 June 1907, Cat. No. 43 as 'L'Allée de Grenadiers'). Eugène Rodrigues, Paris (sold, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 28-29 Nov. 1928, Cat. No. 114 as 'Villa italienne dominant un parc'). Paris, Richard Owen.⁴ Kress acquisition 1930.

References: (1) Roger Portalis, *Honoré Fragonard, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1889. (2) This text is from the Rodrigues catalogue of 1928 (see *Provenance*). (3) Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Œuvre Dessiné de J.-H. Fragonard*, III, Paris, 1968, p. 108, Cat. No. 1524. Letter of 18/II/69. (4) Possibly identical with one of three drawings listed as by Fragonard exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.

FRENCH SCHOOL, late XVIII Century [Fragonard]

dk549 : Figure 309

INTERIOR OF A FARM HOUSE WITH FIGURES. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,374), since 1963. Black chalk, pen and brown wash, heightened in white; touches of black ink. $7 \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17.8 × 24.8 cm.). Small tears at top left; white highlights have oxidized.

A woman is seated at the hearth at the lower left, holding a long-handled cooking pot. A dog is at her left. An infant and a cat are on the ground nearer to the center of the drawing. A youth seems about to enter at the rear, seen above an open double door. A woman climbs a spiral staircase at the right. The rustic interior is filled with farming equipment, etc.

At one time the drawing was ascribed to Hubert Robert; a photograph of it is filed as such at the Fogg Art Museum (Cambridge, Mass.). Ananoff found the drawing to have been mistakenly attributed to Fragonard. He believed it to be by Robert or Aubert.¹ The work was exhibited as by Fragonard in the Royal Academy of Arts Winter Exhibition in 1968 (see *Provenance*). Jean Cailleux suggested that the drawing might be by Jean-Baptiste Huet who often adapted motifs from both Boucher and Robert. He also related dk549 to the drawing at the Vente de Mme. V... [Viel].² According to Cailleux, the Viel drawing, by an unknown French master, could be by the same hand as dk549.

The Kress drawing is still close to Boucher in its sweetness and intimacy and may be by a contemporary of Fragonard

who also first studied with Boucher. The latter adapted Dutch seventeenth-century peasant interiors to conform with the decorative requirements of the Rococo. dk549 postdates Boucher's oeuvre and includes elements recalling Hubert Robert.

Provenance: Richard Owen, Paris.³ Kress acquisition 1939, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Drawings from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art*, 1966 (no catalogue); London, Royal Academy of Arts, *France in the Eighteenth Century*, winter, 1968, p. 76, Cat. No. 274.

References: (1) Alexandre Ananoff, *L'Œuvre Dessiné de J.-H. Fragonard*, III, Paris, 1968, p. 64, Cat. No. 1340. The Robert attribution is maintained by Jean Massengale. Letter of 11/II/73. (2) Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 25 Mar. 1925, p. 14, Cat. No. 47, attributed to Fragonard. (3) Possibly identical with one of three works listed as by Fragonard exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct. - 6 Nov. 1933.

GABRIEL JACQUES DE SAINT-AUBIN

Gabriel Jacques de Saint-Aubin was born in Paris in 1724 and died there in 1780.¹ The brother of Charles Germain and Augustin de Saint-Aubin - all distinguished as draughtsmen and printmakers - he was the student of J. B. Sarrazin, and influenced by Boucher and Jaurat. He taught drawing at Blondel's École des Arts (1754-57) and also at the Académie de Saint-Luc. Disappointed by receiving merely the second prize from the Académie Royale, Gabriel remained with the Académie de Saint-Luc. A prolific master, best-known for his minute figure scale and the Rococo gaiety and freedom of his works, Saint-Aubin was one of the most enchanting masters of eighteenth-century French art. He executed some oil paintings and contributed to the illustrations for Philippe de Preot's *Spectacle de l'histoire romaine* (1760-64). Saint-Aubin's miniature renderings of works of art, drawn in the margins of sale and exhibition catalogues of his day, provide a valuable source for the identification of the originals.

Reference: (1) Émile Dacier, *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*, Paris and Brussels, I-II, 1931.

dk588 : Figure 311

LOUIS XVI AND MARIE-ANTOINETTE CROWNED BY LOVE [Allegory of the Marriage of Princess Clothilde]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,395). Black chalk and black and gray ink with wash; red, pink, gray-blue, green, mustard-yellow, terra-cotta, flesh tones, and white crayon. $6\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ in. (17.3 × 22.7 cm.).

Inscribed in the artist's hand as an aide-mémoire at a later date at bottom in ink: *le duc d'Angoulême, né le 6 août, 1775 Madame Clotilde, soeur du roi, mariée la même année*. Illegible

inscriptions above king's head and on verso. Tear from top of sheet and through upper part of queen's head. Some water damage to left of queen's head.

Louis XVI (1754-93) is in the right foreground seated on a Louis XV salon chair with arms and oval upholstered back. He wears the crown of the King of France; the Order of the Golden Fleece hangs from a ribbon around his neck; a white enameled dove, the Order of the Holy Ghost, is pinned to his breast; the sky-blue sash (the *ordon bleu*) across his breast belongs to the same Order. Fleurs-de-lys are woven or embroidered on his coat. The king is in military regalia, his sword hilt visible in the foreground. The enigmatic circular object at the center may be a miniature cannon. The king holds a flaming heart – emblematic of his love for the queen – in his left hand, and points to Marie-Antoinette (1755-93) with his right. The queen is seated to the left in a smaller chair, placed a little further back than Louis'. She is bare-headed, wears a pearl necklace, a low-necked dress with a wide skirt. A large eagle-shaped brooch is pinned to her breast; it appears to be two-headed with a coronet above – the emblem of the Hapsburgs.¹ Her right arm is raised as though about to receive the proffered flaming heart. Her left hand seems to rest upon an unrolled map. Mlle. Marguerite Jallut suggested that the map represents the Petit Trianon and its park, designed by Ange-Jacques Gabriel for Louis XVI's grandfather, Louis XV (begun 1762). Louis XVI presented the château to Marie-Antoinette upon his accession to the throne in 1774.² Cupid, with quiver and arrows and a bandeau around his brow, flying between the couple, unites them by his extended arms. He seems to affix a sheaf of wheat and poppies to the king's crown while holding a circlet over the queen's head. A wreath is around Cupid's right arm. The king's martial appearance, as opposed to the queen's lovely, revealing dress, suggests that Saint-Aubin's allegory relates to the union of Venus and Mars. The sheaf of wheat that Cupid gives the king implies peace and plenty.³

The drawing was first published in the Portalis Sale; that great collector found the artist's inscription to have been erroneous and he corrected the identification of the subject.⁴ It was probably at the time that Saint-Aubin assembled his drawings in an album, long after their execution, that he misidentified this sheet.

Dacier included dk588 in his corpus of Saint-Aubin's oeuvre.⁵ For his depiction of the queen the artist may have drawn upon reproductive prints of portraits of Marie-Antoinette by Joseph Ducreux (1769, original lost, copy at Versailles) and the miniature by Joseph Kranzinger, c. 1772 (Innsbruck, Schlossmuseum).⁶ The drawing was probably executed shortly after 1774, the year of Louis's accession. This fine work by Saint-Aubin, showing the young king and queen crowned and united by love, is very highly finished, entirely consistent in style and technique with several other works by him of a similarly allegorical nature. An example is his *Allegory on the Marriage of the Dauphin*, the future Louis XVI (Collection of Mme. Lippmann Meyer).⁷

Provenance: Marquis de Castelbajac.⁸ Roger Portalis, Paris (sold, Hôtel Drouot, 14 Mar. 1887, Cat. No. 181, as from the Castelbajac Sale). Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1940.

References: (1) Her jewel is similar in form, but later than 'La Bella' – the cabochon hyacinth set within the eagle of the Holy Roman Empire (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Imperial Treasury). (2) Letter of 9/xi/68, in Kress Archive. (3) Such highly finished allegorical presentation drawings are found in French art since the 16th century – see Antoine Caron's *Henri II and Catherine de Medici*, reproduced by Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron, Peintre à la cour des Valois*, Geneva, 1955, pl. xv. Close in format to dk588, the drawing shows the king and queen in half-length, seated at a table, with Mercury flying overhead. As may be the intent of dk588, the queen is identified with Peace and the king with War. (4) See *Provenance*. (5) Émile Dacier, *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*, II, Paris and Brussels, 1931, p. 15, Cat. No. 80. (6) According to Mlle. Jallut (Note 2), Saint-Aubin is known to have used the Ducreux portrait for another work. (7) Included in the *Exposition de Saint-Aubin*, Catalogue Raisonné by Émile Dacier and Eduard Girod de l'Ain, Paris, Hôtel Charpentier, 7-29 Apr. 1925, p. 54, Cat. No. 53. See also the *Allegory of the Marriage of the Comte de Provence*, a print by Saint-Aubin of 1771. (8) According to Portalis Sale. However, no Castelbajac sales were listed by Frits Lugt, *Répertoire des Catalogues de ventes publiques* . . ., The Hague, I-III, 1938-64.

GABRIEL JACQUES DE SAINT-AUBIN

dk590 : Figure 312

INTIMATE SCENE [Figure Sketches] Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,396), since 1963. Pen and brown ink, red and black chalk, gray and brown washes. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (16.2 × 22.5 cm.). Inscriptions cover verso of the sheet on which dk590 is mounted.

A nude reclining on a chaise-longue is viewed from the back. She holds an oval mirror or painting showing her face at the center. A gentleman, seated at the far side of the foot of the chaise, is shown in left profile. In everyday attire, he seems to be holding an object in his raised right hand. Two whispering men-servants are at the extreme left, behind the gentleman's Louis XV chair. The artist changed the pose of the seated man further to the right; there is a square sheet of paper pasted over the first project. The composition recalls one of Saint-Aubin's favorite themes – the *Académie particulière* – in which an artist sketches his model in intimate, amorous circumstances.¹ The model's pose and the rendering of her hair are almost identical to those of a figure in an elaborate project for a ceiling, *Le Triomphe de l'Amour sur tous les Dieux* (signed and dated 1752).² The nude's classical pose had long been popular in France in works by Primaticcio, Blanchard and Boucher.³ The motif of a couple with a mirror was a

popular theme from the fifteenth century onward, sometimes moralized into a *Vanitas*.⁴ The vivid, informal approach of dk590 relates to Saint-Aubin's works of the late 1740s and 50s.⁵ A certain coarseness and weakness raise the question that the drawing might perhaps be the work of an imitator, possibly active in the nineteenth century, when Saint-Aubin's drawings continued to be popular.

Provenance: Brunne Neergaard, 1810.⁶ Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1940.

References: (1) For such works, see Émile Dacier, *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*, Paris and Brussels, 1931, II, pp. 118–19, Cat. Nos. 674–8. (2) Reproduced *ibid.*, I, p. 13, pl. 3. (3) Best known from Velazquez's *Rokeby Venus* (London, National Gallery). For the sources of its theme and form, see Francisco Javier Sánchez-Cantón, 'La Venus del Espejo', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXIII, 1960, pp. 137–48. (4) See G. F. Hartlaub, *Zauber des Spiegels*, Munich, 1951. (5) See Dacier, *op. cit.*, p. 113, pl. XXIX, *Fairy Rivals of c. 1748* and 'La Vénus' by Mignon at the Salon of 1757 (p. 117, pl. XXX). (6) Inscribed on verso of drawing.

ALEXIS-NICOLAS PÉRIGNON L'AÎNÉ

The artist was born in Nancy in 1725 and died there in 1782. He was a painter, water-colorist and print-maker, specializing in topographical views. He joined the Academy in 1774, exhibiting between 1775 and 1781.

dk379 : Figure 308

VEGETABLE GARDEN (POTAGER) OF THE HÔTEL VALENTINOIS, PASSY. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,389), since 1963. Gouache on oval canvas. 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (44.2 × 52.7 cm.). Inscribed on a rectangular sticker on the back: *Hôtel de Valentinois Construit sous Louis XV pour le duc d'Aumont, appartient en suite, prince de Monaco*. Pencil notation on the back: *Maréchal or Perignon*. Slight water damage in sky to left of center.

Ladies and gentlemen stroll in a garden with a circular pool at the center. At the far end of the walk is a statue in the Classical style on an elaborate base. A large central figure is flanked by two small Cupid-like ones; it may represent Medea or Ugolino. Beds with lattice-work fences contain some flowers, probably also herbs and vegetables, as the garden is referred to as a *potager*.

Another version of this gouache was owned by Ryaulx (Paris), attributed to Alexis Pérignon (1725–82), 23 × 34 cm.¹ Cailleux suggested that the gouache might be by Louis-Nicolas van Blarenberghe on the basis of a similar drawing of the château and park of Chantelou (private collection, New York).² On the basis of the correspondence between dk379 and a gouache of the same subject, but smaller in size, attributed to Pérignon (ex coll. Vernes), the

Kress work was ascribed to that artist when owned by Richard Owen. Little is known of Pérignon's works; Magnin characterized him as having a 'delicate and timorous talent'.³ The drawing is very close in style to the gouache views by Pérignon of the Château de Ménars, Paris, Louvre, Cabinet de Dessins (32.321.27), according to Massengale.

En passant, it is interesting to note that Benjamin Franklin resided at the Hôtel Valentinois at Passy, just outside Paris, between 1777 and 1785. At various times he occupied a small pavilion at the rear and the main house – he was given free rent by the owner, Jules Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont. Franklin prepared at least one drawing of the Hôtel, seen from the street (Collection Franklin Bache). He installed his lightning rod there and kept a printing press in the coach-house.⁴

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1935.

References: (1) Ex coll. Mme. Félix Vernes. Exhibited in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Benjamin Franklin et la France*, 1956, p. 21, Cat. Nos. 95 a–d, one of four gouaches of the Hôtel Valentinois and the garden attributed to Pérignon, not illustrated. Information courtesy of Michel Gallet, conservateur adjoint, Musée Carnavalet (Paris), who noted the similarity between dk379 and the Ryaulx gouache. The same group was exhibited in Paris, Musée Galliera, *Exposition Auteuil et Passy d'autrefois*, 1935, p. 46, Cat. Nos. 220–3. No. 223 is the same subject as dk379. (No. 220: Façade on the Seine; No. 221: Garden façade; No. 222: The Gardens; No. 223: *Le Potager*.) (2) Letter of 14/II/69, Kress Archive. (3) Quoted by Charles du Peloux, *Répertoire biographique et bibliographique des artistes du XVIII^e siècle français*, Paris, 1930, p. 111. (4) Reproduced by Bernard Faÿ (*The Two Franklins; Fathers of American Democracy*, Boston, 1933, opp. p. 42). See also Tabaries de Grandsaignes, 'Contribution à l'Histoire de l'Hôtel Valentinois à Passy', *Société historique d'Auteuil et de Passy, Bulletin*, LXX, no. xxx, 1910; Carl van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1938, Chap. 22, 'Sage in France', pp. 631–64, esp. pp. 635–8; Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman, 'Memoirs of Franklin in Passy and Paris', *France and New England*, II, Boston, 1921, pp. 67–98.

LOUIS-GABRIEL MOREAU

Louis-Gabriel Moreau, known as Moreau l'Aîné or Louis Moreau, was born in Paris in 1740; he died there in 1806. He first worked under the view painter Pierre de Machy and exhibited at the *Exposition de la Place Dauphine* in 1760. No early works are now known. The earliest surviving drawing, in pen and wash, *Landscape with Ruins*, is signed and dated 1762; it was influenced by Italian views.¹ By 1766, as seen in his *Château de Madrid* (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts), the spacious, atmospheric, topographical views with low horizon line, possibly influenced by Dutch seventeenth-century masters, is fully asserted. He entered the Académie de Saint-Luc in 1774. By the mid-1770s, the artist seems to have been influenced by Fragonard's oeuvre.

Not until 1774 is there a dated gouache,² the artist's favorite medium. Usually working informally and on a small scale, Moreau with his impressionistic approach anticipates the attitude to nature found first in England and then in France in the nineteenth century.

References: (1) Georges Wildenstein, *Un Peintre de Paysage au XVIII^e siècle: Louis Moreau*, Paris, 1923, Cat. No. 96, pl. 44. (2) *Cabanes sur Pilotis*; *ibid.*, pl. 39.

LOUIS-GABRIEL MOREAU

dk280 : Figure 313

FARMHOUSE IN THE WOODS [Landscape]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,384), since 1963. Watercolor and gouache. $9\frac{3}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ in. (23.7 × 31.1 cm.). Brownish discolored areas in sky but generally fresh and well-preserved.

A farmhouse with a dovecote on the left gable and an additional structure at the left is seen in the woods. Three barrels are in a clearing in the foreground. Peasants are seen through an open gate at the right.

Presumably dk280 and dk281 were intended as pendants; the tumble-down fence at the lower left of dk280 seems to be continued at the lower right of dk281. The treatment of foliage in dk280 is close to Moreau's *Intérieur d'un parc*, signed and dated 1780.¹ This fresh, spontaneously rendered work with its contrasts between cool tones (blue and green) and warm red-browns and yellows is typical of Moreau.

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen.² Kress acquisition 1934.

References: (1) Collection Arthur Veil-Picard. Georges Wildenstein, *Un Peintre de Paysage au XVIII^e siècle: Louis Moreau*, Paris, 1923, p. 67, Cat. No. 144, pl. 67. (2) Possibly identical with one of the six drawings listed as by Louis G. Moreau exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.

dk281 : Figure 314

FARMHOUSE WITH STATUE [Landscape]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,385), since 1963. Watercolor and gouache. $9\frac{5}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ in. (23.6 × 31.1 cm.). Inscribed on lower left: LM. Water damage in area of sky; vertical fold near center. Octagonal stickers on back: 25 (in ink) A (in blue pencil); No. 1195 L. Moreau.

A centrally-placed, dilapidated farmhouse in the woods has peasants at the threshold. Soldiers are at the lower left near a large statue of a seated female figure on a rectangular base. These are laundresses at the base of the statue. A stick with a banner (?) has been inserted in the statue which is probably part of a fountain. Some agricultural equipment is on the ground at the right.

According to Jean Cailleux, the statue is based on an *Athena* at the Villa Negroni (Rome) often drawn by Hubert Robert and adapted from his work by Moreau.¹ This brilliantly impressionistic study is entirely in accord with Moreau's works of the late 1770s, most notably the views of rustic buildings he made in 1779 (especially *La Petite Grange, près de l'escalier*).² The artist probably drew upon drawings by Fragonard as well as Robert for the motif of the statue contrasted with diminutive figures below. This fresh, spontaneously rendered work, with its contrasts between cool tones (blue and green) and warm red-browns and yellows, is a harbinger of the art of Constable and Corot.

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen.³ Kress acquisition 1934.

References: (1) Letter of 14/II/69 in Kress Archive. See Marguerite Beau, *La Collection des Dessins d'Hubert Robert au Musée de Valence*, Valence, 1968, figs. 39a, c. (2) Georges Wildenstein, *Un peintre de paysage au XVIII^e siècle: Louis Moreau*, Paris, 1923, p. 73, Cat. No. 257, pl. 99. (3) Possibly included among the six Louis G. Moreaus exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.-6 Nov. 1933.

dk385 : Figure 315

THE TERRACE OF A CHÂTEAU (ST.-CLOUD?) [Landscape with figures seen from the steps of a Château]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,386), since 1963. Gouache. $12\frac{3}{8} \times 18\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31.0 × 46.4 cm.). Inscribed on pillar at the left: LM. Damage in area of sky just above the horizon line on the left.

A vast flight of stairs, with statues to the left and right, leads to a terrace with a panoramic view. Many small figures are seen on the terrace and the steps. Bluish mountains in the distance rise against a gray sky. Great stairs such as these are often identified with those in the gardens of St.-Cloud (purchased by Marie-Antoinette in 1785). That château, on the left bank of the Seine, to the west of Paris, had a spectacularly terraced park which was open to the public in the later eighteenth century and much frequented by visitors from Paris (it was nationalized in 1793 and made a public promenade). Many *fêtes* took place there, making it a popular subject among artists such as Fragonard, Robert and Vernet.¹

Many of Moreau's works were views of St.-Cloud, starting in the late 1770s and ending with a painting shown at his last Salon in 1804.² Although it has been suggested that dk385 depicts St.-Cloud, it may combine an imaginary landscape with an architectural view of another terrace of the same period. This work bears considerable resemblance to the Moreau at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), there listed as *The Park of St.-Cloud*.³

Moreau's gouache has an imaginative character and should not be regarded as a topographical rendering. On the basis

of the fashions worn by the ladies, the work probably dates from the late 1780s or the 1790s.⁴ The statues may represent Republican imagery. The emphasis upon the abstract architectural outlines points toward the austere scenography of the late eighteenth century, exemplified by Étienne-Louis Boullée. The landscape combines Claude-like and Rembrandtesque references. This is an unusually forceful example of Moreau's art.

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen,⁵ who listed it as 'by tradition owned by M. Coindet, First Secretary of Necker'. Kress acquisition 1935.

References: (1) See Georges Wildenstein, 'Fêtes à Rambouillet', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., IV, 1960, pp. 45 ff. (2) Georges Wildenstein, *Un Peintre de Paysage au XVIII^e siècle: Louis Moreau*, Paris, 1923, p. 59, Cat. No. 21. (3) Wildenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 65, Cat. No. 107, pl. 50; catalogued as *Vue dans parc à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*. (4) Jean Massengale has noted close stylistic correspondences between dk385 and Moreau's *Vue du Château de Valençay* (Paris, Louvre, RF 31.429) reproduced by Maurice Sérullaz, *Dessins du Louvre: École française*, II, 1968, n.p. no. 58 and color plate opposite. (5) Possibly identical with one of the six drawings listed as by Louis G. Moreau, exhibited in New York, Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.–6 Nov. 1933.

French School, Manner of Louis-Gabriel Moreau (L'Aîné)

dk507 : Figure 322

PARK VIEW [Temple de l'Amitié]. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,388), since 1963. Gouache on vellum. 11 × 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (28.0 × 22.5 cm.). The work underwent extensive modifications between the 1907 Hôtel Drouot Sale (see *Provenance*) and 1937. The sky was painted in and an inscription on the pediment of the temple was removed.

A lady leaning on a stick and a little boy with a dog are in the foreground of a park scene, near a balustrade. Additional figures are seated on a lawn to the upper left, leading to a pedimented façade with four rusticated pilasters.

In the Drouot sales of 1907 and 1908 (see *Provenance*), dk507 was called *Intérieur du parc* and the building viewed as a *Temple d'Amour*.¹ The gouache probably dates from the end of the 1760s, according to Jean Massengale, who inclines toward accepting dk507 as an early work by Moreau l'Aîné.² Somewhat stiff in execution, the drawing's rigidity points to the early style of Moreau. The artist was to do many promenade scenes, of which the Kress drawing may perhaps prove to be the first.

Provenance: Sold, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 25 Mar. 1907, p. 18, Cat. No. 42 (illus. opp. p. 18, no owner given). Sold,

Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 18 Dec. 1908, p. 9, Cat. No. 21 (illus., no owner given). Paris, Richard Owen³ (as from the Alexandre Doucet Collection).⁴ Kress acquisition 1937, exhibited – New York, The Morgan Library, 1963.

References: (1) When owned by Richard Owen, the park was identified as the Château de Betz with the *Temple de l'Amitié* at the upper left. It was also said to have been engraved by Massard for Alexandre-Louis-Joseph Laborde's *Descriptions de nouveaux jardins de France et des ses anciens châteaux*, Paris, 1808. However, pl. CII (facing p. 171) of the *Temple de l'Amitié* at Betz is a different building. The Temple of Friendship at the Château de Betz (Villers-Cotterets) was designed by Hubert Robert and built by Leroy. For the popularity of temples of love and friendship, see Katherine K. Gordon, 'Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship', *Art Bulletin*, I, 1968, pp. 249–62. (2) Note in Kress Archive. (3) Possibly identical with one of the six Louis G. Moreaus exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct.–6 Nov. 1933. (4) Possibly in the exhibition in Paris, Petit Palais, *Le Paysage français de Poussin à Corot*, 1926, which included works lent by Mme. Veuve A. Doucet and M. Doucet, fils Aîné.

Imitator of LOUIS-GABRIEL MOREAU L'AÎNÉ

[Louis Gabriel Moreau]

dk382 : Figure 316

MILL WITH BRIDGE AND FIGURES. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,387), since 1963. Watercolor and pencil. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (21.0 × 33.2 cm.). Laid down.

A mill is shown at the left of a stream, traversed by a bridge at the center of the composition. Additional rustic houses are seen in the upper right.

This work draws upon many motifs found in the art of Moreau and other masters of the second half of the eighteenth century. Extremely weak in execution, it is the work of an imitator of Moreau.

Provenance: Pierre Decourcelle, Paris (sold, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 29–30 May 1911, p. 96, Cat. No. 131, as 'La Passerelle' – The Footbridge). Anonymous Sale (Paris, Galerie Charpentier, 14–15 Dec. 1933, Cat. No. 65, as 'La Passerelle', collection of 'M.B.W.'). Paris, Richard Owen.¹ Kress acquisition 1935.

Reference: (1) Possibly identical with one of the six drawings listed as by Louis G. Moreau exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct. – 6 Nov. 1933.

FRENCH MASTER,
second half of XVIII Century (Moreau L'Aîné?)

[Louis-Nicolas van Blarenberghe]

dk383 : Figure 317

ITALIAN LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,369), since 1963. Gouache. $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in. (20.1 × 25.8 cm.). Tear at upper edge to right of center. Scratches in tree tops at right; damage in sky upper right corner and elsewhere.

A winding river is shown near the center of a landscape with a mountainous area in the background. Three fishermen are in a boat near the middle of the composition. A group of peasants are placed before a cluster of buildings; to the left a dog drives cattle from the water's edge.

This drawing is based upon Venetian sixteenth-century landscape views, found in the works of Domenico Campagnola which were often copied by Watteau. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century landscape masters continued the popularity of this scene. Attributed by Richard Owen to Louis-Nicolas van Blarenberghe (1716-94), the gouache does not conform to his style; Watson, Cailleux and Massengale found the drawing close in style to Louis-Gabriel Moreau (l'Aîné); Massengale described it as definitely by Moreau.¹

The Kress drawing is somewhat more Italianate than Moreau's known early works, which are closely oriented to the Dutch School. Rendered with extraordinary delicacy and richness of color, this gouache may well be an early work by Moreau, dating from the mid-1760s, as suggested by Massengale. The composition recalls that of Moreau's watercolor *Château de Madrid* (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts), signed and dated 1766.²

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen.³ Kress acquisition 1935.

References: (1) Kress Archive. (2) Georges Wildenstein, *Un peintre de paysage au XVIII^e siècle: Louis Moreau*, Paris, 1923, p. 59, Cat. No. 12, pl. 6. (3) Possibly identical with the drawing listed as by Louis van Blarenberghe exhibited in New York at the Joseph Brummer Galleries, *French Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries from the Collection of Richard Owen of Paris*, 16 Oct. - 6 Nov. 1933.

FRENCH ARTIST active in Paris 1773

[Jean-Baptiste Le Poen]

dk384 : Figure 318

A REVIEW ON THE CHAMPS DE MARS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,383), since 1963. Gouache. $5\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. (14.3 × 18.4 cm.). Illegible inscription including the date 1773 on base of equestrian statue to right, visible in a 1935 photograph, has been erased.¹

Bystanders are shown in the foreground as they watch the trooping of the Royal Guard in the Champs de Mars (parade ground) prepared between 1765 and 1767, on Gabriel's plans.² The École Militaire (designed by Ange-Jacques Gabriel, built 1752-69) is in the background. Two boys at the extreme left climb a ladder to get a better view from a tree. A man and woman are at the extreme left. Another man helps ladies down from a cart. Additional spectators are seen to the right. A coachman (?) is seated on the ground at the base of an equestrian statue of a trumpeting Fame. The statue is based upon Coysevox's *Fame* for Marly, moved to the Tuileries gardens in 1719.³

Mrs. John Nicholas Brown identified the coach at the center as that of Louix XV (1710-74) and found that the escort is the first *Compagnie Écossaise* of the *Gardes du Corps* (indicated by their white *baudriers* or shoulder belts and white standard), the senior troop of the *maison du roi*.⁴ The troops immediately facing the king are *gardes du corps*, with the *gardes françaises* drawn up on the right, carrying their regimental color - blue, with a white cross *semé* with gold *fleurs-de-lys*. The commander of the first troop of the *gardes du corps*, the duc d'Ayen, is probably the officer shown at the left of the lead horse of the coach. The commander of the *gardes françaises* was possibly represented by the mounted officer to the right of the center troops, half-facing the *gardes françaises*. The male figures in the foreground are postilions and gentlemen, with the possible exception of the one seen from the back on the far side of the equestrian statue at the extreme right.

