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The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and serves as a forum for the publication of original research. Its focus is chiefly on works in the collections of the Museum and on topics related to them. Contributions, by members of the curatorial and conservation staffs and by other art historians and specialists, vary in length from monographic studies to brief notes. The wealth of the Museum's collections and the scope of these essays make the *Journal* essential reading for all scholars and amateurs of the fine arts.

This double volume features an important article, with over 200 illustrations, on the activities of Reinhold Vasters (1827–1909), a German goldsmith whose unsigned works in the styles of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance have until recently been accepted as authentic period pieces. Among the other articles are a reconstruction of a Marian altarpiece by the Nuremberg artist Hans von Kulmbach, two textile studies—one on the *Amours des Dieux* tapestries designed by Boucher and the other on an unusual early quilt pieced from furnishing fabrics, and a discussion of the painting *Andromache and Astyanax* by Prud'hon and Boisfremont in the light of recent X-ray photography.

The Publications of Edith A. Standen:
A Bibliography Compiled for
Her Eightieth Birthday

The Gneiss Sphinx of Sesostris III:
Counterpart and Provenance

LABIB HABACHI

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John Dynham at The Cloisters

HELMUT NICKEL

continued on back flap

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA—The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB—*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
MMJ—*Metropolitan Museum Journal*

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are by the Photograph Studio,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Publications of Edith A. Standen: A Bibliography Compiled for Her Eightieth Birthday

EDITH APPLETON STANDEN was born on February 21, 1905, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where her father, Captain Robert H. F. Standen, an officer in the British army, was stationed at the time. Her mother was a Bostonian, a granddaughter of Nathan Appleton (1779–1861), who had helped to establish textile mills in Massachusetts. Edith Standen spent her childhood years in Ireland and England, where she went to private schools, and graduated from Somerville College, Oxford University, with an honors degree in English in 1926. Two years later she emigrated to the United States, where she was first employed at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, which had been founded in 1910 by her uncle, William Sumner Appleton. In the winter of 1928–29 she attended the so-called museum course given by Paul J. Sachs, Associate Director of Harvard University's Fogg Museum, a seminar designed to qualify participants for museum positions. In 1929 Joseph Widener hired her as secretary for his art collections, which were then at Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; she held this post until 1942, when Widener gave the collections to the newly formed National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. In the same year she relinquished British nationality and became an American citizen.

Having joined the Women's Army Corps early in 1943, Miss Standen was sent to Europe in July 1945 and became a member of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives section of the American Military Government in Germany; this was a special commission formed to oversee the restitution of looted works of art and to assure the stabilization of conditions affecting the art world in postwar Germany. She was discharged from the U.S. Army in 1947 with the rank of captain. Her MFA&A papers—books, diaries, doc-



1. Edith A. Standen, 1985 (photo: William Kopp)

uments, and photographs—have been given to the National Gallery, Washington, D.C.

In 1949 the Director of the Metropolitan Museum, Francis Henry Taylor, asked Edith Standen to take over the post of curator of the Textile Study Room, which was then vacant, and she joined the Museum's

staff as Assistant Curator in the Department of Renaissance and Modern Art. Promoted to Associate Curator in 1951, she pursued an active career overseeing the Textile Study Room, publishing groundbreaking articles on Museum acquisitions, and contributing to scholarly reviews, until her retirement in 1970. During this time she organized a series of exhibitions which drew on the collections of the Textile Study Room, notably one held in 1958 entitled "The Grandeur of Lace"; most of these exhibitions were mounted in a special gallery that adjoined the Textile Study Room and was devoted to showing its holdings, particularly recent acquisitions.

Retirement has given Edith Standen the leisure for full-time scholarship, in particular the preparation of her catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum's post-medieval tapestries. This two-volume work, with over 150 entries, appeared late in 1985. Fortunately for her fellow curators, Miss Standen continues to be available to answer questions about tapestries and other textiles in her capacity as Consultant in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, as her old department is now known; the bibliography that follows was compiled as the department's tribute on the occasion of her eightieth birthday. Her European and American colleagues in the tapestry field arranged a symposium in her honor, which was held in September 1985 during the general assembly of the Centre International d'Etudes des Textiles Anciens at the Deutsches Textilmuseum, Krefeld; the symposium papers have been published in the *CIETA Bulletin de Liaison*.

Edith Standen once told me in a statement remarkable for its lack of rancor that she thought there were hardly a hundred people in America interested

in her specialty, tapestries of the Renaissance and later periods. As anyone glancing through the pages of her catalogue will realize, the Metropolitan Museum owns a magnificent collection of such tapestries, the acquisition of many of them due to the perspicacity and good efforts of John Goldsmith Phillips, former Chairman of what is now the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. If her constituency has been enlarged and the numbers of those interested in postmedieval tapestries greatly increased, it is largely owing to Miss Standen herself, to her devotion to her subject and to the numerous publications listed in this bibliography, witty and erudite writings that bear her imprint. She has sown interest in what is a fascinating, long-continued, and major phase of tapestry production in Europe.

JAMES PARKER

*Curator, European Sculpture
and Decorative Arts*

NOTE

The bibliography has been prepared in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts of the Metropolitan Museum, with the help in particular of Catherine Leslie Parker, Priscilla Grace, and Lisa Little.

The items are listed chronologically according to the year of publication or, in the case of periodicals, the year of the volume. Books and pamphlets appear first, in capital letters, followed by articles and occasional papers; these are organized alphabetically, first by the publication in which they appear and then by the first significant word of the title. Book reviews appear last, alphabetically by the name of the author.

ABBREVIATIONS

BNBC—*Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*
MMA—The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB—*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
MMJ—*Metropolitan Museum Journal*

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The *Amours des Dieux*: A Series of Beauvais Tapestries After Boucher. *MMJ* 19/20 (1984/1985)

The Gneiss Sphinx of Sesostris III: Counterpart and Provenance

LABIB HABACHI

AMONG THE INNUMERABLE SCULPTURES left by the ancient Egyptians, the gneiss sphinx of Sesostris III in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is considered a masterpiece of Egyptian art (Figure 1).¹ There is hardly a relevant monograph on Egyptian art that does not speak of it in more or less detail.² Apart from realistic features—a characteristic of art of the Middle Kingdom, to which it dates—the head of the king and the lion's body have been combined by the artist in an admirable fashion.

STUDIES OF THE SPHINX

One of the earliest discussions of the sphinx was by Jean Capart in his *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien*.³ Following the theory put forward in his "Les Monuments dits Hyksos" that most Middle Kingdom royal statues were usurped from the Old Kingdom,⁴ Capart noted that the flat surfaces on the long sides of the base were reduced by several millimeters, and he concluded that the original owner's name had been obliterated. Reginald Engelbach, however, subsequently pointed out the close similarity of the New York sphinx with other inscribed statues of Sesostris III and his successor Amenemhat III; Engelbach also noted the Middle rather than Old Kingdom configuration of the royal headcloth (*nemes*).⁵

Hans Gerhard Evers reviewed and illustrated the sphinx in his exhaustive study of Middle Kingdom sculpture;⁶ Jacques Vandier associated it with statues of Sesostris III from southern Egypt;⁷ and William C. Hayes, the Metropolitan Museum's Curator of Egyptian Art from 1952 to 1963, described the mastery of the sculpture:

The magnificent sphinx of Se'n-wosret III is carved with great power and incomparable skill from a block of beautifully grained diorite gneiss from the ancient quarries of Khufwy in Nubia. The massive headdress conceals what might otherwise be an awkward transition between the human head and the lion's body. The sculptor's attention, as usual, has been chiefly focused on the grim, deeply lined face of the pharaoh, a masterpiece of realistic portraiture; but the subtle modeling and superb finish of the heavily muscled animal body is scarcely less admirable.⁸

After speaking of the royal *nemes*, the uraeus serpent, and the mane of the lion, Hayes concluded with a translation of the inscription carved on the breast: the Horus name, "Divine-of-forms," and throne name,

1. Purchased from Nahman in Cairo, 1917, provenance unknown.

2. See for instance Kurt Lange, *Sesostris, ein ägyptischer König in Mythos, Geschichte und Kunst* (Munich, 1954) pp. 30, 48, pls. 28–31; and the recent M. Seidel and D. Wildung, "Rundplastik des Mittleren Reiches," in C. Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 15 (Berlin, 1975) p. 237, pl. 163.

3. (Paris, 1927) I, p. 19, pl. 25.

4. *Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 27 (1913) pp. 121–156; republished as a monograph (Brussels, 1914). This earlier work was published before the appearance of the Metropolitan Museum sphinx.

5. "The So-Called Hyksos Monuments," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 28 (1928) pp. 13–28; cf. pp. 25f. In fact, Capart's theory has never been accepted, though instances of usurpation are known in all periods of Egyptian culture.

6. *Staat aus dem Stein: Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs* (Munich, 1929) I, pl. 78f., pp. 76ff.; II, p. 108.

7. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne: III. Les Grandes Époques: La Statuaire* (Paris, 1958) p. 191, pl. 68 fig. 6.

8. *The Scepter of Egypt* I (New York: MMA, 1953) pp. 198f. See also idem, "Royal Portraits of the Twelfth Dynasty," *MMAB* 5, no. 4 (1946) pp. 119ff.



1. King Sesostris III (1878–1843 B.C.), represented as a sphinx, Dynasty XII. Gneiss, H. 42.5 × W. 29.3 × L. 73 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 17.9.2

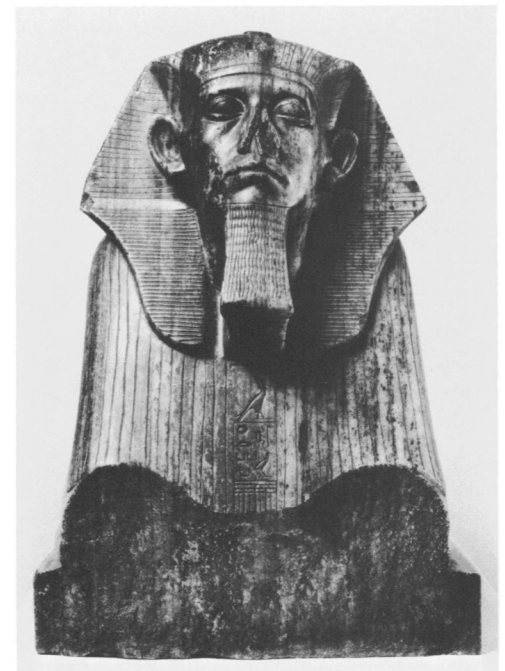


2–4. Fragmentary gneiss sphinx of Sesostris III, from the front and sides. Gneiss, max. H. 30 cm. Karnak, Makhzan Sheikh Labib (photos: A. Bellod, Centre Franco-Egyptien d'Etudes de Karnak)

“Shining-are-the-*kus*-of-Re,” written together in the *serekh*-panel, surmounted by the crowned falcon.

A COUNTERPART OF THE SPHINX

To the west of the small temple of Ramesses III at Karnak, and opening onto the first court of the great temple of Amunra, is a large storehouse known in Arabic as Makhzan Sheikh Labib. Scores of large and small blocks are stored there, most of them coming from buildings of Amenophis I. There are several monuments of earlier periods, however, which, although fragmentary, have a certain importance. In one of my visits to this collection I noticed some frag-



5–7. The Metropolitan Museum sphinx of Sesostris III, from the front and sides



ments of gneiss, a material rarely used in monuments; the quarry for gneiss was in the desert far to the west of Abu Simbel.⁹

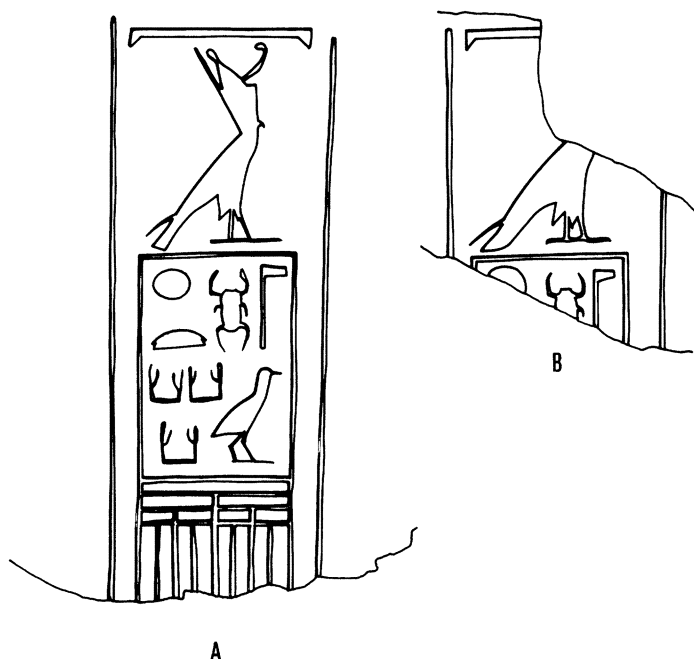
When the fragments were assembled, it was clear that they formed part of a sphinx of Sesostri III, similar in material and of nearly the same dimensions as the one in the Metropolitan Museum. The newly discovered sphinx is reproduced here from three angles (Figures 2–4), with corresponding views of the New York sphinx (Figures 5–7).¹⁰ Though the Karnak sphinx lacks the head and hindquarters, its carving is exactly the same as the other's; even the veining is similar, suggesting that both sculptures could

have been carved from the same block. Furthermore, the remaining part of the inscription on the Karnak piece corresponds to that on the Metropolitan Museum sphinx in content and dimensions. Both show the Horus name and the prenomen of the king in a

9. For this quarry see R. Engelbach, "The Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert and the Ancient Road to Tushka," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 38 (1938) pp. 369ff., and A. Rowe, "Provisional Notes on the Old Kingdom Inscriptions from the Diorite Quarries," *ibid.*, pp. 391ff.

10. For information on the Metropolitan Museum sphinx I wish to thank Christine Lilyquist, Barbara Porter, and James Romano.





8. Inscriptions on the Metropolitan Museum sphinx (A) and the Karnak sphinx (B) (drawing: William Schenck)

serekh as *Ntrhpr* [*h^c-k3w*] *r^c* (Figure 8). Indeed, a comparison of the dimensions of each sphinx shows that the two were once a pair, with the Karnak sphinx slightly the larger (Figure 9).

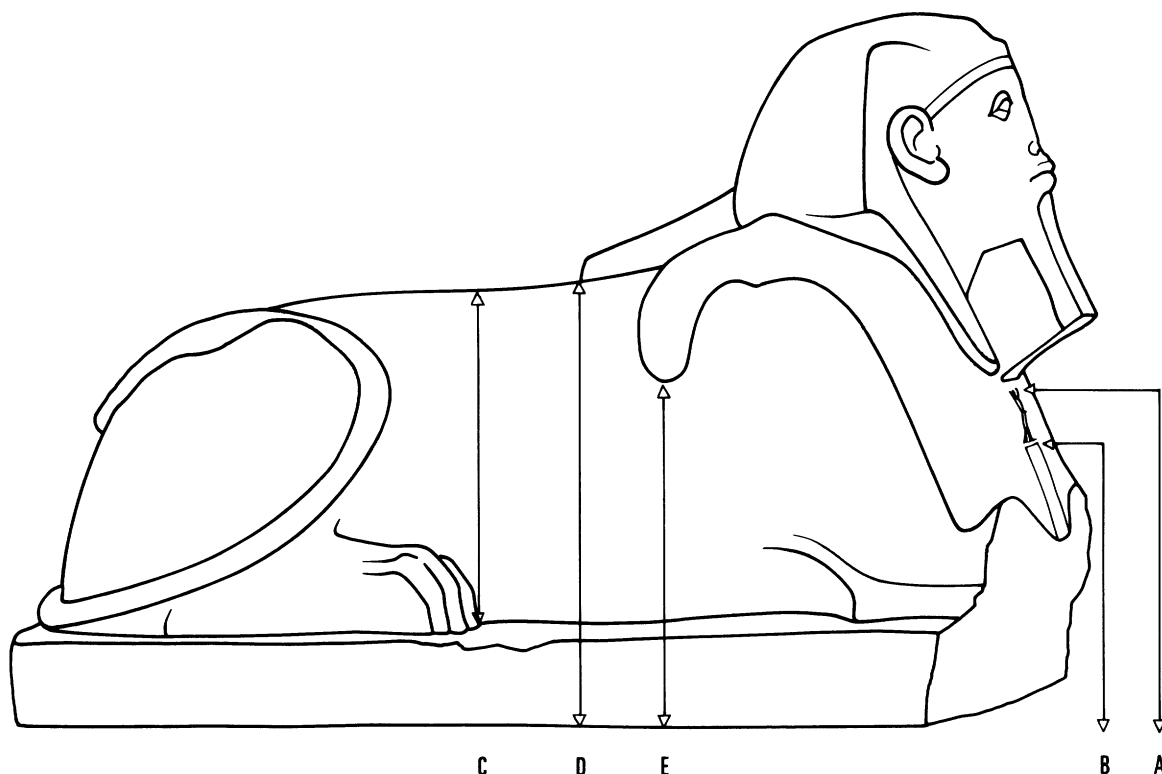
The fragment of a left front paw (Figure 10) seen on my first visit to the storehouse proved impossible to locate subsequently. It did not join the Karnak sphinx directly but may have belonged to the one in New York (see Figures 1, 5).

PROVENANCE

The objects in Makhzan Sheikh Labib are supposedly from nearby temples. It is possible, however, that some

9. Comparative dimensions of the two sphinxes (drawing: William Schenck)

	HEIGHT	NEW YORK	KARNAK
A	Falcon from base line	19.3 cm.	20.5
B	<i>Serekh</i> from base line	16.0	17.0
C	Top of back to right back paw	21.2	23.0
D	Tip of headdress to base line	28.0	30.0
E	Tip of mane to base line	20.5	21.8



of these objects originally stood in other parts of the Theban area. For instance, nine kilometers northeast of Karnak at Medamud, extensive architectural and sculptural remains of Sesostri III were found. On most of the architectural objects the king is shown offering to or adoring Montu, the principal god at Medamud: thus, we may conclude that the stones were originally meant for this site.¹¹

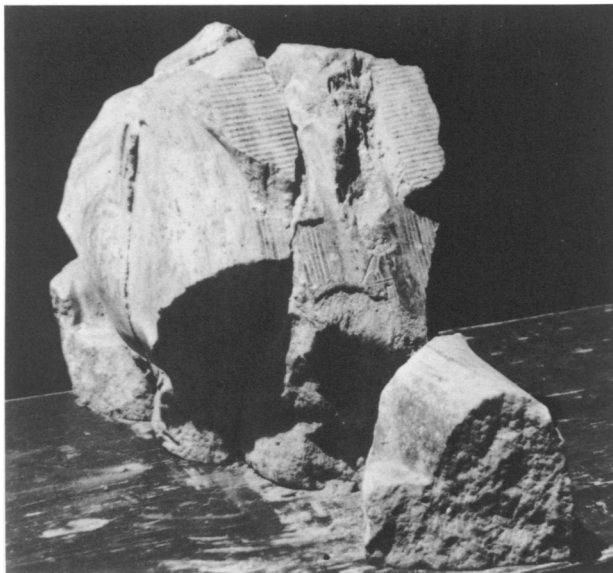
Opposite Karnak on the west bank at Deir el Bahri Naville found six statues of Sesostri III and the feet of a seventh, all of which had apparently stood on the upper colonnade of the temple of Mentuhotep.¹² In the peristyle of the same temple a stela was found showing Sesostri III offering to Mentuhotep, builder of the temple.¹³ Clearly Sesostri was interested in his great ancestor, deified after his death, and the monuments mentioned were meant for this temple.

Just one and a half kilometers south of Karnak itself is Luxor Temple. An offering table of Sesostri III was found there many years ago, but with its dedication to Harsaphis, lord of Ehnasya, nothing can be conjectured regarding its original location.¹⁴ I inquired of Lanny Bell, Director of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey, which is recording loose blocks at the site, and was told that

the Survey had identified a few Middle Kingdom blocks, mostly by style; one, however, had cartouches of Amenemhat I and another cartouches of Sesostri III.¹⁵ Since so few Middle Kingdom monuments have been found at Luxor,¹⁶ and since we know that later monuments—such as an offering table from the *Akh-menu* of Tuthmosis III,¹⁷ blocks of Amenophis II with the names of seized countries,¹⁸ *talatat* of Akhenaton,¹⁹ and a statue usurped by Ramesses II²⁰—were brought to Luxor from Karnak, I suggest that the Middle Kingdom blocks recorded by the Oriental Institute also came from there.

What about Karnak as a provenance for the sphinx fragments? No architectural elements of Sesostri III have come to light there, but important statuary has been recovered. In 1900 Georges Legrain found the bodies of two inscribed red granite colossi carefully buried on the south side of the Eighth Pylon, and in 1903 he found their heads in the famous Cachette.²¹ He also found there a small, gray limestone statue, 52 centimeters high, of the same king kneeling and offering two vases, and inscribed "beloved of Amunra

10. The Karnak sphinx, with fragment of a left front paw (photo: L. Habachi)



11. B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings: V. Upper Egypt: Sites* (Oxford, 1937) p. 145 and passim in the Medamud entry.

12. Porter-Moss, II. *Theban Temples*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972) pp. 384f.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 391.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

15. [For this material see Dr. Bell's note in University of Chicago, *The Oriental Institute Annual Report 1980–81* (1981) p. 17. C.L.]

16. [See Porter-Moss, II. *Theban Temples*, pp. 338 and 339, for a listing respectively of two granite architraves of Sekhemra Khutawy Sebekhotep and an offering table of "Sesostri" from the village. C.L.]

17. L. Habachi, "Clearance of the Area to the East of Luxor Temple and Discovery of Some Objects," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 51 (1951) pp. 464ff.

18. A. Fakhry, "Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Louxor (suite)," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 37 (1937) pp. 39ff.

19. A. Fakhry, "Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Louxor (suite): Bas-reliefs d'Akhenaton," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 35 (1935) pp. 35ff.

20. Habachi, "Clearance . . . East of Luxor Temple," pp. 450ff.

21. Porter-Moss, II. *Theban Temples*, p. 179; Cairo CG 42011, 42012 (G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers I* [Cairo, 1906] pp. 8–9 and pl. 6, where the present heights are given as 3.15 and 3.0 m. respectively, on which point see also note 23 below).

... divine ruler of Waset" (Thebes).²² Then, in 1970 the Franco-Egyptian Center at Karnak discovered the head of a colossus in front of the Fourth Pylon at pavement level among the remains of a structure of Tuthmosis IV. From its material, dimensions, and inscription it proved to come from a third colossus similar to the colossi found by Legrain, though it differed from them in one detail—a plaited beard. This beard, according to Bernadette Letellier, who studied and published the head, indicates that the king here was probably shown wrapped as the god Osiris or in a *heb-sed* cloak, rather than striding in a short pleated kilt, like the Legrain colossi.²³

In addition to these sculptures of Sesostris III we know from other remains that Karnak Temple was an important site for the Middle Kingdom kings. Porter and Moss list many royal and even private monuments coming from Karnak,²⁴ and to them can be added more recent discoveries of the Franco-Egyptian Center.²⁵ When we consider the probability that in the time of Sesostris III, the Legrain statues

at least—in view of their size and the Egyptians' love of symmetry—would have had counterparts, we may propose that Karnak itself is the most likely place of origin for the sphinxes in Makhzan Sheikh Labib and in New York.

Can we suggest how the statues of Sesostris III were arranged at Karnak? We have no sure architectural plan, and the scale of the statues varies considerably. It is possible to imagine the sphinxes, raised on bases, flanking an entryway, and to point to New Kingdom representations of statues and obelisks grouped before pylons. But our surest clue may yet come from the excavations of the Franco-Egyptian mission at Karnak.

NOTE

Following the author's death in 1984, this article was prepared for press by Christine Lilyquist, Curator of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

22. Porter-Moss, II. *Theban Temples*, p. 136; Cairo CG 42013 (Legrain, *Statues I*, p. 10 and pl. 7).

23. "Découverte d'une tête colossale de Sésostri III à Karnak," *Kêmi* 21 (1971) pp. 165–175; estimated original height of the colossus 3.20 m. This head is now Luxor Museum J34; see *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue* (Cairo, 1979) pp. 32–35 and cover. Letellier also points out (her n. 7) that the present heights given by Legrain for Cairo CG 42011 and 42012 (see note 21 above) must include the restorations of the missing feet but not the summits of the crowns, which are not conserved or restored.

24. Porter-Moss, II. *Theban Temples*, passim in the Karnak entry.

25. J. Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte: Domaine du divin* (Paris, 1979) pp. 46f.

The Arms of Coucy in Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass

MEREDITH PARSONS LILLICH

Professor of Fine Arts, Syracuse University

TWO MATCHING ROUNDELS with coats of arms, on loan to the Corning Museum of Glass, have been in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art since the bequest of George D. Pratt in 1935 (Figure 1).¹ The Pratts were chiefly interested in medieval armor, and the stained glass which went to the Metropolitan Museum from their Long Island house, in Glen Cove, had been a decorative accessory to their fine display of arms and armor. They probably bought all of their stained glass from the English dealer Roy Grosvenor Thomas, but they seem to have kept no records of the purchases.

The roundel designs framing these two coats of arms are modern, perhaps added by the dealer. The two shields, on the other hand, are rare examples of thirteenth-century stained-glass heraldry. They have hitherto been dated, again probably by the dealer, in the fourteenth century. Though they bear no painted designs, which would facilitate a stylistic attribution to one period or the other, the glass of which they are made is clearly thirteenth century. The European stained-glass art achieved a number of technical improvements during the generation spanning the year 1300. Fourteenth-century glass is thinner, with fewer imperfections, and it comes in larger pieces.² The glass of the Metropolitan Museum's pair of shields predates that development.

The shields display the coat of arms of one of the most powerful families of medieval France, the house of Coucy:³ barry of vair and gules. In heraldic blazon that describes a pattern of horizontal bands, alternately of vair and of red (gules). Vair is a blue and white design presumed to represent the common medieval fur, squirrel. While in heraldry it often has

the appearance of a series of small interlocking bells or shields, the glazier who made the Metropolitan Museum panels has simplified the form. The glass cutting and leading required to produce a classic vair would have been a formidable if not impossible task with thirteenth-century techniques and on such a small scale. Stripped of their modern surrounds, the Coucy shields are not quite seven inches high.

The lords of Coucy were crusaders and adversaries of the Capetian kings, and they and their great château in Picardy figured in medieval literature as well as history. Guy de Couci, a twelfth-century trouvère, not only wrote lyrics but was himself the hero

1. MMA 41.170.76 and 41.170.77, catalogued as English, 14th century. I would like to thank William H. Forsyth, who was Assistant Curator of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum when the Pratt bequest entered the collection, for his memory searching, and also Barbara Drake Boehm for her help from the Metropolitan Museum files. The arms are there tentatively identified as Beaumont (County Devon) or Thomas Coucy. Beaumont, however, bore barry of gules and vair, the reverse of the tinctures of the roundels; the English family of Coucy-Vervin, which included a Thomas II (d. 1276) and Thomas III (d. 1302), differentiated the Coucy arms with an added gold bend or baston not present in the roundels.

2. The changes begin to appear in the 1280s. See Meredith Lillich, "Gothic Glaziers: Monks, Jews, Taxpayers, Bretons, Women," *Journal of Glass Studies* 27 (1985), esp. the conclusion.

3. The arms of Enguerrand IV, sire of Coucy from 1250 to 1312, are found on both the Wijnbergen Roll, no. 876, and the Chifflet Roll, no. 65. For Wijnbergen, see Paul Adam-Even and Léon Jéquier, "Un Armorial français du XIIIe siècle: L'Armorial Wijnbergen," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 65 (1951) pp. 49–58, and 68 (1954) p. 60, no. 876. For Chifflet, see Max Prinnet, "Armorial de France composé à la fin du XIIIe siècle ou au commencement du XIVe," *Le Moyen Age*, 2nd ser., 22 (1920) p. 23, no. 65; Gerard J. Brault, *Eight Thirteenth-Century Rolls of Arms*



1. Arms of Coucy in a pair of heraldic shields, 13th century (in modern surrounds). Stained glass, diam. 10½ in. (26.7 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George D. Pratt, 1935, 41.170.76,77

of a late thirteenth-century Picard French romance with later metrical versions in English.⁴ The actual power of the Coucy can be surmised from their motto: "Roy ne suis, ne prince ne duc, ne comte aussy; je suis sire de Coucy."

The seal of Enguerrand IV, sire of Coucy from 1250 to 1312, shows the arms of the Metropolitan Museum's roundels (Figure 2).⁵ Since stained-glass heraldry seems to have been used no earlier than the clerestory of Chartres, it is safe to assume that the roundels present the arms of Enguerrand IV or of his ancestor Enguerrand III le Grand, formidable baron who took part in the Albigensian crusade in 1209, fought at Bouvines in 1214, played an active role in the barons' rebellion in the late 1220s, and died falling from a horse in 1242 or 1243. His son Raoul II joined the crusade of St. Louis soon thereafter and died a hero's death at Al-Mansura in 1250. The name of his heir, Enguerrand IV, whose long career stretched into the early fourteenth century, has come down in history in scandal, as protagonist of an incident exemplifying the justice of St. Louis.⁶ Sometime in the late 1250s three adolescent poachers were caught on his lands at Coucy and, at his order, per-



2. Cast of the seal of Enguerrand IV de Coucy, 1273. Paris, Archives Nationales S2204 counterseal (photo: Archives Nationales)

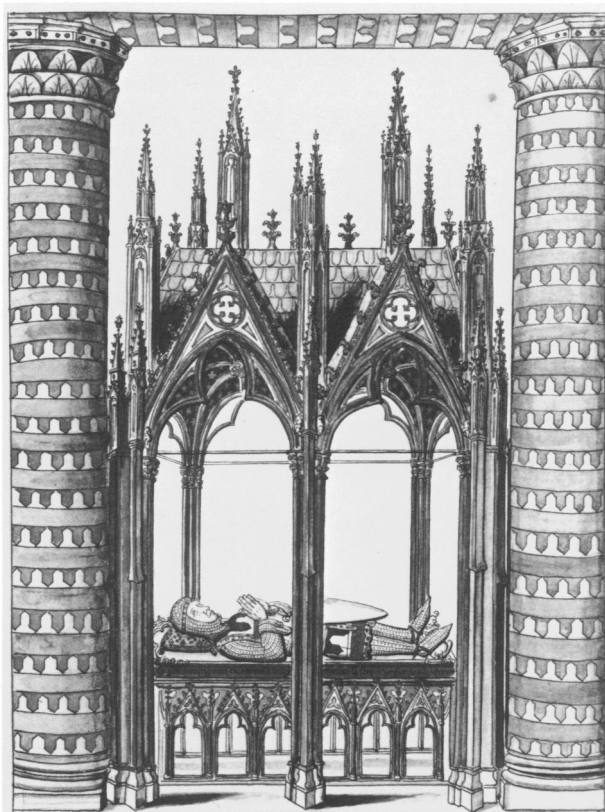


in *French and Anglo-Norman Blazon* (University Park, Pa., 1973) pp. 9–10, 80 no. 66. For Coucy genealogy, see E. de Lépinos, *Histoire de la ville et des sires de Coucy* (Paris, 1858) pp. 130–143; Jules Moreau, *Notice sur les sires de Coucy*, rev. 2nd ed. (Chauny, 1871) pp. 248–257.

4. Guy was probably not lord of Coucy but the castle's châtelain from 1186 to 1203. His songs were edited by Fritz Fath in 1883. A Picard French romance of the late 13th century, "Le Chastelain de Coucy et la dame de Fayel" by "Jakemon Sakesep," features Guy as fictional hero and retells the folk legend of the "coeur mangé" in which a betrayed husband (the sire of Fayel) feeds his wife the heart of her lover (Coucy). See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Coucy, Le Châtelain de"; Max Prinnet, "Les Armoiries dans le roman du châtelain de Coucy," *Romania* 46 (1920) pp. 161–179.

5. L. Douët-d'Arcq, *Collection de sceaux* (Paris, 1863–68) no. 1905 bis, counterseal dated 1273 (Archives Nationales S2204).

6. The two-part article by J. Tardif, contrary to its title, does not discuss the famous trial but does provide detailed lives of Enguerrand III (pp. 414–441) and his part in the barons' re-

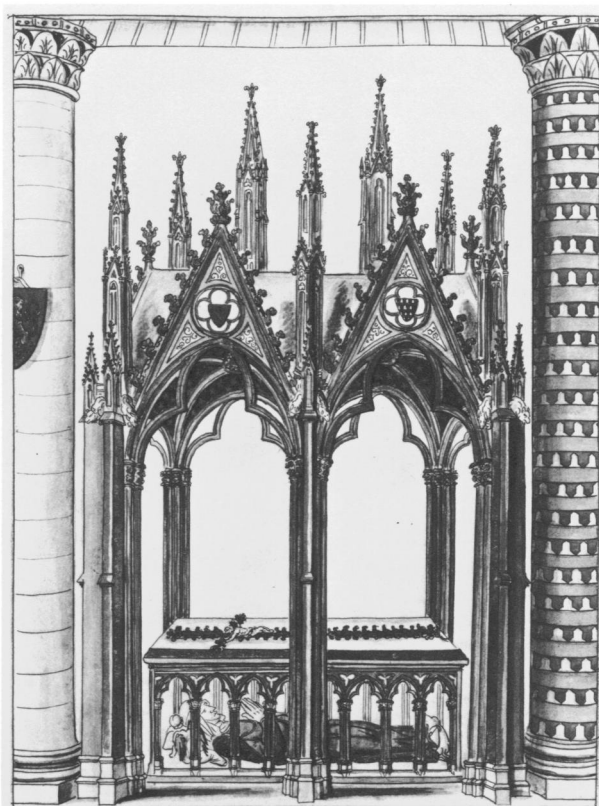


TOMBEAU de pierre, peint entre deux piliers à gauche du grand Autel de l'Eglise de l'Abbaye de Longpont.

3. Seventeenth-century drawing of the tomb of Enguerrand IV de Coucy (d. 1312), in the now-ruined abbey of Longpont, between two piers to the left of the high altar. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough Drw.-Gaignières, vol. 13, fol. 91r (photo: Bodleian Library)

emptorily hanged. They happened to be aristocratic young Flemings sent to learn French at the nearby abbey of St.-Nicolas, of which their kinsman was abbot, and the family's complaints roused Louis IX to bring the powerful baron of Coucy to heel in a fa-

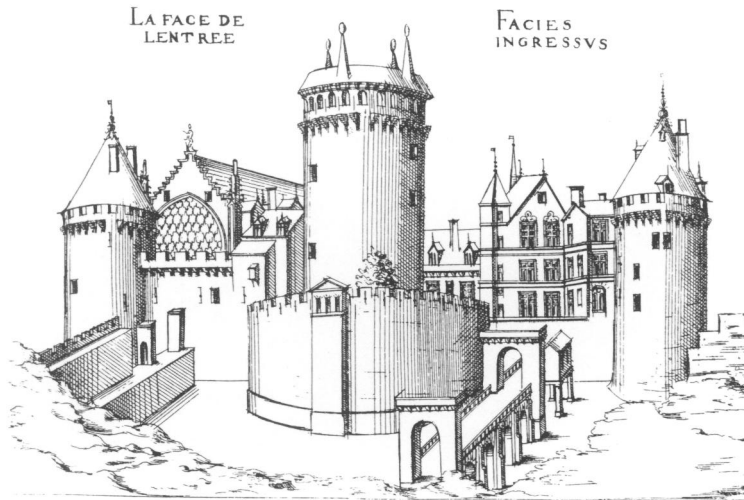
bellion, Raoul II (pp. 442–444), and Enguerrand IV (pp. 444–454): J. Tardif, "Le Procès d'Enguerrand de Coucy," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 79 (1918) pp. 5–44 and 414–454. Sources on the trial are collected by William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton, 1979) p. 209 n. 156. In addition to his references, see René Mouterde, "Un Procès sous Saint Louis," *Université Catholique* (Lyons) n.s. 6 (Jan. 1891) pp. 105–124.



TOMBEAU de pierre, à tenant du précédent entre deux piliers à gauche du grand Autel de l'Eglise de l'Abbaye de Longpont.

4. Seventeenth-century drawing of the tomb of Marie de Montmirail, dame de Coucy (d. 1271), in the abbey of Longpont, between two piers to the left of the high altar. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough Drw.-Gaignières, vol. 13, fol. 93r (photo: Bodleian Library)

mous trial at which the angered nobility of France argued in vain on his behalf. Enguerrand IV was stripped of *haute justice* and of the woods where his victims had been arrested, and the land was donated to the abbey; he was fined ten thousand pounds *parisis*, required to erect a memorial chapel and to endow perpetual masses for the young men, and ordered to go on crusade to the Holy Land for three years, a vow he was later able to buy off for an additional twelve thousand pounds. The chronicler Guillaume de Nangis relates that St. Louis spent the Coucy money building the Maison-Dieu of Pontoise, the dormitory of the Paris Dominicans, and the monastery of the Paris Franciscans.



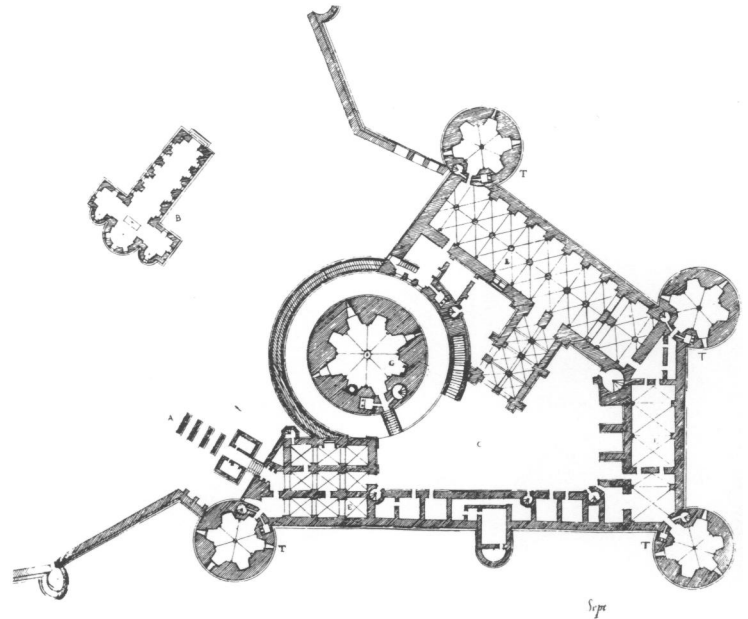
5, 6. The Château of Coucy ca. 1575, view from the entrance and plan, from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Le Premier Volume des plus excellents bastiments de France* (Paris, 1576). Syracuse University, George Arnts Library (photo: Syracuse University)

The chapel, behind the donjon in the inner court, opened onto the great hall and was vaulted in square bays supported on central piers, resembling the refectory of St.-Martin-des-Champs in Paris, ca. 1235.

Where might these two small stained-glass shields have come from? The tombs of the Coucy family were in the Cistercian abbey of Longpont, and seventeenth-century drawings show the extravagant display of the family heraldry which surrounded them (Figures 3, 4).⁷ There is no evidence, however, that stained glass formed part of this array, although thirteenth-century tombs elsewhere were occasionally accompanied by heraldry in the windows.⁸ Other Coucy ancestors were buried in the now destroyed Benedic-

7. Buried at Longpont were Enguerrand IV, his mother, Marie de Montmirail (d. 1271), and her father, Jean de Montmirail (d. 1217), who had entered that monastery and died there after a lifetime as a knight. See Marcel Aubert, "Les Tombeaux de l'abbaye de Longpont," *Congrès Archéologique de France* 78/1911, pt. 2 (1912) pp. 308–310. The drawings made for Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715) are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Jean Adhémar illustrates the 19th-century copies made for the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in "Les Tombeaux de la collection Gaignières," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 84 (July–Sept. 1974) no. 327 (Marie) and no. 580 (Enguerrand IV), also no. 64 (Jean de Montmirail, no heraldry included).

8. The Benedictine abbey of Evron (Mayenne) housed the



tine abbey of Notre-Dame de Nogent-sous-Coucy, which was largely rebuilt around 1663 and totally gone by 1865.⁹ The windows of the lost abbey of St.-Nicaise at Reims are said to have contained stained-glass arms of Coucy, according to the *Almanach historique de Reims* of 1772, written after the destruction of the glass in 1760–64,¹⁰ but that identification is a mistake. Dom Marlot, writing in 1660–63, identified Coucy arms painted in the church with a 1338 foundation and clearly described the stained-glass escutcheon as that of the shield of Châtillon, a house related to the Coucys only in the late fourteenth century.¹¹ In any event the early and total destruction of these abbeys and their glass and the absence of any documentation of stained-glass heraldry of Coucy within them produce no leads toward hypothesizing an institutional, reli-

tomb of Renaud de l'Isle and also a stained-glass panel of his coat of arms, both now lost. Their original relationship in the church, if any, cannot be reconstructed.

9. Anne Prache and Dominique Barthélemy, "Notre-Dame de Nogent-sous-Coucy, une abbaye bénédictine disparue," *Bulletin Monumental* 140 (1982) pp. 7–8.

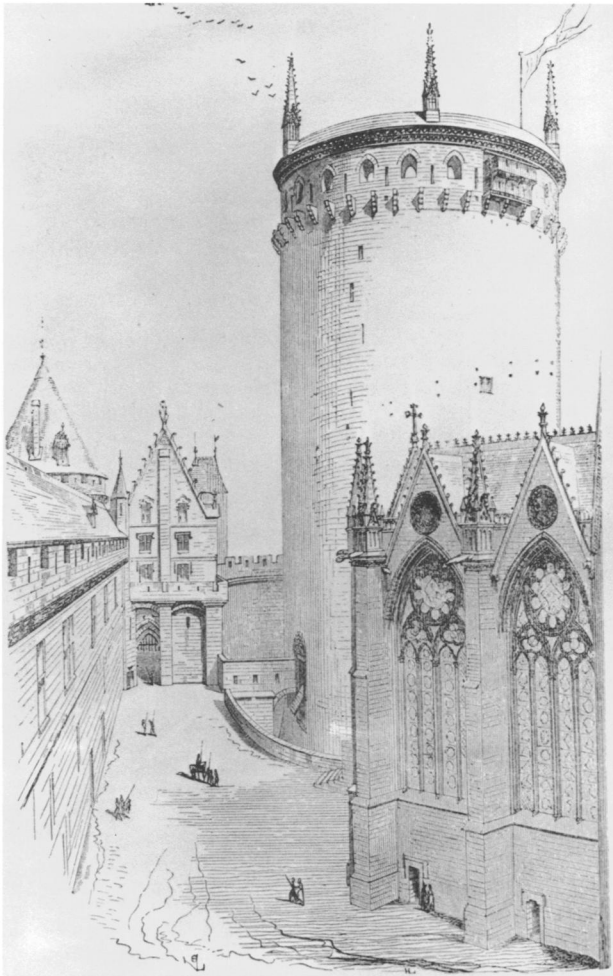
10. Léon Maxe-Werly, "Les Vitraux de Saint-Nicaise de Reims," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 2 (1884) p. 123 and n. 1.

11. Dom Guillaume Marlot (1596–1667), *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims* . . . , 4 vols. (Reims, 1846) III, pp. 336–337. The Châtillon arms are gules, three pales vair, a chief or—i.e., the bands are vertical, not horizontal as in the Coucy arms.

gious origin for the Metropolitan Museum glass shields.

The small scale of these shields, moreover, suggests a private origin. The famous and lavishly decorated château of Coucy was once considered the most beautiful in Europe (Figures 5, 6). The ruins were blown up by the retreating German army in 1917 with twenty-eight tons of dynamite but still offer an impressive appearance. The extensive studies published by the restorer Viollet-le-Duc in 1875 and by Lefèvre-Pontalis are only two among numerous descriptions of Coucy-le-Château from the fifteenth century to its twentieth-century destruction.¹² The original château was constructed by Enguerrand III (d. 1242/43), and the foundation of its chapel still stood in the early twentieth century. Viollet-le-Duc's drawings show the chapel of Coucy in the image of the Ste.-Chapelle (Figure 7), but according to Lefèvre-

7. Viollet-le-Duc, Coucy: hypothetical reconstruction of the inner court, donjon, and chapel, from *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture*, 1895. Syracuse University, Bird Library (photo: Syracuse University)



Pontalis it was a design of earlier and somewhat heavier Gothic style. He based this judgment on a carved foliage keystone and fragments of window traceries composing quatrefoil and cinquefoil patterns. Even such scant information calls to mind a comparison with the chapel of the royal château at St.-Germain-en-Laye (ca. 1238), while the vaulting on central supports resembled that of the Parisian refectory of St.-Martin-des-Champs (ca. 1235).¹³ In 1386–87, under Enguerrand VII, came the next period of construction at Coucy, a campaign for which the receipts were studied by Broche before their loss in the First World War.¹⁴ Handsome late Gothic living quarters were built then, including a famous “hall of worthies” decorated with statues of the *Neuf Preux* and *Neuf Preuses*.

In 1400 the duke of Orléans purchased the château of Coucy, and it remained in the possession of the house of Orléans until 1829. It is the “Orléans connection” which, as we shall see, makes possible a hypothesis that links the Metropolitan Museum roundels with Coucy-le-Château. Following his purchase in 1400, Louis d’Orléans added a kitchen, stables, and other structures.¹⁵ After his assassination the great fortress changed hands several times and was held briefly by the Burgundians and the English between 1411 and 1423, but by 1442 it was back in the

12. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Le Château de Coucy*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1928); idem, “Coucy-le-Château,” *Congrès Archéologique de France* 78/1911, pt. 1 (1912) pp. 296–308; Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1875) III, esp. pp. 107–117. There is an attractive modern guidebook: François Enaud, *Coucy*, Petites Notes sur les grands édifices, rev. ed. (Paris, 1978).

13. St.-Germain-en-Laye, now in the western suburbs of Paris, is illustrated in pls. 41, 42, 56, and 60 of Robert Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965); St.-Martin-des-Champs, pls. 55, 86.

14. On Enguerrand VII see Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror* (New York, 1978). Lucien Broche discovered, purchased, and published a manuscript of the receipts (Oct. 1, 1386–Sept. 30, 1387) kept by Jean Plançon, *receveur* of Enguerrand VII. The manuscript was E672 in the Archives Départementales de l’Aisne, where Broche was archivist; it disappeared in World War I. See Lucien Broche, “Notes sur d’anciens comptes de la châtellenie de Coucy (1386–1387),” *Bulletin de la Société Académique de Laon* 32 (1908) pp. 339f.

15. On the modifications to Coucy made by Louis d’Orléans, see Jean Mesqui and Claude Ribéra-Pervillé, “Les Châteaux de Louis d’Orléans et leurs architectes (1391–1407),” *Bulletin Monumental* 138 (1980) pp. 298, 310–312, 316, 336ff.

possession of the house of Orléans.¹⁶ In 1556 the Renaissance architect Philibert de l'Orme began repairs on Coucy.¹⁷ It fell to the Calvinists in 1567, and in 1652 during the civil war of La Fronde Cardinal Mazarin decreed its destruction by mines. The massive medieval pile with its twenty-eight towers and huge donjon had been reduced to a quarry long before 1829, when the duke of Orléans finally sold it. In 1856 the French government took possession and in due time restored it under the architects Viollet-le-Duc and Boeswillwald.

By the time Viollet-le-Duc went to Coucy the only part of its decoration that remained was painting in the vaults of the towers, of sixteenth-century date. Our information about the rest of the château's rich fittings comes from a long Latin poem written about 1440 by Antoine d'Asti (Astesan), secretary of Duke Charles d'Orléans, collected under the title *Lettres héroïques*. Stained glass is mentioned only once, in Astesan's verses describing the thirteenth-century chapel of Enguerrand III:¹⁸

Capella (lines 474–494)

Hoc castro est factum divino in honore sacellum,
Dives imaginibus petrae variisque figuris;
Aurea cui superest non parvo facta decore
Testudo, variis varie insignita figuris.
Sed nichil hoc vidi praestantius ipse sacello,
Quamvis multa forent pulcherrima digna relatu,
Quam varia in vitreis posita ornamenta fenestris,
Ditia imaginibus, vario preciosa colore,
In quibus integras veteris spectare novique
Testamentorum vel nostra aestate licebat
Historias. Heu! Heu! Sed longi tempore belli
Hostiles illam non parva ex parte prophanae
Diripuere manus; namque illo tempore castrum,
Quod capere armorum potuisset nulla potestas,
Perfidia interior crudeli subdidit hosti.
Quanti autem fuerint dicta ornamenta valoris,
Dux Bituricensis regali e stirpe Johannes,
Qui pro praedictis, quae longe optabat habere,
Aurea scutorum voluit dare milia bis sex,
Atque illas iterum puro redimire fenestras
Vitro, monstravit, aliis ne testibus utar.

(In this castle a chapel was built to the glory of God, embellished by stone statues and various images; the vault above is magnificently gilded and decorated with various figures. But nothing in this chapel—though many very beautiful things could be mentioned—seemed as remarkable to me as the diverse ornaments of the glass in the windows, enriched with images in a multitude of col-

ors, in which one could see stories from the Old and New Testaments and from our own era. Alas! Alas! During a long period of war, the filthy hands of the enemy destroyed a large part of them. At that time, no armed force had been able to seize the castle, but inner treason delivered it to a cruel enemy. As for the value of these treasures, the duke Jean de Berry, of the royal house, proved their great worth: he had long wanted to acquire these windows, and offered to pay 12,000 gold crowns and to replace them in the window spaces with new white glass [grisaille]. I will not give other proof.)

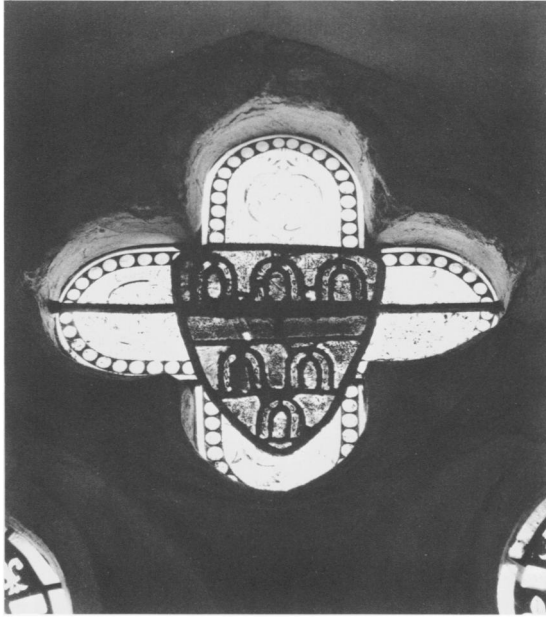
This remarkable passage does indeed justify Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction drawing of the château's chapel in the image of the Ste.-Chapelle of Louis IX: embellished with stone statues, a gilded and painted vault, and precious, multicolored stained glass presenting stories of the Old and New Testaments and of "our era." In fact, on the basis of Astesan's description, the chapel of Coucy moves into contention as one of the major sources of inspiration of St. Louis's famous Parisian chapel—a source completed in the decade immediately preceding the Ste.-Chapelle and without any doubt known to the king. Enguerrand III had nurtured ambitions to unseat the Capetians and rule France as king and had plotted against Louis IX during his minority. Enguerrand is even said to have worn a gold crown and royal regalia in his own court.¹⁹ Louis IX received his vow of fealty following

16. Toussaints Du Plessis, *Histoire de la ville et des seigneurs de Coucy* (Paris, 1728) p. 178. Tuchman's summary of the fate of the château thereafter (*A Distant Mirror*, pp. 595–596) is more or less accurate.

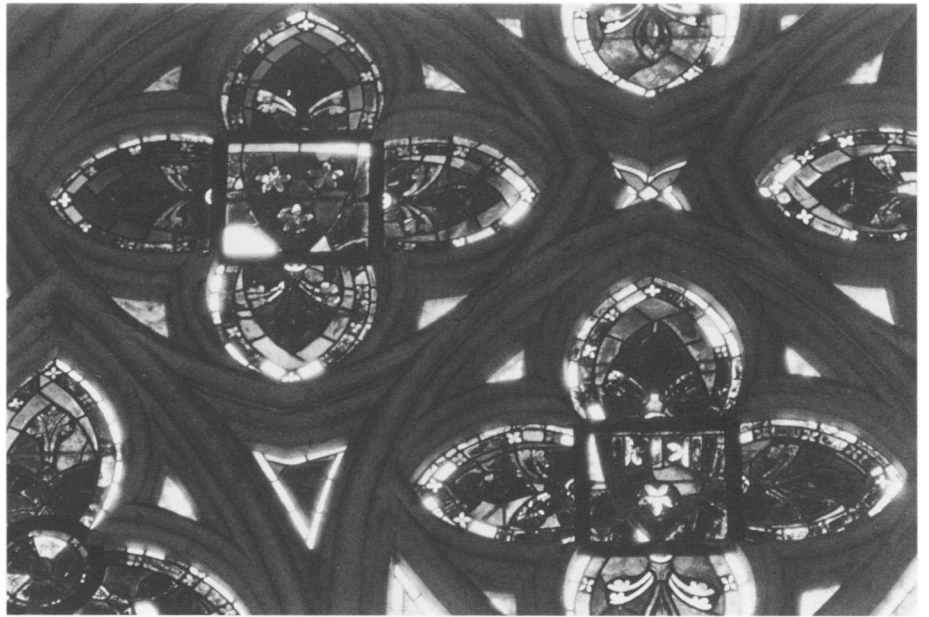
17. Anthony Blunt, *Philibert de l'Orme* (London, 1958) p. 68 n. 3 and p. 151.

18. The description of Coucy-le-Château by Astesan is available in two publications: Antoine Jean Victor Le Roux de Lincy, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1867) pp. 552–563; and L'Epinois, *Histoire de la ville et des sires de Coucy*, pp. 354–367. Each prints both the Latin text and a French translation; neither of the latter is precisely accurate, though L'Epinois makes the more blatant error in misidentifying Jean, duke of Berry (line 490) as "Le chef des Anglais Jean, de la famille royale." L'Epinois's mistake was repeated in several 19th-century accounts of Coucy, for example Moreau, *Notice sur les sires de Coucy*, p. 301. My thanks to Helen Zakin for checking the English translation.

19. On the baronial rebellion during Louis IX's minority, see Elie Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille, reine de France* (Paris, 1895) p. 121, and Sidney Painter, *The Scourge of the Clergy: Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany* (Baltimore, 1937) p. 61. Louis IX had reason to be suspicious of the house of Coucy, since Enguerrand III married his eldest daughter, Marie, first to the king of Scotland and then to the son of the king of Jerusalem.



8. Arms of de La Ferrière in traceries of the chapel of Aunou-sur-Orne (photo: Piel)



9. Arms of du Merle in traceries of the south choir clerestory of Sées Cathedral (photo: Lillich)

the failure of the barons' rebellion, but the king knew the political power of art and it is reasonable to assume that his Ste.-Chapelle was intended—among other goals—to outshine the glory of Coucy.

The text of Astesan also tells us that the stained glass of Coucy was coveted by the famous art patron Jean, duke of Berry (1340–1416), who offered to pay twelve thousand gold crowns for it and to replace it in the chapel windows with grisailles.²⁰ And finally, Astesan's account makes clear that by the 1440s, when the house of Orléans was again in possession of Coucy, the chapel's stained glass had suffered recent war damage.

The duke of Berry, a rival and antagonist of the duke of Orléans, would hardly have wished to acquire glass depicting emblems or images of Orléans. So, although Astesan's poem omits the date of the Coucy chapel windows, the interest of the duke of Berry in them confirms the likelihood that they were installed under the Coucy family. In a private chapel of early Rayonnant design stained-glass shields of such small scale might be expected in traceries; in the Ste.-Chapelle, for example, one occasionally finds fleurs-de-lis and castles of Castile, emblems of the French king. Figure 8 shows a rare example of such Gothic

glazed traceries in a family chapel which retains its patrons' thirteenth-century coats of arms. They are considerably smaller than those in the contemporary glazing of the cathedral nearby (Figure 9).

While we have no information about when the remains of the chapel glass might have been removed for safekeeping, it was the action of Mazarin in 1652 which rendered Coucy uninhabitable. The duke of Orléans in that year was the brother of Louis XIII, the unfortunate Jean-Baptiste-Gaston (d. 1660), who had little opportunity or desire to spend any time at Coucy; neither did the next (fourth) house of Orléans, inaugurated by Philippe II (d. 1701), brother of Louis XIV, or his descendants. These were: Philippe III (d. 1723), who governed France during the minority of Louis XV; Louis (d. 1752 in retirement at the abbey of Ste.-Geneviève); Louis-Philippe (d. 1785), governor of the Dauphiné; Louis-Philippe-Joseph, known as Philippe-Egalité (d. 1793 on the

20. Jean, duke of Berry, was the uncle of Louis d'Orléans but outlived the latter's assassination in 1407. It is impossible to know whether he had made his offer to Enguerrand VII, to his daughter, to Louis d'Orléans, or to the king who took over Coucy following the assassination.

scaffold of the Revolution); and Louis-Philippe (d. 1850), who became king of France in 1830. Coucy had been sold the previous year, and its Gothic glass had no doubt been moved from the château long before.

Moved where? Ultimately, it seems probable, the remnants of the ancient heraldic glass of Coucy decorated Orleans House, home of the exiled Orléans family near Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill²¹ at Twickenham (Middlesex). Orleans House was built in the reign of Queen Anne by James Johnston ("Secretary Johnston") and augmented in the 1720s with an Octagon designed by the architect James Gibbs; the Octagon remains, the rest of the house having been pulled down in 1927.²² Louis-Philippe, duke of Orléans, lived in the house from 1800 to 1814 and again during 1815–17; and his great-grandson Philippe (1869–1926), duke of Orléans, was born there. Orleans House is known to have had a collection of stained glass, moved there from France and—following a somewhat mysterious sale—eventually returned to France.²³

The sale that put some of the Orleans House stained glass on the English art market cannot be documented, but the Coucy shields were certainly for sale in the early twentieth century, and George Pratt may well have bought them from the English dealer Roy

Grosvenor Thomas. Some of the Pratt glass had come from a "castle" which, according to a reminiscence over forty years later by William H. Forsyth, was built "in the neo-gothic style by the English ambassador to France, and decorated with glass brought from France at the time of the Revolution."²⁴ Allowing for the often intentional vagaries of dealers' stories about their wares, as well as those of time and recollection, that "castle" was probably Orleans House.

In this study I have constructed a hypothesis from some solid data and their plausible implications: the pair of stained-glass roundels now in the United States, a reattribution of the shields to the thirteenth century, the identification of their heraldry with the powerful house of Coucy, the description of the thirteenth-century chapel of Coucy-le-Château about 1440 when in the possession of Charles, duke of Orléans, and the possibility that the stained-glass coats of arms were purchased by Pratt from the English dealer Roy Grosvenor Thomas. If, as I have suggested, they once decorated the chapel built at Coucy about 1225–35 by Enguerrand III le Grand, they are a precious remnant of medieval feudal glory which is all but lost to us save for the tales of the poets and chroniclers who were there.

21. Walpole (d. 1797) was the son of the English Whig prime minister Robert Walpole. Certainly his enthusiasm for medieval stained glass had been known to the French nobility, since Walpole visited Chantilly in 1739, and in 1763 received at Strawberry Hill a visit from the aged duke of Nivernais. See Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 1962) chap. III; W. S. Lewis, "The Genesis of Strawberry Hill," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 5 (1934–36) esp. pp. 68–83; Jean Lafond, "Le Commerce des vitraux étrangers anciens en Angleterre au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècles," *Revue des Sociétés savantes de Haute-Normandie, Histoire de l'art* 20 (1960) p. 9; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Middlesex, The Buildings of England* (Harmondsworth, 1951) p. 161–166.

22. Pevsner, *Middlesex*, p. 160.

23. Letter of March 22, 1983, from D. Michael Archer, Victoria and Albert Museum, to whom I would like to express my warm thanks. I am also grateful to Miss Patricia Astley-Cooper, Assistant Curator of Orleans House Gallery, for the following information: the duke of Aumale, Louis-Philippe's son, took possession of Orleans House in 1855 and added an art gallery and library for his large art collection; in 1871 he returned to France, where he spent his last years at Chantilly. A print by E. Pingret published in the Gallery's brochure shows King Louis-Philippe visiting Orleans House in 1844.

24. Letter to the author, Apr. 1, 1981.

Some Remarks on the Armorial Tapestry of John Dynham at The Cloisters

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

FOR EDITH A. STANDEN

ON HER EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

AMONG THE MILLEFLEURS TAPESTRIES in the Museum's collections the tapestry with the arms of Sir John Dynham, first Lord Dynham of Hartland, is the only one that does not display figural scenes of hunting or shepherds, but is composed strictly of heraldic designs. This tapestry has been published in a comprehensive study by Bonnie Young in 1962.¹ Although her essay offers much detailed information, a few points about the heraldry in this tapestry can be added.

The tapestry's central motif is the full achievement of arms of Sir John, as first Lord Dynham and Knight of the Garter. His armorial shield, shaped as a tournament targe, is surmounted by a crested and mantled helmet with barred visor; the shield is surrounded by the Garter and flanked by two stags proper as supporters. Bonnie Young describes the armorial bearings on the shield as "four ermine lozenges on a now-faded red field (or, in the language of heraldry, gules, a fess of four lozenges ermine)." The crest is composed as follows: on a chapeau gules, upturned ermine, an ermine statant between two lighted candles proper. The mantlings of the helmet are: gules, lined ermine, on the sinister side, but with colors counterchanged; ermine, lined gules, on the dexter. The shield's supporters, the two stags, actually hold the Garter between their forehooves like a frame for the shield (Figure 1).

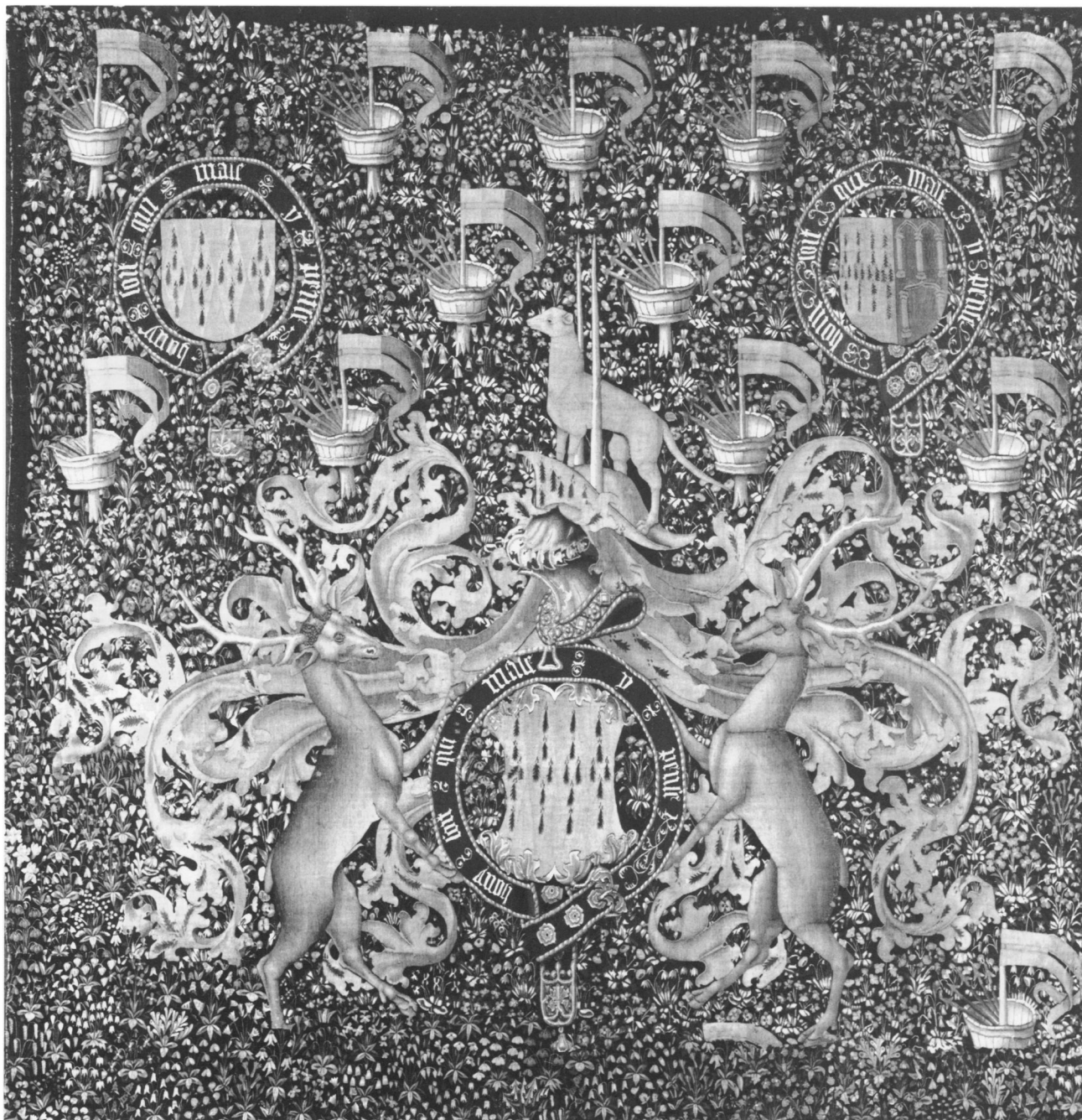
Two smaller shields appear in the upper corners of the tapestry. The one on the dexter side bears the

Dynham arms of the four lozenges, while the one on the sinister shows the Dunham arms impaling those of the Arches family: gules, three arches argent, the two in chief conjoined (Figure 2). The maiden name of Sir John's mother was Arches; these two shields, therefore, must represent his father's and his mother's arms.²

The upper part of the millefleurs background is strewn with the device of the topcastle of a warship, eleven times repeated. Five javelins lean against its railing and a swallow-tailed pennant with the Cross of St. George flies from the mast. A strip across the bottom of the tapestry is heavily restored with patches of other millefleurs work, but part of one topcastle and a fragment of another pennant are preserved in the lower right corner. These show that the tapestry was once considerably longer, most likely—as already pointed out by Bonnie Young—containing two more shields in its lower corners, following the usual pattern of armorial tapestries.

1. Bonnie Young, "John Dynham and His Tapestry," *MMAB* n.s. 20 (June 1962) pp. 309–316, ill. I have drawn freely on Young's quotations from her sources, including contemporary chronicles.

2. Sir John's Garter stall-plate in the choir of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, uses an alternate form of his arms: Quarterly, 1 and 4 Dynham, 2 and 3 Arches, incorporating his mother's arms in his shield. The mantlings of the helmet are there gules, lined ermine; the stags are supporting the helmet rather than the shield. See Young, "John Dynham," fig. 6.