The drawing was attributed to Jean-Baptiste Le Paon (1738-85) when it entered the Kress collection. Le Paon executed several military subjects similar in genre to dk384 but his draughtsmanship was far more sophisticated.⁵ The *Review* relates to drawings by Louis-Nicolas van Blarenberghe (1716-94). However, Francis Watson did not consider it equal to Blarenberghe's oeuvre, thinking it closer to the manner of Louis-Gabriel Moreau (l'Aîné).⁶ According to Jean Massengale, dk384 is perhaps by Jean-Baptiste Lallemand fils, resembling the style and technique of that artist's *Charge of the Prince of Lambesc at the Tuileries on 12 July 1789* (Paris, Musée Carnavalet).⁷

Small scale, many figured renderings of military and topographical subjects were popular in late eighteenth-century France. Innumerable minor masters worked in this genre and it is hard to ascribe dk384 to any of the suggested names with complete confidence.

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1935.

References: (1) Photograph in Courtauld Institute, London. (2) M. M. Hurtaut, *Dictionnaire historique de la ville de Paris*, Paris, 1779, II, p. 191. See also J. Riollot and R. Laulan, *Le Champs de Mars avant la Révolution*, Paris, n.d. (3) It was never at the Champs de Mars. Letter of Francis Watson, 12/III/69, Kress Archive. (4) Kress archive. (5) For this artist, see Pierre de Nolhac, 'Le Peintre Le Paon . . .', *L'Art*, IX, 1901, pp. 493-501; Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire général illustré des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles. École Française*, Paris, 1921, IX, p. 59. (6) Letter of 12/III/69, Kress Archive. For Blarenberghe,

see Watson, 'The Choiseul Box', *Charlton Lectures on Art*, London, 1963, Appendix B, pp. 145-6. (7) See *Un Paysagiste dijonnais du XVIII^e siècle*, J.-B. Lallemand, Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1954. According to Mrs. Massengale: 'dk384 also resembles in format and conception, as well as in the inclusion of specific elements (stagecoach, two-wheeled carts, lady with parasol), to a view of the Champ-de-Mars in Dijon engraved after a lost Lallemand drawing, 'dessiné' by Lallemand (père), for a print in Laborde's *Voyage pittoresque: Département du Rhône* (Burgundy, 1784), pl. 65.' The *Charge du prince de Lambesc aux Tuileries* (illustrated in *Paris en visitant le Musée Carnavalet*, 1953, pl. 48) is one of a group of works dated 1789 and traditionally ascribed to 'Lallemand fils'. Another Lallemand work to be compared is *Le théâtre des jeunes élèves, boulevard du Temple*, datable, on the evidence of the building, c. 1782.

French Master, second half of XVIII Century,
Manner of CARLE JOSEPH VERNET

[Carle Joseph Vernet]

dk282 : Figure 319

PORT SCENE. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,399), since 1963. Watercolor, pale blue and gray wash. $9\frac{3}{8} \times 13$ in. (23.8×33.0 cm.). Old inscription in brown ink, on upper left corner of verso: 18,,0. The 8 may have been meant to read B or D. Two octagonal labels on back inscribed: *Joseph Vernet* and 54. Small tears at bottom; large tear at upper right edge.

This view of harbor fortifications includes a large central tower, with steps rising on either side. Ships are seen through an arch at the right. Many small figures are shown, carrying bales or seated with them. Groups of men appear at the far left and at the bottom of the central tower, in addition to those seen at the right.

This picturesque scene is probably an Italian seaport. Vernet, who may have influenced this rendering, was born in 1714 and died in 1789.¹ A follower of Claude and Salvatore Rosa, he depicted many Italian coastal views and prepared the series of similar French views when he was appointed *Peintre des Marines du Roy* in 1753. A drawing (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. 14974) showing a landscape with sailing boats by C. J. Vernet has the same figure style (Gernsheim no. 49992).

The drawing is executed in the manner of Breenbergh (whose works were much imitated in the eighteenth century), and of Claude Lorrain.² Only the capricious figures and the rococo treatment of the foliage separate the style of dk282 from that of the preceding century.

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1934.

References: (1) Florence Ingersoll-Smousse, *Joseph Vernet, Peintre de Marine 1714-1789*, 2 vols., Paris, 1926. (2) See Marcel Röthlisberger, *Bartholomäus Breenbergh, Handzeichnungen*, Berlin, 1969.

LOUIS-JEAN DESPREZ

Desprez was born in Lyons in 1740; he died in 1804. Trained as an architect under François Blondel and Desmaisons, Desprez won the Prix-de-Rome for architecture in 1777. He made extensive topographical drawings during his 14-year Italian sojourn. Like Fragonard, Desprez prepared drawings of gardens and statuary for the Abbé de Saint-Non, many of which were reproduced in the Abbé's *Voyage pittoresque ou description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, Paris, 1783. Desprez met Gustavus III of Sweden in Italy and the king appointed him court architect and painter.¹

dk386 : Figure 320

THE CATHEDRAL AT TRANI. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,372), since 1963. Pen and watercolor. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{7}{8}$ in. (21.6×35.3 cm.). Inscribed in an old hand on verso: *voici de la Place publique et de l'église de Trani près de Barletta dans la Pouille. Dessiné par Des Prez.* Very well preserved.

The Romanesque cathedral of Trani (Apulia) and its Gothic campanile are shown at the center, with a view of the Adriatic seaport to the left. Festive, dancing figures are seen at the left. A preparatory line drawing is in Stockholm (Academy of Fine Arts) (Text Fig. 116).² dk386 was reproduced in an etching begun by Duplessis Berteaux, completed by François Desquavilliers (Text Fig. 115) and published in 1783.³

The highly finished Kress drawing was not known to Wollin, who wrote extensively on Desprez's oeuvre. In writing of the far more schematic, earlier study in Stockholm (Text Fig. 116), he observed that certain details were idealized in the reproductive print of 1783. However, almost all of these 'changes' were already made by Desprez in an intermediary work, namely dk386. Wollin noted that the Stockholm drawing is a more accurate representation of the church than is the print.⁴ The Kress drawing was probably executed in the Spring of 1778 when Desprez, together with the Baron de Denon (1747-1825), then at the French Embassy in Naples, went on a long expedition to make topographical drawings in southern Italy. The artist has modified several details of the church façade and campanile; he omitted some of the windows and added tracery to the blind arcade flanking the portal. The rendering of dk386 was very much influenced by topographical works by Venetian eighteenth-century masters. The figures in the foreground may prove to derive from *staffage* groups available to the artist in reproductions. Very close in style to dk386 is Desprez's drawing of *Celebration before the Church of Monte Sant'Angelo* (Apuglia) in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum No. 484).

Provenance: Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1935.

References: (1) Nils G. Wollin, *Gravures originales de Desprez ou exécutées après ses dessins*, Malmö, 1933; *idem*,

Desprez en Italie, dessins topographiques et d'architecture, décors de théâtre et compositions romantiques, exécutés 1777-1784, Malmö, 1935. (2) The exterior pen study is listed by Wollin, 1935, *op. cit.*, p. 209, Cat. No. 53, fig. 53. Further studies by Desprez of the cathedral's interior and crypt are also to be found (Wollin, *ibid.*, Cat. No. 52). (3) Abbé de Saint-Non, *Voyage pittoresque ou description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, III, Paris, 1783, opp. p. 36. It is inscribed: *Gravé à l'eau forte par Duplessis Berteaux N^o 16. G^{de} Grece* [at the left]. *Vuë de l'Eglise principale et de la Place publique de Trani, L'une des Villes de la Pouille, Située sur les bords de la Mer Adriatique. Dessinée par Des Prés pensionnaire du Roi à l'académie de France à Rome* [at the center]. *Terminé par Desquauvilliers A.P.D.R.* [at the right]. See also Wollin, 1935, *op. cit.*, p. 86, Cat. No. 14 for this print. (4) Wollin, 1935, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

JACQUES-LOUIS-FRANÇOIS TOUZÉ

Touzé was born in Paris in 1747; he died there in 1807.¹ The artist studied at the Académie Royale, recorded there in 1765 and 1769. He worked under or was influenced by Greuze, was a member of the Académie de Saint-Luc, and painted genre scenes and allegorical subjects. Touzé was also active as a book illustrator and designer of works for printmakers, such as Choffard and Duflos.

Reference: (1) Thieme-Becker, XXXIII, p. 326.

dk456 : Figure 323

THE LENT KISS. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,397), since 1963. Pen and watercolor. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (19.7 × 14.0 cm.). Octagonal labels on back inscribed: 1434, 1434 bis. J. Touzé. Some foxing.

A strolling couple (Guillot and his bride), wearing fashionable attire of the late eighteenth century, are shown in the foreground. The lady is suddenly kissed by a less elegantly attired man at the left who holds a tricorne. A couple with a child look up from the lower left. There is a barking dog at the lower right. The scene is a park with a building in the classical style and sphinx pediment at the upper left.

dk456 was engraved by C. L. Lingée for an edition of *Les Contes de La Fontaine*, published by Didot in Paris in 1795 (I, p. 274, Conte 26). Touzé designed two of the twenty illustrations in this volume. This drawing depicts the first eight lines of *Le Baiser Rendu*: 'Guillot passoit avec sa mariée./ Un gentilhomme à son gré la trouvant,/ Qui t'a, dit-il, donné telle épousée?/ Que je la baise à la charge d'autant./ Bien volontiers, dit Guillot à l'instant;/ Elle est, Monsieur, fort à votre service./ Le monsieur donc fait alors son office/ En appuyant. Perronnelle en rougit.' ('Guillot strolled along with his wife./ A gentleman found her to his taste,/ and said: "Who gave you such a wife?/ Let me kiss her, I shall return the favor

someday."/ Guillot replied immediately: "With pleasure,/ she is at your disposal, Sir."/ The gentleman fervently kissed the blushing Perronnelle.') dk456 and its pendant (dk457) are entirely in Touzé's style. The popular poems they illustrate were published with plates before – most notably an edition with prints after Boucher by Larmessin, c. 1744-45.

The artist appears to have been asked to illustrate the first (dk456) and second (dk457) halves of *Conte 26*, 'Le Baiser Rendu', allowing the publisher to decide which of the two he would use for the edition of 1795. Physiognomical inconsistencies in the two men as shown in both drawings make it clear that they were not intended to be used together. Touzé may have adapted an illustration of the same subject, prepared in Amsterdam in 1762, which is similar in composition, but the placement of the men is reversed and there is no dog.

Provenance: Raphael Garreta, Director of the Musée d'Antiquités, Rouen, exhibited – Rouen, Musée de Peinture, *Exposition d'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, 1929, Cat. No. 215 (sold, Rouen, Salle de Ventes, 16-17 Mar. 1931, Cat. No. 183, with pendant, dk457). Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1936.

dk457 : Figure 324

THE KISS RETURNED. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,398), since 1963. Pen, gouache and watercolor. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (19.7 × 14.0 cm.). Laid down.

A bride (fingering her cross) is kissed and embraced by a gentleman (Guillot) standing at the right. A dog stands in front of him. Another man (bridegroom) stands to the left, hat in hand, gesturing toward the couple. A youth at the extreme right holds the hat of the first man. At the upper left is a Gothic chapel where nuptials have just taken place. A strolling fiddler approaches the group in the foreground.

This drawing illustrating the last seven lines of *Conte 26* was presumably made for the Didot *Contes de la Fontaine* (1795), but not utilized; only its pendant (dk456) showing the first part of the poem was reproduced.¹ 'Huit jours après, ce gentilhomme prit/Femme à son tour: à Guillot il permit/Même faveur. Guillot tout plein de zèle,/Puisque monsieur, dit-il, est si fidèle,/J'ai grand regret, & je suis bien fâché/Qu'ayant baisé seulement Perronnelle,/Il n'ait encore avec elle couché.' ('Eight days later, the gentleman took a wife himself. He returned the favor to Guillot. The latter remarked zealously: "To my regret and anger Monsieur is so faithful that he has only kissed Perronnelle, but has not slept with her.") Aspects of dk457, like its companion (dk456), suggest the art of Greuze and the revival of that of seventeenth-century Holland, most notable in the rendering of the fiddler.

Provenance: Raphael Garreta, Director of the Musée d'Antiquités, Rouen, exhibited – Rouen, Musée de Peinture, *Exposition d'Art du XVIII^e siècle*, 1929, Cat. No.

216 (sold, Rouen, Salle de Ventes, 16-17 Mar. 1931, Cat. No. 183, with pendant). Paris, Richard Owen. Kress acquisition 1936.

Reference: (1) Paris, 1795, I, p. 274.

ANONYMOUS COPYIST (French?) [Adélaïde Labille-Guiard]

dk56x : Figure 340

PORTRAIT OF A GIRL. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (B-22,380), since 1963. Black and red chalk. $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in. (36.8×27.3 cm.). Inscribed on old mount: Coll. Zarine PP56 Paris ENX.NX Gimpel & Wildenstein 2-10-1920. Cut into oval; laid down.

A girl, in three-quarter view, wearing a scarf in her hair, is shown in bust-length.

dk56x was attributed to Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749-1803) at the time of purchase. Mme. A. M. Passez who is preparing a monograph on that artist noted that the drawing has nothing whatever to do with Labille-Guiard's oeuvre.¹ This drawing appears to be a coarse copy after a French work of the late eighteenth or very early nineteenth century, possibly from the circle of Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun or Marguerite Gérard or prints after Boucher prepared by Le Campion Fils.

Provenance: Zarine Collection, Paris. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1929.

Reference: (1) Letter of 30/XII/70, Kress Archive.

FRENCH ARTIST, second half of XVIII Century [Chardin]

K1389 : Figure 325

PORTRAIT OF AN OLD WOMAN. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (780), since 1946. Oil on canvas with a very extensive craquelure. Early eighteenth-century frame. $31\frac{3}{4} \times 25\frac{3}{8}$ in. (80.5×64.5 cm.). Inscribed at right: Chardin. Letters are reinforced with black brushstrokes. Signature is a later addition. The numbers 176(?) appear below. Considerable abrasion; muff appears to be later addition. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1945. Minor restoration by Modestini in 1961.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 161, as by Chardin. Reproduced in color: *Frankfurter, Supplement*, 1946, p. 22.

An elderly lady, seated on a chair, its rounded back visible at the extreme left, is shown to just below the waist. Placed against a neutral background, she looks out directly at the spectator. She wears a black scarf tied over an elaborate lace-trimmed cap and a figured silk dress with full lace ruffles on the forearm. Her hands are in a fur muff.

The portrait was published by Richardson as the lifesize canvas exhibited by Chardin in the Salon of 1746. The artist is known to have shown a *Portrait de M.*** ayant les mains dans son manchon* in 1746, Cat. No. 73. Richardson described K1389 as the only portrait by Chardin in America.¹ Florisoone listed the painting as from the 'French School of the eighteenth century, a portrait of an elderly woman, executed in 1746.'² The Chardin attribution was accepted by Einstein; but he noted that Chardin was 'not usually regarded a portraitist and many likenesses are somewhat questionably attributed to his brush'. He found the Kress canvas 'noteworthy because of its depth of expression... and nervous apprehension which is restrained by a characteristic sobriety'.³ In 1963, Wildenstein published K1389 as by Chardin, executed c. 1746, and identified with the Salon canvas of that year.⁴

The portrait has an emotional intensity and melancholy introspection alien to Chardin's art. The painting's extreme realism, eschewing all possible references to the abstract, is also uncharacteristic of that master. Therefore identification of K1389 with the Salon canvas is unlikely. As noted by Schéfer, Furst and Wildenstein in connection with the latter, it was customary for men as well as women to carry muffs in 1746.⁵ The painting is reminiscent of the art of Françoise Duparc de Marseille (1726-78),⁶ who specialized in highly realistic renderings, often of peasant types somewhat in the manner of Le Nain. See *La Vieille* (Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts).⁷ She is thought to have been active in England and Russia as a miniaturist; K1389 may prove to be a self-portrait as the intensity of the sitter's gaze could be explained by her looking into a mirror. Partially covered hands are often found in self-portraits. The muff may be a later addition, to 'document' its identity with the Chardin as described in the Salon of 1746. The sitter's garb, expensive yet not fashionable, may also be explained by her living far away from France at the time the portrait was executed, presumably in the 1770s.

Provenance: Leopold Goldschmidt. Comte André Pastré.⁸ New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1944.

References: (1) E. P. Richardson, 'Two New Additions to the Kress Collection in the National Gallery', *Art Quarterly*, VIII, 4, Autumn, 1945, pp. 318-19. The portrait is cited by La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la peinture en France...*, Paris, 1746, pp. 109-10. Jean Guiffrey, *Catalogue de l'Œuvre de J. B. Siméon Chardin*, Paris, 1908, p. 8, Cat. No. 73, transcribed the Salon entry as 'le Portrait de Mme.*** ayant les mains dans son manchon.' (2) Michel Florisoone, *La Peinture Française: le dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1948, Cat. No. 65. (3) Einstein, pp. 234-5. (4) Georges Wildenstein, *Chardin*, Zurich, 1963, pp. 182-4, Cat. No. 212. The same information is given in the revised and enlarged edition by Daniel Wildenstein, Connecticut, 1969, pp. 190-1, Cat. No. 212. (5) Georges Wildenstein, *Chardin*, Paris, 1921 (published 1931), p. 196, Cat. No. 566. Gaston Schéfer (*Chardin*, Paris, n.d. [1904], p. 75) believed the entry to refer to a male portrait. Herbert

E. A. Furst (*Chardin*, London, 1911, p. 42) interpreted the Salon catalogue entry as showing a man. (6) For this artist, see Arthur Chamberlain, 'Françoise Duparc', *Burlington Magazine*, VII, 1905, p. 85; Philippe Auguier, 'An Eighteenth-Century Painter: Françoise Duparc', *Burlington Magazine*, VII, 1905, pp. 477-8; Joseph Billioud, 'Un peintre de types populaires, Françoise Duparc de Marseille, 1726-1778', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XX, 1938, pp. 173-84. (7) Reproduced by Billioud, *op. cit.*, p. 180, fig. 4. (8) Both names in this provenance come from Wildenstein, 1963, *loc. cit.*

JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID

David was born in Paris in 1748 and died in Brussels in 1825.¹ Encouraged to study painting by his uncle, the well-known architect Des Maisons, David entered Boucher's studio and in 1768 worked under Joseph-Marie Vien, a pioneer of the neo-Classical style. After four rejections, David finally won the Grand-Prix-de-Rome in 1775 with *Antiochus and Stratonice* (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts). He left for Italy that year, where he was influenced by Winckelmann, Batoni, Mengs and Benjamin West, as well as by Italian Baroque masters. David became the leading exponent of neo-Classicism through his hugely successful *Oath of the Horatii* (Paris, Louvre), which was painted during his second stay in Rome of 1784-85 and startled the public by its fusion of archaeological discoveries with contemporary revolutionary fervor. Upon his return to Paris, David directed a large studio where he trained such artists as Ingres, Girodet, Gros and Gérard. Throughout the Revolution, the master's outspoken support of Robespierre and the Jacobins assured his position as arbiter of taste. With the fall of Robespierre in 1794, David was imprisoned; not until the Consulate and the Empire did the artist regain his prestige. David, indisputably the leading painter of his time, received many important Napoleonic commissions, such as the *Coronation* (Paris, Louvre) and the *Distribution of Eagles* (Versailles, Musée National). However, the Emperor does not seem to have been entirely at ease with the master's basically austere approach. Napoleon was happier with the more ebullient, overtly romantic art of Gros, David's pupil. With the Restoration in 1815, David was exiled and lived in Brussels, where he was active until his death. Although rightly known as the outstanding neo-Classical master, David often reveals a decidedly 'romantic' aspect, disproving the tendency to view these movements as distinctly separate.

Reference: (1) Jacques-Louis Jules David, *Le peintre Louis David*, Paris, 1880; exhibition catalogue, *Jacques-Louis David*, Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1948; Louis Hautecœur, *Louis David*, Paris, 1949 and 1954.

K2046 : Figures 331-3

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON IN HIS STUDY AT THE TUILERIES. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

(1374), since 1954. Oil on canvas. 80½ × 49½ in. (203.9 × 125.1 cm.). Inscribed on back of rolled map at lower left: LVD^{ci} DAVID OPVS 1812. Spine of book under desk reads: PLUTARQUE—a volume from the Greek biographer's lives of great Greeks and Romans. A scroll to the right of desk is lettered: COD[E] (the E only partly visible) for the Code Napoléon issued in 1804. Two vertical stretcher marks down center; other horizontal marks through animal's head and Napoleon's breast. Pentimento for left cuff. Wax relining in Europe prior to acquisition; the painting is very well preserved. *Suida-Shapley*, pp. 64-7, Cat. No. 22. Reproduced in color *Seymour*, p. 194, pl. 184.

Napoleon (1769-1821) is shown at about the age of forty-three, full-length, dressed as a Chasseur of the Imperial Guard with an Infantry General's epaulettes. This uniform was worn by him on Sundays and special occasions.¹ His left hand holds a gold *tabatière*, a small cylindrical snuff box, probably made by M. G. Biennais. He has removed his habitual gold-hilted sword and its white leather belt (part of the *Règlementaire*, the regulation uniform), the sword also wrought by Biennais.²

Napoleon's jacket is dark blue with orange-red cuffs trimmed in white, worn with white vest, revers, cashmere breeches, and stockings. His black shoes are fastened by gold buckles. The Emperor's right hand is tucked in the unbuttoned part of his vest; his body is turned slightly to the left with his left foot placed before the right. The *Étoile de Commandant de la Légion d'Honneur Militaire* (instituted by Napoleon in 1802) and the *Décoration de Chevalier de la Couronne en Fer d'Italie* (created by him following his coronation as King of Italy in Milan in 1805) are pinned to his left breast. The large silver star and the red ribbon across the Emperor's chest are those of the *Grand Aigle de la Grande Croix de la Légion d'Honneur*.³

Napoleon stands in his *cabinet de travail* in the Tuileries, on a green rippling carpet, in front of his desk and to the left of a gilded throne-like chair. Seen from the side, the chair is upholstered in red velvet, embroidered with the Imperial emblem of bees in bullion (sewn in relief with gold thread). Napoleon's initial is carved on the side of each chair leg; the back is rounded, framed by a fillet motif. The arms terminate in white (ivory?) spheres encrusted with gold stars. It is the *fautail de représentation* for the Grand Cabinet de l'Empereur at the Tuileries. The chair belongs to the Second Mobilier designed by David to replace the first suite of 1810 which the Emperor had found too austere. The chair was delivered on 11 July 1812. The embroidered upholstery in K2046 does not agree with the tapestry design coverings provided by David in 1811 and executed in that year.⁴ The probable appearance of the chair actually belonging in the study can be seen in a watercolor ascribed to Isabey, *Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries* (Text Fig. 131).⁵ The pale gray and beige interior includes a pilaster at the left with gilded foliate motifs, an eagle and a winged head of Mercury. At the extreme left there is

another chamber beyond, with a black and white marble floor and book-filled shelves, probably Napoleon's *cabinet topographique*.⁶ A blue leather portfolio stamped with golden fleurs-de-lis is placed on top of the desk, to the right.⁷ The manuscript of the Napoleonic Code and other papers are seen below. David's student, Pierre Suau, describing the canvas in 1812, stated that the Emperor placed his Code upon a map showing those continents subject to it.⁸ His white quill pen is at his side, immediately below the lamp, the three brackets of which are in the form of swans. Lettering on the map may read: *tableau de l'empire*.⁹ One of Napoleon's favorite books, Plutarch's *Lives*, is under the desk. That Napoleon has been working late into the night on his papers is indicated by the guttering candles in his lamp and the hour of 4:13 on the face of the tall standing clock at the upper right.¹⁰ The great opened desk is supported at the left and right by a pair of gilded, fantastic, lion-like beasts of ancient Near Eastern derivation, probably inspired by the Egyptian campaign of 1798. The Ledoux-Lebards stated that the desk in K2046 is identical to one now at Fontainebleau described in a Tuileries inventory as having eight lions' feet, but that description would better fit the desk shown in the watercolor ascribed to Isabey (Text Fig. 131),¹¹ for both stand on pairs of lions placed on the long sides, not the ends as in K2046. The desk is closest to one now in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle (Rubens Room).¹²

David's first project for K2046 (Musée de Besançon, No. D1979, Text Fig. 132) shows Napoleon with considerably squatter proportions. The lamp is omitted, the pilaster ornament differs. The uppermost section of the clock is a spherical mantel clock, standing on a vertical case (possibly the barometer listed in the inventory); placed on a level with Napoleon's head, it seems to stress his short stature.¹³ The second drawing (Mrs. Rush H. Kress, New York, ex coll. Charles Guse, 7 $\frac{9}{16}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., Text Fig. 133) corresponds closely to the Kress canvas; the Emperor is more slender. Clock and case have been combined into a pendulum clock. The side of the chair is parallel to the picture plane, while it is seen obliquely (from the rear) in K2046. A third drawing by David for the same composition is in a private collection, included, but not catalogued in the Napoleon exhibition of 1969. The major difference between this drawing and K2046 is found in the chair, which has winged, lion-like arms. A version of *Napoleon in his Study* was engraved in Brussels by Laugier after a drawing by Michel Stapleaux, a pupil of David. The engraving was inscribed: L. DAVID FAC. bat 1813.¹⁴ Other prints, also based on replicas of K2046, were made by Vallot, Bertrand, Cooper and Jules David (erroneously dated 1810). All the prints show the clock in the study reading 4:00 and therefore are quite possibly after the version now owned by Prince Napoléon, which also has this feature, differing from the 4:13 in K2046.

The canvas was commissioned by Alexander, Marquis of Douglas, later 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767–1852). A

Scottish Catholic Nationalist, he regarded Napoleon as an ally and spent some years in Rome, where, probably c. 1804, he became a friend of Napoleon's sister Pauline Bonaparte (1780–1825).¹⁵ He was ambassador to Saint Petersburg from 1806 to 1808. Possessor of a considerable personal fortune, Douglas (in 1810) married Susan Euphemia Beckford, second daughter of the fabulously rich William Beckford, and became a great collector of works of art and books. An eccentric, Douglas believed himself to be a direct descendant of James I and rightful heir to the throne of Scotland. He assembled a vast gallery of portraits of great men (*Suida-Shapley*, pp. 64, 66) including those of his supposed ancestors, with splendid works by Van Dyck, Velázquez and Rigaud. Douglas owned several portraits of Napoleon, including a Thorvaldsen bust of the Emperor supported by an eagle, presented to Douglas by Pauline Bonaparte.¹⁶ According to David's grandson Jacques-Louis Jules David, *Napoleon in his Study* was painted in Paris, at Douglas's behest in 1810. This date appears to have been an error, followed by most authors.¹⁷ A recently discovered letter of 4 February 1812 (from a student in David's atelier, Pierre Suau, to his father), described David as having almost completed a canvas presumably identifiable as K2046. A second letter (4 March 1812) stated it was still unfinished, characterizing the canvas as a *portrait historique*. Suau wrote that the Emperor's attire was to have been painted by David on 3 March noting that the background and some accessories were as yet unfinished. Suau seems to have first been allowed to see the portrait on 28 March. He remarked that David was given the commission by way of a French artist, Bonnemaïson, who transferred it from a *grand personnage d'Angleterre* (Suau letter of 4 February). Bonnemaïson, who received extensive patronage for portraits of Napoleon's major officers between 1806–7 later was in England in 1811 and early 1812 and perhaps was identical with a portraitist active in London, exhibiting at the Royal Academy in the 1790s.¹⁸ On 19 July Suau reported that David was working on a replica [of K2046], but said that 'the composition and the effect of it are the same, but it is again done from life; in my view this represents a second original, if one may use such a term'. The next reference to a copy of K2046 was made by David himself, in a list of his works, prepared in 1819. It is described as 'A replica of the same [the Douglas painting] with changes in costume. For M. Huibans [a Paris art dealer].'¹⁹ An anonymous source stated in 1824 that David made four copies of the *Napoleon in his Study*, one of which had been kept by the artist until very recently.²⁰ Thomé, two years later, repeated this information, adding that the copy retained by David was in the collection of Huybens [sic], Paris.²¹ Perhaps the Parisian dealer acquired a second example of the canvas from David's estate. The artist did keep at least one copy of the painting, as evidenced by the Duchess of Devonshire's account of seeing it in the artist's Brussels studio in 1821.²² She had seen another (?) example of the composition, possibly K2046, in London in 1814. According to J.-L. Jules David, a replica with some changes was prepared by David, who kept it in Brussels, where his pupil Stapleaux made a drawing for the reproductive print. This replica was mentioned in several sales.²³

A canvas, identical in composition to K2046, but with a ruddy, warm tonality, is now in the possession of Prince Napoléon (Paris). Its contours lack the precision of K2046, the modeling is less assured and seems later in style. It is inscribed: *L.cvs DAVID FAC.bat 1812*. The clock in this version reads 4:00. According to Hubert, the slight difference between the inscription of K2046 and Prince Napoléon's portrait indicates the prior execution of the former.²⁴ Another painting, presumably large in size, of the same composition as K2046 was formerly at the Château de Prangins. Boyer regarded it as the one ordered by Douglas or the replica taken by David to Brussels. The Swiss château was owned by Joseph Bonaparte from 1814.²⁵ A painted copy attributed to Gros and others was in the Satinover Galleries. Cooper stated that Napoleon ordered a replica of the Douglas canvas for 30,000 francs. It hung in the Emperor's study at the Tuileries and was signed *FACIEBAT L. DAVID 1812*. He noted that this replica was returned to David in 1814 and was said to have been exhibited in England at the artist's request. He accepted the early source which mentioned four replicas, adding that their whereabouts are unknown and that they were not all by David himself.²⁶ An otherwise undocumented incident described by Dax recalled that Napoleon was so irate at not being able to purchase the portrait ordered by Douglas, for 30,000 francs, that he kicked it at the center, tearing the canvas (this would not seem to apply to K2046).²⁷

The Kress portrait was listed in the artist's own catalogue, prepared by him in 1819, '*Napoléon en pied dans son cabinet. - Pour le marquis Douglas, en Angleterre*'.²⁸ K2046 was first published in 1824, described as showing the Emperor Napoleon in full-length, painted for Douglas, with the observation that 'of all David's portraits of Napoleon, it was the most highly praised'. The anonymous author recorded that David made four copies, one of which was kept in the artist's studio 'until very recently'.²⁹ In 1826, the portrait was described by Thomé as showing Napoleon about to leave his study after working into the dawn, indicated by the burnt-down candles. Like the writer above, he observed that the canvas, ordered by Douglas, was the most vaunted, reporting that Napoleon was enchanted by the canvas, and said to the artist, 'You have understood me, my dear David, the nights I devote to the well-being of my subjects and the days I work for their glory'.³⁰ In 1835, Lenoir wrote 'the portrait, the one with the best likeness which was made of the Emperor, is simple in composition, pure in design, and of true, though vigorous, color'.³¹ In 1854, Waagen described the canvas (seen by him in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton in 1850-51) as one of David's 'animatedly conceived and carefully executed works'.³² A member of David's atelier, Delécluze (1781-1863) remembered that, some time after the master had completed a portrait of Napoleon in imperial robes (Salon of 1808), Douglas commissioned a full-length canvas of the Emperor in his study in everyday attire. Delécluze noted that David, strained by the depiction of imperial garb, was attracted by the opportunity to make a portrait of Napoleon in simple and natural fashion. The writer found the canvas lacking *fermeté*, its execution un-

equal to the composition, describing the head as not resembling the Emperor, due to excessive idealization. His critical remarks may be based upon the replica of K2046 kept in David's studio, perhaps identical with the canvas owned by Prince Napoléon.³³ The Kress canvas was included in du Seigneur's list of David's works as the original; four replicas are also mentioned.³⁴ According to the artist's grandson Jules, K2046 was painted in Paris in 1810 for Douglas.³⁵ The Kress canvas was included in David studies by Saunier, Cantinelli, and Holma.³⁶ In 1948, the portrait was exhibited for the first time, described by Cooper as a magnificent work by David.³⁷ However, according to Rosenau, 'The forceful and delicate painting of the face and the flickering candle, as well as the details of upholstery, are in marked contrast to the flat and conventional background, especially the clock'. She concluded 'No doubt parts of the painting and composition are by David, but most of the background and fittings are studio work as is to be expected of a painting commissioned in 1810 and finished in 1812'.³⁸ Her points were accepted by Cooper, who described the canvas as designed and largely painted by David, with the background filled in by a pupil.³⁹ Ledoux-Lebard dated the Washington painting 1811.⁴⁰ *Suida-Shapley* (p. 16) suggested that Douglas may have ordered Napoleon shown at work to provide his peers with an object lesson in the duties of a king, in unfavorable contrast to the habits of the Prince Regent. Like several earlier authors, *Einstein* (pp. 247-50) believed the canvas to have been painted in 1810, although dated 1812. He thought that although Napoleon expressed annoyance that the portrait was painted for the enemy, he probably was secretly pleased. *Einstein* (pp. 247-8) stressed David's solid, vigorous execution of the canvas with its attention to detail, suggesting that the presence of the Plutarch implied that Napoleon was worthy of inclusion among the Roman author's heroes. *Seymour* (pp. 193, 195) listed the canvas as the original of several repetitions made by the artist. Hauteceur followed the Jules David dating of 1810 for the commission. He accepted the Kress canvas as the original, stating that David executed four replicas after it.⁴¹ Praz viewed a watercolor of the same subject (Text Fig. 131) as K2046 as 'a variation on the well-known David portrait (one version of which is now in the National Gallery, Washington)'. However, the date of 1806 given by Praz for the watercolor is incorrect as the furniture shown in it was not completed by that date. The watercolor may provide useful information as to the appearance of the interior and its furnishings, which were completed toward the middle of 1812.⁴² The canvas is twice listed as dating from 1820 by Bazin.⁴³ Honour observed that 'Under the Empire, the idea of art as education was transformed into that of art as propaganda, centred on the cult of the Emperor's personality. Even David devoted himself to magnifying Napoleon. A grand clamour of trumpet fanfares rings through the pictures in which he showed Napoleon crossing the Alps, crowning Josephine. . . . Though more restrained in tone, David's brilliant and deeply penetrating portrait of *Napoleon in his Study* is loaded with similar propagandist overtones. . . . This noble portrait speaks less of the Emperor than of the heir to the

Revolution. It goes far to explain why David, who had sworn at the time of Robespierre's fall to trust no more in men but only in ideas, had succumbed to the personality of Napoleon from the moment of their first encounter. "O! My friends, what a beautiful head he has. It is pure, it is great, it is as beautiful as the Antique. There is a man to whom altars would have been raised in ancient times", he told his pupils. "Oui, mes amis! oui, mes chers amis! Bonaparte est mon héros".⁴⁴ Kirstein viewed the canvas in the Kress collection as 'a coarse version. . . . The most characteristic from Napoleon's public (and perhaps private) taste was David's vision of him in his study (1812). . . . Here is Bonaparte the Bureaucrat cast as Napoleon the working Emperor, in habitual uniform, weary but alert, having slaved the night through . . . a candle gutters over a still-life of papers, symbolizing plans, *mots d'ordre*, treaties, budgets. . . . That property candle was used again. On 27 September 1812, Captain Boniface de Castellane, in the Kremlin, wrote in his diary describing duties of Napoleon's *valet-de-chambre*. "Since we arrived in Moscow the Emperor makes me put two candles by his window every evening so that the troops exclaim: 'Look, the Emperor does not sleep by day or night, he works continually.'"⁴⁵ The Kress canvas was found by Nicole Hubert to date shortly before the example in the collection of Prince Napoléon, on the basis of the differences between the inscriptions.⁴⁶

David often included the work of studio assistants in the production of his very large commissions – a category to which this life-size canvas belongs. The head of Napoleon (Text Fig. 130) is executed in a thicker pigment layer than the remainder of the canvas, indicating that David may have worked over this most important area. There is the possibility that as the master had several requests for this portrait he may have 'laid it in', leaving the bulk of the execution to his helpers, among them possibly Stapleaux, and many other highly gifted artists. As noted by Rosenau much of the background is executed in an undistinguished, summary fashion, in sharp contrast to the highly finished, definitely Davidian manner of Napoleon himself and the immediately surrounding props. She reasonably ascribed to the atelier the portrait's broader, weaker areas. Several examples of this composition were made and it is logical to assume that helpers were employed in their partial preparation, but it should be remembered that David was not always concerned with meticulous execution in his autograph works and the recently discovered Suau account of the manner in which K2046 was painted, seemingly by the master alone, make the question of studio collaboration far from clear-cut. Napoleon's words, 'You have understood me, my dear David, the nights I devote to the well-being of my subjects and the days I work for their glory', upon first seeing K2046, as recorded by Thomé, recall those attributed to him on the occasion of his examining the *Coronation* (Paris, Louvre) in David's studio in 1808: 'It is good, very good, David, you have understood my thoughts; you have made me a French knight.'⁴⁷ The remark Napoleon is said to have made upon seeing the painting suggests that he did not pose for it within the

setting shown in K2046, and had no idea as to the precise context in which the artist would have him appear. On another occasion Napoleon asked David why, as Alexander never sat for Apelles, he should pose for David.⁴⁸ Jules David's statement that Douglas commissioned K2046 in 1810 may be due to his confusion of the Kress canvas with one of a related subject by Robert Lefèvre, shown at the Salon of that year.⁴⁹ The date may nonetheless prove significant for this elaborate composition showing the Emperor in his study at the Tuileries, since Napoleon is known to have ordered a large number of portraits of himself (thirteen in all), and the Kress canvas, painted for Douglas, may follow a portrait commissioned from David by the Emperor himself.⁵⁰ The possibility that Napoleon first commissioned a now-lost canvas, close in composition to K2046, in 1810, the year given by Jules David for the Douglas canvas, cannot be excluded. Stories as to the Emperor's wrath upon not being able to acquire the canvas destined for Douglas are scarcely credible. Perhaps Bonnemaïson told Douglas of a now-lost depiction by David of Napoleon in his study, whereupon the Scottish nobleman ordered an example for himself, c. 1811. Keenly aware of the value of art as propaganda, Napoleon gave innumerable commissions to solidify and commemorate his role. He identified himself with rulers of the past in their patronage of art as well as their other activities. Napoleon's favorite boyhood reading was Plutarch's *Lives of Great Men*, a copy of which is shown in K2046. His fellow Corsican, General Paoli, referred to Napoleon as from Plutarch's days. A contemporary writer called him a 'new Pericles, enlarging his country, encouraging knowledge, raising monuments. The warriors call him Alexander, the philosophers Marcus Aurelius, and the people, the tutelary genius of France.'⁵¹ The canvas reflects all four roles – the last indicated by the candles on the desk. Working into the late hours for the common good, the Emperor saw himself in the great Stoic tradition of Alexander and Scipio.⁵²

Even in paintings commemorating his victories, such as the Greuze *Napoleon as First Consul* (Musée de Versailles) of 1798 and the one by Ingres showing him in a similar role (1804, Liège, Musée des Beaux-Arts), Napoleon's philosophical role is suggested in pose and props.⁵³ These aspects are cunningly indicated in the Kress canvas. In K2046 the removal of his sword (for comfort as well as symbolism), the artful combination of the imperial and the informal, the casual placement of Plutarch's *Lives of Great Men* and his own Code, all stress the vital fusion of Napoleon as a master of the active life – the military leader – and contemplative life – the law-giver. In each of his residences, the Emperor maintained an elaborate study. The maps he so zealously studied are on and about the desk, kept in its drawers and in an adjacent chamber, seen to the upper left of K2046. When asked about the exhaustion entailed by his extensive and extensively publicized labors (from the beginning of his career, he advocated working into the late hours), Napoleon is supposed to have said, 'When I wish to put any matter out of my mind, I close its drawer and open the drawer belonging to another. The contents of the

drawers never get confused, and they never worry or weary me. Do I want to sleep? I close all the drawers and then I am asleep.⁵⁴ David no doubt included the throne-like chair from the Emperor's *Grand Cabinet* to stress Napoleon's imperial standing, otherwise not obviously demonstrable in the private, relatively informal *Cabinet de Travail*. The painter did not follow in detail the designs he himself provided for the *Grand Cabinet* chair, which was delivered on 11 July 1812. David presented a free reconstruction of what he supposed to have been the completed interior of the *Cabinet de Travail*.⁵⁵ The green, wave-like carpeting may refer to the imperial dominion over the seas. The *caduceus* and eagle motifs on the pilaster probably symbolize the Emperor as recipient of divine knowledge. That the master could not consult, or did not feel obliged to reproduce with total accuracy, the furnishings of the *Cabinet de Travail* is suggested by his representation of the desk, which agrees in detail with neither the inventories nor surviving related examples at Fontainebleau and Windsor Castle. Studies traditionally included portraits of the great men of classical Antiquity. Napoleon is known to have had busts of Hannibal, Caesar, Scipio and Frederick the Great in his several *Cabinets de Travail*. However, the Kress canvas excludes all imperial images from the study save the supreme leader – Napoleon himself.

To create the elaborate imagery of the *Napoleon*, David worked as *peintre-philosophe*, a role stressed by the artist himself at the time of the Republic, propagating virtue.⁵⁶ In its conception as an official record, the *Napoleon in his Study* recalls the art of the seventeenth century, such as Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (Madrid, Prado) and Carreño's *Carlos II* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), but the Spanish works include mirrors or other devices to 'explain' the artist's presence or the realization of the image. In the eighteenth century, democratic tendencies in England and America led to representation of leaders in a less formal fashion – most notable are the works of Copley and Stuart – emphasizing their role as servants of the people. David was interested in the art of history painting in these countries (one of his pupils came from Stuart), and may have been inspired by the new, studied informality of their approach to portraiture. Should the composition prove to stem from Douglas's commission, such an Anglo-American influence would be all the more likely. The image of the enlightened ruler, soldier and judge as used in K2046 is a traditional one, going back to classical statues of philosophers and statesmen. The attributes of leadership, the throne, the study-chamber derive from such works as Philippe de Champaigne's *Omer Talon* (K1837), many portraits by Raphael, and other works starting in the later fifteenth century. The novel aspect of K2046 is its exclusion of the artist's presence. It is as though Napoleon were looking in a mirror in his study, in a moment of self-conscious reflection, his image perpetuated in paint. Full-length mirrors were especially popular in the Napoleonic era and known as 'psyche glasses' – mirrors of the soul. Jacob, who executed David's designs for the chair in K2046, also manufactured such mirrors, one of which may have been used as a picture frame for a portrait by Robert Lefèvre of the Emperor's sister Pauline.⁵⁷ David's canvas

may itself be meant to be understood as a mirror, the sole witness to an intimate moment when the Emperor, working until dawn for the commonweal, is about to leave his study for a few hours of richly deserved rest.

Provenance: Painted for the Marquis of Douglas (Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, 1767–1852), Hamilton Palace (near Glasgow), Lanarkshire. K2046 or another version seems to have been exhibited in London in 1814, where it was seen by the Duchess of Devonshire.⁵⁸ Sold London, Christie's, 8 July 1882 (Hamilton Palace Collection Sale), p. 145, Cat. No. 1108, bought by dealer F. Davies. Archibald Philip, 5th Earl of Rosebery (1847–1929). Albert Edward, 6th Earl of Rosebery, London (b. 1882), exhibited – London, Tate Gallery, 1948, and Manchester, City Art Gallery, 1949, *David*, p. 26, Cat. No. 23. New York, Wildenstein and Co. 1951. Kress acquisition 1954, exhibited – Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, *De David à Toulouse-Lautrec*, 1955, Cat. No. 17.

References: (1) In most respects, the blue, white and red uniform worn by the Emperor conforms to that of the Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard. However, he has adopted the distinctive revers (white buttoned-on facings with gold buttons at the front of the coat) of the Chasseurs of the Imperial Guard. The gold ornament on the back of his coat skirt is too indistinct for one to determine whether it belonged to the Grenadiers or Chasseurs. Information concerning uniform from Mrs. John N. Brown (letter of 29/III/56, National Gallery Archive, Washington). (2) See Serge Grandjean, 'Napoléon, ses épées et son goût pour l'orfèvrerie', *Le ruban rouge*, Dec. 1960; and Nicole Hubert, *Napoléon*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1969, Cat. Nos. 371, 437. Pierre Suau's (a student of David) description of K2046 in 1812 identified the object as a *tabatière*. See Paul Mesplé, 'David et ses élèves toulousains', *Archives de l'art français*, n.s., XXIV, 1969, pp. 91–102, esp. p. 100. (3) For these Orders see Paris, Musée National de la Légion d'Honneur et des Ordres de Chevalerie, *Exposition Napoléon et la Légion d'Honneur*, 20 Mar.–20 June 1968. (4) The chair is described by Hector Lefuel, F. H. G. Jacob-Desmalter, Paris, 1929, p. 429. See also R. G. and C. Ledoux-Lebard, 'La Décoration et le Meublement du Grand Cabinet de Napoléon I^{er} aux Tuileries', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1941–44, pp. 223, 230–1. David's upholstery design, rendered for tapestry production by Dubois in 1811, is in Paris, Mobilier National (inv. 255–1). Another, by the artist's own hand, is at Malmaison. Exhibited *Napoléon*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1969, p. 98, Cat. No. 287a. For further bibliography on the *Grand Cabinet*, see *ibid.*, p. 98, Cat. No. 287. (5) This chair corresponds with one listed in the 1809–10 inventory of Napoleon's *Cabinet de Travail* at the Tuileries, Inv. No. 767. See Ledoux-Lebard, 'L'Inventaire des appartements de l'Empereur Napoléon I^{er} aux Tuileries', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1952–53, pp. 186–204; Inv. No. 767 is p. 194. (6) Identified as such in *Napoléon*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1969, Cat. No. 158. (7) A similar portfolio, in red leather, is in the Musées Nationaux, Versailles. See *ibid.*, p. 145, Cat. and fig. No. 395. (8) Mesplé, *op. cit.*

Note 2, p. 100. (9) Douglas Cooper identified the map as of Mons ('The David Exhibition at the Tate Gallery', *Burlington Magazine*, xci, 1949, pp. 21-2). This seems unlikely as the battle fought near Mons in 1792 did not involve Napoleon. (10) According to Winthrop Edey, the clock looks like those by Balthazar Lieutaud, dating from the time of Louis XVI. The watercolor *Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries* (ex coll. Finaly (Text Fig. 131)) includes a clock somewhat similar in style to the one in K2046, but far shorter. Neither does it correspond to the inventory entries. For Lieutaud, see the case for the *regulateur* clock and barometer reproduced by F. J. B. Watson, *Wallace Collection Catalogues, Furniture*, London, 1956, Cat. No. F271, pl. 49. The Louis XVI date is also indicated by the prominence of fleurs-de-lys on the clock face. This emblem was not generally used by Napoleon. However, David may have 'converted' a barometer by Moussy, known to have been in the *Cabinet de Travail*, into a clock (Ledoux-Lebard, 1952, *op. cit.* Note 5, p. 195, Inv. No. 787). The clock listed in the 1809-10 inventory of the *Cabinet*, no. 779, is a hanging clock completely unrelated to that in K2046. The clock in the Isabey is shorter than the one in K2046. Some indication of the appearance of the barometer may also be given in the watercolor, but there too the object seems to be a clock. Mme. Hubert, on the basis of a barometer from the Grand Trianon by F.-H.-G. Jacob-Desmalter, suggested that he also made the clock in K2046. (11) Ledoux-Lebard, 1952, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 193, no. 764 and p. 192, n. 1. The desk is a mahogany *bureau mécanique*. Mario Praz (*An Illustrated History of Furnishing*, New York, 1964, p. 189, fig. 156) dated the watercolor c. 1806. A similar desk is shown in a portrait of Napoleon's officer, de Cretet, by Ansiaux (Musée de Versailles), exhibited at the Salon of 1810. Reproduced by Georges Wildenstein, 'Table des portraits exposés à Paris au Salon entre 1800 et 1826', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LXVI, 1963, pp. 9-60, p. 23, fig. 10. (12) Reproduced on pl. 31 of Clifford Musgrave, *The Royal Pavilion, an Episode in the Romantic*, London, 1959, as by George Jacob, oak veneered with pollard elm (p. 113). (13) For the Besançon drawing, see Jean Mistler, 'Vingt ans qui ont marqué le monde', *Plaisir de France*, 1969, xxxv, no. 364, pp. 6-11, esp. p. 8. (14) Reproduced by Karl Werkmeister, *Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert in Bildnissen*, Berlin, 1900, no. 391. Small painted copies after the engraving are in the collections of Mario Praz (Rome) and Mrs. D. Martin (Guernsey, Channel Islands). (15) The same reasons may have motivated Charles, 8th Baron Kinnaird (1780-1826) to commission Émile-Jean-Horace Vernet's *Napoleon* (London, National Gallery, no. 1285) and two other portraits of the Emperor between 1815-16, during the Hundred Days. See Armand Dayot, *Les Vernet*, Paris, 1898, p. 195. According to *Napoléon*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1969, Cat. No. 158, K2046 was commissioned while Douglas was resident in Rome in 1810. However, in view of the Suau correspondence (see *infra*) this is impossible. (16) Examples in the Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen, and at Fontainebleau. Hamilton Palace Sale (see *Provenance*), p. 74, Cat. No. 542 and p. 181, Cat. No. 1484. See also P. Fleuriot de Langle, *La Paulina, sœur de l'Empereur*, Paris, 1946, pp. 269-70. For

Hamilton's biography, see his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, Oct. 1852, pp. 424-5. He also owned a miniature of Napoleon as First Consul (Cat. No. 1484). (17) Jacques Louis Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David, 1748-1825*, Paris, 1880, pp. 487, 647. The disparity between that date and the inscription of 1812 on K2046 was explained by Cooper (*op. cit.* Note 9, p. 21) as due to the artist's retaining the original in his atelier until 1812 so that the several replicas known to have been painted could be prepared. In 1876, Hamilton's payment for K2046 was listed as 25,000 francs. (Louis Étienne Dussieux, *Les Artistes français à l'étranger*, Paris, 1876, 3rd ed., pp. 288, 322). (18) Mesplé, *op. cit.* Note 2 above, published the Suau correspondence. I am grateful to Mme. Hubert for alerting me to this publication. The patron was first given by Suau in the letter of 4 Feb. (19) Jacques-Louis Jules David, *Notice sur le Marat de Louis David*, Paris, 1867, 'Notes de L. David sur ses ouvrages' appended to p. 37, Cat. No. 50. K2046 is Cat. No. 49. No indication of the 1867 ownership of this copy is given. (20) *Notes de David; Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. J.-L. David*, Paris, 1824, p. 72. This information was repeated by P. A. Coupin, *Essai sur J. L. David*, Paris, 1827, p. 56. The copy supposedly kept by David was probably that used as the basis for Stapleaux's drawing. (21) 'David en fit quatre copies, dont l'une, après être restée long-temps dans son cabinet, est devenue la propriété de M. Huybens, à Paris.' A[ntoine] Th[omé de Gamond], *Vie de David*, Paris, 1826, p. 128, and also p. 164. (22) Miette de Villars, *Mémoires de David, peintre et député à la Convention*, Paris, 1850, pp. 219-20. (23) J. L. Jules David, *op. cit.* Note 17 above, pp. 487, 647. (24) *Napoléon*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1969, Cat. No. 158. The canvas measures 2.05 x 1.28 m. It was in the private collection of Napoleon III, and hung in the Salle des Maréchaux (Tuileries) during the Second Empire, returned to the Empress Eugénie in 1880 and was given by her to the Princess Mathilde, who in turn presented the canvas to her brother Prince Napoléon. Mme. Hubert appeared to identify the Prince Napoléon painting with that copy described by Jules David as having been taken by the artist to Brussels (see above). From a MS. note to the Cantinelli *David* monograph in his possession, Ellis Waterhouse informed the present writer that he had found 'the replica signed *faciebat L. David 1812* was sold for 3,625 frs. as Lot 20 of an anonymous sale (with the Faccioli collection) in Paris 5 March 1857' (letter of 7/v/68, Kress Archive). (25) Ferdinand Boyer, 'Le Musée Napoléonien de Rome', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., III, 1930, pp. 257-68, esp. p. 260, n. 2. Another copy, an oil sketch, was (according to Boyer), painted by David's pupil Moïna de Savigny, Duchesse de Dalmatie (Rome, Museo Napoleonico), while the master executed the original canvas (*ibid.*; and Boyer, 'Les Œuvres des artistes français au Musée Napoléonien de Rome', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1929, pp. 97-105, esp. p. 100). Another copy is in the collection of Marietta College (Ohio), and was painted by Kribbey (?). Both are presumably small. The theme was adapted by Horace Vernet for his portrait of the Maréchal Gouvion de Saint-Cyr, working late into the night during the Russian campaign (now Musée de Versailles; Salon of 1824). (26) Cooper,

op. cit. Note 9 above, p. 22. He gave no sources for his information. If such a copy were made for the Emperor and then returned to the artist, it could still have been the same painting taken by David to Brussels and used as basis for the graphic reproductions. It may have been this rather than the Douglas painting that was seen in England by the Duchess of Devonshire. (27) P. Dax, 'Chronique', *L'Artiste*. (28) J. L. Jules David, *op. cit.* Note 19 above, appendix entitled 'Notes de L. David sur ses ouvrages', p. 37, Cat. No. 49. (29) Anonymous, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. J.-L. David*, Paris, 1824. (30) A[ntoine] Th[om]é de Gamond], *op. cit.* Note 21 above, pp. 127-8, and p. 164, where David's own replica of K2046 is also recorded. The portrait was referred to in the *Athenaeum and Ladies Weekly Gazette* of 1826 (1, no. 18, p. 6, 4 Oct.) and included in the monograph by P.-A. Coupin, *Essai sur David*, Paris, 1827, p. 56. (31) Alexandre Lenoir, 'David, Souvenirs historiques', *Journal de l'Institut Historique*, III, 1835 (Aug.), p. 10. K2046 was included in E.-F.-A. Miel's entry for David in *L'Encyclopédie des gens du monde*, 1833-44, VII, p. 581. Lenoir referred to the portrait once again as among the artist's finest portraits in an unpublished study, 'Étude inédite sur David', in his 'Traité philosophique des arts', III, p. 93, manuscript in the collection of Daniel Wildenstein, to whom I am indebted for a photocopy of this page. (32) Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, III, 1854, p. 298. (33) E.-J. Delécluze, *Louis David, son école et son temps*, Paris, 1855, pp. 346-7. (34) J. du Seigneur, 'Appendice à la notice de P. Chaussard sur David', *Revue Universelle des Arts*, XVIII, 1864, p. 365. (35) J. L. Jules David, *op. cit.* Note 17 above, p. 487; Cat. on p. 647. Describing David's evenings in Brussels (p. 566), Jules said that the painter's salon was adorned with *Napoléon au St.-Bernard* and *Napoléon dans son cabinet*, and that David prepared reproductive drawings after these paintings in black crayon for his publisher. Jules did not notice the differences between the Douglas canvas and the replicas. (36) Charles Saunier, *Louis David, biographie critique*, Paris, 1903, p. 108. R. Cantinelli, *Louis David*, Paris and Brussels, 1930, p. 112, Cat. No. 123. Klaus Holma, *David, son évolution et son style*, Paris, 1940, p. 128, Cat. No. 129. Holma gave the date 1810 for K2046. The portraits mentioned by him in conjunction with the Kress canvas do not relate to it. (37) Cooper, *op. cit.* Note 9 above, pp. 21-2. (38) Helen Rosenau, 'Letters - Jacques Louis David', *Burlington Magazine*, XCI, 1949, pp. 113-14. (39) Douglas Cooper, 'Letters - Jacques Louis David', *Burlington Magazine*, XCI, 1949, p. 175. (40) Ledoux-Lebard, 1952, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, p. 192, n. 1. (41) Louis Hauteceur, *Louis David*, Paris, 1954, p. 200. (42) Praz, *op. cit.* Note 11 above, p. 189. (43) Germain Bazin, *Kindlers*, II, pp. 837-44, esp. pp. 843, 844. Perhaps Bazin based this date on a drawing dated 1821 in the Musée Napoléonien, after the composition. The drawing is referred to by Boyer, *op. cit.* Note 25, p. 100. (44) Hugh Honour, *Neo-classicism*, Harmondsworth, 1968, pp. 175, 179. (45) Lincoln Kirstein, Introduction, *The Taste of Napoleon*, Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin, IV, no. 10, 2 Oct.-16 Dec. 1969, p. 21. (46) Hubert, *Napoléon*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1969, Cat. No. 158. (47) *Ibid.*, p. 121. (48) Quoted by Thomé,

op. cit. Note 21, pp. 110-11. (49) The Lefèvre *Napoléon I^{er} debout devant une table avec un Plutarque* (Musée de Versailles), although painted in 1806, was shown at the Salon of 1810. See Georges Wildenstein, 'Table des portraits exposés à Paris au Salon entre 1800 et 1826', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXVI, 6th ser., 1963, pp. 9-60, p. 24, fig. 11. Reference courtesy of Robert Rosenblum. (50) For the commissions of 1810, see François Benoist, *L'Art Français sous la Révolution et l'Empire*, Paris, 1897, p. 164. A related compositional approach is seen in some of the sixteen portraits of Napoleon's highest officers, ordered in 1806. One of these, portraying Caulaincourt, was painted by Bonnemaïson, the intermediary for David's commission for K2046. The 4,000 franc fee for each of these large portraits was considered a very high price, yet Napoleon supposedly offered David 30,000 francs for the Kress canvas. The series was exhibited at the Tuileries, the future setting for the *Napoleon in his Study* before it was sent to Compiègne in 1808. See Charles-Otto Ziesenis, 'Les portraits des ministres et des grands officiers de la couronne', *Archives de l'art français*, n.s., pp. 133-58. (51) Louis Pierre Baltard, *Paris et ses Monuments*, Paris, 1803, text on frontispiece. (52) For Napoleon and the Stoic tradition, see Walter Friedländer, 'Napoleon as "Roi Thaumaturge"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV, 1941, pp. 139-42. (53) The Greuze is reproduced in *Kindlers*, II, p. 761, and the Ingres in R. Rosenblum, *Ingres*, New York, 1967, p. 61. (54) Emil Ludwig, *Napoleon*, trans. by Eden and Cedar Paul, New York, 1926, p. 277. (55) For the very considerable license exercised by David in his supposedly documentary paintings, see Georges de Batz, 'History, Truth, and Art', *Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, pp. 248-60. (56) See James A. Leith, *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France, 1750-1799*, Toronto, 1965, pp. 116 ff. See also D. L. Dowd, *Pageant Master of the French Revolution: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution*, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1948. (57) Reproduced by Mario Praz, *On Classicism*, London, 1969, pl. 55. In a drawing of the Empress Josephine by Isabey (Louvre RF 3829, Cabinet des Dessins), such a mirror occupies a major section. (58) See Note 22 above. Fanny Burney seeing K2046 in David's Parisian studio in 1812 recognized its propagandistic intent.

JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID

K2004 : Figure 330

MADAME DAVID. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1373), since 1956. Oil on canvas with thick preparatory layer of gesso and oil. 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (72.9 × 59.4 cm.). Original frame. Inscribed at lower left: *L. David 1813*. Sticker on back: *shown at Bernheim-Jeune 1949 Cat. # 13. 1950 Galerie Charpentier 'Portraits de Femmes'*. Minor losses along bottom. Relined, cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1955. Generally well preserved. Suida-Shapley, p. 68, Cat. No. 23.

The sitter (née Marguerite-Charlotte Pécou, 1765-1826), is shown at the age of forty-eight, her body turned slightly to the left, seated on a mahogany armchair upholstered in

mustard-colored velvet, against a neutral background. She wears white ostrich plumes and lace fastened to a bandeau in her curly hair. Her arms are folded in her lap; a long red partly embroidered cashmere shawl with a border is draped around her left arm and goes behind her back over the left arm of the chair. She wears a white satin dress with short, puffed sleeves and a rectangular décolleté, with an Empire waist. This 'classical' style was adopted by the Empress Josephine in 1803 and so much admired by Napoleon that he decreed it remain the prescribed court attire. The dress may well be one worn by Mme. David at court.

The sitter was the sister of a friend of David whom the artist met in Rome. Their father, Charles-Pierre Pécoul, was a prosperous contractor to the crown (*Entrepreneur des Bâtiments du Roi*). David met his future wife when he returned to Paris in 1781. They were married on 16 May 1782, when he was thirty-four and she seventeen. Their first son was born in 1783 and a second in 1784; twin daughters were born in 1787. Mme. David conformed with her husband's Revolutionary principles by contributing her jewels to the *Bureau de l'Assemblée Constituante*. However, her father was a staunch royalist, and when David voted for Louis XVI's execution, Mme. David and their daughters returned to her father's home at St.-Ouen. Following Pécoul's death, Mme. David went back to Paris and worked to free David, who had been imprisoned after the fall of Robespierre (1794). She followed her husband into exile to Brussels, dying there on 9 May 1826, a year after David's death.

The portrait was engraved by Léopold Robert, and published as showing Louise-Marie-Adélaïde de Penthièvre, Duchesse Douairière d'Orléans.¹ A reproductive etching was made by Jacques-Louis Jules David (David's grandson).² The portrait was first published by Thomé in 1826.³ Jules David mentioned K2004 in his catalogue.⁴ It was characterized as belonging to David's realistic phase by Pauli.⁵ Holma found the canvas less supple than the one David prepared of his daughters in the preceding year.⁶ The artist's unsparing realism in this rendering of his wife was noted by Hautecœur, who pointed out that the painter also executed a self-portrait (owned by Vicomtesse Fleury) at about the same time.⁷ K2004 was cited by *Einstein* (p. 246) as a fine example of the new bourgeois art, far removed from the caprices of the eighteenth century.⁸

David's portrait of his wife combines a generalized High Renaissance elegance with meticulous realism.

Provenance: Jacques-Louis David. Baronne Claude-Marie Meunier (David's daughter Émilie), Calais, exhibited – Paris, Bazar Bonne Nouvelle, *Exposition au profit de l'association des artistes*, 1845, Cat. No. 11. Mme. Marius Bianchi (David's great grand-daughter), exhibited – Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts, *David et ses élèves*, 1913, p. 24, Cat. No. 55. Copenhagen, Royal Museum, *Art français du XIX^e siècle*, 1914, p. 26, Cat. No. 65. Comtesse Joachim Murat (Mme. Bianchi's daughter), by 1930.⁹ Paris, Cailleux

Collection, exhibited – Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, *David*, 1948, pp. 96–7, Cat. No. 68. London, Tate Gallery, *David*, 1948, p. 28, Cat. No. 27; also shown in Manchester, City Art Gallery, 1949. Paris, Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, *Les magiciens de la peinture*, 28 May–9 July 1949, Cat. No. 13. Paris, Galerie Charpentier, *Cent Portraits de Femmes*, 1950, Cat. No. 25. Paris, Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, *Peintres de Portraits*, 17 May–28 June 1952, Cat. No. 16. Hamburg, Kunsthalle, *Meisterwerke der französischen Malerei von Poussin bis Ingres*, 25 Oct.–14 Dec. 1952, p. 18, Cat. No. 14; also shown in Munich, Alte Pinakothek, 29 Dec. 1952 – 15 Feb. 1953. New York, M. Knoedler and Co. Kress acquisition 1954.

References: (1) Cited by Jacques-Louis Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David*, Paris, 1880, p. 648. (2) See *ibid.* (3) A. Th[omé de Gamond], *Vie de David*, Paris, 1826, p. 166. (4) J.-L. Jules David, *op. cit.*, pp. 487, 648. (5) Gustav Pauli, 'David im Petit Palais', *Kunst und Künstler*, xi, 1913, pp. 541–50, esp. p. 543. (6) Klaus Holma, *David: son évolution et son style*, Paris, 1940, p. 90, p. 129, Cat. No. 138. (7) Louis Hautecœur, *Louis David*, Paris, 1954, p. 230. A second portrait of Mme. David was painted in 1818, according to Hautecœur, who listed it as in the collection of the Vicomtesse Fleury (p. 265). (8) The portrait was also included in the following: P.-A. Coupin, 'Essai sur J.-L. David, Peintre d'histoire', *Revue Encyclopédique*, 1827, p. 56. Leon Rosenthal, *David*, Paris, 1905, p. 166. *Peintres Illustres* series (ed. Henri Roujon) no. 41, *David*, Paris, c. 1912, pp. 69, 80. Raimond Régamey, 'David', *L'Art Vivant*, 15 Dec. 1925, p. 6. Jorge Romero Brest, *Jacques-Louis David*, Buenos Aires, 1943, p. 23. André Maurois, *David*, Paris, n.d., Cat. No. 11 (discussed with the 1784 portrait of Mme. David's mother, Mme. Pécoul (Paris, Louvre). Douglas Cooper, 'Jacques-Louis David: A Bi-Centenary Exhibition', *Burlington Magazine*, xc, 1948, pp. 277–80, esp. p. 278. (9) Richard Cantinelli, *Jacques-Louis David*, Paris, 1930, p. 113.

FRANÇOIS-ANDRÉ VINCENT

The artist was the son of the Geneva-born miniature painter François-Élie Vincent, who had moved to Paris by 1745, becoming a professor at the Académie de St.-Luc. François-André Vincent was born in Paris on 30 December 1746. He first worked in a bank; it was his friendship with the highly successful portrait painter Alexander Roslin that enabled him to leave his commercial apprenticeship to study with Vien. In 1765 Vincent entered the École des Élèves Protégés and three years later won the Grand-Prix-de-Rome with his canvas showing *Germanicus Haranguing his Troops*. Vincent stayed in Rome between 1771 and 1775.¹ He was a friend of Fragonard – they may even have worked in collaboration – and Bergeret de Grancourt. He died in 1816. Judging by the subject matter of his Salon entries and the style of K1663, Vincent participated in the revival of the art of Velázquez. Little known today, Vincent was a prominent figure in the art world of his time.

FRANÇOIS-ANDRÉ VINCENT

K1663 : Figure 326

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG ECCLESIASTIC. New York, Mrs. Rush H. Kress. Oil on canvas. 20×16½ in. (50.9×42 cm.). Formerly inscribed on background above the right shoulder: *F.A Vincent 1771*.² Inscription was probably removed sometime between 2 and 23 December 1908; it was no longer visible by 1910. Minor restoration since acquisition by Modestini.

A young ecclesiastic is shown in bust length, the left shoulder nearer the picture plane. His head is turned slightly to the right, his lips parted. He wears a gray skullcap, a high black clerical collar with a white border and a dark grayish cassock-like robe, seemingly with a hood at the back. He is shown against a gray-green background.

The portrait may have been one of two studies exhibited by Vincent in the Salon of 1777, listed as 'Deux têtes d'études'.³ According to Mayer the Kress canvas stemmed from Velázquez's Madrid period between 1623 and 1629. Mayer inclined towards a dating of 1625-26, suggesting that the sitter may have been a friend of the artist, possibly from his native city; he found a certain Andalusian wit present in the characterization of the sitter.⁴ Beruete placed K1663 in the last years of Velázquez's residence in his native Seville or the first years in Madrid, 1620-24. He found every aspect of the portrait to be consistent with the master's earliest style.⁵ Von Loga suggested that K1663 was painted in 1623 and might represent the Seigneur Chambellan de Cortina, Don Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa.⁶ The last publication to refer to the Kress canvas as by Velázquez was an anonymous monograph published in 1914 which repeated Von Loga's dating.⁷ In 1928 Wildenstein published the album of watercolors prepared by Vincent after his completed canvases in order to document his oeuvre, and noted that K1663 corresponded to one prepared by Vincent in Volume II, folio 7 of his *Liber Veritatis*. (Text Fig. 105).⁸ Noting that Mayer omitted K1663 from his Velázquez monograph of 1936, Soria suggested on the basis of portrait drawings traditionally attributed to Esteban March (died in 1660 at an advanced age) that the Kress painting was by that master, executed in the early 1640s. He found that March, in the *Ecclesiastic*, 'approaches Frans Hals portraits in immediacy, in directness, and in ability to capture the fleeting, momentary expression of the sitter's spirit'.⁹ After finding the correspondence between K1663 and the drawing by Vincent, Wildenstein discovered a photograph taken soon after 2 December 1908 at Rouen by the photographer Paul Leniept (shortly before the canvas was acquired by the Marquis de la Vega-Inclán on 23 December 1908), on which Vincent's signature and the date 1777 were still visible, definitively documenting the authorship of K1663 as by Vincent.¹⁰

The Kress canvas suggests the revival of Baroque painting in French art of the later eighteenth century. In addition to

Vincent's interest in Velázquez and Hals, it might be noted that K1663 indicates the long standing academic concern with physiognomy. The sitter may represent a member of a religious order (possibly Italian). However, the portrait could well belong to the later eighteenth-century vogue for imaginative portraiture which places the sitter in fanciful attire, as best known from Gainsborough and Fragonard's many ventures in that genre.

Provenance: José Cañaveral, Seville (last third of 19th century).¹¹ Anonymous Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 21 Nov. 1908, Cat. No. 121, as 'Portrait d'homme' by F. A. Vincent.¹² Marquis de la Vega-Inclán, Madrid. (Bought in Paris on 23 Dec. 1908).¹³ New York, Ehrich Galleries, 1911. Henry E. Huntington, San Marino, California, bought in 1911 as by Velázquez. New York, Duveen and Co. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) *Œuvres Romaines de François-André Vincent, un essai de Liber Veritatis retrouvé et publié par Georges Wildenstein*, Paris, 1928. (2) See Georges Wildenstein, 'De Velasquez à Vincent', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XLVIII, Oct. 1956, pp. 25-30, esp. p. 29. See also the resumé of Wildenstein's article, 'Un cuadro atribuido a Velázquez firmado por Vincent', *Goya*, no. 14, 1956, p. 132. A reproduction of K1663 with the original inscription is given by Wildenstein in fig. 2. (3) Wildenstein, 1956, *op. cit.*, p. 29. (4) August Liebmann Mayer, 'Ein unbekanntes Jugendwerk des Velásquez', *Der Cicerone*, II, July-Dec. 1910, p. 672. He restated this view in his *Die Seville-Malerschule*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 168. Also in the *American Art News*, 7 Mar. 1914, p. 1. (5) Aureliano de Beruete, 'Portrait of an Ecclesiastic by Diego Velasquez in the Collection of the Marques de la Vega-Inclán', *Burlington Magazine*, XVIII, 1911, pp. 284-9. (6) Valerian von Loga, 'Zur Zeitbestimmung einiger Werke des Velásquez', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIV, 1913, p. 284. (7) *Velasquez, l'œuvre du maître*, Stuttgart-Paris, 1914, p. 23. (8) Wildenstein, 1928, *op. cit.* Note 1, pp. 7-8. (9) Martin S. Soria, 'Esteban March, Baroque Battle and Portrait Painter', *Art Bulletin*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 109-23, esp. pp. 109, 116-19. (10) Wildenstein, 1956, *op. cit.* Note 2, p. 29. (11) Beruete, *op. cit.* Note 5 above, pp. 284, 289. (12) Wildenstein, 1956, *loc. cit.* (13) *Ibid.*

ELISABETH LOUISE VIGÉE-LEBRUN

Elisabeth Louise Vigée-Lebrun was born in Paris in 1755 and died in Louveciennes in 1842.¹ She was the daughter of the pastel painter Louis Vigée. Her early training came from her father and his friend Greuze, as well as from Gabriel-François Doyen and Joseph Vernet. At fifteen, she was already known as a painter and at nineteen became a member of the Academy of St. Luke. In 1776, she married Pierre Lebrun, the well-known picture dealer. Summoned to Versailles to paint Marie-Antoinette in 1779, she soon became her friend and confidante and was awarded the

title 'Painter to the Queen'. In 1783, Vigée-Lebrun, a prolific painter, was admitted to the Académie Royale and in a short time found herself the favorite portraitist to the aristocracy for her conventional yet fresh, flattering characterizations. At the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 she fled to Italy and for the next twelve years wandered from one European capital to another, distinguishing herself at the courts of Vienna, Prague, Dresden, and Berlin, where she was elected to the Academy. From 1795 to 1800 she lived at the Court of St. Petersburg. In 1802 she was granted permission to return to France, but, unable to adjust to the social upheaval of Napoleonic society, she left for England and then Switzerland, where she became a close friend of Mme. de Staël. She returned to France again in 1809 and established permanent residence at Louveciennes, where her Salon became a center for writers and artists. Her memoirs, published in 1835, provide fascinating insight into the social climate and the personalities of her illustrious sitters.

Reference: (1) Pierre de Nolhac, *Madame Vigée-Lebrun*, Paris, 1905; William Henry Helm, *Vigée-Lebrun, 1755–1842: Her Life, Works and Friendships*, London, 1916; Louis Hautecoeur, *Madame Vigée-Lebrun*, Paris, 1917; *Memoirs of Madame Vigée-Lebrun*, trans. Lionel Strachey, New York, 1903.

K1394 : Figure 328

PORTRAIT OF A LADY. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (788), since 1946. Oil on linden panel with four vertical joins and an additional join along the bottom. $42\frac{1}{8} \times 32\frac{3}{4}$ in. (107 × 83 cm.). Scratched into the dry pigment at upper right: *M^{de} Le Brun 1789*.¹ Cradled, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1945–46.

Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 166 as 'La Marquise de Laborde'. Reproduced in color: *Cairns and Walker*, 1952, p. 129.

A pensive woman in picturesque attire is seated on a divan upholstered in green; she rests her right arm on a pillow placed on the arm of the divan. Her hair is partially braided, wrapped around an elaborate white veil-like headdress, probably of Indian silk gauze, with a woven gold border. Her earrings are pendants. The sitter's simple blouse is of white chiffon; the skirt has a pattern of small embroidered gold circles. She also wears a little jacket fastened by a single button with others below. Such garb, sometimes known as *à la Créole*, was fashionable in the 1780s following the more stiff, boned, hooped or looped gowns of the 1770s. The sitter's attire may have been freely adapted from that worn by women in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor. The wide belt is fastened with a Wedgwood plaque showing a maiden seated under a tree, which is mounted in a Boulton and Watt cut steel buckle. The subject of the cameo is 'Poor Maria'; Maria was a deranged peasant girl from Laurence Sterne's popular novel, *A Sentimental Journey* (first published in 1768).² She is shown with her little dog Sylvio. The

elaborate peasant-like costume of the sitter may relate to the theme of the relief in her belt-buckle.

The portrait, listed in several late nineteenth-century exhibitions and a sale as 'A Lady' or, mistakenly, as showing the artist herself,³ was first referred to incorrectly as showing the Marquise de Laborde in the Morgan Collection Catalogue of 1907.⁴ The painting was simply recorded as a lady, without reference to date, by Nolhac.⁵ It was listed as showing Mme. de Laborde, done in 1774 or 1775 by Helm, who noted that the sitter is shown in a similar pose and wearing the same medallion [belt buckle] as the Duchesse d'Orléans in Vigée-Lebrun's portrait of 1789 (Palace of Versailles).⁶ Blum accepted the date of 1775 and the de Laborde identification in his monograph.⁷ The de Laborde identification was accepted by Frankfurter.⁸ The solid, sober and precise characteristics of K1394 were observed by *Einstein* (pp. 244–5), who found that the artist's lightness of touch and courtly elegance were not present in her rendering of the sitter. He questioned the de Laborde identification.

Portraits on panel by Vigée-Lebrun such as K1394 are unusual. It was probably not executed in France where linden wood is seldom found. Painted in 1789, the work may perhaps have been done in the south of France on Mme. Vigée-Lebrun's way to Italy that year. Mme. Vigée-Lebrun probably selected the sitter's garb for both K1384 and the *Duchesse d'Orléans*, done in the same year. For all its picturesque costuming, this portrait shows a certain austerity appropriate to the then popular neo-Classical style. Shapley has also noted many parallels between K1394 and Vigée-Lebrun's portrait of the Queen of Naples painted at her court in 1789.

Provenance: Ferol? c. 1850.⁹ Lyne Stephens, London (sold, London, Christie's, 9–13 May 1895, Cat. No. 360, as *Portrait of a Lady*). London, Thomas Agnew and Sons. J. Pierpont Morgan, exhibited – London, Royal Academy *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters . . .*, 1896, p. 15, Cat. No. 53, as *Portrait of the Painter*. London, Guildhall Corporation Art Gallery, *Pictures by Painters of the French School*, 1898, Cat. No. 80, as *Portrait of a Lady*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1913, as *La Marquise de Laborde*.¹⁰ (Sold from J. P. Morgan Estate by Knoedler to anonymous buyer.)¹¹ New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1944.

References: (1) According to Mrs. Lydia Nikolenko (letter of 1968 in Kress archive), such an incised signature is rare in the artist's oeuvre. (2) Information from William A. Billington, Curator, Wedgwood Museum, Stoke-on-Trent. See Eliza Meteyard, *The Wedgwood Handbook*, London, 1875, p. 149. The cameo, by William Hackwood in 1785, was modeled upon Lady Templeton's design of 1783 and first appeared in Wedgwood's sixth catalogue of 1787. (3) Lyne Stephens Sale, Christie's, 1895, Cat. No. 360; London, Royal Academy, *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters . . .*, 1896, p. 15, Cat. No. 53; London, Guildhall Corporation Art Gallery, 1898, Cat. No. 80 (4) T.

Humphrey Ward and W. Roberts, *Pictures in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan*, II, London, 1907, unpag. The Morgan catalogue stated that the painting was executed in 1775, one of the thirty-four portraits described in the artist's memoirs (*Memoirs of Madame Vigée-Lebrun*, trans. L. Strachey, New York, 1903, p. 217) as having been painted in that year. On the basis of the sitter's costume alone, a dating of 1775 is impossible, nor does her age correspond to that of the Marquise, who was already recorded as married in 1760. (5) Pierre de Nolhac, *Madame Vigée-Lebrun; peintre de la reine Marie Antoinette*, Paris, 1908, p. 143. (6) W. H. Helm, *Vigée-Lebrun*, Boston, 1915, pp. 33-4, 104, 203, noted that it was the artist's custom to advise her sitters as to their attire. (7) André Blum, *Mme. Vigée-Lebrun; peintre des grandes dames du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1919, p. 94. (8) Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Supplement to the Kress Collection at the National Gallery*, 1946, p. 67. (9) Ward and Roberts, *op. cit.* Note 4 above. This information may be incorrect as these writers state that K1394 came from the Laborde family. (10) 'Loan Exhibition of Mr. Morgan's paintings', *Metro-politan Museum Bulletin*, VIII, 1913, p. 12. (11) Letter from Knoedler to Frick Art Reference Library.

ELISABETH LOUISE VIGÉE-LEBRUN

K1711 : Figure 329

THE GRÄFIN VON SCHÖNFELD (WITH HER DAUGHTER). Tucson, Arizona, The University of Arizona, Museum of Art. (K1711.36), since 1951. Oil on canvas. $52\frac{3}{4} \times 38\frac{1}{2}$ in. (134×97.8 cm.). Inscribed at lower left: *L. E. Vigée Le Brun à Vienne 1793*. Inscription on back, covered by relining: *Ursula Marg. Agn. Victoria/Gräfin v. Schönfeld/geb. Gräfin Fries./geb. 1767†1805*. Relined before 1950. Considerable modifications in background are indicated by the continuity of sky and landscape areas in the paint layer under the column at left. Whether the artist herself executed the landscape and then covered it with the column, or both were added by another hand at an early date is unknown. The figures are excellently preserved. Cleaned and restored by Modestini in 1950.

Suida, Cat. No. 104. Reproduced in color: *National Geographic Magazine*, Dec. 1961, p. 842.

The smiling sitter is seen frontally, embracing her happy little girl who is seated across her mother's lap, her right arm around her mother's neck. The Countess wears a long-sleeved, nasturtium-colored dress and a double strand of coral beads. Her head is wrapped in a long fringed scarf of red and green, one end of which extends to the knee. The child is in white with a red belt. They are placed on a stone seat to the left of a balustrade, with a column at the upper left. A mountainous landscape is seen at the upper right.

The sitter, the Countess of Schönfeld, a friend of the artist's, was the wife of the Saxonian minister to Austria. She was born Ursula Margarethe Ag. Victoria Gräfin von

Fries (1767-1805). Vigée-Lebrun's *Souvenirs* described how attractive and fashionable the Countess was; the artist resided with the Countess's parents when she first came to Vienna.¹ The painting is recorded by Blanc, Helm and Blum.² Suida (*Arizona*, Cat. No. 22) found that 'Besides its refinement of color, this portrait of the Countess of Schönfeld is unusual in its landscape background, very rare in this artist's work.'

Other than K1711, no known portrait by Vigée-Lebrun includes a landscape. However, the artist refers to an interest in that genre in her *Souvenirs*. Whether she or another artist was responsible for the landscape, column and sky is unascertainable. There is a striking similarity between the Countess's daughter and the artist's child as shown in *Mme. Vigée-Lebrun and her Daughter* (Paris, Louvre).³ This affectionate portrait is based upon Virgin and Child compositions of the High Renaissance, especially those of Raphael, probably through later Italian, French and Flemish adaptations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The architectural setting and landscape vista stem from Venetian sixteenth-century sources. The sitter's family was fond of amateur theatricals. Perhaps the Countess's attire with its picturesque, faintly gypsy-like or Neapolitan air may reflect this imaginative circle, whose company the artist enjoyed during a Viennese residence of two and a half years.

Provenance: Graf von Schönfeld, Vienna. New York, Jacques Seligmann & Co., exhibited - New York World's Fair, 1940, *Masterpieces of Art*, Cat. No. 225. Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, *Masterpieces of Painting*, 1942, Cat. No. 51. Kress acquisition 1950 from Seligmann, exhibited - Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1951; Exhibition of Art Treasures for America . . . , 10 Dec. 1961-4 Feb. 1962 (Cat. No. 100). Since 1951 on exhibition at the University of Arizona Museum of Art, Tucson, Arizona.

References: (1) *Souvenirs de Mme. Elizabeth Lebrun*, ed. by Fournier, Paris, 1835-37, II; the Kress portrait is described by the artist on pp. 369-72 as showing the Countess and her daughter. (2) Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les Écoles, École Française*, II, Paris, 1862, p. 8. William Henry Helm, *Vigée-Lebrun, Her Life, Works, and Friendships*, Boston, 1915, pp. 119, 220. André Blum, *Mme. Vigée-Lebrun; peintre des grandes dames du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1919, pp. 101, 63. (3) Louis Hauteccœur, *Les Peintres de la Vie Familiale*, Paris, 1945, p. 96 (illustration).

PIERRE-PAUL PRUD'HON

Prud'hon was born at Cluny in 1758 and died in Paris in 1823.¹ The son of a stone-cutter, he was sent by the monks of Cluny to Dijon to study at Desvoge's school of design in 1774. A local amateur, Baron de Joursanvault, subsidized Prud'hon's trip to Paris in 1780, where he enrolled at the Académie Royale, studying with the artists Wille and Pierre until 1783. The next year, he won the Prix-de-

Rome and lived in Italy from then until 1788. After his return to France, Prud'hon divided his time between Paris and the provinces, exhibiting at the Salon of 1791. A supporter of the Revolution, the artist was forced to retire to Rigny after the fall of Robespierre, returning permanently to Paris in 1796. There his allegorical paintings and monumental decorative projects made him a favorite of Napoleon. Prud'hon became Josephine's official painter and was later the Empress Marie-Louise's drawing master. Although a contemporary of David, Prud'hon practised a softer form of neo-Classicism, reflecting the influence of Correggio and Leonardo. His art prefigures the mysterious sentiment of romanticism, best seen in Delacroix, one of Prud'hon's keenest admirers.

K1924 : Figure 327

DAVID JOHNSTON (?). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1636), since 1956. Oil on canvas. $21\frac{5}{8} \times 18\frac{3}{8}$ in. (55.0×46.6 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: *Prud'hon 1808*. Slightly over-cleaned prior to acquisition. Relined and restored by Modestini in 1955. *Suida-Shapley*, p. 144, Cat. No. 56.

A languid, handsome young man is seen in bust length against a neutral background. Bareheaded, his light brown hair is in romantic disarray. He wears a white cravat, a vest with an embroidered border, and a dark coat.

David Johnston, presumably the sitter for K1924, was born in Bordeaux in 1789 and died in 1854. His father, Walter, had come to France from Ireland. In 1808, when the Kress portrait was executed, David Johnston was nineteen years of age. He started a faience and porcelain works at Bacalan (near Bordeaux) in 1835 which was managed along progressive lines, with a remarkable social program. The very large factory collapsed.² David Johnston was elected mayor of Bordeaux during the Restoration and was a *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur*.

The portrait was first known from the Prud'hon exhibition of 1922, where it was shown as *Portrait of a Man* (see *Provenance*). In 1924, Guiffrey found the signature atypical, as the two P's usually preceding the master's name are omitted. He considered the execution somewhat dry and cold, less characteristic of Prud'hon than of Gérard and other David pupils.³ Lapouyade, who proposed the Johnston identification, accepted Prud'hon as the author of the canvas.⁴

The painting, although omitted from the Grappe *Prud'hon* monograph of 1958, is close in pose and style to Prud'hon's *M. La Vallée* (Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts).⁵ The canvas is somewhat English in feeling; Romney was in France in the late eighteenth century and there was considerable French interest in English art at the time K1924 was executed. A recent technical examination shows the signature to have been reinforced; it may originally have

followed Prud'hon's conventional format. At present, there is no conclusive documentation for the identification of the sitter.

Provenance: Family of David Johnston, Bordeaux, until 1913.⁶ Duc de Trévisé, Paris, exhibited – Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts, *Prud'hon*, 1922, Cat. No. 52, as *Portrait d'Homme*. Paris, Palais National des Arts, *Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français*, 1937, p. 105, Cat. No. 211, as *M. Johnson* [sic], date mistakenly given as 1809. Sold, Paris, Galerie Jean Charpentier, 19 May 1938, Cat. No. 36, as *Portrait de M. Johnston*. New York, Julius Weitzner. Kress acquisition 1952.