1. Tapestry with the armorial bearings and badges of John, Lord Dynham (1433–1501), Flemish (Tournai), after 1487. Wool and silk threads, 12 ft. 8 in. × 12 ft. 1 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 60.127.1

In her study Bonnie Young traces John Dynham's colorful career as a dashing naval commander and a distinguished administrator in the service of "five successive kings without losing either his head or his land"—no mean accomplishment during the turbulent times of the Wars of the Roses. In 1458, as a loyal subject of the Lancastrian king Henry VI, John Dynham inherited the family manors of Nutwell and

Hartland in Devonshire; but in 1459 after the disastrous battle of Ludlow, a failed attempt by the duke of York to seize the crown, he helped Warwick the Kingmaker and the earl of March (York's son and the future Edward IV) to escape to Calais. They crossed the Channel in a small ship bought by Dynham for "vj score nobles," presumably the bulk of the family fortune. Having joined the Yorkist side "out of love of the Earl of March," Dynham led two successful raids from Calais on the seaport of Sandwich, one in mid-January and the other in late June of 1460. In both enterprises he managed to capture not only most of the assembled royal fleets but also their commanders. As a result of the second raid a bridgehead was established, launching the Yorkist campaign that eventually succeeded in unseating Henry VI. In this second raid Dynham was "sore hurte and maymed on his legge, by reason whereof, he ever after halted and somewhat limped." In spite of this handicap, in March 1461, as one of the commanders of the Yorkist rear guard at the battle of Towton, he arrived in the nick of time to save the day for York.

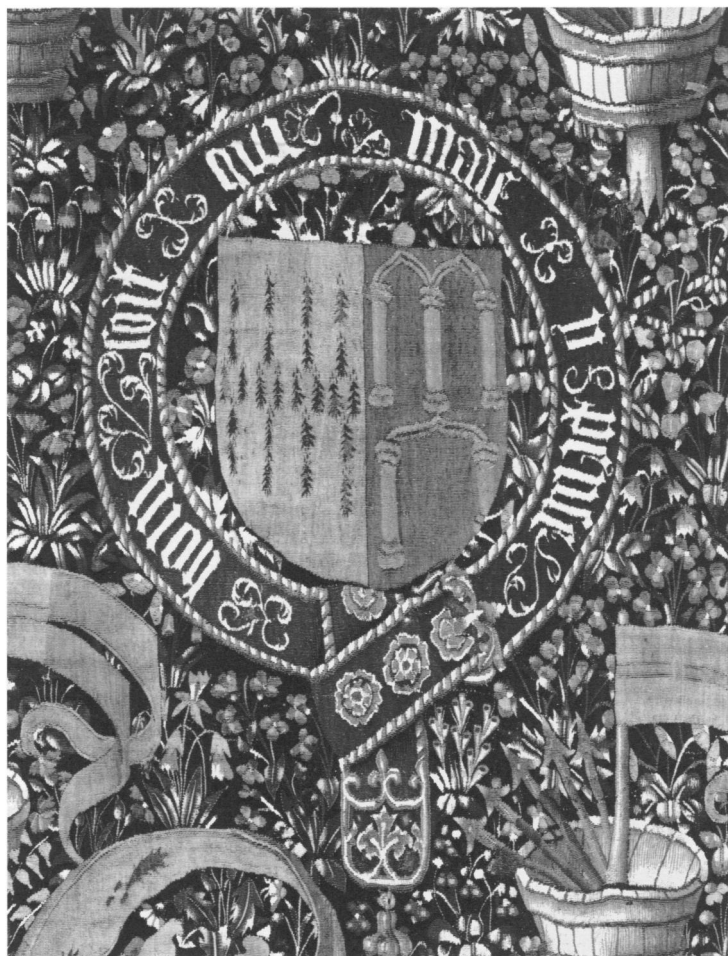
A few days after Edward's coronation on June 28, the grateful new king raised John Dynham to the peerage as Lord Dynham "ffor his manhood." Ten years later, in 1470–71, Henry VI—now supported by Warwick—was restored briefly to the throne. Lord Dynham, who had apparently kept wisely out of sight in Devon, was pardoned for his actions against the Lancastrians, but as soon as the Yorkists returned from exile, he rallied to the White Rose standard again. During the following years, in 1472 and particularly in 1475, when he kept the "narrow sea" safe as the line of supply and communications for the invasion of France, he held several important naval commands; later he became deputy to the Captain of Calais, Lord Hastings. His long and loyal service to the House of York notwithstanding, Dynham did not enjoy the full trust of King Richard III. Although he was left in command of Calais after the execution of Hastings in June 1483, he was removed from this post in March 1485, and—adding insult to injury—replaced by the king's bastard son, John of Gloucester, who was still a minor.³ After Henry VII's victory at the battle of Bosworth Field, August 22, 1485, Dyn-

ham was reinstalled as Captain of Calais. The Tudor king, who recognized a useful man when he saw one, made Dynham Lord Treasurer in 1486 and a Knight of the Garter in 1487.

Bonnie Young's essay shows that Henry VII bought tapestries on at least two occasions, in 1486 and 1488, from the Grenier family, the leading weavers and dealers of the famed tapestry center at Tournai, to which this tapestry is attributed. In 1488 the king instructed his customs officials and the Treasurer that his tapestries should be imported free of duty. The Treasurer was Lord Dynham, who could easily have ordered tapestries of his own at the same time; in any case, this tapestry must have been made after Dynham's elevation to Knight of the Garter.

Membership of this exclusive order of chivalry was limited to twenty-five knights, the "bravest in the land," in imitation of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table. To fill a vacancy members nominated nine worthy candidates each, and then proposed the knight with the most nominations to the king, who, as the

2. Shield with the Dynham arms impaling Arches, detail of Figure 1



3. Paul Murray Kendall, *Richard the Third* (New York, 1955) pp. 392, 482; Charles Ross, *Richard III* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1981) p. 138.

used in France, Spain, and Italy, were particularly abundant in England. Most were freely chosen personal symbols, though some, such as the three ostrich feathers of the Prince of Wales and the half-moon of the Percys, became associated with certain offices and families. Others were the badges of political parties, like the red rose of Lancaster, the white rose of York, and later the Tudor rose. The family badge of the Dynhams was a stag's head, in allusion to the manor of Hartland.⁶ The armed topcastle—*pars pro toto* for an entire warship—so liberally displayed in this tapestry would have been Lord Dynham's personal badge, one that was appropriate for a renowned naval commander. Whether the five javelins leaning against the topcastle's railing have special significance is an intriguing question. Perhaps they indicate the five important commands in Lord Dynham's naval career; on the other hand, they might have been just regulation armament. The pennants with the Cross of St. George in the fore section and their red and white streamers, in the same tinctures as Lord Dynham's shield, conform to the English military pattern.

In the intricate grading system of military heraldry two different types of flags were employed, the square banner and the triangular, often swallow-tailed, stan-

dard. A knight banneret had the privilege of bearing a banner charged with his family's arms; in addition to this banner he had one or more standards to display his badges. Lower-ranking knights had their family arms limited to their shields and surcoats (hence "coat of arms"), and carried only one standard. English military standards all had the Cross of St. George (red on white) as *signum commune* at their head next to the staff; the fly was in the livery colors of the knight and bore his badges. The standard shown here is that of Sir John Carew, from an early sixteenth-century roll of arms (Figure 3). Sir John's coat of arms was: "Quarterly, 1. Or, three lions passant Sable, armed and langued Gules; 2. Gules, four fusils in fess Ermine; 3. Gules, three arches (the upper two conjoined) Argent; 4. Azure, a bend Or, a label of three points Gules; in the fess point of the shield a crescent Argent for difference."⁷ Since the first field shows the family arms of Carew, the second those of Dynham, and the third those of Arches, it is clear that Sir John Carew was a descendant of one of John Dynham's four sisters.⁸ Many Carews had naval careers, and Sir John presumably adopted his badge of the armed topcastle, modified by adding the black lion from the Carew crest, in honor of his famous relative, Lord Dynham.

now in the Yorkshire Museum, York, seems to be from this group. Pamela Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, exh. cat. (London, 1973) no. 139.

6. H. G. Ströhl, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Badges," *Jahrbuch der k. k. Heraldischen Gesellschaft "Adler"* n.s. 12 (1902) pp. 75–113. The Dynham badge is mentioned on p. 83.

7. Lord Howard de Walden, *Banners, Standards and Badges from a Tudor Manuscript in the College of Arms* [MS 12], The De Walden Library (London, 1904) p. 67. Note the interchangeable use of "fusil" and "lozenge" in describing the Dynham charge in the second field.

8. John Dynham's two children predeceased him and he was survived only by his second wife. His sisters' children were his eventual heirs.

Classical and Christian Symbolism: An Early Renaissance Female Saint from Augsburg

CARMEN GOMEZ-MORENO

Curator Emeritus, Medieval Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN MEMORY OF HANNS SWARZENSKI (1903–1985)¹

AMONG THE LARGE NUMBER of works of art bequeathed to The Metropolitan Museum of Art by George Blumenthal is a beautiful lindenwood sculpture representing a standing young woman, elegantly attired and bejeweled (Figures 1–4). Unfortunately her hands—one or both of which would have held an attribute—are missing and with them were lost the standard clues to her identity. A rather unusual clue remains, however, as I will elaborate.

The front and sides of the figure are carved but most of the back, below the neck, is cut flat and hollowed out lengthwise from the upper back to the feet (Figure 5).² While the woman's right leg and foot stand firmly on the ground, her left leg flexes forward at the knee making the body bend in that direction. The figure is kept in perfect balance thanks to the position of her left foot, which points out with heel raised, and to the slight movement of the head to her right, which helps to maintain the statue's verticality.

Apart from the important loss of both hands, the condition of the sculpture is excellent. The delicate carving of the details indicates that the figure was never intended to be polychromed. Some touches of color were added to give life to the features, as can be seen from the remains of red pigment on the lips. Most likely the pupils were also painted as they appear in comparable examples. A few wormholes are scattered on the back of the head, on the lower part of the dress and mantle, and on the rocklike ground under the feet, the left corner of which is a restora-

tion. A small loss in a fold on the figure's right side and a crack under her left arm complete the damages. Part of a nail on the upper back, and two holes, one on each side of the back at the bottom, are the only traces of the original attachments that must have fastened the sculpture to a flat background in a shrine or altarpiece.

Bearing in mind the German tradition of using free-standing sculptures for altarpieces instead of the relief compositions favored in other countries such as Italy and Spain, we can safely assume that this is an appliqué figure which probably stood with others flanking some central religious representation.³ Arrangements of standing saints—all female, all male, or mixed—usually under arches, appear in Germany and elsewhere in paintings such as the Hohenburger

1. This article, in a slightly different form, was delivered with many others by colleagues, friends, and admirers to Hanns Swarzenski in celebration of his eightieth birthday. The occasion was organized by Willibald Sauerländer and Dietrich Kötzsche at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich, on Aug. 29, 1983. Dr. Swarzenski died on June 22, 1985, when this article was in press.

2. A modern strip of iron is fastened along the hollow part and to the modern wooden block on which the sculpture now stands.

3. H. Wölfflin discussed the different approach of Italian and German artists to relief sculpture in his *Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl*, translated by Alice Muehsam and Norma A. Shatan as *The Sense of Form in Art* (New York, 1958).



1, 2. *Female Saint*, here identified as *St. Barbara*, German, Augsburg, ca. 1510. Lindenwood, H. 24½ in. (62.2 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George Blumenthal, 41.190.95

3–5. *St. Barbara*, profiles and back



Altar executed in tempera on panel by Hans Holbein the Elder, now in the National Gallery of Prague.⁴ These paintings look like models for sculptures or as if they were inspired by sculptures. One has to remember that Holbein the Elder was related by marriage to the Erharts—the most outstanding family of sculptors in Augsburg in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.⁵ Among the female saints most often represented are Margaret of Antioch, Cather-

ine of Alexandria, Dorothy, and Barbara. In addition, or instead of one or two of these, we sometimes find St. Lucy, St. Apollonia, or the saint connected

4. For the Holbein example see *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik*, exh. cat. (Augsburg, 1965) nos. 45, 46, figs. 45–48.

5. For a clear family tree showing the Erhart–Holbein relationship see Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven/London, 1980) p. 129.



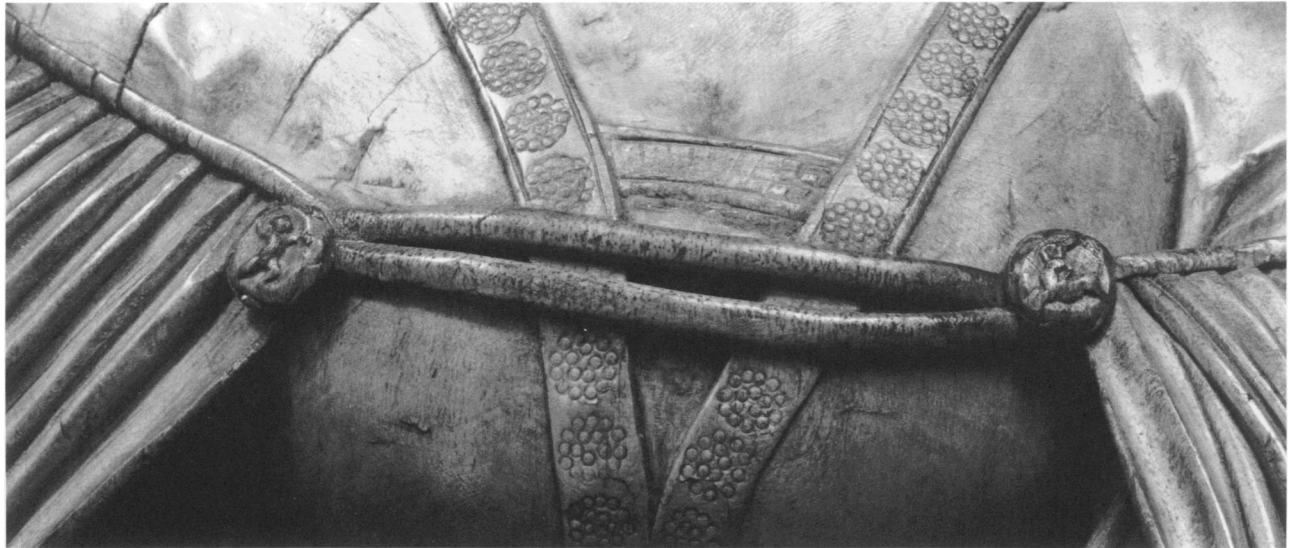
6. *St. Dorothy*, German, Augsburg, early 16th century. Lindenwood, H. 32½ in. (82.5 cm.). Frankfurt am Main, Städtische Galerie-Liebieghaus (photo: Liebieghaus)

with a particular town, church, or donor. Of the male saints, the most favored as escorts for the young female martyrs are Sebastian and Roch.

When, for one reason or another, altarpieces were dismantled, sculptured figures were often scattered. A statue that shares many of the characteristics of the Metropolitan Museum's figure is a lindenwood *St. Dorothy* in the Städtische Galerie-Liebieghaus in Frankfurt am Main (Figure 6).⁶ This figure, with her left leg bent at the knee and head inclined slightly to her right, shows a very similar pose, as well as a resemblance in the features and in the handling of the draperies. *St. Dorothy's* attributes have fortunately been preserved—a basket, which according to legend contained apples and roses (here it has only the latter), and a garland of roses on her head. The Frankfurt sculpture is 8 inches taller than the one in the Metropolitan Museum. Were it not for this disparity, the two are close enough in style, iconography, and medium to have formed part of the same ensemble. From the pose, both once stood on the right of a central composition.

The common denominator between these two statues is their natural, relaxed pose and an awareness of the body under the drapery that has a classical origin, typical of the Italian Renaissance but unusual in the North. They are also linked by their delicately carved ornamentation, which is reminiscent of goldsmith workmanship. The belted dresses with their generous décolletage are very similar, and the mantles, each fastened by a double cord and worn low on the shoulders, are virtually identical. Both figures wear ornaments around their necks and show a similar treatment of the locks of hair on either side of the face. In the Metropolitan Museum statue the rest of the hair is covered by an elaborately embroidered cap

6. I am very grateful to Michael Maek-Gerard, who visited the Metropolitan Museum in 1981, when we exchanged ideas about the two sculptures. Later we provided each other with photographs both for a catalogue of the Liebieghaus he was preparing and for this article, which I have had in mind for several years.



7. *St. Barbara*, detail

surmounted by a small crown;⁷ St. Dorothy's hair, under an exquisitely carved wreath of roses, falls luxuriantly about her shoulders and back. The faces have a youthful roundness—more pronounced in the Metropolitan Museum example—unlike other sculptures of the Swabian area or elsewhere in Germany, which usually exhibit flatter cheeks and longer faces. The small features of the Frankfurt and New York sculptures and the almond-shaped eyes, drooping slightly at the outside corners, are dominated by the same high, rounded foreheads. Neither figure has carved eyebrows; these are only suggested by the bone structure.

The Metropolitan Museum sculpture was not on display when I joined the Department of Medieval Art in 1956 and, to my knowledge, never had been. Shortly after my arrival, needing something to brighten up my surroundings, I took the little lady and placed her facing my desk. One day, when I was pondering over some other project, my eyes rested on the sculpture and focused more closely on the two buttons connected by the double cord which holds the mantle. Even from a considerable distance I noticed that they were carved with different decorative motifs. To my surprise I saw that the button on the left represented a naked male figure, running to the right, his raised right arm holding something like a stick or a club. The button on the right represents a centaur facing to the left. Both tiny images (the diameter of

each button is only 1 centimeter) are set within pentalobular frames as if they were cameos (Figure 7). I considered the two motifs as a unit because, although the centaur could have had a decorative meaning on its own, the running man had none. The scene that came to mind was the fight of Hercules and the centaur Nessus, a subject often found in classical sources and, by extension, in art of the Italian Renaissance. In classical mythology Hercules is a symbol of strength, as is Samson in biblical iconography. But why would Hercules be represented in the jewelry of a Christian saint?

A careful study of the statue is needed to explain this connection. The young woman, to judge by the position of the arms, was holding something in front of her. A small fragment of the missing object can be seen attached to the fold of the mantle below the waist and near the break of her right arm. The object must have been no taller than the distance between this remaining fragment and the Hercules button or it would have obscured the latter. The base of the attribute would have rested on the saint's right hand, which would have been extended forward palm up, while

7. The closest parallel for her elaborate hair covering is in a sculptural group by the Ottobeuren Master representing a kneeling St. Margaret accompanied by St. George, in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (see Baxandall, *Lime-wood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, pl. 87).



8. *St. Dorothy*, detail (photo: U. Edelmann)

its top would have been steadied by her left hand bent upward (the positions of the missing hands can be detected quite clearly from the angles of the forearms). Thinking, from the statue's general appearance, that the saint represented was likely to be St. Barbara, I first took the attribute to have been a tower—one of St. Barbara's symbols. Closer examination of German art, however, and more precisely of Swabian sculpture and painting, has persuaded me that the tower is used infrequently in German representations of St. Barbara, while a chalice—another of her attributes—appears almost constantly. A chalice, moreover, would have fitted the space available and

would also have caught up the folds on the left side of the saint's mantle. The figure of St. Dorothy uses her right hand to hold the left side of her mantle across her body in a similar manner (Figure 6).

According to legend, St. Barbara, one of the most venerated of the early martyrs, suffered humiliation and torture at the hands of her pagan father. Imprisoned in a tower, she continued her study of the Christian faith and, refusing to renounce this, was put to death by her father. Her life and martyrdom made St. Barbara a symbol of Christian fortitude. The tower became one of her attributes and the chalice another, the tower a sign of her strength and the chalice of her faith. It is as the *Fortezza* of the Christian church that St. Barbara is linked with Hercules, a connection that explains why this representation of a Christian saint is shown wearing a pagan motif. Only in Augsburg, where the classicism of the Italian Renaissance was more influential than anywhere else in Germany, could such a parallel occur. Not even Dürer with all his enthusiasm for Italy, much overemphasized by art historians, would have conceived such subtle reciprocal symbolism.⁸

Although it is not comparable in imaginativeness with the Hercules and Nessus buttons, the figure of St. Dorothy also has something that is non-German in origin. Instead of a jeweled necklace she wears a torque from which is suspended a medallion with a relief representing the profile of a man, perhaps a Roman emperor (Figure 8).⁹ The medallion resembles a coin with milled edges. Parallels or prototypes for portraits of Roman emperors in medallion shape exist in the woodcuts representing heads of Roman emperors by the most Italianized of all the Augsburg artists, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, who died in 1531.¹⁰

8. I would like to express my gratitude to Erich Steingraber for his valuable suggestions in connection with the area of origin of this group of sculptures, which we discussed many years ago before my discovery of the carvings on the buttons.

9. It is hardly conceivable that St. Dorothy would have worn a portrait of Diocletian, a persecutor of the Christians, under whose mandate she was martyred. The medallion may have been inspired by a Roman coin, and the portrait may not be that of an emperor but of the Roman lawyer Theophilus, who mocked St. Dorothy when she was going to her death. The saint sent Theophilus her miraculous basket of apples and roses, causing his conversion, which was closely followed by his own martyrdom.

10. See Ernst Buchner and Karl Feuchtmayr, eds., *Beiträge*

An earlier example connecting the iconography of St. Barbara with classical mythology appears in the Frick Collection, New York, in a painting attributed to Jan van Eyck, representing the Virgin and Child with two saints and a donor. St. Barbara on the left stands in front of a window, through which the tower that is her symbol can be seen behind her. The Gothic structure depicted here is quite unlike the crenelated tower usually associated with the saint. This Eyckian tower contains a small bronze sculpture of a man seen through the middle of the three windows¹¹ with the inscription *MARS* beneath it (Figure 9). St. Barbara had been invoked since the ninth century for protection against lightning,¹² and by extension she became patroness of anything or anyone connected with explosives, firearms, miners, artillery, and soldiers. As Mars is the god of war we again find a combination of classical and Christian symbolism, similar to the St. Barbara with Hercules, but showing another aspect of the saint's powers, conceived over half a century earlier.

The two sculptures under discussion have already been considered by some scholars on the basis of their general style as coming from Swabia and, more precisely, Augsburg, around the first decade of the sixteenth century. This conclusion, however, has not yet been published. The evidence presented here, focusing on the artist's awareness not only of the Italian Renaissance but also of classical mythology and symbolism and their parallels with Christian iconography, seems further confirmation of an Augsburg origin. There remains the important problem of finding other, comparable works within the Augsburg group. At present, some general characteristics of style, coupled with an unusual use of classical sources, are all we have to go on, and no artist has been found to whom the sculptures can safely be assigned.



9. Attributed to Jan van Eyck (active 1422–41), *Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor*, detail: St. Barbara. Oil on panel. The Frick Collection, New York (photo: courtesy of the Frick Collection)

zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst: II. Augsburger Kunst der Spätgotik und Renaissance (Augsburg, 1928) pp. 224–228, figs. 164–169.

11. According to legend, St. Barbara had a third window added to her tower to symbolize the Holy Trinity.

12. St. Barbara's father was said to have been struck by lightning and killed, as divine punishment for putting his daughter to death.

A Marian Altarpiece by Hans von Kulmbach: A Reconstruction

RAINER BRANDL

FOR PROFESSOR MANFRED WUNDRAM
ON HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY, AUGUST 20, 1985

DURING THE SECOND DECADE of the sixteenth century, Hans Süss von Kulmbach executed a number of altarpieces representing the Virgin and the Holy Kinship. These works, however, have not survived intact but as isolated paintings scattered among many museums.¹ As a group they have been the subject of various attempts at reconstruction. The conventional composition of the altarpieces, their nearly uniform dimensions, and their related subject matter—scenes from the Life of the Virgin—permit a number of conceivable combinations. Nevertheless, a full reconstruction of a complete Marian altarpiece has never been achieved.

In 1921 the Metropolitan Museum acquired a small panel painting showing the Ascension of Christ (Figure 13). This work by Hans von Kulmbach is closely related stylistically and thematically to three other small panel paintings: an *Annunciation* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, a *Nativity* in the Staatsgalerie und Städtisches Museum in Bamberg, and an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Art Museum of Allentown, Pennsylvania (Figures 9–11). My intention here is to demonstrate that these four paintings by Hans von Kulmbach were originally intended and executed as wings for a single altarpiece.

I believe, furthermore, that written evidence of the provenance of this now dismembered altarpiece has survived. In 1778 the Nuremberg historian and art historiographer Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1735–1811) published a description of the Walburgis Chapel,

which is located within the portion of the Nuremberg fortress complex that originally belonged to the Burggraf. The following passage appears as part of the description of the chapel interior:

On the right altar, when one goes from the choir into the church [i.e., the nave], is a *Coronation of the Holy Virgin* in very old, finely gilt sculpture. On the right wing Mary embraces her friend Elizabeth, on the left saints ascend a stairway, above under a doorway a person stands holding a book. What the meaning is, is not known to me. From the fifteenth century. Below is the Holy Virgin, superbly painted by Hanns Kulmbach in 1513. She gives up the ghost. Many saints stand around her, one of whom holds in his hand a sprinkler for holy water. This appears in most paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²

1. Four panels from a Marian altarpiece are conserved in the Staatsgalerie und Städtische Gemäldesammlungen in Bamberg. They bear representations of the Visitation, the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, and the Death of the Virgin. The Museum der Bildenden Künste in Leipzig also has four panels; these depict the Birth of the Virgin, the Visitation, the Appearance of Christ to His Mother, and Pentecost. Several panels from the wings of small altarpieces are to be found in the sacristy of the church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg (attributed to the school of Hans von Kulmbach), in the Barnes Collection in Merion, Pa., and in the City Art Museum of St. Louis. Here, too, the representations belong to altarpieces presenting the Life of the Virgin or the Holy Kinship.

2. Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in des H. R. Reichs freyen Stadt Nürnberg* (Nuremberg, 1778) p. 32; 2nd ed. (1801) p. 57.

From Murr's description it can be assumed with some certainty that a tabernacle containing sculpted figures was complemented by a predella. Murr states at the outset that the representation of the Coronation of the Virgin stood on the altar, and then indicates toward the end that the painting of the Death of the Virgin was located "below." In addition, the text shows that the altarpiece had wings and that the painted narrative scenes followed the Life of the Virgin. Murr's *Coronation of the Holy Virgin* "in very old, finely gilt sculpture" is, I believe, still to be found in the city of Nuremberg.

THE TABERNACLE

The Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg has in its collections an altar tabernacle with a carved representation of the Coronation of the Virgin (Figure 1). The tabernacle is of pine, the sculpted relief, with its original polychrome still intact, of lindenwood. This work has always been identified with an epitaph for Ursula Horn unter der Vesten, which is documented for the former Dominican church in Nuremberg.

In the relief Mary faces the viewer in a frontal position. She kneels between God the Father and Christ, who, enthroned, together hold a crown over her head. A wall, originally covered with a gold damask pattern, reaches from the level of the crown to the floor. Two angels with extended wings emerge from the space behind the wall. The scene is framed by a pair of very slender turned columns which appear to support a trefoil of applied carved tracery formed by three slender contoured ribs. The lobes of the trefoil and the spandrels above are filled with a pattern of tendrils bearing leaves and blooms. The tabernacle itself is framed by gilt contoured moldings. The floor and the ceiling of the tabernacle are pentagonal. The tabernacle juts out toward the viewer, forming a wide angle at the front edge and providing additional space for the voluminous central figure of the Virgin.

The Virgin kneels calmly between God the Father and Christ. Her folded hands point to the crown over her head. She wears a blue and gold gown adorned with a border of pearls at the neckline. This gown is nearly covered by a heavy gilt cloak which flows down from her shoulders and spreads out to fill the lower edge of the tabernacle, from the base of the column

1. Pupil of Veit Stoss, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, tabernacle relief, 1513. Lindenwood, 100 × 84 cm.; tabernacle, pine, 130 × 90.5 cm. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum)

on the right to the pluvial worn by God the Father at the left. The Virgin's cloak is drawn together under her right arm, falling in parallel folds which end in a swirl of richly varied motifs as the drapery collects on the floor to her right. To her left the contour of the robe forms an elegant, wide-flung stairway of folds as the long drapery descends and its surplus settles on the floor next to the kneeling figure. The face of the Virgin is framed with long curls which extend in pairs, falling down over her shoulders to rest at the sides on her upper arms and at the front on her cloak. Over her hair, which is parted in the middle, she wears a coronet adorned with pearls of various sizes. The figure achieves stability through the wide spread of the cloak on the floor to either side. The hieratic form of an isosceles triangle which underlies the composition contributes a sense of monumentality. One arm of each of the flanking figures parallels, from the elbow, one of the two long sides of the triangle, thus accenting the two figures themselves while leading the viewer's attention to the Virgin and the actual act of crowning. Christ supports the base of the crown with the middle and index fingers of his right hand, simultaneously giving the benediction and exhibiting the nail prints in his palm. Likewise the wounds of his left hand, his side, and his left foot—which emerges from beneath his robe—are also visible. He sits on a lustered-green cushion which rests on the seat of a throne. A gilt robe hangs over his bare torso and falls in wide folds over his arms and thighs. From beneath one of the wide folds, a gilt waistcloth is visible. The drape on the right reaches over a socle upon which his throne rests and touches the robe of the Virgin. Christ's long locks of hair fall down to rest on his shoulders. His face is also framed by a full beard composed of fine curls. The inside of his cloak is silver and at the hem it is ornamented with pearls and jewels. In his left hand he originally held a scepter. His large crown is adorned at the base with pearls and rosettes and culminates in broad, three-pointed, foliate crenations.

God the Father sits on a lustered-green cushion



which, like the one upon which Christ sits, is decorated with a tassel in the same green, fastened by a gilt knot. He grasps the crown with the thumb and index and middle fingers of his left hand. His face is framed by a long curly beard and hair which reaches to his shoulders. Like Christ he wears a crown with leafy crenations. The right shoe of the Father extends over the socle that supports the throne. He is clothed in a silver garment with long wide sleeves, which is trimmed with brocade. Over this robe he wears a pluvial with a wide border adorned with rosettes, jewels, and pearls made of wood. The pluvial ends with a red and green fringe at the hem, and on the right is draped around the Father's protruding left knee. In his right hand the Father holds a golden orb as an attribute of his sovereignty. It was originally topped with a cloverleaf cross.

Two angels crowned with red and green braided bands emerge from behind the thrones. Their faces are turned inward with their gaze directed toward the Virgin. The green and silver wings of the angels are held high, their silhouettes thus encircling the angels' heads. The left angel wears a crossed stole; his folded hands are slanted upward. The right angel holds his arms crossed over his chest. The alb worn by the left angel is a lustered green and his stole is red. The alb of the pendant angel is red and his superhumeral is a lustered green. The vestments of the angels are executed in red and green, and the visible portions of the robes of the main figures are also partially carried out in the same complementary colors.

In the catalogue for the Veit Stoss exhibition that took place in 1933, these relief figures are associated with the Horn Epitaph, which is known from several eighteenth-century descriptions.³ A note published in *Nürnbergisches Zion* in 1733 describes the epitaph for Ursula Horn as follows:

When one goes from the choir into the church, so on the left side at the first column a panel is to be seen, on which the Virgin Mary is painted. Above stand the words "Anno Domini MCCCC and in the LXXXXth year, on the next Monday after the New Year the honorable Frau Ursula Franz Hornin unter der Vesten died. May God grant her grace."⁴

Here the author speaks explicitly of a painted panel.

A similar entry published four years later in an inventory compiled by Johann Jakob Schwarz clearly substantiates the fact that the memorial for Ursula

Horn was one of the many painted epitaphs that were hung on the columns of the Dominican church:

On the first column from the choir toward the pulpit is a memorial panel, upon which the Mother of God is in the middle; to the right is God the Son, and to the left God the Father; they hold a crown over Mary's head. Yet above the crown is the Holy Ghost. This inscription is to be read on the Monument: "Anno Domini MCCCC and in the LXXXIIInd year on the first Monday after the New Year, the honorable Ursula Franz Hornyn unter der Vesten died. May God grant her grace." Underneath is Herr Horn with three sons, his wife, née von Plauen, with five daughters kneeling.⁵

Yet further corroboration is to be found in Murr's *Merkwürdigkeiten*, where the Horn memorial donation is counted among the painted epitaphs in the Dominican church.⁶ Thus it was that a painted epitaph for Ursula Horn depicting the Coronation of the Virgin became confused with the relief representation of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

Already in 1910, however, Walter Josephi suggested that the tabernacle with the carved *Coronation* relief was identical with the altar that Murr described as having stood in the Walburgis Chapel at the end of the eighteenth century.⁷ Unfortunately his proposal received little notice in the subsequent literature.

Careful examination of the tabernacle and the reliefs shows that the tabernacle originally stood on a predella and was complemented with movable wings. This is evidenced by five peg holes in the floor of the tabernacle and by the marks left by the hinges, including circular openings at the top and bottom on the outside of the tabernacle. The sculpted relief shows no traces of having been attached to the floor of the tabernacle. It must have been fastened to the back wall by means of nails. Two holes in the ceiling of the tab-

3. *Katalog der Veit Stoss-Ausstellung im Germanischen Museum*, exh. cat. (Nuremberg, 1933) no. 48.

4. [Johann Jakob Carbach], *Nürnbergisches Zion, d.i. wahrhafte Beschreibung aller Kirchen und Schulen in . . . Nürnberg* (Nuremberg, 1733) p. 118.

5. Johann Jakob Schwarz, *Beschreibung und Abzeichnung aller in der Dominikanerkirche befindlichen Dokumente* (Nuremberg, 1737) pp. 17–18; Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Hs. Will II, 1395 fol.

6. Murr, *Merkwürdigkeiten*, 2nd ed., p. 78.

7. Walter Josephi, *Die Werke plastischer Kunst*, Catalogues of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Nuremberg, 1910) no. 269.

ernacle probably served to secure a decorative superstructure.

In sum, we can determine that the tabernacle with the relief of the Coronation of the Virgin was originally part of an altarpiece with a predella, movable wings, and a decorative superstructure—the typical components of a late medieval altarpiece. Murr's description of the relief representation in the altarpiece he saw in the Walburgis Chapel as "a crowning of the Holy Virgin in very old, finely gilt sculpture" could as well apply today to the richly gilt *Coronation* relief in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Thus it seems reasonably certain that the tabernacle was originally located in the Walburgis Chapel.

After removal of the wings and predella, the tabernacle with the *Coronation* relief was moved into the Imperial Chapel of the Nuremberg fortress. There, in 1843, the director of the Berlin Gemädegalerie Gustav Friedrich Waagen saw and described it. He speculated that it had originated either in the church of St. Catherine or in the Dominican church in Nuremberg.⁸ According to him, it was already at that time overpainted with a neutral color. Friedrich Mayer observed it in the same year and recorded its exact location in the two-level Kaiserkapelle as "turned toward the altars" in the right niche of the lower chapel.⁹ After 1863 the work was exhibited in the Städtische Sammlungen in the Nuremberg City Hall. In 1875 it

was transferred to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, where it remains today on loan from the city of Nuremberg.

THE PREDELLA

In his *Merkwürdigkeiten*, Murr associated the *Death of the Virgin* on the predella with the painter Hans von Kulmbach. The fact that he mentioned the name Kulmbach and the year 1513 indicates that the predella was in all likelihood signed and dated by the artist—probably on the now missing frame. It is known that Kulmbach had his own workshop in Nuremberg by the year 1511. It is further known that he fashioned many altarpieces in collaboration with sculptors. Altars that bear witness to these workshop affiliations are still in situ in the church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg, the parish church of Limbach near Pommersfelden, and the parish church of Wendelstein near Schwabach.

A predella attributed to Kulmbach and today on permanent loan in the Staatsgalerie und Städtische Gemäldesammlungen in Bamberg (Figure 2) seems to be the one described by Murr. This panel appeared on the art market in 1937 and was bought by the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich.

The scene represented takes place in an undefined

2. Hans von Kulmbach (ca. 1480–1522), *Death of the Virgin*, 1513. Panel, 39.5 × 98 cm. Bamberg, Staatsgalerie und Städtische Gemäldesammlungen (photo: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich)

8. Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler im Erzgebirge und in Franken* (Leipzig, 1843) pp. 155–156.

9. Friedrich Mayer, *Nürnberg im 19. Jahrhundert mit stetem Rückblick auf seine Vergangenheit* (Nuremberg, 1843) p. 186.



room. To the left of the central axis the Virgin kneels, dying. Each of the apostles is engaged in a different activity. John supports the torso of the Virgin. Peter kneels before her attempting to press a candle into her limp hands. Another apostle approaches from the right; he carries a vessel containing holy water in his left hand, and with his right is passing an aspergil to the apostle standing behind Peter (perhaps Paul?). Yet another apostle holds a branch of pussy willow. An apostle holding a censer joins the group from the left. In the background still another apostle can be seen, his hands folded in prayer. At the left edge of the panel two apostles are represented, one of them sitting on a bench, the other kneeling beside him. They appear to read the Office of the Dead. To the right, three other apostles—two kneeling—peer into an open missal.

3. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, 1514. Panel, 117 × 79 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



The panel was perhaps part of a casket-shaped predella with curved sides. In his definitive study on Hans von Kulmbach, published in 1936, Franz Stadler pointed out the possible connections between this predella panel, then in Munich, and the one Murr described in the Walburgis Chapel. Nevertheless, with little confidence in Murr's information and no knowledge of the whereabouts of the altar tabernacle, Stadler finally associated the predella panel with Kulmbach's Marian altarpiece in Cracow.¹⁰

In the catalogue of the exhibition "Meister um Albrecht Dürer," which took place in 1961, the panel with the *Death of the Virgin* was associated with four wing panels in the Museum der Bildenden Künste in Leipzig.¹¹ Already in 1928, however, Ernst Buchner recognized it as belonging to a Marian altarpiece, the four wing panels of which were in the museums in Nuremberg, Munich, Allentown, and New York.¹²

In 1977 Colin Eisler rejected Buchner's hypothesis and agreed instead with Stadler's, namely that the four panels cited by Buchner were stylistically more advanced than the predella panel, and that it consequently must be earlier in date.¹³ Nonetheless, Eisler did not completely accept the reconstruction proposed by Stadler, who had postulated that these four

10. Franz Stadler, *Hans von Kulmbach* (Vienna, 1936) pp. 16, 111, no. 34. In 1923 Hans Bermann had already proposed a reconstruction in which he also brought together Hans von Kulmbach's *Annunciation* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum and the Marian altar in Cracow from the year 1511. He believed that the panel was originally the size of the other Cracow panels and that it had been subsequently cut down. This must be discounted, however, since the panel in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum bears no signs of having been altered. The substantial stylistic differences between the *Annunciation* and the other, no longer extant, panels that Bermann postulated belonged together also argue against his hypothesis (Hans Bermann, "Hans Süss von Kulmbach," Ph.D. diss. [Leipzig, 1923] pp. 37, 45).

11. Peter Strieder, in *Meister um Albrecht Dürer*, exh. cat., Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 1960–61 (Nuremberg, 1961) nos. 156, 157.

12. Ernst Buchner, "Kulmbach, Hans Süss von," in Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, eds., *Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* XXII (Leipzig, 1928) pp. 92–95, esp. p. 93.

13. "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

panels as well as the four in Leipzig served as wings for a central painted panel showing the Coronation of the Virgin dated 1514 and now in Vienna (Figure 3). Stadler contended:

Nonetheless, even the [wing] panels, which now number eight, still do not result in an acceptable sequence for the wings of an altar. The three scenes from the Life of the Virgin before the birth of her son require a fourth in order to complete the representational cycle. Two scenes from the Infancy of Christ cannot be satisfactorily combined with three representations of miracles which took place after the death of the Lord. It is therefore to a certain degree probable that we have before us the remains of a large altarpiece with movable wings. For such an altarpiece four panels are still missing: one showing a scene from the childhood of the Virgin (*Presentation of the Virgin?*), two representations from her youth (*Presentation in the Temple* and the *Flight into Egypt?*), and a scene from her life after the Crucifixion and Resurrection (*Death of the Virgin* or *Coronation*). A representation of the Assumption and Reception by the Trinity or of the Coronation could just as well have provided the central piece for the entire altarpiece.¹⁴

Stadler suggested at the time that the eight representations from the birth and childhood of Christ formed the outsides of the wings; the four last scenes of the Marian legend, the insides; and the *Coronation of the Virgin*, today in Vienna, the central panel within the tabernacle. Eisler, however, contended that the eight panels belonged to another central panel, not the one in Vienna.¹⁵

TABERNACLE WINGS: EXTERIOR

In 1961 Peter Strieder, disagreeing with Stadler's reconstruction, pointed out stylistic discrepancies between the four paintings in Leipzig (Figures 4–7) and the four wing panels today in Nuremberg, Bamberg, Allentown, and New York.¹⁶ He agreed, however, that the four wing panels with their closely corresponding dimensions—the *Annunciation* (Figure 9) in Nuremberg measures 61 by 39 centimeters; the *Nativity* (Figure 10) in Bamberg, 59.5 by 38 centimeters; the *Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 11) in Allentown, 61 by 38 centimeters; and the *Ascension* (Figure 13) in New York, 61.6 by 38.1 centimeters—originally belonged together and adorned the exterior wings of a Marian altarpiece. Strieder considered the paintings stylistically more developed than the paintings with Marian

themes in Leipzig. He judged they were executed approximately at the same time as Kulmbach's Tucher Epitaph in the church of St. Sebald in Nuremberg and therefore dated the four panels to 1512–13.¹⁷

An *Annunciation* and a *Nativity* are mentioned by Ralf von Rettberg in 1846 as being located in Nuremberg in the gallery of the Landauer Brüderhaus. Thus a Nuremberg provenance can be assumed for these Marian panels.¹⁸ When the *Annunciation* panel was examined by conservators in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, it was discovered that it had at one time been split, apparently in order to separate it from another painting on the reverse side. This lends further credibility to the supposition that the painting originally formed one side of a movable wing.

The close correspondence in the dimensions of the four panels and the correlation of the subject matter indicate that the panels once constituted a Marian cycle for an altarpiece. The correspondence of their dimensions with the dimensions of the Nuremberg tabernacle (Figure 1) suggests that these works originally belonged together. Since Murr described the altarpiece in the Walburgis Chapel only in its open state, the four panels must have covered the outsides of the wings, which were not visible to him. The *Annunciation* would have occupied the upper portion of the left wing; the *Nativity*, the upper portion of the right wing; the *Adoration*, the lower portion of the left wing; and the *Ascension*, the lower portion of the right wing (see Figure 19).

Whereas the Leipzig panels represent an earlier stage in Kulmbach's development, as Strieder pointed out,¹⁹ the other four stand in close stylistic proximity

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" (Colin Eisler, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: European Schools Excluding Italian* [Oxford, 1977] p. 31). See also Harry B. Wehle and Margaretta Salinger, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings* (New York, 1947) pp. 189–190.

14. Stadler, *Hans von Kulmbach*, pp. 19–20.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 20; Eisler, *Paintings from the Kress Collection*, p. 31.

16. Strieder, in *Meister um Albrecht Dürer*, no. 156.

17. *Ibid.*, no. 161.

18. Ralf von Rettberg, *Nürnberger Briefe* (Hanover, 1846) p. 167.

19. Strieder, in *Meister um Albrecht Dürer*, nos. 156, 161.



4. *Birth of the Virgin*



5. *The Visitation*



6. *Christ's Appearance to His Mother*



7. *Pentecost*

4–7. Hans von Kulmbach, *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin*, ca. 1510–11. Panel, max. 60.7 × 38.1 cm. Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste (photos: Museum der Bildenden Künste)

to the *Death of the Virgin* on the predella (Figure 2). A clearly ordered composition distinguishes the *Death of the Virgin*. The arrangement of the figures is stabilized at the left by two praying apostles and at the right by three apostles similarly meditating. The two benches parallel to the picture plane strengthen the configuration on the pictorial surface. Peter's action of handing the candle to the dying Virgin forms the focal point of the narrative and is placed at the central axis of the pictorial field. The impression of space is achieved solely through the loose organization of the figures and the voluminosity of each figure. The apostles surround the Virgin in a loose semicircle. The disciples holding the censer and the aspergil serve as a compositional link with the praying apostles at the edges of the scene. A spatial progression is observable, beginning at the left foreground and receding to the right edge of the painting. Nonetheless, the space remains largely undefined except for the tile floor. The physical form of each apostle is rendered together with his robe as a unit. Corporality is primarily described through great quantities of drapery—drapery which often appears separated from the body and which surrounds the core of the figure as a shell around space. Drapery folds and the hems of the garments are swept around the figures and often swing out into space. Deep *Schüsselfalten* characterize the cloak of the disciple who stands behind the apostle carrying the censer. The figures' eyes are either directed toward the central activity or gaze into the undetermined distance. The apostle with the branch of pussy willow establishes eye contact with the viewer. Each apostle is physiognomically individualized and imbued with personal character. The disciples appear correctly proportioned and stronger than, for example, the figures in Kulmbach's Peter and Paul Altarpiece in the Uffizi in Florence. In this earlier work, Kulmbach shows a less developed feeling for corporality. The arrangement of the figures in the *Death of the Virgin* is also looser and less strained than in the wing panels of the retablo in the Uffizi, where the figures are lined up parallel to the picture plane (Figure 8).

The *Annunciation* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Figure 9) also exhibits a simple compositional structure. The archangel Gabriel appears to the left; the Virgin kneels to the right behind a stone prayer bench set upon a socle. The prayer bench is covered with a red tapestry. A book lies open before the Virgin. She is not depicted reading, however, but rather with her eyelids lowered and her head slightly turned in the direction of the divine messenger. Her arms are crossed over her breast as a sign of humility and acceptance of the angel's message. Her countenance reflects no fear at the appearance of the heavenly intruder. The dove of the Holy Spirit encircled

8. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Seizing of Peter and Paul*, wing panel of the Peter and Paul Altarpiece, 1508–10. Panel, 132 × 96 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (photo: Alinari)





9. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Annunciation*, 1513. Panel, 61 × 39 cm. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum)

by a colorful gloriole descends through a rectangular window opening and hovers over the Virgin's head. In the background a sketchily painted mountain landscape can be observed. The suddenness of the arrival of the archangel is evidenced in the agitation of his robe, in his erect wings, and in the banderole twisted around his staff with the initials of his heavenly greeting: A G P D (*Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*). The dynamics of the heavenly appearance are also reflected in the billowing-out of the Virgin's cloak to the right. As in the *Death of the Virgin*, the painter has



10. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Nativity*, 1513. Panel, 59.5 × 38 cm. Bamberg, Staatsgalerie und Städtische Gemäldesammlungen (photo: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich)

reduced all spatial information to a minimum and has rendered furniture and architectural elements parallel to the picture plane. Again, the impression of space is imparted through the arrangement of the drapery, which is defined in strong three-dimensional terms. Loops of drapery are swept around the figures. The spatial extension of the angel's wings, of his belt, and of the banderole attached to his fleur-de-lis-tipped staff reinforces the three-dimensional effect. The left side of Mary's robe falls in deep, wide, concave folds.

Hans von Kulmbach rendered the drapery folds in



11. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1513. Panel, 61 × 38 cm. Allentown Art Museum, The Samuel H. Kress Collection (photo: Allentown Art Museum)

the *Death of the Virgin* in a similar manner. For example, the angular bunch of folds on the thigh of the angel is similar to that on the thigh of the dying Virgin. Further, the upward-turning portions of the drapery in the gown of the Annunciate are comparable to those of the robe of the apostle standing behind Peter. Likewise, in both representations one is confronted with agitated hems of garments spread out upon the floor. Formations of folds composed of small parts are avoided; sweeping, turbulent hems of garments and spatially extended portions of the robes

characterize the drapery in both representations.

The *Nativity* scene (Figure 10) is enclosed from the rear by a wall of stone masonry, the upper portions of which are crumbling. A wooden gate standing at a slight angle is built into the wall. Mary kneels with folded hands in front of the Christ Child, who lies on the portion of her robe she has spread out over a pile of hay. The Child is represented as if in movement. The figure of Mary is placed at a slight angle to the picture plane. Her torso is bent forward toward her son. Joseph stands behind the infant, grasping a lighted taper in his left hand and holding his right hand over the flame. An ox emerges from the left and gazes at the Child. Two shepherds approach at the right from behind the wooden gate in order to join the Virgin in the adoration of Christ. The younger of the two bends his head over the gate and points to the Child with his right index finger. A landscape with mountains at the horizon extends into the distance behind the shepherds.

In this scene as well, the drapery is spatially differentiated. Hems of garments and loops of drapery are swept around bodies, which thus appear as three-dimensional entities in space. As in the *Death of the Virgin*, the turbulent hems of the robes break into angular contours. The anatomical proportions are correct, and the bodies themselves appear to be composed of stereometric volumes which displace space so that they are to a degree monumentalized. This impression is supported by the gradual intensification of color in the robes.

In the *Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 11) a wall of large ashlar stone, interrupted only by a double window opening, encloses the scene to the rear. The Virgin sits on a stone block in the left foreground. She holds the Christ Child on her lap. The Child leans forward and reaches with his right hand into a box of gold coins which the oldest of the Magi offers while kneeling before him. The light in the picture is concentrated on the figure of the Virgin, who is seated below the window. The eyes of the kneeling figure are focused on her, and she returns the gaze with a smile. The other Magi stand in the background, holding golden vessels—gifts for the Child. Very sparse architectural information is provided. Only a semicircular composition and the three-dimensional rendering of the figures evoke a sense of space.

In 1511 Kulmbach had executed another *Adoration of the Magi*, which is today in the Gemäldegalerie of

the Museum Dahlem in Berlin (formerly Staatliche Museen, Berlin) (Figure 12). When one compares the two representations, it is apparent that the Allentown painting presents a different psychological reaction in the persons depicted. The interaction among the mother and the child and the old king kneeling before them appears livelier and more appropriate to the situation. In the Berlin painting a comparatively melancholy mood reigns. Instead of joy at the appearance of God in the world, it reflects sadness over Christ's impending passion.

The formation of the drapery folds in the Allentown *Adoration* is again closely akin to that in the *Death of the Virgin*. Swept turbulently around the figures, they describe the bodies beneath as round, three-dimensional forms. Crumpled areas within the drapery folds are to be found in both paintings. Especially revealing is a comparison of the kneeling figure of

12. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1511. Panel, 153 × 110 cm. Berlin, Museum Dahlem (formerly Staatliche Museen), Gemäldegalerie (photo: Museum Dahlem)



Peter in the *Death of the Virgin* with the kneeling Wise Man in the *Adoration of the Magi*. Both exhibit a similar treatment of the robe in the portion that falls behind the thighs. In fact, the conception of both figures is the same.

In the *Ascension* (Figure 13) the apostles are represented as a tight mass of figures. Their semicircular arrangement is completed by the kneeling figures of Peter and the Virgin; Peter is seen from the back, the Virgin in profile. The faces of the participants are turned toward the ascending Christ; his feet, a portion of his legs, and the agitated hem of his robe are still visible. The sense of upward movement is strikingly expressed—Peter and Mary lead the viewer's gaze up and into the receding space of the painting so that the distance from Christ, who is slowly vanishing into the heavens, is experienced directly. The two apostles standing erect at the edges of the painting and the heads of the other disciples, which are thrown sharply back, accentuate the feeling of distance and movement, further heightened by turbulence in the clouds.

Here the treatment of the drapery functions together with the compositional arrangement of the figures to achieve a sense of spatiality. The thrown-back heads of the apostles are each rendered with the foreshortening required by a consistent perspectival system. The robes extend out into space as they are swept around the figures. As in the *Death of the Virgin* on the predella, here also the robe of the Virgin, spread horizontally on the ground away from the figure, has a stabilizing effect. There is also a corresponding organization of the drapery in the figure of Peter in both scenes.

The subtly modulating colors—red, green, blue, yellow, and brown—are characteristic of the four panels and of the predella, as is the same fine, transparent brush technique. Further, the stylistic characteristics of all five point clearly to a later date than that of the panels in Leipzig; in general, the figures are better proportioned, their garments have more voluminosity, and they therefore appear stronger. In sum, the proportions of the figures and their arrangement in the enveloping space are more developed. In the Leipzig paintings the figures are either squat and stocky or elongated, and the drapery is rendered in a softer and simpler manner. Additionally, the emotional tone in Leipzig is less intense and less compellingly indicated.



13. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Ascension*, 1513. Panel, 61.6 × 38.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 21.84

The Leipzig panels are, in all probability, to be dated 1510–11, shortly after the St. Anne Altarpiece that Kulmbach painted for the church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg.²⁰ The figures adhere more strictly to the two-dimensional surface and the modeling of the faces is less three-dimensional than in the other five panels. Furthermore, the robes are more closely fitted to the body frame so that the effect is also less three-dimensional. In addition, the Leipzig panels do not exhibit the richly colorful palette of the four now in Nuremberg, Bamberg, Allentown, and New York. It

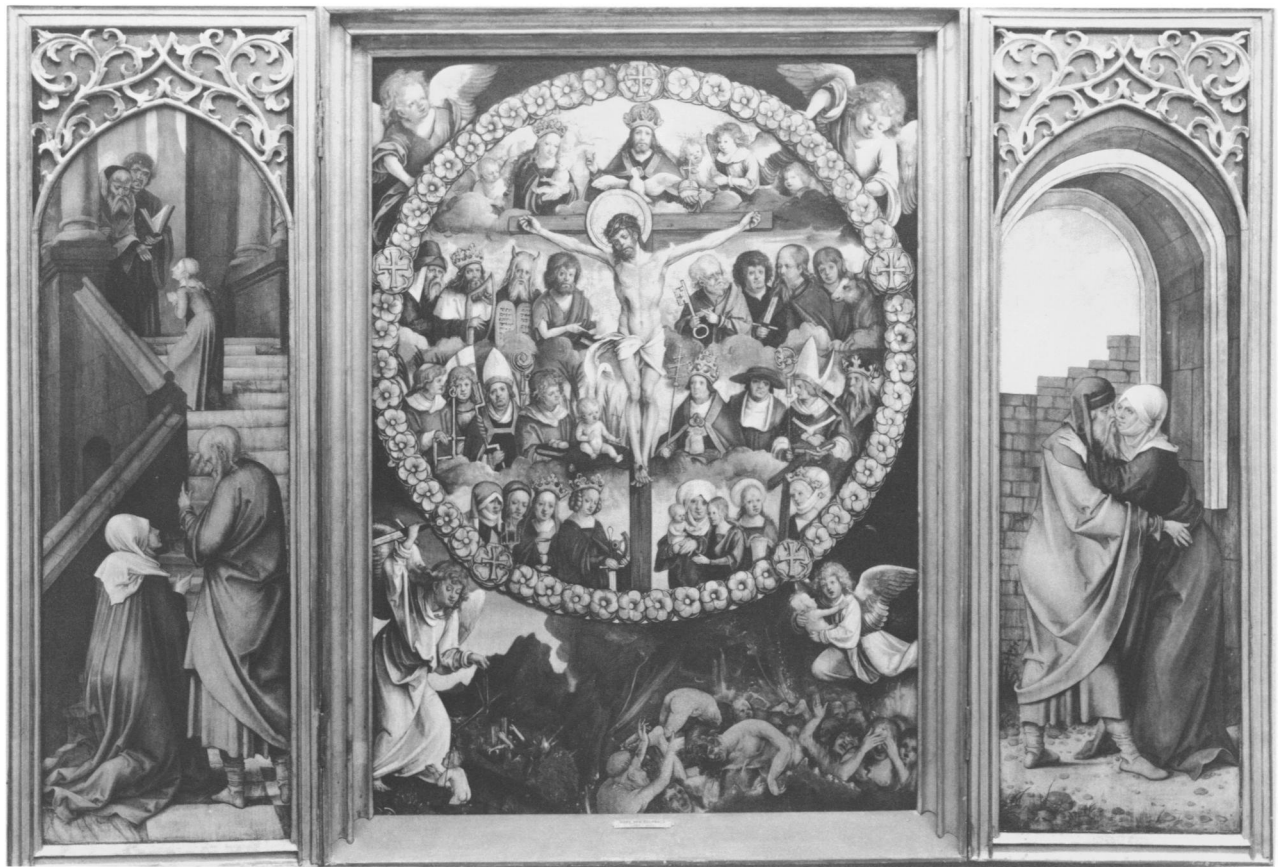
is largely their palette that associates these four panels with Kulmbach's Tucher Epitaph in the church of St. Sebald, which is dated 1513.

TABERNACLE WINGS: INTERIOR

Murr identified the scene he described as on the right wing of the tabernacle as a *Visitation*. He was, however, unfamiliar with the scene he described as on the left wing. This was the *Presentation of the Virgin*—derived from the Apocrypha. Since Murr usually described objects according to the order of heraldry, it can be assumed that the representation he identified as the *Visitation* was to the left of the viewer and the *Presentation of the Virgin* to the right. This arrangement contradicts the chronology of the Life of the Virgin and is not in keeping with iconographic convention. The *Presentation of the Virgin* is usually shown together with the *Meeting of Joachim and Anna* at the Golden Gate. In all likelihood Murr confused a representation of this meeting with the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth at the *Visitation*—the two representations usually following a similar formal composition. The *Meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate*, also a scene from the Apocrypha, is a more appropriate pendant to the *Presentation of the Virgin*. Murr's dating of the paintings in the fifteenth century can be attributed to the fact that he was unacquainted with both the subject matter and the stylistic method. Further, it must be remembered that the paintings were darkened by the accumulation of soot from burning candles and that Murr viewed the unfamiliar scenes in the dim light of the Walburgis Chapel. It is evident that he was unaware of medieval workshop practice in regard to the production of altarpieces, since he described only the signed predella as Kulmbach's work.

Murr does not indicate whether the insides of the wings were painted or sculpted. The possibility of carved representations can be discounted, however, since the execution of the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* as a relief with a vertical format would have been difficult. Moreover, the relief within the tabernacle would have left little room for reliefs on the interior of the

20. Ibid., no. 156.



14. Hans von Kulmbach, altarpiece with *The Rosary*, ca. 1510, and two wings. Panel, *Rosary*: 117.2 × 84.3 cm. Castagnola, Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza (photo: Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza)

wings when the tabernacle was closed. The *argumentum ex silentio* also speaks in favor of painted wings, since Murr normally adds the phrase “finely gilt sculpture” when describing works carved in wood.

From Murr’s account it can nevertheless be safely assumed that the interior sides of the wings of the altarpiece bore representations of the Meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate and the Presentation of the Virgin. Two surviving panels with these scenes can be considered. Today they, together with a representation of the Rosary, form an altarpiece in the Thyssen collection in Castagnola-Lugano (Figure 14). Although Friedrich Winkler counted this among the Kulmbach altarpieces that are still intact and complete,²¹ the originality of the construction is to be doubted. Already in 1936 Stadler expressed misgivings: “The naturalness of these events [in the

wing panels] can hardly be harmonized with the symbolical representation in the central panel; the necessity of at least a formal congruity of the narrative representations with the symbolical central portion was in no way understood as a problem by Kulmbach.”²²

The wing panels—123/123.1 centimeters high and 38.5/38.8 centimeters wide—were in the possession of Prince Thurn und Taxis in Regensburg until 1931 when they became a part of the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection. In 1928 Buchner mentioned the altarpiece as it stood in the residence of Thurn und Taxis in Regensburg. Interestingly, however, he described the *Presentation of the Virgin* (Figure 16) as attached to the left of the *Rosary* panel and the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* (Figure 15) as attached to the right.²³ This unconventional arrangement also lends support to the

21. Friedrich Winkler, *Hans von Kulmbach*, Die Plassenburg: Schriften für Heimatforschung und Kulturpflege in Ostfranken XIV (Kulmbach, 1959) p. 69.

22. Stadler, *Hans von Kulmbach*, pp. 7–8.

23. Buchner, Thieme-Becker, XXII, p. 94.

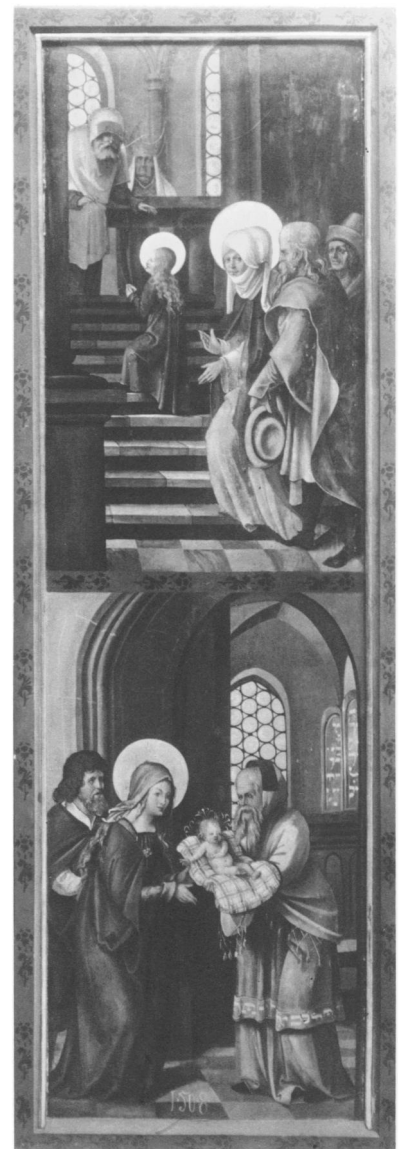
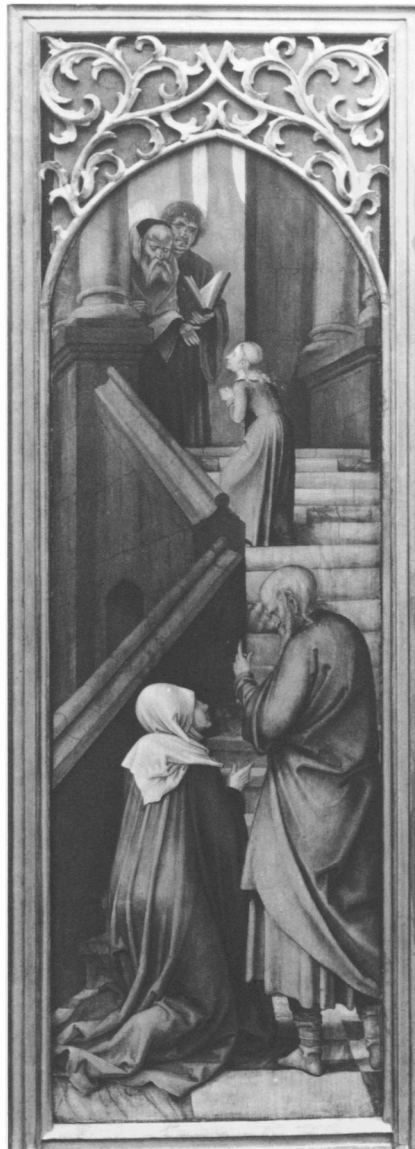
assumption that the *Rosary* and the wing panels did not come to Regensburg together as a complete altarpiece. According to Stadler, the carved Gothic ornamentation on the upper portion of the wings is the product of a restoration.²⁴ Nonetheless, the ornamentation is fashioned in exactly the same manner as the tendril decoration that forms a baldachin over the relief of the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Figure 1). The

24. Stadler, *Hans von Kulmbach*, p. 107, no. 16.

15. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Meeting at the Golden Gate*, 1513, detail of Figure 14. Panel, 123 × 38.8 cm. Castagnola, Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza (photo: Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza)
16. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Presentation of the Virgin*, 1513, detail of Figure 14. Panel, 123.1 × 38.5 cm. Castagnola, Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza (photo: Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza)

iconographic combination of the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* and the *Presentation of the Virgin* together with a *Rosary* panel is unusual. One would expect scenes showing the joyful, sorrowful, or glorious mysteries of the Rosary. Neither the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* nor the *Presentation of the Virgin* belongs to these sequences. Furthermore, the wings are a little too narrow for the central panel. It must be assumed, therefore, that the wing panels in Lugano belonged to some other altarpiece—one with a Marian cycle. In Murr's description the images on the wings of the retable in the Walburgis Chapel agree essentially with those of the paintings in the Thyssen collection, so that it is reasonable to conclude that they are indeed the works

17. Hans von Kulmbach, *The Presentation of the Virgin and The Presentation of Christ*, wing of a Marian altarpiece, 1508. Panel, 206 × 69.5 cm. Formerly Cadolzburg, near Nuremberg, Parish Church (photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg)



he is discussing. In the scene of the *Presentation of the Virgin*, Murr refers to a figure standing above under a doorway and holding a book. This figure, the high priest's companion—a character iconographically unusual for this narrative scene—is indeed present in the Thyssen panel.

Stylistic characteristics in the four paintings for the exterior of the wings and in the painting on the predella can also be discerned in the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* and the *Presentation of the Virgin*. Powerful extremities show themselves through the voluminous and richly differentiated drapery. The impression of space is intensified through the perspectival rendering of the architecture. The advances which the painter had made with respect to the visualization of fictive space and the existence of the figures in that space are especially evident when one compares the *Presentation of the Virgin* with Kulmbach's earlier rendering of the scene, formerly in Cadolzburg, near Nuremberg (Figure 17). Moreover, the kneeling figure of St. Anne in the *Presentation* bears a remarkable resemblance to the kneeling figure of the Virgin in the *Ascension*. All the representations are composed according to a clear structure. The awkward overlapping of figures which occurs, for example, in the Leipzig panels is avoided. The robes of the figures end exactly at the edges of the panels. Further, the emotions of the characters are indicated less superficially than in the Leipzig panels. The faces are simpler and more fully formed. Colors are applied in a finer manner and with more vitality.

Finally, some physical data support our reconstruction. The *Ascension* panel in the Metropolitan Museum has a knothole on the back, and one also appears on the back of the *Presentation* panel in Castagnola. Measurements indicate that they would fit together if the *Ascension* panel were placed against the lower back of the *Presentation* panel.²⁵

THE ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAM

The Coronation of the Virgin is one of the most popular themes of late medieval art. In the twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux had reflected on the soteriological position of the Virgin, introducing a new image of God and a new image of the human being. The salvation of mankind was thus meaningfully expressed in the picture of the Coronation. The fruits

of Christ's redemptive work are manifested in the Virgin—the prototype of the redeemed in that she was “predestinate to be conformed to the image” of Christ (Romans 8:29). In art this concept of Mary as Queen of Heaven and intercessor for the faithful who address their petitions to her came to supersede earlier representations of the Last Judgment with Christ as the judge of the world.

The *Coronation of the Virgin* relief expresses quite paradigmatically these theological implications. God the Father and Christ together carry out the elevation of the Handmaiden of the Lord, who accepted the offer of salvation at the Annunciation. Christ's naked torso, with the wound in his side, and the visible nail prints remind the viewer of his death on the cross. The luxurious pluvial and the crown signify the sovereignty of Christ, which was bestowed upon him through God the Father after the Resurrection. The scene assumes an air of ceremony through the sumptuous vestments, the balanced hieratic composition with the frontal position of the Virgin, her hands folded in the gesture of intercession, and the presence of the angels as representatives of the heavenly host. God the Father holds an orb as a sign of his role as creator, and Christ holds—or held—a scepter. With his right hand Christ supports the crown, blesses his mother, and bestows upon her the grace of his redemption.