References: (1) Edmond Goncourt, *Catalogue Raisonné de l'œuvre de P.-P. Prud'hon*, Paris, 1876. Jean Guiffrey, *L'Œuvre de P.-P. Prud'hon* (*Collection de la Société de l'Art Français*, XIII), Paris, 1924. Georges Grappe, *P.-P. Prud'hon*, Paris, 1958. Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, 1758–1823, *Les Premières Etapes de sa Carrière*, Dijon, 1959 (exhibition catalogue). (2) Meaundre de Lapouyade, *Essai d'Histoire des Faïenceries de Bordeaux du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours*, Macon, 1926, pp. 74–9. (3) Guiffrey, *op. cit.* Note 1, pp. 262–3, Cat. No. 704. (4) Lapouyade, *op. cit.* Note 2, pp. 74–9. (5) Reproduced by Grappe, *op. cit.* Note 1, pl. 4. (6) According to Charles Sterling, *Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français*, Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937, p. 105, Cat. No. 211.

LATE XVIII CENTURY ARTIST (probably French) [Marguerite Gérard]

K1599 : Figure 341

ARTIST PAINTING HER HUSBAND'S PORTRAIT. Trenton, N.J., State Museum, since 1963. Oil on canvas. $27\frac{1}{2} \times 30$ in. (69.8×76.2 cm.). Thinly painted. Minor restoration in 1962 by Modestini. Well preserved.

A richly dressed artist, seated in her studio, holds a palette, brushes, and maulstick in her left hand and another brush in her right. She is painting a portrait of a middle-aged man on the easel at the right. An open paint cabinet is at the lower right; the artist looks at a youth standing at the left, resting his arms on her chair back. A curtain is drawn at the extreme left; two busts, probably from the Laocoön, are on a table, and a third, also of classical derivation, is on the floor under the table. A spaniel is at the lower left.

Burroughs compared the technique of K1599 with that of the portrait of Charlotte du Val d'Ognes (by Constance Charpentier, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). According to the author, 'The painting probably dates from just before the Revolution and may show the influence of J. S. Duplessis.' He accepted an attribution to Marguerite Gérard (1761–1837), possibly first suggested by Valentiner, who believed the canvas to show 'Mme. Gérard seated before an easel painting her husband's portrait. Behind her

stands her young son, looking over her shoulder.¹ As Marguerite Gérard never married nor had children, she could not be the subject of the canvas, at least not as interpreted by Valentiner.² She was Fragonard's sister-in-law, pupil, and mistress. There is some slight resemblance between the male portrait and those of Fragonard, but it is insufficiently strong to be convincing. A self-portrait of Marguerite Gérard (Leningrad, Hermitage)³ is not close to the Kress artist. Spaniels are often included in Gérard's canvases, but as this dog was much in fashion at the time, its presence does not contribute to an identification of the artist.

There is something provincial about the style of K1599 which suggests that it might be by a German, Belgian, or Dutch artist, possibly active in France. The artist's attire, the intimate scale, and the interior point to a revival of the art of Ter Borch, whose painting, with that of his contemporaries, was extremely popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Women artists were much more prominent in Western Europe at least as early as the fifteenth century than is generally realized. For a study of the woman as artist, see Hildebrandt⁴ and Oulmont. The painter of K1599 may be one of the many cited by Oulmont.⁵ Her attire was never fashionable in Paris, according to Stella Mary Newton. She noted similarities in the works of Swedish artists, such as Hilleström,⁶ but Ulf Abel dismisses the possibility of K1599 being by a Swedish master.⁷

A dating in the 1780s, suggested by the costume and style, may also be indicated on an iconographical basis, as the theme seems to have been especially popular at this time. See, for example, the canvas by Antoine Vestier of 1785 showing his daughter, Marie-Nicole, painting an oval portrait of a man; and the self-portrait of Mme. Labille-Guiard et ses Élèves (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated 1785).

Provenance: New York, Paul Drey. Kress acquisition 1948.

References: (1) Statement of Alan Burroughs, 1930s, Kress Archive. Valentiner quoted in Drey Gallery brochure. (2) My thanks to Mrs. Sarah Robertson for biographical data. (3) Hans Hildebrandt, *Die Frau als Künstlerin*, Berlin, 1928, p. 93, fig. 145. (4) Hildebrandt, *op. cit.* (5) Charles Oulmont, *Les Femmes Peintres du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1928. See also *Exposition des Femmes Peintres du XVIII^e siècle*, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 1926. W. Sparrow, *Women Artists of the World*, London, 1905; C. Clement, *Women in the Fine Arts*, Cambridge, 1904; B. Viallet, *Gli Autoritratti Femminili degli Uffizi*, Rome, 1924. (6) Letter of 26/vii/67, Kress Archive. (7) Letter of 10/vii/68.

JEAN-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE INGRES

Ingres was born in Montauban in 1780 and died in Paris in 1867.¹ The son of a painter and sculptor active in Toulouse,

Ingres studied painting there under followers of David. In 1796, he entered David's vast studio in Paris, where he associated with other young artists drawn to Gothic art. Ingres won the Grand-Prix-de-Rome in 1801 with his painting of *Achilles and the Ambassadors of Agamemnon* (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts). In 1804, he completed *Napoleon as First Consul* (Liège, Musée des Beaux-Arts) and such primitivistic works as *Napoleon I on the Imperial Throne* (Paris, Musée de l'Armée, Palais des Invalides). He then spent eighteen years in Italy, residing in Rome (1806-20) and in Florence (1820-24). He prepared many finished yet informal portraits in pencil as well as ones in oil, influenced by the Italian Mannerists. Ingres also produced history paintings and works inspired by medieval, Renaissance and Romantic literature. A master of the nude, Ingres exhibited his *Grande Odalisque* (Paris, Louvre) at the Salon of 1819; the painting was viewed by critics as 'Gothic'. His *Vow of Louis XIII* (Montauban, Musée Ingres), finished in 1824, was based on Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) and French seventeenth-century painting. The canvas was lauded for its classicism at the Salon of 1824. Ingres had returned to France in that year and became head of the École des Beaux-Arts in 1833. In the following year he began another long Roman residence as director of the French Academy, remaining there until 1841. From the time of his return to Paris until 1849 he worked on decorative paintings for the Château d'Amboise. The masterpieces of his late years include the portraits of the *Comtesse d'Haussonville* (New York, Frick Collection, 1845) and the *Princesse de Broglie* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1853), and *The Turkish Bath* (Paris, Louvre, 1863). Although officially the chief spokesman of the classical school of painting, extolling line over color, Ingres's paintings are remarkably sensitive in color. A trained musician as well as painter, Ingres evidenced mastery of both arts at an early age, contributing to his support as a violinist between 1794 and 1796. The rich resources of Ingres's art - offering brilliant realism, stringent classicism, inventive mannerism, and an interest in the abstract emulated by Degas and Picasso - all contribute to the master's constant appeal.

References: (1) The most recent Ingres monographs are: Jean Cassou, *Ingres*, Brussels, 1947; Jean Alazard, *Ingres et l'Ingrisme*, Paris, 1950; Georges Wildenstein, *Ingres*, Paris - London, 1954; Robert Rosenblum, *Ingres*, New York, 1968. For his biography, see also the exhibition catalogue *Ingres*, Paris, Petit Palais, 1967, pp. xxv-xxxi; Henry Lapauze, *Les dessins de J.-A.-D. Ingres du Musée de Montauban*, Paris, 4 vols., 1901.

K1650 : Figure 336

MONSIEUR MARCOTTE D'ARGENTEUIL. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1107), since 1951. Oil on canvas. 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (93.5 × 69.3 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: *Ingres. pinx. Rom. 1810*. Canvas scratched in area of rosette on lapel; small irregular tear on right shoulder;

slight abrasion. Pentimenti in hand. Relined before acquisition; no restoration since acquisition. Very well preserved.

Suida, p. 236, Cat. No. 106. Reproduced in color in *Seymour*, pl. 185, p. 196.

The subject, at the age of thirty-seven, is shown in half-length, standing against a neutral background, resting his left arm on a table with an orange-red cover. His black *bicorne*, with piping and a gold tassel, is on the table. He wears a dark blue (possibly originally green)¹ overcoat with a short cape and black velvet collar, a chestnut-colored suit, yellow waistcoat, white shirt, and dark cravat. His short, dark hair is touseled. There is a mourning ring on his left little finger; a watch fob and key emerge just below his jacket. The red rosette (?) of the *Légion d'Honneur* is in his lapel.²

Charles-Marie-Jean-Baptiste-François Marcotte d'Argeuteuil (1773-1864) was born in Doullens. He was sent by Napoleon as Inspector General of Water and Forestry to the Papal States, arriving in Rome in 1810.³ According to Marcotte's memoirs, he wished to have his portrait painted shortly after his arrival in Rome and asked Edouard Gatteaux, a *pensionnaire* at the French Academy, to recommend a painter. Gatteaux hesitated, considering both Blondel and Ingres, but finally choosing the latter.⁴ Marcotte's portrait commission was the beginning of a life-long friendship and correspondence between artist and sitter, spanning half a century.⁵ The official commissioned important paintings such as Ingres's *Interior of the Sistine Chapel* (K1649) begun in 1812 and *Odalisque with Slave* of 1839 (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum), as well as a watercolor of the *Borghese Chapel* (1824). Ingres also painted and gave to Marcotte's wife the *Virgin with the Host* (London, private collection). He may also have owned the *Henri IV Playing with His Children* of 1817 (location unknown) and several other paintings. Ingres prepared at least fourteen drawings of various relatives of Marcotte's.⁶ In Rome Marcotte became a friend of many artists. He was transferred to Holland in 1812 and returned to France in 1814. For the rest of his career as one of the highest officials in the *Département des Eaux et Forêts*, he was dedicated to the conservation of French water and forest-lands. On his return to France, Ingres was so delighted at seeing the Marcotte family again after years of separation that he wrote his wife (in Florence at the time): 'I cannot express strongly enough how wonderful our friend, M. Marcotte, really is, and what an essential role he plays in our work; not only does he love me, but I have become - quite involuntarily - the idol of his family. They take me everywhere, and I cannot be around enough for the young ladies; and what a respectable and patriarchal family they are. I hope you know what I mean, but you will see for yourself and enjoy it as much, my little one.'⁷ Marcotte married his niece, Louise Becquet de Layens, in 1828; they had three children. In 1836, Marcotte retired from his post as *Directeur des Eaux et Forêts*, at which time he received the *Croix de commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur* from King

Louis-Philippe. Ingres's second marriage, in 1852, was to Delphine Ramel, a relative of Marcotte.

Commenting on K1650, Naef observed that 'the magnificent portrait . . . serves, so to speak, as a frontispiece to a relationship to do justice to which a whole book might well be required'.⁸ K1650 was reproduced in a line drawing by Achille Réveil and Duchesne Aîné.⁹ Ingres executed at least three portrait drawings of Marcotte, all of which postdate K1650.¹⁰ The artist listed the canvas as one of ten oil portraits executed by him in Rome.¹¹ The portrait was first published in Merson's *Ingres* monograph of 1867 and those of Lapauze and Blanc and is included in every subsequent major study of the master's works, most notably those of Delaborde and Blanc of 1870.¹² Lapauze stressed the admirable though severe coloring, relating the white accents provided by the sitter's attire to musical notation. The author found artist and patron to resemble one another, comparing the *Marcotte* to Ingres's *Self-Portrait* (Chantilly, Musée Condé) of 1804.¹³ The sympathy between painter and sitter was also stressed by Pach.¹⁴ It was believed by Soby that Ingres executed other oils of Marcotte, but he found K1650 to be the finest.¹⁵ Rosenblum described the canvas as 'pervasively dour . . . in which the sternness of the sitter's head, tensely fixed in a high and restrictive collar, is matched by the severity of his clothing, whose dry, leathery textures seem as rigid as the firm gaze and tightly pursed lips. Even the hand participates in the tautness; paralleling the claw-like cluster of the gold tassel that protrudes from the black cocked hat on the table, its seemingly relaxed fingers become no less stiff and immobile. Yet this veneer of chilly, almost Spanish solemnity conceals a vibrant pictorial richness. Thus, the coolness of the gray ground, of the starchy white collar and cuff and of the black tie and hat creates a foil to the glowing resonance of darker browns, blues, and reds that are further animated by the small *Légion d'Honneur* rosette on the lapel and the pale yellow of the vest. And the light-absorbent textures of the clothing are given a comparable warmth by the discreet golden glimmer of the fob, the ring, and the tassel in the foreground. The linear patterns, too, slowly disclose an unexpected complication in rhythms which, appropriate to the rigorous mood, are often more angular than curved. The M-shaped contour between the left lapels, the straight lines of seams, buttonholes, and drapery folds all act as subtle checks to the looser sweep of the cloak and the somewhat unruly hair. The tensions between surface and depth, so familiar in Ingres's work, are also surprisingly intricate here, as in the complex shuffling of the thin multilayered planes of the lapels, collars, and tie. Moreover, the flat signature at the lower right counters the effect of the shadow cast by the hat above it; and, as in a portrait by Holbein, even the sculptural density of the sharply incised head can barely penetrate the shadowless expanse of gray behind it.'¹⁶

At about the time Ingres executed K1650, he projected an elaborate series of narrative subjects devoted to the life of Raphael which reflected extraordinarily close study of his favorite master's works. He imbued the *Marcotte* with

Raphaelesque references. His model's physiognomy recalls that of Ingres's copy of the Raphael *Self-Portrait* (Florence, Uffizi) and even slightly that of Ingres himself. Marcotte's expression and the relationship between figure and space bring to mind Raphael's portraits such as *The Cardinal* (Madrid, Prado). The treatment of Marcotte's hand recalls those of the Renaissance master's *Angelo Doni* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) and *Tommaso Inghirami* (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum). Italian Mannerist portraiture and that of Holbein (adequately represented in the Louvre) may also have contributed to the genesis of this portrait. By the time K1650 was painted, Ingres had already achieved a considerable Roman reputation for his many brilliant portrait drawings. His career may very well have been furthered by Marcotte's satisfaction with this exquisite portrait. Considering the sitter's unconventional features, as seen in the Ingres drawing of his profile made in the following year, the Kress portrait attests to the master's ability to select the most beautiful yet realistic presentation of the subject, which made him among the most sought-after of French portraitists, despite his professed dislike of that genre.¹⁷

Provenance: Charles Marcotte d'Argenteuil (died 1864). Joseph Marcotte, son of the above (died 1893).¹⁸ Madame Joseph Marcotte (died 1922). Madame Marcel Pougin de la Maisonneuve (née Elizabeth Marcotte), daughter of the above (died 1939). Private collection, London. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) Described by Henry Lapauze, *Ingres, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Paris, 1911, p. 106, as green. (2) The rosette would indicate the rank of *officier*, while a red ribbon represents *chevalier*, the lowest rank, signifying Marcotte's admission to the Légion before 1810. There is no indication of the Order of the *Légion d'Honneur* in Ingres's portrait drawing of Marcotte (Montauban, Musée Ingres) of 1811. (3) The definitive biographical reference is the sitter's obituary by M. Vicaire, *Revue des eaux et forêts*, 1864, pp. 100-5. See also Hans Naef, 'Ingres's Portraits of the Marcotte Family', *Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, pp. 336-46, esp. pp. 340-2 and the exhibition catalogue, *Ingres*, Paris, Petit Palais, 1967, p. 82, Cat. No. 54. (4) Quoted by Charles Blanc, *Ingres, sa vie et ses ouvrages*, Paris, 1870, pp. 33-4, n. 1, p. 231. According to Lapauze the painter Coupin de la Couperie brought Marcotte to Ingres's studio at the time when the official wished to have his portrait painted. Marcotte hesitated to entrust his portrait to Blondel, a winner of the Prix de Rome in 1803, who came there in 1809, and Gatteaux decided that the commission should go to Ingres. (Lapauze, *op. cit.* Note 1, pp. 102, 106-12, 582). (5) See Boyer d'Agen, *Ingres d'après une correspondance inédite*, Paris, 1909, and *Ingres raconté par lui-même et par ses amis*, Geneva, 1947; also Lapauze, 'Lettres inédites de Ingres à son ami Marcotte', *Le Correspondant*, 25 Sept. 1913. (6) Naef, *op. cit.* Note 3, pp. 336-9. (7) Letter of 11 Jan. 1825, published by Henry Lapauze, *Le roman d'amour de M. Ingres*, Paris, 1910; cited by Naef, *op. cit.* Note 3, p. 337. (8) Naef, *op. cit.*, p. 336. (9) *Musée de peinture et sculptures*, 1, Paris, 1828, no. 15. (10) Naef, *op. cit.* Note 3, p. 339, figs. 10,

11; p. 340, fig. 13. See also Lapauze, *Les Portraits dessinés de J.-A.-D. Ingres*, Paris, 1903, pp. 63-4. The versions are: 1. Rome, 1811. Mme. Claude Chavane, Paris. Standing three-quarter length and full view. *Ingres, Petit Palais*, Paris, 1967, Cat. No. 54. 2. Rome, 1811. Chavane, Paris. Seated half-length, in profile. 3. Paris, 1828. Mme. Laporte, Paris. Standing three-quarter length and full view. (11) Published by Henry Lapauze, *Les dessins de J.-A.-D. Ingres*, Paris, 1901, 1, pp. 235 ff. (12) Olivier Merson, *Ingres, sa vie et ses œuvres, avec catalogue des œuvres du Maître par Émile Bellier de la Chavignerie*, Paris [1867], pp. 17, 103-4; Blanc, *op. cit.* Note 4, pp. 33-4; Henri Delaborde, *Ingres, sa vie, ses travaux, sa doctrine*, Paris, 1870, pp. 254-5, Cat. No. 139, with reproductive print by Magimel. The following publications mention K1650; Eugène Montrosier, *Peintres modernes*, Paris, 1882, p. 12; Jules Momméja, *Les grandes artistes: leur vie, leur œuvre: Ingres*, Paris [1904], pp. 39, 68-9; Lili Fröhlich-Bum, *Ingres, sein Leben und sein Stil*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1924 (Eng. ed. 1926), pp. iv, 9; Louis Hourticq, *Ingres, l'œuvre du maître*, Paris, 1928, pp. iv, 125; Jacques Fouquet, *La vie d'Ingres*, Paris, 1930, pp. 69-70; Georges Wildenstein, *Ingres*, 2nd ed., London, 1956, p. 172, Cat. No. 69; Seymour, p. 195; Emilio Radius and Ettore Camesasca, *L'opera completa di Ingres*, Milan, 1968, p. 92, Cat. No. 59. (13) Lapauze, *op. cit.* Note 1, pp. 102, 106-12, 581. (14) Walter Pach, *Ingres*, New York-London, 1939, pp. 42-3. (15) James Thrall Soby, 'Two Ingres Paintings at the National Gallery', *Magazine of Art*, May 1951, p. 162. (16) Robert Rosenblum, *Ingres*, New York, 1967, p. 82. (17) Daniel Ternois, *Les dessins d'Ingres au Musée de Montauban: les portraits* (Inventaire général des dessins des musées de province, 3), 1959, Cat. No. 119. (18) According to Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 12, p. 172, K1650 was shown at the Palais de l'École Impériale des Beaux-Arts, see *Catalogue des tableaux, études peintes, dessins, et croquis de J.-A.-D. Ingres*, Paris, 1867, Cat. No. 440.

JEAN-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE INGRES

K1649 : Figures 334, 335

POPE PIUS VII IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1106), since 1951. Oil on canvas. Designs of borders in background are incised. 29½ × 36½ in. (74.5 × 92.7 cm.). Inscribed at lower right: *Ingres 1810 Rom.* The last digit, originally a 4, was erased by 1921 and later changed to a 0.¹

The arms of the Chiaramonti family (with papal augmentation) are shown four times on canopy above the Pope. Per pale: dexter, azure a mountain of three elevations *or*; sinister, per chief, in chief, azure three stars irregularly placed *or*, in base, per bend *or* and azure, on a bend gules three Moors' heads. With a papal augmentation on the sinister of a double armed cross and the word *PAX or*.² Arms above the altar, presumably of an earlier Pope, possibly Benedict XIV. Arms painted on wall behind the Pope. Per fess gules and sable belong to the Della Rovere.

Small tears in area of lower left section of upper left fresco. Some restoration in head second from left at lower left corner; relined prior to acquisition. Well-preserved.

Suida, 1951, p. 234, Cat. No. 105. Reproduced in color in A. Frankfurter, 'Interpreting Masterpieces', *Art News Annual*, 1951, p. 126.

The northwest corner of the Sistine Chapel (built in 1473-84 by Sixtus IV)³ is shown, with the left section of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (1534-41) showing the Saved, on the altar wall at the right. The Moses fresco cycle on the left wall was executed between 1481 and 1483, opposite scenes from the Life of Christ. From the upper left to right they are: *The Crossing of the Red Sea* by Cosimo Rosselli and assistants; *Scenes from the early Life of Moses* by Botticelli; *Moses with Zipporah in Egypt and the Circumcision of their Sons* by Perugino and Pinturicchio. The lower register of the wall behind the Pope was the intended site of the New Testament tapestries designed by Raphael. It is covered by illusionistic drapery frescoes with the Della Rovere arms. K1649 is not meant as a documentary, realistic rendering of a particular moment in Holy Week.

The Pope, Pius VII (Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti, 1742-1823, reigned 1800-23) is in white and gold vestments, his hands folded in prayer, his head seen in right profile. He is standing on a step of the throne. His cope is fastened by a jeweled morse and he wears a white skullcap. The throne is covered with a white and gold textile similar to the hanging behind it. Three cardinals in red and white stand to the Pope's left; the one in the middle holding the miter (signifying the Pope as Bishop of Rome); another holding a biretta. Additional attendants stand to the Pope's left and right. Three candlesticks with burning tapers are shown on the left side of the altar, visible at the extreme right of the canvas. Nine figures are in the immediate vicinity of the altar; one of them, a priest, is in right profile, wearing a pluvial, his hands folded in prayer. A figure, seen from the back, makes a profound bow before the altar. A processional cross, to right, seems to lean against the wall. Eight men stand along the walls to the Pope's left, immediately behind the priest. To the Pope's right is a figure in black velvet wearing a white wig. At the lower left are seven cardinals in red skullcaps and robes with ermine copes. Below are eight figures in brown and red vestments (*caudatori*). A cardinal in red and white, his mantle borne by an attendant in brown, makes a profound bow at the lower left. All the above figures are placed within a rectangular green baize-covered partition enclosing the altar and papal throne. Thirteen additional figures are placed outside this enclosure, most of them shown in half-length. These include a papal guard at the lower left, protonotaries, seminarians, and members of various monastic orders—two tonsured Franciscans in brown habits with white cord belts, one at the far left of the enclosure and one at the far right, a Carmelite in brown habit and scapular with white mantle, and a Dominican in white habit and cappa. Most of the participants hold liturgical books.

There is some contradiction in the liturgical colors depicted by Ingres. The Pope wears a white cope, correct for both the morning and the evening Masses on Holy Thursday, as are the white hangings behind his throne and above the altar. However, the altar frontal and the celebrant's cope are violet, the color of the Lenten season in general.⁴ A detailed description of the subject and participants was given in an 1833 prospectus for the reproductive lithograph by Sudre. It stated that the moment chosen by Ingres was of Pius VII celebrating the Papal Mass of the Chrism on the morning of Holy Thursday, when the *Miserere* by Allegri was sung.⁵ However, that psalm was more likely sung after the evening Mass and Vespers, before the stripping of the altar, and at Tenebrae (the office of Matins and Lauds of Holy Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, usually celebrated the evening before).

The following reproductive prints were executed: 1. Lithograph by Jean-Pierre Sudre (1783-1866), published in 1834.⁶ 2. Linear print by Réveil for the *Œuvre de J.-A.-D. Ingres, gravées . . . par Réveil*, Paris, 1851, Cat. No. 26 (catalogue by Magimel).⁷ Ingres seems to have made a highly finished rendering of the interior of the Sistine Chapel, now lost, seen by the patron Marcotte before he commissioned K1649 c. 1812.⁸ More than fifty-two drawings of the theme still survive. Some of the compositions and drawings most pertinent to K1649 are listed below: 1. *Pius VII in the Sistine Chapel with two Cardinals and a Halberdier*. Inscribed at lower right: *Ingres rome. 1809*. Watercolor heightened with gouache over a drawing in lead pencil. 18.1 × 22.5 cm. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (Text Fig. 119).⁹ 2. *Cardinal Consalvi* (1757-1824). Chalk. Montauban, Musée Ingres (Text Fig. 117).¹⁰ 3. Sixteen Figure Studies for K1649 and for the Louvre canvas of 1820. Mounted on a single sheet. Inscribed *No. 123-3^{ème} série 16 dessins*. Montauban, Musée Ingres (Text Fig. 118).¹¹ 4. *Les Cardinaux Erskine, Albani, Consalvi*. Watercolor study for the group near the altar at lower left of K1649. Inscribed *Jour de Pacques Capella Sistina* at lower right. Montauban, Musée Ingres (Text Fig. 120). 5. Copy by Ingres after Agostino Tassi's *Investiture of Taddeo Barberini as Prefect of Rome by Urban VIII* [Maffeo Barberini]. Black crayon partly colored with oil, on paper transferred to canvas. 132 × 163 cm. Montauban, Musée Ingres.¹² The painting by Tassi is in Rome (Museo di Roma - Palazzo Braschi) and shows the Investiture taking place in the Cappella Paolina, Palazzo Quirinale. 6. *Capella Sistina. Miserere*. Montauban, Musée Ingres (Text Fig. 122). Oil sketch. 81 × 98 cm. c. 1848. Montauban Catalogue No. 182.¹³ 7. Studio of Ingres. *Investiture of Taddeo Barberini as Prefect of Rome*, in the Sistine Chapel. Montauban, Musée Ingres (Text Fig. 123). Oil on canvas. 81 × 98 cm., c. 1848. Montauban Catalogue No. 181.¹⁴ 8. *The Sistine Chapel*, Paris, Louvre. Oil on canvas. Vertical format 60 × 55 cm. Inscribed: *J. Ingres, Rome 1820* (Text Fig. 121).¹⁵ A prostrate Franciscan is shown kissing the feet of the enthroned Pope.

In 1807, the year after he arrived in Rome, Ingres wrote of the Holy Week ceremonies held in the Sistine Chapel:

'You ask me to tell you of my enjoyments, I assure you that here I don't have any genuine enjoyment. Only with you, my dear friends, did I experience real pleasures; and all that is not related to you is of no importance. I could not be without your warm and friendly company for long, were I not in Rome. I will tell you, though, that for diversion I spent the whole of Holy Week in the Sistine Chapel and the Easter days in St. Peter's which is like the Temple of Solomon. The Sistine Chapel serves only during Holy Week and for the Conclave. The Chapel is embellished by the sublime masterpiece of Michelangelo, the *Last Judgment*; he also painted the ceiling. The rest of the Chapel is covered with beautiful paintings by Perugino and other great masters of the Renaissance. Nothing is more impressive than all those ceremonies presided over by the Pope, that good and venerable man, and all the cardinals. I can not begin to tell you how beautiful it all is, simple and rich at the same time. I had never in my life heard such music as that of the *Miserere* which is sung there for three consecutive days, I should say it is chanted by celestial and divine voices that touch the soul and bring tears to one's eyes.'¹⁶ In 1812, Ingres consulted his patron, Charles Marcotte, as to the fashion in which Pius VII (then interned by Napoleon at Fontainebleau) should be shown. Ingres seems to have sought to avoid bringing official displeasure on his patron and himself; Marcotte was a civil servant and Ingres attached to the French Academy in Rome: 'In a fortnight I shall begin to sketch in the lines of your painting which will have the noble dimensions of three feet. I want to draw attention to myself at the Salon, because I have my own good reasons to prove to those gentlemen, the genre painters, that the place of honor in painting belongs to the painters of history alone. Moreover, my subject is very beautiful. Almost one half of the *Last Judgment* will be shown in the painting. I am waiting for your decision about the principal figure; in the meantime it has occurred to me that if there were any inconvenience in putting him on the scene, I could paint the moment when the *Miserere* is sung with all the cardinals prostrate in their places, seen from behind, and the Pope prostrate before the altar, as is the custom. This would avoid showing the faces while representing everyone nonetheless. I make this just as a suggestion. Please think about it, make your choice and let me know soon.'¹⁷ At an unknown date Marcotte noted in the margin of this letter: 'I had asked Ingres for the picture of the *Sistine Chapel*, because I knew he had made a remarkable drawing; but I was not acquainted with the composition of the picture which I had commissioned while on official business at Koblenz on the Rhine. . . . Pius VII was at that time sequestered either at Savona or at Fontainebleau. One realizes that Ingres, afraid of offending the Emperor, hesitated to put him [the Pope] in the scene. I did not hesitate, and I did well.'¹⁸ Writing to his patron from Rome, Ingres answered Marcotte's question concerning the identification of the sitters in K1649. The artist could only identify the Cardinals Valenti, Mattei, de Pietro, Pacca, de la Porta, Consalvi, Doria, Albani, and the Monsignori of the Rota among the figures in the painting. Among the *caudatori*, the dark robed row at the left, Ingres

identified only himself – the fourth head from the left. He instructed Marcotte to have the painting entitled *Vue intérieure de la chapelle Sixtine: le pape Pie VII y tient chapelle*. Part of a letter from Rome dated 26 May 1814 from Ingres to Marcotte reads: 'I would like to see it again, my beloved painting, so well framed and so beautiful. I consider it very fortunate to be hung in the house of my best friend. At least you enjoy it; very often the labors of our sleepless nights are for the man least qualified to appreciate them. . . . Now I will answer your questions. The first cardinal at the Pope's side is the late Cardinal Valenti; the second, Cardinal Mattei, is in Rome at the moment. I do not know the third, nor the fourth. The fifth is Cardinal di Pietro; the sixth, Cardinal Pacca, now Secretary of the Apostolic Chamber, and the seventh is the late Cardinal del Porto. Among the train-bearers I only recognize myself. To tell the truth, I did not look at myself in the mirror, but you recognized me, and that is quite enough. To continue: the first acolyte at the Pope's side is Cardinal Consalvi; the other was a Doria, but I did not have a sketch of him. The standing cardinal who is assisting the Pope is an Albani, I believe. Yesterday the Pope made his great entrance into Rome, and since I will again see the Chapel, I will later tell you the names of those I do not know now. The people who follow are bishops; they are not portraits. Those at the foot of the altar are the *Monsignori* of the *Rota*, among them the Keeper of the Holy Palace who is always chosen from the Dominican order. As for the service and the precise day, it is one of the three days when the Cardinals are dressed in dusty rose-colored moiré, or in half-mourning. For the rest of the throne the canon may be right; but you should understand that for the effect of my painting I was forced to dress the Pope in white. I had no other means of attracting light to his figure, and I reminded myself that painting is an art.