The Coronation motif is derived from thirteenth-century representations of the enthronement of the Bride of Christ. The placement of the figure of Christ, which is unusual in this representation, may also be based on a thirteenth-century prototype. Usually the figure of Christ appears on the left side, in keeping with the biblical reference that Christ sits to the right of God the Father. A contemporary example of this more common figural arrangement is to be seen in Adam Kraft's epitaph for Hans Rebeck, which is to-

25. I am indebted for this information to Katharine Baetjer, Curator of the Department of European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum, and to Gertrude Borghero, Conservator of the Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza. The reconstruction of the exterior wings now proposed (see above and Figure 19) varies in the arrangement of the panels from that published earlier (Rainer Brandl, “Marienkrönungsalter,” *Veit Stof in Nürnberg: Werke des Meisters und seiner Schule in Nürnberg und Umgebung*, exh. cat. [Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum/Munich, 1983] pp. 132–142, esp. pp. 137–139, fig. 93).

day in the Frauenkirche in Nuremberg. In this stone relief, the agitated lower portions of Mary's robe are a visual reference to the Assumption of the Virgin, which took place immediately before her Coronation.²⁶ A progressive development can be observed in the iconographic history of the Coronation of the Virgin as a motif. The Mother of God assumes an increasingly important position within the composition, so that her role as intercessor for the community of the faithful becomes steadily accentuated. The arrangement of the figures, the direction of their gaze, and especially the variations in the degrees of relief with which each is executed are the artistic means for expressing a sequence of theological concepts. God the Father directs his attention toward Christ, Christ focuses his gaze downward toward the Virgin, who in turn addresses the viewer. Thus the chain of intercession is made visible. The differentiations in the three-dimensionality of the figures serve the same purpose. The Father figure is executed in a flat, almost linear manner; the figure of the Son is rendered in higher relief; and the Virgin is fashioned as an almost freestanding, fully three-dimensional form. The direct connection between the elevation of the Virgin and the redemptive work of Christ is expressed in the formal association of the figures of Christ and Mary. As Christ turns toward the Virgin, the pattern of drapery folds in his robe is reiterated in the folds of her gown. Originally the sculpture may have included the relief representation of a dove above the crown. Thus, with the added presence of the Holy Spirit, the entire Trinity would have participated in the Coronation.

The narrative scenes from the Life of the Virgin painted on the movable wings and the predella thematically complemented this *Coronation* relief. The paintings showed miraculous events from the Life of the Virgin, her gracious selection, and especially her position in the history of salvation. The predella panel showing the Death of the Virgin established an immediate relationship to the scene of the Coronation above (Figure 18). The scenes of the Meeting at the Golden Gate and the Presentation of the Virgin signified the selection of the Virgin through the God of the Old Covenant, her Immaculate Conception, and her God-dedicated chastity. The four images on the wings that were visible when the altarpiece was closed showed important christological mysteries—the Annunciation, the Incarnation, the Adoration of the new

king by the kings of the world, and the elevation of Christ after his Resurrection in the presence of the apostles and his mother (Figure 19). All of these narrative scenes are inseparably bound to the Life of the Virgin.

Thus this small Marian altarpiece presented the viewer with a complete cycle of Christian soteriology. The choice of scenes to be represented was not designed to provide a continuous chronological report of the biblical events in the history of salvation. Rather, it was intended to accentuate the special role of Mary in this history. Open, the altar revealed the splendor of the New Order. Mary appears as the *Regina Coelorum*, who through the merits of Christ could take part in salvation. As *advocata nostra* she turns her attention toward the faithful and intercedes for them before her son. In his chapter on the Assumption of the Virgin, Jacobus de Voragine tells of a sinful human who is brought in a dream before God's judgment. In the struggle for the soul of the accused, Mary appears as intercessor. Jacobus paints a word picture in which Mary places her hand on the scale in order to add weight to the few good works in the scale. Although the devil tugs mightily on the other side of the scale, the Mother of Mercy is victorious and the sinner is saved.²⁷ Thus it can be seen that the scenes from the Life of the Virgin together with the representation of the Coronation of the Virgin constitute a meaningful Marian cycle.

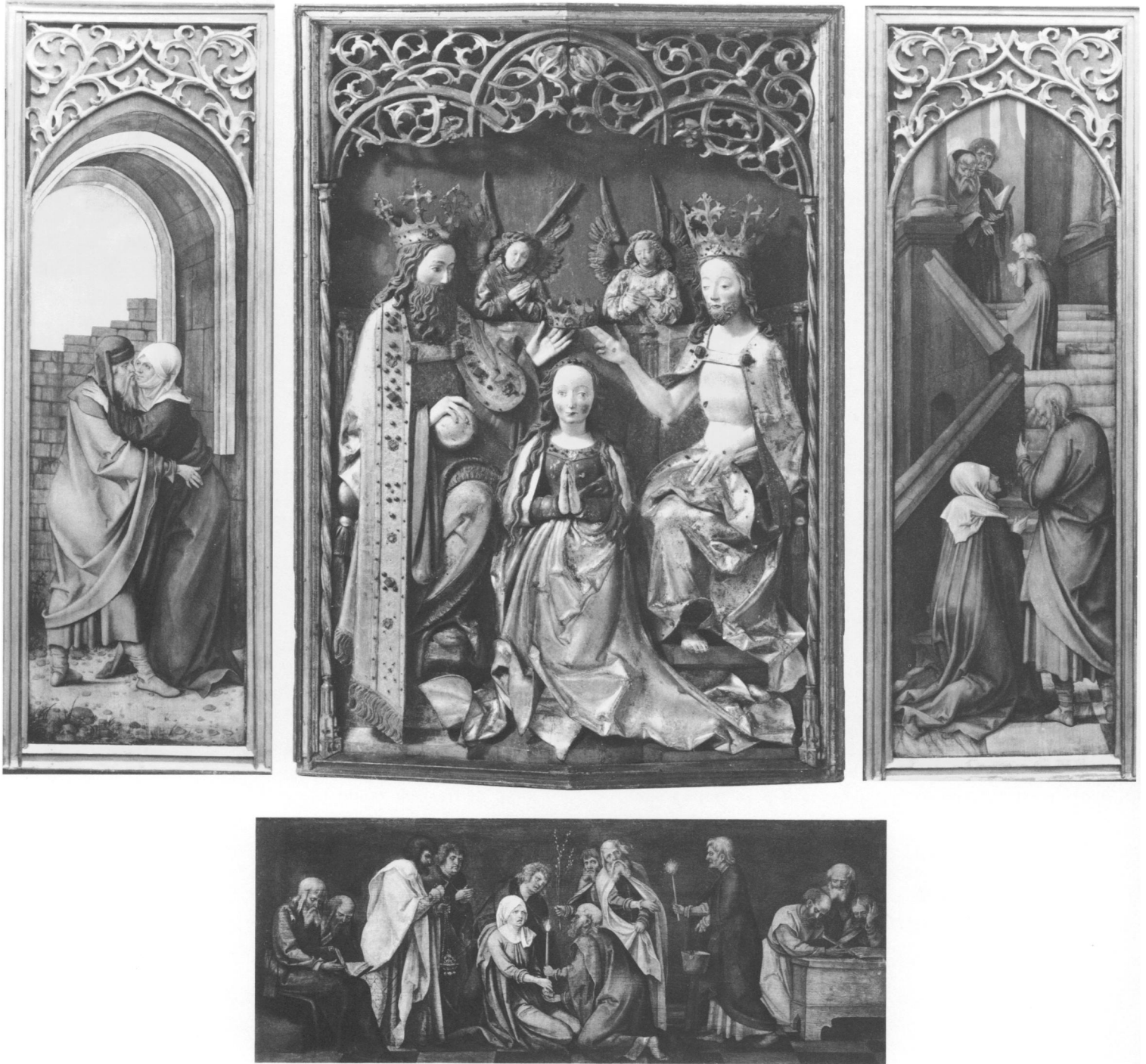
This unified iconographic program lends further support to the reconstruction of an altarpiece consisting of the relief and the seven panels discussed. Moreover, it is clear that this is in fact the altarpiece seen by Murr in the Walburgis Chapel.

THE RELIEF: STYLE AND ATTRIBUTION

Murr's description of the relief in 1778 is the first discussion of it in its original location in the Walburgis Chapel. Murr focused his primary interest on the painted panels, while summarily characterizing the relief within the tabernacle as "in very old, finely gilt

26. Illustrated in Wilhelm Schwemmer, *Adam Kraft* (Nuremberg, 1958) no. 49.

27. *Die Legenda aurea des Jacobus de Voragine*, German trans. by Richard Benz, 8th ed. (Heidelberg, 1975) p. 596.



18. Reconstruction of Marian altarpiece with wings open. Tabernacle: *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Figure 1). Wings: *The Meeting at the Golden Gate* (Figure 15); *The Presentation of the Virgin* (Figure 16). Predella: *Death of the Virgin* (Figure 2)



19. Reconstruction of Marian altarpiece with wings closed. On the left: *The Annunciation* (Figure 9) and *The Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 11). On the right: *The Nativity* (Figure 10) and *The Ascension* (Figure 13). Predella: *Death of the Virgin* (Figure 2)

sculpture.” Even in the second revised edition of his *Merkwürdigkeiten* published in 1801, he added nothing to the description of the sculpture within the tabernacle.²⁸

A quarter century later, however, in the *Sammler für Kunst und Alterthum in Nürnberg* the relief received special attention. Already by then it had been separated from the paintings and taken to the Imperial Chapel of the Nuremberg fortress complex. Its original location was apparently no longer known, since the author speculates as to whether it could have originated in the church of St. Catherine or in the Dominican church of Nuremberg.²⁹ The author judges the work to be from the hand of Veit Stoss, whose style he claims to recognize in the stiff, angular, and dry manner in which the drapery is rendered.³⁰ Friedrich Mayer described the relief in glowing words but had doubts about its attribution to Veit Stoss.³¹ Gustav Friedrich Waagen likewise expressed substantial reservations about its belonging within the oeuvre of Veit Stoss. He mentioned the “diligent formation” (“fleißige Durchbildung”) of the relief as reminiscent of Stoss but at the same time pointed to the arbitrary organization of the folds as evidence against such an

attribution, finally coming to the conclusion that the relief should be viewed as an early work in the oeuvre of the famous sculptor.³² Rettberg compared the relief to the representations in the medallions in the so-called *Angel's Greeting*, which was completed in 1518 and still hangs in the choir of the church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg. As sources for these scenes, the sculptor used engravings by Martin Schongauer. Rettberg observed what he believed to be substantial congruity in style and therefore considered the *Coronation* relief to be a work by Veit Stoss dating from approximately the same time as the *Angel's Greeting*.³³ Wilhelm Bode conjectured that Veit Stoss probably executed the relief according to a design or drawing by Michael Wolgemut or Adam Kraft. Berthold Daun also placed this representation within the oeuvre of Veit Stoss: “The lean figures . . . manifest a Stossian manner, which is derived from the lean realism of Schongauer.”³⁴ Daun later stressed the similarities between the *Coronation of the Virgin* and two Madonnas—one of wood³⁵ and the other of stone³⁶—both of which were originally on the facades of houses in Nuremberg and are today in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.³⁷ Walter Josephi decided against a Veit

28. Murr, *Merkwürdigkeiten*, 1st ed., p. 32; 2nd ed., p. 57.

29. *Der Sammler für Kunst und Alterthum in Nürnberg III* (Nuremberg, 1826) pp. 49–54. “In früherer Zeit war sie entweder in der nun ausgeleerten, aber einst an alterthümlichen Bildwerken, Gemälden und Holzschnitzereien so überfüllten Katharinenkirche, aufgehangen, oder in der abgetragenen Dominikanerkirche. Wenigstens befand sich in dem Kreuzgang der letzteren Kirche eine Wiederholung der nemlichen Darstellung in Stein gehauen, welche von ihrem früheren Standort weggenommen bei der Einrichtung der Frauenkirche für die katholische Gemeinde in derselben angewendet und der Kanzel gegenüber aufgestellt wurde” (ibid., p. 50).

30. Ibid., p. 51.

31. “Gegen die Altäre gewendet, sieht man zur Rechten in der Wand zwei Marmorreliefs: die Auferstehung Christi; die Krönung Marias; in der Nische: Johannes der Täufer predigt vor dem Volke (Relief); die Krönung der Jungfrau Maria, ein Holzrelief, angeblich von Veit Stoß, das sich den besten Skulpturarbeiten dieser Art an die Seite setzen darf” (Mayer, *Nürnberg im 19. Jahrhundert*, p. 186).

32. “Eine Krönung Mariä durch Gott Vater und Christus, vordem wahrscheinlich in der Katharinen- oder in der Dominikanerkirche, ist ein Hautrelief, welches sich durch Styl, Adel der Gesichter und fleißige Durchbildung sehr vorthellhaft auszeichnet. In dem Sammler, wo eine Abbildung gegeben, gilt es für ein Werk des Veit Stoß, wovon ich mich indeß nach den weniger ausgeladenen und rundlichen Formen, wie nach den zwar scharfbrüchigen, aber doch weniger willkürlichen Falten der Gewänder, als die unbezweifelten Werke dieses unter so

starkem Einfluß von Dürer stehenden Meisters zeigen, nicht überzeugen kann. Jedenfalls müßte es der früheren Periode desselben angehören” (Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler*, p. 155).

33. “Es ist offenbar die Nachbildung eines Kupferstiches von Schongauer, dessen Einfluß überhaupt für die fränkische Schule von großer Bedeutung war, und stellt hoch erhoben die Krönung Mariens dar durch Gott Vater und Christus mit zwei betenden Engeln im Hintergrunde. Das Werk zeichnet sich außer seinem hohen Adel durch den liebevollsten Fleiß in der Schnitzarbeit aus, und ist nach dem Obengesagten dem Veit Stoß vielleicht mit mehr Sicherheit zuzuschreiben, als so manches Werk, dem man seinen Namen zu geben beliebt” (Rettberg, *Nürnberger Briefe*, pp. 116–117).

34. Wilhelm Bode, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst: II. Geschichte der deutschen Plastik* (Berlin, 1885) p. 125; Berthold Daun, *Veit Stoß und seine Schule in Deutschland, Polen und Ungarn*, Beiträge zur Stoß-Forschung (Leipzig, 1903) p. 67.

35. See Leonie von Wilckens, “Hausmadonna von der Wunderburggasse,” *Veit Stoß in Nürnberg*, pp. 158–162.

36. See Leonie von Wilckens, “Hausmadonna von der Unteren Thalgasse,” *Veit Stoß in Nürnberg*, pp. 117–119; Jörg Rasmussen, “Beiträge zu einem Veit Stoß-Lapidarium,” *Jahrbuch des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* 1 (1982) pp. 9–22, esp. pp. 15–17.

37. Berthold Daun, *Veit Stoß, Künstler-Monographien*, ed. Hermann Knackfuss, LXXXI (Bielefeld/Leipzig, 1906) pp. 54–55. Idem, *Veit Stoß und seine Schule in Deutschland, Polen, Ungarn und Siebenbürgen*, Kunstgeschichtliche Monographien XVII, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1916) pp. 124–125.

Stoss attribution. Instead, he proposed that the *Coronation* relief was carved by the same sculptor as that of the small wooden figure of Christ riding a donkey, used in Palm Sunday processions,³⁸ that is also today conserved in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.³⁹ Max Lossnitzer also argued against Veit Stoss (or his workshop) as the originator of the work: "Very little appears Stossian in the stiff organization of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. All of the drapery is reminiscent of chased metal; even the faces are dead and expressionless; skin and musculature are flattened. One must compare the Virgin with high-quality works from the Stoss workshop, for example with the *Angel's Greeting*, in order to observe the tremendous difference."⁴⁰ In the catalogue of the Veit Stoss exhibition of 1933, the *Coronation* relief was described as a piece influenced by the early work of Veit Stoss and to be dated after 1482 or 1492.⁴¹ Lossnitzer had already argued against such an early dating and for, instead, a date "before the end of the second decade" of the sixteenth century.⁴² Elisabeth Zachmeier proposed a date close to that of the Schwabach Altarpiece, in which the motif of the stiff, vertically falling border of the pluvial—here worn by Christ—also appears (Figure 20). She wrote:

It is much more probable that the suggestion [for the motif] came from this altarpiece, which is so close geographically, than that the idea came from Veit Stoss himself. Thus the previously accepted dates of the commission—1482 or 1492—must be reconsidered. These dates are based on conjecture and are not commensurate with stylistic observations. At the earliest the work should not be dated before Veit Stoss's return from Cracow. It would be even better to place it in the period around 1510, shortly after the Schwabach Altarpiece.⁴³

It is, however, not only the obviously stiff and heavy border of the pluvial worn by the Nuremberg God the Father (see Figure 1) that links the relief to the Schwabach Altarpiece (Figure 21). The concept of the figures upon which the entire work is based, the interplay of anatomy and drapery, and especially the arrangement of the figures within the frame, all bear a striking similarity to the altarpiece in Schwabach. Moreover, in both works the figures maintain their corporality primarily through the manner in which portions of drapery extend out into space. Forms of the body appear as large, rounded shapes that are only partially apparent beneath the drapery. Organic re-

lationships of the body are often hidden by a veil of drapery, which the figures hold before them as if it were a rigid shield (Figure 22). The drapery style in both altarpieces is characterized by deep valleys in the folds as well as stiff stairways of drapery together with formations composed of tiny, brittle folds.⁴⁴ It must of course be remembered that the Schwabach Altarpiece is composed of freestanding, monumental figures, while the *Coronation* consists of small figures executed in high relief. As in the Schwabach Altarpiece so also in the *Coronation* relief, widely curved and extensively protruding contours of drapery are swept over arms and thighs. But even in these agitated drapery motifs there is always an impression of stiffness and affectation. The garments appear as if they were hard shells that could be removed from the figures at will. The lack of organic motivation in the fashioning of the drapery makes it appear to stand in front of the figures (Figure 23). It seems to follow its own internal laws because it is applied without respect to anatomical relationships. Further conformity in the two works can be seen in the organization of the garments. For example, rigid nests of folds have been carved into the portions of drapery which are spread out upon the floor. These motifs gave Lossnitzer the impression of "chased metal." The ends of drapery, often drawn together forming sharp angles—as is the case especially in the two figures of the Virgin (Figures 24, 25)—overlap on the surface of the floor. Moreover, the sitting, standing, and kneeling

38. See Rainer Brandl, "Christus auf dem Palmesel," *Veit Stoß in Nürnberg*, pp. 119–122. The sculpture almost certainly comes from the church of St. Catherine in Nuremberg.

39. Josephi, *Die Werke plastischer Kunst*, no. 269.

40. Max Lossnitzer, *Veit Stoß: Die Herkunft seiner Kunst, seine Werke und sein Leben* (Leipzig, 1912) p. 152.

41. *Katalog der Veit Stoß-Ausstellung*, no. 48.

42. Lossnitzer, *Veit Stoß*, p. 152.

43. Elisabeth Zachmeier, "Studien zur nürnbergischen Holzplastik der Spätgotik," Ph.D. diss. (Erlangen, 1956) p. 85.

44. See Alfred Schädler, "Stilkritische Bemerkungen zu den Skulpturen des Schwabacher Choraltars," *Der Schwabacher Hochaltar*, Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Arbeitsheft 11 (Munich, 1982) pp. 92–101; Heinz Stafski, "Die Skulptur des Schwabacher Altars und ihr Stilbezug zum Werk des Veit Stoß," *Der Schwabacher Hochaltar*, pp. 102–108; Herbert Schindler, *Der Schnitzaltar: Meisterwerke und Meister in Süddeutschland, Österreich und Südtirol* (Regensburg, 1978) pp. 158–169. See also Rainer Kahsnitz, "Veit Stoß in Nürnberg: Eine Nachlese zum Katalog und zur Ausstellung," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1984) p. 42, no. 7.



20. Pupil of Veit Stoss, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, tabernacle relief (detail) from the Schwabach Altarpiece, 1507–08. Lindenwood, 347.7 × 314.8 cm. Schwabach, Parish Church of St. John the Baptist and St. Martin (photo: Eike Oellermann, Heroldsberg)

21–24. Figures from *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Figure 20) (photos: 21–23. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; 24. Eike Oellermann, Heroldsberg)

21. *Christ*. H. 197.4 cm.

22. *St. Martin*. H. 181.8 cm.; with socle: 220.8 cm.

23. *St. John the Baptist*. H. 180.4 cm.; with socle: 220.8 cm.

24. *The Virgin*. H. 203.6 cm.



positions of the figures do not appear spatially plausible. Thus, a brief stylistic analysis suggests that the master of the Schwabach Altarpiece was also responsible for the *Coronation of the Virgin* relief.

In 1910 an oil overpainting dating from the first half of the nineteenth century was removed from the work, revealing an inscription on the back wall of the tabernacle behind the relief: the words *Hanns Heberlin von Augspurg* were painted upside down in red, late Gothic lettering (Figure 26). Presumably this is the signature of a sculptor or *Faßmaler* (craftsman commissioned to apply paint to a sculpture) who is listed in the Augsburg *Handwerksbücher* in the years 1514 and 1518. In 1521 he is listed as a citizen who has left the city of Augsburg.⁴⁵ Until now further identification of Heberlin has not been possible. Josephi suggested that the inscription was that of a *Faßmaler* or assistant in the workshop of the sculptor.⁴⁶ In the Veit Stoss catalogue of 1933 it was maintained that the signature was that of an early restorer.⁴⁷ This, how-

ever, must be rejected since conservators who have examined the work have not discovered an early layer of polychrome subsequent to the original.⁴⁸ Although it is unusual for an artist to sign a work on the back wall of the tabernacle, it cannot be ruled out that Hanns Heberlin was indeed the name of the sculptor.

In his book *Künstler und Werkstatt der Spätgotik*, Hans Huth warns that one must be cautious with signatures behind groups of relief figures. He distinguishes two categories of signatures: those found in "open" places and those in hidden ones. The predella or the frames of wing panels were the most

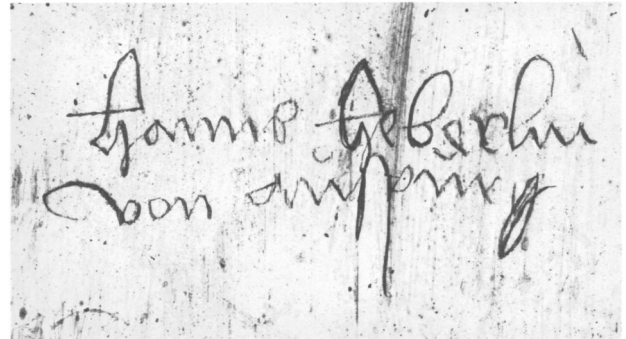
45. Hans Vollmer, "Heberlein, Hans," Thieme-Becker, XVI (Leipzig, 1923) p. 195.

46. Josephi, *Die Werke plastischer Kunst*, no. 269.

47. *Katalog der Veit Stoss-Ausstellung*, no. 48.

48. I wish to thank Joseph Pröll, Conservator at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, for his examination of the tabernacle.

25. Pupil of Veit Stoss, *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Figure 1), detail: the Virgin and Christ (photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg)



26. Signature on the back wall of the *Coronation of the Virgin* tabernacle relief (Figure 1): *Hanns Heberlin von Augspurg* (photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg)

common “open” places. The surface which was behind the sculpture and therefore free of color was often used for hidden inscriptions.⁴⁹

The inscriptions found in this place are usually quickly written with paint or chalk and contain no more information than the name and the year. They are to be associated with the person who applied the polychrome to the altarpiece, or the person who organized the execution of the work—thus, as we have seen, in the second half of the fifteenth century—primarily painters.⁵⁰

Hans von Kulmbach left his signature and the date 1513 on the predella. This can be assumed on the basis of Murr’s description. Kulmbach’s signature on the predella pertained to all the paintings in the altarpiece. Therefore, the supposition that the signature *Hanns Heberlin von Augspurg* was that of the sculptor of the *Coronation* relief cannot be discounted. Stylistic observations suggest that Hanns Heberlin was a pupil of Veit Stoss, and that he was also responsible for the sculptures of the Schwabach Altarpiece.

SUMMARY

The point of departure for the reconstruction was Murr’s description of an altarpiece in a side chapel of the Walburgis Chapel in Nuremberg. The altarpiece, first described by the Nuremberg historian in 1778, bore a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin. The tabernacle of this small altarpiece, today in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, had been identified with an epitaph for Ursula Horn which according to surviving inventories hung in the former Dominican church in Nuremberg and was dated 1492. Examinations of the tabernacle have shown that wings and a predella were originally attached. Murr also included a predella in his description. This predella bore a representation of the Death of the Virgin as well as the signature of Hans von Kulmbach and the date 1513. Iconographic considerations point to the wing panels by Hans von Kulmbach that are today attached to a central *Rosary* panel in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection in Castagnola, Switzerland, as the probable paintings which origi-

nally formed the interiors of the wings. These panels bear narrative representations showing the Meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate and the Presentation of the Virgin. These scenes are described by Murr but he does not recognize their iconographic content. The four panel paintings which adorned the exterior of the wings must have also borne representations in keeping with the Marian program of the altarpiece. Four paintings today conserved respectively in the Art Museum in Allentown, the Staatsgalerie und Städtisches Museum in Bamberg, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York not only illustrate such Marian themes but also match the style of the paintings in Switzerland. In all of the representations the figure of the Virgin is accented compositionally and her importance in the history of salvation is stressed through the portrayal of carefully selected events. A complete, continuous narrative of the Life of the Virgin is not to be found in this small altarpiece; instead there is a Marian cycle which manifests all the most important mariological doctrines within their essential christological framework. The unique position of the Virgin, already recognized as “God Bearer” in the early Christian Church and thus accorded hyperdulia, or veneration above all other saints, resulted in especially picturesque accounts in the Apocrypha, which offered artists a rich treasury of images. In his depictions of the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Presentation of the Virgin, and the Death of the Virgin, Hans von Kulmbach expressed the traditional images of faith. The sculptor, who is very probably to be identified from the signature behind the relief, completed the painted program in a similar vein with a carved representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, in which the theological concept of Christ as intermediary has been tellingly associated with the special role of Mary.

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49. Hans Huth, *Künstler und Werkstatt der Spätgotik*, 4th ed. (Darmstadt, 1981) pp. 68, 100 n. 127.

50. Ibid., p. 68.

The Amours des Dieux: A Series of Beauvais Tapestries After Boucher

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IN SEPTEMBER 1737 it was decided that the king of France should purchase every year two sets of Beauvais tapestries for 10,000 *livres* each, “pour en faire des présens aux Ministres Etrangers.” None of the designs then available was considered suitable, and a series of the story of Jason and Medea “en six pièces de Vingt aunes de Cours” was ordered, each subject being described in some detail. The document authorizing this undertaking concludes:

Le S^r Oudry étant chargé de fournir en trois ans des Tableaux pour Vingt huit aunes de cours, de Tapisseries, fourniroit les six Tableaux représentans les six Sujets qui viennent d’être décrits.

Et comme la Composition de ces Sujets est plus considérable et plus difficile, et coutera plus que celle des Tableaux d’animaux et autres Sujets moins relevés quoi qu’il étoit décidé qu’il fourniroit tous les trois ans, il seroit nécessaire que pour les Tapisseries qui seront commandées pour le Roy il ne fournit que six Tableaux en trois ans, suivant le dit Cours d’une Tenture de Vingt aunes.¹

Jean-Baptiste Oudry, co-director of the Beauvais manufactory with Nicolas Besnier, clearly did not make the designs for the *Jason and Medea* series himself, since we know that the second subject, Jason subduing the two fire-breathing bulls that guarded the Golden Fleece, was painted by Michel-François Dandré-Bardon as a full-scale cartoon, 14 *pieds* wide and 10 high (11 *pieds* were 3 *aunes*). It was shown at the 1739 Salon; the long description in the catalogue follows almost exactly that stipulated in the original memorandum, concluding: “Ce Tableau peint par ordre du Roy, doit être executé à la Manufacture

Royale de Beauvais; les actions y sont à gauche pour venir à droite dans la Tapisserie.”² This was the first time Beauvais had been mentioned in a Salon catalogue, so the reversing of the design in the weaving process at that manufactory had to be pointed out. The notice was good publicity for what was basically a commercial establishment. Dandré-Bardon’s painting was evidently not a success, as it was never woven, and a few years later Jean-François de Troy was commissioned to make paintings of the story of Jason for the Gobelins manufactory.

By October 1737 the name of François Boucher (1703–70) had been connected with the Beauvais project, for Louis Fagon, the head of the Conseil Royal des Finances and closely connected with the financial side of the manufactory, wrote to Oudry: “Je vous envoie Monsieur la décision de M. le Contrôleur général sur la fabrication de deux tentures pour le Roy. Vous pouvez vous arranger a ce sujet avec

1. Maurice Fenaille, *Etat général des tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins* (Paris, 1903–23) IV, pp. 99, 100. The “tableaux d’animaux” were presumably the *Transformations d’Ovide*, which contain no human figures, and the *Verdures Fines* of various animals and birds by Oudry, first woven 1734–35. Oudry had received in 1733 a commission for three huge paintings of the Chasses Royales and an order to supervise their reproduction in tapestry at the Gobelins (Hal N. Opperman, “Oudry aux Gobelins,” *Revue de l’Art* 22 [1973] p. 57).

2. *Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions: Exposition de 1739* (Paris, 1869) pp. 15, 16. A signed drawing of Medea and Jason is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy (Pierre Rosenberg, “Dandré-Bardon as a Draughtsman: A Group of Drawings at Stuttgart,” *Master Drawings* 12 [1974] p. 141, n. 5).

M. BOUCHER.”³ In November the second subject for a series was chosen, presumably after Oudry had consulted Boucher:

Il paroît nécessaire de déterminer aussi dès à présent le sujet à représenter en l'autre Tenture; et pour établir entre elles la variété de gout et d'effet convenable, il semble que l'on pourroit choisir dans *l'Histoire de Psyché*, six Sujets des moins répétés et des plus susceptibles de richesse et d'agrément et des plus propres à faire valoir l'art du Tapisser.

Philibert Orry, the Directeur des Bâtiments, wrote “Bon” at the foot of this document.⁴

The decision that the king would regularly buy sets of Beauvais tapestry was a remarkable one, considering that he had the entire official production of the Gobelins at his disposition. But in the 1730s this manufactory was producing chiefly very large, very solemn, and definitely old-fashioned tapestries, such as the *Chambres du Vatican*, the *Mois de Lucas*, and the *Galerie de St. Cloud*. Sometimes the work there seems to have proceeded at a snail's pace; eight pieces of an *Ancien Testament* set were woven between 1715 and 1731, eight of a *Nouveau Testament* from 1720 to 1744.⁵ Beauvais, which had to market its products, could not afford to keep its customers waiting in this way. It seems probable, however, that one reason the king bought from Beauvais was that Oudry could call upon Boucher to make designs for him. Boucher is mentioned as working for Versailles in 1735, the year he first exhibited at the Salon, so he was known at court, and the first tapestries of the *Fêtes Italiennes* series, made in 1736, had shown that he could design for weavers. He was probably still working on this series when he sent to the Salon of 1739 what was described as:

Un grand Tableau en largeur de 14. pieds sur 10. de haut, représentant Psyché conduite par Zephire dans le Palais de l'Amour, par M. Boucher, Professeur. Ce tableau doit être exécuté en Tapisserie pour le Roy, à la Manufacture de Beauvais.⁶

It hung next to Dandré-Bardon's *Jason and the Bulls*; perhaps the competition was fatal to the latter. The first tapestry after Boucher's painting was finished in 1741. Four other episodes from the story of Psyche were added to make the series; a complete set was woven in 1742. They were, as stipulated, unusual scenes (“des moins répétés”), not even including what

might be thought the indispensable one of Psyche discovering Cupid asleep.⁷

Boucher's next designs for Beauvais cost him fewer pains. In the Salon of 1742 he showed “huit Esquisses de différens sujets Chinois pour être exécutéz en Tapisseries à la Manufacture de Beauvais.” The records of the manufactory state that this series was “d'après Dumont sur les esquisses de Boucher.”⁸ The “Dumont” who made the full-scale cartoons after Boucher's sketches is usually identified with Jean-Joseph Dumons (1687–1779), a designer of tapestries at Aubusson from 1731 to 1755. He was in charge of the art school at the Beauvais manufactory from August 1756 until his death. He was still making copies of the paintings for the *Tenture Chinoise* from 1772 to 1777,⁹ presumably the three copies listed among the “Tableaux par Dumont / Sujets chinois” in an inven-

3. Alexandre Ananoff, *François Boucher* (Lausanne/Paris, 1976) I, p. 15, no. 89 of “Tableau chronologique.”

4. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, IV, p. 100.

5. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, III, pp. 89, 108. The king had bought Beauvais tapestries before but apparently on a less regular basis; Noël-Antoine de Mérou, director of the manufactory from 1722 to 1734, in a memorandum of 1731, spoke of “les trois tentures qui seront choisies pour le compte de Sa Majesté” (Jules Badin, *La Manufacture de tapisseries de Beauvais* [Paris, 1909] p. 23).

6. Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, p. 17, no. 120 of “Tableau chronologique.”

7. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 60. A complete set is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Kathryn B. Hiesinger, “The Sources of François Boucher's *Psyche* Tapestries,” *Bulletin*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 72 [1976] pp. 7–23). Further information about the subjects of the series is given in Geraldine C. Hussman, “Boucher's *Psyche* at the Basketmakers: A Closer Look,” *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 4 (1977) pp. 45–50.

8. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 61. Only six titles are listed, of which some have corresponding subjects among the Boucher sketches for the series in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon (Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 224–233). A Beauvais inventory of 1754 lists “six tableaux de *Dessins chinois*, dont un se partage en deux, peint par le sieur Aumont [sic] sur les esquisses du sieur Boucher et par lui retouché” (Roger-Armand Weigert, “La Manufacture royale de tapisseries de Beauvais en 1754,” *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* [1933], p. 232, quoting a document in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Beauvais). Another document, in the Archives Nationales, however, reads in part: “Six tableaux dont un se partage en deux représentant des dessins de chinois peint par le S. Dumont sur les esquisses du S. Boucher et retouchés par Oudry” (Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, p. 68, no. 581 of “Tableau chronologique,” dated 1754).

9. Jean Coural, “La Manufacture royale de Beauvais,” *Mémoires Historiques de la France*, no. 6 (1977) p. 79. Possibly the many other chinoiserie designs in the style of Boucher woven at Aubusson were made by Dumons.

tory of cartoons at the manufactory in 1820.¹⁰ As no other series at Beauvais is described as being produced by one artist after sketches by another, one must suppose that Boucher or his studio provided large paintings for all the others.¹¹ Six Chinese tapestries had been woven by 1746.

We learn from a letter of Oudry's dated August 12, 1747, that Boucher was then working on another series: "Le Sr Bouché me fais actuellement des tableaux pour une tenture qui represente les amours des dieux qui sera tres belle; illy a deja deux tableaux de fait."¹² In 1749 a tapestry of this series, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, was woven. A set of eight pieces was produced in 1750 and, though the ninth subject, *Vulcan and Venus*, was not made until 1752, some examples of it, like other tapestries of the series, are dated 1749, so that all the designs were presumably completed by 1750. The subjects are *Bacchus and Ariadne*, *The Rape of Proser-*

pine, *Neptune and Amymone*, *Jupiter and Antiope*, *Mars and Venus*, *Boreas and Orithyia*, *The Rape of Europa*, *Vulcan and Venus*, and *Apollo and Clytie*.¹³ The usual number of pieces in a set was three, four, or six; there is no record of all nine subjects being included in a single set. The series was woven many times from 1749 to 1774.¹⁴ Even as late as 1778, tapestries of the *Amours des Dieux* were allotted to the French ambassador in Venice,¹⁵ and at the very end of the century the weavers were paid for "un morceau d'après Boucher représentant le dieu Neptune et 2 naïades," presumably a detail of *Neptune and Amymone*.¹⁶

Boucher's nine paintings are listed in a 1754 Beauvais inventory:

Six tableaux des *Amours des Dieux*, peint par ledit sieur Boucher . . . contenant vingt aunes de cours avec les bordures.

10. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 106. They were in strips (*bandes*) to be placed under the warps of the Beauvais looms.

11. Unless Boucher provided not small sketches but paintings three to four *pieds* high, "pour servir de modèles à faire les patrons d'une tenture de tapisseries," such as Oudry had contracted to furnish in 1726 (H. N. Opperman, "Observations on the Tapestry Designs of J.-B. Oudry for Beauvais [1726-1736]," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, Oberlin College, 26 [1969] pp. 49-71). These were enlarged by painters at the manufactory. The *Tenture Chinoise* would then be unusual only because Boucher's preliminary designs were small sketches and the enlargement was made by an outside artist. Certainly in 1748 Boucher received a royal commission to provide "Tableaux de chevallet" and "leur copies en grand retouchées de sa main" for tapestries, presumably to be woven at the Gobelins (Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, pp. 36, 37, nos. 320, 321 of "Tableau chronologique"). The tapestries were never made, but the double order is in accordance with the regulation for Gobelins designers promulgated by a letter from the Directeur des Bâtiments, then Le Normant de Tournhem, to the Premier Peintre du Roi, dated June 1, 1747 (Edith A. Standen, "Some Notes on the Cartoons Used at the Gobelins and Beauvais Manufactories in the Eighteenth Century," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 4 [1977] p. 25). But Louis Petit de Bachaumont in his "Liste des meilleurs peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs et architectes des Académies Royales de Peinture, Sculpture et Architecture" (a manuscript dated 1750) wrote: "M. Boucher, élève de feu Le Moyne. . . Il a fait beaucoup de grands tableaux extrêmement riches, d'après lesquels on a exécuté d'excellentes tapisseries à Beauvais; ces tableaux ne sont pas extrêmement finis, ils sont faits presque au premier coup, mais cela suffit pour des tapisseries. Voyez-les chez M. Oudry" (P. L. [Paul Lacroix], "Jugements de Bachaumont sur les meilleurs artistes de son temps," *Revue Universelle des Arts* 5 [1857] pp. 419, 420). It is hard to believe that "grands tableaux" means full-scale cartoons for tapestry, unless they were so recently painted that they had not yet been sent to Beauvais.

But would Oudry have had room to display them in his apartment at the Louvre? Apparently he had, as the *Psyche* tapestries commissioned by the king of Sweden and woven in 1745 were "tendues et exposées chez Monsieur Oudry à Paris," according to a letter quoted by John Böttiger (*La Collection des tapisseries de l'état suédois*, IV, trans. by G. Lévy-Ullmann [Stockholm, 1898] p. 92 n. 2); these pieces are about 11 feet high. Oudry had been living in the Louvre since 1744. If what he was habitually able to show visitors had been easel pictures some 4 feet high, one would expect more of them to have been preserved—and would they have been called "grands tableaux"?

12. Böttiger, *Collection des tapisseries*, p. 96.

13. Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 344, *Ariane et Bacchus* (three tapestries listed); 345, *L'Enlèvement de Proserpine* (two tapestries listed, but actually the same piece); 346, *Neptune et Amymone* (two tapestries listed); 347, *Jupiter en Raisin* (no tapestries listed, but included in fig. 995, joined to *Ariane et Bacchus*); 348, *Mars et Vénus* (six tapestries listed, of which two are the same piece); 349, *L'Enlèvement d'Orythie* (five tapestries listed); 350, *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (two tapestries listed); 351, *Vénus aux Forges de Vulcain* (eight tapestries listed); 352, *Apollon et Clitie* (two tapestries listed). All the paintings are described as "disparu," except for the *Enlèvement d'Europe* and *Vénus aux Forges de Vulcain*, for which paintings (1.605 × 1.935 m. and 0.46 × 0.72m.) in the Louvre are listed.

14. Badin's summary (*Beauvais*, pp. 61, 62) gives 76 individual pieces, but his more detailed list totals 82. To these must be added at least some of the sets he records as made for the king between 1755 and 1774 (pp. 84, 85), not all of which can be identified with items in the general list. A maximum of 141 individual tapestries is a possible figure.

15. Coural, "Manufacture," p. 79, n. 49.

16. Recorded in extracts from the Beauvais manufactory records made by Jean Ajalbert. I am indebted to Pierre Verlet for the opportunity to study these extracts, which are preserved in the Louvre.

Une suite des *Amours des Dieux*, peint en trois autres tableaux, contenant, avec les bordures, dix aunes de cours et, en outre, un grand rapport fait pour la pièce de *Vénus et de Vulcain*.¹⁷

When an inventory of cartoons was made at the manufactory in 1820, there were nine of the *Amours des Dieux*, each in from three to six *bandes*, or strips, with “six morceaux incomplets.” They were presumably among the “tableaux coupés par bandes” that were ordered to be sold in 1829,¹⁸ a period when little but upholstery was being made at Beauvais. They must then have been in poor condition, since each *bande* had been placed again and again under the warps of basse-lisse, or horizontal, looms and then rolled up in storage ever since they had been last used; for some, this had been fifty years or more.¹⁹ Each *bande* was about 90 centimeters wide. There were other “Bouchers” listed in the inventory: twenty-nine which made up five pieces called the *Tenture Pastorale* (the series usually known as the *Noble Pastorale*, first woven in 1755), twenty-one of the five pieces of *Psyche*, seventeen of the *Fragments d’Opéra*, and thirty-six of the *Amours des Dieux*. Not in *bandes*, and so presumably one or two small paintings, were a “Marchand de poisson et fruitière.”²⁰ The *Fêtes Italiennes* cartoons, by then nearly a hundred years old, were not mentioned. It seems highly probable that some at least of the “tableaux coupés par bandes” were copies made at the manufactory after Boucher’s original paintings.²¹

There were 30 *aunes* of paintings for the nine tapestries of the *Amours des Dieux*, so that each could have been just under 3½ *aunes*, or about 13 feet wide, but the fact that the cartoons were cut into varying numbers of strips suggests that they were originally of different widths. Some subjects, in fact, are usually found as horizontal tapestries, others as uprights.

The first large set is listed as eight pieces made in 1750 for “Infant D. Philippe”;²² he was the Bourbon ruler of Parma from 1748 to 1765, the Infante of Spain, Don Felipe, who married a daughter of Louis XV. He also acquired tapestry upholstery for a sofa and eight armchairs.²³ Four tapestries in the Quirinale Palace, Rome, must be from this set: *Bacchus and Ariadne* (Figure 1), *Jupiter and Antiope* (Figure 8), *Mars and Venus* (Figure 9), and *Boreas and Orithyia*.²⁴ They are inscribed “Besnier et Oudry a Beauvais”; Besnier and Oudry were co-directors of the manufactory from 1734 until 1753.

Another set that can be identified is that made for Frederick the Great in 1765; it is listed as “Arianne et Bacchus, Vulcain, Neptune, enlèvement d’Europe, la joueuse de castagnettes, Jupiter en raisin.”²⁵ The first four pieces, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, *Vulcan and Venus*, *Neptune and Amymone*, and *The Rape of Europa*, have been recently in the Charlottenburg Palace, Berlin, owned by Prince Heinrich of Prussia,²⁶ together with an *entrefenêtre* showing two girls on the right of the *Basketmaker*, a tapestry in the *Psyche* series. Frederick bought a complete set of this series in 1764.²⁷ All have borders with a Greek fret and the Prussian eagle in the center at the top. Another *entrefenêtre* with this border was in the liquidation sale of the Galerie van Diemen, at the Paul Graupe auction house, Berlin, May 3, 4, 1935, no. 704; it shows the figure of Jupiter disguised as a satyr from the tapestry of *Jupiter and Antiope*, presumably the “Jupiter en raisin” of Frederick’s set;²⁸ the “joueuse de castagnettes” may be the

17. Weigert, “Manufacture,” p. 233.

18. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 47 n. 1.

19. When the Députés au Conseil de Commerce inspected the works at Beauvais in 1732, they reported that “les anciens desseins appartenant à la Manufacture sont roulés dans différentes cases de tablettes, chacun sous son numéro,” whereas the “nouveaux dessins sont tendus tout du long de la galerie.” They also said that the series called the “dessein des Chinois” (the first Beauvais chinoiserie series), which is known to have been woven in the 1680s and so was at least fifty years old, was “si usé qu’on n’y distingue presque plus rien” (Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 77, 78).

20. Ibid., p. 105.

21. Standen, “Some Notes,” pp. 25–28.

22. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 61.

23. Ibid., p. 68.

24. Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche: II. Die romanischen Länder* (Leipzig, 1928) II, pls. 234, 236.

25. Ajalbert extracts, see note 16.

26. Paul Seidel, *Les Collections d’œuvres d’art françaises du XVIIIe siècle, appartenant à Sa Majesté l’Empereur d’Allemagne, Roi de Prusse*, French trans. by Paul Vitry and Jean J. Marquet de Vasselot (Berlin, 1900) p. 191, no. 224 (listed; said to have been received in 1766 and to be in the royal palace, Coblenz); Badin, *Beauvais*, pl. facing p. 68, *Rape of Europa*; Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, *Charlottenburg Palace* (Berlin, 1973), p. 63.

27. Three pieces of this set are in Schloss Köpenick, East Berlin (Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin: *Geschichte, Wiederaufbau, Neuerwerbungen, 1867–1945, 1945–1962, 1963–1983* [Berlin, DDR: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1983] pp. 126, 127, ill. pp. 176, 283).

28. This subject is listed in the manufactory records as “Jupiter en Raisin” and “Jupiter changé en Raisin” (Badin, *Beauvais*, pp. 61, 105). The records, being primarily pay sheets, presumably give the names by which the weavers called the pieces

bacchante with cymbals from the same tapestry, but it has not been identified.

The set of four pieces made for Prince Esterházy in 1752 was in Budapest, but was lost in World War II; it consisted of *Mars and Venus*, *Vulcan and Venus*, *The Rape of Europa*, and *Bacchus and Ariadne* (joined to *Jupiter and Antiope*). Each piece had the Esterházy arms in the upper border.²⁹ The prince bought upholstery for a sofa and twelve armchairs in 1753 and for eight more armchairs in 1759.³⁰

Four pieces with the French royal arms, *Bacchus and Ariadne* joined to *Jupiter and Antiope*, *Mars and Venus*, *Boreas and Orithyia*, and *Vulcan and Venus*, were in the Alexis Polovtsoff sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 2–4, 1909, nos. 241–244; the first piece is now in the Kunstindustrimuseum, Copenhagen.³¹ The four pieces may have been from the set of six delivered to the comte de Saint-Florentin by order of the king in 1766.³²

The best-documented set is one of four pieces made for Baron Johann Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff, the Danish foreign minister. Oudry wrote to him, with his usual erratic spelling, on March 17, 1753, saying that he had “8 tableaux damusement champaitre tres agreable du S. boucher,” from which he could provide three pieces of the dimensions the baron needed:

pour la pieces de 20 pied. une dance de plusieurs figure un joueur de tambourin etc.

pour celle de 16 pied une musique de plusieurs figure et pour celle de 10 pied la collation toute ces pieces on de beau fond de paysages et d'architecture de bouché cest tous dire vous connoissé Ses talant et Ses graces.³³

These are clearly three subjects from the *Fêtes Italiennes* series, *Danse*, *Musique*, and *Collation*.³⁴

A year later the baron had changed his mind about the number of tapestries he needed and their dimensions, and another series had been selected. Louis-Antoine de Crozat, baron de Thiers, a wealthy collector who was acting as Bernstorff's agent in Paris, wrote to him on April 20, 1754:

Enfin le S^r Oudry est revenu de Beauvais, après avoir remis sur le métier toute votre comition sur les dernières mesures. Voici cy desous les 4 sujets

Venus chez Vulcain
Ariane et Bacus

l'enlèvement d'Europe
Neptune et Amimonne.³⁵

Like most of the orders filled by the Beauvais manufactory at the time, the commission included furniture upholstered in tapestry; this is now in the Metropolitan Museum.³⁶ The first two tapestries in the list are also in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 2, 14), given from the collection of James Stillman in 1922.³⁷ They are identified by the yellow inscriptions on the dark blue lower guards:³⁸ “Oudry” on the left and “A.C.C. Beauvais” on the right. Oudry and André-

they were working on. Possibly Jupiter has been confused with Bacchus, who changed himself into a beautiful bunch of grapes to deceive Erigone; as *Jupiter and Antiope* was woven several times joined to *Bacchus and Ariadne*, the mistake is comprehensible. There is no story of Jupiter associated with grapes or turning himself into grapes.

29. Maurice Vaucaire, “Les Tapisseries de Beauvais sur les cartons de F. Boucher,” *Les Arts*, no. 7 (Aug. 1902) pp. 12, 13, 16–17; Emőke László and Corvina Kiadó, *Flemish and French Tapestries in Hungary*, trans. by Enikő Körtvélyessy, trans. rev. by S. M. Newton (Budapest, 1981) p. 33 (the authors say that the set was commissioned by Field Marshal Pál Esterházy and his wife, Princess Maria Visconti-Lunati, and taken to the Buda palace of Sándor Esterházy in 1882).

30. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 68.

31. Erik Zahle, “François Boucher's dobbelte billedvaevning,” *Det Danske Kunstindustrimuseum, Virksomhed, 1959–1964* (Copenhagen, 1964) pp. 58–69.

32. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 84. “M. de St-Florentin” is also listed (p. 62) as acquiring six more pieces, in 1767 and 1769. He was made Secrétaire d'Etat in 1749.

33. Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, p. 58, no. 521 of “Tableau chronologique,” quoting a manuscript in the archives of the Amalienborg Palace, Copenhagen.

34. The variations in the widths of the pieces show how adaptable the designs were (Edith A. Standen, “Fêtes Italiennes: Beauvais Tapestries After Boucher in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *MMJ* 12/1977 [1978] p. 113).

35. Mario Krohn, *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse i det 18. Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen, 1922) I, p. 75.

36. James Parker, “Eighteenth-Century France Recreated in the ‘Cold, Barbarous Country’: The Tapestry Room from the Bernstorff Palace, Copenhagen,” *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973) pp. 367–373. The upholstery shows animal subjects after Oudry. A detailed account of the history of the palace after Bernstorff's death in 1772 is given in Bredo L. Grandjean, *En Bygningss Historie: Det Bernstorffske Palæ 1752–1952* (Copenhagen, 1952) pp. 12, 13, 16–18, 22, 26, 27.

37. J. B. [Joseph Breck], “An Anonymous Gift,” *MMAB* 17 (1922) pp. 51–54. *The Rape of Proserpine* said to have been with these two tapestries in the James A. Stillman collection is probably the *Boreas and Orithyia* with the French royal arms that was in the Stillman sale, Parke-Bernet, May 10–13, 1944, no. 667.

38. This term is used for the narrow band running along the outer edges of a tapestry (in French, *galon*), following Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967) I, p. 39.



Charlemagne Charron became co-directors of the manufactory on February 1, 1754, but Oudry died on April 30, 1755. The only set of the *Amours des Dieux* woven in the year of their joint directorship, 1754, is the one that is listed as made for the baron de Thiers.³⁹ The other two tapestries of the set were also in America in 1919, when they were owned by P. W. French & Co., New York;⁴⁰ they are probably the two tapestries of these subjects that were lent by French & Co. to an exhibition at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, in 1929. The tapestries of the set were made without borders to be inserted into boiseries.

An account of each subject in the series and of the related paintings follows.

BACCHUS AND ARIADNE

The god has evidently just arrived on Naxos with his train and is consoling the still-weeping Ariadne. In well-preserved examples of the tapestry, Theseus's departing ship can be seen in the distance on the right. The leopards were probably designed by Oudry; the

1. *Bacchus and Ariadne*, French (Beauvais), 1750. Wool and silk tapestry. Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale (photo: Alinari-Scala)

one on the right (Figure 2) strongly resembles a tiger on a tapestry with the Boufflers arms owned by the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 3).⁴¹ This is signed by Oudry and dated 1733; he had not become director

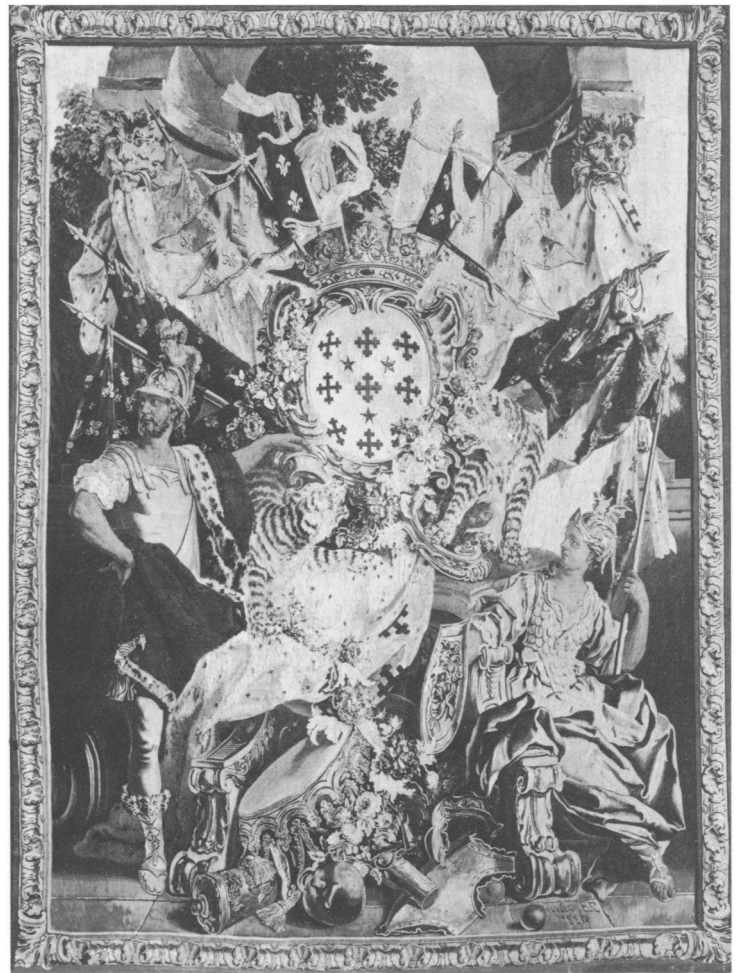
39. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 61. A *Rape of Proserpine* is erroneously listed instead of a *Rape of Europa*. Photographs of the tapestries while in the Bernstorff Palace confirm the identification (Parker, "Eighteenth-Century France," fig. 14).

40. Krohn, *Frankrigs og Danmarks Kunstneriske Forbindelse*, I, p. 77.

41. Oudry would probably have reversed the names of these animals (Opperman, "Oudry aux Gobelins," p. 60). The 1765 *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "léopard," says of the two species: "Les Naturalistes donnent le nom de *léopard* à celui qui a des taches rondes; mais il paroît que l'usage a prévalu au contraire, & qu'on le nomme vulgairement du nom de *tigre*." The attribution of the tigers in this tapestry to Oudry was made by Maurice Fenaille, *François Boucher* (Paris, 1925) p. 88. For a discussion of the felines that draw the chariot of Bacchus, see Warren Tresidder, "The Cheetahs in Titian's 'Bacchus and Ariadne,'" *Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981) pp. 481–485.



2. *Bacchus and Ariadne*, detail, French (Beauvais), 1754. Wool and silk tapestry, 12 ft. × 17 ft. 6 in. (3.66 × 5.33 m.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, From the Collection of James Stillman, Gift of Dr. Ernest G. Stillman, 22.16.2



3. *Arms of Joseph-Marie, Second Duc de Boufflers*, French (Beauvais), 1733. Wool and silk tapestry, 11 ft. × 8 ft. (3.35 × 2.44 m.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Cecil Mortimer Singer, 60.101

4. *Bacchus and Ariadne, Jupiter and Antiope*, French (Beauvais), 1753–69. Wool and silk tapestry. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (photo: French & Co.)



of the manufactory at this time, so the name must refer to him as the designer, not the supervisor of the weaving.⁴² Also close to the leopard on the right is a painting by Oudry in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, which is based on a quick sketch made from life in the menagerie at Versailles that is owned by the same museum.⁴³

Bacchus and Ariadne was woven at least seventeen times between 1749 and 1769. As has been noted, there are examples in Frederick the Great's set at Charlottenburg, the Quirinale Palace (Figure 1), and the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 2). There is one in a private collection in New York⁴⁴ and others in the Hillwood Museum (affiliated with the Marjorie Merriweather Post Foundation), Washington, and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.⁴⁵ The subject is found combined with *Jupiter and Antiope* in the Esterházy set, in Copenhagen, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chartres (with Charron's initials), in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California (Figure 4),⁴⁶ and in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart.⁴⁷ Similar double subjects were in the Cibiel sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 30, 1919, no. 22 (with the royal arms, but the border corners are not the same as those of the piece with the same arms in Copenhagen), and a sale at Sotheby's, London, June 4, 1971, no. 10 (without borders).

In the 1820 inventory, the cartoon was listed as in six strips, the largest number for the series. No related paintings have been published, and Boucher is not known to have used the subject again.

THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE

Though the subject was woven at least nine times between 1750 and 1770, the only example in a public collection is one with Charron's initials and no border in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chartres. Another is in a private collection in New York (Figure 5).⁴⁸ A slightly wider piece was owned by the Paris dealer B. Fabre in 1978.⁴⁹ Jacques Seligmann and Co. lent an example to the exhibition "Four Centuries of Tapestries" at the Toledo Museum of Art in 1929 (catalogue no. 38); it came from the Ignace Ephrussi collection and had Charron's initials.

The cartoon was in three strips in 1820. A small oval grisaille, signed and dated 1769, in the Musée

des Beaux-Arts, Quimper, has been thought to represent the same subject.⁵⁰ The naiad seen only to the waist in the painting, reclining on an urn from which water pours, is similar to the full-length figure in the tapestry, though in reverse and with more drapery.

NEPTUNE AND AMYMONÉ

Amymone is shown being saved by Neptune from the unwelcome advances of two satyrs, rather than the single one usually depicted. The tapestry was woven at least ten times between 1750 and 1770. There is an example in the Charlottenburg set, and others are in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin; the Hermitage, Leningrad; and the collection of the city of Paris.⁵¹

42. Another piece of the set with the Boufflers arms, now in a French private collection, has preserved its lower guard, which is inscribed "Besniers et Oudry a Beauvais," indicating that this piece was woven between 1734 and 1753, the period of the joint directorship.

43. Grand Palais, Paris, J.-B. Oudry, exh. cat. (1982) nos. 97 (drawing), 98 (painting).

44. Wildenstein and Co., New York, François Boucher, exh. cat. (1980) no. 16, fig. 15.

45. George Leland Hunter, "America's Beauvais-Boucher Tapestries," *International Studio* 85 (November 1926) ill. p. 28, as in the collection of Mrs. Edward F. Hutton (later Mrs. Merriweather Post); *Los Angeles County Museum, Bulletin of the Art Division* 6, no. 3, supp. (Summer 1954) p. 37, ill. (from the George Fisher sale, Sotheby's, July 24, 1939, no. 88).

46. Anne Marian Jones, *A Handbook of the Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (n.p., 1965) p. 15, no. A-20, pl. 1 (from the C. Ledyard Blair collection).

47. Ruth Grönwoldt, "Wandbehang: 'Bacchus and Ariadne' und 'Huldigung der Ariadne,'" in "Berichte der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen: Württembergisches Landesmuseum," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 12 (1975) pp. 379–381, fig. 15. It was previously sold at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, Nov. 11, 1972.

48. Wildenstein, *François Boucher*, no. 17, fig. 16.

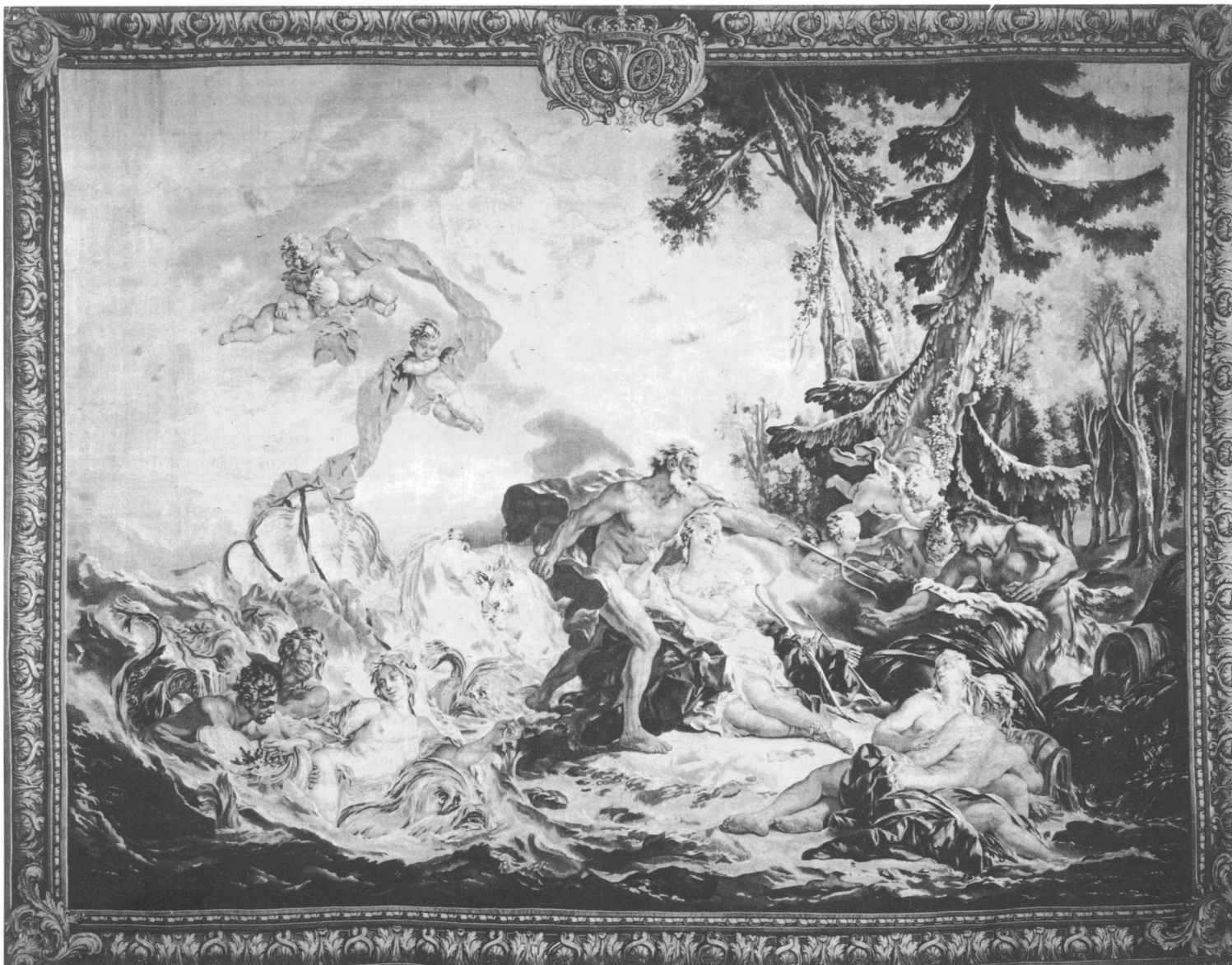
49. From a sale at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 26, 1913, no. 6; the Paul Dutasta sale at the same auction house, June 3, 4, 1926, no. 194; the Charles d'Heucqueville sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, Mar. 25, 1936, no. 181; and a sale at Palais Galliera, Paris, June 12, 1973, no. 144.

50. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 669. It has also been called *Jupiter et une nymphe* and the date read as 1760 (Pierre Quinon, *Musée des Beaux-Arts, Quimper* [n.p., 1976] p. 27).

51. Göbel, *Wandteppiche* II, II, pl. 240 (Schwerin); Nina Biryukova, "Decoration and Diplomacy: Eighteenth-Century French Tapestries," *Apollo* 101 (1975) p. 465, fig. 13 (Hermitage); Juliette Niclausse, *Tapisseries et tapis de la Ville de Paris* (Paris, 1948) no. 63.



5. *The Rape of Proserpine*, French (Beauvais), 1750–70. Wool and silk tapestry. New York, private collection



6. *Neptune and Amymone*, French (Beauvais), 1753–70. Wool and silk tapestry. American private collection

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Green lent an upright example to an exhibition of tapestries at the Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, Buenos Aires, in 1939 (catalogue no. 80); it had been in the Casimir Périer and comtesse de Béhague collections and has no border. A piece with the French royal arms was lent to the “Exposition François Boucher,” Hôtel Jean Charpentier, Paris, 1932 (no. 137); it is in an American private collection (Figure 6) and has Charron’s initials.⁵² Another example with the royal arms was sold at the Palais Galliera, Paris, March 4, 1961, no. 134; it has the date 1749 on the guard. An upright piece with a nar-

row border was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit, April 21, 1921, no. 96, and a wide one was in the A. Clément-Bayard sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 22, 1937, no. 22. The piece in the Bernstorff set is probably the example lent by French & Co. to the Wadsworth Athenaeum exhibition in 1929.

The cartoon was in three strips in 1820. A painting of the satyrs, the flying cupid, and the two nymphs at the Abbaye de Chaâlès (Figure 7) may well be one of

52. It was sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Apr. 6, 1960, no. 140, and at the Palais Galliera, Dec. 11, 1961, no. 184.

the strips. A related sketch, attributed to the school of Boucher, is reported as formerly in the Flandrin collection, Paris.⁵³

Boucher repeated the subject for the Gobelins manufactory in one of the medallions in the series known as the *Tenture de Boucher*.⁵⁴ A slightly earlier moment in the story is depicted, as the satyr (there is only one) still holds Amynone, but Neptune is almost identical with the figure in the earlier tapestry. There are no Nereids. The painting for the medallion is dated 1764 and is at Versailles.

7. François Boucher(?), *Satyrs and Nymphs*. Oil on canvas. Abbaye de Chaâlîs, Musée Jacquemart-André (photo: Bernard, Chantilly)



JUPITER AND ANTIOPE

The subject of the tapestry is apparently Jupiter disguised as a satyr approaching Antiope, but, as has been noted, it is usually listed in the manufactory records as "Jupiter en raisin"; perhaps the weavers thought of it as "Jupiter among the grapes." It is said to have been woven seven times between 1750 and 1771, but at least one instance is known (in the Esterházy set) in which it is present, combined with *Bacchus and Ariadne*, but is not included among the titles of the set. Among the identified pieces of Frederick the Great's set, it is represented, as has been said, only by an *entrefenêtre* of the satyr and, possibly, another of the bacchante with cymbals. Besides the tapestries, already listed, in which *Jupiter and Antiope* is combined with *Bacchus and Ariadne*, there are single pieces in the Quirinale Palace (Figure 8), the Hillwood Museum, with no border, and the Gulbenkian Collection, Lisbon, with the French royal arms.⁵⁵ An example from the G. F. Baker collection that was in the William Goodby Loew sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, January 5, 6, 1951, no. 414, was sold again at Sotheby's, London, January 25, 1957, no. 44.⁵⁶

The cartoon was listed as in four strips in the 1820 inventory, where it was called "Jupiter changé en raisin." Boucher is not known to have painted the subject again.

MARS AND VENUS

The subject of the love affair between Mars and Venus was woven at least thirteen times between 1750 and 1772. It is found in the Esterházy, Polovtsoff, and Quirinale Palace sets (Figure 9), as well as in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, and the

53. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 346/2.

54. Edith A. Standen, "The Tapestry Room from Croome Court: The Croome Court Tapestries," in *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1964) p. 45, fig. 22.

55. George Leland Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries* (Philadelphia/London, 1925) pl. xi, a (Hillwood Museum, as in the collection of Mrs. Hutton); Glória Nunes Riso Guerreiro, "Some European Tapestries in the Calouste Gulbenkian Collection in Lisbon," *Connoisseur* 173 (1970) p. 232.

56. New York Antique and Art Dealers Association, *Art Treasures Exhibition* (New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1955) no. 119, ill. (exhibited by Frank Partridge, Inc.).



8. *Jupiter and Antiope*, French (Beauvais), 1750. Wool and silk tapestry. Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale
(photo: Alinari-Scala)



9. *Mars and Venus*, French (Beauvais), 1750. Wool and silk tapestry. Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale (photo: Alinari-Scala)



10. Boucher(?), *Mars and Venus*. Oil on canvas. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)



11. *Boreas and Orithyia*, French (Beauvais), 1750. Wool and silk tapestry. Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale (photo: Alinari-Scala)

Mobilier National (Gobelins Museum), Paris.⁵⁷ An example with the French royal arms was in the Société Seligmann sale, Galerie Georges Petit, March 9–12, 1914, no. 348;⁵⁸ one with a narrow border was in the A. Clément-Bayard sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 22, 1937, no. 21; and one with no border was owned by Dario Boccara in 1971.⁵⁹ A very faded example was sold at Christie's, New York, April 21, 1979, no. 179, and November 12, 1981, no. 232.

The cartoon was in three strips in 1820. A sketch in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Figure 10),⁶⁰ has been thought to be a preliminary study for the tapestry. It shows marked differences from the finished composition, particularly in the upper part where an extremely elongated nude stands beside the support for the large vase. There is no water in the foreground, so the gesture of the woman who stoops to wash a piece of drapery makes no sense. In 1734 Boucher had used the same idea, a warrior leaning against his ladylove with a large looking glass held by a cupid beside them, in his painting of Rinaldo and Armida in the Louvre.⁶¹ The large vase above Mars in the tapestry, with the drapery and three branches behind it, is the subject of a small painting in a private collection.⁶²

BOREAS AND ORITHYIA

Orithyia was carried away by Boreas, the north wind, when she was gathering flowers on a mountain with her sister Procris. The subject is sometimes confused with the rape of Proserpine, but Boreas is always shown winged, whereas Pluto usually rides in a chariot. Boucher's design was woven at least seven times between 1750 and 1767. There is an example in the Polovtsoff set and others in the Quirinale Palace (Figure 11) and the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chartres; the last has Charron's initials. A small panel containing only Boreas, Orithyia, and the cupid beneath them is in the château of Compiègne;⁶³ this could be one of the "4 petites pièces des Amours des Dieux" delivered by the manufactory to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1774.⁶⁴ An example with the French royal arms and Charron's initials was in the Mme C. Le-long sale, Galerie Georges Petit, April 27–May 1, 1903, no. 489, and the James A. Stillman sale, Parke-Bernet, May 10–13, 1944, no. 677. Another with the same

initials, but without arms, was sold at the Palais Galliera, March 4, 1961, no. 133.

In the year 9 of the Republic, an exhibition was held in the Louvre, to which the Beauvais manufactory sent "deux tableaux de cinq pieds de hauteur sur 5 de largeur représentant l'enlèvement d'Orithye par Borée, modèle de Boucher, peint par Duchemin de Beauvais, jeune homme de 26 à 27 ans."⁶⁵

The cartoon was in four strips in 1820. Boucher painted the subject again for the Hôtel de Marcilly in 1769; the painting is now in the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.⁶⁶ It is not close in design to the tapestry.

THE RAPE OF EUROPA

The subject of Europa's abduction by Jupiter in the guise of a white bull was woven at least thirteen times between 1750 and 1772. There are examples in the Charlottenburg and Esterházy sets and in the Los Angeles County Museum (Figure 12).⁶⁷ One, signed by Besnier and Oudry, that was in the sale "Kunstwerk aus den Beständen Leningrader Museen und Schlösser," Rudolph Lepke, Berlin, November 6, 7, 1928, no. 221, was in the Pierre C. Cartier collection, Geneva, in 1964.⁶⁸ A nearly square example was in the Mme Dubernet Douine sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, April 11, 12, 1946, no. 154; an upright version was sold at the Palais Galliera, April 3, 1968, no.

57. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Catalogue des tapisseries* (Brussels: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1966) no. 111; Juliette Niclausse, *Le Musée des Gobelins 1939* (Paris, 1939) no. 48.

58. Göbel, *Wandteppiche* II, II, pl. 235.

59. Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la tapisserie* (Zug, 1971) p. 201.

60. *National Art-Collections Fund: Annual Report 1980* (London, 1981) p. 54, no. 2835, ill.

61. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 108.

62. Galerie Cailleux, Paris, *Eloge de l'ovale: Peintures et pastels du XVIII^e siècle français*, exh. cat. (1975) no. 5. The composition is reversed from that of the similar portion of the tapestry.

63. Vaucaire, "Tapisseries de Beauvais," p. 15.

64. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 85.

65. Ajalbert extracts, see note 16.

66. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 677.

67. Madeleine Jarry, *World Tapestry* (New York, 1969) pp. 244, 245 (Charlottenburg); "Tapestry, 'The Rape of Europa,'" *Los Angeles County Museum, Bulletin of the Art Division* 4, nos. 2–3 (Summer 1952) pp. 14, 15.

68. Hôtel de Ville, Beauvais, *Trois Siècles de tapisseries de Beauvais*, exh. cat. (1964) no. 28.

136, and a borderless one at the same auction house, November 24, 1976, no. 135. The piece from the Bernstorff set was probably the one lent by French & Co. to the Wadsworth Atheneum exhibition in 1929.

The cartoon was in five strips in 1820. The subject was painted several times by Boucher. An early version, known only from a print, is not related to the tapestry. A grisaille sketch in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens, is a preliminary study for a painting in the Wallace Collection, London; a print after it was advertised in 1748. The figure of Europa and the relationship of the nymphs, the bull, the flying cupids, the eagle, and the landscape are much as in the tap-

estry, although it is a Nereid and not a river-god who holds the urn from which water pours. The painting that is most closely related to the tapestry was bought by the king in 1747 and is now in the Louvre (Figure 13);⁶⁹ only the section with a sea-god and Nereids and some of the flying cupids is markedly different.

The design of the seated girl seen from the side on the right of the tapestry was used for a painting of bacchantes made for Mme de Pompadour's château of Bellevue in 1745. She appears again, holding an urn instead of a basket of flowers, in the *Renaud Endormi* panel of the *Fragments d'Opéra* tapestry series, first woven in 1752.⁷⁰ The cupid turning a somer-

12. *The Rape of Europa*, French (Beauvais), 1750–72. Wool and silk tapestry. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of J. Paul Getty (photo: Los Angeles County Museum of Art)

69. Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 11 (print), 103 (Amiens sketch), 104 (Wallace), 350 (Louvre).

70. Ibid., nos. 288 (*Bacchantes* painting), 384 (*Renaud* tapestry).





13. Boucher, *The Rape of Europa*. Oil on canvas. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)

sault next to the eagle was used in a *Birth of Venus* painting of 1743, and the Nereid who looks away from Europa in the tapestry is also seen in the overdoor of *Arion Porté sur un Dauphin* of 1749.⁷¹

VULCAN AND VENUS

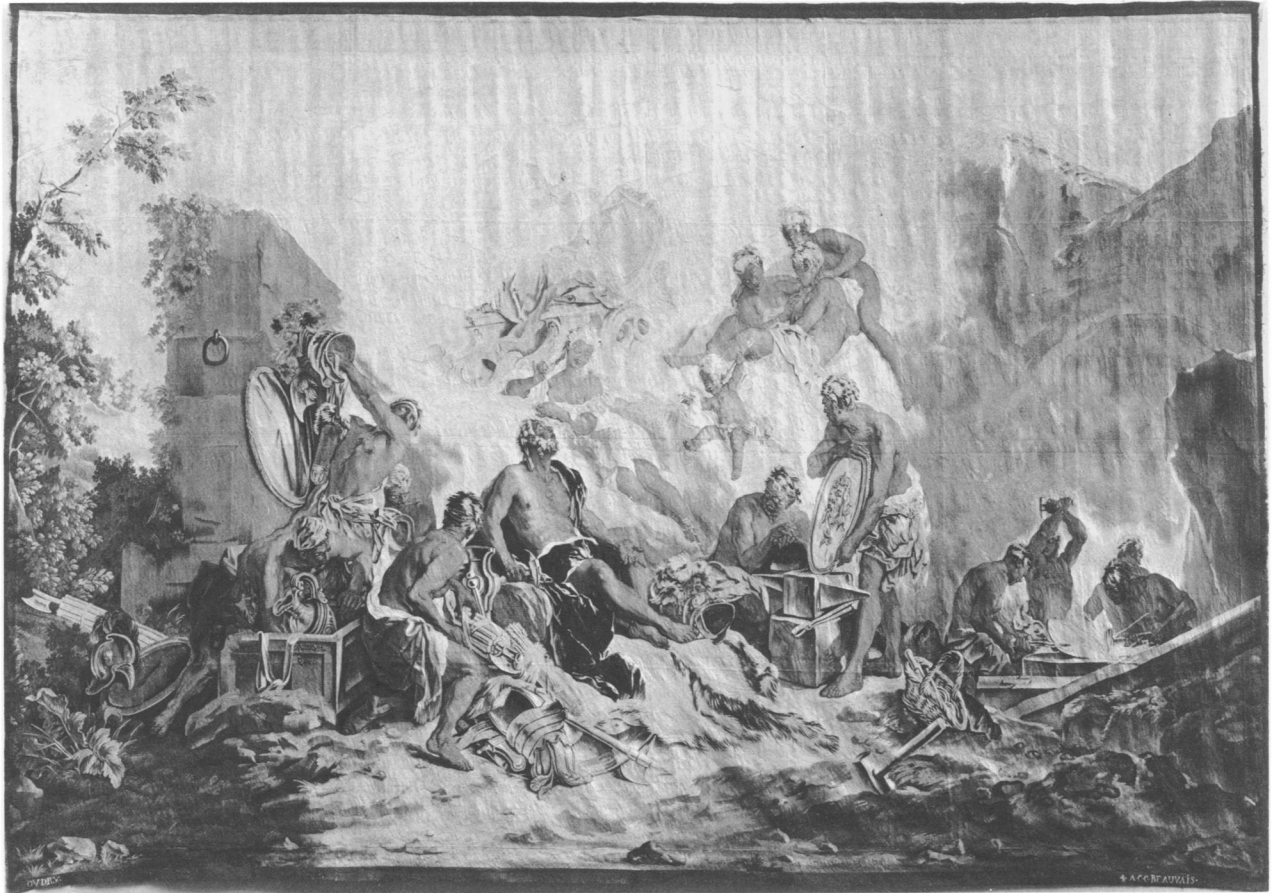
Venus has returned to Vulcan's workshop to collect the arms he has had made for Aeneas, her son by Anchises. The subject was woven at least sixteen times between 1752 and 1772. There are examples in the Charlottenburg, Esterházy, Bernstorff (Figure 14), and Polovtsoff sets; the last two have Boucher's name and are dated 1749. An example from the set ordered by the king in 1771 for Abbé Terray, the Contrôleur Général, with his arms, was sold at the Palais Galliera,

June 19, 1970, no. 106, and a borderless piece was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, December 17, 1943, no. 50.

The 1754 Beauvais inventory mentions, as already quoted, "un grand rapport" for *Vulcan and Venus*. This is presumably an added section sometimes found between Vulcan and the man holding the bundle of rods; it includes two swans harnessed to Venus's chariot, two more putti, and two more men. It is found on tapestries in the Mobilier National and the Los Angeles County Museum (Figure 15); both have Boucher's name and are dated 1749.⁷² Another piece with the addition was in the Louis Guiraud sale, Palais Galliera, December 10, 1971, no. 126. A small panel showing only the four men at the forge was in the D. . . sale, Galerie Georges Petit, December 13, 1929, no. 96, and was sold again at the Hôtel Drouot, December 7, 8, 1931, no. 276. It is probably one of the

71. Ibid., nos. 243 (*Birth of Venus*), 328 (*Arion*).

72. Hôtel de la Monnaie, Paris, *Louis XV, un moment de perfection de l'art français*, exh. cat. (1974) no. 375; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *An Elegant Art*, exh. cat. (1983) no. 419.



14. *Vulcan and Venus*, French (Beauvais), 1754-56. Wool and silk tapestry, 14 ft. × 17 ft. 10 in. (4.27 × 5.44 m.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, From the Collection of James Stillman, Gift of Dr. Ernest G. Stillman, 22.16.1

15. *Vulcan and Venus*, French (Beauvais), 1752-72. Wool and silk tapestry. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of J. Paul Getty (photo: Los Angeles County Museum of Art)





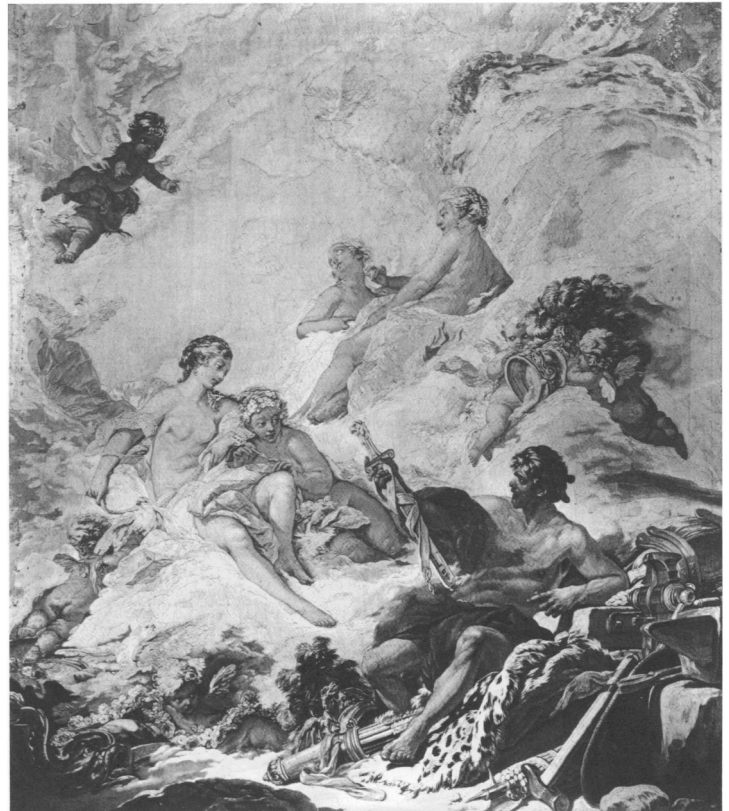
four little pieces woven in 1779, which included “Vénus chez Vulcain” and “les forgerons.”⁷³

The cartoon was in four strips in 1820. Boucher repeated the subject many times over more than thirty-five years, including two other designs for tapestries. An upright painting in the Louvre with large figures of Vulcan and Venus is dated 1732; it shows him seated on the ground looking up at her in the clouds, with a piece of classical armor, a helmet, and a quiver of arrows at his feet very like the same objects in the tapestry. In a painting in a private collection in New York, Vulcan is seated with a hammer in one hand, much as in the tapestry, but Venus is behind his shoulder. A grisaille sketch in the Louvre (Figure 16) is close enough to the tapestry (without the “grand rapport”) to be considered a study for it, though there are some differences: the basket and the hammer beside it and the classical armor and quiver of the tapestry are not in the painting. One painting of a set of four, dated 1754, in the Wallace Collection is not related (cupids have taken over the forge).⁷⁴

The 1754 painting at Versailles for a medallion in

16. Boucher, *Vulcan and Venus*. Oil on canvas. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Lacaze Collection (photo: Archives Photographiques)

17. *Vulcan and Venus*, French (Gobelins), 1760–71. Wool and silk tapestry. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery (photo: Walters Art Gallery)



73. Ajaalbert extracts, see note 16.

74. Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 85 (Louvre, 1732), 303 (private collection), 351 (Louvre sketch), 428 (Wallace).

the Gobelins *Tenture de Boucher* is closer to the Wallace Collection painting than to the Beauvais tapestry, though the helmet and classical armor, which do not appear in the former, have been incorporated. A large painting in the Louvre dated 1757 shows Vulcan in much the same attitude as he has in the Beauvais tapestry, and one of the nymphs in the sky is also close to her tapestry counterpart; a study for this picture, dated 1756, is in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, and another is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.⁷⁵

The Louvre composition of 1757 was woven at least five times at the Gobelins manufactory from 1759 to 1774. It was Boucher's contribution to a series of the *Amours des Dieux*; the other pieces were after Carle Van Loo, J.-B. Pierre, Joseph Vieu, and Noël Hallé;⁷⁶ an example is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Figure 17).⁷⁷

Another large picture of the subject in the Kimbell Art Museum is dated 1769; it preserves the quiver and piece of classical armor that appear below Vulcan in the Beauvais tapestry, as well as the general scheme of a seated god looking up at Venus in the clouds, features that had first appeared in 1732. A grisaille sketch for this painting is recorded. The three nymphs in the sky of the Beauvais tapestry are close to a similar group in the 1749 painting, *Vénus Désarmant l'Amour*, in the Louvre.⁷⁸

One can only speculate why this particular mythological subject was so popular with Boucher's patrons, including Louis XV.⁷⁹ Perhaps the reason was that it provided such a piquant contrast between the soft whiteness of Venus, with her nymphs, cupids, and doves, and the masculinity of Vulcan and his fierce

helpers at their noisy and dirty labors. Boucher, in fact, has been quoted as recommending the subject to a pupil whose noble patron had asked for a painting. He said it was "une tâche fort attrayante à remplir: le dessin d'une belle figure de femme environnée d'Amours, la silhouette d'un homme musculeux accompagnée de quelques cyclopes à l'arrière-plan."⁸⁰ The drama of the situation, a wife asking a favor of her husband for her son by another man, may also have had its appeal.

APOLLO AND CLYTIE

Clytie is gazing wistfully at Apollo, who is about to abandon her. On the left is the sunflower into which he changed her; this flower was believed to keep its face always turned to the sun.⁸¹ The subject was woven at least seven times between 1750 and 1772. It was also known as "Apollon dans sa gloire."⁸² There are examples in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Figure 18) and the Fitzwilliam Museum, both with the French royal arms.⁸³ Another version with these arms was sold at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, May 24, 1955, and Maurice Fenaille owned one in 1935.⁸⁴ Pieces without arms were in the Albert Lehmann sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4, 5, 1925, no. 135, and the comte de Gramont sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 15, 1934, no. 98.

The cartoon was in three strips in 1820. Boucher is not known to have painted the subject again, although the nymph leaning on the urn from which water pours is close to the figure in the 1749 Louvre *Toilette de Vénus* who reclines beside the goddess.⁸⁵

75. Ibid., nos. 84 (Versailles), 478 (Louvre, 1757), 479 (Williamstown), 479 bis (Musée des Arts Décoratifs).

76. Fenaille, *Gobelins*, IV, pp. 189–223.

77. Thomas B. Bruhn, "The Loves of the Gods," *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* 21, no. 6 (Mar. 1969) n.p.

78. Ananoff, *Boucher*, nos. 675 (Fort Worth), 673 (sketch), 331 (Louvre).

79. Ibid., I, p. 31, no. 279 of "Tableau chronologique." Mme du Barry owned one of the Gobelins examples (Fenaille, *François Boucher*, p. 105).

80. Ananoff, *Boucher*, I, p. 111, no. 920 of "Tableau chronologique." The quotation is from Ernest Seillière, "Un Témoin de la vie parisienne au temps de Louis XV: Les 'Mémoires' du peintre J. C. de Mannlich," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 1 (July 1912) pp. 199–228.

81. Ovid describes Clytie as changed into a flower that keeps its face turned to the sun, usually interpreted as the heliotrope, but by the 17th century it was taken to be the much more pictorially effective import from the New World, the sunflower (Robert B. Simon, "Poussin, Marino, and the Interpretation of Mythology," *Art Bulletin* 60 [1978] p. 63 n. 49).

82. Badin, *Beauvais*, p. 84 nn. 6, 10.

83. "A Beauvais Tapestry by Boucher," *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 32 (1943) pp. 31–34; Carl Winter, in *Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Forty-first Annual Report for the Year 1949*, pp. 2–5.

84. Badin, *Beauvais*, ill. facing p. 56; Fenaille, *François Boucher*, p. 17; *Exposition de l'art français au XVIIIe siècle: Catalogue* (Copenhagen, 1935) no. 821.

85. Ananoff, *Boucher*, no. 330.



18. *Apollo and Clytie*, French (Beauvais), 1750–72. Wool and silk tapestry. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Dunwoody Fund, 1942 (photo: Minneapolis Institute of Arts)

It is almost impossible today to imagine what a room looked like when hung with a set of the *Amours des Dieux* in their original clarity and brilliance. They are generally seen one at a time, as if they were paintings, instead of in combination, covering the walls like frescoes. All too often, also, the lavishly used silks have lost their color, so that once bright blue skies are a pale yellowish tan, and the flesh tones, always in wool, are dirty and have become darker than their surroundings. But when even one sadly solitary piece in good condition can be enjoyed, Boucher comes into his own and is seen to have been a superb designer on a grand scale, a creator of the majestic and powerful as well as of the delicate and enchanting.

A Japanned Cabinet in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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DURING THE LAST DECADES of the sixteenth century, when Oriental lacquer was introduced to the West in small quantities, its novelty and the liveliness of its exotic imagery first attracted European attention. Later, when lacquer goods became more readily available, the material's inherent qualities, such as its luster, hardness, and resistance to stains, were appreciated.¹ Lacquer furniture came to Europe in sizable amounts only at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was at that time that the East India Companies established trade on a regular basis with the Orient. Imported lacquered screens, chests, and cabinets were much prized in European houses, but the supply fell far short of demand, and a market for European imitations grew steadily during the last quarter of the century.

The main ingredient of Oriental lacquer, sap from the tree *Rhus vernicifera*, a sumac found in all parts of China, was not available in Europe. The process of making genuine lacquer remained unknown till 1720 when the Italian Jesuit Filippo Bonanni described it in his *Trattato sopra la vernice*.² European craftsmen, therefore, had to substitute varnishes or paint in their attempt to achieve a similar effect.³ Although the European techniques gradually improved, they never produced a substance as hard, lustrous, and waterproof as Oriental lacquer. The European lacquer process was known as "japanning," a term applied indiscriminately to imitations of Chinese, Japanese, and Indian lacquer ware.

Imitations already existed early in the seventeenth century,⁴ but the production of European imitation lacquer did not come into full bloom until the last two decades of the century. Closely following imported

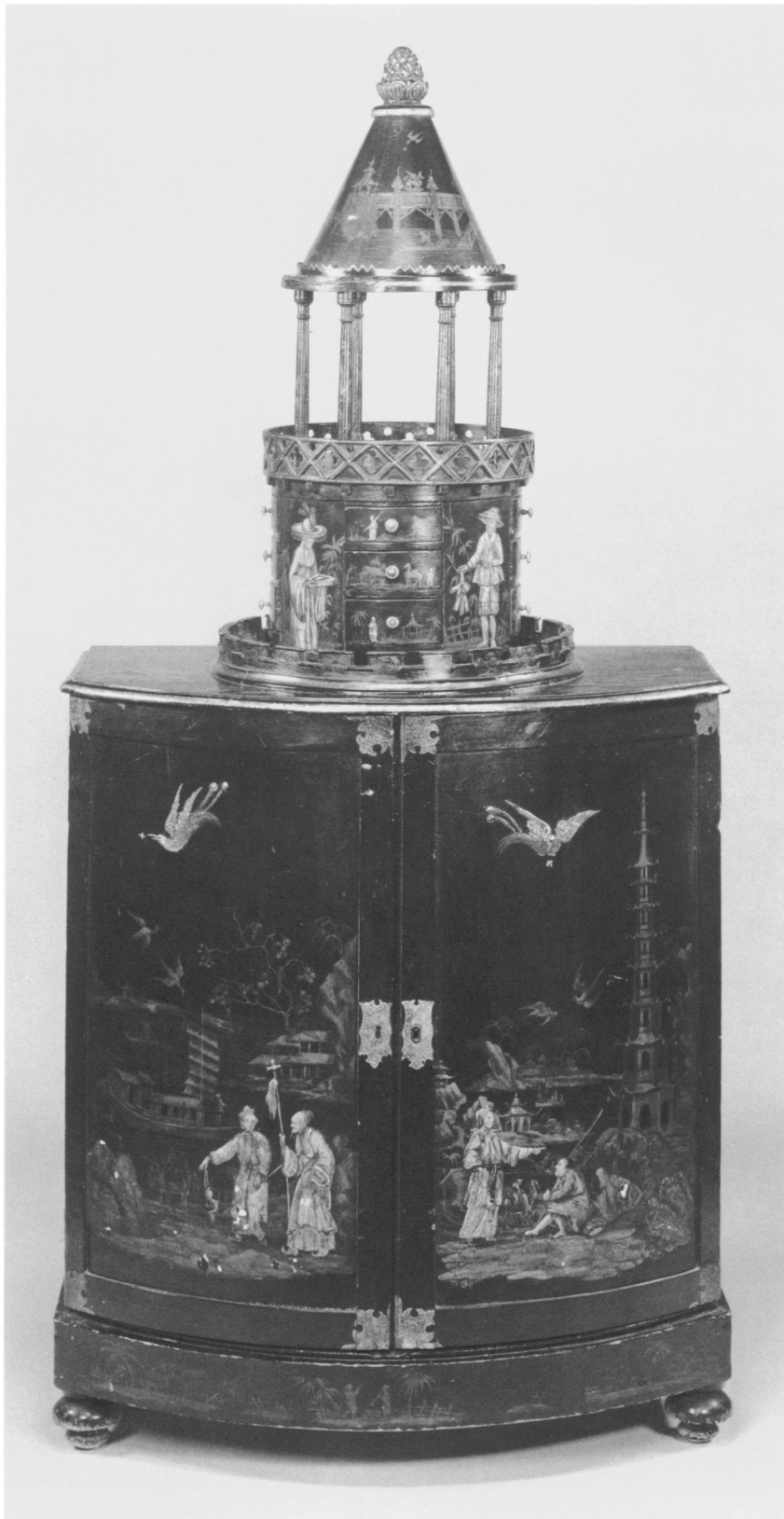
prototypes, a large quantity of square two-door cabinets with numerous small inside drawers were made and are still preserved. The elaborately carved and gilded stands on which these cabinets are mounted are purely European additions. Patterns for the decoration of japanned furniture were derived initially from imported porcelain and lacquered objects, as well as from Oriental fabrics and wall hangings. Illustrations in travel and mission reports, like John Nieuhoff's *Het Gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-indische*

1. M. Jourdain and R. Soame Jenyns, *Chinese Export Art in the Eighteenth Century* (Feltham, 1967) p. 17.

2. H. Huth, *Lacquer of the West* (Chicago/London, 1971) p. 22. The sap of the *Rhus vernicifera* is a syrupy resin. After superfluous moisture has been removed by prolonged boiling, it is applied to wood, leather, or other materials, with or without the addition of color. Fine lacquer may have more than 200 coats of the resin. Each layer is allowed to harden slowly in a damp atmosphere and is then polished with a fine charcoal dust before the next layer is added. The very hard finish that results can be decorated with designs carved in relief, painted, or inlaid with gold.

3. European lacquer imitations are made from lac, the resinous substance deposited on trees by the female *Laccifer lacca*, an Asian scale insect. Lac is scraped off the twigs (stick lac), ground (seed lac), then dissolved in alcohol, and processed to form varnish (shellac). Several coats of this varnish were applied to wood; each coat was dried in an oven at close to 300° F. The decorations were added next, mostly raised in plaster; the whole surface was burnished afterwards. Later imitations were simply executed in paint and then varnished.

4. H. Honour, *Chinoiserie* (London, 1961) pp. 44–45. The inventory of Henry Howard, first earl of Northampton, made at his death in 1614, lists a number of imitation lacquered pieces of furniture; e.g., "a field bedstead of China worke blacke and silver branches with silver with the Armes of the Earl of Northampton upon the headpiece."





1–3. Cabinet, English, ca. 1760–65. Painted and varnished pine, overall 68 (cabinet 37, superstructure 31) × 32 × 19 in. (172.7 × 81.3 × 48.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, 1974, The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection, 1974.356.130

Compagnie . . . (Leyden, 1665), a description of a Dutch embassy to the emperor of China in 1656, proved to be especially influential.⁵ In addition to prints by Europeans who had actually visited China or Japan, an even larger number of designs were published by artists who had never been to the Far East and for whom the distinctions between the countries in that part of the world were seldom clear. These prints and the late seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century japanned decorations based on them often reveal more about the perceptions Europeans formed of the Far East and its people than the reality. Intricate and sometimes comical effects can be found as the artistic phenomenon known as chinoiserie was enthusiastically exploited in the West.

John Stalker and George Parker's *A Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing*, published in London in 1688, contained not only technical information on how to make lacquerlike varnishes but also useful designs for the decoration of cabinets, screens, and small items such as powder boxes.⁶ The designs, according to the authors, were derived from Oriental objects but they "help't them a little in their proportions, where they were lame or defective, and made them more pleasant yet altogether as Antick."⁷ Japanners, cabinet-makers, and draughtsmen who established themselves before 1695 as "Patentees for lacquering after the manner of Japan" certainly used these patterns; several pieces of furniture with Stalker and Parker

5. Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen contains a room with japanned panels depicting scenes based on illustrations from this book. See G. Boesen, "Kineserier på Rosenborg om Høllandske lakerere i København i det 17 arhundrede og deres forbilleder," *Historiske Meddelelser om København Årbog* (1977) pp. 30, 34, pl. 1.

6. This book was of major importance for English japanning and later manuals are largely indebted to it; see R. Edwards, *The Dictionary of English Furniture* (London, 1954; reissued 1983) II, p. 268.

7. J. Stalker and G. Parker, *A Treatise on Japanning and Varnishing* (London, 1688; reprint, London, 1960, 1971) p. xvi.

designs are extant.⁸ The book was intended primarily for the amateur, as japanning had become a fashionable occupation for young ladies. In 1689, for example, Edmund Verney heartily endorsed his daughter's wish to learn to japan:

I find you have a desire to learn Japann, as you call it, and I approve it; and so I shall of any thing that is good and virtuous, therefore learn in God's name all Good Things, and I will willingly be at the charge so farr as I am able—though they come from Japan and from never so farr and looke of an Indian Hue and colour, for I admire all accomplishments that will render you considerable and Lovely in the sight of God and man.⁹

The vogue for lacquer furniture declined in the late 1720s, only to come back in full force twenty years later, but throughout this time the art of japanning remained a popular pastime. *The Method of Learning to Draw in Perspective . . . Likewise a New and Curious Method of Japanning . . . so as to imitate China; and to make black or gilt Japan-Ware as Beautiful and Light as any brought from the East-Indies* was published in 1732 and dedicated to Lady Walpole, the prime minister's wife, who was an enthusiastic japanner. More books appeared over the next twenty years, containing technical information, designs for furniture, architecture, and ornament, and useful patterns for amateurs and professionals.¹⁰ An outstanding work of the type, *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils* by William Chambers, was published in 1757. Sir William Chambers (1723–96), architect to the royal family and tutor to the future George III, is famous for his work on public buildings, country houses, and gardens. His projects for the royal family included laying out the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew for Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales. Chambers embellished Kew Gardens with the Chinese Pagoda, and temples, pavilions, and bridges, both classical and Oriental in style.¹¹ The son of a Scottish merchant, Chambers was born in Sweden, and traveled to Bengal and twice to Canton in the 1740s as an employee of the Swedish East India Company. *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, published some ten years later, after he had established himself as an architect, contains sketches drawn during these trips. His introduction announces a highly corrective purpose:

It was not my design to publish them [the sketches]; nor

would they now appear, were it not in compliance with the desire of several lovers of the arts, who thought them worthy the perusal of the publick, and that they might be of use in putting a stop to the extravagancies that daily appear under the name Chinese, though most of them are mere inventions, the rest copies from the lame presentations found on porcelain and paperhangings.

In addition to the architectural drawings, Chambers published illustrations of furniture and clothing useful as models for cabinetmakers and designers of masquerade costumes. The drawings of utensils and machines include vases, teapots, and other vessels, as well as bellows.

Between 1758 and 1762, two editions of another important work on japanning appeared, *The Ladies Amusement; or, Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy*, published by Robert Sayer, a London print and map seller who also sold materials for japanning. With approximately fifteen hundred drawings and designs by various artists, including Jean Pillement (1728–1808), this was a major source for japanners and other decorative artists. Its thin paper allowed easy transfer to any surface, and in fact many pieces of furniture display its designs. Such publications reflect an upsurge in the popularity of the Chinese style. A passage in a contemporary journal, *The World* (1753), clearly illustrates this appeal:

According to the present prevailing whim everything is Chinese or in the Chinese taste: or, as it is sometimes more modestly expressed, partly after the Chinese manner. Chairs, tables, chimney-pieces, frames for looking-glasses, and even our most vulgar utensils are all reduced to this new-fangled standard.¹²

A remarkable bow-fronted cabinet from the Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is a fine example of japanned English furniture (Figures 1–3). This gilded and painted

8. Examples are listed in W. Holzhausen, *Lackkunst in Europa* (Brunswick, 1959) pp. 66–70.

9. Honour, *Chinoiserie*, pp. 73–74.

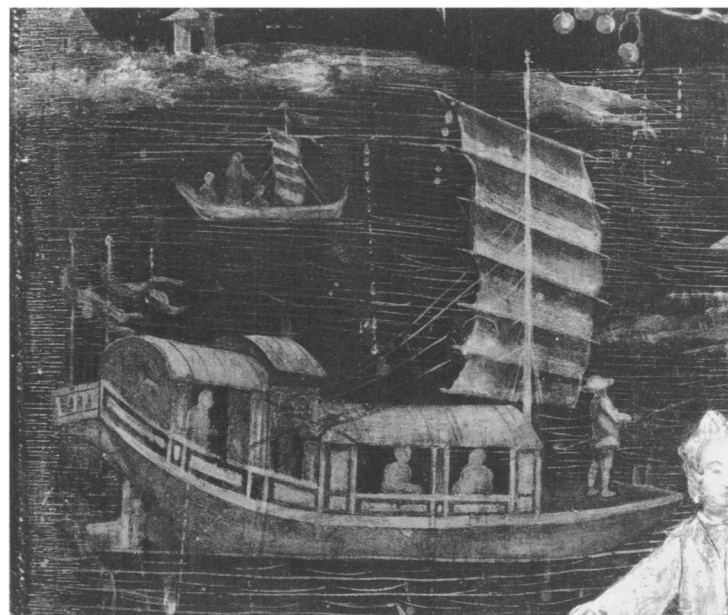
10. To name only a few: W. and J. Halfpenny, *New Designs* (London, 1750–52); E. Edwards and M. Darley, *A New Book of Chinese Designs* (London, 1754); P. Decker, *Chinese Architecture* (London, 1759).

11. For a good account of Chambers's work see J. Harris, *Sir William Chambers: Knight of the Polar Star* (London, 1970).

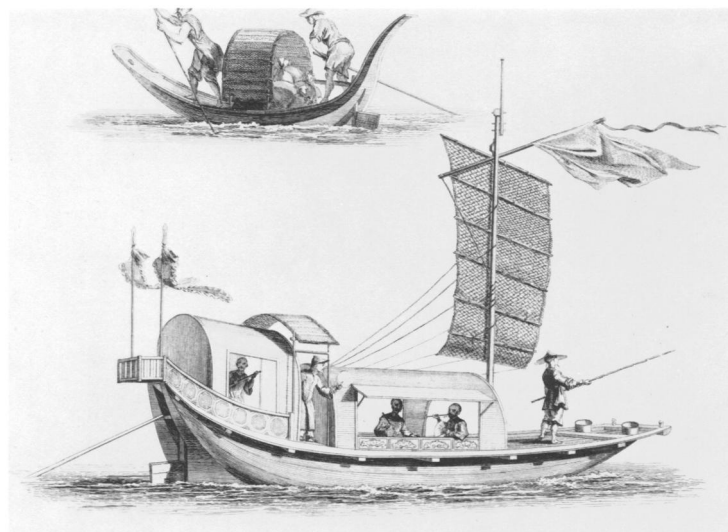
12. Edwards, *Dictionary of English Furniture*, II, p. 73.

wood cabinet consists of two detachable parts and rests on four mushroom-shaped feet. Its lower part has two doors. The cylindrical superstructure, containing twelve drawers with small ivory knobs, is surmounted by a pavilion with a conical roof. The roof is set on six slender columns and crowned with a pinecone. On the cabinet's front, sides, and superstructure are Oriental scenes in brownish and golden tonalities. The decorations show human figures, animals and birds, boats, and architecture, partly in low relief, in a country setting including a river. A coat of whiting is visible where the top layer of varnish has been damaged. The cabinet's back and interior are not decorated. The mounts and escutcheons on both doors, as well as the keyhole on the left door, are trompe-l'oeil decorations. Only the keyhole in the right door is functional. The cabinet's unusual shape makes it difficult to determine its original purpose. Although a number of surviving eighteenth-century china cabinets and bookcases feature pagoda roofs and Chinese ornament, it is unlikely that this cabinet was intended to display objects as it has no glass doors or open shelves. It may have been designed for a lady's dressing room; Thomas Chippendale considered a "Lady's Dressing-Room: especially if it is hung with India Paper" as a "proper" place for furniture in the Chinese manner.¹³ The cabinet's lower part, now containing three shelves, could have been used for storage, maybe even to hold a chamberpot. The twelve drawers of the top section may have held toilet or sewing articles. Did the pavilion once house a Buddha statuette?

In decorating the cabinet the japanner resorted to previously published collections of engravings. Some of the Oriental details on the door panels are inspired by the Chambers book *Designs of Chinese Buildings*. For instance, the Chinese junk on the left door has an identical counterpart in Chambers (Figures 4, 5). The three main standing figures on the cabinet doors (Figures 6, 7) are also derived from Chambers. Although shown in reverse, both figures on the left door, described in the book as a country woman and a mendicant bonze, or Buddhist monk, the former with a fish and a pole, the latter with a staff, and the "lady of quality" with an outstretched arm on the right



4. Cabinet, detail of left door



5. Engraving by P. Sandby after William Chambers, from Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings* (London, 1757) pl. xvii (detail). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

13. T. Chippendale, *A New Edition of the Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (London, 1762), description of pls. xxvi–xxviii.



6. Cabinet, detail of left door



7. Cabinet, detail of right door

8–10. Engravings by C. Grignion, from Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



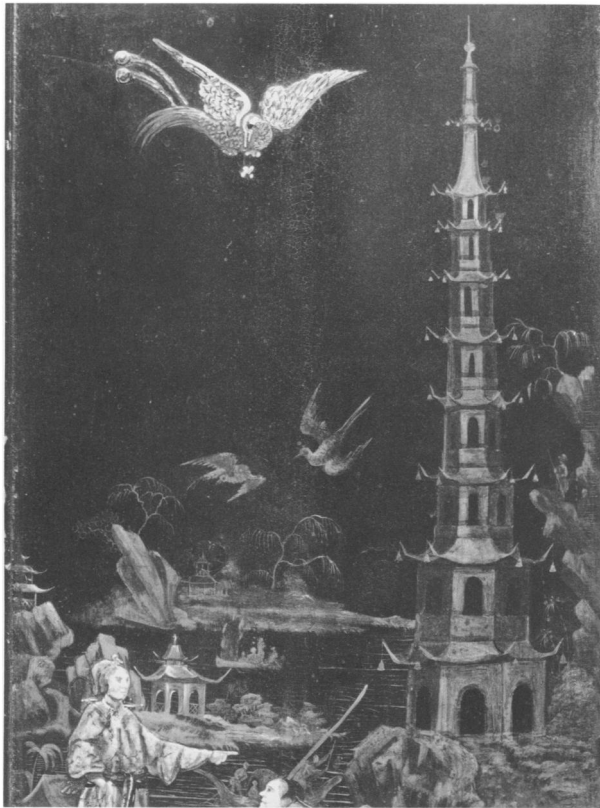
8. *A Country Woman*, pl. xix, fig. 6



9. *A Mendicant Bonze*, pl. xx, fig. 4

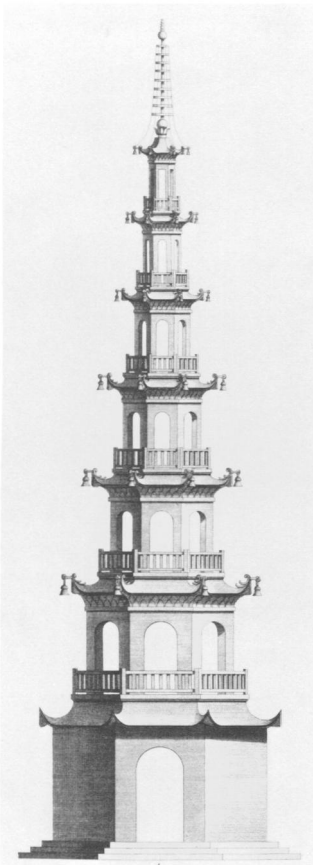


10. *A Lady of Quality*, pl. xx, fig. 3



11. Cabinet, detail of right door

12. Engraving by P. Fourdrinier after Chambers, from Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, pl. v, fig. 1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



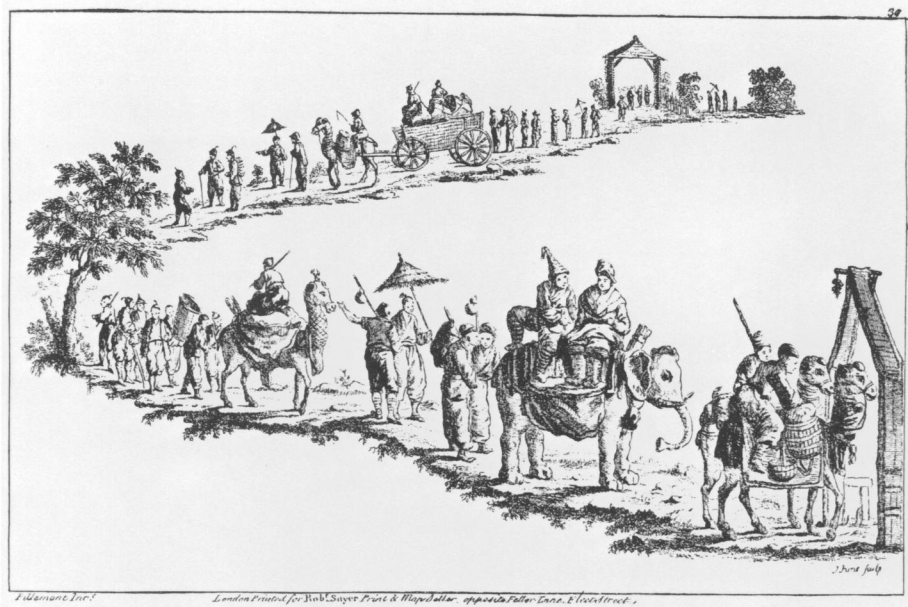
door are clearly copies of engravings in Chambers's work (Figures 8–10).¹⁴ Individual drawings have been rendered here in small groups and placed in charming scenes. It is likely that the pagoda on the cabinet's right door was inspired by a Chambers illustration (Figures 11, 12).

Other decorations on the Sheaffer cabinet are based on engravings in Sayer's *The Ladies Amusement*. For example, an illustration in this manual, after a design by Pillement, shows a seated "Chinese" with a fishing pole (Figure 13). This is probably the source for the seated man on the right door (Figure 7). Although the image has been reversed and details like the cross-ties on the legs have been omitted, the pose of both

14. See Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, p. 14, for his list of the seventeen Chinese characters illustrated; not all these figures were engraved from his own drawings (*ibid.*). Some of the engravings in the book appeared in the French translation *Traité des édifices, meubles, habits, machines et ustensils des chinois* (Paris, 1776). These engravings diverge from those in the original edition in being smaller, printed in reverse, and differently arranged.

13. Engraving after Jean Pillement, from Robert Sayer's *The Ladies Amusement* (2nd ed., London, 1762; facsimile, Newport, Mon., 1959) pl. 40. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library





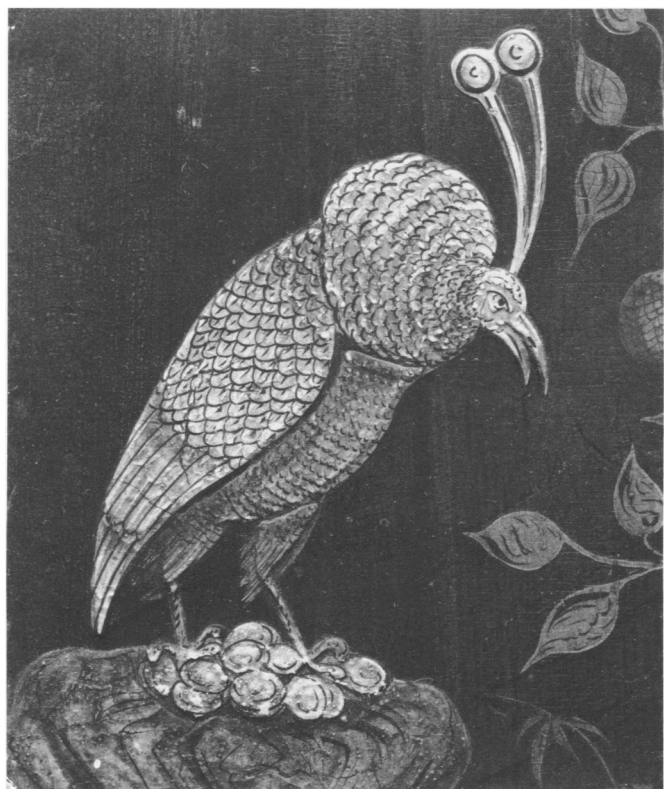
14. Engraving by J. June after Pillement, from Sayer's *The Ladies Amusement*, pl. 30. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



15. Cabinet, detail of left door



16. Engraving by P. Benazech after C. Fenn, from Sayer's *The Ladies Amusement*, pl. 75 (detail). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



17. Cabinet, detail of left side

18. Engraving after Pillement, from Sayer's *The Ladies Amusement*, pl. 64 (detail). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



19. Cabinet, detail of superstructure

20. *Magnificent Bridge*, engraving from Sayer's *The Ladies Amusement*, pl. 191. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library





21–24. Cabinet, details of the superstructure

figures is essentially the same. Another design by the same artist in the Sayer book depicts an elephant and two riders (Figure 14); an almost identical group can be found on the left door (Figure 15). The two figures walking behind the elephant on the cabinet are a medley of details from the four figures walking behind the elephant in the engraving. The camel visible on the cabinet's right door (Figure 7) might have been suggested by one of the camels in the same engraving. Several birds are derived from prints in this book. The bird near the top of the right door is similar to one drawn by the otherwise unknown C. Fenn (Figures 11, 16). The exotic bird with two long feathers on its head, guarding its eggs, on the lower left side of the cabinet is related to a bird by Pillement (Figures 2, 17, 18). It is also likely that the bridge painted on the roof of the pavilion is derived from *The Ladies Amusement* (Figures 19, 20).¹⁵ There are differences, but the winged beast and the seated Buddha-like statues on the railings of both bridges are very much alike. The overall composition with the boat in front of the bridge links both scenes. Some of the small illustrations of buildings found on both door panels and on the drawers above may have been suggested by other plates in the Sayer book.

Neither Chambers nor *The Ladies Amusement* seems to have been the source of the four standing figures between the drawers of the superstructure (Figures 21–24). Two of them, the women dressed in long

garments, carry objects that suggest unfamiliar musical instruments. One of the two male figures holds a snake, the other is depicted with what seems to be a cluster of bananas.

The unusual form of the cabinet's superstructure is actually in accord with the spirit of the period. Among the several manuals on furniture published around the middle of the eighteenth century, Chippendale's *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (1754) included several designs for "Chinese" furniture and illustrations suitable for japanning.¹⁶ None of Chippendale's drawings, however, with their bamboo-like fretwork and pagoda roofs with upturned corners, seems to have influenced this piece of furniture. Its pavilion top, with slender columns and steep roof, resembles not only Chinese structures but also classical temples. This mixture of characteristics is not in itself surprising, since, in addition to the "Chinese manner," the Gothic Revival and Neoclassicism were already coming into fashion. Several design books

15. This print appeared earlier in Edwards and Darley, *A New Book of Chinese Designs*, pl. 55. It also appeared in Decker, *Chinese Architecture*, pl. 6.

16. T. Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (London, 1754) pls. xci, cix, cxviii; idem, *A New Edition of the Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, pls. cxxxv, cxxxvii, cxlii. Designs intended for japanning were also included in W. Ince and J. Mayhew, *The Universal System of Household Furniture* (London, 1762) pls. xlvi, xlvii.

present a *mélange* of all three currents. The title alone of one manual, *A New Book of Chinese, Gothic, and Modern Chairs*, written by Matthias Darly and published in 1750–51, makes this manifest. In the Chambers book, it is striking to see that some of his Chinese temples and garden structures are classical in appearance, bearing friezes as well as Greek key patterns. Chambers's illustration of a garden building (Figure 25) has a superstructure which is not far removed from the pavilion of the Sheaffer cabinet.

The cabinetmaker and japanner who designed and decorated this piece of furniture remain unknown. Very few names of japanners have been preserved, and even these can seldom be connected with extant furniture.¹⁷ The overall designer of the Sheaffer cabinet certainly possessed imagination, and it may at least be said that the japanner was a competent copyist—perhaps one of the host of amateurs who worked in this medium.

The date of the cabinet is no more certain than the identity of its makers. The not very elaborate way of japanning practiced here, a single layer of paint and varnish, indicates a date in the second half of the eighteenth century. The prints used as models, however, give some general guidelines. Chambers's book was first published in 1757 and two editions of *The Ladies Amusement* appeared between 1758 and 1762.¹⁸ The adaptations of their plates prove that the cabinet must have been decorated later; a likely date is around 1760–65. The form of the cabinet also corresponds to the admixture of exotic elements fashionable during this period, before Neoclassicism began its regime of formalized shapes. Above all, the cabinet displays the exuberance and charm of japanning in its heyday.

17. Giles Grendey (1693–1780), a London cabinetmaker, is a happy exception. A magnificent suite of red lacquer furniture made by him is preserved. Part of the set is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the Metropolitan Museum has a side chair (37.115) and a table (37.114). See C. Gilbert, *Furniture at Temple Newsam House and Lotherton Hall: A Catalogue of the Leeds Collection*, 2 vols. (London, 1978) I, pp. 79–81, no. 61.

18. Although some of Chambers's plates were published in reverse in the French edition of 1776 (see note 14 above), that edition could not have been used, since for instance the country woman with a fish is missing from it. The bridge, pl. 191 in *The Ladies Amusement*, had already been published in 1754 (see note 15 above), but to find it in combination with the seated man, the elephant group, and the birds makes it more likely that the Sayer book was used during the planning of the cabinet's decoration.



25. Engraving by Fourdrinier after Chambers, from Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, pl. vi, fig. 1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

A Quilt and Its Pieces

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IN 1975, the Metropolitan Museum acquired an unusual quilt pieced from many distinctive copperplate- and woodblock-printed cottons (Figure 1).¹ It came to the Museum with only its recent provenance known² and was tentatively designated late eighteenth-century English on the basis of stylistic similarities between some of the printed designs and documented eighteenth-century examples. This article will present technical findings and stylistic analyses that support dating the quilt about 1795–1805 and suggest either an English or an American provenance for it. The second part of the article is a catalogue of the individual designs with information specific to each. Figure 2 is a diagram of the quilt with the textile designs grouped and numbered as in the catalogue and as they are referred to in the text.

In its primary definition, a quilt consists of a bottom layer of fabric, a filler, and a top layer of fabric, which are held together by the quilting, usually running stitches done in a pattern.³ The Metropolitan Museum quilt has a bottom layer of ivory plain-weave

linen pieced in three lengths and several small sections, a thin filler layer of cotton batting, and a colorful top cleverly pieced from about forty printed cottons. Thirty-seven individual printed designs have been identified in the quilt—nine copperplate-printed designs and twenty-eight woodblock-printed designs—plus fragments from five woodblock-printed bird designs (nos. 17a–e) and many woodblock-printed floral designs (gray areas in Figure 2). The fragmentary nature of these bird and floral designs makes it impossible to determine whether they are distinct designs or part of one of the twenty-eight identified woodblock prints. Figure 3 is a detail of the quilt showing both its quilting, which is done in a simple diamond pattern, and the stitches used to sew the pieced sections together; these stitches are done in ivory (originally white) linen thread.

The fundamental design elements of a patchwork quilt top are its patches, the small pieces of cloth that create the quilt top. In pieced work, also called mosaic patchwork, bits of cloth are cut into various shapes,

Lists of frequently cited references and of books of patterns and swatches consulted will be found at the end of the article.

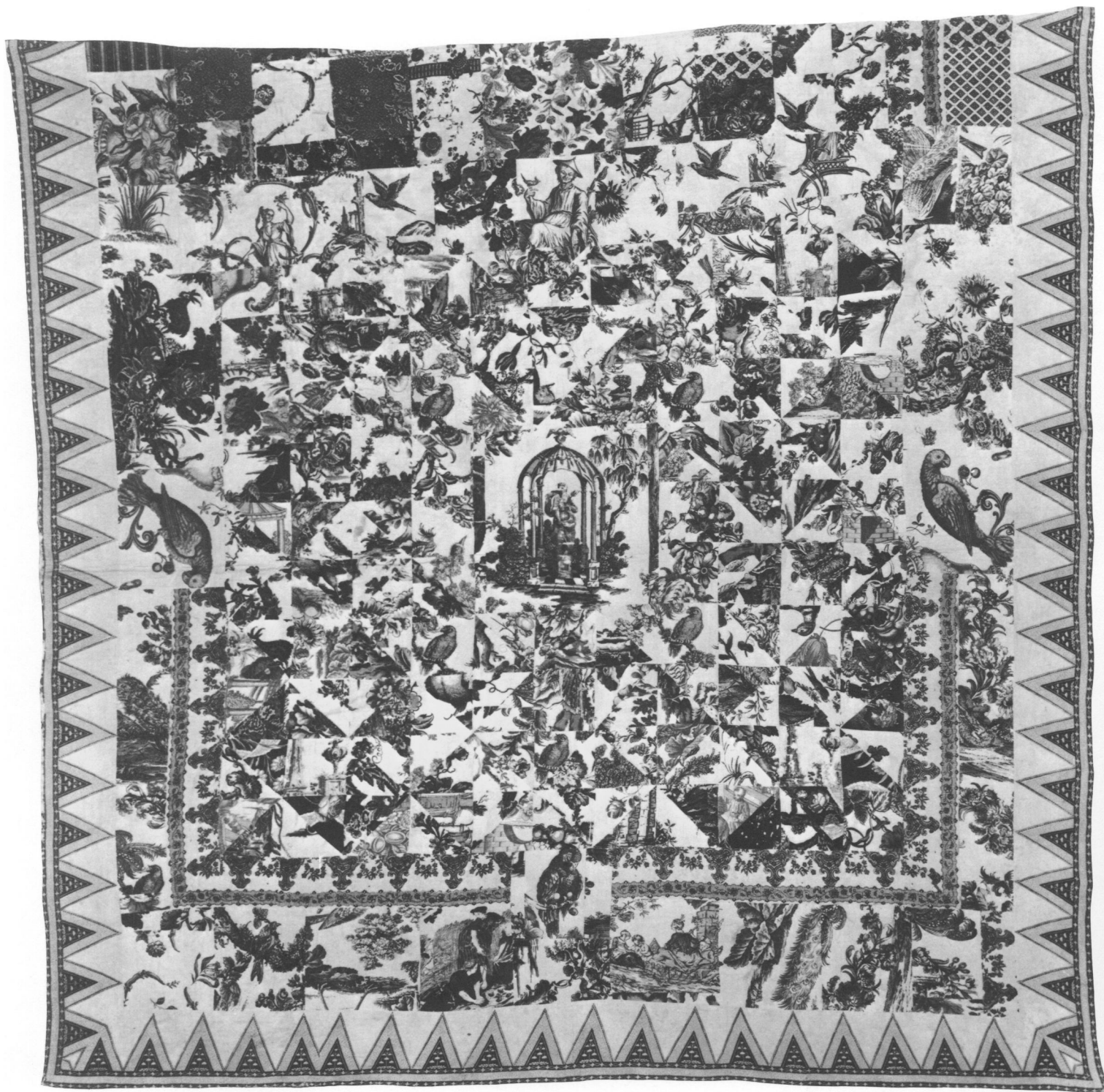
1. Many fabrics in the quilt are not true cottons since they are woven with a linen warp and a cotton weft. However, printed textiles made of linen-cotton cloth are categorized in museum records with those of all-cotton cloth as “printed cottons.”

2. The quilt was bought from an American antiques dealer in the 1960s by Florence Montgomery, the noted American textile authority; no earlier provenance is known. It remained in Mrs. Montgomery’s collection until it was sold to a dealer, from whom it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum.

Nothing has been published about this quilt except the following short entry by Jean Mailey, Curator of the Textile Study Room, in *MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975* (New York, 1975) p. 298: “Pieced quilts are thought of as an American specialty, but their forerunners survive in small numbers in England, where

the technique was also used for matching bed curtains. This strangely balanced arrangement of small pieces provides a cross section of French and English printed cottons of the eighteenth century, many of them not known elsewhere.”

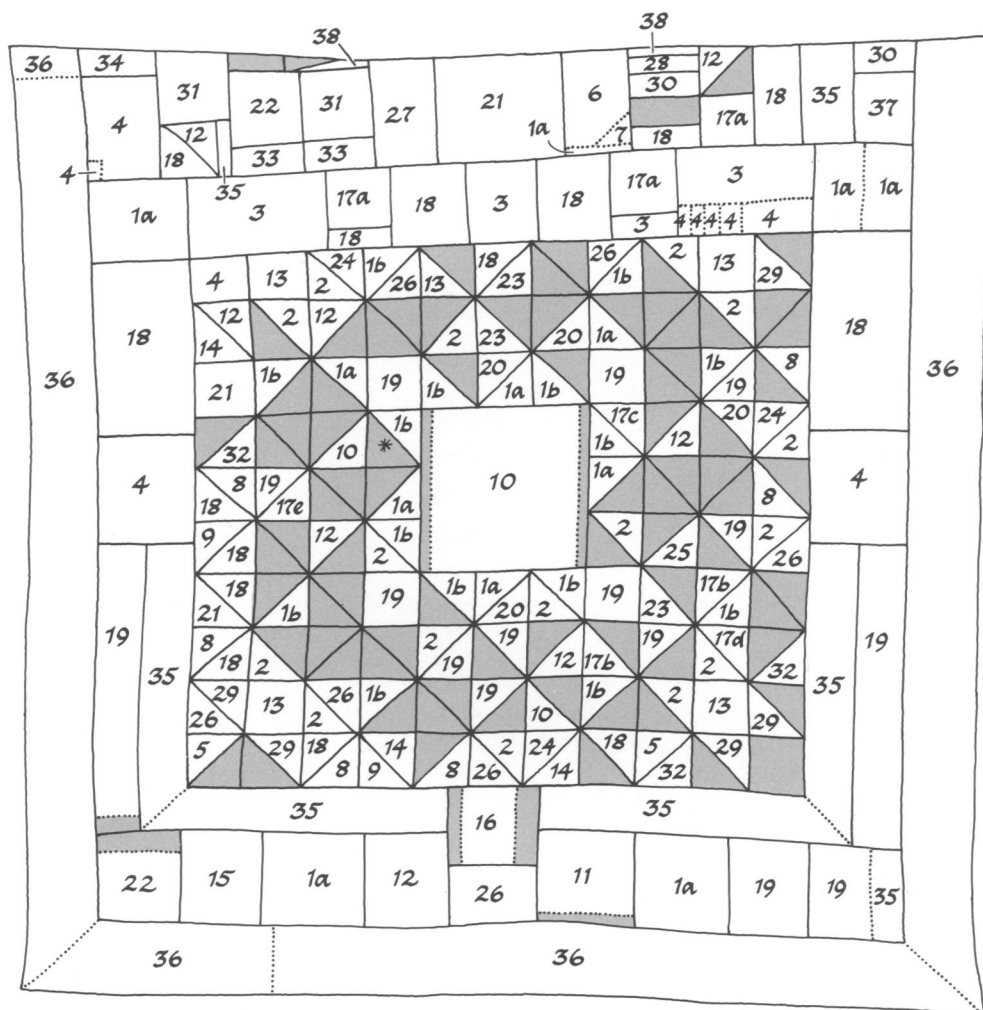
3. Quilts have been used as bed coverings for hundreds of years. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1933 ed., s.v. “quilt,” gives the following early references to quilts as bed coverings: “c. 1290 *S. Eng. Leg.* 188/125 Maketh a bed . . . of quoitene [quilting] and of materasz. . . . c. 1320 *Sir Beues (MS. A)* 3996 Foure hundred beddes of selk echon, Quiltes of gold bar vpon.” Besides the classic type of quilt described in the text, other bed coverings defined as quilts include two-layer quilted covers without the filler layer and three-layer covers in which tufting holds the layers together. Many unquilted bedcovers with pieced tops are traditionally called “patchwork quilts,” though technically they are not quilts. Unquilted appliqué covers are called “appliqué coverlets.”



1. Pieced quilt, England or United States, ca. 1795–1805. Top pieced from printed cottons with two pieced sections added, cotton-batting filler, ivory linen (plain weave) backing, diamond quilting pattern, linen thread; 94 × 91 in. (238.8 × 231.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and Springs Mills, Inc. Gift, 1975.²

2. Diagram of Figure 1

Designs are listed by their catalogue number in this article. The gray areas are woodblock-printed floral designs on plain-weave linen-cotton cloth, and the single gray triangle with an asterisk is a woodblock-printed floral design on plain-weave cotton cloth. Dotted lines represent major supplementary piecings.



COPPERPLATE-PRINTED DESIGNS

1. Birds and Fruit
2. Arborescent Design with Melons
3. Lady and Chinaman
4. Flowers in a Vase and Parrots
5. Chinese Man and Boy
6. Chinoiserie Scene
7. Farmyard
8. Pavilion on Bridge
9. Brown Copperplate Fragments

WOODBLOCK-PRINTED DESIGNS

Figural

10. Classical Statue in a Gazebo
11. Lady Playing a Lute
12. Reapers and Farm Animals
13. Ruined Monuments
14. Archways

Florals with Birds and/or Animals

15. Arborescent Floral with Bird
16. Large Parrot

17. Woodblock Bird Designs
 - 17a. Bird in Flight
 - 17b. Pheasant
 - 17c. Bird in Flight
 - 17d. Bird on Branch
 - 17e. Bird on Branch
18. Flowering Tree, with Goats and Stork
19. Cat Attacking Peacock, with Parrot
20. Rabbits

Light-Ground Florals

21. Large Blossom Floral
22. Scattered Blossom Floral with Shoots
23. Scattered Blossom Floral
24. Delicate Rose Floral
25. Floral with Basket
26. Floral with Vase and Vines
27. Floral in Stripes
28. Floral Sprigs

Dark-Ground Florals

29. Floral with Lace Band
30. Floral Framed in Lace
31. Floral with Diaper Pattern
32. Floral Spray I
33. Floral Spray II
34. Floral Stripe

Border Prints

35. Rococo Floral with Floral Stripe
36. Sawtooth

Abstract Designs

37. Diamond Print
38. Abstract with Circles

usually geometric, and are seamed together in a specific design to form a new piece of cloth. Appliqué or applied work is another needlework technique that uses patches: floral, figural, or geometric patches are made by cutting motifs out of printed textiles or by sewing small pieces of fabric together. These patches are then arranged in a new design on a background cloth and attached by small stitches. A third technique employing patches, inlaid work, is done by cutting away parts of a fabric and sewing contrasting patches underneath the cutout spaces; it is seen less often than the other two techniques. Though the word “patchwork” is most closely associated with pieced

3. Detail of Figure 1, showing diamond quilting pattern and piecing stitches; the Chinaman is part of a patch toward the top center of the quilt, a piece of design no. 3



designs, it will be used here as a general term to include pieced designs, appliqué designs, and designs combining both techniques.

Usually fabrics with small patterns, intended primarily for clothing, have been chosen for patches in pieced quilts. By contrast, the predominating fabrics in the Metropolitan Museum quilt are large-scale figural and floral designs, originally intended for window and bed curtains or furniture upholstery. Any patchwork design is determined by the fabrics available to the quiltmaker, and this quilt's maker obviously had a sizable collection of printed furnishing fabrics with picturesque designs. Individual motifs cut from such fabrics are often incorporated into applied patchwork designs, but the large scale and the pictorial nature of these prints are not particularly suitable for the small geometric patches of traditional pieced work. One effective use of a figural design in a pieced quilt is as its center panel, the focus of the design. The center panel of the Metropolitan Museum quilt is a woodblock print of a classical statue in a gazebo (no. 10, see Figure 39). Unlike a figural center square framed by a patchwork of small dress prints, the classical statue must compete with many other figural designs, some of which, like the copperplate-printed parrots (no. 4) or the woodblock-printed reapers (no. 12), would have made equally effective center squares. Presumably the quiltmaker did not want to destroy these printed designs by chopping the material into small pieces for typical mosaic patchwork or by cutting out the individual motifs for use in appliqué, and thus devised a unique quilt top which could employ many designs without completely destroying their integrity.

At first glance, the quilt appears to be a kaleidoscope of colorful birds, flowers, and scenes, all randomly arranged. There is, however, a definite plan in the quilt's layout, as can be seen in Figure 2. The center square is surrounded by a patchwork of smaller squares, generally pieced from two triangles of different fabrics. These triangles are larger than most patches used in pieced work, and many show a small scene (no. 5), a complete flower (no. 24), or a bird (no. 17b). A set of four unpieced squares, woodblock-printed parrots (no. 19), stand guard at the corners of the center square. Two squares beyond the parrots, on the same diagonal from the center, there is another set of four identical unpieced squares; these squares show a woodblock print of an obelisk with ruins (no. 13). Three other unpieced squares are in

the outermost row of squares—two at the upper left (nos. 4, 21) and one in the lower right (shaded); there is no apparent reason for this placement.