'I advise you not to publish any kind of historical catalogue of the portraits or of the rest at the present time. These are my reasons: the portraits as you know were not painted from life. They are likenesses, but as much for their attitudes as for the exactness of the facial features. They are not faithful likenesses unless one happens to find them so. If I were to say that they are portraits and offer them as such, I might be contradicted. Promising nothing, I can keep all promises. Please give the following title to the painting in the Salon Catalogue: *Interior View of the Sistine Chapel: Pope Pius VII celebrating mass*. As to the green carpet of the Chapel, I believe you are right. . . .'¹⁹

In 1822, Ingres proposed executing a pendant to K1649, showing the Borghese Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore at the time of the Forty-Hours Devotion, when it was illuminated by a thousand lights. Ingres had made a drawing of this, which Marcotte admired.²⁰ In 1859, the painter once again wrote his old friend and patron Marcotte concerning the Sistine Chapel, giving his reasons for wishing to repeat and sometimes retouch his earliest works, including K1649. His reason was that the artist, for the love of art, for the sake of his work, and to leave his name to posterity, should repeat and improve his most beautiful works, following Poussin's example.²¹ Notes prepared by

Ingres at an unknown date include a critique of his *Sistine Chapel*, presumably referring to K1649. The artist advocated more supple, less clearly defined coloring; a less studied presentation of the *caudatori*; lighter golds in the shadows, and less symmetry throughout.²² Ingres entitled K1649 *Chapelle Sixtine* in his list of the paintings executed by him in Rome.²³ It was included in the artist's *Cahiers* nos. IX and IX.²⁴

When exhibited at the Salon of 1814, Ingres's canvas puzzled a prominent critic, Delpech, who noted that despite his high opinion of Ingres's talent, as evidenced in the right section (copy of the Michelangelo *Last Judgment*), the composition was bizarre and the execution lacking in finesse. He thought the artist might perhaps have been forced to depict the subject, one that did not lend itself to pictorial treatment.²⁵ Another critic found the canvas to indicate that Ingres could amount to something as a genre painter.²⁶ De Laborde implied that the *Interior of the Sistine Chapel* was favorably received at the Salon of 1814.²⁷ He also quotes the artist himself as having referred to the painting as his *première petite bonne fortune*. Lagenevais was the first of many writers (such as Thoré) to note the Venetian coloring, finding it in the manner of Titian, though more severely drawn.²⁸ The Goncourts believed Ingres to have consulted a canvas showing the *Council of Trent* (Paris, Louvre), then attributed to Titian, in composing K1649 which they characterized as a *belle erreur* – a contradiction of Ingres's mistaken belief that he was not much interested in color.²⁹ Silvestre drew a parallel between Ingres presiding (*tenir à chapelle*) over the gallery exclusively devoted to his works at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855 and the Pope in Ingres's depictions of the Sistine Chapel. He wrote that the true Pope in the two representations of the Sistine Chapel was Ingres himself, and his humble followers, the artist's public.³⁰ Without further specifications, Silvestre claimed that Ingres added a row of figures as much as ten years later to his *Chapelle Sixtine*, undoubtedly referring to K1649.³¹ By 1855, the *Sistine Chapel* was viewed as one of Ingres's finest works, and the Marquis of Hertford supposedly offered Marcotte 40,000 francs for it.³² Gautier wrote enthusiastically of it, contrasting the small size of the figures with their grandeur.³³ The work was praised by Mirecourt as a magnificent masterpiece, unique in Ingres's work for the artist's deigning to show himself as a colorist.³⁴ The coloristic, magical illusionism of K1649 and Ingres's other painting of the subject in the Louvre was stressed by Merson. The accompanying catalogue, listing works by year, places *Le pape Pie tenant Chapelle* as executed in 1811.³⁵ The Washington canvas was singled out in Ingres's eulogy for its inventiveness and return to another age – the age of faith.³⁶ Blanc, struck by the individuality with which each of the figures is characterized, described the *Sistine Chapel* in great detail. He remarked on the artist's intense concern with the work of Michelangelo and related Ingres's response to the scene depicted to that of Stendhal. Blanc mistakenly dated the canvas 1810, giving that year also to the version in the Louvre.³⁷ The critic thought the scene to take place on Good Friday, at the singing of the *Miserere*,

relating it to Stendhal's description of the chapel on that holy day. But on Good Friday the altar would be stripped and the vestments black. Montrosier included the canvas with others executed by Ingres in Rome, as witness to the artist's astonishing productiveness, all the more amazing in view of the exhaustive number of preparatory studies, research, changes, and 'beginning all over again' which characterized his production.³⁸ The *Sistine Chapel* was described by Chesneau as among Ingres's finest paintings.³⁹ The lengthiest description of Ingres's *Sistine Chapel* was provided by Lapauze, who stressed its realistic, truthful character. Writing at the time when Impressionism was slowly receiving acceptance, the author observed 'here Ingres is not only shown as a colorist, but – to use the most recent vocabulary – impressionistic in the highest degree. This time, he is not carried back to some distant legendary era or to his dream of radiant humanity. He shows us a scene that he has viewed, which he has sketched on the spot, and which he shows us with prodigious intensity.'⁴⁰ According to Momméja, Ingres worked in the historical documentary genre of K1649 because it permitted him to paint as a realist while remaining faithful to his concepts of style and grandeur. He further remarked that the artist was still very much a follower of Voltaire at the time he painted the *Sistine Chapel*.⁴¹ The genesis of the Kress canvas was explored by Lapauze in his monograph of 1911. He brought together the artist's letters concerning the subject from 1807 onward.⁴² The isolated character of the various renderings of the Sistine Chapel in Ingres's oeuvre was stressed by Friedländer. The artist filled an interior with the celebration of a pontifical Mass, using unusually strong colors and renouncing the anecdotal so frequent in his history paintings. The writer regretted Ingres did not work more frequently in this monumental, eternal fashion when fulfilling similar commissions.⁴³ According to Schlenoff, Ingres's depictions of the Sistine Chapel are not strictly speaking religious, but rather genre subjects dealing with contemporary life, in which the religious element is subordinate to the anecdotal. He stressed the devotion of Ingres to the writings of Chateaubriand (author of *Le Génie du christianisme* of 1802) noting a parallel between the French romantic writer's letter of 15 April 1829 to that of Ingres of 1807.⁴⁴ Rosenblum contrasted the formal, frontal way in which Ingres had earlier shown the Pope's nemesis, Napoleon, with the 'casual obliqueness that is almost Impressionist in effect' used by the artist to portray the Pope and his entourage in the *Sistine Chapel*. 'Thus, our attention is constantly demanded by many separate and fragmentary points of interest – the turning heads and informal movements of the foreground figures cut off by the lower frame; the central but miniature splendor of the white-clad Pope himself; the harrowing power of one-quarter of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*; and the equally partial views of those frescoes . . . whose late *quattrocento* style would find echoes in Ingres's own work. Yet thanks to the overall shimmer of warm light and shadow and to the pervasive tonality of sumptuous golds, reds and browns, the spectacle becomes a unified vision that recalls the splendid religious processions of a Venetian Renaissance master. Moreover,

the curiously diminished scale, as if the scene were viewed through a reducing glass, fuses the extraordinarily rich details of portraiture, clerical robes, and wall decoration into a coherent glistening moment of perception.⁴⁵

In 1807, the year that Ingres was so deeply impressed by the Holy Week observances at the Sistine Chapel, these ceremonies were vividly described by Mme. de Staël, and Chateaubriand.⁴⁶ The painter's love of music, his revival of late medieval and Renaissance art, together with the contemporary resurgence of Catholicism, all contributed to the creation of the Kress canvas. It might be remembered that similar scenes were painted earlier by artists at the French Academy in Rome, most notably Fragonard's *Clement XIII Saying Mass at St. Peter's* (Turin, Giovanni Agnelli Collection), executed c. 1761, when Fragonard was about the same age as Ingres when he executed K1649.⁴⁷ The varying descriptions provided by Ingres suggest that the canvas was not meant as a strictly realistic, documentary representation. It was planned over several years and executed in the absence of the principal participants, who were then in French captivity. The artist drew upon preparatory sketches made before 1809, and seems to have rendered several figures without any desire for accurate portrayal. In addition to the *caudataire* mentioned in the letter of 1814 to Marcotte, Ingres may have included a self-portrait as a halberdier at the lower left. The drawing was either completed prior to the Pope's arrest on 5 July 1809 or executed from memory; it testified to the artist's desire to guard the pontiff, who had been described by Ingres in a letter of 1807 as a 'good and venerable man'.⁴⁸ Pius VII's refusal to rescind his Bull of 17 May 1809 excommunicating the French invaders of the Papal States led to his being taken into French custody on 5 July and his internment at Savona, where he continued to oppose Napoleon's plans. Fearing possible English liberation of the pontiff, Napoleon had him taken to Fontainebleau in May of 1812. In that year, on the basis of a now lost, highly finished drawing of the subject, Ingres's friend Marcotte, then in the French Diplomatic Service in Rome, commissioned K1649. In the following year, the Pope signed a humiliating concordat at Fontainebleau which he then abrogated. Ingres, seemingly distressed by the possibility that the commission might embarrass his patron (who had returned to the North and was a prominent Napoleonic official), wrote to him around 1812 to ask whether Marcotte would like to have the Pope shown from the back. Marcotte adhered to the original composition. Commenting on this subject later, he noted that Ingres was nervous about his canvas being interpreted as an anti-Napoleonic stance. After several defeats, Napoleon surrendered the Papal States and allowed the Pope to return to Rome. Pius VII arrived on 24 May 1814, six months before K1649 was shown in the Paris Salon. Ingres's letter to Marcotte (26 May 1814) states that it represents one of the three days of Holy Week when the cardinals wore rose moiré vestments or *petit deuil*. According to Ingres, the white coloring of the papal vestments was determined by his own aesthetic needs. He noted that 'painting is an art' implying that it should not be restricted to the documentary. However, white was the correct

color for Holy Thursday,⁴⁹ designated in the lithograph's description (1833) where the scene is specifically noted as taking place on the morning of that day.⁵⁰ Ingres's letter to Marcotte, c. 1813, described the subject of the Kress painting as taking place while the *Miserere* was sung, but does not specify that this took place on Holy Thursday. If Ingres intended the canvas to show the chapel when the *Miserere* was sung, the scene cannot have taken place in the morning, as that psalm was usually chanted later in the day.⁵¹ The music of the *Miserere* (Psalm 51; 50 in the Vulgate) most important of the seven penitential psalms, played a major role in the Sistine Holy Week ceremonies. Allegri's music for the Psalm, composed in 1638, was particularly admired by Ingres.⁵² The presence of the papal processional cross near the altar in K1649 indicates that the solemn transfer of the Host had taken place. Traditionally, this transfer was from St. Peter's to the Pauline Chapel, but there may have been a change in liturgical procedure because of the Pope's frail health. The church of San Giovanni in Laterano was the stational church for both Holy Thursday Masses, but this may again have been modified due to the Pope's illness. The reminiscences of depictions of St. Francis by Zurbarán and other Spanish artists to be seen in the tonsured friar in the center foreground, and the seemingly emblematic contrast between youth and age provided by the dramatic juxtaposition of a Van Dyck-like young man and a venerable figure at the lower left corner immediately behind the halberdier also argue against an entirely realistic approach in K1649. Some of these figures may be among those referred to by Silvestre in 1855 as having been added by Ingres, possibly a decade after completion.

In addition to the pictorial sources cited by previous scholars, it may be that Ingres utilized the perspectival treatment found in manuscripts by Jean Fouquet. The fifteenth-century French painter's influence upon other works by Ingres has already been noted. In K1649 the artist may have recalled the spatial treatment of the *Heures d'Étienne Chevalier* (Chantilly, Musée Condé) of c. 1450, which was rediscovered in 1805, the year before Ingres left for Rome.⁵³ In 1806, Ingres was reprimanded by contemporary critics for setting back the art of painting four centuries, returning to its infancy, to revive the manner of Jan van Eyck. Ingres, at about the time of the execution of K1649, whose Titian-like coloring was commented upon by many critics, was interested in the life of the Venetian Renaissance. He produced canvases of scenes from the life of Aretino.⁵⁴ Long in private hands, exhibited on a few occasions in the nineteenth century, *The Sistine Chapel* remained among Ingres's best known works due to the splendid reproductive lithograph prepared by Ingres's fellow-student in David's studio, Sudre, who also came from the same region of France as Ingres. Béraldi, who catalogued Sudre's work, described the print of 1834 as 'a masterpiece of reproductive lithography' and suggested that Daumier's *Ventre Legislatif*, also dating from 1834, may have been influenced by the play of light and shade in the print after K1649.⁵⁵

Ingres brought together different moments from Holy Week observances, fusing the ceremonies in his memory

and painting many of the participants *in absentia*. He adopted the sharply-defined pictorial style of late medieval piety, applying Venetian coloring close in spirit to the sound of the Sistine Choir he so loved. The Sistine Chapel was to remain close to Ingres throughout his long life. He and his studio prepared other paintings of the Sistine Chapel (Text Figs. 121-3). On 8 October 1839, Ingres wrote of a project for the decoration of the Chapel of the École des Beaux-Arts (built on the site of the Église des Petits Augustins) in which he wished to place an exact copy of the *cantoria* of the Sistine Chapel (presumably a three-dimensional replica), between copies of Michelangelo's Sibyls.⁵⁶ He would thus reunite music with her sister arts painting and architecture, the very fusion to which K1649 was consecrated.

Provenance: Charles Marcotte d'Argenteuil (d. 1864), exhibited Paris, Musée Royal des Arts, *Explications des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, et gravure*, 1 Nov. 1814, p. 52, Cat. No. 534, as *Le pape Pie VII tenant Chapelle*. 'La scène se passe dans la Chapelle Sixtine à Rome. Ingres, à Rome'. Paris, Galerie le Brun, *Explication des ouvrages de peinture exposés au profit des Grecs*, 1826, p. 35, Cat. No. 99 as 'Vue intérieure de la Chapelle Sixtine à Rome, dans laquelle le Pape Pie VII officie pontificalement assisté du sacré collège, à l'époque des trois jours d'agonie de la semaine sainte.' Paris, Blvd. Bonne Nouvelle, *Exposition au profit de l'Association des Artistes*, 1845, Cat. No. 43, as *La Chapelle Sixtine*. Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts. 'La scène se passe dans la Chapelle Sixtine, à Rome'. *Exposition Universelle de 1855*, p. 350, Cat. No. 3341, as *Le Pape Pie VII tenant Chapelle*. Madame Alexandre Legentil, daughter of the above (d. 1920), exhibited - Paris, École des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue des Tableaux... de J. A. D. Ingres*, 1867, p. 15, Cat. No. 73, as *Le pape tient chapelle*. Madame Marcel Pougin de la Maisonneuve (née Marcotte), niece of the above (d. 1939), exhibited - Paris, Association Franco-Américaine d'expositions de peintures et de sculptures, *Exposition Ingres*, 8 May-5 June 1921, p. 21, Cat. No. 19, as *La Chapelle Sixtine*. New York, Wildenstein and Co. Kress acquisition 1949.

References: (1) In 1921, the last digit was described by Brière as 'half-erased' to conform with the date given in the 1867 Ingres Exposition (Cat. No. 73). He said it should read 1810 (Gaston Brière, 'Notes sur l'exposition Ingres en 1921', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1921, p. 214). Paul Jamot, 'Sur la date d'un Tableau d'Ingres et sur le titre d'un Tableau de Delacroix', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1922, pp. 292-5 found the date of 1810 given in the 1867 exhibition catalogue incorrect: it should read 1814. (2) J. F. Bayer, *The Book of the Popes*, New York, 1925, p. xxxvii. (3) For the chapel see Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, II, *The Sistine Ceiling*, Princeton, 1945; Leopold Ettlinger, *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo*, Oxford, 1968. Roberto Salvini, *La Cappella Sistina in Vaticano*, Milan, 1965, reproduced K1649 in color (I, p. 272, fig. 264). (4) Salvini described the vestments as rose and said they were worn on Passion Sunday, the fourth Sunday in Lent (*op. cit.*, p. 266). But Passion Sunday is the fifth Sunday in Lent and has violet

vestments; it is Laetare Sunday which uses rose and falls on the fourth Sunday in Lent, a full two and a half weeks before Holy Thursday. (5) See F. X. Barbier de Montaut, *L'Année liturgique à Rome*, Paris, 1862, pp. 143-6. Ingres's letter to Marcotte (20 July 1813) states that at the moment of the *Miserere* the participants prostrate themselves, and so this could not be the subject of K1649. According to the text of an 1833 prospectus for the Sudre lithograph (published the following year) 'The moment chosen by Ingres is the one in which Pius VII holds the papal chapel on the morning of Holy Thursday. The Pope stands on his pontifical throne in prayer, enveloped by his immense pluvial or white silk cape embroidered with golden flowers. The dais is of crimson velvet encrusted with gold. The hanging [covering the throne and the wall behind the throne] is of very fine wool and silver presented by the king of Spain. Pius VII is accompanied by two assisting cardinals. To his right is Cardinal Consalvi, then Secretary of State; Rezzonico, nephew of the pope of that name [Clement XIII], dressed in black velvet, the Senator of Rome, is on the next lower step. Cardinal Doria is at the Pope's left; on the same side, with his back to the altar, is Cardinal Albani. Further [from the altar], a prelate holds the papal miter. He is followed by two secret chamberlains. Below the throne, to the right as one descends, are placed the cardinals, priests, bishops or archbishops. The first, nearest the Senator of Rome, is Cardinal Valenti Gonzalque; Cardinals Mattei Vicenti, Gabrielli and Pacca come next. They are dressed in their great *cappae*, or copes, the color of *rose sèche* (*petit deuil*), capes of white fur, with lace rochets; their ecclesiastical assistants [coadjutors] dressed in violet robes, are placed below them. Within the enclosure, a cardinal, who has come later than his colleagues, genuflects while his assistant raises his cope. On the opposite bench, facing the Pope, is the place of the cardinal-deacons. Among them are Cardinals Erskine and Albani. To the Pope's left, toward the altar, are bishops, archbishops, prelates, major-domos and secret chamberlains of the Holy See. Among them one finds Monsignor Sacrista, the papal confessor, with a bishop's title. His name is Menocchio. He is dressed in black with a cape of black silk plush. (The papal confessor is always a monk from the Augustinian order.) The Holy Father's golden cross is placed near the altar; the prelate who carries it accompanied Pius VII to Paris at the time of Napoleon's coronation. Monsignor Mattei, who has since become cardinal, assists at the Mass, wearing a violet cope. Clerics and masters of ceremony are seen by the altar. Seen frontally, at the foot of the steps, are the prelates of the Rota [the group in the corner]. Beyond the enclosure forming a passageway with the wall facing the Pope, the heads of the religious Orders are usually seen. One sees among them a young prelate in regular attire; an usher opens the door to the corridor for him protected by a Swiss guard. Above these personages is the gallery where the *Miserere* of Allegri is chanted.' (Reprinted by Lapauze, *Ingres; sa Vie et son Œuvre* (1780-1867) *d'après documents inédits*, Paris, 1911, pp. 134-8, hereafter referred to as *Ingres*). (6) Henri Bérardi, *Les Graveurs du XIXe siècle*, XII, Paris, 1892, p. 63. (7) The entry reads: 'Chapelle Sixtine. Le Pape assiste à la messe qui est dite

dans la chapelle Sixtine, entouré des grands dignitaires de l'Église et des officiers de sa maison.' (8) See Georges Wildenstein, *The Paintings of J. A. D. Ingres*, 2nd ed., London, 1956, p. 178, Cat. No. 92. It seems to have been given by Ingres to the painter Robert Fleury who was to complete it. For problems concerning this work, see Daniel Ternois, 'Ingres aquarelliste', *Revue des Arts*, v, 1955, p. 104. It is presumably the one referred to by Marcotte, quoted by Laborde, *Ingres*, p. 186, n. 1, and also Jules Momméja, 'Le Cahier IX de Jean-Auguste-Dominique d'Ingres', *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, Paris, 1896, pp. 350-1; H. Lapauze, *Les Dessins d'Ingres*, Paris, 1901, p. 218 (hereafter referred to as *Dessins*). (9) Laborde cites a watercolor signed: *Ingres, Rome, 1808*, as the artist's first representation of the scene: Henri de Laborde, *Ingres, sa Vie, ses Travaux sa Doctrine*, Paris, 1870, p. 282, no. 219. The catalogue *Ingres in Italia* (French Academy, Villa Medici), 1968, p. 126, mentions a watercolor, *Pius VII in prayer at St. Peter's* (private collection, Bourg-en-Bresse) dated 1808. D. Ternois, 'Ingres aquarelliste' (art. cit.), pp. 101-5, p. 102 reproduces it. This may be the one to which Laborde referred. The watercolor of 1809 is mentioned by Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 128; P. Jamot, 'Sur la date d'un tableau d'Ingres', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1922, p. 294; M. L. Cornillot, *Collection Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Besançon*, Paris, 1957, *Inventaire Général des Musées de Province*, Cat. No. 91. (10) Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum, *Ingres i Rom, tegninger fra Musée Ingres i Montauban*, Copenhagen, 1967, Cat. No. 75. (11) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 135. (12) See Daniel Ternois, 'Un tableau d'Ingres peu connu: L'Investiture de Taddeo Barberini par Urbain VIII', *Bulletin du Musée Ingres*, 7, July 1960, pp. 15-22. The work is inscribed at lower right (by a later hand, possibly Ingres's student Raymond Balze to whom the artist left the study): *Dessiné par Ingres à Rome - Commencé à peindre à Paris*. Inscribed at the lower left (by a later hand): *Ce dessin représente le couronnement d'un prince par le pape Urbain VIII dans la chapelle du Quirinal à R...* Also inscribed by Ingres on the balustrade: *princes romains - Tribune de la Noblesse - Tribune des Ambassadeurs*. See also Daniel Ternois, *Ingres et son Temps, Musée Ingres, Montauban*, Paris, 1965, Cat. No. 159. (*Inventaire des collections publiques françaises*, 11). (13) J. Boyer d'Agen, *Ingres d'après une correspondance inédite*, Paris, 1909, p. 260. Lapauze, *Ingres*, pp. 144-5. Lapauze, *Dessins*, p. 99. Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 8, Cat. No. 255, fig. 156. Ternois, *op. cit.* Note 8, p. 104, n. 7. Ternois, *Ingres et son temps*, *op. cit.* Note 12, p. 182. Ternois, 'Un tableau d'Ingres peu connu', *art. cit.* Note 12, p. 19, fig. 9. (14) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 144. Lapauze, *Dessins*, p. 99. Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 8, Cat. No. 254, fig. 157. Ternois, 'Ingres aquarelliste', *op. cit.* Note 8, p. 104, n. 8. Ternois, *Ingres et son temps*, *op. cit.* Note 12, p. 181. Ternois, 'Un tableau d'Ingres peu connu', *art. cit.* Note 12, p. 19, fig. 10. (15) Listed by Ingres in compilation of works *que j'ai peints à Florence*, as quoted by Lapauze, *Chapelle Sixtine, Les Dessins*, I, p. 235. See also *Ingres in Italia* (Cat. cit. Note 9 above), p. 124, Cat. No. 87 for this painting. (16) Letter of Ingres to M. Forestier, 7 Apr. 1807. Published by

Henry Lapauze, *Le Roman d'Amour de M. Ingres*, Paris, 1910, pp. 142-3. (17) Letter of 20 Dec. 1812, Lapauze, *op. cit.* Note 16, p. 130. Laborde, *Ingres*, p. 282, no. 219 as 20 Dec. 1814, omitting key passage at the end which starts *ce qui évite de montrer les visages...* Boyer d'Agen, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7 omits same passage and dates the letter 20 July 1813. (18) Laborde, *op. cit.*, p. 186, n. 1. Boyer d'Agen, *op. cit.*, p. 107, n. 1. (19) Boyer d'Agen, *op. cit.*, p. 109. (20) Letter from Florence to Marcotte, 15 Jan. 1822. Published by Laborde, *op. cit.*, p. 334. (21) Letter of 6 Nov. 1859. Published by Norman Schlenoff, *Ingres, ses Sources Littéraires*, Paris, 1956, p. 277. (22) Boyer d'Agen, *op. cit.*, p. 485. From *Cahiers IX* fol. 58 v. Published by J. Momméja, 'Le Cahier IX', esp. p. 550. (23) Lapauze *Dessins*, I, p. 235, no. 6. (24) Momméja, 'Le Cahier IX', p. 550. (25) S. Delpech, *Examen raisonné des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure exposés au Salon du Louvre en 1814*, p. 210. (26) Cited without source by Lapauze, *Dessins*, I, p. 25. (27) Laborde, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 189, and Appendix B, p. 335. Léonce Bénédict, 'Une Exposition d'Ingres', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, III, 5th ser., 1921, pp. 325-37, p. 332. (28) F. de Lagenevais, 'Peintres et sculpteurs modernes', *Revue des deux mondes*, July-Sept., 1846, pp. 530-1. Théophile Thoré [Thoré-Bürger], *Salons de 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, et 1848, Avec une préface de W. Bürger*, Paris, 1868, p. 248. (29) Oskar Fischel, *Tizian, Klassiker der Kunst*, Berlin-Leipzig, n.d., pl. 273. Edmond and Jules Goncourt, *La Peinture à l'Exposition de 1855*, Paris, 1855, reprinted in their *Études d'Art*, ed. by Roger Marx, Paris, 1893, p. 192. Théophile Silvestre (*Histoire des artistes vivants. Études d'après nature*, Paris, 1855, reprinted in *Les artistes français*, Paris, 1926, II, pp. 11, 17, 32, 35) shares the Goncourts' view. Ternois has shown the source to have been the Tassi in Rome. (30) Silvestre, *op. cit.*, p. 2. (31) *Ibid.*, p. 28. (32) Paul Lacroix, 'M. Ingres à l'exposition universelle', *Revue Universelle des Arts*, II, 1855, p. 212. (33) Théophile Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, Paris, 1855, pp. 161-2. The writer's chapter on Ingres in *La Renaissance de l'Art Français, et des Industries de luxe*, reprinted in Paris, II, 1921, p. 236, noted that the painting 'could be signed by Titian'. (34) Eugène de Mirecourt, *Ingres*, Paris, 1855, pp. 24-5. (35) Olivier Merson, *Ingres, sa vie et ses œuvres avec catalogue des œuvres du Maître par Émile Bellier de la Chavignerie*, Paris, n.d. [1867], pp. 18, 36, 63-4, 103. (36) Charles E. Beulé, *Éloge de M. Ingres*, Paris, 1867, p. 6. (37) Blanc, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5. (38) Eugène Montrosier, *Peintres modernes*, Paris, 1882, p. 12. (39) Ernest Chesneau, *Les chefs d'école*, Paris, 1883, p. 303. (40) Lapauze, *Dessins*, pp. 25-6. (41) Jules Momméja, *Les grands artistes, leur vie, leur ouvrages: Ingres*, Paris, n.d. [1904], pp. 40, 69-70. A parallel view was expressed by Téodor de Wyzewa, *L'Œuvre peint de Jean Dominique Ingres*, Paris, 1907, pp. 9, 11. (42) Lapauze, *Ingres*, pp. 81-2, 128-44. The following authors have also cited the Kress canvas: Raymond Bouyer, 'L'Exposition d'art hollandais et l'exposition Ingres', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, II, 1921, pp. 53-4. Amaury-Duval, 'M. Ingres', *La Renaissance de l'art français et des industries de luxe*, II, 1921, pp. 246-7. Lili Fröhlich-Bum, *Ingres, sein Leben, und sein Stil*, Vienna, 1924, pp. 8-9. Louis Hourticq, *Ingres, l'œuvre du maître*,

Paris, 1928, p. 41. Jacques Fouquet, *La vie d'Ingres*, Paris, 1930, p. 82. (43) Walter Friedländer, *Hauptströmungen der französischen Malerei von David bis Cézanne*, Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1930, I, p. 93. James Thrall Soby, 'Two Ingres Paintings at the National Gallery', *Magazine of Art*, May 1951. Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 8 above, p. 178, Cat. No. 91. *Seymour*, p. 195. Gaetan Picon, *Ingres*, Geneva, 1967, pp. 25, 35, 102. (44) Schlenoff, *op. cit.* Note 21 above, pp. 100-1; see also p. 202. (45) Robert Rosenblum, *Ingres*, New York, 1967, p. 103. (46) Mme. de Staël, *Corinne - ou l'Italie*, Paris, 1807; F. R. de Chateaubriand, cited in a letter of 15 Apr. 1829 in *Exposition du Centenaire*, Paris, 1948, p. 135. (47) Reproduced by Georges Wildenstein, *Fragonard*, London, 1960, pl. 11 (p. 219, Cat. No. 101). (48) Letter to M. Forestier, Rome, 7 Apr. 1807, in Lapauze, *Le Roman d'Amour de M. Ingres*, Paris, 1910, pp. 142-3. (49) For the Holy Thursday observances, see Frederick R. McManus, *The Rites of Holy Week*, Paterson, N.J., 1956, pp. 3, 52, 54, 79, 114. (50) See F. X. Barbier de Montault, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-6. (51) *Ibid.*, p. 146. (52) 'Miserere', *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed., Freiburg-im-Breisgau, VII, col. 446, lists some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century settings of the psalm. (53) See Klaus G. Perls, *Jean Fouquet*, Paris, 1940, pl. 38. For Ingres and Fouquet, see Rosenblum, *op. cit.* Note 45 above, p. 110. (54) Wildenstein, *Ingres*, pp. 180-1, Cat. Nos. 103-4. (55) Beraldi, *op. cit.* Note 6 above, p. 63, n. 1. (56) Blanc, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-1.