Surrounding the rows of pieced squares, there is an inner border of variously sized rectangular patches which includes many diverse figural and floral designs. Patches of the same prints (nos. 4, 18, 19, 35) are identically positioned on the two sides of this border. The maker did not repeat this type of balance in the top and bottom rows; instead exceptional figural designs are featured (nos. 1, 3, 11, 12). The balance in these rows is achieved because patches of the same or similar prints are used on either side of a center patch (no. 3 at the top and no. 16 at the bottom) out to the edge of the inner border. The quilt's final border on three sides is a woodblock border print with a dramatic design of double triangles and abstract tree and floral motifs (no. 36). On the fourth side, the top, the final border is made of randomly sized rectangular and triangular patches from a variety of printed cottons, many found nowhere else in the quilt. There was no attempt here at a balanced design, and this section was probably included so that the quilt would be as large as possible. The top edge appears slightly askew; the quilt is actually longer on its right side, so by making the top border deeper on the left, the maker was no doubt attempting to remedy this unevenness. The top border, to be discussed in detail below, also has two applied sections which are not part of the original quilt.

Supplementary piecings are used throughout the quilt to make individual patches the desired size. These additional pieces usually complement a patch's main section—for example, the two narrow strips of a floral woodblock print sewn to the sides of the center panel to make it a square. (Significant supplementary piecings are indicated in Figure 2 by dotted lines; many of the triangular patches also have small supplementary piecings, which are not shown in the diagram.)

Shades of red, blue, and brown predominate in the quilt. There has been a general fading in all of the quilt's colors, though most of the printed images remain very clear. The copperplate designs were printed in monochrome on light grounds; the woodblock designs were printed in two or more colors with both light and dark grounds (the exception is no. 27, a woodblock design printed in blue on white). Though they now appear as an ivory, the light backgrounds would initially have been a clearer white. This is also

true of the linen backing and the linen thread used for the piecing and quilting. Originally, green would have been an important color in the quilt because there is so much foliage in the floral woodblock prints. To achieve green, a yellow dye (weld) was painted over blue (indigo), but the color produced was not permanent; in many prints, the foliage now looks blue or blue-green. While its general condition is good, the quilt has yet to be conserved; it has several holes, some stains, a slight fraying on the outside edges. In some designs, where an iron mordant was used to produce brown tones, the fabric has disintegrated (nos. 10, 13, 20).

Because of its basic layout with a center square surrounded by a series of borders, the Metropolitan Museum quilt can be stylistically categorized as a framed-center quilt. "Framed center," and "framed medallion," are twentieth-century descriptive terms for this style, which does not have a traditional name.⁴ The framed-center style was one of the earliest patchwork quilt styles to develop and was very popular in both England and the United States during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is not known when patchwork techniques and quilting were first used together in these countries, as no patchwork quilts predate the eighteenth century. European quilts dating before 1700 have tops of whole cloth, lengths of the same fabrics seamed together.⁵ The surface design on some early whole-cloth quilts includes embroidery, and often the quilted designs were elaborately corded or stuffed for added dimension. However, there is no indication either from these early quilts or from written records, which mention quilts with increasing frequency from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, that pieced or applied patchwork techniques were being used in quilts.⁶

4. Colby, *Patchwork*, p. 60.

5. Six existing European whole-cloth quilts and quilted panels from the 14th through the 17th centuries are illustrated and discussed in Averil Colby, *Quilting* (New York, 1971) pls. 6, 100, 101, 105, 108, 109; chaps. 1, 6, 7.

6. There is one early (12th- or 13th-century) mention of a pieced quilt in a French poem: "The bed was prepared of which the quilt was of a check-board pattern of two sorts of silk cloth, well-made and rich" (quoted in translation by Colby, *Patchwork*, p. 22, from *The Lays of Desiré, Graelent and Melion*, ed. E. Margaret Grimes). As this appears to be the sole explicitly descriptive reference to a pieced quilt until the 18th century, no conclusions can be drawn from it about the early history of pieced quilts.

A pieced technique would certainly have been suitable for constructing the parti-colored garments and heraldic flags of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. In 1529, a man's parti-colored "cote" was described as "checked with patches rede and blewe,"⁷ though no garments survive to show how this was done. There are existing examples of clothing (mostly ecclesiastical garments) and hangings which employ the related technique of applied work.⁸ Applied work was used from an early date in conjunction with and as a cheaper substitute for embroidery. But exactly when the transition was made to using these techniques in quilt-top designs similar to what is now called patchwork remains obscure.

The earliest English example of patchwork and quilting indicates the existence of an established patchwork tradition. The Levens Hall quilt, a quilted pieced bedcover made about 1708,⁹ has patches of seventeenth-century Indian mordant-painted and dyed chintz in different shapes alternated with patches of ivory calico to form a mosaic patchwork; it is backed in red cotton and the quilting was done in a diamond pattern with red thread.¹⁰ A detail of the patchwork design from this quilt's matching unquilted bed curtains is illustrated in Figure 4. The sophistication of the design layout and the finished quality of the needlework in the Levens Hall furnishings suggest that

they had predecessors, probably dating back into the seventeenth century.¹¹ These furnishings may have been made as a way of using leftover pieces of chintz to produce an alternative to the expensive sets of Indian chintz whole-cloth quilts and bed curtains imported into England during the seventeenth century. In 1701, an act prohibiting the importation, use, and wear of Indian painted or printed calicoes (i.e., chintz) became law in England.¹² Though it was often ignored, the ban did cause the popular Indian chintz fabrics to become less available so that even small chintz pieces would have been valued, and patchwork provided a decorative way of using them. In later eighteenth-century patchwork, widely available English printed cottons became the usual choice, though a mixture of woven fabrics—linens, silks, and wool—is also found in early pieced quilt tops (see Figures 7 and 8).

It is difficult to follow the development of English and American pieced and appliquéd quilts during the eighteenth century because so few remain except from the last quarter of the century; in fact, no extant American quilts can be reliably dated before this time.¹³ It is assumed that the production of patchwork quilts increased steadily during the century but that most of the work is now lost.¹⁴ Equally uncertain is the extent to which English patchwork designs may

7. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1933 ed., s.v. "patch."

8. Examples of extant European applied work from the 11th to the 16th centuries are cited in the Victoria and Albert Museum's pamphlet *Notes on Applied Work and Patchwork* (London, 1949) pp. 6, 7.

9. This dating is based on family evidence which is circumstantial but is considered reliable since the Levens Hall furnishings are made with 17th-century chintz pieces; see Colby, *Patchwork*, p. 96.

10. The Levens Hall quilt is often cited as the earliest English example of patchwork and quilting, but descriptions of its patchwork technique vary. John Irwin and Katharine B. Brett state that applied work is used (*Origins of Chintz* [London, 1970] p. 25); Patsy and Myron Orlofsky state that both applied and pieced work is used (*Quilts in America* [New York, 1974] p. 7); and Averil Colby implies that only pieced work is used (*Patchwork*, p. 96). Information in a letter to me (Aug. 8, 1984) from Mrs. Margaret Lambert, secretary at Levens Hall, suggests that Colby's description is the most accurate. For a detail photograph of this quilt showing the patches pieced by seams, see Colby, *Patchwork*, p. 97.

11. Reliable documentary evidence that patchwork was being produced in 17th-century England has yet to be found. Agnes M. Miall (*Patchwork Old and New* [London, 1937] p. 19) quotes from a letter purportedly written by an old lady, a Miss Hulton, to the *Spectator* in 1700: "For my part I have plyed my needle

these fifty years [i.e., since ca. 1650], and by my goodwill would never have it out of my hands. . . . I have quilted counterpanes and chest covers in fine white linen, in various patterns of my own invention. I have made patchwork beyond calculation." Citing Miall as his source, Jonathan Holstein (*The Pieced Quilt: An American Design Tradition* [Boston, 1973] p. 23) repeats this passage. However, the *Spectator*, written largely by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, did not begin publication until 1711. It contains an unsigned letter dated Oct. 13, 1714, which includes the first sentence quoted by Miall but not the other two.

An early reference to patchwork as a specific needlework technique occurs in Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* of 1726: "When my Clothes were finished, . . . they looked like the Patch-Work made by the Ladies in England, only that mine were all of a colour" ("A Voyage to Lilliput," chap. 6). It was not until late in the 18th century that "patchwork" began to be used as a descriptive term in connection with "quilt."

12. 11 & 12, Wm. III, c. 10; see Wadsworth and Mann, *Cotton Trade*, p. 132, n. 4.

13. It was once thought that an American unquilted pieced bedcover, the Saltonstall cover, was dated ca. 1704, making it the earliest pieced bedcover. This date is now in question as some of the cover's textiles are thought to be from the mid- to late 19th century. See Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross, "An Early-Eighteenth-Century Pieced Quilt in Montreal," *Canadian Art Review* 4, no. 1 (1979–80) p. 106, n. 1.

have influenced patchwork in the American colonies, but it does seem that two basic patchwork quilt styles evolved on both sides of the Atlantic: those with an allover design framed in a final border, as in the Levens Hall furnishings, and those with a center motif framed by a series of borders, as in the Metropolitan Museum quilt.

The stylistic roots of eighteenth-century framed-center patchwork designs can be found in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century exported Indian bed coverings—quilts and palampores. The quilts were of three layers with whole-cloth tops of mordant-painted and dyed chintz; palampores were unquilted cotton bed coverings (or hangings) with either embroidered or chintz designs (Figures 5, 6). John Irwin and Katharine Brett describe a chintz palampore as “a coverlet composed of a single chintz panel” and state that “the characteristic seventeenth-century

palampore and quilt designs comprised a central medallion and four related corner motifs on a flowery field surrounded by a wide border.”¹⁵

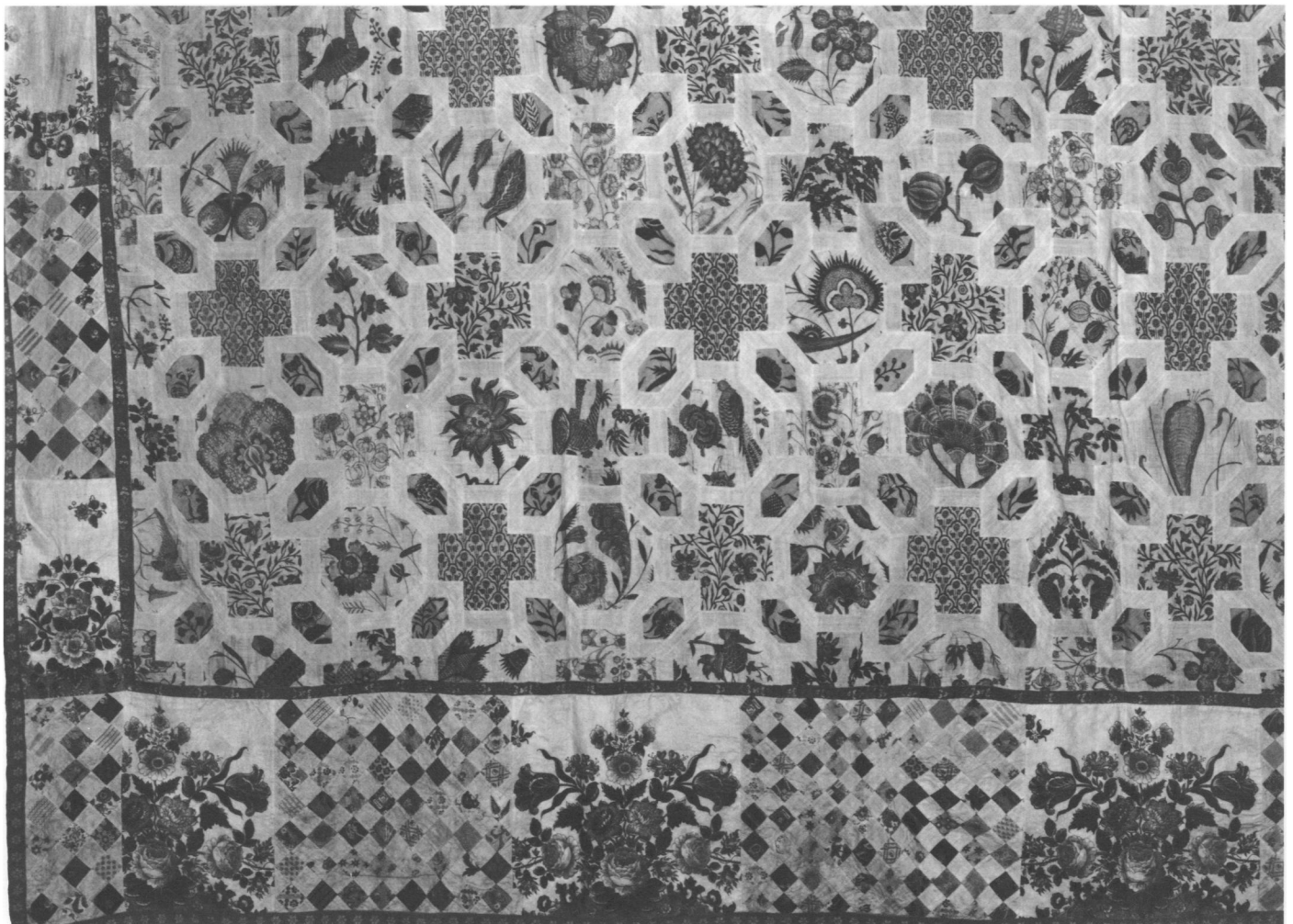
Three dated eighteenth-century framed-center bed coverings illustrate ways in which the basic design of the Indian bedcovers was reinterpreted in later English and American pieced and applied work. The unquilted cover in Figure 7 is dated 1726 and is thought to be English.¹⁶ The Anna Tuels quilt (Figure 8) is American and dated 1785. Both of these are made of mosaic patchwork with a few applied details. The third bedcover (Figure 9) is an American appliqué coverlet with some embroidered detail; it is dated 1782. While Figures 7 and 8 do not look like seventeenth-century Indian palampores, their designs are basically similar: pieced squares are used as the center “medallion,” which is surrounded not by a “flowery field” but by one of geometric patchwork. This

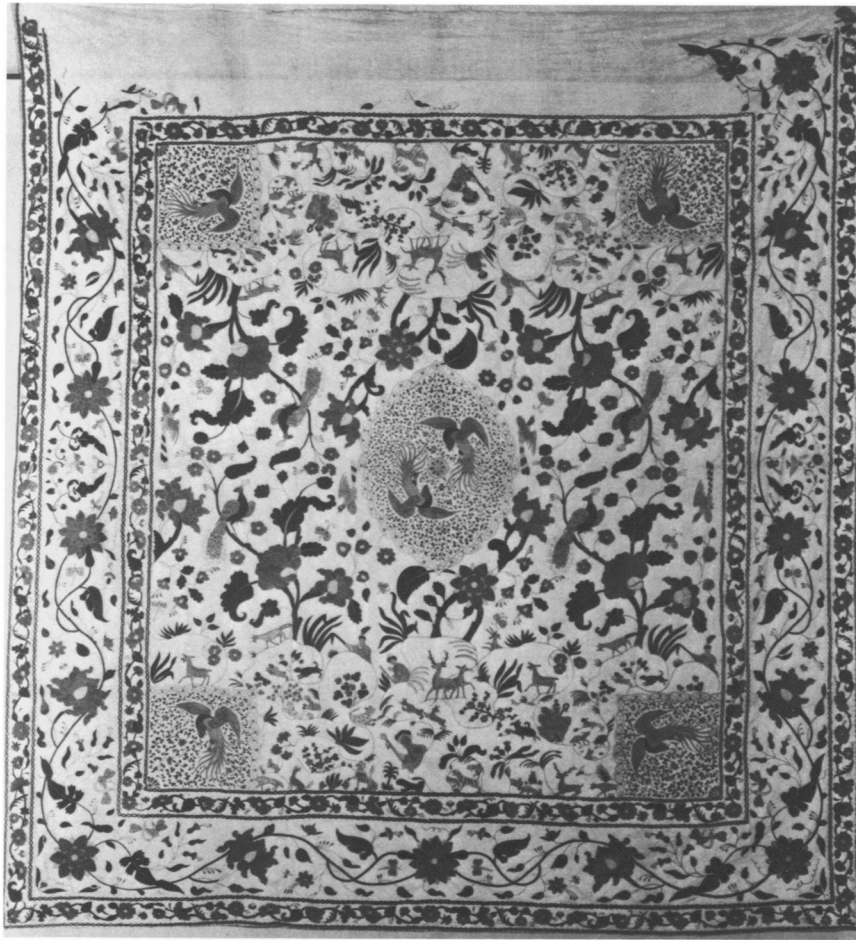
4. Detail of the Levens Hall bed hangings, England, ca. 1708. Pieced from 17th-century Indian mordant-painted and dyed chintz patches and unpainted ivory cotton patches. Levens Hall, Cumbria (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

14. Holstein, *The Pieced Quilt*, p. 23.

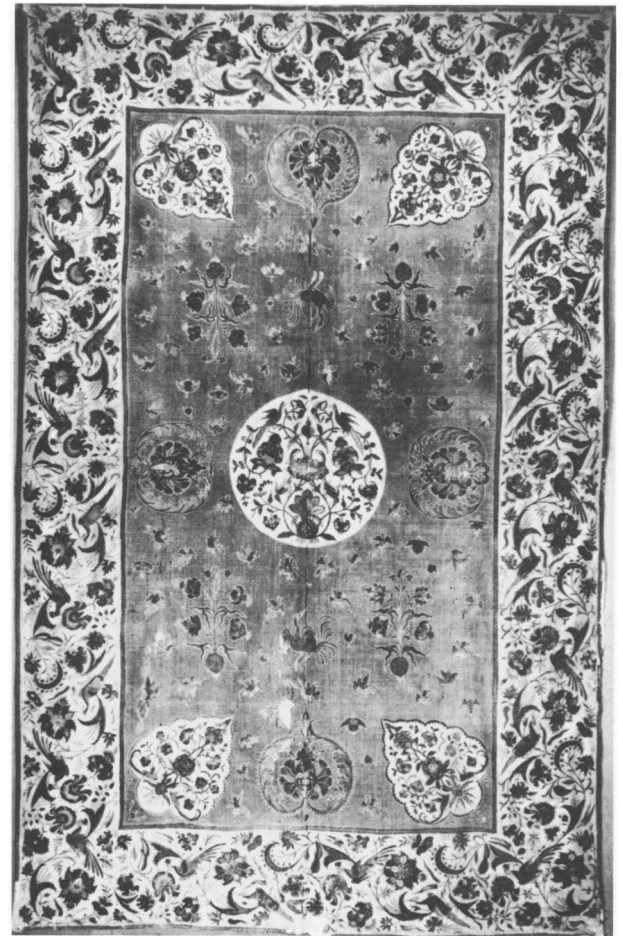
15. Irwin and Brett, *Origins of Chintz*, p. 27.

16. For a full discussion of this bedcover which supports the 1726 date and a probable English origin for it, see Beaudoin-Ross, “An Early-Eighteenth-Century Pieced Quilt,” pp. 106–109.





5. Palampore, western India, late 17th century. Embroidered, silk chain stitch on cotton; 112 × 103 in. (284.5 × 261.6 cm.). New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design, 1953-123-2 (photo: Cooper-Hewitt Museum)



6. Palampore, western India, Gujarat, early 18th century. Mordant-painted and dyed chintz, 96 × 86 in. (243.8 × 218.4 cm.). New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design, 1956-51-1 (photo: Cooper-Hewitt Museum)

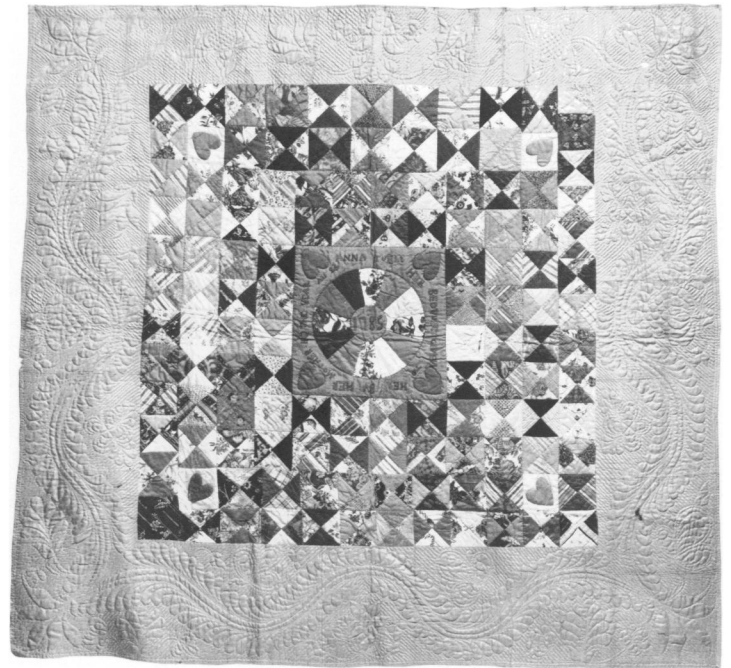
simple patchwork pattern consists of squares pieced from four triangular patches and is called “Yankee puzzle” or “cotton reel.”¹⁷ The corner motifs in the Indian designs are echoed in the four hearts applied at the corners of the center square in the Anna Tuels quilt. This detail is repeated in the patchwork ground, two squares out from and on the same diagonal as the corners of the center square. The center square of the 1726 cover has four interesting corner motifs, each consisting of small squares pieced from four smaller “Yankee puzzle” squares.¹⁸ A final border of silk brocade frames this cover, while the Anna Tuels quilt has a final border of elaborately quilted glazed wool.

Unlike pieced quilts, appliqué bedcovers often di-

rectly resemble the Indian prototypes in appearance and design. By the early eighteenth century, Indian chintz quilts and palampores also showed a single large

17. Names for most individual patchwork patterns are difficult to trace because they were initially part of an oral tradition, and early written references to patchwork quilts are rarely descriptive. Patchwork patterns began to be recorded and described in the 19th century, but a single pattern often has different names in different places. In the United States, this pattern is one of several known as the “Yankee puzzle,” and in both the United States and England, the pattern is also called “cotton reel.”

18. Another 18th-century unquilted English bedcover (ca. 1760–80) that uses elaborate pieced-corner motifs in a symmetrical framed-center design is illustrated in Averil Colby, *Patchwork Quilts* (New York, 1965) p. 35; it is privately owned.



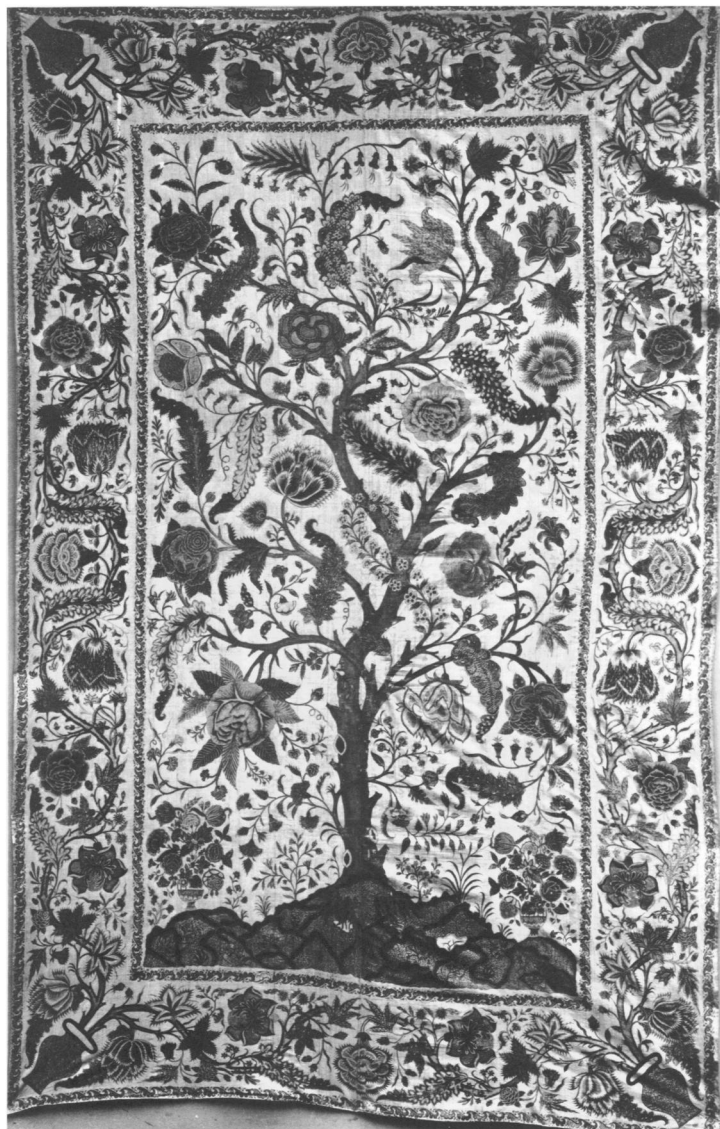
7. Bedcover, England (probable), signed *IN 1726*. Pieced from silks (including brocades and damasks), velvet, linens (plain and printed), cotton, appliquéd detail; $81\frac{1}{2} \times 77\frac{1}{2}$ in. (207×197 cm.). Montreal, McCord Museum of McGill University, M972.3.1 (photo: McCord Museum)

8. Anna Tuels quilt, United States, inscribed *Anna Tuels her bed quilt given to her by her mother in the year Au 23 1785*. Top pieced from plain, striped, printed, and damask-patterned linens, corduroy, silks, printed cottons, final border of glazed wool, quilted in feather pattern, appliquéd detail; 86×81 in. (218.4×205.7 cm.). Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, 1967.75 (photo: Wadsworth Atheneum)

9. Bedcover, United States, signed *E.B. 1782*. Appliquéd with printed cottons, embroidered with silk thread on cotton; 94×90 in. (238.8×228.6 cm.). The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 69.568 (photo: Winterthur Museum)

The appliquéd peacocks and the bird at the top of the tree are from a reverse impression of no. 1, an English copperplate design by Nixon & Co., ca. 1765–75.





10. Palampore, India, early 18th century. Mordant-painted and dyed cotton, 122 × 82 in. (309.9 × 208.3 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 17.98

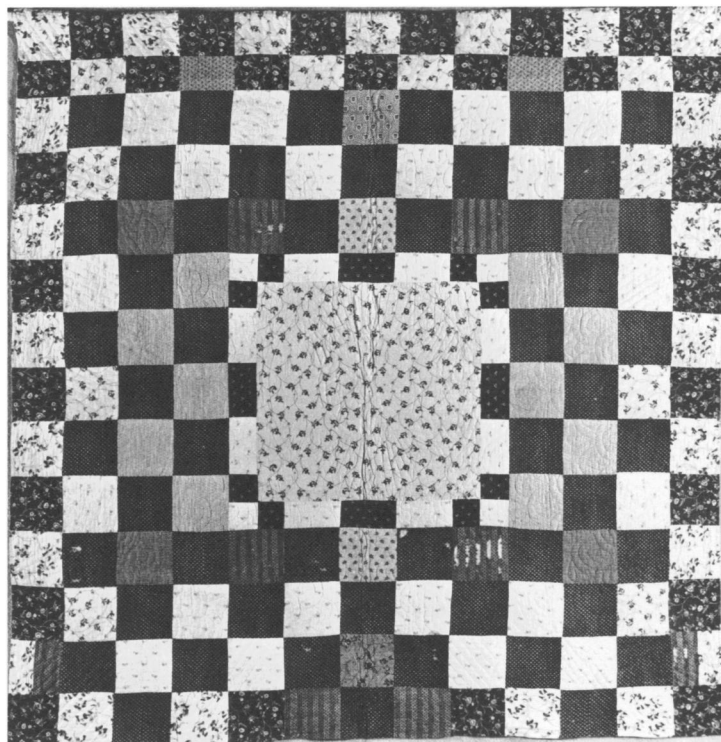
flowering tree framed by a floral border (Figure 10). Many late eighteenth-century appliqué bed coverings combined the flowering-tree designs reminiscent of the later palampores with a framed-center layout, as illustrated in the Winterthur Museum coverlet (Figure 9). This coverlet also has applied motifs cut from large-scale furnishing fabrics: the peacocks at the base of the tree and the bird in the tree were taken from an English copperplate-printed design dated between 1765 and 1775. They are from a reverse impression of a print (no. 1) also found in the Metropolitan Museum quilt.

The two Indian designs illustrated are symmetrical around their center motifs (Figures 5, 6), a convention also seen in most eighteenth-century English and American framed-center designs. The Anna Tuels quilt and the Winterthur Museum coverlet illustrate typical symmetrical layouts in pieced and appliqué designs (Figures 8, 9). Occasionally, the traditional elements of a patchwork style were freely adapted by an individual maker and the resulting quilt may not fit neatly into a defined stylistic category. For example, the McCord Museum bedcover (Figure 7) does employ a symmetrical framed-center layout—six rows of pieced squares are found on each side of its center motif—but by varying the size of these patchwork rows, the quilt's maker created an impression of asymmetry in the quilt's overall pieced design. A late eighteenth-century American pieced and quilted bedcover—the Elizabeth Webster quilt, dated 1796—makes a subtle but definite use of asymmetry in its framed-center layout (Figure 11). This quilt actually combines elements from “hit-or-miss” patchwork and the framed-center style. Hit-or-miss patchwork is a utility style which allows the maker to use bits from many different fabrics. The patches are cut to a uniform size and shape, usually a square or a rectangle, and are pieced in an allover pattern without any particular arrangement to the fabrics; if light and dark materials are alternated, the resulting design is known as the “brick” pattern.¹⁹ The Elizabeth Webster quilt has a square center patch framed by a small symmetrically pieced border, but it lacks the distinct final border which is characteristic of framed-center designs. Instead, a field of hit-or-miss patchwork in a pattern of light and dark patches extends to the quilt's edges. Four rows of these square patches frame the center on three sides, and on the fourth side, between the third and fourth rows of square patches, an additional row of small rectangular patches artfully unbalances the layout.

Asymmetry in framed-center layouts is rare, and the Metropolitan Museum quilt is a dramatic example. This quilt is actually semisymmetrical in plan because, as noted, there is a clear attempt at balance between its left and its right sides, except for the top border. The left-right balance and the use of the two sets of unpieced squares in the field of patchwork squares, the parrots (no. 19) and the obelisk with ruins

19. Colby, *Patchwork*, p. 50.

11. Elizabeth Webster quilt, United States, signed on reverse *E.W.* 1796. Top pieced from printed cottons, cotton-batting filler, ivory linen backing (plain weave), quilted floral patterns; 86 × 81¼ in. (218.4 × 207.6 cm.). Winston-Salem, The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, M.3271 (photo: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts)



(no. 13), may indicate that the maker was attempting a more usual framed-center layout. The choice of placement for the sets of square patches is quite similar to the placement of the sets of appliquéd hearts in the symmetrical Anna Tuels quilt. But there must not have been enough of the specific fabrics needed to balance the design of the Metropolitan Museum quilt on all four sides. The result was a decidedly asymmetrical layout in which the center square is framed by four rows of pieced squares at its sides and bottom and just three rows at the top. In addition, in the inner border, a woodblock-printed design (no. 35)



12. Detail of Figure 1, showing the top border with two pieced sections applied onto the border

surrounds the pieced squares on only three sides and only below the red copperplate-printed parrots (no. 4) which visually divide the quilt in half.

The most unusual design feature of the Metropolitan Museum quilt is its top border (Figures 1, 12). Patchwork quilts, even framed-center designs with otherwise balanced layouts, were sometimes made without a top border.²⁰ The main disadvantage of such a quilt is that it cannot be turned from end to end to decrease the effects of wear. This is less of a consideration with a “best” quilt, made for show, occasionally used, and carefully stored. Many “best” quilts were planned with obvious one-directional designs and were sometimes made without a top border, like the Margaret Nichols quilt (Figure 13). Absence of a top border would not have detracted from a quilt’s appear-

ance on a bed if the quilt were used in the way most bedspreads were pictured in eighteenth-century upholstery books—laid flat under a separately covered narrow bolster rather than drawn up over pillows.²¹ Since the Metropolitan Museum quilt has a top border pieced from randomly sized patches arranged with no apparent relationship to the rest of the quilt’s design, it would have been distracting on the bed if drawn over the pillows. A narrow bolster covering the quilt’s top border would still allow the distinctive prints of the top inner border (nos. 1, 3, 17a, 18) to be seen.

20. For examples of American quilts without a top border, see Orlofsky, *Quilts in America*, pl. 41 (18th-century example), pls. 25, 31, 72, 94 (19th-century examples).

21. Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman & Cabinet-Maker’s Director*, 3rd ed. (London, 1762) pls. 38–45; [George Hepplewhite], *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer’s Guide*, 3rd ed. (London, 1794) pls. 95–101; Thomas Sheraton, *Appendix to The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer’s Drawing-Book*, 2nd ed. (London, 1793) pl. 9.

Other eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century bedcovers show no evidence of the type of crazy patchwork found in the top border of the Metropolitan Museum quilt.²² Those covers instead support the idea that the earliest known patchwork bedcovers were carefully planned with an ordered layout; even the hit-or-miss pattern has patches of a uniform size and shape. However, because surviving bedcovers tend to be “best” covers, it is also possible that they do not represent all the patterns used in patchwork designs. It has been suggested that, at least in colonial America, randomly pieced utility patchwork quilts may have been made to use every available fabric scrap.²³ While the Metropolitan Museum quilt is not a utility quilt—its top has patches of exceptional printed cottons and its thin filler layer gives dimension to the quilting, not warmth—the choice of the oddly pieced border could have been influenced by some similarly pieced and now lost utility quilts. This border was certainly a definite decision on the maker’s part, since a single length of fabric could just as easily have filled in the space and enlarged the quilt to the ends of the side borders. It is fortunate that the maker decided on this singularly pieced border, because some patches in it are probably the only surviving examples of these printed designs.

The anomaly of the top border is enhanced by the quilt’s only two applied patches (see outlined sections in Figure 12). These are stitched over two patches of a woodblock-printed design, abstract with circles (no. 38), which had been pieced into the border in the usual way. One applied patch is pieced from two woodblock-printed floral designs (nos. 31 and 33), and the other is pieced from three woodblock-printed floral designs (nos. 28, 30, and one unidentified design); patches of nos. 30, 31, and 33 are also found elsewhere in the border. It is evident from the quilting pattern that the applied sections were added after the rest of the quilt was finished. The quilting pattern, showing on the linen backing under the applied sections, has two sets of stitches in some places but only one set is visible on the quilt top. This indicates an attempt to continue the original quilting pattern

on the applied sections. However, the added quilting stitches are not always sewn through all the layers and they seem less even than the other quilting stitches, suggesting that somebody other than the original maker added the applied sections. Since this person had access to patches of nos. 30, 31, and 33, she was probably associated in some way with the original maker. All patches of nos. 30, 31, and 33 have essentially the same degree of fading and wear, so the applied sections were probably attached soon after the quilt was completed.

Why the applied sections were added is a mystery. Two tiny slivers of design no. 38 show at the edge of each applied section and this print is stylistically different from most of the prints found in the quilt top—it is one of only three designs in which geometric motifs predominate (the others are nos. 36 and 37). The most likely explanation is that no. 38 was simply considered unattractive and was covered with floral prints more in keeping with those in the rest of the quilt top. Since the applied sections are not integral to the original quilt, it is described in the caption to Figure 1 as “pieced from printed cottons with two pieced sections added” rather than “pieced and appliquéd.”

A quilt is dated by family tradition and by its general stylistic and technical characteristics combined with the date of its textiles. The Metropolitan Museum quilt lacks family provenance. Stylistically, it is a framed-center design in the English tradition, though an unconventional example. While framed-center quilts can be found dating after 1830, the style enjoyed its greatest vogue in both England and the United States during the fifty-year period between 1780 and 1830 (the scarcity of pre-1780 examples makes it impossible to determine the prevalence of the style before this time). The dated framed-center bedcovers shown in Figures 7–9 and 11 are examples of the considerable stylistic range of eighteenth-century designs. Nineteenth-century framed-center designs continued to use the same basic layout—a center motif surrounded by a symmetrically arranged series of pieced and/or applied patchwork borders. Four nineteenth-century patchwork designs (Figures 13–16) illustrate the variety of design in later framed-center bedcovers. The style was so popular at the turn of the century that special floral designs began to be printed for use as center panels in framed-center quilts (Figures 14, 16).

Further clues in narrowing a quilt’s date may be

22. In the late 19th century a patchwork style called the “crazy quilt” developed in which randomly sized patches were pieced or appliquéd over a whole coverlet. The use of the word “crazy” here is descriptive only; it does not imply any connection with the later style.

23. Orlofsky, *Quilts in America*, pp. 13, 298, 299.

found in its size, the fiber content of its thread and backing fabric, and its patchwork and quilting patterns. It is only possible to indicate general trends within a period based on these factors, however, because a patchwork quilt design reflects the maker's individual artistic sensibilities and practical options in fabric, color, and patchwork design and in considerations such as the size of a cover for a specific bed. Only recently has fiber analysis of a quilt's thread, filler, and backing materials been routinely undertaken to help determine its date.

Patchwork quilts in the 1780–1830 period tend to be about 8 to 9 feet square (2.4 to 2.8 meters).²⁴ The Metropolitan Museum quilt—7 feet, 10 inches by 7 feet, 7 inches (2.388 by 2.311 meters)—is well within the range for slightly smaller quilts, and it is almost identical in size to the 1782 Winterthur appliqué coverlet (Figure 9). From the combination of the linen thread (for the piecing and quilting) and the linen backing, the date for this quilt can be narrowed to about 1780–1810 since linen was more likely to be used for these components in eighteenth- and very early nineteenth-century quilts. Cotton thread and backing fabrics increasingly became the choice for cotton patchwork in the nineteenth century, though cotton batting for filler was commonly used in the eighteenth century. This quilt's only patchwork pattern in the usual sense is the squares pieced from two triangular patches that form the rows framing the center square. While this pattern was certainly used in the 1780–1810 period, it is not distinctive enough to contribute to the quilt's dating, and the same applies to the simple diamond quilting pattern.

The most precise date for an undocumented patchwork bedcover is derived from dating its textiles, since the bedcover must have been finished after the date of its newest textile. It is sometimes necessary to qualify the overall date suggested by the textiles if the piece has been altered, because an added fabric of a later date may obscure the work's original date. The applied sections in the top border of the Metropolitan Museum quilt are its only alterations, but since they are dated within the range of those in the rest of the quilt and appear to have been added soon after the quilt was completed, they do not affect the quilt's dating.

With many pieced quilts, it is hard to figure out which fabric is newest since dating the small-scale dress prints generally favored can be difficult. Large-scale

furnishing fabrics, such as those predominating in the Metropolitan Museum quilt, are easier to date because between 1750 and 1820 there were well-documented stylistic changes in this type of printed cotton design. Pinpointing a date for a fabric is not feasible unless its design corresponds to one in a dated pattern book, but it is possible to estimate the date of first production for some furnishing fabrics within a span of ten years and occasionally less. The period range and provenance assigned to the Metropolitan Museum quilt's textile designs nos. 1–38 (see catalogue of printed designs) were determined through stylistic comparisons with designs in pattern books, museum collections, and published sources,²⁵ and by considering the printing methods and dyes used as well as the technical developments and laws regulating the textile-printing industry of the time. Following is an analysis of the designs most important in determining an overall date and country of origin for the quilt. All dates in this article and the catalogue entries for each design are estimated dates of first production, and it should be remembered that many designs (particularly copperplate designs) were produced as long as they would sell.

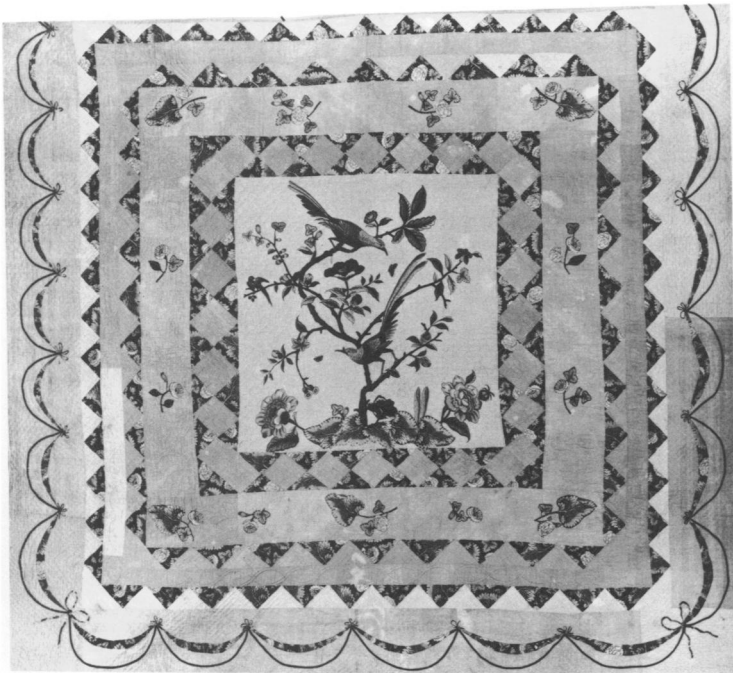
Five of the quilt's copperplate designs (nos. 1–4, 7) are definitely English and range in date from about 1765 to 1785. When engraved copperplates are used in print fabrics, refined monochromatic images similar to engravings on paper are produced; printing copperplate designs in more than one color presented technical difficulties that are known to have been overcome by only one printworks.²⁶ Copperplate designs sometimes had additional color printed in by woodblocks or painted in by hand, but none of the quilt's prints has this characteristic. Colorfast copperplate printing on fabric is a mid-eighteenth-century invention credited to an Irishman, Francis Nixon.²⁷ This process became known in England after Nixon

24. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

25. The period pattern books consulted for this article are listed at the end of the article. It is entirely possible that other designs exist or may yet be discovered which would affect stylistic comparisons.

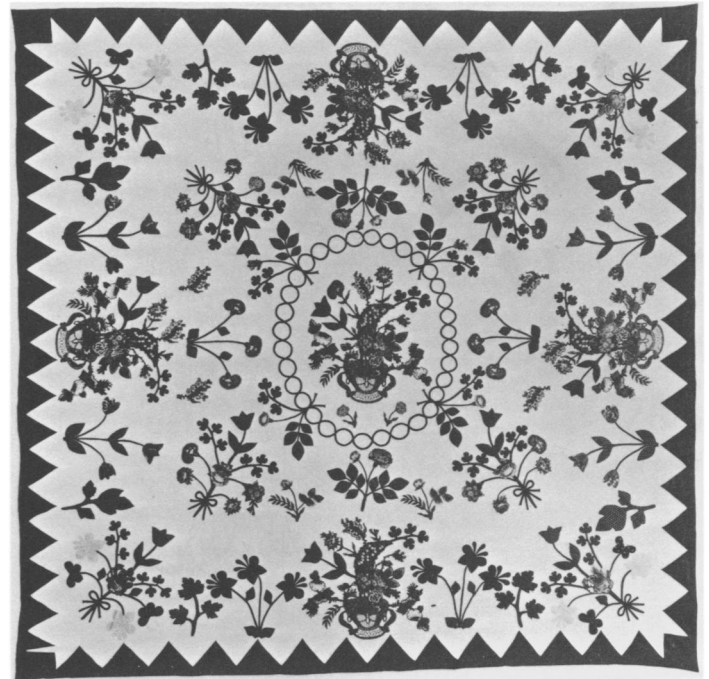
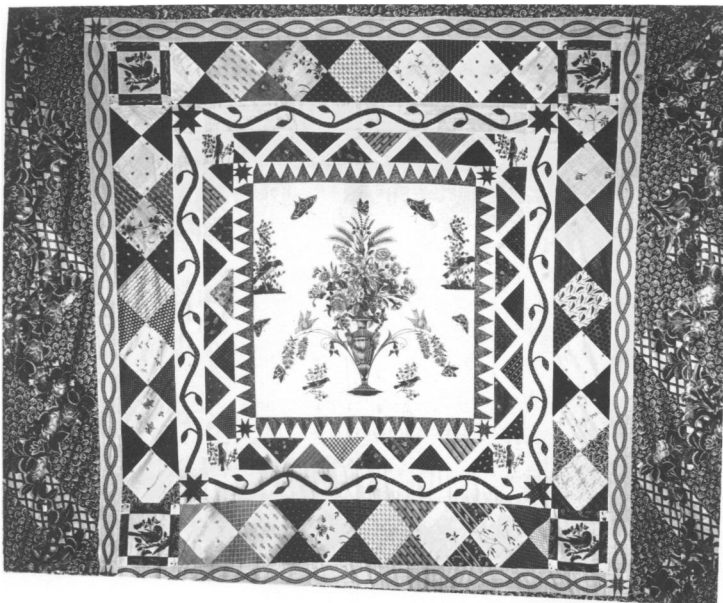
26. J. and M. Ware, Crayford, Kent, in operation from the 1760s to 1781; see *English Chintz*, 1960, p. 26.

27. The writings of Peter C. Floud are well-documented accounts of the history of English woodblock (called "calico printing" in the 18th century) and copperplate printing. See Floud, "The Origins of English Calico Printing," *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists* 76 (May 1960) pp. 275–281; and *idem*, "The



13. Margaret Nichols quilt, United States, signed *M.N.*, ca. 1813; made by Margaret Nichols for her sister, Hannah, at the time of Hannah's marriage to Jacob Pussey in 1813. Top pieced and appliquéd from printed cottons, cotton backing, quilted geometric and floral patterns; 101 × 91 in. (256.5 × 231.1 cm.). The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 58.108C (photo: Winterthur Museum)

14. Bedcover, United States, ca. 1800; the center square is a woodblock-printed design by John Hewson, printed in Philadelphia, late 18th century; the bedcover is said to have been made by his wife, Zibiah Smallwood Hewson. Top pieced from printed cottons, 103 × 107 in. (261.6 × 271.8 cm.). The Philadelphia Museum of Art, given by Ella Hodgson (great-granddaughter of John Hewson), 34.16.1 (photo: Philadelphia Museum)



15. Bedcover, England, early 19th century. Top appliquéd with dyed and printed cottons, cotton backing; 110 × 110 in. (279.4 × 279.4 cm.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, T.123-1938 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

transferred his printworks from Dublin to a London suburb in the late 1750s. English calico printers had been printing cotton with woodblocks since the late seventeenth century and, with the introduction of this new technique, many printworks also began producing copperplate furnishing and dress prints in a wide range of floral and figural subjects.

The discovery in the 1950s of five pattern books containing over five hundred copperplate paper impressions of designs from English printworks made it possible to establish an English provenance for many printed cottons whose origins were previously unknown or incorrectly labeled as French. To compare the quilt's copperplate-printed patches with the paper impressions, it was first necessary to determine how many different copperplate designs were in the quilt. The copperplate prints were visually singled out from the generally polychromatic and less finely drawn woodblock prints, and their positions were dia-

English Contribution to the Development of Copper-Plate Printing," *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists* 76 (July 1960) pp. 425-434.

16. Quilt, England, ca. 1810; the oval center panel is a wood-block-printed design celebrating the Golden Jubilee of George III in 1810. Top pieced from printed cottons, appliquéd detail; 100 × 91 in. (254 × 231.1 cm.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, T.181-1941 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



grammed (Figure 2). Enlarged photocopies were made from detail photographs of the quilt, and the copperplate patches were cut out and grouped, first by color and fiber content,²⁸ then to see which patches could be part of the same designs. The resulting composites were compared to the paper impressions, as were distinctive motifs from prints too fragmentary to piece together (nos. 1b, 2). These comparisons were complicated by differences in proportion and definition between the photocopies and the photographs of the paper impressions. In the end, five designs from the English pattern books have been identified, four of which (nos. 1–4) are from Nixon & Co.'s English printworks, which was in operation until 1789.

None of the paper impressions is dated. After studying them, however, Peter Floud was able "to use the circumstantial evidence (watermarks in the pa-

per, variations in the color of the ink, the handwriting of markings, the sequence of serial numbers, and so on) to divide them [the paper impressions] into different groups."²⁹ In an important exhibition, "A Loan Exhibition of English Chintz," which Floud and his colleague Barbara Morris organized for the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1960, many of the paper impressions and/or their corresponding printed fabrics were displayed. These objects were grouped by printworks (when known) or by style, and are listed

28. The mixed-fiber cloth can be distinguished with a textile magnifying glass as the linen warps are shinier than the cotton wefts; under magnification some prints also have a slightly speckled effect because the dye did not penetrate the linen as deeply as it did the cotton.

29. Peter Floud, "English Printed Textiles: I. Copperplate Pictorials," *Antiques* 71 (Mar. 1957) p. 241.

in the exhibition catalogue in chronological order with approximate dates given for each.³⁰ The dates assigned to the quilt's copperplate designs are based primarily on the pioneering work done by Floud and Morris and the later work of Florence Montgomery.³¹

The provenance of the quilt's other four copperplate designs (nos. 5, 6, 8, 9) is unknown, and these designs were compared with documented Irish and French examples as well as English. There is also evidence that printworks in Switzerland, Germany, and Holland produced copperplate-printed fabrics, but Floud's studies failed to turn up any surviving prints from these countries.³² Printworks in Ireland produced copperplate designs until about 1800, but none of the quilt's remaining copperplate fragments is from any of the few known Irish designs.³³ Floud cited evidence of a single French printworks producing copperplate prints in 1760–61, but after this printworks went out of business, copperplate printing was not practiced in France until after 1770, when it was introduced to the Oberkampf factory at Jouy.³⁴ The French became justly famous for their excellent copperplate designs, but none of the quilt's unidentified copperplate designs shows evidence of French stylistic influences. Though stylistic comparison can only suggest a provenance, the distinctive designs in the English pattern books make it possible to single out definite English style trends. Prints nos. 5 and 6 can be directly related to English sources and the other two (nos. 8, 9) have strong stylistic ties to English designs. The dates assigned to these prints fall into the same range as those of the quilt's known English designs.

The quilt's woodblock designs are considerably more anonymous than its copperplate designs—none of the woodblock prints has a definite provenance. The presence of the English copperplate prints in the quilt suggests that many, possibly all, of its woodblock prints are also English. But singling out national style trends is speculative for many woodblock-printed cottons since both legitimate trade and smuggling allowed an exchange of fabrics and design ideas. This was especially true for woodblock designs because so many were produced over a long period of time in many different countries. Considerably fewer copperplate designs were printed because copperplate printing was a relatively late invention, with printworks in France and England producing the most volume, and the procedure was almost completely supplanted in the

early nineteenth century by increasingly successful roller-printing operations. In contrast, colorfast woodblock printing is documented in England, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland in the late seventeenth century and in Ireland, Scotland, and the United States by the eighteenth century.³⁵ The combined volume of woodblock prints from all countries during the eighteenth century was very great, even though restrictions on printing cotton existed in France (and to a certain extent England) during part of this period. Woodblock printing continued on a reasonably commercial basis throughout the nineteenth century, though roller printing was the choice for printing large quantities of fabric.

As with the quilt's copperplate prints, it was necessary to separate the woodblock prints so they could be reconstructed and analyzed. Just by looking at the quilt, it was possible to identify a number of the distinctively colored and patterned floral woodblock prints as part of the same design. The procedure for making composites of the quilt's copperplate designs was useful only for the woodblock prints with clearly defined nonfloral elements, since a black-and-white photograph or photocopy shows little definition among the woodblock floral motifs. Many floral prints used as triangular patches or supplementary piecings proved too indistinct to associate with identified designs and are shaded gray in Figure 2.

The quilt's woodblock designs were compared to documented English, French, and American examples from about 1750–1820. Though the quilt could contain woodblock prints manufactured in other countries (especially Ireland or Scotland), English and French printworks were industry leaders both stylistically

30. In *English Chintz*, 1960, a design labeled "about 1770" indicates "uncertainty limits of about 5 years" on either side of that date (p. 8); in this article the dates are given as ca. 1765–75, spanning the ten-year period.

31. A catalogue of the English and American printed textiles at the Winterthur Museum is presented in Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, pp. 111–359.

32. Floud, "English Contribution to Copper-Plate Printing," p. 428.

33. Ada K. Longfield, "Early Irish Printed Fabric," *Country Life* 152 (1972) pp. 1578–1579.

34. Floud, "English Contribution to Copper-Plate Printing," p. 428.

35. For a time line of important dates in the history of printed textiles, see Florence H. Pettit, *America's Printed & Painted Fabrics, 1600–1900* (New York, 1970) pp. 74–76, 157–160, 239–241.

tically and technically. None of the quilt's designs matched the documented designs exactly, but a probable English origin has been suggested for many of them because of correlations to known designs (see catalogue entries). For other designs, a possible English or French origin is noted because the evidence is too sketchy for a more definite attribution. A patch of a documented French design would not have helped determine the quilt's origins because it could have reached England or the United States as lawful or contraband goods. Though early documented American printed cottons are rare and tend to reflect English designs, they were included in this comparison because the presence of an American print would assure an American provenance for the quilt. In the late eighteenth century the infant United States textile industry did not export fabrics, so an American print would mean the quilt was made in the United States. Though no American designs were found, that does not preclude an American provenance for the quilt. The importation of eighteenth-century English printed cottons into America is well documented,³⁶ and many early American patchwork bedcovers contain only imported English textiles (Figures 9, 13).

One criterion both for determining a printed cotton's origins and for narrowing its date of production is the presence of three blue threads in the selvages. Between 1774 and 1812, English law required that three blue threads be woven into the selvege of new British all-cotton cloth so that the printer could claim a lower excise rate,³⁷ although a print without the blue threads can still be English because imported Indian cotton cloth was also printed in England. Some selvages are probably included in the seam allowances of the quilt's interior patches where they cannot now be seen. The final border on three sides (no. 36) has sections where the linen backing has worn and separated from the quilt top; the selvages are visible but they show no blue threads. Excise stamps, printers' marks, and drapers' (merchants who commissioned and sold the cotton prints) marks are sometimes on the reverse side of a fabric,³⁸ but any such stamps on the quilt's fabrics cannot be seen.

Three of the quilt's copperplate designs and twenty-one of its woodblock designs are printed on cloth with a linen warp and cotton weft called "fustian." This term was used to describe various linen-cotton fabrics, including cloth with a napped twill weave which was often used as a base for embroidery,³⁹ but in the

quilt all the linen-cotton fabrics are plain weave and unnapped. The use of fustian for printing was important in England between 1721 and 1774: during this period, English calico printers were proscribed by law from printing all-cotton cloth for home consumption.⁴⁰ Printers could still print all-cotton cloth imported from India for export, and a vague provision exempted fustians from the home-use ban. This exemption was fully exploited by the printers who printed fustians woven in Lancashire and sold them in England.⁴¹ In the 1730s, the silk and wool weavers sought to ban the printing of fustian, but the Manchester Act of 1736 specifically allowed home consumption of printed fustian.⁴² Printing and selling imported all-linen cloth was also legal, but the English-manufactured fustian was preferred by printers, perhaps because it was exempt from the heavy customs duties on foreign linen or because it more closely resembled Indian all-cotton cloth.⁴³ The printing of all-cotton cloth for the English market became legal again in 1774.⁴⁴ An English design printed on fustian does not necessarily date from before 1774 because fustian continued to be printed in England for some years after 1774,⁴⁵ and an all-cotton English print is not assured a post-1774 date because

36. For a list of books and articles that discuss 18th-century textile imports into the United States, see Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, "Form, Function, and Meaning in the Use of Fabric Furnishings: A Philadelphia Case Study, 1700–1775," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14 (Spring 1979) p. 25, n. 1.

37. *English Printed Textiles 1720–1836*, Large Picture Book no. 13, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1960) p. 4.

38. Examples of excise and draper's stamps are illustrated in Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, p. 132.

39. For 18th-century definitions of and references to fustian, see Abbott Lowell Cummings, *Bed Hangings: A Treatise on Fabrics and Styles in the Curtaining of Beds, 1650–1850* (Boston, 1961) p. 25; and Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650–1850* (New York, 1984) pp. 244, 245.

40. In 1721, Parliament enacted a law instigated by the silk and wool manufacturers to prohibit the sale, use, and wear of printed calicoes in England. 7 Geo. I, c. 7; see Wadsworth and Mann, *Cotton Trade*, p. 134, n. 2.

41. Wadsworth and Mann, *Cotton Trade*, p. 140.

42. 9 Geo. II, c. 4; see Wadsworth and Mann, *Cotton Trade*, p. 140, n. 2.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

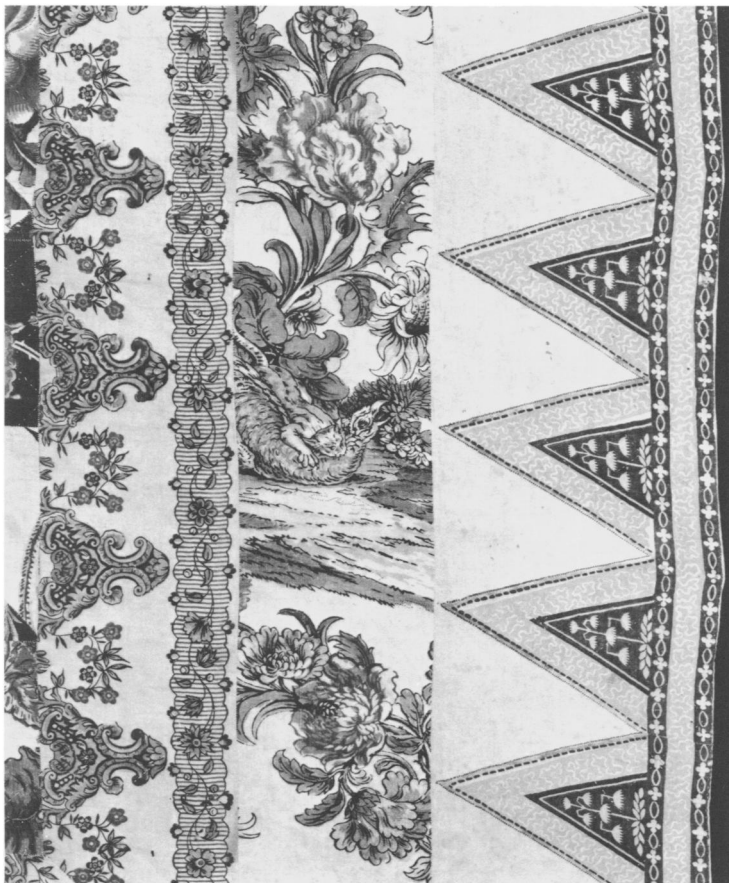
44. 14 Geo. III, c. 72; see *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England*, exh. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1984) p. 326, n. 52.

45. Some printed linen-cotton fabrics with small-scale geometric and floral designs are in a pattern book dated 1783 from [Manchester], England, at the Winterthur Museum (77 x 110).

of the exemption in the 1721 law allowing cotton to be printed for the export market. However, an English design printed on fustian is generally considered to have been printed in the 1770s or earlier.⁴⁶ In France, a linen-warp cotton-weft cloth called *siamoise* was allowed to be manufactured and printed on a limited basis in the 1750s, before the general prohibition on cotton printing there, in effect since 1686, was lifted in 1759.⁴⁷ *Siamoise* was also printed in France after 1759, but its use was not proscribed by law as in England.⁴⁸ The latest date of production for the quilt's designs on fustian has been put at probably 1780. This may seem arbitrary, but it is supported by available stylistic evidence for the designs. Further research may ascertain whether the fiber content of a printed fabric reveals any more specifics of date and origin.

One woodblock print, the quilt's outer border on three sides (Figure 17, no. 36), assumes key importance in dating the quilt because it is the design assigned the latest date, about 1795–1805. Three colors are used in the print of no. 36: a yellowish tan for

17. Detail of Figure 1, lower right, showing designs nos. 35 and 19 (inner borders) and no. 36, used as the final border on three sides of the quilt



the ground in the vermicular design,⁴⁹ a rich brown for the ground in the inner triangles and narrow stripes, and, outlining the outside triangles, a single stroke of blue. These colors indicate that no. 36 may be in the “drab style” of English woodblock-printed furnishing fabrics. Dated designs in pattern books from the Bannister Hall printworks (1799–1840)⁵⁰ prompted Peter Floud to date the drab style to about 1799–1812 and to describe it as a “fashion [which] depended on the use of combinations of browns, buffs, olives, yellows and greys, either alone or with touches of blue and green, but in any case with an entire absence of the reds and purples, which had formed the basis of the rich palette of the 1790’s.”⁵¹ Thirty of the designs in the Rowan pattern book (ca. 1797–99), mostly small-scale floral or geometric patterns, are rendered in only drab colors, indicating that drab-style colors were in favor earlier than 1799. Though the Rowan pattern book is considered to be from the Archibald Rowan printworks in the United States,⁵² its designs would reflect English styles.

The dyes that produced the drab colors were weld or quercitron, with iron or alum solutions as the mordant that is required to achieve a variety of colors in the yellow-brown-olive range. First the mordants are printed onto the fabric in the desired design; the fabric is dried and then bathed in dyestuff. Different shades result from the type and strength of the mordant. The color is not fast in areas where no

46. Peter Floud, “English Printed Textiles. Postscript: New Discoveries,” *Antiques* 73 (Apr. 1958) p. 374. See also “Textiles and Dress: Printed Textiles,” in *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth’s England*, p. 221.

47. Wadsworth and Mann, *Cotton Trade*, p. 141, n. 6.

48. Katharine Brett describes French prints from the Oberkampf factory, in operation after 1759, on linen-cotton cloth from the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum in “Some Eighteenth-Century French Woodblock Printed Cottons in the Royal Ontario Museum,” *Studies in Textile History, in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, ed. Veronika Gervers (Toronto, 1977) p. 18.

49. Vermicular patterns as background motifs are found in printed textiles from the early 18th century into the 19th century. Two of the Alexander swatches (labeled “20” and “28”) dated 1726 use a vermicular pattern; illustrated in Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 8. For a 19th-century example, see *ibid.*, fig. 142.

50. Bannister Hall records, 1799–1840, owned by Messrs. Stead, McAlpin & Co., Cummersdale; see *English Chintz*, 1960, p. 2.

51. Peter Floud, “The Drab Style and the Designs of Daniel Goddard,” *Connoisseur* 139 (June 1957) p. 234.

52. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, pp. 98–101.

mordant was applied, and through a series of washings and bleachings the ground is cleared of excess color. The red to purple color range, which includes browns and black, is produced by this process with madder dye and various iron and alum mordants.⁵³ Indigo, which does not need a mordant, is used for blue and can be painted directly into the design if mixed with thickeners and chemicals to keep it from oxidizing; in eighteenth-century England, the process of applying dyes to the fabric in this way was referred to as penciling rather than painting.⁵⁴ The madder color range is much greater than that of weld/quercitron, and madder colors with blue dominate eighteenth-century woodblock-printed designs. If colors from both the madder and the weld/quercitron ranges were to be used, two separate series of mordant printings and dyeings and clearings were required for a colorfast print. Thus, to avoid the expense of two printings and because the white areas of a design stained by weld were difficult to clear, weld was penciled into many designs, either alone for yellow or over blue for green. Weld applied in this manner, even when mixed with a mordant, is not permanent,⁵⁵ and in the 1770s, the American Dr. Edward Bancroft introduced quercitron, obtained from the American black oak, into England as a substitute for weld.⁵⁶ By 1800, quercitron had generally supplanted weld because of its superiority as a coloring agent, since much less was needed and even when penciled it was relatively colorfast, and because, in Dr. Bancroft's words, quercitron produced "no discoloration to the grounds, or parts intended to remain white."⁵⁷

Cotton prints in the drab style were designed specifically for weld/quercitron colors to the novel exclusion of madder colors. The yellowish tan in no. 36 was probably produced by quercitron rather than weld, as the color is still very clear and the nontan areas of the print are sufficiently white to define the vermicular design.⁵⁸ The brown in no. 36 might have resulted from either madder or quercitron, but it seems unlikely that in a design with such a limited and analogous color range, the complicated mordant-printing and dyeing process would have been done twice when the colors needed could have been realized with a single quercitron dyeing. The indigo blue outline would have been penciled on the edge of the outside triangle after the mordant dyeing was completed.

Though the colors of no. 36 are in keeping with those of prints in the drab style, no direct stylistic relationship has been established between no. 36 and published drab-style designs from pattern books or existing textiles. These examples indicate that abstract or geometric elements in large-scale drab-style designs are generally secondary to large realistic floral patterns.⁵⁹ An exception can be seen in Figure 18, showing a drab-style print which uses only abstract and geometric motifs in its design. However, this print lacks the stark layout of triangles, stripes, and stylized tree and leaf patterns of no. 36. Further comparison of no. 36 with other woodblock prints shows that the use of only abstract and/or geometric motifs was rare in any late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century large-scale prints, though it was quite common in small-scale patterns; several designs in both drab and madder colors from the Rowan pattern book are small-scale stylized geometric patterns.

English and French border prints of the 1780s and 1790s tend to have an assortment of realistic flowers forming a dense background to any abstract or geometric motifs (Figure 19).⁶⁰ The only woodblock designs found with stylized motifs at all related to no. 36 are in an undated English pattern book, the Dudding pattern book (ca. 1800–14).

Concurrent with the drab style was a vogue in English woodblock-printed furnishing fabrics for designs inspired by classical antiquity, a fashion that peaked about 1804–05 according to dated designs in

53. For an early 19th-century description of this process, see James Cutbush, *The American Artist's Manual, or Dictionary of Practical Knowledge . . .* (Philadelphia, 1814) II, s.v. "Printing"; see Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, p. 14.

54. For a description of the penciling process, see Smith, *Laboratory*, pp. 52–53.

55. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, p. 156.

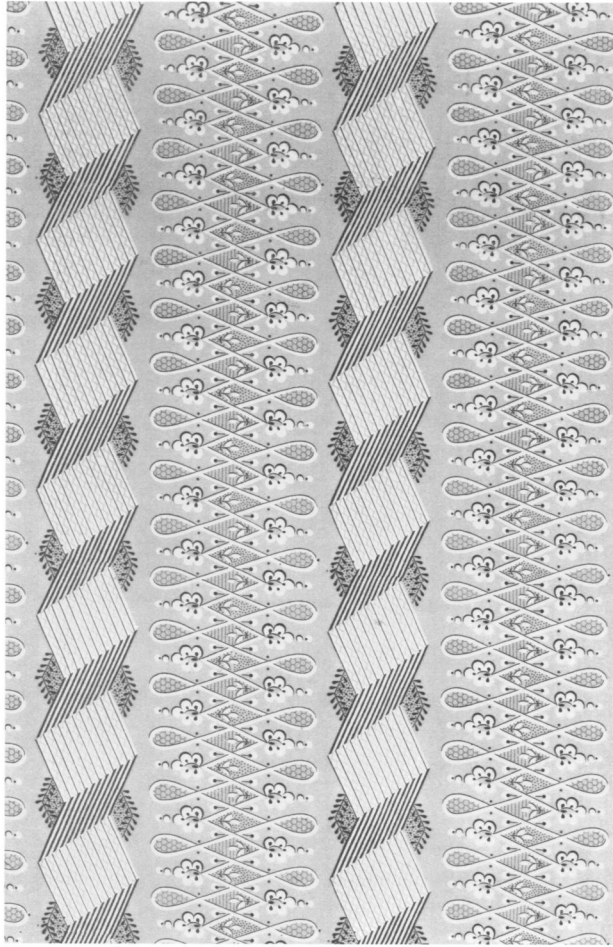
56. In 1775, Dr. Bancroft was granted a patent from the British government for the exclusive sale and importation of quercitron. This patent was renewed in 1785 and extended to 1799; see Sidney M. Edelstein, "The Dual Life of Edward Bancroft," *Historical Notes on the Wet Processing Industry* (Dexter Chemical Corporation, 1972) p. 25.