JEAN-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE INGRES

K1407 : Figures 337, 338

MADAME MOITESSIER STANDING. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (882), since 1945. Oil on canvas. $57\frac{3}{4} \times 39\frac{1}{2}$ in. (146.7×100.3 cm.). Inscribed at upper right: M^{re} INES MOITESSIER NEE DE FOUCAULD. Signed above dado at lower left: I.A.D.INGRES P^{xix} AN^o 1851. Very considerable tears down right cheek and earlobe necessitated extensive restoration. Enlarging the original size of the canvas are slightly discolored strips along sides and bottom (left, 2 in. wide, right, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide; bottom, 4 in. wide). They appear to have been added before Ingres completed the canvas (see Document N). Transferred from original canvas to muslin backing and mounted on new canvas prior to 1940.¹ Minor restoration by Pichetto in 1945-46.

Reproduced in color in Robert Rosenblum, *Ingres*, New York, 1967, pl. 43.

Mme. Moitessier stands before a wall hung in magenta damask with a floral motif. A draped mantel is seen at the extreme right. A dado that is partly outlined in gold runs along the wall. The subject is shown in little more than three-quarter length, wears evening attire, her hair is centrally parted, dressed with silk roses and leaves. The

black velvet off-the-shoulder dress has a white lace band at the top and a black Valenciennes lace bertha and long shawl; its bodice is boned, with very short sleeves. The lady fingers an opera-length pearl necklace with her right hand. With the left she grasps a gilt mother-of-pearl fan (probably dating from late eighteenth century) and the end of her shawl. A large brooch with a faceted wine-colored stone is fastened at the breast. A gold link bracelet on her right arm has coins or medallions and a cabochon garnet pendant; she wears a fancy jeweled ring on her right ring finger. Gold link and enamel and pearl bracelets are on her left arm, one with a long jeweled tassel. On her left little finger she wears a Louis XV blue enamel and diamond ring, and on the ring finger, one with an octagonal faceted stone and a small rectangular ring of c. 1600. A fringed chair, seen from the side at the lower left, has her *pelisse du soir* over the back, her white lace-trimmed handkerchief and beige gloves are on the seat.

Inès Moitessier was the daughter of Clothilde Eugénie Belfoy and Charles-Edouard-Armand de Foucauld (a government official in the *Département des Eaux et Forêts* under Charles Marcotte). She married Sigisbert Moitessier (also known as Paul Sigisbert-Moitessier, 1799-1889) on 16 June 1842.² The son of a lace merchant, he described himself as a *banquier* in 1874. He received a Doctor of Laws degree in 1856 and in 1877 was named *Procureur général* at the Appellate Court of Chambéry. Their elder daughter Catherine was born on 19 March 1843. Her other daughter was Françoise-Camille-Marie, Vicomtesse Olivier-Achille-Gabrielle Taillepied de Bondy.

Ingres completed the *Jupiter and Antiope* (Paris, Louvre) for M. Moitessier in the same year as the Kress portrait of his wife.³ At least six preparatory drawings for K1407 are known. As the artist painted another portrait of Mme. Moitessier, presumably begun considerably before the Kress canvas, and completed in 1856 (London, National Gallery, Text Fig. 128) it is not always possible to determine for which portrait the studies were made.⁴ 1. Pencil drawing, slightly less than three-quarter length (possibly cut at bottom). Collection Jacques Dupont, Paris. A drapery at the upper right. Sitter looks somewhat thinner than in K1407. Her right hand touches her left arm. *Vente Ingres* stamp at upper left (Lugt, no. 1477).⁵ Ex coll. Charles Saunier. Text Fig. 126. 2. Pencil drawing, three-quarter length. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, gift of Paul Rosenberg. 20×15 cm. ($7\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Signed at lower left: 'Ingres'. *Vente Ingres* stamp at upper left. Ex colls. Lapauze, van Roecil (or Boeil).⁶ Text Fig. 125. 3. Pencil drawing, three-quarter length, squared. New London, Conn., Lyman Allyn Museum. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in. Sitter has a scarf in her hair, wears the same dress as K1407, but with a different necklace, no brooch, and single, different bracelet on her left wrist. She wears a wedding band. A study for her right arm, in a different pose, is at the left. The coiffure is closer to that of *Madame Moitessier Seated* (London, National Gallery). The arm study is more suited to a seated pose, also relating to the London portrait. *Vente Ingres* stamp at lower right. Geismar stamp at lower

left.⁷ Ex colls. Fernand Guille (Ingres's nephew), M. S. Sylvias, Pierre Geismar, Jerome Stonborough. Text Fig. 129. 4. Pencil drawing. Two studies for the sitter's left arm. Montauban, Musée Ingres. Text Fig. 124. 5. Pencil drawing, knee-length, squared. London, private collection. 13 × 6½ in. Sitter wears a different brooch, necklace and dress; shown somewhat younger than in K1407. Two sketches of left hand in upper right corner; one with wedding ring. *Vente Ingres* stamp at lower right. Ex colls. Madrazo, Comtesse de Béhague, Wildenstein and Co., Private Collection, London. Text Fig. 127. 6. Pencil drawing, squared for transfer, described as either of Mme. d'Haussonville or Mme. Moitessier. Signed at lower left. *Vente Ingres* stamp at upper left. Listed in Lapauze Sale, H. 18 cm., L. 13 cm. (7½ × 5½ in.). Present location unknown. Possibly identical with no. 1.⁸ 7. A drawing reproduced by Lapauze (p. 438) of a standing woman, in knee length, one hand placed over the other arm is regarded by him as preparatory to K1407 and dated c. 1851. Collection Charles Saunier.

Ingres's close friend and patron, Charles Marcotte, asked the painter if he would portray the daughter of a colleague at the *Département des Eaux et Forêts*, Madame Moitessier. The painter turned down the suggestion but upon meeting the lady, struck by her beauty, he agreed to undertake the commission in 1844 (Document A). There are two portraits of this sitter, K1407, showing her standing, signed and dated 1851, and another of her seated (London, National Gallery) signed and dated 1856. It is generally thought that the artist began with the latter, and set it aside in favor of K1407, returning to the seated pose in 1852, completing the London canvas four years later.⁹ The artist seems first to have planned (c. 1844) to portray Madame Moitessier seated on a sofa. Whether he wished to include her little daughter from the very start is unknown. He asked the sitter to bring Catherine to pose (Document B). A preparatory drawing for this composition is at the Musée Ingres, Montauban (no. 1847). The artist, exasperated by the girl's inability to hold a pose (Document C), set the canvas aside at an unknown date and decided to paint Madame Moitessier alone, standing (K1407). In 1845 Ingres wrote that the portrait was still to be completed (Document D). In June 1847 Théophile Gautier published a description (Document E) of a woman's head which he saw on an easel in Ingres's studio which corresponds to that of *Madame Moitessier Seated* (London, National Gallery) completed in 1856 (Text Fig. 128). In 1847 Ingres noted that he had not completed the lady's portrait (Document F).¹⁰ All documentation specifically for the Kress canvas stems from c. 1850-51, leading Davies to suggest that the artist executed the painting with unusual rapidity, possibly prompted by his patient sitter's remark that she had been waiting for it for seven years (Document G).¹¹ Exactly when Ingres began working on the Kress portrait is impossible to determine. According to Blanc, Laborde and Lapauze, Ingres either worked on or thought about the Kress portrait intermittently from 1844 until its completion in 1851.¹² An undated letter or letters (Documents G and H) to Marcotte are quoted differently by Laborde and Blanc.

Laborde cites Document H as a separate missive placed 'several days' after Document G which is dated June 1851. He quoted Document H as Ingres's saying Mme. Moitessier is coming for a sitting for her *terrible et belle tête*. Blanc referred to the two letters as one, undated, with Document G following Document H as referring to the *first* sitting for the head.¹³ Although Lapauze does not quote the letters (Document G and H) these presumably form the basis for his description of K1407 as beginning with the rendering of her dress, followed by that of the arms and hands, and finishing with the head. 'In June, he started the arms, the hands, and it was not until he was satisfied with this *ensemble* that he attached the beautiful head to the bare shoulders: the admirable face came forth, Olympian, majestic. In October, he finished [the painting] with the jewels, then the gloves, and the handkerchief on the chair. Not satisfied with the head, he went back to it again several times, and finally, in the month of December, he could inscribe the date and the signature on this portrait . . .'.¹⁴ In the autumn, probably early in September (see remark in Document J), Ingres proposed several changes in a letter to Madame Moitessier (Document I): he decided not to show her in a formal evening coiffure and asked her to bring her jewel box, bracelets and pearl necklace. Dissatisfied with what he viewed as her old-fashioned jewelry, Ingres requested his sitter to replace the Renaissance-style brooch on her breast with a cameo set in gold. In K1407, however, the brooch is a large red faceted stone set in gold. In all, Ingres made approximately ten changes in the way in which his sitter was dressed.

On 1 October 1851 the artist wrote Madame Moitessier, whom he seemingly had not seen for some months as he refers to her as bronzed, probably from having been in the country for the summer (Document J). In the same letter Ingres stated that he would add several 'perfections' to her beautiful portrait without destroying anything she had already admired. He noted a change in her headdress, only grapes and leaves remaining. To these he wished to add yellow-orange flowers and velvet bands that she was to bring, together with a bracelet for the right arm and an evening wrap to be placed on the chair. Toward the middle of October 1851, he wrote for another sitting, in order to complete the painting of her head (Document M). Slightly later he wrote mentioning that he was starting on the dress and of his satisfaction with the painting of the arms (Document N). The phrasing suggests that there may already have been some dispute about the painting of her arms, which four years later the sitter wished him to repaint in reduced girth (Document S). The artist wrote his friend Albert Magimel, presumably later in October 1851, that the painting of the face was going well and that he hoped to have the portrait completed by Monsieur Moitessier's birthday (Document O). On 16 October he wrote Marcotte that he was oppressed by the nightmare of portrait painting and planned to have one last sitting. In the meantime he still had to paint the lace bertha (*collerette*), rings, bracelet for the right wrist, fur, gloves, and handkerchief. He claimed that working on the portrait had occupied seven years of his life (Document X). An undated

letter to Marcotte expresses Ingres's regret that the sitter's father (Marcotte's colleague, Foucauld) and the artist's wife, both deceased, could not see the portrait (Document 1). On 15 December 1851 he wrote to another sitter, Madame Gonse, that the portrait, 'certainly among the most important of my works', would be finished very soon (Document 1). In another letter to her, dated 7 January 1852 he described the portrait as finished, expressing some misgivings about it (Document Q).

Lapauze wrote that *Madame Moitessier Seated* was completed between 15 December 1851, and 31 January 1852,¹⁵ the date Ingres invited the Superintendent of Fine Arts to see it in his studio (Document R). Presumably Lapauze thought Ingres may have made changes after signing and inscribing the canvas with the date 1851. The painter is known to have resumed work on the portrait now in London in June 1852.¹⁶ Writing of the latter Marcotte told Gatteaux (an artist, friend and neighbor of Ingres) in 1855 that Madame Moitessier preferred it to the one completed in 1851 (K1407) as the *écartement* of the eyes was diminished. The arms in both the first and second portraits were described as far too fat and Marcotte asked Gatteaux if he might persuade Ingres to minimize their bulk in view of the fact that the portrait had been begun eight years ago, when she was less plump! (Document S).¹⁷ *Madame Moitessier Seated* was seen in Ingres's studio by Galimard, who wrote in 1852 of its nobility of pose and execution, so simple, grand, majestic, like the works of Leonardo and Raphael. Madame Moitessier is described as an Olympian, Junoesque figure, her calm and majesty like the works of antiquity.¹⁸ About described the portrait as showing a queenly figure, surrounded by majesty and grandeur, without neglecting the depictions of flowers, draperies and an admirable Chantilly lace.¹⁹ A completion date of 1852 was given by Merson for K1407.²⁰ Laborde refers to the Washington canvas as the sitter's first portrait and seems to believe that both K1407 and *Madame Moitessier Seated* were begun in 1844.²¹ A major study of Ingres's portraits of Madame Moitessier was made by Lapauze, who found 'an impression of sovereign beauty to emanate from the canvas' (K1407). He described it as an alliance of genius and nature producing an exceptional work – 'it is as though the secret of life palpitated under the artist's brush, as though art usurped divine power'. He followed Gautier's characterization of the sitter as a Juno, comparing her to Minerva, but found that the nobility of the ancient goddess was enhanced by the *parure* of a fashionable Parisienne of the mid-nineteenth century, clad in 'tissu arachnéen'.²² No stylistic difference was found by Fröhlich-Bum between the artist's portraits of 1805 and those of Madame Moitessier; only the fashions had changed.²³ Hourticq wrote that the portrait was begun in 1844.²⁴ According to Davies, early in 1847 the artist 'erased all his work on *Madame Moitessier Seated* . . . to begin again: and quickly reached a seeming completion [*Madame Moitessier Standing*] far, for him, from the end.'²⁵ Davies thought that, following the sitter's complaint in June 1851, that she had already been waiting seven years for the completion of her portrait, 'Ingres probably decided to paint an entirely new

picture in a new design possible to be terminated quickly. This new portrait of *Madame Moitessier Standing* was completed in the last days of 1851.'²⁶ Davies proposed that Ingres may have set aside the London picture c. 1849, at the time of his wife's death, and that he may have returned to the initial project within six months after the completion of the Washington canvas because he may have felt 'that this standing version was insufficiently *like*. It had been made his rule to devote the whole of a first sitting to the discovery and study of his sitter's characteristic pose; finger against head *was* Madame Moitessier.'²⁷

Davies supported his argument for the rapid execution of the Kress canvas with notes by Ingres's contemporary, the painter Mottez, who reported that Ingres could paint an entire figure in a day.²⁸ Davies observed that the Kress canvas, 'very great masterpiece as it is, shows some signs of haste. The style of Ingres is so severe that even he cannot always completely realize a form (see *Mme. de Broglie*) but there is not merely incoherence in the shoulders; the face, though staggeringly superior to what most painters could have done, is somewhat hard and poor – eyes together, adenoidal neck – in comparison with the sublime features of the National Gallery [London] portrait. This lack of comprehension is hard to detect in the original – one is blinded by the splendour of the headdress, dominating the head like some halo in perspective . . .'.²⁹ Davies wrote that Ingres may have initiated this second canvas (K1407) after Mme. Moitessier complained in June of that year that he had been working on her portrait (London, National Gallery) for the preceding seven years.³⁰ Writing of the sitter, Pach observed 'Of all the people, of all the women, especially, who furnished inspiration for his painting, none has so great a place in the story of his art as Mme. Moitessier.'³¹ The painting was included in the Wildenstein monograph.³² According to Evans, the artist 'sought to cast Mme. Moitessier in the form of an ideal figure by Raphael.'³³ Seymour (p. 195) observed 'It would seem almost as if Ingres had come to a point at dead center in which the capacity to find a meaningful contact with human individuality was balanced by the dominance of type and generality. This is fundamentally the great problem raised by Classic art, beginning with Greek times, in the Western world. It is not enough merely to talk about the importance of the individual. It is necessary also to find him, to locate him as a personal force within the general principles of humanity which dignify and, in a way, justify his existence. Possibly Raphael at one time had met the same dilemma.' Ternois wrote that the Washington painting was begun in 1844 and completed in 1851.³⁴ Walker stressed the significance of the sequence in which Ingres is known to have executed the Washington canvas, starting with the dress and finishing with the head, 'painting backwards, so to speak, he treated his picture less as portraiture than as still life.'³⁵ The Washington canvas was described by Rosenblum as 'the most imperial and commanding of Ingres's female portraits. Placed against a flat magenta damask that provides the secular equivalent of a medieval gold background, Mme. Moitessier stands high above the spectator with the superb aloofness and imperturbability

of a classical goddess or a Byzantine Madonna. Indeed, the stark directness of Mme. Moitessier's head surrounded by a halo of roses and closely aligned upon a central axis of symmetry, transforms her into the kind of female deity, Greco-Roman or Christian, that Ingres attempted to recreate in such works as *The Vow of Louis XIII* or *The Virgin with the Crown*. Yet, characteristically for Ingres, the hieratic frontality of Mme. Moitessier's gaze and posture, which might have turned into an inert formula, is intriguingly complicated in psychological and visual terms. The haughty serenity of her expression, for example, becomes more and more disquieting, thanks to the wall-eyed stare that prevents a static confrontation; and in the same way, the line of symmetry that bisects the sleek black hair and runs down the nose and mouth is suddenly broken by the most devious circuits. Thus, if the magnificently smooth and boneless shoulders at first appear forced into a symmetrical pattern, they soon reveal subtle imbalances that are enlarged upon by the tense opposition of the strands of the pearl necklace, which swiftly turn to the right, and the comparably arcing rhythms of the neckline, which, momentarily fixed by the brooch, then turn quite as abruptly to the left. Moreover, the simple clarity of the head is constantly countered by the abundance of material adornments – the diaphanous layers of black tulle and lace that flutter about her dress, the multiplication of rings and bracelets, the casual array of evening accessories on the gilded chair – objects that appear like lavish votive offerings to a sacred image.

'For finally Mme. Moitessier transcends this luxurious world of tangible embellishments through a strange impalpability that is in part the product of her goddess-like features and in part the result of the contracted space that half denies her corporeal presence. Thus, her black dress and shawl become inky silhouettes against the insistent flatness of the paneled dado and damask wall, and even the marmoreal modeling of her shoulders is ultimately compressed to a heraldic two-dimensionality. And as a final contradiction in this both natural and supernatural creature, the pudgy, beringed fingers look almost too weightless and frozen to grasp securely either the curl of pearls or the gilded fan which hovers on the picture plane, strangely suspended in a sea of immaterial black.

'Such icons of elegant portraiture were familiar in mid-nineteenth-century art: witness Ary Scheffer's *Mme. Caillard* of 1842 [Paris, Petit Palais], in which the décolletage and smooth, polished hairline and shoulders belong to the same mode of beauty as Mme. Moitessier's. But in Ingres's interpretation of this ideal, the nineteenth-century world of material grace and wealth is transformed into a haunting, timeless image of feminine grandeur and mystery that far transcends the prosaic vagaries of fashion.'³⁸

Writing of Ingres's agony in efforts to combine truth and style in his later portraits, Clark observed 'The most extended of these torments was provided by Madame Moitessier. After his usual resistance, he accepted the

commission in 1844, chiefly because he could see her in the pose of one of his favourite antique paintings, an unknown goddess in the wall painting from Herculaneum of Hercules finding his son Telephos in Arcadia. It allowed him to use his favourite conjunction of the hand and the head in a more majestic manner than the reflective muse had done. No doubt Madame Moitessier was majestic: Junoesque is the word used by all contemporaries. But this type of beauty does not greatly excite us, and I fancy that, even for Ingres, it did not have the same immediate appeal as the melting grace of Madame d'Haussonville or the intelligence of Madame de Rothschild. He constantly referred to her *terrible beauté*, but in all the early studies he left her face a blank. He originally intended to have her daughter at her knee, but the wretched child fidgeted, Ingres dismissed her and threw away the canvas. But he felt under an obligation to the family (his letters to Monsieur and Madame Moitessier show real affection) and so in 1851 he started another portrait of Juno standing, almost full length. The head is not very interesting, but the *accessoires* show an ever-increasing devotion to fashionable dress. The rings, the bangles, the cameo brooch; all these were selected by Ingres for their contemporary character. He even asked his sitter to change a very pretty Renaissance brooch shown in a drawing, because it was "old fashioned". The scarf of black Chantilly lace is one of the most painstaking records in all his work and is an astonishing testimony to the old man's eyesight and steadiness of hand. The picture was greatly admired, but Ingres was still haunted by his original conception. Poor Madame Moitessier! Never has a sitter collaborated so uncomplainingly over a period of more than twelve years. But by 1856 she was rewarded by the ultimate masterpiece of the *peintre de la vie moderne* [the London canvas].'³⁷

Drawings by Ingres after antiquities in the Uffizi made while the artist resided in Florence between 1820–24, especially that of the statue of Melpomene, may have determined the sitter's pose.³⁸ In the 1840s Ingres was much interested in the technique of ancient Roman wall painting. The *Madame Moitessier Seated* in London, was, according to Blanc, based upon the pose of Arcadia, in a fresco of *Heracles discovers Telephos* from Herculaneum (Naples, Museo Nazionale).³⁹ King suggested the same figure as a source for K1407 and cited ancient 'Sibyls' and 'Vestals' which may have influenced Ingres's depiction.⁴⁰ The painter may also have studied the so-called *Muse of Cortona* (Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca), long celebrated as a masterpiece of ancient painting, whose authenticity has recently been questioned. A tondo showing the head of Mme. Hittorf as Juno, painted c. 1848–51, is very close in concept to the depiction of Mme. Moitessier.⁴¹ Although the present format is entirely consistent with the somewhat squared shape favored by Ingres for his later portraits, the artist may initially have planned a more vertical scheme, before strips were added to the sides and bottom of the canvas, apparently after the portrait was begun. The additional space to Mme. Moitessier's left and right may have been provided to balance her increase in weight, a subject of some con-

troversty between painter and sitter. This increase probably took place during the summer of 1851 (necessitating the strips' addition that Fall) but may have been a gradual process, since Ingres began a portrait of Mme. Moitessier in 1845. Davies's suggestion that *K1407* was painted rapidly, within a few months, has much to recommend it, although Ingres's habit of working over a long period of time upon concurrent portrait commissions should not be ignored. The artist seems to have worked concurrently upon three portraits: *Mme. Moitessier* (*K1407*), *Mme. Gonse* (1852, Montauban, Musée Ingres), and *Princesse de Broglie* (1853, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection). The sitter's Spanish given-name, with the emphasis on her black dress and mantilla-like shawl, suggests that the artist may have had later Spanish paintings in mind when painting the portrait. Such works enjoyed considerable fashion in France where the masterpieces collected for Louis-Philippe were exhibited in the *Musée Espagnole* at the Louvre from 1838 to 1848. Although Davies stressed the significance of *Madame Moitessier Seated* for twentieth-century art—especially Picasso's—the Washington canvas may prove a more basic contribution. The artist's audacious juxtaposition of extreme specificity with equally overt generalization leads to the art of Degas and that of many more recent painters.

Documents:

A. M. Marcotte wrote in the margin of one of the master's letters:

M. Ingres had at first refused to paint the portrait of Mme. Moitessier. Then, one evening, he saw her in my house, and, struck by her beauty, he wished to paint her. [1844]⁴²

B. To Madame Moitessier:

Madame,

Would you be kind enough to come for a sitting tomorrow around two o'clock? Please wear a sleeveless dress and do bring the charming Catherine along. I would be very grateful. Meanwhile, please accept my sincere homage and many friendly greetings from my wife.⁴³

Friday morning [c. 1844]

Ingres.

C. I remember a large, very cold room. My mother's hand rested on my head, and I had to sit still. It was quite boring. One day the old gentleman with his cotton cap lost his temper. He said that little Catherine was unbearable, and that he would erase her.⁴⁴

D. On 27 July 1845, Ingres complained that he still had two portraits to complete—those of Madame de Rothschild and Madame Moitessier.⁴⁵

E. Théophile Gautier. Description of head of *Madame Moitessier Seated*.⁴⁶

F. On 24 June 1847, the artist wrote again:

... I have not even finished the portrait of Mme. de

Rothschild which I began anew and better, nor that of Mme. Moitessier. Wretched portraits!⁴⁷

G. In a letter dated by Laborde June 1851, Ingres wrote to Marcotte:

Our beauty—for all her graciousness—could not keep herself from reminding me that seven years have passed since I started to paint her. Oh portraits, portraits—what have I done to you?⁴⁸

H. Alas, I do paint portraits, but despite those laudatory remarks of our good and beautiful Mme. Moitessier, the fact remains the battle is not yet won. However, it will be decided from today on, the first sitting for her awesome and beautiful head. At two she is coming especially from Villiers, I hope to God that the bleeding ordered by Dr. Magendie [Magendie was a doctor who had treated Ingres's late wife] has affected neither those beautiful eyes nor that divine face. Still, I don't believe I shall start today, because yesterday I had to go to Les Andelys with our dear Gatteaux. I went, duty-bound, but also to pay justified homage, for the unveiling of the statue of Poussin in the town square. It was an affair with all the usual fanfare, Pontifical Masses by Mgr. d'Evreux, endless speeches and finally a banquet. As a result I don't have my head on my shoulders this morning.⁴⁹

I. Undated, probably September 1851 to Madame Moitessier:

Madame,

You are most certainly very beautiful by nature; therefore I abandon—after due reflection—the idea of a formal evening coiffure. This will be in better taste for the portrait, because I would be afraid that such a hairdo would upset the proportions of the head. Let us also reconsider the somewhat old-fashioned brooch on the breast. Please replace it with a cameo set in gold. I shall not give up a long and simple châtelaine, however, from which I could suspend the scent-bottle of the earlier one. And so please Madame, bring your jewel-case, your bracelets and the long pearl necklace on Monday. Till then Madame. You have been very gracious to your as yet unworthy painter, who is nonetheless your very devoted and fond servant.⁵⁰

Ingres.

J. 1 October 1851 to Madame Moitessier:

My dear and kind Madame,

It was with great pleasure that I received your letter assuring me of your good health and spirits, and that all is well around you.

I am equally touched by all the kind things you say about me. Madame, I can never assure you enough of my sincere wish and readiness to do all I can to be of service to you and the excellent M. Moitessier. How happy I will be to see you here again, but alas, for too short a time. I shall wait for you on the 9th in my studio at the Institut. Please do not be angry, I still want to add only a few finishing touches to your beautiful image. I shall not destroy anything that you already are kind

enough to admire. I have done a lot of work on it, as you will see, enough to make me feel more happy about it, particularly because M. Moitessier, the ultimate judge, and M. de Foucauld, have given their approval.