57. Edward Bancroft, *Experimental Researches Concerning the Philosophy of Permanent Colors* (Philadelphia, 1813) II, p. 138, n. 8.

58. No chemical analysis has been done to determine the dyes used on the quilt's fabrics.

59. Floud, "The Drab Style," figs. 1, 8–10; and Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 128.

60. For similar French border designs, ca. 1780, see Jacqu , *Chefs-d'oeuvre, Mulhouse*, I, pls. 38, 221 (color).



18. Woodblock print on cotton, England, ca. 1800–05. Stylized patterns printed in brown and yellow. The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 59.18.2/T330 (photo: Winterthur Museum)

the Bannister Hall pattern books.⁶¹ The Dudding pattern book has designs with classical motifs interspersed among a series of geometric border patterns with opposing triangles and an additional striped border beyond the triangles. In one typical design, labeled “312,” the opposing triangles are dark red and black while the outside border has two narrow dark red and black stripes, a wide dark red stripe with black circles, and a final black stripe. Though such designs and no. 36 have similar basic forms, the soft drab colors and delicate stylized tree motifs of no. 36 are very different from the acute color contrasts and bold geometric patterns of the Dudding designs.

The closest stylistic affinity of no. 36 is not with any

European designs but with the end border traditionally found on the Indonesian tapis (sarong) or hip wrapper (Figure 20). An important feature of the tapis is a border pattern along one edge of long triangle forms, or *tumpal*, combined with a series of stripes. Filling the triangles and stripes are small stylized geometric or floral motifs. While the visual connection between these designs and no. 36 is clear, it will be difficult to document a closer link. The design on the fabric in Figure 20 was created in Java by indigenous batik-dyeing methods, and textiles with similar mordant-painted and dyed patterns were produced in India for the Indonesian market.⁶² In the late sixteenth century, the Dutch East India Company used Indian textiles as barter in the spice trade with the Far East; the English East India Company used similar trading practices in the early seventeenth century. It is certainly conceivable, given the trade and travel among Europe, India, and the Far East in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that an Indian tapis intended for Indonesia ended up in England, where its border design served as an inspiration for no. 36.⁶³

Many patchwork quilts have borders with “sawtooth” designs (Figures 13–15), so no. 36 seems particularly suitable as the final border. The English patchwork authority Averil Colby calls the pyramidlike triangles in a pattern like this the “dog’s tooth” pattern and reserves the term “sawtooth” for a serrated border pattern with the triangles laid on their sides; contemporary American authors make no distinction, calling both patterns “sawtooth.”⁶⁴ Evidence from existing quilts indicates that these patterns developed separately and should be considered distinct designs. The pyramidlike triangles are found as final borders in late eighteenth-century patchwork bedcovers,⁶⁵ while the other pattern seems to be a later

61. Barbara Morris, “The Classical Taste in English Wood-Block Chintzes,” *Connoisseur* 141 (Apr. 1958) p. 93.

62. For related 17th- and 18th-century Indian textiles exported for the Indonesian market, see Mattiebelle Gittinger, *Master Dyers to the World*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1982) pls. 122, 126, 129, 133.

63. Mattiebelle Gittinger, at the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., pointed out this possible connection.

64. Colby, *Patchwork*, pp. 46, 78; Carleton L. Safford and Robert Bishop, *America’s Quilts and Coverlets* (New York, 1972) pls. 112, 114; Phyllis Haders, *The Warner Collector’s Guide to American Quilts* (New York, 1981) figs. 12-2, 29-3.

65. American appliqué coverlet, late 18th century, Shelburne

development, with the earliest quilts to use it dating after 1800.⁶⁶ It is even possible that no. 36 was designed especially to be used as a border for patchwork quilts in the same way that panels were designed as centers for framed-center quilts (Figures 14, 16). The long and short dashes on the outside edge of the triangles give an effect analogous to hand stitches.⁶⁷

While the other fabrics in the quilt may have been collected over several years, there are indications that the maker acquired no. 36 specifically for its final border. The design in no. 36 is printed along the selvage of the fabric; in an uncut length, this design was probably printed along both selvages with a related filler pattern in the middle. The amount of fabric needed for the quilt's long unpieced lengths of no. 36, cut from a piece with the border printed along both selvages, is almost $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards or about 4 meters—not an amount likely to have been saved in a scrap bag. That lengths of fabric were bought for patchwork in the late eighteenth century is supported by the English diarist Parson Woodforde, who, on November 10, 1789, purchased “1 yrd of different kinds of Cotton for patch-work for my Niece p^d o. 2. 10.”⁶⁸

The only fabrics in the quilt that appear to date after about 1780 are no. 36 and several prints in the top border (nos. 27, 28, 33, 34, 38); all the others date from around 1780 or before. Although a patchwork quilt can be made many years after the date of its newest fabric, for the Metropolitan Museum quilt a date contemporary with no. 36 seems justified, about 1795–1805. One possible scenario for the making of the quilt is that its main body was pieced first, probably in the 1780s; at a later date, a length of no. 36 was acquired which was enough to make the final border on three sides, allowing for an oddly pieced addition at the top—where it would not show on the bed if covered by a narrow bolster—to bring the quilt

Museum, illustrated in Colby, *Patchwork Quilts* (cited in note 18), p. 39; American appliqué coverlet, late 18th century, privately owned, illustrated in Florence Peto, *American Quilts and Coverlets* (New York, 1949) pl. 5.

66. The earliest quilts with serrated patchwork borders appear to date about 1820; see the American pieced quilt, ca. 1820, Philadelphia Museum of Art, illustrated in Safford and Bishop, *America's Quilts*, pl. 153.

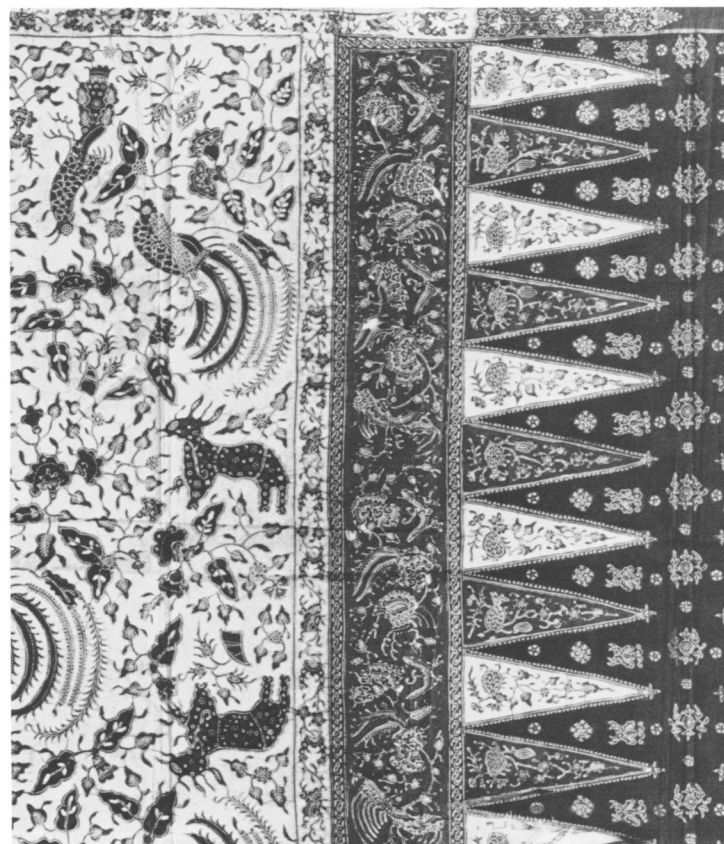
67. I owe this observation to Jean Mailey.

68. James Woodforde, *The Diary of a Country Parson*, ed. John Beresford, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1968) III, p. 150.



19. Design for woodblock-printed cottons, page 70 of the Vivian Kilburn pattern book, England, late 1780s–early 1790s. This design uses the full range of madder colors, plus blue, yellow, and green. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.894-1978 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

20. Sarong (tapis), Java, 18th century. Batik design on white cotton, *tumpal* border, and a filler design of animals, birds, twigs, and vines; $77\frac{1}{4} \times 42\frac{1}{2}$ in. (196.1 × 108 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 26.27.1



to the desired size. Such a scenario raises the question of whether more than one person was responsible for the quilt. The piecing stitches vary in length and evenness in all parts of the quilt, indicating that more than one person did the sewing, but the basic design was probably worked out by a single individual. If the work was interrupted after the main body was completed and taken up again only when the length of no. 36 came to hand, a second person might then have been involved. The obvious visual differences between the main body of the quilt, with its stylistic relationship to framed-center designs, and the top border, which has no correlation with known patchwork patterns, suggest the work of different designers. The top border, however, is linked to the rest of the quilt through patches of eight pre-1780 prints (nos. 1a, 4, 12, 17a, 18, 21, 22, 35) also found in the main body, so if two people were involved, they must have been closely associated—probably members of the same family.

Eight of the copperplate-printed designs (nos. 1–8) and twelve of the woodblock-printed designs (nos. 10–15, 18, 19, 25, 26, 35, 36) are definitely fragments of large-scale furnishing patterns, and one of the most intriguing questions about the quilt is how the maker acquired such a variety of these designs. Taste in the eighteenth century favored the use of large amounts of one fabric in a room; this was especially true in bedrooms, where ideally the bed hangings, curtains, and upholstery would all be of the same fabric or at least match in color. The English taste in interior design was definitely mirrored in America among the wealthy merchants and landowners. One of the earliest references to copperplate fabrics is found in a letter Benjamin Franklin wrote to his wife

from London in 1758 in which he describes the purchase of “56 Yards of Cotton, printed curiously from Copper Plates, a new Invention, to make Bed & Window Curtains; and 7 yards Chair Bottoms, printed in the same Way, very Neat. These were my Fancy; but Mrs. Stevenson tells me I did wrong not to buy both of the same Colour.”⁶⁹ Surely the Metropolitan Museum quilt’s furnishing fabrics were not left over from decorating rooms in just one house. Even combining remnants with neighbors and friends over a period of years would probably not have resulted in such an unusual assortment of designs. But if the maker, almost certainly a woman,⁷⁰ was associated with a merchant who exported or imported fabrics, a draper who sold them at retail, or an upholsterer who made them up,⁷¹ she would have had access to a wide variety of remnants. An upholsterer is the most likely of these possibilities. The business would have been connected exclusively or mainly with furnishing fabrics; and the fragmentary nature of so many patches in the quilt indicates that they were salvaged from leftovers, the kind that might be expected from an upholsterer skilled in getting the most out of his material. He might also have found himself obliged to discard portions of defective yardage, such as the three fabrics in the quilt (nos. 1a, 1b, and 2) that have obvious flaws in their printed images.

As for the country of origin, the fabrics, many if not all printed in England, could also have been available in the United States as imports, and the framed-center bedcover design to which the main body of the quilt belongs was common to both countries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Whether the quilt was made on this or that side of the Atlantic is something we may never know.

69. Letter in the collection of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; see Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, p. 29.

70. Men occasionally made patchwork quilt tops (Colby, *Quilting* [cited in note 5], p. 126), but by the end of the 18th century, patchwork had become both a needlework duty and a form of artistic expression for women.

71. In America, upholsterers often imported fabrics in combination with their upholstery business; see Wendy A. Cooper, *In Praise of America: American Decorative Arts, 1650–1830* (New York, 1980) p. 54 and fig. 69.

Copperplate Prints

1. **Birds and Fruit**

1765–75, England

1a. linen-cotton, monochrome blue

5 rectangles, 6 triangles, 1 supplementary piecing

1b. cotton, monochrome red

15 triangles

Design no. 1 corresponds to a paper impression numbered 87 in the Nixon & Co. pattern book. Two fabrics with prints from this design are found in the quilt: no. 1a is printed in blue on linen-cotton and no. 1b in red on cotton. A full repeat of no. 1 (Figure 21) is from a fabric printed in red on cotton at the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁷³ In the patches of both 1a and 1b used in the quilt, there are slight mars in the printed images: a flaw in no. 1a runs through the peahen's body into the peacock's tail, and no. 1b has a flaw in the leafy island with fruit.

Birds, especially exotic varieties like parrots and peacocks, are important design motifs among the English paper impressions. A source for the pair of peacocks in no. 1 has not been traced, though they and the other birds in the print were probably inspired by bird designs from such published works as Robert Sayer's *A New Book of Birds* (London, 1765).

The blue in no. 1a and the three other monochrome blue prints in the quilt (nos. 6, 7, 27) were produced by the complicated china-blue process, an English invention which allowed indigo to be printed directly onto the cloth.⁷⁴ The name "china-blue" derives from the resemblance of the finished prints to the blue-and-white designs on imported Chinese porcelain. The china-blue process was developed for woodblock printing and was definitely in use in England by 1749.⁷⁵ Because the process could not be used successfully with madder dyeing, china-blue prints are monochromatic. When blue was required in madder-dyed woodblock prints, "pencil blue," the method of painting indigo into the design, had to be used. The advantage of the china-blue process was that the indigo was printed onto the fabric and so produced finer lines and greater definition of design than the painted pencil-blue technique. The finely engraved monochromatic designs of copperplate printing proved ideally suited to china-blue. The process was also

known and used on the Continent, but only a few non-English china-blue prints are documented.⁷⁶ The English were the acknowledged masters of china-blue printing, and many excellent English copperplate prints in blue survive.

No. 1 is well known in additional surviving examples: the Metropolitan Museum has a fragment (just the peacocks) in blue on cotton (26.265.129); the Winterthur Museum, a full repeat in red on linen-cotton (T.1105); Mrs. Galpin (design in reverse); and G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London.⁷⁷ A curtain at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1976.232.3) is pieced from several fragments of no. 1 printed in blue on cotton; this curtain also has two lengths of the quilt's design no. 2 in blue on cotton.⁷⁸ Bird and floral motifs from no. 1 are found in two dated American bed-covers, both at the Winterthur Museum. The 1782 appliqué coverlet in Figure 9 has motifs from a reverse impression of the design, and the other bed-cover is an appliqué quilt, made by Mary Johnston and dated 1793 (Winterthur Museum, 68.766).⁷⁹

72. Explanatory notes on the catalogue listings of printed designs: TITLE—Except for the known English designs with names already assigned (nos. 1, 2, 7), all titles are the invention of the author and describe the design as it appears in the quilt. DATE—Estimated date of initial production of design. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN—Unbracketed when certain; bracketed when uncertain. FIBER CONTENT—"Cotton" means plain-weave all-cotton fabric; "linen-cotton" means plain-weave linen-warp cotton-weft fabric.

See Figure 2 for diagram of the quilt and position of the various pieces of each design. The gray areas are woodblock-printed floral designs on plain-weave linen-cotton cloth, and the gray area with an asterisk is a patch of woodblock-printed floral design on plain-weave all-cotton fabric.

73. *English Chintz*, 1960, cat. no. 78; *From East to West: Textiles from G. P. & J. Baker* (Wisbech, 1984) cat. no. 34.

74. For a concise explanation of the china-blue process, see *English Chintz*, 1960, p. 11.

75. Two of the Alexander swatches dated 1749 are printed in china-blue; see Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 2.

76. Peter C. Floud, "The English Contribution to the Early History of Indigo Printing," *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists* 76 (June 1960) p. 348.

77. *English Chintz*, 1960, cat. no. 78.

78. Susan Anderson Hay, Assistant Curator, Department of Costumes and Textiles, Philadelphia Museum of Art, brought this curtain to my attention.

79. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 416.



21. Repeat of design no. 1, showing sections used as patches in the quilt (the solid line indicates fabric no. 1a and the broken line no. 1b). 54 × 34 in. (137.2 × 86.3 cm.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Circ.11-1956 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

22. Two patches of no. 1b in the quilt not included in the full repeat shown in Figure 21



The foliage seen on two quilt patches of no. 1b (Figure 22) is not found in the Victoria and Albert Museum's repeat of no. 1 because the fabric used for this printing was not broad enough to accommodate the full width of the design.⁸⁰ The tree branch in the left patch can be seen in the Winterthur Museum example;⁸¹ it is a section of the tree with the standing bird at the design's left edge. A fragment of no. 1 in the Philadelphia Museum curtain shows the leaves in the other patch which are part of the dense foliage above the small birds at the design's right edge.

Concerning the dating of the designs in the Nixon & Co. pattern book, Floud wrote, "Internal evidence shows that some at least cannot be earlier than 1765, and it seems probable that they all date from between about 1765 and 1775."⁸² Three of the quilt's Nixon & Co. designs (nos. 1–3) are dated in accordance with this assessment, and the fourth (no. 4) is given a slightly later date on stylistic grounds.

2. Arborescent Design with Melons

1765–75, England
cotton, monochrome brown
16 triangles

Design no. 2 is from the Nixon printworks and corresponds to a paper impression inscribed "75 @ 10d" in one of the pattern books at Mulhouse.⁸³ Full repeats of this design, printed in blue on cotton, are in the Winterthur Museum (Figure 23)⁸⁴ and the Philadelphia Museum (see nos. 1 and 9). Figure 23 shows the widely scattered parts of the design used in sixteen of the quilt's triangular patches. Many supplementary piecings are found in these patches, so the quilt's maker was evidently intent on using every

80. Although the size of the plates did vary, most designs were printed from plates about a yard square (91.5 cm.). For an exhibition at the West Surrey College of Art and Design, the size of the plate used for a design (when it could be determined) is listed in the catalogue: Deryn O'Connor and Hero Granger-Taylor, *Colour and the Calico Printer* (Guildford, 1982). The cloth in Figure 21 is just under a yard wide, 34 in. (86.3 cm.).

81. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 217.

82. Floud, "English Contribution to Copper-Plate Printing" (cited in note 27), p. 427.

83. Jacqué, *Chefs-d'oeuvre, Mulhouse*, III, black-and-white pl. 5.

84. *English Chintz*, 1960, cat. no. 79; Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 215, pl. x.



23. Repeat of design no. 2, showing sections used in the quilt. The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, T174 (photo: Winterthur Museum)

available bit of this print. A small section of one triangular patch has a flaw in its printed image.

Large-scale arborescent designs with a central gnarled tree from which grows an interesting assortment of full-blown flowers and fruit were popular in both copperplate and woodblock prints. Blossoms like these are similar to those on Indian palampores and on imported Chinese goods such as lacquer ware, embroideries, painted silks, and wallpapers which were among the sources of inspiration for eighteenth-century textile designers.⁸⁵

85. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, p. 120.

3. Lady and Chinaman

1765–75, England
cotton, monochrome red
4 rectangles

Composites of the quilt's four patches of no. 3 are shown in Figure 24. This design corresponds to the paper impression labeled "158" in the Nixon & Co. pattern book. Only a section of each design appears in the Nixon & Co. book, and "158" has just the standing lady, a small scene below her on the left, and part of another scene beside her on the right. Two of the quilt's patches constitute a fragment similar to the paper impression, showing the lady (though about 2 inches are missing across her legs) and parts of the two vignettes. In the quilt's additional patches of no. 3, a Chinaman is seated on a flower-laden pedestal with a songbird perched on his finger.

No. 3 has an interesting modern history, which is how we know that the Chinaman and the lady belong to the same design.⁸⁶ In 1950, the English textile firm of G. P. & J. Baker printed a modern copy of no. 3 for an American customer (Figure 25). This reproduction was designed from an eighteenth-century print of the full repeat which, besides the standing lady and the two scenes, had another lady seated in the curve of a scrolling arabesque, the seated Chinaman, and two more scenes. Unfortunately, all information about the ownership and location of the original has been lost. Because no examples are known in England, it is thought that the eighteenth-century printed repeat may be in the United States.

While most figural copperplate prints have an obvious overall theme, no. 3 is an eclectic design with no clear connection among its scenic elements. The two large female figures are probably allegorical, but their identifying iconographic details are ambiguous. The standing figure holds aloft a bouquet of flowers, and her counterpart, seated on a garland of grapes and other fruits, squeezes grape juice into a cup. The first could easily represent Spring and the other Autumn, but there are no corresponding figures for Winter and Summer to complete the reference to the

86. Information concerning the modern history of design no. 3 is from *From East to West: Textiles from G. P. & J. Baker*, cat. no. 33a, and letter of Nov. 23, 1984, from Audrey Duck, archivist for G. P. & J. Baker Ltd.



24. Composites of quilt patches of design no. 3



25. Modern reproduction of design no. 3, described as "Blue and White Jouy." London, G. P. & J. Baker Ltd. (photo: © 1986 G. P. & J. Baker Ltd.)



seasons. The costumes worn by both figures are unusual: at first glance they appear classical, but the well-defined bodices (that of the standing figure even has narrow lapels) and the sleeves with wide hanging cuffs are more indicative of Turkish or Eastern dress than of classical draperies.⁸⁷

The four small scenes appear on little islands floating around the main figures. The full repeat shows these scenes in their entirety: three figures, two of them in classical robes, stand before some ruins and an obelisk (beside standing lady on right); three figures—man, woman, and child—in eighteenth-century dress await the ferry to a medieval structure (below standing lady on left); a sailing ship is unloaded at an Eastern (Turkish) port (above seated lady on right); two eighteenth-century reed cutters pause in their work (between Chinaman and seated lady). Scenes like these were often derived from published engravings in ornament books, such as Robert Sayer's *The Ladies Amusement* (London, ca. 1759–60). The two birds in

26. Detail of plate 108 from Robert Sayer's *The Ladies Amusement* (2nd ed., London, 1762; facsimile, Newport, Mon., 1959). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



flight below the Chinaman are taken from plate 76 of *The Ladies Amusement*, and although no direct sources for any of the vignettes in no. 3 have been traced, there are parallels between the classical scene and a design from plate 108 (Figure 26). In addition to similarities in the placement of architectural elements, both designs have birds flying in the sky around the obelisk.

87. This observation was made to me by Clare Le Corbeiller, Associate Curator of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts in the Metropolitan Museum.

The only chinoiserie element in no. 3 is the seated Chinaman, and he is a most unusual fellow. Designs in sources such as Jean Pillement's *Livre de chinois* (London, 1758) and Sir William Chambers's *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils* (London, 1757; Paris, 1776) show Chinese people with a slanted cast to their eyes but otherwise bland, expressionless features quite unlike this Chinaman's deeply lined face with its lively expression. The textile designers who used these sources ordinarily produced copperplate "Chinese" scenes with figures whose faces are equally devoid of expression (see Figures 30, 33). Chinese character in printed designs is drawn chiefly from clothing and surrounding architectural elements like pagodas. Though the Chinaman of no. 3 is dressed as a simple peasant with the ubiquitous conical hat and loose, belted robe, his mischievous look gives him a personality lacking in other chinoiserie figures.

4. Flowers in a Vase and Parrots

1770–80, England

cotton, monochrome red

4 rectangles, 1 square, 6 supplementary piecings

The composite in Figure 27 has an unexpected combination—a vase with full-blown flowers flanked by one of the charming parrots from the quilt's inner border. Another section of this design, a basket of flowers suspended by a decorative rope, is found in a paper impression labeled "129" in the Nixon & Co.

27. Composite of three quilt patches of design no. 4



28. Quilt showing repeat of design no. 4. London, G. P. & J. Baker Ltd. (photo: © 1986 G. P. & J. Baker Ltd.)

29. Detail of Figure 1, showing fragments of design no. 4, not rearranged in composite



pattern book. The only known full repeat of no. 4 also shows branches laden with cherries spilling from a cornucopia filled with flowers and grapes (Figure 28). Two small birds perch in the cherry branches while another sits on the decorative rope that ties together various motifs of the design. A small section of the decorative rope can be seen in Figure 29, which illustrates the five patches of no. 4 used as a supplementary piecing for a patch of no. 3. Because of their

small size, no attempt was made to include these patches in the composite, and the supplementary piecing is shown as it appears in the quilt.

Vases or baskets filled with flowers were popular motifs in both copperplate- and woodblock-printed fabrics. Design sources for flowers were plentiful, and besides ornament books like *The Ladies Amusement* and Pillement's *Fleurs de fantaisie dans le goût chinois* (London, 1760), more serious works such as William Curtis's *Flora londinensis* (London, 1777–99) were also consulted. No sources have been traced for either the flowers or the birds in no. 4.

An interesting combination of Rococo and Neoclassical motifs is found in no. 4—the general asymmetrical serpentine layout of the design and the scrolling brackets at the base of the vase are derived from the Rococo, while the symmetrically draped bell flowers across the bulb of the vase signal the beginnings of Neoclassical taste. No. 4 has been given a slightly later date than the other Nixon designs because of these Neoclassical motifs.

5. Chinese Man and Boy

1760–70, [England]

linen-cotton, monochrome red

2 triangles

Figure 30 is a composite of the quilt's two patches of no. 5, showing part of a scene with two Chinese figures. The positioning of these figures—a man in a conical hat reclining in front of a small boy—is very



30. Composite of quilt patches of design no. 5

31. Copperplate print on cotton, French, ca. 1785. Monochrome red, 42 × 36½ in. (136.7 × 92.7 cm.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, T.317-1919 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



like that of figures in a design from Jean Pillement's *Livre de chinois* (London, 1758). A fabric at the Victoria and Albert Museum has six scenes taken from Pillement's work (Figure 31). The scene at the upper left in Figure 31 has the same Chinese figures as no. 5 in a different configuration. In no. 5, there is the addition of the smoking brazier and a wooden fence instead of a brick wall is behind the boy.

From a paper impression in one of the Mulhouse pattern books, labeled "165 @ 10d Nixon & Co.,"⁸⁸ it is clear that at least one definitely English version of Pillement's work was designed for printed furnishing fabrics. But the paper impression shows only one scene and part of another, with many details differing from the same scenes (middle and lowest scenes on the left) in Figure 31. The design in Figure 31 is French from the Obkerkamp printworks at Jouy and dated about 1785.⁸⁹ Since no. 5 is obviously not from the French version, it is possible that no. 5 is part of the Nixon design; unfortunately, no fabrics printed with the Nixon design appear to have survived. A fabric at Colonial Williamsburg, printed in red on cotton (53.218, now 1968.257), is listed in *English Chintz*, 1960, as corresponding to the Nixon paper impression.⁹⁰ However, an attempt to secure a picture of the Colonial Williamsburg fabric for this article resulted in the discovery that the *English Chintz*, 1960, listing is an error—Colonial Williamsburg's print is the same as the one in Figure 31 and so does not correspond to the Nixon paper impression.⁹¹ Until a full printed repeat of the Nixon design is uncovered, it will be impossible to know if no. 5 is part of it or yet another adaptation of Pillement's work. However, the presence in the quilt of four definitely identified Nixon designs lends support to the idea that no. 5 is also from the Nixon printworks.

No. 5 has been dated in accordance with the date given the Nixon paper impression by Barbara Morris, who thought that Nixon produced this version "soon after the publication of the Pillement plates probably in the early 1760's."⁹²

88. Barbara J. Morris, "English Printed Textiles: II. Copperplate Chinoiserie," *Antiques* 71 (Apr. 1957) fig. 7; Jacqué, *Chefs-d'oeuvre, Mulhouse*, III, black-and-white pl. 2.

89. Jacqué, *Chefs-d'oeuvre, Mulhouse*, II, p. xix.

90. *English Chintz*, 1960, cat. no. 75.

91. I would like to thank Linda Baumgarten, Curator of Textiles at Colonial Williamsburg, for her help in making this determination.

92. Morris, "Copperplate Chinoiserie," p. 362.

6. Chinoiserie Scene

1770–80, [England]
cotton, monochrome blue
1 rectangle

A full repeat of no. 6 (Figure 32), showing whimsical chinoiserie scenes, is from a fabric at the Winterthur Museum. The quilt's patch of no. 6 was printed on wider fabric than this repeat and therefore includes additional branches and foliage (Figure 33).

While no. 6 is not in any of the English pattern books, its provenance is almost certainly English because the vignette of the children dancing to the piper is from *The Ladies Amusement*, plate 41, a design originally by Pillement. An English attribution is further underscored because both the Winterthur fabric and the quilt patch are printed in china-blue, which was most widely used in England. Montgomery includes the design among English copperplate-printed chinoiserie designs, and its dating is based on her assessment.⁹³

7. Farmyard

1765–75, England
cotton, monochrome blue
1 supplementary piecing

The paper impression of design no. 7 is in one of the Mulhouse volumes (Figure 34). This design is from the Bromley Hall printworks and is labeled "Farmyard 10d a yard Talwin and Foster." The quilt contains one small patch of no. 7 (see Figure 33). There is a crease running horizontally across the paper impression through the section of the design that includes the quilt patch, making it difficult to be certain from the paper impression that this patch is actually part of design no. 6. However, printed versions of this design, one in blue on cotton at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum (57-32-1) and one in red on cotton at the Metropolitan Museum (59.181.1),⁹⁴ clearly show the pinetree branches, and the quilt's patch is definitely part of them.

Rustic scenes in printed furnishing fabrics are part of a genre that reflects the eighteenth-century interest in the simplicity of pastoral life. Elements from several printed design sources were often combined for scenes like no. 7, though no sources have been

93. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 280.

94. *English Chintz*, 1960, cat. no. 96.



32. Repeat of design no. 6, showing part of the quilt's single patch of this design, located in the top border. Copperplate-printed in blue on linen-cotton. The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 55.634/T50.1 (photo: Winterthur Museum)

34. Repeat of design no. 7, copperplate-printed on paper, showing the piece used in the quilt. Mulhouse, Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes (photo: Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes)



33. Detail of Figure 1, showing a rectangular patch in the quilt's top border pieced from nos. 1a, 6, and 7

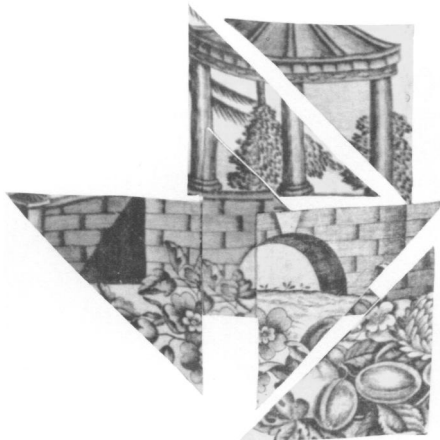
found for this particular design. Scenes of country life were popular in printed cottons into the early nineteenth century.

8. Pavilion on Bridge

1765–80, [England]
linen-cotton, monochrome red
6 triangles

The quilt's six patches of no. 8 form the composite in Figure 35. The design has a pavilion atop a stone-work bridge with the edge of a flowery field just visible in the foreground; the fragmentary nature of the patches makes it difficult to get a clearer picture. Parts of two repeats of the design are used in the quilt.

Though design no. 8 has not been found among



35. Composite of quilt patches of design no. 8

36. Copperplate print on paper, labeled "Turban," from the English printworks of John Munns (active 1768–84). Mulhouse, Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes (photo: Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes)



the English paper impressions or extant printed fabrics, an English attribution is suggested by its stylistic similarities to known English chinoiserie prints, many of which have small pagodas or pavilions on stone-work bridges (Figures 32, 36). Figure 36 illustrates a paper impression from one of the Mulhouse volumes.⁹⁵ Though the complete design cannot be seen, the pavilion in no. 8 has a roof with the fanciful character of Chinese architecture in English printed cottons, and the bases of the columns are similar to those in Figure 36. Most English chinoiserie copperplate prints are dated within the fifteen-year span assigned to no. 8.⁹⁶

9. Brown Copperplate Fragments

1760–80, [England]
cotton, monochrome brown
2 triangles



37. Two patches of design no. 9 in the quilt

Design no. 9 consists of the two patches pictured in Figure 37. Though no. 9's flowering stems are stylistically similar to ones in the quilt's other brown copperplate print (no. 2), they are not found in either of the known full repeats of no. 2. It is unlikely that no. 9 is part of design no. 2 printed on wider fabric because both the Winterthur Museum length of no. 2 (Figure 23) and the length in the Philadelphia Museum curtain show the same design across the width of the fabric. This is probably the complete design, as the Philadelphia Museum curtain is 36¼ inches (92 centimeters) wide, and if plates about a yard wide were used for no. 2, then these lengths do have the full-width repeat of no. 2.

The use of only two patches of no. 9 in the quilt is consistent with the maker's use of just one or two patches of other copperplate designs (nos. 5–7). Several designs among the paper impressions (including no. 4) have similar flowering stems, but none exactly matches these fragments. No. 9 is given a probable English provenance on stylistic grounds and the same date range as the quilt's known English designs.

95. Floud, "English Printed Textiles: Postscript" (cited in note 46), p. 375, fig. 11.

96. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, pp. 265–269.

Woodblock Prints

FIGURAL DESIGNS

The quilt has fragments from five woodblock-printed designs with figural (nos. 10–12) and architectural (nos. 13, 14) scenes; these designs are grouped together because prints with architectural elements often also had human figures in them. Most surviving eighteenth-century cotton prints with detailed figural scenes are copperplate designs because of the subtle effects of line and detail that were possible with engraved copperplates. However, the colors in the quilt's polychromatic figural woodblock prints give them a warmth that is lacking in the monochromatic copperplate designs. Figural woodblock prints, such as the ones in the quilt, may have been designed as competition for the popular copperplate figural designs. If this is so and if the prints are English, they would have to date after the introduction of copperplate printing into England (late 1750s). There is no indication from surviving English woodblock prints that this type of polychromatic figural scene was being produced before 1760.⁹⁷

The possibility exists that any one of these designs might be French, though specific stylistic correlations have been drawn in only one case (no. 11). A French woodblock print from the 1780s (Figure 38) with a

38. Woodblock print on cotton, French, Jouy, ca. 1785. Polychrome, 22 × 20 in. (55.9 × 52.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 26.233.16



39. Patch of design no. 10 in the center of the quilt

single peasant girl encircled by foliage illustrates the more usual arrangement of figural elements in woodblock prints. When small scenes are found, they generally do not have the detail seen in the quilt's examples. If any design is French, 1760 would also be the earliest date for it since the French ban on printed cotton was fully lifted only one year before.

The cutoff date for these designs, about 1780, is based primarily on their having been printed on fustian, as no stylistic element points to a more specific date.

10. Classical Statue in a Gazebo

1760–80, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue
1 rectangle, 2 triangles

An arresting design showing a statue of a classically draped woman standing in an ornate gazebo is the quilt's center square (Figure 39). No. 10 is an eclectic combination of motifs: the classical statue is standing on a pedestal and holding a leafless branch; the ga-

97. Surviving English woodblock prints dated before 1760 are floral (sometimes with the addition of a bird) or geometric designs. Exceptions are certain figural chinoiserie designs printed in china-blue; see Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, pp. 194–197.

zebo has decorative fleur-de-lis motifs on its roof as well as a spread eagle perched on a globe at its summit; the gnarled tree in the background is similar to those in chinoiserie designs (Figures 31, 32). The key to interpreting this design should come from the statue but the iconographic clues as to who she is are obscure: with her leafless branch, she cannot be identified with any female personification that carries a branch, and there are no other distinguishing features. The quilt's two additional pieces of no. 10 show more of the distinctive blue-green foliage surrounding the base of the gazebo, but they provide no clues to the design's subject. Much of the detail in the statue's face and drapery has been lost because she is printed in brown and the iron mordant used is causing the surface of the fabric to disintegrate.

11. Woman Playing a Lute

1760–80, [England or France]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, green
1 rectangle

A young woman seated with her back to the viewer plays a lute for the entertainment of three children (Figure 40); the quilt's single patch of this design is in the inner border at lower right. A well-known group of copperplate prints (generally dated to the 1780s and 1790s) depict vignettes of children's games and pastimes taken from engravings of paintings by Francis Hayman (1708–76) and the later work of William Hamilton, R.A. (1751–1801).⁹⁸ These designs, however, with their scenes of children actively playing, have little in common with no. 11, where two children sit quietly while the third appears to be almost asleep. No. 11 is related more to the leisurely style of early eighteenth-century French paintings.

12. Reapers and Farm Animals

1760–80, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of brown, blue
1 rectangle, 7 triangles

A reaper, his scythe in hand, and a woman holding out her skirt look down as a man catches one of several small birds they have flushed out of the wheat field (Figure 41); this large patch of no. 12 is in the



40. Quilt patch of design no. 11



41. Quilt patch of design no. 12

⁹⁸ Barbara J. Morris, "English Printed Textiles: V. Sports and Pastimes," *Antiques* 72 (Sept. 1957) pp. 252–255.

inner border at the lower left. There are also seven triangles of no. 12 in the quilt. A composite of all the patches could not be made because the fragments are not from adjacent parts of the design. The triangular patches of no. 12 show a cow, two sheep, more birds, and quite a lot of tree foliage but no other human figures. No. 12, like no. 7, is of the pastoral genre.

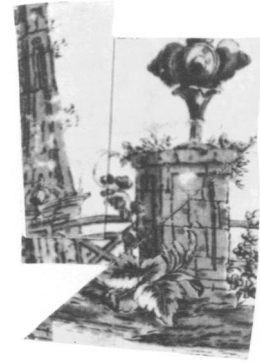
It is easy to single out the patches of no. 12 because of the distinctive printing technique used. The fine lines forming the design are similar to the engraved lines of a copperplate print, although they are not as refined and there is no crosshatching, an effect only possible with engraved copperplates. By the late eighteenth century, copper strips and pins were pounded into woodblocks to produce finer lines and “picotage” (pin dots) in woodblock prints, and this seems a possible explanation for the fine lines and small grains of wheat in no. 12. The dark brown background lines were printed in monochrome first, then the large blocks of color were added—the two shades of brown on the birds, the reaper’s clothes, and the wheat behind him by woodblock, and the blue in the clothing and foliage by painting.

A textile in a sample book of fabrics compiled in the 1880s, now at the Winterthur Museum (73 x 291), has the same quality of line as no. 12; it shows a figural design of a man in eighteenth-century dress playing a lute. The design is printed in monochrome brown on linen-cotton cloth with no additional colors, and the page is inscribed “The Woodside bed curtain thought to be 100 years old.” It is possible that both this print and no. 12 are crude copperplate prints without crosshatched detail.

13. Ruined Monuments

1760–80, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, green
4 squares, 1 triangle

Though there are five patches of no. 13 in the quilt, four of them show essentially the same scene of ruined sculpture—an obelisk behind another monument with a pedestal base and a fanciful top. The composite made from parts of two of the square patches and the triangular patch shows that the obelisk is in a parklike setting and the other monument is part of an enclosure around it (Figure 42). Since four repeats of no. 13 would have been needed for the four



42. Composite of three quilt patches of design no. 13

square patches, it is odd that only one other fragment of this design is in the quilt.

14. Archways

1760–80, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of pink, brown
3 triangles

Two of the patches of no. 14 show rounded stone arches, and the third has similar stone masonry. Though these prints could not be arranged into a composite, they are probably from the same design, as shades of soft pink and brown colors are used in each and they all have a fluid quality reminiscent of a watercolor painting.

FLORALS WITH BIRDS AND/OR ANIMALS

One of the longest-lasting styles in eighteenth-century printed furnishing fabrics was the arborescent floral design which incorporated thick twisting branches, an assortment of full-blown flowers, and, in some designs, birds perched among the blossoms. The earliest examples of printed arborescent designs can be found in English prints of about 1740–60.⁹⁹ Design no. 2 is a notable copperplate-printed example, about 1765–75, and colorful woodblock versions were printed into the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Though no large flowers are seen in design no. 15 (Figure 43), its bird sitting on a branch is typical; the quilt’s other

99. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, figs. 72, 74.

100. *Ibid.*, figs. 136, 143, 144.

43. Quilt patch of
design no. 15



patches with single birds on branches (nos. 16, 17d, 17e) were probably cut from similar designs.

The quilt's floral designs featuring animals as well as birds are not true arborescent florals though they have some of the same elements, such as the twisting branches (no. 18), a bird sitting on a branch (no. 19), or large flowers (nos. 18 and 19). Both nos. 18 and 19 use floating islands as bases for small scenes with the animals; the pheasant (no. 17b) and the little rabbits (no. 20) were also part of designs with floating islands. The woodblock-printed birds in flight of nos. 17a and 17c may have flown between flowering trees in a design like no. 18.

Because French and English arborescent designs closely parallel one another in style, only the presence of blue threads in the selvage can confirm the English provenance of an arborescent design. For this reason, a French or English provenance is suggested for all the designs except no. 19, which may have been produced by a specific English printworks. The 1780s have been cited as the decade when arborescent designs were most fashionable in both England and France,¹⁰¹ but an earlier dating is proposed for those in the quilt because, with the exception of one triangle (no. 17c), they are all printed on fustian.

It is interesting to note that the quilt contains no prints of the floral-trail style in which delicate flowering branches meander across the fabric in much the same way as the tree branches in arborescent florals; floral-trail designs were especially popular for costume use. In the Elizabeth Webster quilt, the center square and four other prints are floral-trail designs (see Figure 11).

101. Florence Montgomery, "Stylistic Change in Printed Textiles," *Technological Innovation and the Decorative Arts*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby and Polly Ann Earle (Charlottesville, Va., 1974) p. 258.

15. Arborescent Floral with Bird

1760–80, [England or France]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, green
1 rectangle

16. Large Parrot

1760–80, [England or France]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, green
1 rectangle

Parrots play featured roles in the quilt's design (others are in nos. 4 and 19), and this admirably detailed bird (Figure 44) is the center patch of the bottom of the inner border.

44. Quilt patch of design no. 16



17. Woodblock Bird Designs

1760–80, [England or France]
17a. Bird in Flight
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue
3 rectangles



45. Quilt patch of design no. 17a

In several instances, more than one repeat of a design has been cut apart and used in the quilt, as is the case with no. 17a, which is represented by three nearly identical patches of a bird in flight. Figure 45 illustrates one of the patches. Because the colors of no. 17a are very similar to those of no. 18, and because parts of three repeats of no. 18 may have been used

in the quilt, it is possible that nos. 17a and 18 may have been cut from the same design.

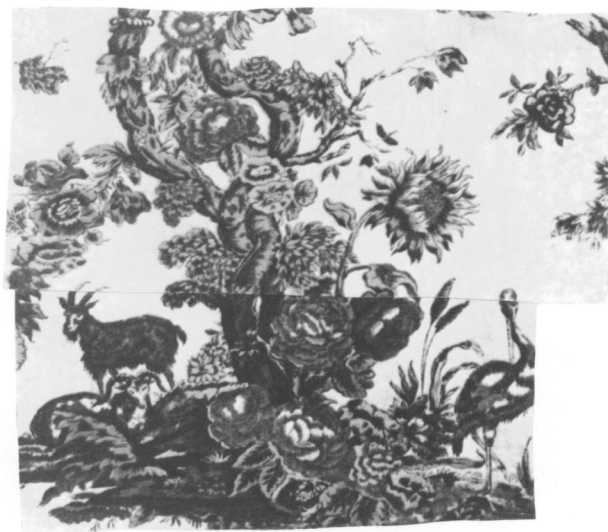
- 17b. Pheasant
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue
2 triangles
- 17c. Bird in Flight
cotton, shades of brown
1 triangle
- 17d. Bird on Branch
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, green
1 triangle
- 17e. Bird on Branch
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown
1 triangle

18. Flowering Tree, with Goats and Stork

1770–80, [England or France]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, green
7 rectangles, 8 triangles

Two rectangular patches of no. 18 form the composite in Figure 46. The tree's branches, thick with peonies, roses, and other flowers, are of a type seen in many arborescent designs. True arborescent designs, however, show the flowering branches floating in space, not as part of a tree or a scene.¹⁰² No. 18 is not a true arborescent design since its branches are rooted on a floating island and surrounded by other foliage, two goats, and a stork. Patches from at least two repeats of no. 18 are found throughout the quilt—in the rows of pieced squares, in the two sides and the top legs of the inner border, and in the top border.

46. Composite of two quilt patches of design no. 18



19. Cat Attacking Peacock, with Parrot

1760–70, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, green
4 rectangles, 4 squares, 7 triangles

The long rectangular patches of no. 19 used in both side legs of the quilt's inner border are combined with a smaller patch to form the composite in Figure 47. This surprising design has a parrot sitting calmly in a fig tree while above, on a floating island, a cat viciously attacks a peacock. One feathery garland of flowers separates the two scenes and another garland emerges from behind the cat and peacock.

The scene of the cat and peacock may illustrate a fablelike story, as at least one English copperplate print is known to have been derived from that type of source (i.e., illustrations for *Aesop's Fables* by Francis Barlow [1626–1702]).¹⁰³ But neither a tale involving a cat and a peacock nor a specific source for the illustration has been found. Period references to printed designs in letters, account books, or newspaper advertisements do occasionally refer to the designs by short titles. No. 19 may be the design called “Cat and Peacock” in the following excerpt from an advertisement for the 1769 bankruptcy sale of Benjamin Asterly and George Gun Munro, calico printers in Wandsworth, Surrey: “The Genuine, large, valuable and great Variety of fine Prints, consisting of fine Chinese Furniture Images, Birds' Nests, the Bridge and Mule, the Horn, ditto Basket, Cat and Peacock, ditto Old Peacock, ditto Blue Bell, ditto Flower Pot, ditto Old Goat, ditto Anderson, ditto Six Colours, and common ditto, with sundry other Patterns.”¹⁰⁴ Supporting this possibility is the fact that, while peacocks occur quite often, this was the only cat to be found in any of the designs studied;¹⁰⁵ cats are even absent from farmyard scenes filled with dogs, chickens, cows, etc. (see Figure 34 and Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, figs. 254, 255). No.

102. English example: see Peter Floud, “English Printed Textiles: III. Copperplate Floral Designs,” *Antiques* 71 (May 1957) fig. 5; French example: MMA, 26.265.142, see Henri Clouzot and Frances Morris, *Painted and Printed Fabrics* (New York: MMA, 1927) pl. 57, bottom.

103. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, p. 105, n. 29.

104. *Public Advertiser* (London), Sept. 23, 1769. Quoted by Ada K. Longfield, “More Eighteenth-Century Advertisements and English Calico-Printers,” *Burlington Magazine* 102 (Mar. 1960) p. 112.

105. One early design (ca. 1740–50) printed in china-blue has a lion; see Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 184.



47. Composite of three quilt patches of design no. 19

19 is an example of a woodblock design that imitates many copperplate designs in the long repeat with exotic vignettes—two rectangles in the composite are 25 inches (60 centimeters) in length and still do not show the full design.

No. 19 has an important role in the quilt's total design because, besides its prominent use in the inner border, it supplies the four parrots at the corners of the center square. In all, six parrots from no. 19 are found in the quilt, so unless the parrots were repeated across the width of the design, parts of six repeats of no. 19 were used in the quilt.

20. Rabbits

1760–80, [England or France]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown
4 triangles

The little rabbits found in four triangular patches are definitely from the same design and do not appear to be part of any other print in the quilt. No. 20 is printed in brown with faint touches of red, and the fabric has disintegrated to the point where it is difficult to determine the details of the design, though the rabbits do seem to have been grouped together on floating islands.

LIGHT-GROUND AND DARK-GROUND FLORALS

Floral patterns are the largest single category of printed cotton designs. This is reflected by the proportionally large number (fourteen) of woodblock floral prints in the quilt—eight with light (unprinted) backgrounds (nos. 21–28) and six with dark (printed) backgrounds (nos. 29–34). But only one patch with a predominantly floral design (the patch of no. 22 in the inner border at the lower left) has any prominence in the quilt's overall design; all of the other woodblock floral prints are found in the triangular patches or the top border. The featured woodblock prints in this quilt are the unusual designs in the figural or floral categories plus the border prints (nos. 35 and 36); the more ordinary floral prints have a minor role in the quilt's design.

Most eighteenth-century floral woodblock designs were derived from woven silk styles. In its section "Of Callico-Printing," the 1756 edition of *The Laboratory, or School of Arts* states: "With respect to drawing of patterns for the callico-printers, they are for the generality in imitation after the fashions of the flowered silk manufactory";¹⁰⁶ and this continued to be the case with floral prints through the end of the century.

All of the quilt's woodblock designs discussed to this point are furnishing fabrics whose pictorial subjects or large-scale arborescent designs would have made them unsuitable for clothing. But certain floral prints could have been used either for furnishing or for dress; the quilt has several prints of this type (nos.

106. Smith, *Laboratory*, p. 47.

21–24, 27, 32, 33). In other basically floral designs, the addition of nonfloral elements may make a design more appropriate for either furnishing (the basket in no. 25 and the vase in no. 26) or costume (no. 29, lace band).

In the quilt's dark-ground prints, the background is a shade of madder brown and the designs are in madder reds with added pencil blue and yellow. The white areas in these prints were not printed with a mordant and so returned to white after the fabric was dyed in the madder and bleached. Though areas of white are also reserved in this manner for definition and accent within designs on unprinted grounds, patterns of white lace or white flowers are most effective in a dark-ground print. Dark-ground styles were quite popular—four of the English designs among the 1726 Alexander swatches have dark grounds (numbered 10, 21, 26, 27),¹⁰⁷ and the author of *The Laboratory* wrote: "Black, or dark ground chints patterns, are done with the same variety of beautiful colours [as those on an unprinted ground], but differ from the former, in that the ground is more close covered with flowers and leafs, and the white is only preserved in the heightening of them."¹⁰⁸ In the 1790s, a particularly distinctive dark-ground style with a dense scattering of realistically drawn flowers is documented in English printed cottons.¹⁰⁹

Since it is difficult to date floral designs as specifically as the quilt's other designs, some of them are given a more general dating by quarter century. Stylistic evidence supports dating the floral prints on linen-cotton cloth before 1775 and those on cotton after 1775. As with the other woodblock prints, the same problems exist in determining a country of origin for floral designs, but stylistic factors indicate a likely English manufacture for nos. 21–24, 27, and 33.

21. Large Blossom Floral

3rd quarter 18th century, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue
1 square, 1 rectangle, 1 triangle

22. Scattered Blossom Floral with Shoots

3rd quarter 18th century, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, yellow, green,
orange
2 rectangles

23. Scattered Blossom Floral

3rd quarter 18th century, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, yellow, green
3 triangles

24. Delicate Rose Floral

3rd quarter 18th century, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, green
3 triangles

Large realistically drawn flowers spiraling in garlands or scattered in sprays or individual blossoms on a white background are seen in English Spitalfields silks from the late 1730s through the 1740s.¹¹⁰ A woodblock impression on paper from a design by John-Baptist Jackson for a printed fabric, about 1745–55 (Figure 48), shows the influence of these silk patterns. Printed designs of this style are described in *The Laboratory* as having "sprigs and branches carelessly flung, ranged or dispersed in a natural and agreeable manner."¹¹¹ Nos. 21–24 are four different floral patterns related to this description and to designs like Jackson's, so they may date to the early part of the third quarter of the century (ca. 1750–65).

No. 21 has large flowers (Figure 49) as in the Jackson design, but this densely crowded grouping lacks the graceful artistry of Jackson's flowering branches. Though it would seem unlikely that any of the quilt's fabrics would date from before the 1750s, no. 21 most resembles designs considered to be among the earliest surviving English woodblock prints, about 1700–25.¹¹² However, because indigo is used in no. 21, it would have to date after the introduction of pencil blue (1730s), so a dating of 1740–60 might be possible for this design, making it the earliest in the quilt.

An airy arrangement of individual flowers strewn among serpentine shoots is seen in the composite of no. 22 (Figure 50). The fragments of designs nos. 23 and 24 indicate that they also consisted of scattered individual flowers; the roses in no. 24 have a particularly delicate touch in their rendering. The greens in

107. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 8.

108. Smith, *Laboratory*, p. 48.

109. Peter Floud, "The Dark-Ground Floral Chintz Style," *Connoisseur* 139 (May 1957) pp. 174–178.

110. Peter Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo Silks* (New York, 1965) figs. 80a, 80b, 84b, 87a.

111. Smith, *Laboratory*, p. 48.

112. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, figs. 3, 66.



48. Woodblock print on paper, English, designed by John-Baptist Jackson for a printed fabric, ca. 1745-55. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.4538-1920 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

49. Quilt patch of design no. 21



50. Composite of quilt patches of design no. 22

nos. 22 and 23 are truer than those in the quilt's other prints, and these are the only designs in which yellow can still be distinguished; a shade of red-orange can also be seen in no. 22. Weld, the dye generally used alone for yellow, over indigo for green, and over red for orange before the introduction of quercitron, may have been applied here with a second mordant dyeing (the first being with madder for the reds and browns), producing a more permanent color than the penciled weld that was usually used.

25. Floral with Basket

3rd quarter 18th century, [England or France]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, green
1 triangle

26. Floral with Vase and Vines

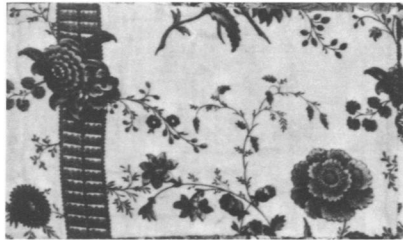
3rd quarter 18th century, [England or France]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown, blue, green
6 triangles, 1 rectangle

The quilt's patches of nos. 25 and 26 afford only small glimpses of these designs. Part of a basket of flowers (no. 25) can be seen in one triangular patch, though other floral sections of this design may be among patches shaded gray. The five patches of no. 26 are identified by distinctive grapevines. In the largest patch of no. 26 (a rectangular piece used with no. 16 in the lower inner border), the vines twist around a footed vase. Baskets and vases with flowers are found in both English and French printed furnishing fabrics.

27. Floral in Stripes

1775–85, [England]
cotton, monochrome blue
1 rectangle

Many eighteenth-century floral prints combine vertical stripes of nonfloral motifs entwined by flowers with a filler of floral sprays between the stripes, as in this design (Figure 51). The earliest documented design of this type is an English woodblock print dating about 1750.¹¹³ The popularity of this style later in the century (1770s–80s) is attested by its many variations among the copperplate paper impressions in the Bromley Hall and Mulhouse pattern books. A typical striped floral labeled “P. 102” from the Bromley Hall pattern book is illustrated in Figure 52. Though no. 27 is a woodblock print, its printing in china-blue (see explanation under no. 1) indicates that it may have



51. Quilt patch of design no. 27

52. Copperplate print on paper, English, Bromley Hall pattern book, ca. 1755–1800. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.458(52.53)-1955 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



been produced in imitation of the monochrome copperplate versions. Woodblock designs printed in china-blue dating after the invention of copperplate printing are rare because the china-blue method was more suited to copperplate printing. Another woodblock floral design printed in china-blue, about 1770–80, is described in the exhibition catalogue *Colour and the Calico Printer* as having “a shadow effect as if the block has to be printed several times to get the depth of tone.”¹¹⁴ This description also applies to the printed image of no. 27.

28. Floral Sprigs

4th quarter 18th century, [England or France]
cotton, shades of brown, blue
1 rectangle

Small stylized floral sprigs scattered on a light background like no. 28 (Figure 53) were used for dress prints at the end of the eighteenth century.



53. Quilt patch of design no. 28

29. Floral with Lace Band

3rd quarter 18th century, [England or France]
linen-cotton, dark brown ground, red, beige, green, white
design
5 triangles

54. Composite of four quilt patches of design no. 29



113. The textile is in a folio manuscript by John Holker in the library of the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; see Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 11b.

114. O'Connor and Granger-Taylor, *Colour and the Calico Printer*, p. 19.

Patterns combining flowers with meandering bands of lace, woven with colored grounds to offset the white lace fillings, are found in both English and French silk designs during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The quilt's patches of no. 29 were cut from a printed version of the lace-and-floral silks, in which folds of white lace weave around scattered sprays of realistic roses and daisies on a dark brown ground (Figure 54).

30. Floral Framed in Lace

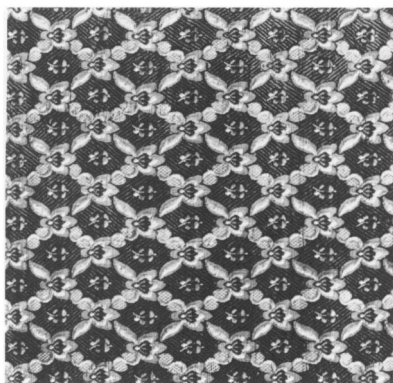
3rd quarter 18th century, [England or France]
linen-cotton, dark brown ground, red, brown, blue, white design
2 rectangles

Lacelike bands frame the small stylized floral motifs in no. 30 (Figure 55). This design is derived from a type of woven silk called *droguet*, in which small motifs are framed by decorative bands in a square or diamond pattern (Figure 56). The narrow dark stripes behind the flowers in no. 30 imitate the textured background in *droguet* weaves.



55. Composite of quilt patches of design no. 30

56. Woven silk fragment, *droguet*, French, 18th century. Purple ground, white design with pink and green details; $7 \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ in. (17.8×20.6 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 09.50.1964



31. Floral with Diaper Pattern

3rd quarter 18th century, [England or France]
linen-cotton, medium brown ground, red, dark brown, blue, white design
2 rectangles

Many mid-eighteenth-century woven floral silk designs have diaper-pattern fillers between sprays of flowers. In the Holker manuscript there are two printed textiles dating about 1750 that have as backgrounds geometric diaper patterns on light grounds in imitation of the silk designs.¹¹⁵ In no. 31 a diaper pattern combining stylized floral and geometric motifs on a colored ground is the background for the floral sprays (Figure 57).

57. Quilt patch of design no. 31



32. Floral Spray I

3rd quarter 18th century, [England or France]
linen-cotton, dark brown ground, red, blue, white design
3 triangles

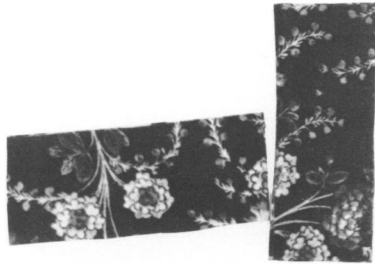
The realistic sprays of roses in no. 32 are very similar to those in no. 29, but the quilt's fragments of no. 32 show no lace or other ornamental band.

33. Floral Spray II

4th quarter 18th century, [England]
cotton, dark brown ground, red, blue, green, white design
2 rectangles

The floral sprays in no. 33 (Figure 58) have the same feathery quality in their flowering tendrils as those in dark-ground English floral chintzes of the early 1790s. Floud discussed and illustrated various extant swatches of and original designs for these prints, which he

115. See Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, figs. 9b, 10b.



58. Composite of quilt patches of design no. 33

59. Design for woodblock-printed fabric, English, Vivian Kilburn, 1780s–90s. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.894-1978 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



called “moss-spray” patterns.¹¹⁶ The name is based on references in Charles O’Brien’s *British Manufacturers Companion and Calico-Printers Assistant* (London, 1791) to “dark or shady patterns (according to the present taste)” and “a late imitation of a dark ground pattern, with a kind of moss or spray hanging down in great quantities.”¹¹⁷ Figure 59 illustrates an original design for fabric in the “moss-spray” style.

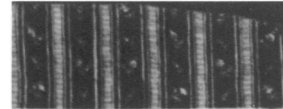
116. Floud, “The Dark-Ground Floral Chintz Style,” figs. 1–3.
117. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 174.

34. Floral Stripe

4th quarter 18th century, [England or France]
cotton, dark brown (almost black) ground, red, blue, white
design
1 rectangle

Small floral motifs combined with narrow stripes as in this design (Figure 60) are common in dress prints of the late eighteenth century.

60. Quilt patch of design no. 34



BORDER PRINTS

Border prints would have been useful in eighteenth-century interior decoration either as a final border on curtains or bedhangings or as decoration for valances. The quilt contains two very different border prints: no. 35 is used as an interior border in the lower half of the quilt, and no. 36 is the final border on three sides.

35. Rococo Floral with Floral Stripe

1770–80, [England]
cotton, shades of red, brown, tan, blue, green
4 lengths (each has one mitered corner), 3 rectangles

No. 35 is actually a double border print in which a stylized floral vine with a striped background forms a frame for cartouche motifs separated by small floral sprays (Figure 61). A copperplate impression in the Bromley Hall pattern book labeled “P. 75” has a striped border similar to the one in no. 35 (Figure 62). The formal arrangement of Rococo C-scrolls and stylized acanthus leaves in the cartouche motifs of no. 35 indicates a late use of these decorative elements.

61. Quilt patch of design no. 35 (detail)



62. Copperplate print on paper, English, Bromley Hall pattern book, 1755–1800. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.458(14)-1955 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



36. Sawtooth

1795–1805, [England]
cotton, shades of brown, tan, blue
3 lengths (each has one mitered corner), 2 supplementary piecings

The absence of madder reds in design no. 36 (Figure 17) indicates that this design is part of the English drab style in printed furnishing fabrics which was popular at the turn of the century. According to the dated Bannister Hall records,¹¹⁸ the drab style was definitely in favor in 1799, but there is no way of knowing whether it became popular quickly or slowly over a period of years in the late 1790s.

The presence of small-scale designs in drab colors in the Rowan pattern book however, suggests a gradual development of popularity. The Rowan pattern book is dated about 1797–99, when Archibald Rowan's printworks was in operation near Wilmington, Delaware,¹¹⁹ and it seems likely that in setting up his new printworks Rowan would have produced designs in the current popular taste. Thus the presence of drab-color designs in this pattern book implies their established use some years before 1799—even earlier in England since English printed cottons were industry leaders. A dating as early as 1795 is therefore suggested for the start of the drab style.

Peter Floud gives 1812 as the cutoff date for the drab style in printed furnishing fabrics, which he calls

“the leading fashion . . . until about 1807.”¹²⁰ Around the turn of the century, colored backgrounds and denser arrangements of the designs became usual, and since no. 36, with its light background and open arrangement of triangles, has more the character of an eighteenth-century print, it has been dated to the earlier years of the drab style.

ABSTRACT DESIGNS

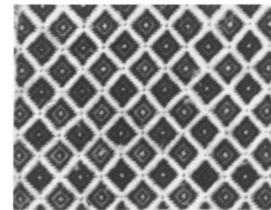
37. Diamond Print

3rd quarter 18th century, [England]
linen-cotton, shades of red, brown
1 rectangle

38. Abstract with Circles

4th quarter 18th century, [England or France]
cotton, shades of brown, blue
2 rectangles

Printed designs with small-scale geometric or stylized abstractions of geometric motifs are found throughout the eighteenth century. The earliest documented English examples are seven prints (numbered 1–7) in the Alexander swatches dated 1726.¹²¹ There are hundreds of variations of geometric-based eighteenth-century prints surviving in pattern books as original designs or fabric swatches. The quilt contains just two designs of this type and both are found in the top border. Design no. 37 (Figure 63) has alternating red



63. Quilt patch of design no. 37

64. Quilt patch of design no. 38



118. Floud, “The Drab Style” (cited in note 51), p. 234.

119. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, p. 99.

120. Floud, “The Drab Style,” p. 234.

121. Montgomery, *Printed Textiles*, fig. 8.

and brown diamond shapes with white centers; the diamonds have a dark sawtoothlike outline and are framed in white bands. This design is printed on fus-tian and is dated to the third quarter of the century.

No. 38 is the design of the patches underneath the applied sections in the top border (Figure 12). It consists of small blue circles surrounded by brown amoebalike shapes and brown pin dots (Figure 64). The Elizabeth Webster quilt (Figure 11) has four small late eighteenth-century geometric designs with much the same character.

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Wadsworth and Mann, *Cotton Trade*—Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia de Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancaster, 1600–1780* (Manchester, 1931; reprint, New York, 1968)

PATTERNS AND SWATCHES

English Copperplate-Printed Designs

- Bromley Hall pattern book—141 copperplate impressions on paper; book inscribed “Fosters and Co. Bromley Hall Middlesex”; ca. 1755–1800. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, E.458-1955 (photographs of these impressions are in the Textile Study Room, MMA)
 Mulhouse pattern books—Several hundred copperplate impressions on paper, 3 volumes; many designs inscribed with pattern names, prices, and printers’ names; ca. 1760–1800. Musée de l’Impression sur Etoffes, Société Industrielle de Mulhouse (photographs of these impressions are in the Textile Study Room, MMA)
 Nixon & Co. pattern book—22 copperplate impressions on paper, book inscribed “Nixon & Co.,” ca. 1760–89. G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London

Woodblock-Printed Designs

- Alexander swatches (1726)—29 woodblock-printed fabric swatches, English, 1726. The Alexander Papers, Manuscript Collection, The New-York Historical Society
 Alexander swatches (1749)—6 woodblock-printed fabric swatches, English, 1749. The Alexander Papers, Manuscript Collection, The New-York Historical Society
 Baker pattern book, no. 1—Original designs for woodblock-printed fabrics, English, 2nd half of 18th century; many narrow stripes with stylized floral motifs. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., Loan
 Baker pattern book, no. 2—Original designs for woodblock-printed fabrics, English, 2nd half of 18th century; small-scale floral designs, some like woven *droguet* silk patterns. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., Loan
 Baker pattern book, no. 8—Original designs for woodblock-printed fabrics, English, late 18th–early 19th century; furniture designs, some with classical subjects. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., Loan

Dudding pattern book—Woodblock impressions on paper and printed cotton swatches; inscribed “Duddings’ Furnitures at Reduced Prices”; English, ca. 1800–14; border designs with Neoclassical, Pompeian, and Egyptian subjects. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.86-1964

Grafton pattern books—Original designs for woodblock-printed fabrics, from a scrapbook labeled “F.W.G. & Co. Ltd. / OLD SILKS,” now rebound in 6 volumes; English and/or French, ca. 1790–1800; a few dated designs, floral-trail patterns, and small geometric designs. Department of Prints and Photographs, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Everfast Industries, Inc., 1971.638.3(1–6)

Kilburn pattern book—Original designs for printed textiles by Vivian Kilburn; English, late 1780s–early 1790s; dense floral designs with realistic and stylized flowers, light- and dark-ground designs. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, E.894-1978

[Manchester] pattern book—431 swatches, woodblock-printed on cotton and linen-cotton cloth (plain and

twill weaves); English, book dated 1783; small-scale stylized floral and geometric patterns. The Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection, Winterthur Museum Library, 77 x 110

Rowan pattern book—140 woodblock impressions on paper; United States (probable), ca. 1797–99; mostly small stylized floral and geometric patterns, 30 printed in drab colors. The Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection, Winterthur Museum Library, 66 x 141

Sample book (Sarah Johnson)—Fabric swatches, printed and woven fabrics; compiled in the 1880s by Sarah Johnson(?) of Salem County, N.J., late 18th century–1880s. The Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection, Winterthur Museum Library, 73 x 291

Sample book (V & A)—Woodblock-printed cottons; French, late 18th–early 19th century; mostly small prints on colored grounds, some geometrics. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.16-1911

Andromache and Astyanax

by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon and Charles Boulanger de Boisfremont

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PRUD'HON'S *Andromache and Astyanax* (Figure 1) has been the subject of a mild critical controversy since he failed to complete it for exhibition at the Salon of 1817 in Paris.¹ Retained by the artist, it appeared at the posthumous sale of his estate (May 13, 1823, lot 1) with the notice that some accessories and a few draperies were left unfinished. It was bought by Prud'hon's pupil and friend Charles Boulanger de Boisfremont, who undertook to supply the missing passages of paint and exhibited the "completed" picture in the Salon of 1824.² The picture's reception was mixed; critics were divided between those who found it feeble and those who, even with specific reservations, thought it a masterpiece.³

One particularly outspoken criticism of the picture was leveled not at Prud'hon but at Boisfremont's efforts to complete it: "Il est fâcheux que le possesseur actuel de l'ouvrage ait cru devoir terminer deux figures laissées imparfaites; ces figures nuisent à l'ensemble et trahissent les tâtonnements d'une main plus officieuse qu'exercée."⁴ The remark implies that more than a few draperies and accessories were retouched. Two full figures must have been finished by Boisfremont, and Edmond de Goncourt later specified that these were Pyrrhus and his companion: "Pyrrhus et son confident ont été seulement ébauchés par Prud'hon, supprimés d'abord, puis réintégrés, puis terminés par M. de Boisfremont; ils sont très-inférieurs au reste de la composition."⁵ But beyond these fairly summary observations, surprisingly little attention has been paid to Boisfremont's role in this painting. The most comprehensive discussion of it to date com-

ments only that the two male figures at the right are "of much cruder workmanship than the rest of the painting."⁶

Possibly this unconcern is to be attributed to a general lack of interest in the problems of Prud'hon's stylistic development. But as one of the few paintings brought even close to a state of completion in Prud'hon's last years, the *Andromache and Astyanax* is a crucial document for the study of the artist's highly refined late style, and it is a matter of some importance to determine how much of its paint surface is actually his. From an iconographic point of view, any discussion of Prud'hon's understanding and treatment of his literary sources, and especially of his much

1. *Explication des ouvrages de peinture . . . exposés au Musée Royal des Arts le 24 avril, 1817* (Paris, 1817) no. 623; E. F. Miel, *Essai sur les Beaux-Arts et particulièrement sur le Salon de 1817* (Paris, 1817–18) p. 209n.