I shall not take up more of your time writing about my work, but I must tell you that you no longer have the ribbons and pinnars in your coiffure. There remain only the grapes and leaves to which, I think, we shall add the beautiful yellow-orange flowers and the velvet ribbons which I would like you to bring along. I also need a bracelet on the right arm. Everything else is finished. We do need, however, an evening wrap, the kind you wear when returning from a ball, to throw over the edge of the chair.

Believe me, Madame, it was no sacrifice to have waited for you in the first days of September as I think I did. Be welcome, bronzed and Moorish Lady.

Please embrace your loving children for me and remember me to your dear husband who gave me hope and confidence enough to present him with my laborious attempt at your portrait.

I remain, Madame, with respect and affection, the most humble servant of the admirable sitter.

Paris 1 October.

Ingres.

I have no news from my young lady from Rouen who was supposed to sit for her portrait today.

I am without news from the Marcottes, but I know they are well.⁵¹

K. 16 October 1851 to Marcotte:

Do you know how I feel? Like someone in an oppressive nightmare, trying to escape, but unable to run. Yes, that is what those wretched portraits have done to me. I finally have our beautiful and good lady for a last sitting, but now I still have to paint her collar, the bracelet on her right arm, the fur wrap on the chair with her gloves and handkerchief. Then I will have to do the last glazing and add the finishing touches to this portrait which for seven years now has been painfully present in my life.⁵²

L. "... neither my poor wife nor the father could have seen."⁵³

M. Later in October 1851 to Madame Moitessier:

Madame,

Could you be kind enough to visit me tomorrow, Wednesday, at three o'clock to sit for the portrait so that I can finish your beautiful head as we had planned. May God himself come to my help.

Sincerely, believe me, my dear Lady, your humble servant.

Tuesday morning.⁵⁴

Ingres.

N. October [1851] to Madame Moitessier:

My dear Madame,

I have just been reminded – old scatter-brain that I am – that this Saturday three of my friends will come for dinner. So I cannot accept your invitation for that day. Please keep the invitation open for me until I have finished your gown which I start this very day; I have

not wasted my time: your arms are done as I wanted them; you are larger, and that is very becoming. In short, I am not displeased and rather optimistic. Would you like me for dinner on Tuesday? I shall bring good news about the portrait, and we could make decisions about several things. Meanwhile, dear Lady, please accept my respectful homage and devotion.⁵⁵

Ingres.

O. Undated letter to Albert Magimel (after mid-October 1851):

... I am consumed with worries, but I try to face it all. *The head is fine now.* But this showy new fashion, the train, is giving me trouble. I have seen M. Moitessier, who, wonderful as always, allows me to do anything. At one o'clock I must be at the Institut for a sitting of the little one [Mme. Gonse] whose head I would like to finish. Then I would like to go back to the other studio to finish the rest; you see what troubles I have. Now that I have managed to calm those anxious and inquisitive people, I would like to have done with them once and for all and deliver the portrait at the end of the month. They expect it in any event for the husband's birthday.⁵⁶

P. 15 December 1851 to Madame Gonse:

Madame and dear friend,

I am again annoyed at having to be short with you, but, really, you are not reasonable. Your letter reaches me in the midst of all my present troubles. I am trying to concentrate in peace and contemplation on finishing the most important of my works, the portrait of Mme. Moitessier, a labor of seven long years which the critics await with bated breath, not to mention Parisian society. I shall not speak of definite rights: in spite of the fact that you have yours, my dear friend, she unavoidably has the first place.

So much for a start. Let us discuss the end.

To begin with, you know quite well that your portrait is practically finished and that you will have it. A little more patience; you know very well that one cannot set deadlines in painting. Let us please, then, not trouble ourselves any longer. I have hope, sincerely, but we are in the hand of God and you know where our promises get us. If all goes well, Mme. Moitessier's portrait can be finished between today, Monday, and next Sunday, the day long and anxiously awaited by our young hero. I need at least three days, or four, to show it to a circle of intimates. This brings us to the end of the year, a season when everyone is busy with other things to do.⁵⁷

Monday 15 December 1851

Ingres.

Q. 7 January 1852 to Madame Gonse:

Madame, my dear child,

I will also tell you that Heaven – finally tired of persecuting me – has allowed me to finish that portrait which was seven years in the making (but what am I saying, since He does keep me from exhibiting it, and since everyone keeps besieging me, even while I drink my tea). Finally, God be praised, since what is finished

seems to have gained the admiration, excuse my vanity, of those whose taste and judgment I respect and I shall only today have it taken to the Institut which will be better, and in any event there is my private exhibition space.

Fortunately for me, the relatives are delighted; and you may think, perhaps that I am completely satisfied – I am not, but that is something I can only tell my discreet friends. This is how it should be, because without a certain dissatisfaction I would lose my vantage point, and good-bye art. Besides, if one were perfect, which is not the human lot, one would be so bored one would kill oneself out of melancholy.⁵⁸

R. 31 January 1852 to M. de Nieuwekerke, Superintendent of the Beaux-Arts:

A thousand obstacles have deprived me of the opportunity to meet with you. I beg you to do me the honor of viewing the two portraits. One of them (the one I have only throughout the day) can be seen in my studio at the Institut. The other, the portrait of Mme. Moitessier, is at 17 quai Voltaire which is on the way [to the Institut]. That one I am exhibiting all day today, and tomorrow, Sunday. I very much hope, M. le Comte, that you will be able to spare time from your important work to see them.⁵⁹

S. 24 February 1855 Marcotte to Gatteaux:

Last night, my dear friend, I had the visit of M. and Mme. Moitessier. Mme. Moitessier is very pleased with the second version of her portrait which she considers a good likeness since our friend has diminished the space between the eyes. I did not conceal from her to whom she owed that improvement.

Now there is still something else. It concerns the arms which are still considered too heavy. They are surely already too heavy in the first portrait [K. 1407]. Try to make him reduce them in the second. The suggestion must come from you, because if our friend suspects that the lady has remarked on it, he will be offended.

Please proceed carefully to obtain that change. True, the lady does have heavy arms, but that is one more reason not to exaggerate the fact. No-one could fault the painter if they were rendered more slender than in nature. After all, one must remember that the portrait was started when Mme. Moitessier was eight years younger and less plump.

I told Mme. Moitessier that I would write to you about the matter, and that only you can help to straighten things out and have her arms reduced in the painting without hurting the self-esteem of him who is so devoted to her – which, of course, she deserves, since I do not know a finer lady.

I hope that the weather will turn milder, then I shall visit you.⁶⁰

24 February 1855

Best wishes,
Marcotte.

K 1407 was listed in the artist's *Cahiers* IX and X.⁶¹

Provenance: M. and Mme. Sigisbert Moitessier. Exhibited in the artist's studio c. Dec. 1854, shown with other works by Ingres for the first public exhibition of the *Jeanne d'Arc* (now Paris, Louvre).⁶² Shown in Paris at the Exposition Universelle, 1855, Cat. No. 3366. Comtesse de Flavigny (Mme. Moitessier's eldest daughter).⁶³ Vicomtesse Olivier de Bondy, Château de la Barre, Indre (second daughter), exhibited – Paris, Association Franco-Américaine, *Ingres*, 1921, Cat. No. 44. Comte O. de Bondy. Paul Rosenberg, Paris. Exhibited – *Masters of French 19th-Century Painting*, London, New Burlington Galleries (acquired 1935), Oct. 1936, Cat. No. 2; *Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français*, Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937, Cat. No. 351; *Honderd Jaar Fransche Kunst*, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1938, Cat. No. 137; *La Peinture française au XIXe siècle*, Belgrade, Museum of Prince Paul, 1939, Cat. No. 67; *La Pintura francesa de David a nuestros días*, Buenos Aires, Musco Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1939, Cat. No. 76 (also traveled to Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo);⁶⁴ *The Painting of France since the French Revolution*, San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, Dec. 1940–Jan. 1941, Cat. No. 59 (also shown in San Diego, The Fine Arts Gallery, Mar. 1941, Cat. No. 1);⁶⁵ *Masterpieces of French Art*, Chicago, The Art Institute, Apr.–May 1941, Cat. No. 85; *Loan Exhibition of Great Paintings*, Toronto, Art Gallery, 1944, Cat. No. 36. Kress acquisition from Paul Rosenberg & Co., New York, 1946.

References: (1) This transfer may have been necessitated by complications arising from the addition of strips at sides and bottom. It could have taken place following the tears which appear to have been caused by the canvas being struck by a thick object such as a furniture leg. (2) See Hans Naef, 'New Material on Ingres's portraits of Mme. Moitessier', *Burlington Magazine*, cxi, 1969, pp. 149–50. (3) Georges Wildenstein, *The Paintings of J. A. D. Ingres*, 2nd ed., London, 1956, p. 210, Cat. No. 265, fig. 170. (4) For a discussion of the chronology of the Kress painting and the London portrait, see pp. 375–6, and art. cited in Note 10. Some of the drawings for K 1407 are referred to by Agnes Mongan, 'Ingres et Mme. Moitessier', *Bulletin du Musée Ingres*, 2, 1957, p. 308. See also Daniel Ternois, *Les Dessins d'Ingres au Musée de Montauban, Les Portraits* (III of *Inventaire Général des Dessins des Musées de Province*), 1959 (unpaginated), s.v. Moitessier. (5) Frits Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections des Dessins et d'Estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 268, no. 1477. (6) Lapauze Sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 21 June 1929, p. 26, Cat. No. 37, as 'Étude pour le portrait de Madame d'Haussonville, ou de Madame Moitessier'. 'M. van Rocil' is inscribed in the margin of the sale catalogue at the Metropolitan Museum, Thomas Watson Library (New York). (7) Lugt, *op. cit.*, *Supplément*, Amsterdam, 1956, no. 2078. Sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 15 Nov. 1928, p. 16, Cat. No. 33. The drawing was in Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum, *Ingres Centennial Exhibition*, 12 Feb.–9 Apr. 1967, Cat. No. 96, there dated c. 1851. Sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 17 Oct. 1940, Cat. No. 35. (8) Sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 21 June 1929, p. 27, Cat. No. 39, not illus. In the margin of the copy at the Metropolitan Museum of Art is a handwritten notation: '13.000 M.

Wildenstein'. (9) See Henri de Laborde, *Ingres, sa Vie, ses Travaux, sa Doctrine*, Paris, 1870, pp. 255-6, hereafter referred to as *Ingres*. (10) For this painting see Martin Davies, 'A Portrait by the Aged Ingres', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXVIII, pp. 257-68 and Robert Rosenblum, *Ingres*, New York, 1967, p. 164, pl. 46. (11) Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 259. (12) Henry Lapauze, *Ingres: sa vie et son œuvre (1780-1867) d'après documents inédits*, Paris, 1911, pp. 440, 442 (hereafter referred to as *Ingres*). (13) Laborde, *Ingres, op. cit.*, p. 256. Charles Blanc, *Ingres*, Paris, 1870, p. 168. (14) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 442. (15) Lapauze, *Ingres*, pp. 456-7. (16) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 448. (17) Letter in collection of M. Girod de l'Ain, Paris, published by Naef, *op. cit.* Note 2, pp. 149-50. Both artists had studios at the Institute. As the painter was somewhat wall-eyed, he tended to make his models look that way as well. (18) Auguste Galimard, 'Un portrait par M. Ingres', *Revue des Beaux-Arts*, III, 1852, pp. 49-50. (19) Edmond About, *Voyage à travers l'exposition de Beaux-Arts*, Paris, 1855, p. 134. (20) Olivier Merson, *Ingres, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, n.d. [1867], p. 119. The sitter's address is given as Rue d'Anjou-Saint-Honoré 42. He erroneously listed a portrait of Mme. Moitessier as executed in 1841 in his catalogue of Ingres's works; he claimed that this was shown in the Salon of 1855. The portrait was included in Charles Blanc's catalogue, *op. cit.*, p. 233, where he followed Merson's date of 1852. See also C. Blanc, 'Ingres, sa vie et ses ouvrages', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1st ser., 1868, p. 536. Alfred M. Frankfurter, *Supplement to the Kress Collection at the National Gallery, Washington, D.C.*, 1946, p. 68 inexplicably claimed that K1407 is 'signed and inscribed with the dates of the first sitting and completion 7 years later.' Seymour, p. 195, followed in claiming that K1407 was begun in 1844. Jules Momméja (*Ingres*, Paris, 1904, p. 103) also used this date. (21) Laborde, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-6, Cat. No. 140. (22) Lapauze, *op. cit.*, 1911, pp. 440-8. (23) Lili Fröhlich-Bum, *Ingres, sein Leben und sein Stil*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1924, p. 53. (24) Louis Hourticq, *Ingres, l'Œuvre du Maître*, Paris, 1928, p. 99. (25) Davies, *op. cit.* Note 10 above, pp. 257-68. (26) Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 257. (27) Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 258. (28) Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 258, n. 11. (29) Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 258, n. 7. (30) Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 257. (31) Walter Pach, *Ingres*, New York and London, 1939, p. 11. (32) Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 219, Cat. No. 266. (33) Grose Evans, *French Painting: Nineteenth Century*, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1959, p. 14. (34) Ternois, *op. cit.* Note 4 above, s.v. Moitessier. (35) Walker, p. 240. (36) Rosenblum, *op. cit.* Note 10 above, p. 156. The portrait is Cat. No. 147 in Emilio Radius and Ettore Camesasca, *L'Opera Completa di Ingres*, Milan, 1968. (37) Kenneth Clark, 'Ingres: Peintre de la Vie Moderne', *Apollo*, XCIII, 1971, pp. 357-65, esp. pp. 361 and 364. (38) Reproduced by Boyer d'Agen, *Ingres, dessinateur des antiques, d'après un album inédit*, Paris, 1926, p. 16. (39) Charles Blanc, 'Ingres, sa vie et ses ouvrages', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1st ser., XXIV, 1868, p. 539. He entitled Arcadia the 'Flore pompéienne'. (40) Edward S. King, 'Ingres as classicist', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1942, pp. 69-113; p. 82 and notes 89, 91. (41) Wildenstein, *op. cit.* Note 3 above, p. 219, Cat. No. 262, fig. 162. (42) See

Laborde, *Ingres*, p. 255. (43) Lapauze, *Ingres*, pp. 441-2. (44) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 442. (45) Quoted by Boyer d'Agen, *Ingres d'après une correspondance inédite*, Paris, 1909, p. 379. (46) *La Presse*, 27 June 1847, quoted by Lapauze, *Ingres*, 1911, p. 441. (47) Boyer Agen, *op. cit.* Note 45 above, p. 388. (48) Laborde, *Ingres*, p. 256. (49) Blanc, *art. cit.* Note 39 above, p. 536. (50) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 444. (51) Lapauze, *Ingres*, pp. 445-6. (52) Laborde, *Ingres*, p. 256. (53) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 442. (54) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 442. (55) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 443. (56) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 446. (57) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 456. (58) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 457. (59) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 446. (60) Letter owned by Girod de l'Ain in Paris. Published by Naef, *op. cit.* Note 2, pp. 149-50. (61) Cahier IX was published by Jules Momméja, 'Le Cahier IX de Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres', *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, Paris, 1896, pp. 541-57. (62) See Étienne-Jean Delécluze, *Journal des Débats* (cited by Davies, *op. cit.* Note 10 above, p. 259, n. 12); also letter of Victor Mottez dated 18 Dec. 1854, published by René Giard, *Le Peintre Victor Mottez*, Paris, 1934, p. 125. (63) Lapauze, *Ingres*, p. 439. (64) These other South American cities are listed in the catalogue of the San Francisco exhibition, p. 9. There was a second showing of the exhibition in San Francisco with the same catalogue from Nov. 1941-Jan. 1942. (65) According to Paul Rosenberg, New York.

EMILE JEAN HORACE VERNET

Vernet was born in Paris in 1789 and died there in 1863.¹ He was the grandson of the famous landscape artist, Joseph Vernet, and the son of Carle Vernet, noted as a history painter. In addition to the training he received from his father and from his mother's father, Moreau le Jeune, Vernet also studied with François Vincent. He made a successful debut at the Salon of 1810, exhibiting works in the style of his father, but was soon influenced by Géricault and other masters of the Romantic movement. From 1829 to 1835 Vernet was Ingres's immediate predecessor as Director of the French Academy in Rome, where the Kress portrait was painted. Under Louis-Philippe, he was commissioned to paint large battle paintings for the Galerie Historique at Versailles. Vernet traveled extensively to the Near East; his paintings of Egyptian, Syrian, Palestinian, and Algerian subjects, like all his other works, were very well received. His prolific output also included satirical subjects for lithography.

K1035 : Figure 339

PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHESA CUNEGONDA MISCIATTELLI WITH HER INFANT AND ITS NURSE. Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Art Gallery (KR 61.35), since 1951. Oil on canvas. 52 × 41 in. (132.1 × 104.1 cm.). Inscribed (as though carved in stone) at right: H VERNET Rome 1830. Extensive tear in canvas in area of the nurse's head. Relined, cleaned and restored by Pichetto in 1937.

Tucson, 1951, Cat. No. 24.

A young lady, looking to the left, is seated, playing a keyboard instrument. Her hair is coiffed in a classical style; she wears a low-necked white dress with gathered bodice and sleeves, tied with a bright striped sash at the waist, adapted from peasant attire. A velvet robe is around her knees. Leaning against the back of her chair is a young woman in southern Italian peasant garb (scooped-neck blouse, silk brocade skirt, laced bodice), holding an infant. She is apparently a wet-nurse; she looks down at her charge, whose left hand she holds with her left, embracing the baby with her right arm. The blond baby, enveloped in embroidered bands of swaddling, reaches toward the mother with its right arm. The long coral pin in the nurse's hair was meant to ward off the evil eye; she wears earrings of gold leaves and pearl drops. The pilaster at the right is decorated with a panel in the manner of Antique Roman grotesque painting. A lamp or vase is at the top and also a stork and rabbit. Ivy leaves are against the wall to the left.

The Marchesa Cunegonda was the daughter of Gian Felice Cocchi of Città della Pieve (Umbria). She was the first wife of the Marchese Geremia Antonio Misciattelli (1793–1865) whom she married in 1815. Of their children, no male heirs survived to maturity. The Marchesa died in 1842 (birthdate unknown). Misciattelli married twice again. The Marchese was a prominent amateur and a close friend of the German landscape painter Franz Ludwig Katel.² Though the infant in K1035 has been referred to as a boy, there seems to be no reason for doing so.

Suida stressed the neo-Classical aspects of K1035, describing it as 'not inferior to the works of Ingres'.³ Venturi singled out the vitality with which the painting was executed, stressing the luminism of the rendering of the velvets, jewels, embroideries, etc.⁴ The depiction of the Marchesa was characterized as 'of Davidian solidity in contrast to the Piazzettesque, more emotional portrayal of the nurse'.⁵ Longhi found the vivacity, chromatic vigor and compositional harmony of K1035 such as to make it one of the most beautiful examples of Vernet's portraiture during his Roman period.⁶

The portrait is extremely Raphaelesque in style – the characterization of the baby conforms to that of many of the High Renaissance master's Holy Infants, that of the mother follows such models as the *Donna Velata* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti). The triangular composition formed by the three participants, placed within the rectangular confine of the canvas, is also a typically High Renaissance pictorial convention, popular among neo-Classical artists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The year in which Vernet painted K1035, the entire French Academy, with the exception of the painter himself, fled Rome during the Carbonari uprising. Vernet was appointed French ambassador to the Holy See in 1830, entrusted with considerable power at this time.⁷ Perhaps his diplomatic functions may have first led him to the Misciattelli family, which was related to Pope Leo XII (1760–1829). Possibly the confused events of the year in which Vernet completed

the Kress canvas may have led to its omission from previous lists of the artist's oeuvre. The canvas is close in style to the High Renaissance approach used by Vernet in his portrait of *Madame J.-G. Eynard Lullin* of 1831 (Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire).

Provenance: Marchesa Cunegonda Misciattelli. Marchesa Colocci Vespucci Honorati (a descendant of the Misciattelli family), Rome, sold to Contini Bonacossi. A. Contini Bonacossi, Florence. Kress acquisition 1936.

References: (1) A. Durande, *Joseph, Carle, et Horace Vernet*, 1863. Armand Dayot, *Les Vernets*, Paris, 1898. Théophile Silvestre, *Histoire des Artistes Vivants*, Paris, n.d. [1855], pp. 1–52 (separate section following p. 328). (2) Information courtesy of the Marchese Paolo Misciattelli, letter of 27/II/69, Kress Archive. See also *Libro d'oro della nobiltà Italiana*, 1918–19, IV, p. 434. The Misciattelli family were originally from Orvieto, then resided in Rome, where the Kress portrait was painted. (3) William Suida, certificate of Apr. 1936 in Kress Archive. (4) Adolfo Venturi, certificate of 19/IV/36 in Kress Archive. (5) G. Fiocco, certificate in Kress Archive. Other certificates by F. F. Mason Perkins and Raimond van Marle. (6) Kress Archive. (7) Silvestre, *op. cit.* Note I, p. 49.

JEAN BAPTISTE CAMILLE COROT

Corot was born in Paris in 1796 and died there in 1875.¹ He studied landscape painting with Achille Etna Michallon and Jean Victor Bertin. From 1825–28 he painted in and around Rome, and visited Italy again in 1834 and 1843. Although Corot won a medal at the Salon of 1833, it was not until the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855 that his work became widely appreciated and still more popular by the Salon of 1865. He was the outstanding mid-nineteenth-century master of landscape before the emergence of the Barbizon School, many members of which – especially Daubigny – Corot knew well. His landscapes, many almost Impressionist in technique and feeling, were much admired by Pissarro. His style shifted from a very clear, austere classicism in early years to a feathery luminescence in his romantic, mysterious later canvases. The master's great popularity tends to obscure the freshness and originality of many of his works. The vast demand for Corot's works, especially his later oeuvre, resulted in the production of many forgeries.

Attributed to COROT

K1043 : Figure 342

LANDSCAPE, ARGENTEUIL. New York, N.Y., Mrs. Rush H. Kress. Oil on canvas. 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (32.7 × 46.3 cm.). Inscribed at lower left: COROT. Small tear near center of the canvas, toward upper right. Relined and restored by Pichetto in 1936.

The small horizontal landscape, presumably painted in Argenteuil (Seine-et-l'Oise), shows a peasant woman in the foreground leaning on a stick. A cow is in the middle ground, with trees and peasant cottages in the background.

Certificates ascribing the canvas to Corot were made by William Suida, Raimond van Marle, F. F. Mason Perkins, G. Fiocco, and Adolfo Venturi.² Longhi placed K 1043 in the last phase of Corot's oeuvre.³ The attribution of K 1043 to Corot was not accepted by Lionello Venturi.⁴

The canvas is close in style to *Les Hauteurs de Ville d'Auray* (Cincinnati, Taft Museum), painted c. 1865-70, and to other works executed in the later 1860s and early 1870s.⁵ The landscape is far more persuasive as an autograph Corot in actuality than can be suggested by a black and white reproduction. The fresh, clear, bright colors show the very considerable authority which Corot maintained until

the end of his life. It was during his last years that works in the style of K 1043 were executed. However, there are certain weaknesses in execution which make Corot's authorship of this landscape not entirely certain.

Provenance: Florence, A. Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1936.

References: (1) Alfred Robaut, *L'Œuvre de Corot*, Paris, 1905. Germain Bazin, *Corot*, Paris, 1942, 1951. Daniel Baud-Bovy, *Corot*, Geneva, 1957. François Fosca [pseud.], *Corot, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, Brussels, 1958. André Schœller and Jean Dieterle, *Corot, Premier supplément à 'l'Œuvre de Corot' par A. Robaut*, Paris, 1948; *Deuxième*, 1956. (2) C. 1936, Kress Archive. (3) Certificate in Kress Archive. (4) Note of 15/1/40, Kress Archive. (5) See *Le Rappel des Vaches* (Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts) c. 1870, Robaut No. 1877; *Effet de Brume* (Minneapolis, Institute of Arts), 1868, Robaut No. 1641.

APPENDIX

AMERICAN SCHOOL

XIX CENTURY

JOHN SINGER SARGENT

Sargent was born on 12 January 1856 of American parents residing in Florence; he died in London in 1925.¹ His father was the physician FitzWilliam Sargent and his mother Mary Newbold Singer. His parents spent most of their lives abroad; their highly talented young son received his first training in Rome under the German-American artist Carl Welsch at the age of thirteen. In 1870 he attended the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence. After a journey to Dresden in 1871–72, he resided in Venice in 1874 and then went with his parents to Paris, where he studied under the successful portraitist Carolus-Duran (1874–76). In 1877 he executed the brilliant portrait of his teacher (Williamstown, Mass., Sterling and Francine Clark Institute) and exhibited for the first time at the Salon (*Miss Frances Watts*, Mrs. Wharton Sinkler, Elkins Park, Pa.). His first award-winning entry (Honorable Mention) was *The Oyster Gatherers of Cancale* (Washington, D.C., Corcoran Gallery), 1878. In the early 1880s, the artist was much influenced by the dashing brushwork and dramatic *chiaroscuro* of such seventeenth-century masters as Velázquez and Hals. His audacious portrait of *Madame X* (exhibited Salon of 1884; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), Manet-like in its fresh, elegant frankness, is said to have discouraged French portrait commissions and led the artist to move to London in 1885. There and in the United States he was to enjoy huge success, working in a more conservative manner, some of his later portraits based upon Van Dyck and English eighteenth-century masters. Sargent was also an accomplished watercolorist and a master mural painter, as seen in his decorations for the ceiling and walls of the Boston Public Library. When these were completed in 1916, he was commissioned to paint the rotunda of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (finished in 1921).

K462 : Figure 343

MRS. DANIEL SARGENT CURTIS. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas Museum of Art. Kress Study Collection (60.59), since 1963. Oil on finely woven canvas. 28 × 21 in. (71.1 × 53.3 cm.). Inscribed at upper left: *Venice 1882*; at upper right: *John S. Sargent to his kind friend Mr. Curtis*. Minor restoration by Modestini in 1961. *Register of the Museum of Art*, University of Kansas, II, no. 4, 1960, p. 38.

The sitter is shown in three-quarter view, half-length, turned to the left, seen against a dark background. She wears a cap, a lace collar, a dark dress, and a double strand of pearls.

Ariana Randolph Wormeley was born in 1833 or 1839, the daughter of the British admiral Ralph Wormeley. She married Sargent's cousin – Daniel Sargent Curtis. Their son, Ralph Wormeley Curtis, was a close friend of the painter's from student days in Paris. They were prominent members of the Anglo-American colony in Venice. Sargent often stayed with the Curtises when they resided at the Palazzo Barbaro in Venice, during the late nineteenth century. His letters to Mrs. Curtis and her son are an important biographical source. In 1899 Sargent painted the entire family in a Venetian interior.² Among Sargent's early works, this canvas already shows his brilliant brushwork and flair for characterization. The austere format of the Kress canvas may have been suggested by Velázquez portraits; many of Sargent's works reveal his admiration of the Spanish artist, whose works he often copied. He went to Spain in 1879. That the portraitist was especially concerned with Spanish art is also indicated by his undertaking *El Jaleo* (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum), an elaborate composition showing Spanish dancers in the same year that he painted K462.³ In part the Spanish qualities of *Mrs. Daniel Sargent Curtis* may have come to him through the art of Eduard Manet, seen in Paris during his student days. The execution of the cascading headdress recalls Hals's brushwork in such portraits as *Isabella Coymans* (Paris, Baronne Edouard de Rothschild). The sitter's pensive mien and the austerity of her portrayal suggest a flattering, more relaxed rendering of the *Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse* (Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum). Sargent is known to have copied figures from Hals's *Regentesses* two years before he depicted Mrs. Curtis.⁴

Provenance: Mrs. Daniel Sargent Curtis, Palazzo Barbaro, Venice, died 1922. Florence, Contini Bonacossi. Kress acquisition 1936, exhibited – Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Sargent's Boston*, 1956, Cat. No. 5.

References: (1) Evan Charteris, *John Sargent*, London, 1927; Charles Merrill Mount, *John Singer Sargent, a Biography*, New York, 1955; Donelson F. Hoopes, *The Private World of John Singer Sargent*, Exhibition, Corcoran Gallery of Art, and others, 18 Apr. 1964 – 3 Jan. 1965. (2) For further information on the Curtises and their relation to the artist, see Richard Ormond, *John Singer Sargent: Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours*, London, 1970, pp. 239–40, pl. 28; p. 251, pl. 90. (3) Mrs. Gardner was a friend of the Curtises and rented their palace in the summer. (4) Charteris, *op. cit.*, pp. 280, 282.