2. *Explication des ouvrages de peinture . . . exposés au Musée Royal des Arts le 25 août, 1824* (Paris, 1824) no. 1384. According to M. Chauvin, *Salon de mil huit cent vingt-quatre* (Paris, 1825) p. 89n., the picture was taken off exhibition shortly after the opening of the Salon.

3. For a summary of the critical reviews of this picture, and a selection of excerpts from them, see the entry by J. Lacambre in *De David à Delacroix/French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1974/Detroit and New York, 1975) no. 145.

4. M. Chauvin, *Salon* (Paris, 1825) p. 89.

5. E. de Goncourt, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint, dessiné et gravé de P.-P. Prud'hon* (Paris, 1876) p. 117n.

6. C. Sterling, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of French Paintings XV–XVIII Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955) p. 202.

vaunted sympathies for Racine,⁷ must ascertain whether the final composition of this painting actually reflects Prud'hon's intentions. Is it safe to assume that Boisfremont restricted his intervention to draperies? Are the passages he completed faithful to Prud'hon's models? Are the two male figures the only ones to which he lent his hand?

Andromache and Astyanax ostensibly represents a moment from act II, scene v, of Racine's *Andromaque*. Pyrrhus, son of Achilles and king of Epirus, has taken as his spoils from Troy Hector's widow Andromache, whom he loves to distraction, and her infant son As-

tyanax. Pyrrhus hopes to win Andromache's affection by protecting Astyanax from the wrath of the Greeks, who demand his death. Andromache instead reviles Pyrrhus as the son of her husband's murderer. In the painting, Andromache is attended by her confidant Cephise, standing behind her chair at the left. Astyanax rushes out of the arms of his nurse to embrace his mother, while Pyrrhus and his tutor Phoenix regard this scene from the background.

The genesis of this composition can be traced through four stages. The first of these is recorded in a drawing described by Edmond de Goncourt in the

1. Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (1758–1823) and Charles Boulanger de Boisfremont (1773–1838), *Andromache and Astyanax*, 1814–19, signed (lower left, pedestal base): *P. P. Prud'hon*. Oil on canvas, 52 × 67½ in. (132.1 × 170.5 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Collis P. Huntington, 1900, 25.110.14

7. See especially H. Focillon, *La Peinture au XIXe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1927) I, p. 70, and J. Seznec, "Racine et Prud'hon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 26 (1944) pp. 349–364. For more penetrating remarks on Racine's importance for French painters of the early 19th century, see J. H. Rubin, "Guérin's Painting of Phèdre and the Post-Revolutionary Revival of Racine," *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977) pp. 601–618.



collection of Eudoxe Marcille: "Croquis sur papier bleu, où se débrouille encore confusément la composition cherchée dans son ensemble, dans sa lumière. Andromaque, au lieu d'être assise, serre son fils dans ses bras, agenouillée à terre."⁸ Jean Guiffrey later clarified this description somewhat, adding that a young woman seems to be trying to separate Astyanax from his mother, thus identifying the moment as that in which Hector's son is being taken away as a prisoner:

Andromaque n'est pas assise, mais agenouillée à terre à droite, de profil à gauche, près d'Astyanax, debout devant elle, qu'une jeune femme paraît vouloir séparer de sa mère. Deux autres, à gauche, s'éloignent déjà tout en regardant derrière elles Andromaque et son fils. C'est donc le moment où, sur l'ordre de Pyrrhus, le fils d'Hector va être emmené prisonnier.⁹

Evidently the sketch, whose present whereabouts are unknown, bears so little relationship to the final composition that it was entitled, at the Prud'hon exhibition of 1922 in Paris, "Andromaque pleurant sur le corps d'Astyanax."¹⁰

The existence of this alternate first idea for the *Andromache and Astyanax* may justify the assumption that the painting was originally conceived as an allusion to the unhappy fate of Empress Marie-Louise and her son, the young King of Rome, after Napoleon's abdication in 1814. Napoleon himself is quoted in the spring of that year as claiming that "the fate of Astyanax, prisoner of the Greeks, always seemed to me the saddest in history."¹¹ On December 8, 1814, Marie-Louise, through her chargé d'affaires, approved the subject for this painting which she had commissioned from Prud'hon,¹² and it is at least likely that it was this first idea rather than the ultimate design which she saw or had described to her. In the end she did not become the owner of the painting, and it may be that Prud'hon changed his subject to a more literary, less topical aspect of the story only when he realized he no longer had a patron for it. All this is speculation, but is more plausible than the romantic tale that Prud'hon, piqued at the unheroic behavior of Marie-Louise, withheld the canvas from her once it was near completion.¹³

The second stage in the evolution of the composition is recorded in a drawing in black and white chalk on blue prepared paper in the Cabinet des Dessins at the Louvre (Figure 2).¹⁴ The disposition of the fig-

ures in this drawing corresponds broadly with that in the painting. Drapery forms vary somewhat, and the architecture in the background opens onto a landscape prospect with sunlight streaming in from the left. The nurse leans forward in the sketch with her feet coiled beneath her and one hand well above the other, whereas in the painting she extends her legs for a more stabilized, pyramidal effect, and both arms are aligned parallel to the ground. Pyrrhus extends both arms towards the scene unfolding before him, and Phoenix, in shadow behind, stands with his left hand on his hip and his left knee bent. He wears a short robe without a heavy cloak and gestures admonishingly "offstage" with his right hand.

The next step in the elaboration of this composition differs very little from the preceding one, and is recorded in an oil sketch which passed through the Laurent-Richard sales in 1873 and 1878, illustrated by a line engraving in both catalogues (Figure 3).¹⁵ This sketch introduces a different architectural backdrop, closer to that in the final painting; the nurse's arms have been realigned; and Cephise's tunic appears as it does in the final painting, with a thin strap

8. Goncourt, *Catalogue raisonné* (Paris, 1876) p. 117.

9. J. Guiffrey, "L'Oeuvre de Pierre-Paul Prud'hon," *Archives de l'Art Français* n.s. 13 (1924) no. 251, p. 91.

10. Paris, Petit Palais, *Exposition P.-P. Prud'hon* (1922) cat. no. 118, p. 24.

11. See F. Antommarchi, *Derniers Momens de Napoléon, ou complément du Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1825) I, pp. 162–163.

12. Letter to Prud'hon from Jean-Claude Ballouhey, chargé d'affaires of Empress Marie-Louise, quoted in C. Clément, *Prud'hon* (Paris, 1872) p. 402.

13. This story seems to have originated with Guiffrey ("L'Oeuvre de Prud'hon," p. 90), and has become the principal point of discussion in all subsequent literature concerned with the *Andromache and Astyanax*.

14. J. Guiffrey, *Musée du Louvre, P.-P. Prud'hon: Peintures, pastels et dessins* (Paris, 1924) no. 44, p. 46, pl. 40.

15. Paris, Hôtel Drouot, *Catalogue des tableaux composant la collection Laurent-Richard*, April 7, 1873, lot 43. It also appeared in the Laurent-Richard sale of 1878 (Hôtel Drouot, May 23–25, lot 106), accompanied in the catalogue by the same line engraving. Guiffrey, "L'Oeuvre de Prud'hon," p. 91, records the drawing (actually on canvas) in the collection of Baron Gérard in 1924, giving its dimensions as 19 × 25 cm. The Laurent-Richard catalogues report its dimensions as 22 × 27 cm. Guiffrey also quotes Eudoxe Marcille as claiming that this drawing was given by Prud'hon to the poet Samuel Rogers. At the sale of Rogers's collection in London (Christie's, May 2, 1856), lot 552 was described as "Prud'hon. A subject from Roman history: a child rushing into its mother's arms. A finished study."

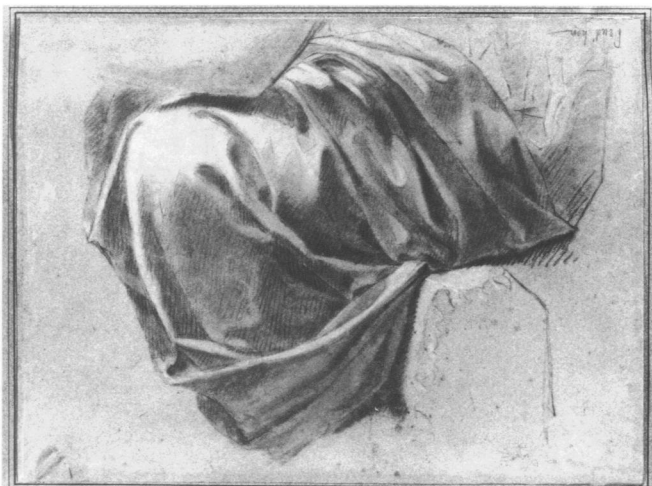


2. Prud'hon, *Andromache and Astyanax*. Black chalk heightened with white on blue prepared paper, $14\frac{3}{4} \times 17\frac{7}{8}$ in. (37.5 × 45.5 cm.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (photo: Musées Nationaux)

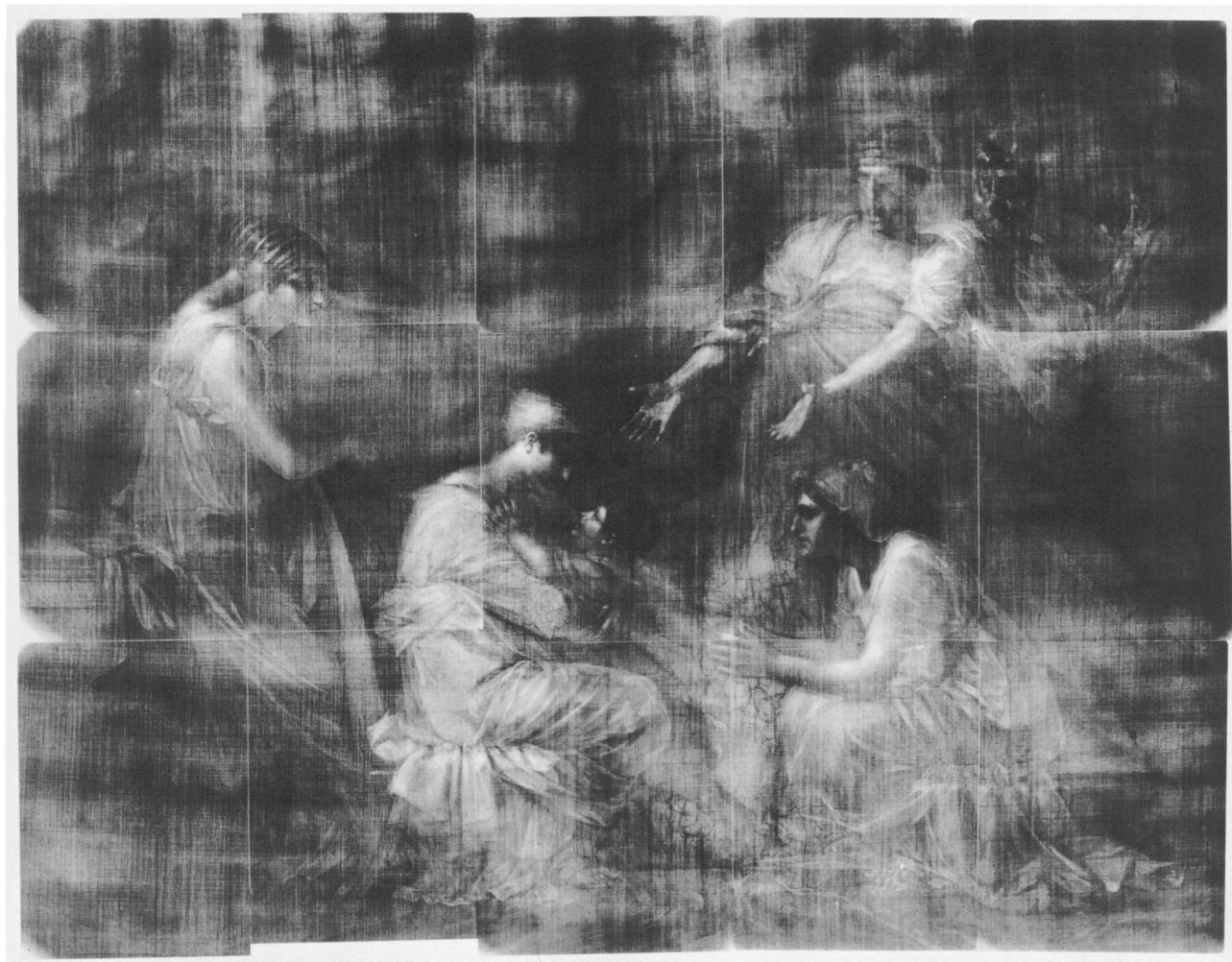


3. After Prud'hon, *Andromaque*, engraving of a compositional study for *Andromache and Astyanax*, from *Catalogue . . . collection Laurent-Richard* (Paris, 1878) facing p. 109. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

4. Prud'hon, drapery study, inscribed (upside down, upper right) with the artist's name. Black chalk heightened with white on blue prepared paper, $10\frac{3}{8} \times 14$ in. (26.5 × 35.5 cm.). Paris, art market (photo: Jean Dubout)



5. Prud'hon(?), *Andromache and Astyanax*. Oil on canvas, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in. (18.3 × 23.5 cm.). Versailles, private collection (photo: Henri Leroux)



6. Prud'hon and Boisfremont, *Andromache and Astyanax*, X-ray photograph

over the shoulder rather than a twist of fabric falling across the arm. Andromache, Astyanax, and Pyrrhus remain substantially as they were in the Louvre drawing. Phoenix is not clearly visible: his left hand, indistinctly rendered, seems still to rest on his hip; his right hand cannot be seen at all.

The Laurent-Richard study is usually thought to have preceded the Louvre sketch, but the introduction of changes in the figures of Cephise and the nurse that bring them closer to the way they appear in the final painting argues the reverse. Guiffrey and Goncourt further list a number of studies for individual figures, for arms, and for draperies connected with the *Andromache and Astyanax* which would have fol-

lowed the oil sketch before work on the final canvas began. Only one of these is known today (Figure 4),¹⁶ a detail study for the draperies of the nurse still positioned with her legs tucked beneath her. A small sketch on canvas (Figure 5) in a private collection, not listed by Guiffrey or Goncourt, corresponds in all essentials to the chalk drawing in the Louvre, but it gives the impression of being a copy after the Louvre drawing rather than a preparatory study for the final

16. Exhibited at Heim Gallery, London, Feb. 20–Mar. 27, 1975 ("French Drawings, Neo-Classicism," no. 106), and at Paul Prouté, Paris, 1984 (Catalogue "Watteau," no. 28). Probably this is one of five drawings listed by Goncourt (*Catalogue raisonné*, p. 118, "Cinq études des draperies"). Guiffrey ("L'Oeuvre de Prud'hon," p. 93) cites Goncourt but corrects the number of studies to six. In addition, he records a drapery study exhibited in Paris in 1874 and one sold at the Hourlier sale in 1872, which were

work.¹⁷ Guiffrey records another sketch on canvas corresponding to the Laurent-Richard study,¹⁸ but in the absence of the sketch itself we cannot tell whether it was perhaps also a copy or whether it was the final, enlarged study or cartoon for the Salon painting.

The final stage preparatory to the completed work of art comprises Prud'hon's initial laying-in work on the canvas itself. This is partially visible in an X-ray photograph recently taken of the painting (Figure 6), but is confused by the existence of three superimposed layers of paint: Prud'hon's initial work on the canvas, his final polishing, and Boisfremont's "corrections." A case in point is the change in the position of the nurse's legs visible in the X-ray photograph. Originally they were tucked beneath her as they were in the Laurent-Richard and Louvre studies. The draperies correspond exactly to those in the detail study reproduced in Figure 4, with the addition of a cascade of fabric trailing on the ground behind. The artist then experimented with an alternative position for the nurse's right foot very slightly below the first position before striking upon the solution of moving it forward. At the same time, the ample train of draperies was reduced to reveal the form of the stool, the kerchief binding the nurse's hair was transformed into a Phrygian cap, and the shawl covering her arms became a sleeveless tunic buttoned on the shoulder. Were these changes decided upon by Prud'hon or by Boisfremont?

Similarly, the figure of Cephise was altered slightly from a pronounced forward-leaning position, her weight supported on her right arm resting on the back of Andromache's chair, to a more erect posture with a less exaggerated twist to the head. In the final layer of paint she was provided with a left arm not visible in the X-ray photograph, and the folds of drapery across her hip and thigh were changed completely. An additional length of cloth was draped over the back of the chair to fill the void created by the repositioning of her arm. Finally, the architectural ornament visible on the stone block against which she sits and the amphora dimly visible behind her in the underpainting, as in the Louvre drawing, have been painted out.

Andromache has been treated in much the same way, losing a particularly attractive spray of draperies beneath her chair and behind her, and acquiring a left leg and diminutive left foot she seems never to have been intended to have. Astyanax alone remains

undisturbed through these various mutations of design, being provided only with a stool to justify his elevation relative to the new position of his nurse's foot. Formerly, his height in the picture field increased the illusion of depth and allowed for a proper transition between foreground and background space. The introduction of the stool creates a more rigidly planar impression for the foreground figures.

It is with the two figures in the background that the changes are most dramatic. As can be seen in the X-ray photograph, Pyrrhus originally followed exactly the design of the Louvre and Laurent-Richard studies, with both arms extended towards Andromache. Perhaps unexpectedly, his arms, hands, and draperies appear to have been fully modeled, not "seulement ébauchés" as Goncourt had suggested. Only the change in the position of Pyrrhus's head betrays any slight indecision in the rendering. Phoenix is less clearly visible, but what can be seen of his expressive head and well-modeled hand implies that he, too, was worked up to a highly finished state. His attitude differs from that in the Louvre drawing, perhaps explaining the uncertainties of the Laurent-Richard study. He raises his left arm, not his right, and his gesture is no longer directed "offstage" but appears to be one of haranguing Pyrrhus.

In the final painting, the forceful diagonals of both figures' gestures are eliminated. Though Pyrrhus may seem to differ only in the altered position of his left arm, in reality the entire figure was repainted, not just those passages divergent from the underpainting. The bulky, unmodeled red draperies that cover the original left arm and that pass unconvincingly around the shoulders to cover the original white sleeve are so poorly rendered as to preclude the possibility of Prud'hon's authorship. But inexplicably, Pyrrhus's head and right hand were also repainted to their present

undoubtedly part of the original group of six. None of these drawings can be positively identified today. J. H. Slayman, "The Drawings of Pierre-Paul Prud'hon: A Critical Study," Ph.D. diss. (University of Wisconsin, 1970) pp. 77–80, 198–199, summarizes the information to be found in Goncourt and Guiffrey regarding the drawings related to the *Andromache and Astyanax*.

17. This sketch is perhaps to be attributed to Prud'hon's assistant, Constance Mayer, whose oily drawing technique it strongly resembles. See Helen Weston, "The Case for Constance Mayer," *Oxford Art Journal* 3:1 (1980) pp. 14–19.

18. Guiffrey, "L'Oeuvre de Prud'hon," no. 253, p. 92, as collection Louis Bourdon, 76 × 90 cm.

characterless, inexpressive form, though they follow exactly Prud'hon's design beneath. Phoenix was reconstructed entirely. The original figure was canceled and repainted several inches to the right. The black cape drawn across the mouth is intended primarily to cover the shoulders and raised left hand of the figure beneath (the noble gesture is now visible as a pentimento). The sloppily drawn vase between the heads of Pyrrhus and Phoenix was introduced to cover Phoenix's original head, and the other two vases, meaningless if not distracting from the composition, were added for reasons of symmetry. All these changes may be imputed to Boisfremont.

Attention to the poor quality of the paint surface in these areas worked over by Boisfremont helps to clarify the part he played in the other changes noted above. Thus, the orange-brown pigment scumbled over the draperies of Cephise, which effectively hides the forms beneath rather than modeling new ones, must be attributed to Boisfremont. Cephise's left arm, painted in a coarse, thick pigment which has dried and crackled atop an earlier layer of already crackled paint, is a Boisfremont invention. Andromache is virtually intact as Prud'hon conceived and painted her, though the impetuosity of his technique has resulted in an unusually broad and disfiguring traction crackle, particularly in the yellow of her chemise, which has been rather heavily inpainted, partly it would seem by Boisfremont and partly in more modern times. Andromache's left foot seems to be another of Boisfremont's inventions, but the entire shadowed area between Andromache and the nurse is too unevenly preserved to allow more specific observations. The figure of the nurse herself gives the impression of being entirely by Prud'hon, one of the noblest creations of his late career.

Thus it can no longer be maintained that Boisfremont's additions to the *Andromache and Astyanax* were restricted to a few accessories left incomplete by Prud'hon or to finishing touches on the figures of Pyrrhus and Phoenix. The picture must have appeared at the sale of Prud'hon's estate in 1823 just short of that final degree of polished perfection which was expected of history pictures at the time, and Boisfremont's work on it must be viewed more as corrections than as completions. Some of these corrections may have been purely technical, compensating for the rapid deterioration of Prud'hon's paint surface. Some may be seen as formal, such as the introduction of Ce-

phise's left arm to lessen the torsion of her pose and bring her more into conformity with the attitudes of the other two women in the foreground. Changes like the latter are indices of Boisfremont's more academic mentality but do not seriously hamper the beauty of Prud'hon's conception. The corrections imposed upon the figures of Pyrrhus and Phoenix, however, are another matter, and must have been intended not only to amend the composition but also to shift the emphasis of the narrative.

As envisioned by Prud'hon, *Andromache and Astyanax* illustrates no single scene from Racine's *Andromaque* as it might have been performed on stage, but expands upon the dialogue between Pyrrhus and Phoenix in act II, scene v. Pyrrhus, resolved to overcome his love for Andromache and to deliver Astyanax to the Greeks, expresses the cause of his anger and change of heart to Phoenix by describing to him the scene of Andromache's ingratitude, shown in the foreground of the painting, in which she responded to his every assurance of protection for Astyanax only by asserting her grief for her dead husband, and recalling his very appearance in that of her son:

J'allais voir le succès de ses embrassements:
Je n'ai trouvé que pleurs mêlés d'emportements.
Sa misère l'aigrit; et toujours plus farouche,
Cent fois le nom d'Hector est sorti de sa bouche.
Vainement à son fils, j'assurais mon secours:
"C'est Hector, disait-elle en l'embrassant toujours;
Voilà ses yeux, sa bouche, et déjà son audace;
C'est lui-même, c'est toi, cher époux, que j'embrasse."

As he was initially conceived in the Louvre composition study (Figure 2), Phoenix shows his approval of Pyrrhus's resolution, urging him to forget Andromache in the arms of Hermione, daughter of Helen, to whom he is betrothed:

Commencez donc, Seigneur, à ne m'en parler plus.
Allez voir Hermione; et content de lui plaire,
Oubliez à ses pieds jusqu'à votre colère.

The change in Phoenix's gesture, visible in the X-ray photograph, from one leading Pyrrhus away to that of opposing him effectively recasts the dialogue between the two figures to a later moment in the scene. Pyrrhus asks if jealousy of Hermione might not make Andromache love him. Realizing the duplicity of Pyrrhus's anger, Phoenix rebukes him:

Quoi? toujours Andromaque occupe votre esprit?
Que vous importe, ô Dieux! sa joie ou son dépit?
Quel charme, malgré vous, vers elle vous attire?

.
... Allez, Seigneur, vous jeter à ses pieds.
Allez, en lui jurant que votre âme l'adore,
A de nouveaux mépris l'encourager encore.

If Edmond de Goncourt was correct in asserting that the figures of Pyrrhus and Phoenix were at one point suppressed entirely before being reintegrated in their present form, it can only have been in order to eliminate these complications in dramatic structure, to refocus the narrative on the three verses addressed by Andromache to her son (though spoken in the play by Pyrrhus), as she sees in him the features of his father:

“C’est Hector, disait-elle en l’embrassant toujours;
Voilà ses yeux, sa bouche, et déjà son audace;
C’est lui-même, c’est toi, cher époux, que j’embrasse.”

Whether such editing is to be imputed to Prud’hon or to Boisfremont cannot be determined. It is certain, however, that Pyrrhus and Phoenix as finally painted by Boisfremont must refer to the first of the two dialogues cited above, returning the dramatic moment of the picture to that worked up by Prud’hon in his earlier compositional studies.

Boisfremont’s changes and additions to Prud’hon’s *Andromache and Astyanax* have resulted in more than just a paint surface of uneven quality. They have concealed an important stage in the artist’s creative processes and compromised our appreciation of his literary and dramatic intelligence. Only with the aid of Prud’hon’s preliminary sketches and the evidence of scientific investigation uncovering painted images otherwise lost to us can these misimpressions be partially rectified.

Alphonse de Neuville's *The Spy* and the Legacy of the Franco-Prussian War

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IN THE RELATIVELY peaceful period between the end of the first Napoleonic empire and 1870, military painting did not enjoy great popularity in France. Military painters had limited heroic material to draw on in this period, and although extensively patronized by both Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III, artists like Horace Vernet and Adolphe Yvon evoked little sympathy among the more progressive critics. In his Salon review of 1859, Paul Mantz referred to the ponderous documentary approach of Vernet as "the religion of the gaiter button," and in the same year, Baudelaire wrote that since the visual impact of a real battle was unobtainable in painting, the only true military paintings possible were simple episodes of camp life.¹ Indeed, in the middle years of the nineteenth century, the small paintings and prints of Nicolas Charlet and Auguste Raffet, both of whom specialized in anecdotal scenes of military camp life, generally attracted wider appreciation than battle paintings in the tradition of the Napoleonic era. However, the experience of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 not only revived the popularity of military painting in France, but also profoundly changed the manner in which the artists treated their subject matter. Many of the younger military painters after 1870 had been in active service during the war, and their work had the truth and immediacy of personal experience. Their major problem lay in depicting the events of a war which amounted to a string of humiliating defeats for the French. On the other hand, the human losses in the war and the cession of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany created such a nationalistic and vengeful climate in France that even paintings repre-

senting defeat were immensely popular with the Salon-going public throughout the remainder of the century. No military painter exploited this mood of resurgent nationalism better than Alphonse de Neuville. As the French sought to understand the causes of the great debacle of 1870, de Neuville showed them that at least the fault had not been with the common soldier. In the words of Alfred de Lostalot, de Neuville revealed to the country "by what heroic efforts our soldiers tried to ward off fate, and when we see them crushed by superior forces, at least we may think with him that they did not fall without glory."²

Alphonse-Marie de Neuville was born in 1835 into a wealthy family in the town of St.-Omer, Pas-de-Calais. De Neuville was an excellent student as a youth, and his family sent him to Paris to study law, intending him for an official career. He eventually rebelled against the wishes of his parents, abandoning the law to become a painter. Although his family were reconciled to this decision, young de Neuville's earliest artistic efforts were not very successful. When he showed his sketches to Adolphe Yvon, he was advised to forget about art as a career. He eventually

1. Paul Mantz, "Le Salon de 1859," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1st ser., 2 (May 1, 1859) p. 140; Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1859," in his *Curiosités esthétiques* (Paris, 1923) p. 307.

2. "Il nous a montré par quels efforts héroïques nos soldats ont essayé de conjurer le sort et, quand nous les voyons écrasés par des forces supérieures, au moins pouvons-nous penser avec lui qu'ils ne sont tombés sans gloire." Alfred de Lostalot, "Alphonse de Neuville," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd ser., 32 (Aug. 1, 1885) p. 164.



1. Alphonse de Neuville (1835–85), *Les Dernières Cartouches*, Salon of 1873, signed (lower right): *Alphonse de Neuville*. Oil on canvas. Bazeilles, Maison des Dernières Cartouches (photo: after Louis Viardet, *The Masterpieces of French Art*, Philadelphia, 1884)

entered the studio of François-Edouard Picot, a conservative member of the Institut des Beaux-Arts who specialized in religious paintings and large government commissions. De Neuville made his Salon debut in 1859, exhibiting a scene from the siege of Sebastopol during the Crimean War. This painting brought him a third-class medal. Two years later, he received a second-class medal for another Crimean War painting, and this time he caught the attention of Eugène Delacroix, who praised the work but also offered a critique of its shortcomings. It is probably this early encounter with the great master that has fostered the unsubstantiated suggestion that at one time de Neuville had been a student of Delacroix.³ De Neuville exhibited consistently in the Salons of the sixties, but his subjects, whether drawn from the Crimean War or from more recent conflicts of the Second Empire, were never based on any personal experience on the battlefield.

When the war with Prussia erupted in 1870, de Neuville immediately enlisted in the army, and later took part in the final defense of Paris at Le Bourget

and Champigny. This experience provided the subject for the *Bivouac devant Le Bourget* which he submitted in 1872 to the first Salon held after the Franco-Prussian War. Favorably reviewed by the critics, this work also had great popular appeal to Parisians as a distinctly recognizable record of the recent war, although it was not a battle painting as such. In fact, scenes of actual combat between French and German soldiers were completely absent from the Salon of 1872. With negotiations for the emancipation of territories still occupied by the Germans reaching their most delicate stage, the French government ordered several works depicting the Franco-Prussian War to be withdrawn from the Salon just before it opened. The following year the government had no such scruples. Among the numerous paintings in the Salon which dealt with the war, de Neuville's *Les Dernières Cartouches* (Figure 1) stood out as a sensation-ally popular favorite. It is no exaggeration to say that it remained the artist's most celebrated work, as well as the most famous painting dealing with the Franco-Prussian War. Leading critics outdid themselves in patriotic praise of the painting; in de Neuville's hometown of St.-Omer a book was published con-

3. On Delacroix's advice to de Neuville, see Robert Hénard, "Alphonse de Neuville," *L'Art et les Artistes* 17, no. 98 (May 1913) pp. 83–84.

taining several of the more grandiloquent newspaper reviews of the work.⁴ In contrast to the *Bivouac* of the previous year, here de Neuville isolated a handful of French soldiers during the battle of Sedan, making their last stand in a half-destroyed parlor in the village of Bazeilles. With its emphasis on dramatic narrative and gesture, this painting was the first example in de Neuville's work of what Emile Zola would characterize as "military genre painting." It also established de Neuville's reputation as the painter of the anonymous but valiant soldier, fighting against the insurmountable odds which the French steadfastly believed had accounted for their defeat.

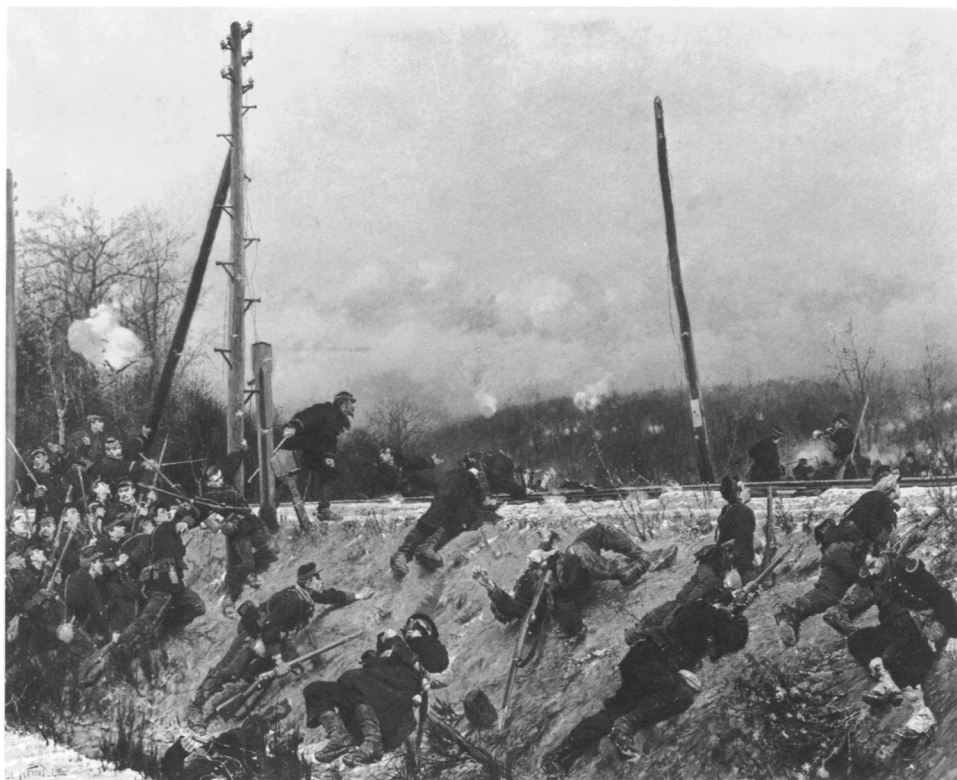
Although de Neuville participated in only three more Salons during the 1870s, he quickly emerged as the preeminent French military painter both with the public and with the Salon critics. In his Salon review of 1874, Jules Castagnary skipped over the work of Edouard Detaille, but found de Neuville's *Combat sur*

une Voie Ferrée (Figure 2) to have the frankness of a military report, and considered the artist "a rigorous spirit, who seeks emotion in precision and simplicity."⁵ The increasingly nationalistic tenor of Castagnary's criticism after the Franco-Prussian War may account in part for his appreciation of de Neuville, but his preference for de Neuville over Detaille and other contemporary military artists, like that of many other critics, was also due to de Neuville's concern for topographical detail. Even those who were not interested in military paintings were forced to admit that, through his gift for dramatizing the subject matter, de Neuville was extraordinarily popular with the general public. Writing of his *Attaque par le Feu d'une*

2. De Neuville, *Combat sur une Voie Ferrée*, signed and dated (lower left): *A. de Neuville/1874*. Oil on canvas. Chantilly, Musée Condé (photo: Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.)

4. M. Alphonse de Neuville: *Son Tableau "Les Dernières Cartouches" au point de vue du sentiment patriotique* (St.-Omer, 1873).

5. "Ce qui est saisissant dans cette oeuvre, c'est le naturel et la vie de toutes choses. On est en pleine action: cela se voit, cela se sent, et il n'y a pas un détail du tableau qui ne le crie. Aucune exagération d'ailleurs, ni dans les expressions, ni dans les attitudes. M. de Neuville est un esprit exact, qui cherche l'émotion dans la précision et la simplicité. Son tableau a la franchise d'un rapport militaire. Rien n'y est donné à la sentimentalité, à la déclamation." Jules Castagnary, *Salons* (Paris, 1892) II, p. 102.



3. De Neuville, *Portrait de Paul Déroulède*, inscribed and dated (lower right): *à mon ami Paul Déroulède/Al. de Neuville/1877*. Oil on canvas. Metz, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Service photographique des Musées de Metz)

Maison Barricadée in the Salon of 1875, Emile Zola conceded that “women cry before his paintings, and men clench their fists.”⁶

In 1877 de Neuville exhibited two paintings in the Salon. One was a battle scene from the Franco-Prussian War; the other was a full-length portrait of Paul Déroulède in his wartime uniform as a cavalry officer (Figure 3). Déroulède had established a highly successful career as a poet during the 1870s by appealing directly to the spirit of *revanche*—the desire for revenge against Germany and the recovery of the lost territories. First published in 1872, his intensely patriotic *Chants du soldat* went through a total of 129 editions by 1889. One edition appeared in 1888 illustrated with drawings and watercolors by Detaille and de Neuville. By the end of the 1870s, Déroulède had become the foremost spokesman of ultranationalism in France, and there is evidence to suggest that he was influencing his friend de Neuville in the same direction. De Neuville’s work at this time began to take on a decidedly more anti-German tone, as can be seen in his book illustrations—graphically rendered scenes of Prussian brutality to accompany the texts of sensational novelettes. In an illustrated edition of Ernest L’Epine’s *A Coups de fusil* published in 1877, de Neuville included a scene of German cavalry devastating a French village (Figure 4). It is clear from the architecture of the houses and the costume of the woman lying wounded in the street that this is an Alsatian village, a fact which doubtless added further poignancy in the mind of the reader. In Jules Claretie’s novel *Le Drapeau* of 1879, an illustration by de Neuville shows a rabble of German troops attacking an



4. De Neuville, untitled illustration in Ernest L’Epine, *A Coups de fusil* (Paris, 1877) p. 121



6. “Le mérite de Neuville se borne à l’art avec lequel il dramatise un sujet. C’est un dessinateur et illustrateur de première force. Quant à sa peinture, ce n’est que du barbouillage. C’est comme si vous étiez au cirque, au dernier acte d’une pièce quelconque, lorsque les groupes ingénieusement disposés soulèvent un tonnerre d’applaudissements dans la salle. Les femmes pleurent devant ses tableaux, les hommes serrent les poings.” Emile Zola, “Une Exposition de tableaux à Paris,” *Messenger de l’Europe* (June 1875); reprinted in his *Salons*, ed. F. W. J. Hemmings and Robert Neiss (Paris, 1959) p. 162.

old French veteran who refuses to yield up the French flag (Figure 5). Such luridly illustrated novels were nothing new; indeed, there had been a torrent of them immediately following the war. However, it was only in the late 1870s that de Neuville was involved in such frankly inflammatory illustration.

German mistreatment of innocent Alsatian civilians during the Franco-Prussian War was the subject of a full-scale painting de Neuville completed in 1878. In *De Montbéliard à Strasbourg*, also referred to simply as *Les Otages*, he depicted the mayor, the priest, and the postman of a small village being led off as hostages to the German military governor in Strasbourg (Figure 6). De Neuville intended to show this work at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1878. Even under less sensitive circumstances, the French government might well have been apprehensive about allowing him to exhibit such a subject, but a world's fair, many of whose visitors would be German, presented special problems. As it turned out, none of the contemporary French military painters was represented at the Exposition. Chancellor Bismarck allowed German artists to exhibit there only on the condition that neither Germany nor France would permit the display of paintings which in any way recalled the events of the Franco-Prussian War.⁷ On its own initiative, the French government excluded such potentially controversial paintings not only from the

5. De Neuville, untitled illustration in Jules Claretie, *Le Drapeau* (Paris, 1879) p. 79



6. De Neuville, *De Montbéliard à Strasbourg (Les Otages)*, signed and dated (lower left): A. de Neuville 1877. Oil on canvas. Whereabouts unknown (photo: after Jules Richard, *En Campagne: Tableaux et dessins de A. de Neuville*, Paris, [1885], p. 57)

Exposition itself but also from the annual Salon which coincided with it. De Neuville was incensed by the whole affair, and sent the rather shallow letter of apology he had received from the government to the Paris newspapers for publication.⁸ The Goupil gallery subsequently mounted a private exhibition of these proscribed military paintings, and by all accounts it was an enormous success.⁹ As had happened six years before in the Salon of 1872, the extraordinary popularity of paintings depicting the

7. In a dispatch sent to the Foreign Minister in March 1878, Ambassador Saint-Vallier related that in his conversation with the Chancellor, Bismarck had been adamant on this point, insisting on the establishment of a selection committee "qui, surtout, éliminerait avec une inflexible rigueur tous les tableaux rappelant des faits de la guerre franco-allemande, des portraits de généraux illustrés dans cette guerre, tout ce qui, en un mot, pourrait éveiller la juste susceptibilité ou évoquer les pénibles souvenirs du public français." France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques de la République Française* (Paris, 1929–59) ser. 1, II, p. 266.

8. First published in *Le Figaro*, reprinted in *Le Temps* (May 10, 1878).

9. See Goupil et Cie., *Catalogue des tableaux militaires exclus du Salon et de l'Exposition Universelle, exposés dans la galerie de MM. Goupil et Cie* (Paris, 1878). According to *Le Figaro* (May 26, 1878), the crowds at the Goupil gallery were initially so large that many without advance invitations had to be turned away.

Franco-Prussian War excited shrill criticism of what many considered to be a timid and deferential decision on the part of the government.

At the beginning of the 1880s, de Neuville was at the height of his success not only in France but also in Britain and the United States. In France, much of this popularity was undoubtedly due to the fact that far from subsiding, chauvinist sentiment and animosity toward Germany were rapidly gaining strength.¹⁰ The nationalist element was all the more encouraged when Léon Gambetta, the renowned patriot of the Franco-Prussian War, formed a new government in November 1881. Soon after, a Commission for Military and National Education was established by the Ministry of Education, with Déroulède as its chairman. Along with Detaille, de Neuville was immediately appointed a member of this commission.¹¹ In consultation with his artist friends, Déroulède developed ambitious plans for using paintings and sculpture

in a program of national patriotic education, but when the Gambetta ministry fell after only a few months, the succeeding government categorically rejected the recommendations of Déroulède's commission. Déroulède resigned in protest and within days formed the Ligue des Patriotes, with an already existing ultranationalist journal, *Le Drapeau*, as its official organ. De Neuville was not only a founding member of the Ligue, but also served on its organizational board. His illustrations frequently appeared on the covers of *Le Drapeau*, and continued to do so long after his death in 1885. Soon after its foundation, de Neuville also designed a broadside for the Ligue des Patriotes (Figure 7). In the foreground, a franc-tireur shakes hands with a young gymnast who represents the youths the Ligue was organizing into patriotic rifle societies. In the background is a monument with the Janus-headed busts of Alsace and Lorraine; below them, the year 1870, and another year, clearly referring to the rescue of the lost provinces, symbolically obscured.

With his health already beginning to fail, de Neuville exhibited in the annual Salon for the last time in 1881. The two works he entered both dealt with the Franco-Prussian War, but in very different ways. The larger of the two, *Le Cimetière de Saint-Privat*, was a lavishly orchestrated battle painting which depicted the heroism of a group of French soldiers vastly outnumbered by the enemy. Generally, however, the critics took greater notice of the smaller painting, *Un Porteur de Dépêches* (A Dispatch Carrier), also referred to simply as *L'Espion* (The Spy). The version in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 8) is signed and dated 1880; however, as was his custom with other major paintings, de Neuville seems to have produced at least two versions of this subject. Since one Salon review at the time described the painting as being dated 1881 and having slightly different dimensions from the one

7. De Neuville, *Gymnaste et Franc-Tireur*, poster dedicated to the Ligue des Patriotes (photo: after *La Vie Moderne* 7, no. 2, 1885, p. 348)



10. On the issue of revanchism and its relationship to French politics in the later years of the 19th century, see Pierre Albin, *L'Allemagne et la France en Europe (1885-1894)* (Paris, 1913); E. Malcolm Carroll, *French Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs, 1870-1914* (Hamden, Conn., 1931); Adrien Dansette, *Le Boulangerisme* (Paris, 1946); Claude Digeon, *La Crise allemande de la pensée française* (Paris, 1959); George Gooch, *Franco-German Relations 1871-1914* (London, 1923); Mona Ozouf, *L'Ecole, l'Eglise et la République, 1871-1914* (Paris, 1963).

11. Henri Galli [Henri Gallichet], *Gambetta et l'Alsace-Lorraine* (Paris, 1911) p. 203.



8. De Neuville, *The Spy* (*Un Porteur de Dépêches*), signed and dated (lower left): *A de Neuville/1880*. Oil on canvas, 51¼ × 84 in. (130.2 × 213.4 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Collis P. Huntington, 1900, 25.110.26

now in the Metropolitan Museum, it is probable that de Neuville had already sold the earlier version to an American agent when he entered the other in the Salon. In any case, a smaller version of the painting appeared in a sale of works owned by his widow, which took place in 1898.¹² According to de Neuville's description in the Salon catalogue, this scene depicts a French noncommissioned officer disguised as a peasant, who, while attempting to get into the besieged fortress at Metz with vital dispatches, is captured by a Prussian patrol, taken before their commanding officers, and searched. The catalogue entry notes that when such disguised messengers were discovered by

the Germans, they were immediately shot. In his hyperbolic Salon review, Charles Bigot provided a more dramatic description of the scene:

A poor devil suspected of carrying some dispatch is brought before a group of Prussian officers who are finishing their lunch in front of the door of an inn. They have reached the stage of coffee and cigars. The poor man in the *blouse* is searched from head to toe by two strapping German soldiers, while half a dozen officers of all ranks and ages keep staring at him, watching to see if

12. The dimensions of the version exhibited at the Salon of 1881 are given by Georges Lafenestre in his *Livre d'or du Salon de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris, 1881) p. 70, as "H. 1^m50.—L. 2^m." Charles Sterling and Margareta M. Salinger, *French Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art: II. XIX Century* (New York, 1966) p. 192, cite Lafenestre as having described a painting with "smaller dimensions" than the one in the Museum. The reference to Mme de Neuville's version was made by Charles Revillon in *Recherches sur les peintres de la Ville de Saint-Omer* (St.-Omer, 1904).



9. De Neuville, sketch of a German trooper, signed and dated (lower left): A. de Neuville/1874 (photo: after Richard, *En Campagne*, p. 62)

any muscle of his face or any movement of his eyes will betray him. His game-bag lies on the ground before him. He stands there, calm, impassive. It would be a very clever person who could say whether or not he carries any compromising dispatch, and whether in five minutes he will have to be released or whether he will be shot. However, his mustache, like his virile appearance, indicates an old soldier who has already stared death in the face and who does not fear it. This entire scene—the courier, the German soldiers, the Prussian officers who look on, the remains of the meal still on the table, the people of the inn who watch from the door, anxious and praying for their poor compatriot—this entire scene has an extraordinary truthfulness and lifelike intensity. Here is the work of a genuine artist. The painting is still a little bungled and heavy, the color still displeasing. Well, so much the worse for my eyes! I am caught, moved as if facing reality itself; I can only marvel.¹³

Critics often spoke of de Neuville's roughness of execution, but like Bigot they were usually too en-

thralled by the subject matter to care very much about technique. However, by the beginning of the 1880s, there were a few critics whose profound distaste for resurgent nationalism in France alienated them from the distinctly anti-German flavor of *The Spy*. Generally hostile to official art of any sort, Joris Huysmans condemned the painting as a "black mediocrity," but at the same time conceded that, judging from the cries of delight of the women visiting the Salon, de Neuville would once again enjoy an enormous success. What bothered Huysmans more than anything else was the obvious contrast between the noble visage of the French prisoner and the arrogance and barbarity of his captors; he maintained that the behavior and appearance of the soldiers were not unique to the Prussians but were characteristic of militarism everywhere.¹⁴ It is certainly true that in this work de Neu-

13. "Un pauvre diable soupçonné de porter quelque dépêche est amené devant un groupe d'officiers prussiens qui achèvent de déjeuner devant la porte d'une auberge. Ils en sont au café et aux cigares. Le pauvre homme en blouse est fouillé de la tête aux pieds par deux gros soldats allemands, tandis qu'une demi-douzaine d'officiers de tout rang et de tout âge ne cessent de le dévisager, épiant si quelque muscle de son visage ou quelque mouvement de ses yeux le trahira. Sa carnassière gît à terre devant lui. Il est là, calme, impassible. Bien habile qui pourrait dire s'il porte ou non quelque dépêche compromettante et si dans cinq minutes il faudra le relâcher ou s'il sera fusillé. Sa moustache pourtant, aussi bien que son allure mâle, indiquent un ancien soldat qui a déjà vu la mort en face et qui ne la craint pas. Toute cette scène, l'émissaire, les soldats allemands, les officiers prussiens qui regardent, les restes du repas encore sur la table, les gens de l'hôtel qui observent par la porte, inquiets et faisant des vœux pour leur pauvre compatriote, toute cette scène est d'une vérité, d'une intensité de vie extraordinaires. Voilà l'oeuvre d'un artiste véritable. La peinture est toujours un peu maçonnerie et lourde, la couleur toujours déplaisante; ma foi, tant pis pour mes yeux! Je suis pris, ému comme en face de la réalité même; je ne sais plus qu'admirer." Charles Bigot, "La Peinture en 1881," *Revue Politique et Littéraire* 23 (June 4, 1881) p. 712.

14. "Je ne saurais blâmer M. de Neuville d'avoir, dans cette toile comme dans l'autre du reste, infligé à ses galonnés de Prusse une morgue ridicule, car l'épaulette influe souvent sur la cervelle et n'en laisse plus jaillir que des fleurs de férocité ou de sottise; seulement, il faut bien le dire, ces allures et ces mines de soudards ne sont pas spéciales aux Prussiens; elles appartiennent, sans distinction, au militarisme de tous les peuples. Comme peinture, *l'Espion* est d'une noire médiocrité; mais, si j'en juge par les cris d'allégresse que poussent les dames, M. de Neuville est assuré d'un grand succès auprès de ce public féminin si débonnairement apprécié par l'indulgent Schopenhauer." Joris Huysmans, "Le Salon officiel de 1881," in *L'Art Moderne* (Paris, 1883) p. 173.

ville exaggerated the features of some of the Germans—for example, the officer seated on the far left—to the point of caricature. On other occasions, however, he produced some remarkably candid likenesses of German soldiers, such as his not unsympathetic sketch, dated 1874, of a German trooper from a dragoon regiment, shown off duty and wearing his recently awarded Iron Cross (Figure 9).

Like his fellow military painters Detaille and Meissonier, de Neuville was scrupulous in the accurate rendering of details in uniforms and insignia. Thus each of the seated officers in *The Spy* can be identified by rank and regiment. The mounted hussars that have captured the prisoner are members of the famous First Leib-Husaren Regiment, nicknamed the *Totenkopfhussaren* after the death's-head badge on their busbies.¹⁵ De Neuville was extremely fond of horses and, as can be seen in this painting, showed considerable talent for the rendering of horse and rider. French and German cavalrymen were a common subject in the artist's sketches and painted studies; a small painting in the Metropolitan Museum depicting the trumpeter of a French dragoon regiment (Figure 10) is a typical example.

Besides being rigorously accurate in details of military dress, de Neuville also attempted whenever possible to make sketches in the field, often traveling to battle sites in eastern France to do so. During the 1870s, he was sometimes accompanied on these trips by his friend Detaille, with whom he collaborated in panoramas depicting the battles of Champigny and Rezonville. On one such occasion, his assiduous sketching in the area around Villersexel, near the Swiss and German borders, resulted in his being arrested and briefly held as a German spy; once his identity became known, he was hurriedly released by the embarrassed local authorities.¹⁶ Eugène Montrosier, a friend and biographer of de Neuville, wrote in some detail about a journey that de Neuville made to the German-occupied portion of Alsace-Lorraine in the 1870s. It was during this trip that the artist apparently gathered much of the topical material which later went into both the *Cimetière de Saint-Privat* and *The Spy*.¹⁷ Despite the fact that he had been unable to obtain official permission from the German authorities to visit the battlefields around Metz, de Neuville went into the area at his own risk, first spending a few days in Metz, where he sketched the portraits of several German soldiers. From there, he proceeded to Ste.-



10. De Neuville, *A Cavalryman (Dragon à Cheval)*, signed and dated (lower left): *A de Neuville 1884*. Oil on canvas, 18 1/8 × 15 in. (46 × 38.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Maria DeWitt Jesup, from the collection of her husband, Morris K. Jesup, 15.30.20

Marie-aux-Chênes, the village named in the Salon catalogue as the site of the incident in *The Spy*. Here he took lodgings in a small inn, from which he made sketching forays to St.-Privat and other places in the area. (Both St.-Privat and Ste.-Marie-aux-Chênes were located just across the German border, a short distance west of Metz.)

15. I am grateful to Helmut Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum, for his helpful remarks regarding the ranks and regiments of the German military represented in this painting and in Figure 9.

16. Gustave Goetschy, *Les Jeunes Peintres militaires* (Paris, 1878) pp. 9ff.

17. The full account of this trip is furnished by Eugène Montrosier in *Les Peintres militaires, contenant les biographies de MM. de Neuville, Detaille, Berne-Bellecour, Dupray, Jazet, Courturier, Sergeant, Chaperon, Protais, Médard et Walker* (Paris, 1881) p. 15.



11. De Neuville, *Capture Difficile*, signed and dated (lower right): A de Neuville/1884. Oil on canvas. Whereabouts unknown (photo: after Richard, *En Campagne*, p. 61)

Before leaving Ste.-Marie-aux-Chênes, Neuville was involved in an incident which seems supremely ironic in view of the subject of *The Spy*. Working in a sensitive border area without the knowledge or permission of the German authorities, he must have appeared all the more suspicious given his habit of interviewing local inhabitants about their recollections of the war. Just as in the earlier incident outside Villersexel, the local police were soon on his trail, and if Montrosier's account is accurate, de Neuville escaped from his lodgings early one morning just before they arrived to arrest him and confiscate his work. Had de Neuville not slipped out of Ste.-Marie-aux-Chênes when he did, he might well have been caught in a situation not unlike that of the unfortunate dispatch carrier whom he subsequently painted. The description in the Salon catalogue specifically refers to the event depicted in *The Spy* as having taken place in September 1870. If the incident actually occurred,

and if de Neuville had not known about it already, he almost certainly would have learned of it while staying in Ste.-Marie-aux-Chênes. Considering the artist's tendency to stress authentic landscape and architectural detail in his works, one is indeed tempted to wonder if the inn at the sign of the double cross of Lorraine depicted in *The Spy* did not represent the one in which de Neuville himself stayed during his visit.

Although it had been anticipated to an extent by *De Montbéliard à Strasbourg* and various graphic works, *The Spy* was the first instance in a full-scale painting where de Neuville developed the theme of the solitary French patriot at the mercy of his German captors. In the few remaining years of his career, he executed no more of the animated battle scenes which had established his career in the 1870s. He concentrated instead on more isolated and psychologically intense subjects, in which German troops were often cast in the role of the oppressor or captor. Although it was never exhibited in the Salon, de Neuville's *Capture Difficile* of 1884 (Figure 11) depicts a theme similar to that of *The Spy*. Here a severely battered franc-tireur has been captured and is being led off in bondage by German hussars. Barely visible in the background is a third horse, which carries the body of one of their fallen comrades. In his running exegesis of a selection of de Neuville's paintings and drawings published soon after the artist's death, the inveterate *revanchiste* Jules Richard singled out this work, along with *The Spy*, for special emphasis. To Richard, both paintings epitomized German barbarity and lack of respect for the conventions of war, since to him it was clear that in both the summary execution of the prisoner was imminent. Letting his vivid imagination embellish the story of the captured franc-tireur even further, Richard suggested to his readers that the only reason this old volunteer had not already been killed was that he would be dragged, before his execution, from village to village as an example to the rest of the population.¹⁸ Although no death's-head insignia is visible, the saddle blanket of the rider leading the captive is very similar to that of the hussar featured in *The Spy*; indeed, the physical

18. Jules Richard [Thomas-Jules-Richard Maillot], *En Campagne: Tableaux et dessins de A. de Neuville* (Paris, [1885]) p. 66. Richard goes on to discuss *The Spy*, reproduced as *Le Porteur de Dépêches* on p. 63.

characteristics of these two hussars are so similar as to suggest a common model.¹⁹

Although the extent of such executions and reprisals by the Germans during the Franco-Prussian War may be open to question, the French public was made well aware of these real or imagined crimes by the huge volume of sensational accounts about the war published during the 1870s and 1880s. Until the appearance of de Neuville's *Spy*, however, even implied mistreatment of French soldiers or civilians had never figured in military paintings exhibited in the Salons. The 1880s saw a rapid change in this situation. Shortly after de Neuville's death in 1885, anti-German sentiment in France reached its most fevered pitch of any time during the late nineteenth century. The deterioration of Franco-German relations was exacerbated by harsh new German measures in their sector of Alsace-Lorraine and, on the French side, by the saber rattling of General Boulanger and Déroulède's Ligue des Patriotes. A new generation of young military painters, undoubtedly encouraged by the popularity of de Neuville's later works, filled the annual Salons with paintings of prisoners and hostages based on the war. Many of these works would never have been permitted into the Salons of the 1870s, but the government seldom censored clearly anti-German subjects in the 1880s. Paul-Emile Boutigny's *Les Otages* in the Salon of 1886 was identical in subject to de Neuville's earlier *De Montbéliard à Strasbourg*, with essentially the same group of figures represented. Also in the 1886 Salon, Jules Daubeil's *Colonne de Prisonniers—Sedan 1870* (Figure 12) revived the painful memory of that last great battle which sealed the fate of Napoleon III's armies. More specifically, however, it shows German soldiers cruelly tearing a French prisoner away from his wife, as other prisoners register a futile protest. It is interesting to compare this with a work by the German military painter Anton von Werner, which was completed in the same year. Von Werner, who was director of the Berlin Art Academy, enjoyed a success in Germany comparable to that of de Neuville in France, although in von

Werner's case it was won by celebrating the victorious exploits of the German armies during the war. In contrast to Daubeil's painting, von Werner's French prisoner of war is permitted a touching final embrace, while a German soldier fondly cradles the prisoner's infant a few steps away (Figure 13).



12. Jules Daubeil, *Colonne de Prisonniers—Sedan 1870*, Salon of 1886. Oil on canvas. Whereabouts unknown (photo: after Léonce Rousset, *Histoire générale de la guerre franco-allemande*, Paris, 1910–12, I, p. 336)

13. Anton von Werner, *Prisoner of War*, signed and dated (lower right): A.W. 1886. Oil on canvas. Whereabouts unknown (photo: after Rousset, *Histoire générale*, II, p. 241)



19. For another version of this subject, also dated 1884, see Philippe Chabert, *Alphonse De Neuville: L'Épopée de la défaite*, Collection: Peintres témoins de l'histoire (Paris, 1979) fig. 47; in this painting the positions of all the figures are reversed and the leading hussar's head is turned sharply left in the direction of his prisoner.



14. Francis de Saint-Vidal, *Monument to Alphonse de Neuville*, 1889. Bronze. Formerly Paris, Place Wagram (destroyed) (photo: after *Univers Illustré*, Nov. 16, 1889)

Writing about the differences between French and German artists in their treatment of the Franco-Prussian War, the German critic Otto Roesse warned in 1885 that “it would be imprudent to ignore that our adversaries have drawn from their defeats an artistic advantage more powerful, more brilliant, than we Germans have known how to obtain with victories which are perhaps unprecedented in history.”²⁰ The numerous eulogies and tributes to de Neuville in *Le Drapeau* and other nationalist publications at the time of his death reflect the French belief that he had contributed more to the emotional cause of *revanche* than any other military painter of the period. The popularity of his paintings and the extensive circulation of reproductions based on these paintings gave de Neuville enormous visibility; as Roesse suggested, French popular pride in his openly chauvinistic work had no parallel in German military art. Thus it is not surprising that when he died in 1885, de Neuville was given a full military funeral, with the participation of several detachments of the regular army. His pallbearers included Déroulède, Detaille, Meissonier, and Bouguereau.²¹ Early in 1888 Detaille organized a committee to sponsor a sculptural memorial to de Neuville. This monument, by the sculptor Francis de Saint-Vidal, was erected in the center of the Place Wagram in Paris (Figure 14) and inaugurated with great pomp in November 1889. The ceremony, presided over by Director of Fine Arts Gustave Larroumet, again included a host of military platoons and speeches by political leaders and several of the artist’s friends.²² The monument to de Neuville and to his role in reviving the patriotic pride of the French nation no longer exists. Ironically enough, it was removed from the Place Wagram and melted down for scrap by the German troops that occupied Paris during World War II.²³

20. Translated and reprinted under the title “Revanche! Tableaux de Paris par un prussien,” in *Le Drapeau* (June 31, 1885) p. 57.

21. *Le Drapeau* (June 20, 1885) pp. 297–298.

22. For a full account of these ceremonies, see *Le Monde Illustré* (Nov. 23, 1889) p. 323.

23. See Chabert, *Alphonse De Neuville*, p. 12.

Reinhold Vasters, Goldsmith

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HISTORICISM, combining a fervent regard for the past with the desire to re-create its forms, was a cultural movement that swept through most of Europe in the nineteenth century. Different countries reacted to this phenomenon in different ways. In England, for instance, historicism found early expression in the Gothic Revival, of which Isaiah Berlin has written: "The Gothic Revival represented a passionate, if not nostalgic attitude towards life, and while some examples of it appear bizarre, it sprang from a deeper sentiment and had a good deal more to say than some of the thin 'realistic' styles that followed."¹ In Germany, the movement acquired strong romantic, religious, and patriotic overtones. In the Rhineland, a region of concern to us here, historicism had a special significance, focusing as it did on the restoration and completion of the unfinished Gothic cathedral in Cologne, a process that lasted almost sixty years. Building activities, in the course of which two Gothic towers were added to the cathedral, started as early as 1823; in 1840, a society—the Dombauverein—was formed for the purpose, and two years later a foundation stone was laid by the crown prince; finally, in 1880, Emperor Wilhelm I presided over the closing ceremonies.

Enthusiasm for the Gothic style in architecture gradually led to an entirely new appreciation of medieval art objects, and as a result much attention was given to their restoration, often going beyond the strict requirements of conservation. In the course of repair, for instance, damaged objects were frequently brought closer to nineteenth-century canons of beauty. Prototypes were copied, faithfully or with variations,

and the copies were circulated with or without makers' marks. Such a climate of nostalgic make-believe obviously did not foster the ability to discriminate between original and copy; above all, it discouraged independent creativity. Exhibitions were arranged in which originals, restorations, and imitations could be seen side by side, setting the seal of approval on the effort to revive medieval art. Thus, in 1860, Dr. Franz Bock (1823–99), canon of Aachen Cathedral, mounted an exhibition of the cathedral treasures, accompanied by an illustrated catalogue, the frontispiece of which recalls the crowning of Charlemagne at the cathedral in A.D. 800 (Figure 1).² Canon Bock employed highly skilled goldsmiths, who not only restored but also replaced liturgical objects that had been damaged through continuous usage. Among these specialists was Reinhold Vasters (1827–1909), whose later activities, until recently shrouded in obscurity, must be seen in part at least as the outcome of this early environment, typical of the period of historicism.

The present inquiry was prompted by the discovery some years ago of a large collection of goldsmiths' designs in the Victoria and Albert Museum

A list of frequently cited sources is given at the end of this article.

1. I. Berlin, *Personal Impressions* (Oxford, 1982) p. 3.

2. F. Bock, *Der Reliquienschatz des Liebfrauen-Münsters zu Aachen in seinen kunstreichen Behältern zum Andenken an die Heilighumsfahrt von 1860* (Aachen, 1860), preface by J. T. Laurent ("Mit einer Einleitung von Dr. J. Th. Laurent, Bischof von Chersonnes i.p.i.").



1. Frontispiece to *Der Reliquienschatz des Liebfrauen-Münsters zu Aachen* by Franz Bock (Aachen, 1860). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

that can be traced to Vasters and his workshop.³ They feature articles of virtue in medieval, late Gothic, and Renaissance styles, and even a few in the style of the nineteenth century. Although Vasters's signature appears only twice, a great many drawings bear color notations and instructions for the executing goldsmith in German in Vasters's handwriting. The discovery has led to the identification of a considerable number of objects in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and elsewhere that are dependent, wholly or in part, on some of these designs. Subsequent research into Vasters's background in Aachen has brought to light not only the date of his death—June 14, 1909—which was previously unknown,⁴ but also the cata-

logue of Vasters's estate, including plaster casts, galvanoplastic reproductions, and a comprehensive art library, offered for sale shortly after his death by the auction house of Anton Creutzer in Aachen, October 26–27, 1909.⁵ The drawings now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, among them a few that are not by Vasters, must have formed part of this sale. We are now in a position to evaluate some of the opportunities and temptations that confronted this one-time specialist in neo-Romanesque and neo-Gothic liturgical silver during his middle and later years.

The son of a locksmith, Reinhold Vasters was born on June 2, 1827, in Erkelenz, a town about twenty-four miles north of Aachen. He entered his maker's mark as a goldsmith in Aachen in 1853, and in the same year was appointed restorer at the Aachen cathedral treasury by Canon Bock. Two years later, he married Katharina Hammacher; she died in 1859, having borne him two daughters. Gradually, Vasters acquired a reputation as a *Gold- und Silberarbeiter*, specializing in liturgical silver in the Romanesque and Gothic styles; in the town records he is repeatedly mentioned as one known for "Anfertigung kirchlicher Gefässe in mittelalterlichem Stil," but only once named as a jeweler.⁶ Vasters moved three times be-

3. I am indebted to the late John F. Hayward for having introduced me to the Vasters drawings. They were apparently bought by the London dealer Murray Marks at the sale of Vasters's estate in Aachen in 1909, and were subsequently included in the Marks sale at Christie's, July 5, 1918, lot 17. Acquired by Lazare Lowenstein for £37.16.0, they were presented by him in 1919 to the Victoria and Albert Museum (E.2570–3649-1919). See Truman (1979) p. 154.

4. Information about the date of Vasters's death, as about other matters in the city records, is due to the kind assistance of the staff of the Aachener Stadtarchiv. Prior to this research, only the year 1890 was quoted, as the date when Vasters ceased to be active as a goldsmith; see M. Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1911) p. 10, no. 34; *ibid.*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1922–28) I, p. 12, no. 42; Truman (1979) p. 154; Grimme (1981) pp. 13–31; H. Tait, "Spring in Bloomsbury: A Day to Remember," *Proceedings of the Silver Society* 3 (1983) p. 63.

5. See *Katalog Vasters*. His "reichhaltige kunstwissenschaftliche Bibliothek" comprised lots 517–818.

6. A. Kisa, Museums-Verein zu Aachen, *Denkschrift aus Anlass des Fünfundzwanzigjährigen Bestandes des Suermondt-Museums* (Aachen, 1903) p. 4, and n. 1, where some of Vasters's work is specially mentioned; Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 2nd ed., p. 10, no. 34, 3rd ed., I, p. 12, no. 42; *Ämtlicher Führer*



tween 1861 and 1870, a fact that suggests increasing prosperity at a time when he still produced church silver with his maker's mark (Figures 2, 3). One address, 26 Jacobstrasse, given on an invoice dated April 24, 1869 (Figure 4), was an ideal location for trade, being close to the marketplace. The decorative rendering of Vasters's billhead is typical of the spirit that must have moved him, at least during his earlier years. The scene of the goldsmith in his workshop evokes a

durch die Historische Jahrtausend-Ausstellung in Aachen, exh. cat. (Aachen, 1925) p. 87, nos. 113–116a, liturgical silver by Vasters described as “neu-gotisch” and “neu-romanisch,” followed by works of Martin Vogeno (nos. 117–125) and August Witte, senior (no. 131); G. Grimme, “Die Goldschmiedekunst der Kaiserstadt Aachen,” *Die Bergstadt* 14, fasc. 4 (reprint n.d.) p. 16; E. G. Grimme, “Der Aachener Domschatz,” *Aachener Kunstblätter* 42 (1972) pp. 5, 57, no. 39; W. Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Rheinland-Westfalens: Daten, Werke, Zeichen* (Berlin, 1973) I, p. 40, no. 137; Grimme (1981) pp. 13–31; Richter (1983) pp. 63–70; Tait, “Spring in Bloomsbury,” pp. 63–64, figs. 2, 3.

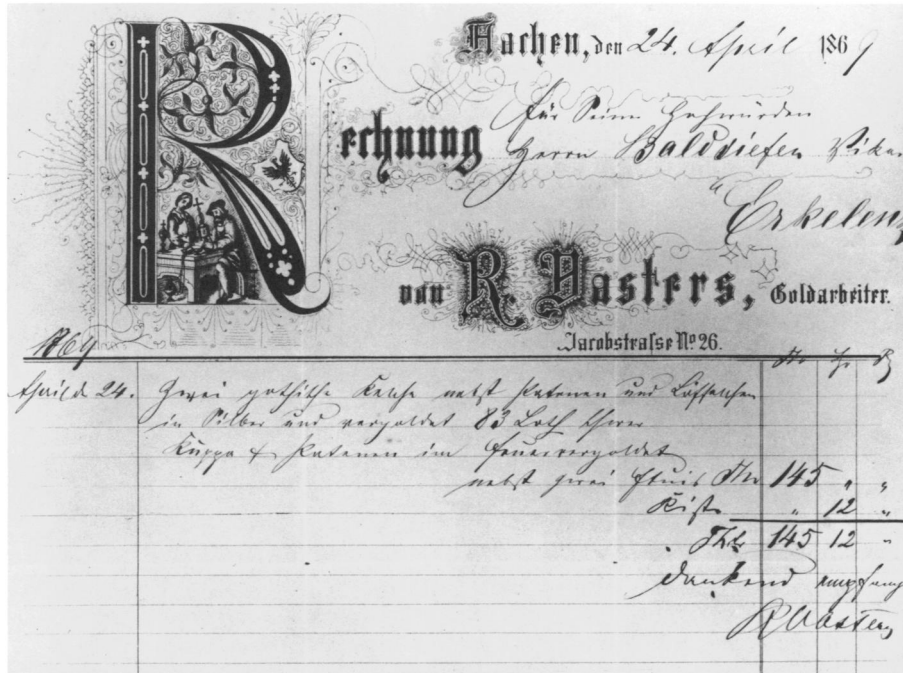


2, 3. Reinhold Vasters (1827–1909), two neo-Gothic chalices, hallmarked R. VASTERS AACHEN, Figure 3 dated 1867. Silver-gilt, H. 20.6 cm., 21 cm. Oberkrüchten, Catholic Church (photos: Landeskonservator Rheinland, Bonn)

romantic make-believe, such as Goethe described in the words of Faust to Wagner:

Was ihr den Geist der Zeiten heisst,
Das ist im Grund der Herren eigner Geist,
In dem die Zeiten sich bespiegeln.
(What you might call the spirit of the times is really men's
own spirit, in which the times are reflected.)

In 1872, Vasters bought the house in which he was to live until his death in 1909, at 17 Mariahilfstrasse. The tree-lined Mariahilfstrasse, opened as recently as 1861, had soon become a favorite residential location for well-to-do citizens of Aachen. During these later years Vasters was apparently a man of considerable



4. Invoice of R. Vasters, Goldarbeiter, 26 Jacobstrasse, Aachen, signed and dated April 24, 1869, for two silver-gilt Gothic chalices with patens and spoons ("Zwei gothische Kelche nebst Patenen und Löf-felchen in Silber und vergoldet 83 Loth schwer / Kuppa & Patenen im Feuer vergoldet / nebst zwei Etais") (photo: C.-W. Clasen)

substance, no longer dependent wholly on the sale of church silver in the medieval style, but with other, more lucrative sources of regular income. These were evidently sufficient to enable him to participate as a collector of decorative arts in the Düsseldorf exhibition "Ausstellung der kunstgewerblichen Alterthümer" of 1880,⁷ and again in the "Kunsthistorische Ausstellung" held in Düsseldorf in 1902, when he exhibited almost 500 objects; on that occasion, "the collection of the Aachen goldsmith Vasters" was acknowledged among others by the organizers of the exhibition in a commemorative volume.⁸

Vasters's collecting interests seem to have had a surprisingly wide range, from goldsmiths' work, where his strength might have been expected, to textiles, arms and armor, glass, rock crystals (see Figures 14, 15), ceramics, and even furniture. Edmund Renard, commenting on the 1902 exhibition, wrote: "Among the smaller private collections that of the Aachen

goldsmith Reinhold Vasters offers a highly characteristic picture; throughout one notes the specialist and technician. Several decades of cooperation with the greatest genius among nineteenth-century collectors, Spitzer, have had a distinct influence on the formation of the collection."⁹ At that time Frédéric Spitzer (1815–90), the Vienna-born *marchand-amateur*, had been dead for twelve years, but clearly his significance among European collectors was not forgotten. There is, as we shall see, much circumstantial evidence to link Vasters with Spitzer, but this is the only

7. *Ausstellung der kunstgewerblichen Alterthümer in Düsseldorf 1880* exh. cat. (Düsseldorf, 1880). The catalogue is organized by class of object; there are numerous loans by "Vasters in Aachen," as there are by "Spitzer in Paris" (see below). I am largely indebted to Norbert Jopek, Trier, for this and other material connected with Vasters as a private collector.

8. *Die Kunsthistorische Ausstellung Düsseldorf 1902*, exh. cat. (Düsseldorf, 1902) pt. 2, pp. 211–221, nos. 2918–3161; *Die Industrie- und Gewerbe-Ausstellung Düsseldorf 1902* (Düsseldorf, 1903) p. 392.

9. Edmund Renard, "Die kunsthistorische Ausstellung Düsseldorf 1902," *Rheinlande: Monatschrift für deutsche Kunst* (1902) pp. 41–42, ill. (see Figure 15). "Unter den kleineren Privatsammlungen bietet die Sammlung des Aachener Goldschmiedes Reinhold Vasters ein sehr charakteristisches Bild; überall merkt man den Fachmann, den Techniker heraus; jahrzehntelanges Zusammenarbeiten mit dem grössten Sammler-Genie des 19. Jahrhunderts, Spitzer, ist für das Entstehen der Sammlung von besonderem Einfluss gewesen." The writer goes on to men-

contemporary mention that has so far come to light of an association between them.

After 1895, Vasters is no longer referred to in the Aachen records as a goldsmith, but as a retired person—to be precise, a *Rentner*, a man of private means. Sales from his collection, publicized by the loan exhibitions in the Rhineland, probably helped to finance the last years of his life. At all events, few objects of the kind Vasters had exhibited figured in the sale catalogue of his estate when he died in 1909.

Vasters's early activities were ideally suited to the ambience of a quiet German cathedral town. His task of restoring the cathedral treasures was typical of the contemporary concern to preserve relics of the past, an endeavor initiated with the foundation of the *Karlsverein zur Wiederherstellung des Aachener Münsters* in 1847, just six years after the first such creation in the Rhineland—that of the *Dombauverein* in Cologne. It was in the shadow of medieval cathedrals that neo-Romanesque and neo-Gothic styles were promoted, leaving their mark not only on architecture, including such civic enterprises as schools, museums, and railroad stations, but also on most branches of sacred and profane art.¹⁰

Indeed, practicing architects, such as those in the Rhineland who participated in the completion of Cologne Cathedral, played an active role in extending the prevailing historicism to goldsmiths' designs. Although the independent work that Vasters offered for sale was often based upon prototypes in the Aachen cathedral treasury, some of his clients preferred to furnish their own designs. Thus, in 1865, the Catholic congregation of Berlin asked the Cologne architect Hugo Schneider to design a crozier in twelfth-century style for presentation to Leopold Pelldram,

5. Vasters, head of a crozier, made for Bishop Leopold Pelldram of Trier, 1865, from a design by Hugo Schneider. Silver-gilt, filigree, and enamel, H. 45 cm. Trier, Domschatz (photo: D. Thomassin, Trier)

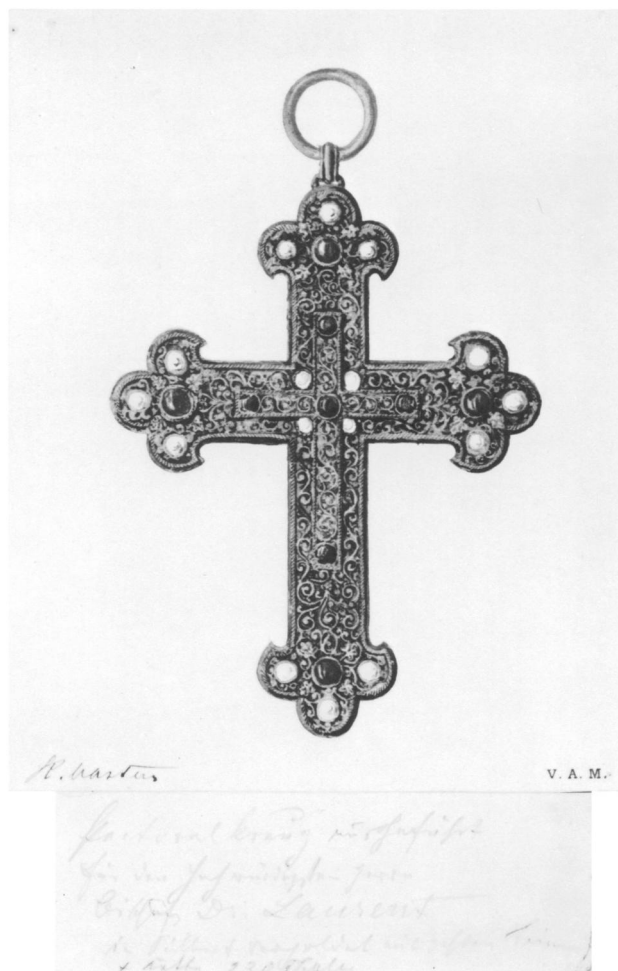


tion the fragments of interest to specialists, in particular "a series of rock crystal vessels, mostly of 16th-century northern Italian, Milanese origin, with a wealth of carved ornament and figural representation." The loans by Vasters also included a varied selection of gold jewels, with gemstones and enamels, of a kind "specially favored in 16th-century Germany."

10. P. Bloch, *Skulpturen des 19. Jahrhunderts im Rheinland* (Düsseldorf, 1975); W. Schäfke, *Goldschmiedearbeiten des Historismus in Köln*, exh. cat. (Cologne: Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, 1980); Grimme (1981) pp. 13–31; B. Mundt, "Theorien zum Kunstgewerbe des Historismus in Deutschland," in *Beiträge zur Theorie der Künste im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. Koopmann and J. A. Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth (Frankfurt am Main, 1971–72) I, pp. 317–336.

the newly appointed bishop of Trier. Vasters, commissioned to execute the design, showed his masterly handling of the techniques of filigree, enameling, and embossing of allegorical figures (Figure 5). The crozier was received with such enthusiasm as to be immediately exhibited in Vienna and published in Aachen.¹¹ Exhibited with the crozier were two chalices by Vasters in Romanesque style, together with liturgical silver by Martin Vogeno (master in 1854) and August Witte (master in 1858), both from Aachen.¹² The crozier was probably not the only item that Vasters made from a design by Schneider, for two drawings dated 1871 and signed by the architect are in the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum: one shows a ciborium, the other a fountain;¹³ the latter, according to its handwritten legend, was entered in the competition for the marketplace of Lübeck, where it won first prize.

6. Vasters, design for a silver-gilt and jeweled pectoral cross for Bishop Laurent, signed *R. Vasters*, ca. 1860–65. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3009-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



Only two of the drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum bear Vasters's signature. One of these represents a covered cup in late Gothic style, which closely resembles the Corvinus Cup of 1462 at Wiener Neustadt, as well as its near copy formerly in the Karl von Rothschild collection in Frankfurt.¹⁴ The other shows a pectoral cross in Romanesque style, a design in which the styles and techniques of past and present are reconciled in perfect harmony (Figure 6). The legend below the drawing notes that this pectoral cross was executed for Bishop Laurent in silver-gilt with precious stones and a chain, its value 230 talers.¹⁵ It may not be altogether incidental that Vasters's signature is found only on drawings of objects in a revival style, something for which he had established a professional reputation. Regrettably few items bearing his maker's mark seem to have survived. Silversmiths such as Martin Vogeno and August Witte, who worked with

11. My thanks are due to C.-W. Clasen of Bonn, who first brought the crozier to my attention, and to Norbert Jopek, secretary of the exhibition "Schatzkunst Trier," held in Trier Cathedral in 1984, who kindly supplied a photograph; see *Schatzkunst Trier*, Treveris Sacra 3, exh. cat. (Trier: Bischöfliches Generalvikariat, 1984) no. 218, p. 252, ill. For contemporary references to the crozier see: K. B. and B., "Der Stab des Bischofs Leopold von Trier," *Organ für Christliche Kunst* (1865) pp. 150–151; and "Moderne kirchliche Kunst von Aachen im Österreichischen Museum," *Echo der Gegenwart*, no. 218 (Friday, Aug. 11, 1865), reprinted from *Neue Freie Presse*. See also G. Hermeling, "Zwei neue Bischofsstäbe in goth. Stile," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* 5 (1892) pl. II.

12. Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 2nd ed., p. 10, nos. 35 (M. Vogeno) and 37 (A. Witte), 3rd ed., I, p. 12, nos. 43 (Vogeno) and 44 (Witte); Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Rheinland-Westfalens*, I, p. 40, no. 143 (Vogeno), p. 41, no. 146 (Witte); Grimme (1981) p. 20.

13. Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2580-1919, E.2584-1919.

14. For the Vasters drawing see Truman (1979) p. 161, fig. 12. Richter (1983) pp. 38–40, figs. 30–33, illustrates a galvanoplastic reproduction of the original cup (fig. 31), of the kind that might have been known to Vasters; see also note 167.

15. "Pectoral Kreuz ausgeführt für den hochwürdigen Herrn Bischof Dr. Laurent in silber-vergoldet mit echten Steinen und Kette, 230 Thaler." A Bishop Laurent contributed the preface to Canon Bock's catalogue of the exhibition of treasures from Aachen Cathedral in 1860; see note 2 above. The cross itself is extant (Norbert Jopek, personal communication). It may have been the "Croix pectorale d'Evêque" exhibited by Vasters in Malines in 1864 (no. 1132): see *Catalogue des objets d'art religieux à l'hôtel Liederkerke à Malines*, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1864) p. 189, "1120–1132 Objets exposés par M. Reinhold Vasters, orfèvre pour objets d'église en style moyen âge, Aix-la-Chapelle." See also *ibid.*, nos. 1134–1140, for works by another Aachen goldsmith, Martin Vogeno (see note 12).

him at the cathedral treasury, are far better known, for many objects bearing their marks can be traced. Moreover, Vogeno and Witte, who continued at the treasury long after Vasters seems to have gone his own way, established flourishing firms bearing their names. Did Vasters chafe at the restricted activities of a cathedral goldsmith, resenting the limitations on his creative genius, on the range of objects he might hope to design, and on the materials he could expect to handle? Did he aim at higher compensation than could be looked for within the boundaries of the cathedral precinct? Whatever his reasons, Vasters seems not to have participated in exhibitions of church silver after 1865, and the 1869 invoice for two Gothic chalices (Figure 4) is the last known reference to his work in this vein.

As it happens, a promise of more varied activities, tied to the prospect of rapid financial advancement, could have opened up for Vasters during the sixties as a result of his association with the cathedral treasury. Around 1865, Canon Bock ordered the conversion of a silver-gilt pax, made about 1520 by Hans von Reutlingen, into a morse, or clasp. According to Stephan Beissel, whose book on forged artworks appeared in 1909, a dozen or so copies were made at the time, some with slight variations (Figure 7).¹⁶ One of these versions, incorporating parts of the original, found its way into the Spitzer collection in Paris, probably commissioned by the collector himself.¹⁷

Frédéric Spitzer was no stranger in Aachen. He had established a firm there in about 1855—Spitzer, Kunst- und Antiquitäten-Handlung—and maintained it until at least 1868, moving three times during that period.¹⁸ If we lend credence to tales then circulating in Aachen, Spitzer induced the local clergy to let him have old liturgical objects, arguing that in a damaged condition these had lost most of their value. Moved by deep-rooted antiquarian concern, he was nevertheless willing to acquire such objects and to replace them with new ones, made to serve their specific liturgical purposes even better, while preserving the appropriate “medieval” style.

If, as seems plausible, the conversion of the original sixteenth-century pax by Hans von Reutlingen was entrusted to Vasters, Spitzer must have been impressed by the cathedral goldsmith’s resourcefulness in blending old and new parts to create a harmonious unit. That Spitzer had friendly ties with the ca-

thedral authorities—ties that no doubt he was able to exploit—is confirmed by his gift in 1871 of a silver-gilt morse, once again composed of old and new parts.¹⁹ In all likelihood, this morse was made by Vasters. It displays a Romanesque openwork roundel within a pseudo-Romanesque quatrefoil setting; the inscription includes the words FRIEDERICUS SPITZER ARCHAEOLOGUS VIENNENSIS A 1871.

Two other works can probably be assigned to the same early phase of Vasters’s new career, if we are right in thinking that its opening stages were marked by commissions to convert and reset surviving treasures. One is a remarkable enameled plaque with the Holy Trinity, now in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. (Figure 8).²⁰ The roundel is a superb example of *ronde-bosse* technique—enamel on gold raised in high relief—executed in the finest French court tradition of about 1400. The silver-gilt setting, on the other hand, shows close affinities with the pax by Hans von Reutlingen, converted into a morse around 1865 (see Figure 7).

16. S. Beissel, *Gefälschte Kunstwerke* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909) p. 86, “wohl ‘ein Dutzend Kopien.’” For a full bibliography see Grimme, “Der Aachener Domschatz,” pp. 122–123, ill., and pl. 145. For similar morses see: *Catalogue illustré de la collection . . . Antoine Jos. Essingh*, sale cat., J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz) (Cologne, Sept. 18–29, 1865) pt. II, lot 903, pl. VIII (upper); see Figure 7); E. Felix, *Zierstücke des älteren deutschen, französischen und italienischen Kunstgewerbes zumeist aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhunderte, nach den Originalen in der Kunstsammlung von Eugen Felix . . .* (Leipzig, 1883) no. 617, pl. XIII, mounted on copper gilt; J. Camón Aznar, *Guía abreviada del Museo Lazaro Galdiano* (Madrid, 1951) ill., “Gran broche gótico de capa pluvial”; Richter (1983) pp. 70–71, fig. 61, morse in the Kestner Gesellschaft Museum, Hanover.

17. *Collection Spitzer*, I, p. 140, no. 144 (German, end of 15th or beginning of 16th century), ORFÈVREURIE RELIGIEUSE pl. XXIV; Spitzer Sale, I, lot 350, pl. IX, cf. lots 346, 349, 364.

18. 1855–58: 10 Ursulinerstrasse; 1858–61: 38 Harscampstrasse; 1861–65 (or 1868): 40 Harscampstrasse.

19. Grimme, “Der Aachener Domschatz,” pp. 149–150, no. 166, pl. 192.

20. Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of a Collection of European Enamels: From the Earliest Date to the End of the XVIII. Century*, exh. cat. (London, 1897) p. 74, no. 242b, and pl. LXIII, “Lent by J. E. Taylor”; *Catalogue of the . . . Collection of Works of Art . . . Formed by J. E. Taylor*, sale cat., Christie’s (London, July 1, 1912) lot 234, ill.; T. Müller and E. Steingraber, “Die französische Goldemailplastik um 1400,” *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 5 (1954) pp. 36, 38, 67, no. 4, fig. 9; P. Verdier, “La Trinité debout de Champmol,” in *Etudes d’art offertes à Charles Sterling*, ed. A. Châtelet (Paris, 1975) pp. 69–70, fig. 48.



7. Morse with the Virgin and Child, after pax by Hans von Reutlingen, ca. 1520, here attributed to Vasters, ca. 1860–64. Silver, H. 17 cm. Formerly Cologne, Antoine Jos. Essingh Collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library (photo: after Heberle's sale catalogue, 1865, pl. viii, detail)



8. Morse with the Trinity: central group, Paris or Burgundy, ca. 1400; setting attributed to Vasters, ca. 1865–70. Enameled gold, pearls, jewels; diam. 12.6 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942.9.287 (photo: National Gallery)



9. *St. James Major at the Battle of Clavijo*: plaque, Danube region, ca. 1520; frame by Vasters, ca. 1865–70. Enameled gold and silver-gilt. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, M.551-1910 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

The second, which was in Spitzer's collection at his death, is an early sixteenth-century enameled plaque from the Danube region, showing St. James the Major at the battle of Clavijo, in a silver-gilt setting designed by Vasters (Figure 9).²¹ The plaque itself had formed part of the roof of the Erasmus Shrine once in the Hallesche Heiltum of Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg. Since 1910 this work has been in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where an inventory note records that it was "Restored by Vasters" and mentions the existence of a photograph, now lost, which showed an alternative setting.²² This is the only known instance in which a near-contemporary source has linked Vasters by name with an object formerly in Spitzer's collection. The lack of documentary evidence, however, need not deter us from attributing to Spitzer a critical role in Vasters's career.

The two men could not have been more different in background. Frédéric Spitzer (Figure 10) was a prominent member of the antiquarian world, who moved with apparent ease across the international scene in the second half of the nineteenth century, amassing vast quantities of antiques that ranged from furniture, sculpture, and arms and armor to glass, ivories, enamels, bronzes, and exquisite *objets de vitrine*; their value has been estimated at twelve to fourteen million French francs.²³ In 1852, having decided no doubt that Paris would offer the best base for his operations, Spitzer bought a large house in the sixteenth arrondissement at 33 rue de Villejust, thereafter known as the Musée Spitzer, in which his accumulated treasures were displayed (Figures 11, 12).

In considering Spitzer as a collector and dealer, it is as well to remember that the Napoleonic conquests had resulted in an almost unprecedented destruction and dislocation of works of art in Europe. The gradual reawakening of national consciousness stimulated new interest in these scattered treasures. Some had been damaged beyond repair, but others could be restored and preserved. Frédéric Spitzer, combining commercial genius with genuine antiquarian interests and a discerning eye, knew instinctively how to exploit the situation. He appealed to a new society of bankers and merchants with a penchant for personal magnificence, luring them with Viennese charm to yield to the fascination of art collecting under his guidance. Spitzer seems to have used every trick of the trade to make contacts with prospective clients.

Preferring to be known as an *amateur*, he invited Liszt to play the piano to specially invited friends, asked outstanding actors of the Comédie Française to recite for them, and on one occasion even added a touch of humor by himself appearing in the guise of Charles V.²⁴

Writing in the year of Spitzer's death, Edmond Bonnaffé gave an admirable description of the flair, energy, and business sense that had contributed to his success: "Il avait l'instinct de la curiosité, le flair des belles choses, le coup d'oeil rapide et sûr, une activité endiablée, le génie des affaires et foi dans son étoile; il devait réussir."²⁵ Bonnaffé's description of Spitzer's house and those who frequented it is also worth quoting: "Pendant douze ans [1878–90], l'hôtel de la rue de Villejust a été le pèlerinage de toute l'aristocratie européenne, aristocratie de naissance, de talent ou de fortune."²⁶ In the end, however, the privilege of being one of Spitzer's clients was not entirely unmixed, particularly for those who bought at the sale of his collection in 1893—"la plus grande vente du siècle." The catalogue of the sale, which ran from April 17 to June 16 and realized well over nine million francs,²⁷ stipulated that "il ne sera admis aucune réclamation une fois l'adjudication prononcée." Even at the time questions were raised in some circles about Spitzer's connoisseurship and motivation. Justus Brinckmann, director of the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, was quick to point out Spitzer's methods of misleading those who sought the truth

21. *Collection Spitzer*, III, p. 143, no. 12 (Venetian, beginning of 16th century), ill.; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 1797 (Venetian or Spanish); Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of a Collection of European Enamels*, pp. 72–73, no. 242, pl. LXI, "Lent by G. Salt- ing"; E. Steingraber, "Süddeutsche Goldemailplastik der Frührenaissance," in *Studien zur Geschichte der Europäischen Plastik: Festschrift Theodor Müller . . .*, ed. K. Martin (Munich, 1965) pp. 225, 228, figs. 8, 9; J. Rasmussen, "Untersuchungen zum Halleschen Heiltum des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 27 (1976) pp. 105–106, figs. 44, 45.

22. See Truman (1979) p. 154.

23. Beissel, *Gefälschte Kunstwerke*, p. 151.

24. M. Rheims, *La Vie étrange des objets: Histoire de la curiosité* (Paris, 1959) pp. 36, 401.

25. E. Bonnaffé, *Le Musée Spitzer* (Paris, 1890) p. 8. (Bonnaffé's essay was adapted and reprinted as a preface to the Spitzer Sale catalogue, pp. xiii–xx, see esp. p. xiii.)

26. Bonnaffé, *Musée Spitzer*, p. 22.

27. Spitzer Sale, supplement, p. 12: 9,123,780 frs.; Beissel, *Gefälschte Kunstwerke*, p. 152: 9,500,000 frs.

about objects in his collection.²⁸ The quality of much of the collection was outstanding, but Spitzer's proclivity for obscuring or inventing provenances, for combining old with old or old with new to complete, to beautify (in terms of contemporary taste), or simply to multiply objects had not gone unnoticed. A few years after the sale, one writer referred candidly to the fakes and overrestored items it had contained.²⁹

Spitzer is known to have engaged gifted designers and craftsmen, specialists in their own right. He had them study great collections of religious and secular art, including those of arms and armor, and commissioned them to furnish sketches as points of departure for ingenious repairs or new settings of old fragments. The practice of revitalizing broken or otherwise damaged works of art, particularly those made of precious materials, and of creating for them new, congenial settings has a long tradition and is not in itself illegitimate. Difficulties arise, however, if deceptively optimistic descriptions and pedigrees are attached to the results. The prevailing trend of historicism, with its emphasis on the revival of arts and crafts and on the merits of medieval and Renaissance prototypes, proved to be highly auspicious for this part of Spitzer's enterprise.

We learn from Beissel, whose *Gefälschte Kunstwerke* appeared in the year of Vasters's death, that Spitzer had "as is well known, employed for almost fifty years a series of first-rate artists in Paris, Cologne, Aachen, etc., who made him 'old things.'"³⁰ It seems reasonable to suppose that Spitzer was not eager to advertise these activities, and a designer resident in Aachen, out of the public eye, would have suited his purposes admirably.

Initially, Vasters may not even have fully realized that objects executed by him or from his designs were to be passed off as rare survivals of medieval or Renaissance art, as Spitzer was to describe them in later life in an ambitious catalogue of his collection. This magnificently printed and illustrated six-volume work was brought out in the years 1890–92. Entirely planned by Spitzer, who lived to see only the first volume published, the catalogue included contributions by a number of well-known specialists.

When the collection was sold in 1893, a two-volume catalogue was issued, more or less repeating the entries used in the earlier volumes. One of the accompanying plates shows a group of rock crystal and hardstone vessels and other objects (Figure 13), fifteen

of which are now in the Metropolitan Museum. Many of the items can be recognized in the photograph of the interior of the Musée Spitzer, in the center vitrine against the far wall (Figure 12). With less evident justification, many can also be recognized among the Vasters designs in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where, as we shall see, working drawings for them, in part or whole, are clearly identifiable. The catalogue entries attribute completely authentic origins to these as to almost every other piece in Spitzer's collection.³¹

Both catalogues—that of the Spitzer collection and that of the sale—were listed in Vasters's library when it was auctioned in 1909.³² Vasters's ownership of these volumes can only indicate that he was aware of Spitzer's duplicity.

Without the catalogues, of course, it would be practically impossible to link Spitzer by name with such an extraordinary array of objects, ranging all the way from works of exceptional quality to made-to-order fakes. No doubt a great many items had passed through Spitzer's hands before he decided to catalogue his collection, and of these transactions there are no known records. Some objects, including several that had not been catalogued, remained in the family, and were sold by his heirs in 1929.³³

28. J. Brinckmann, "Die Versteigerung der Sammlung Spitzer in Paris," *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg: Bericht für das Jahr 1893* (Hamburg, 1894) pp. 45–68. See also W. von Bode, *Mein Leben* (Berlin, 1930) I, p. 155; II, p. 97.

29. W. B[raun], "Noch einmal die Versteigerungen Zschille und Bardini in London," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 22 (1899) p. 423. The writer mentions the Spitzer collection and the prices attained "für die hervorragenden Stücke, noch für das Gros der Sammlung, das zahlreiche falsche oder stark restaurierte Stücke, ja ganze Abtheilungen, welche dieser Vorwurf traf, in sich schloss."

30. Beissel, *Gefälschte Kunstwerke*, p. 152, "Er beschäftigte bekanntermaßen seit fast 50 Jahren eine Reihe vortrefflicher Künstler zu Paris, Köln, Aachen usw., die ihm 'alte Sachen' machten." Not unnaturally, no names are named, though the mention of Aachen in this context may be thought significant.

31. For bibliographical information about the catalogues see the list of frequently cited sources. Although for present purposes the two sets of entries have not been collated, they appear to be substantially the same; significant differences are noted. Both catalogues use the following formula for provenance and date: "*Travail allemand* (XVI^e siècle)," "*Travail italien* (fin du XV^e siècle)," and so on.

32. *Katalog Vasters*, lots 664, 665.

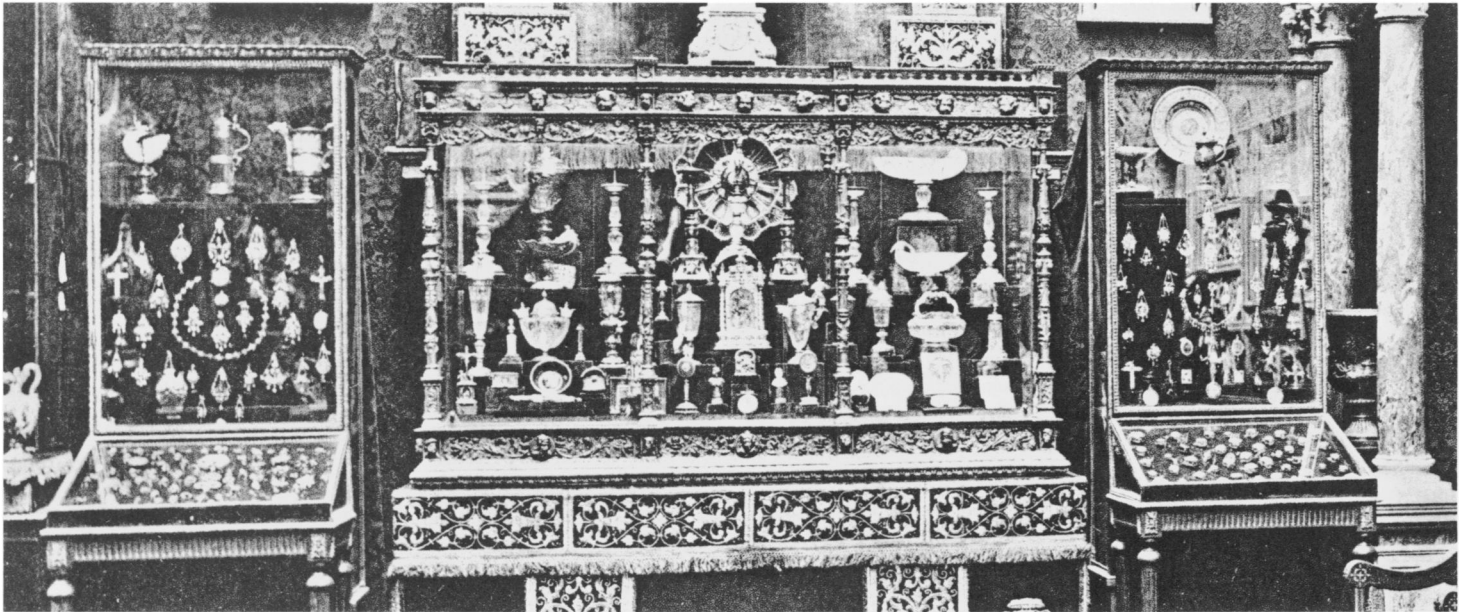
33. See Spitzer Sale (1929). A sale of the arms and armor was held in Paris in 1895.

10. *Frédéric Spitzer* (1815–90), frontispiece to *Le Musée Spitzer* by Edmond Bonnaffé (Paris, 1890). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



11. Interior of the Musée Spitzer, 33 rue de Villejust, Paris 16e. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library (photo: after Bonnaffé, *Le Musée Spitzer*)





12. Detail of Figure 11

13. Rock crystal and hardstone objects included in the sale of the Spitzer collection, Paris, 1893. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library (photo: after Spitzer Sale, pl. LIX)



14, 15. Two installation photographs of rock crystal objects lent by Vasters to the exhibition "Die Kunsthistorische Ausstellung Düsseldorf 1902," Figure 14 annotated—by Vasters(?)—*Aachen Bergkrystall. Gefäße aus der Slg. R. Vasters* (photos: Rheinisches Amt für Denkmalpflege)



The association between Spitzer and Vasters must have had its legitimate aspect, or it could hardly have been mentioned openly in 1902 as having influenced Vasters's private collection.³⁴ Two installation photographs of rock crystals exhibited by Vasters that year are striking confirmation of his dependence on the other's example (Figures 14, 15), though at a much less ambitious level. The fragmentary nature of some of the exhibits, the temporary or unfinished appearance of certain mounts, the unadorned baluster stems of different heights—suggesting alternative forms of presentation, are intriguing clues to the kind of work Vasters had been engaged in before his retirement, and was perhaps still prepared unofficially to put in hand. The photographs also raise a number of speculations about what were then regarded as permissible borderlines between authentic, restored, and retrospective works.

Our present pursuit, to match Vasters's designs in the Victoria and Albert Museum with the objects restored or made from them, and where possible to suggest his prototypes and sources of inspiration, is primarily concerned with Renaissance and neo-Renaissance works which are today in the Metropolitan Museum. Included in the discussion are certain related works in other—mainly American—collections. Although the great generation of American collectors—Altman, Friedsam, Morgan, Walters, and Widener—came too late to have had direct contact with Spitzer, they were still under the spell cast by those *objets de luxe* that he had so successfully promoted. With a single striking exception, now in a private collection in the United States, Vasters's medievalizing designs are not examined here. The logical place for an investigation of that side of Vasters's activities is the Rhineland, where medieval objects were valued and collected, and where some of Vasters's medieval-style chalices are still in use.³⁵

Before going further it is as well to admit our dependence on Vasters's designs as guides across difficult territory. Certain Renaissance-style pendants, cups, or ebony and gold cabinets, previously accepted as genuine—if sometimes with an element of doubt as to the exact origins of a piece—must now be seen as creations or re-creations of the nineteenth century. Expert opinions about undocumented objects, or objects whose provenance is not in doubt, have traditionally been based on personal experience and

sensibility, depending heavily on the absence of mechanical casting or tooling, as well as on the character and colors of the enamel if used. However, such expertise can be faced with insurmountable problems if, for example, the design of a piece is impeccably in period and it is not available for handling. Where no outside doubts about authenticity exist, the tendency is to seek an art-historical explanation of elements that may seem out of key. As the frontiers of our knowledge have expanded, through the aid of photography, metallurgy and chemistry, and the discovery of Vasters's designs, the pioneer work of Otto von Falke in 1924 becomes even more admirable: Falke was the first to express doubts about some of Vasters's creations.³⁶ In this context a pertinent example, never previously questioned, is the so-called Rospigliosi gold cup, enhanced as it is by historical associations. Most of the controversial objects under discussion, however, are far less ambitious and tend to follow repetitive, if not monotonous, designs. Their occasional lack of surface quality has often been attributed to a provincial origin, in some faraway region of eastern Europe or southern Spain. When such objects are matched with preparatory drawings by Vasters, their nineteenth-century origin can no longer be in doubt.

The surviving drawings now in the Victoria and Albert Museum are predominantly, though not exclusively, secular in character, with an emphasis on Renaissance style. This in itself suggests that for the most part they postdate Vasters's employment as a cathedral goldsmith, when his concerns are more likely to have been with medieval church art. Among the drawings are illustrations of or after pieces that could not be seen in the Rhineland. Although Vasters was obviously in a position to travel, his well-stocked art library, which must have represented a considerable investment, would have served him for reference as well as inspiration. One is inclined to believe that only after he had severed his ties with Aachen Cathedral

34. See note 9 above, esp. the reference to rock crystal vessels of mainly 16th-century northern Italian, Milanese origin. The writer used the photograph reproduced here as Figure 15 to illustrate his point that the rock crystals, though damaged, still created a very rich impression.

35. Such an investigation has recently been undertaken by Norbert Jopek, attached to the cathedral treasury in Trier.

36. O. von Falke, "Silberfälschungen," *Belvedere* 5, Forum (1924) pp. 1–6.

did Vasters fully respond to the general trend of the *Gründerjahre* in Germany, ready to work in a greater diversity of styles and to produce *Schatzkammer* objects for which a demand had become perceptible.

Uncertainty remains as to the whereabouts of the workshops in which Vasters's designs were realized. As so many of the items to be discussed belonged at one time to Frédéric Spitzer in Paris, it seems likely that one or more workshops existed there, to handle in particular those objects which incorporated genuine fragments from Spitzer's collection or which were made of heavy gold and precious gemstones that he might have preferred to keep under his eye. On the other hand, objects whose related drawings remained in Aachen were probably executed—at least in part—in local workshops. The coexistence of several centers of production might also help to explain discernible differences in quality and technical accomplishment in the finished pieces. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to indicate whether Vasters sold his designs wherever he could, or predominantly to Spitzer, whom he survived by nineteen years. The circumstances suggest, however, that Spitzer had secured for himself considerable prerogatives, based on steady patronage and regular financial support.³⁷

In the absence of any hall- or master's mark establishing the precise authorship of the objects under consideration, it is wise to refrain from making direct attributions to Vasters, tempting as it may be to do so. Too few of his drawings are signed. Moreover, the

large number of objects depending on them raises doubts about their varied use. Until more is known about Vasters's practice as a designer and about the workshops that realized his designs, his autograph work is best limited to examples of hallmarked liturgical silver such as are still found in churches of the Rhineland. It is difficult, however, to resist mentioning in advance at least three items, based on designs from Vasters's estate and of superb quality, that seem to show this Aachen goldsmith at his best: the mounts and bail handle of a sixteenth-century rock crystal bowl (Figure 68); the enameled-gold settings, including the figure of a recumbent dog, of a seventeenth-century red jasper bowl (Figure 152); and a large agate covered bowl, with densely ornamented figural and decorative bands and finial (Figure 163).

In the discussion that follows, the pieces have been grouped for convenience as far as is practicable: pendants (Figures 16–55); gold-mounted rock crystals of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century origin, including *verres églomisés* in rock crystal settings (Figures 56–95); gold-mounted rock crystals of nineteenth-century origin (Figures 96–151); hardstone vessels with gold mounts (Figures 152–165); the Rospigliosi gold cup (Figures 166–177); wood objects mounted in gold (Figures 178–187); a hardstone statuette (Figures 188–193); and—by way of a postscript to this review of Renaissance and neo-Renaissance works—a neo-Gothic drinking horn (Figures 194–205).

37. It would be interesting to know the source of Rosenberg's information (see note 4) that the last year in which Vasters was active as a goldsmith was 1890—the year of Spitzer's death. In the Aachen city records, as noted, Vasters is not described as a *Rentner* until 1895.

PENDANTS

A small scent bottle from the Medici collections, now in the Museo degli Argenti in Florence (Figures 16–18),³⁸ must have been known to Vasters, probably illustrated in one of the many pattern books and volumes of lithographs of art objects from earlier periods that formed his working library. The gold-mounted bottle of banded agate, set with rubies and diamonds, has at each end an oval medallion enclosing an enameled figure in low relief: one is a young man, attired in the fashion of 1515–20, the period of the youthful François I, who runs beside the wheel of fortune; the other is a lady, also in fashionable dress of the period, who raises one hand to receive a heart presented to her out of the clouds. The much-damaged inscription includes the word FORTUNE.

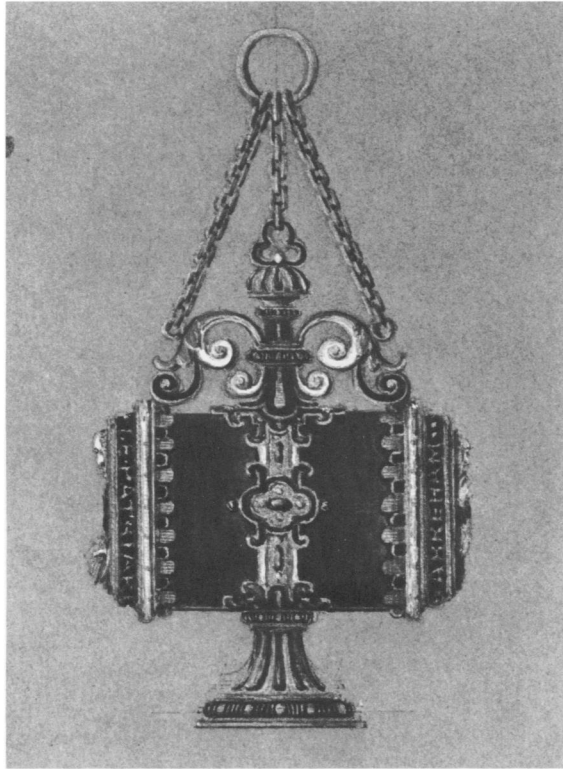
16–18. Scent bottle, France, ca. 1515–20. Banded agate, enameled gold, rubies, diamonds. Florence, Museo degli Argenti (photos: Marcello Bertoni)

A color sketch by Vasters shows this Medici scent bottle converted into a pendant, embellished with *Schweifwerk* and a central band with a cartouche of mid-sixteenth-century character (Figure 19); encircling inscriptions read, on the left, LE PATRIAR[CH] and, on the right, ABRAHAM. The matching piece, formerly owned by Spitzer, is now in the Metropolitan Museum as part of the Robert Lehman Collection (Figures 20–22).³⁹ Unaware of the contradictions of style between shape and decoration, and disregarding the secular character of the original in Florence, Vasters substituted for the lovers in the medallions busts of bearded Old Testament figures, named on

38. Y. Hackenbroch, "A French Perfume Bottle in the Medici Collections," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 36 (1985) pp. 72–80.

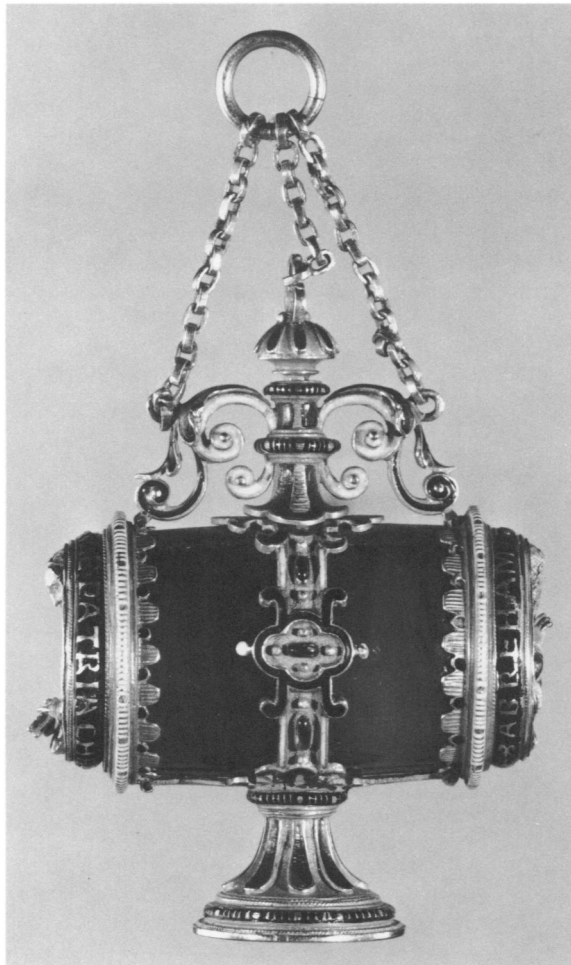
39. Spitzer Sale (1929) lot 605, ill., "French, 16th century"; *Exposition de la Collection Lehman de New York*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée de l'Orangerie, 1957) p. 133, no. 208, pl. 86.





19. Design for scent-bottle pendant, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2839-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

20–22. Scent-bottle pendant, ca. 1870–90. Banded agate, enameled gold; 6.7 × 3.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.1534





23–25. Designs for a mermaid pendant, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2827, 2802, 2800–1919 (photos: Eileen Tweedy)

the enameled bands encircling the bottle as ABREHAM LE PATRIACHE and JONAS LE PATRIACHE; the latter displays an open book. A strange pair for an object originally conceived as a lover's token! The bust portraits correspond in style to Paris enamels made about 1400, and are curiously reminiscent of the representation of God the Father in the Trinity morse, which I believe to have been reset by Vasters (see Figure 8). A similar scent bottle with "PATRIACHES" formed part of the Lafaulotte collection.⁴⁰

Vasters made several drawings for pendants in the form of mermaids, wearing either a diadem or a crown, each one displaying a large baroque pearl in her chest. Sometimes, as in Figures 23–25, the mermaid holds a sun-scepter, a motif known in only one prototype: like the scent bottle that Vasters adapted, this is in the Medici collection in Florence (Figures 26, 27).⁴¹ It shows a mermaid wearing a crown and carrying a sun-scepter in one hand with an hourglass under the other arm; these attributes distinguish her as a personification of Fortune, queen of the waves, which she rules in sunlight and in darkness, across changing tides, measured and symbolized by the sand



40. *Collection de Lafaulotte: Objets d'art de curiosité et d'ameublement . . .*, sale cat., Hôtel Drouot (Paris, Apr. 5–13, 1886) lot 301, ill.

41. C. Piacenti-Aschengreen, *Il Museo degli Argenti a Firenze* (Milan, 1968) no. 2027, color pl. 62; Hackenbroch (1979) p. 240, fig. 642, p. 368 n. 26 with full bibliography; Y. Hackenbroch, *Treasures of the Medici* (Florence, forthcoming).



26, 27. Pendant with mermaid as Fortune, Netherlands, ca. 1575. Enameled gold, pearls, jewels. Florence, Museo degli Argenti (photos: 26. Marcello Bertoni; 27. Hackenbroch)



28, 29. Pendant with mermaid as Fortune, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, silver, pearls, jewels; H. 13.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.881



running through her hourglass. Such an interpretation, obscured by the passage of time, would have been perfectly clear to Renaissance society, well versed in the literature of emblem books. A nineteenth-century version of this pendant (Figures 28, 29), now in the Metropolitan Museum, can be attributed to Vasters even in the absence of a design that corresponds to it exactly.⁴² Considerable liberties have been taken in creating the later version. Renaissance pendants are almost always made of gold; but the New York example is cast predominantly in silver, which causes the mermaid's traditionally fair and alluring body to tarnish, and her legendary golden hair to darken. If, as seems likely, Vasters copied the Florentine pendant from an illustration, he would have had no opportunity to examine the reverse. Otherwise he might have noticed that the sun-scepter was backed not by a repeat of the face on the front but by a crescent moon, symbolizing the mermaid's reign by night as well as by day. Her shoulders at the back are partly hidden by a three-lobed collar; these lambrequins, such as are seen in Vasters's sketches, cover her traditionally exposed charms in a coy, Victorian manner. Finally, her fishtail should be scaled; in the silver copy, its reverse shows a pattern of nonheraldic fleurs-de-lis, comparable to the larger pattern on the nineteenth-century base that supports the reliquary bust of Charlemagne, donated to Aachen Cathedral by Charles V in 1376.⁴³

A number of pendants with allegorical or mythological beings can be matched to designs by Vasters. These include a pendant with the figures of Charity

and three children, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figures 30, 31);⁴⁴ one with Fortitude mounted on a stag, in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Figures 32, 33);⁴⁵ and one with a Triton riding a sea monster, in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 34, 35).⁴⁶ They show that Vasters and those working from

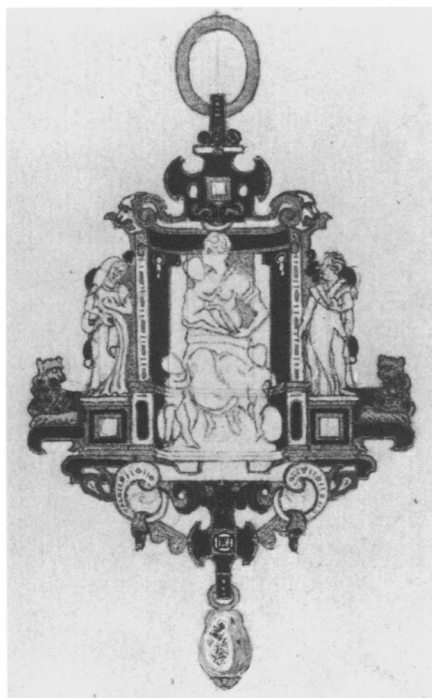
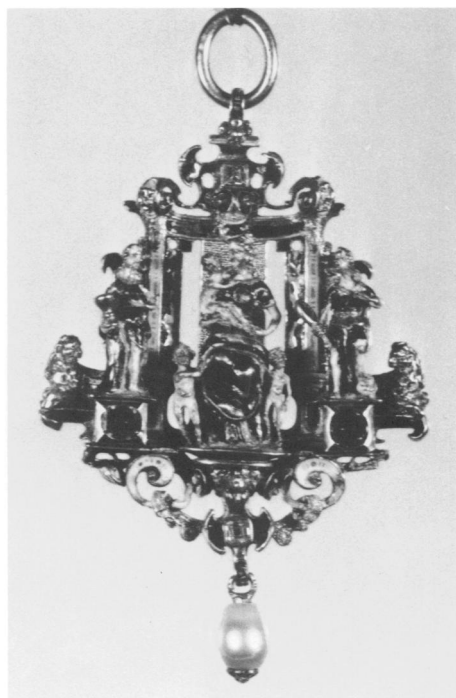
42. G. C. Williamson, comp., *Catalogue of the Collection of Jewels and Precious Works of Art the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan* (London, 1910) pp. 35–36, no. 24, pl. XIII and color pl. II; Hackenbroch (1979) p. 368 n. 26. For a similar mermaid pendant, also based on Vasters's designs, with sun-scepter but no hourglass, the tail set with diamonds and rubies, see Luthmer (1883–85) II, color pl. 50c.

43. Grimme, "Der Aachener Domschatz," pp. 88–90, no. 69, color pl. XII. For further comparisons see *ibid.*, pp. 102–103, nos. 79 and 80, pls. 91–94 (fleur-de-lis patterns on the armorial shields of Hungary and Poland), and pp. 103–104, nos. 82–84, pls. 96–98 (*fleurdelisé* backgrounds). All these are 14th-century works, heavily restored about 1860–70.

44. See Truman (1979) p. 160, color pls. fi, fii, g (middle row, left and right), fig. 10; *Princely Magnificence*, p. 44, color pl., p. 137, no. H17, p. 139, no. HG1, ill. Another version with three children is at present on the market in Germany.

45. *Collection Spitzer*, III, p. 148, no. 34 (German, 16th century), bijoux pl. v; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 1819, pl. XLVII; D. Scarisbrick, "The Jewelry of the Renaissance," in *Jewelry Ancient to Modern*, Walters Art Gallery cat. (New York, 1980) p. 190, no. 518, ill.; *Princely Magnificence*, p. 44, color ill., p. 137, no. H19, and p. 139, no. HG3 (drawing E.2801-1919; another E.2855-1919).

46. Hackenbroch (1979) p. 338, fig. 908, color pl. xxxix; *Princely Magnificence*, pp. 139–140, no. HG4, ill. (drawing, E.2818-1919); C. Vincent, in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1984) pp. 194–195, no. 114, ill.



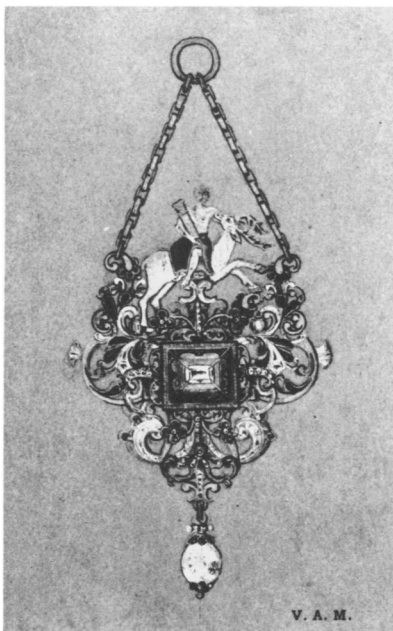
30. Pendant with Charity, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, pearl, jewels; H. 7.1 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, M.534-1910 (photo: Hackenbroch)

31. Design for Charity pendant, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2841-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



32. Pendant with Fortitude riding a stag, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, silver, pearls, jewels; H. 12.7 cm. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 44.622 (photo: Walters Art Gallery)

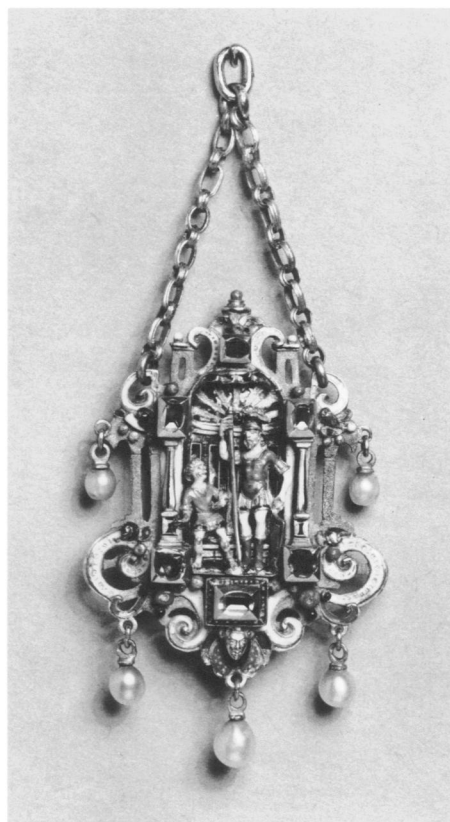
33. Design for Fortitude pendant, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2801-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



34. Pendant with Triton mounted on a sea monster, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, pearls, jewels; H. 11.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982.60.382

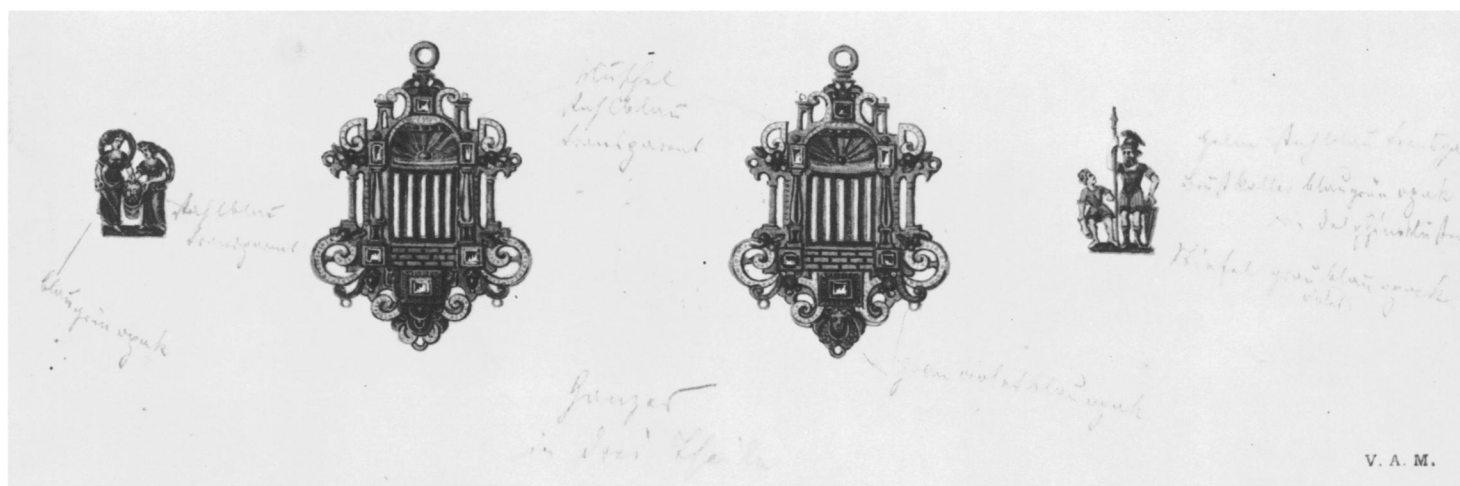
35. Design for Triton pendant, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2818-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)





36, 37. Double-sided pendant, ca. 1870–90: Judith and her maid with the head of Holofernes; David and Goliath. Enameled gold, pearls, jewels; H. 5.3 cm. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 44.424 (photo: Walters Art Gallery)

38. Design for double-sided pendant shown in Figures 36 and 37, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2847-1919 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



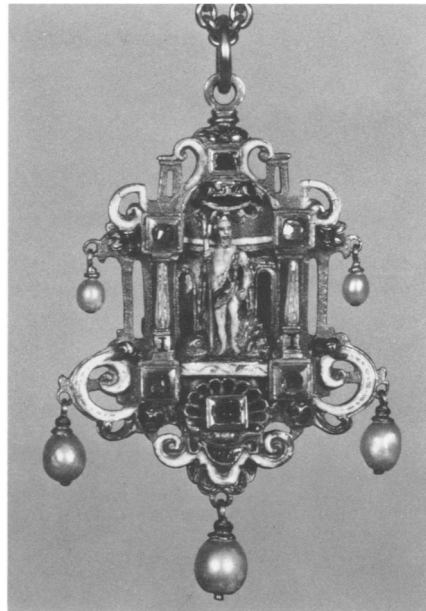
his designs used motifs for decorative purposes without strict regard for their original significance or context. It is unclear, for instance, why Fortitude, carrying a column, should ride a stag. The personification of Charity seems to have been influenced by a figure of St. Anne (see Figure 137).⁴⁷ The narwhal or unicorn horn with which the Triton's hippocampus is furnished may have been the executing jeweler's whim, since it is not envisioned in the surviving design. Such variations may strike us as welcome attempts not to stick too closely to the rules.

A type of jewel that can be considered a true Vasters invention is the double-sided pendant, consisting of two figural scenes back to back, each surmounted by a tabernacle with a shell top, and flanked by two pilasters. Sculptural pendants of this kind are usually flat at the back in order to hang correctly when worn, but Vasters has ignored the traditional distinction between the two sides. Quite unorthodox, moreover, is the way in which the different layers of these pendants are soldered together—a laborsaving shortcut—instead of being fastened with nuts and bolts, as in genuine works of the sixteenth century. Spitzer owned an example now in the Walters Art Gallery, with Judith and her maid—about to drop the head of Holofernes into a sack—on one side, and David and Goliath on the other, for which there is a preparatory drawing by Vasters (Figures 36–38).⁴⁸ A similar pendant in the Metropolitan Museum, with marine deities on both sides (Figures 39, 40), can be attributed to the same designer.⁴⁹ In spite of the variation

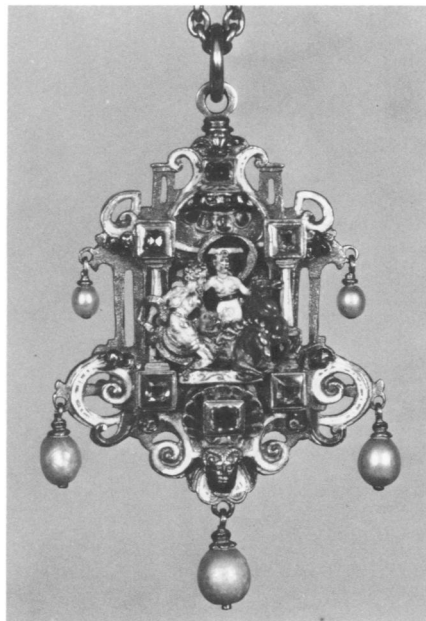
47. A sketch by Vasters of a similar group, in which Charity has a child on each arm and another beside her, shows the same influence (Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3012-1919). Vasters used another version of Charity, with two children, based on a prototype in the Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden, as a finial; see Figures 130–132, 138, 139, and also Figure 183.

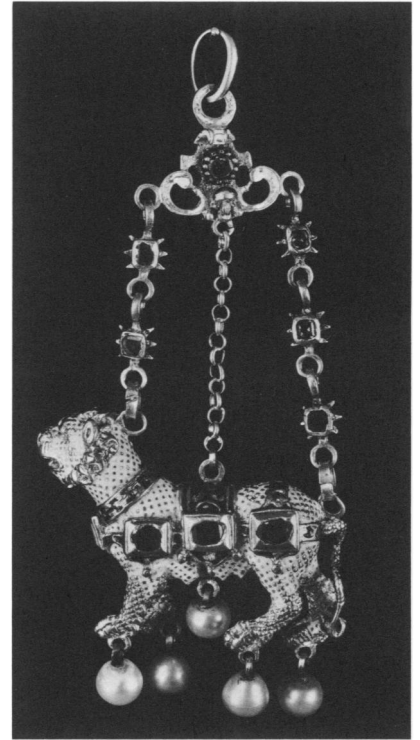
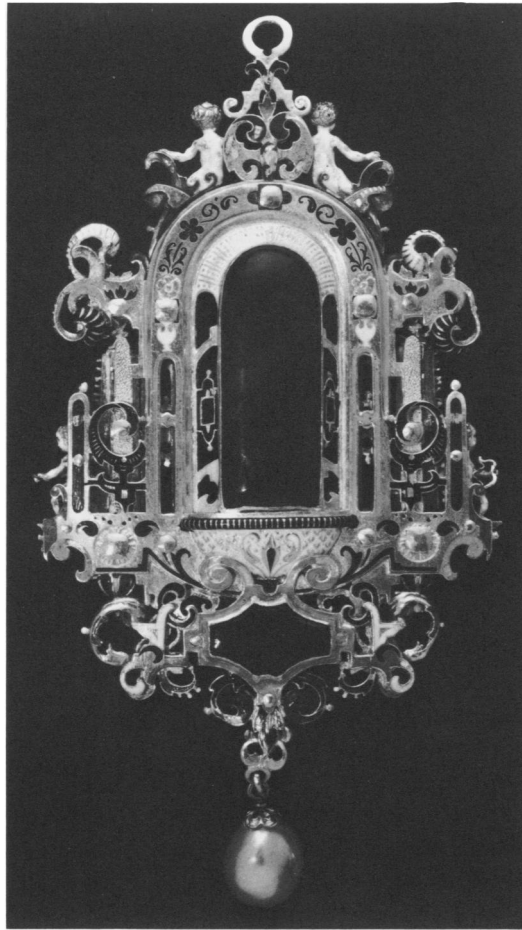
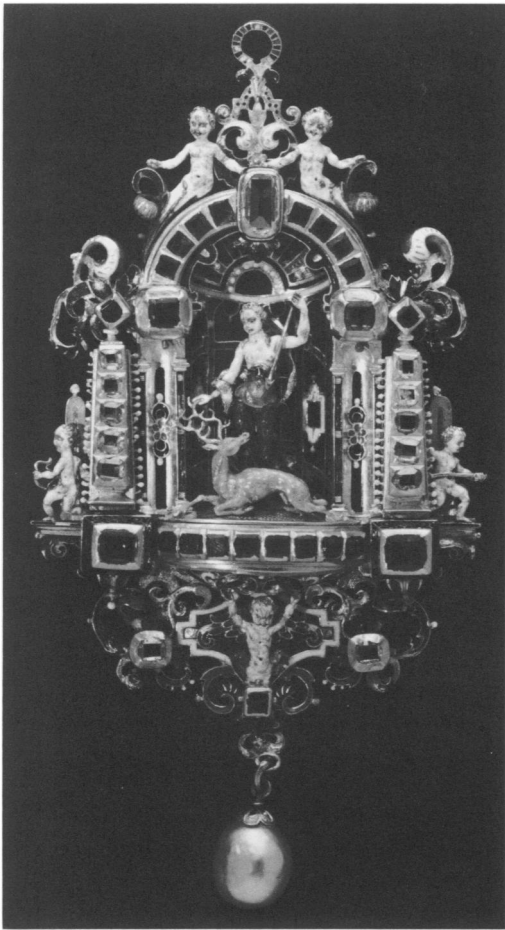
48. *Collection Spitzer*, III, p. 52, no. 55 (German, 16th century), Bijoux pl. v; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 1840, pl. XLVII; Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of a Collection of European Enamels*, pp. 74–75, no. 244, pl. LXVI, “Lent by Mrs. J. E. Taylor”; Truman (1979) p. 160, color pl. G (bottom, drawing E.2487-1919); Scarisbrick, “Jewelry of the Renaissance,” pp. 189–190, no. 517, ill.; *Princely Magnificence*, pp. 136, color ill., 137, no. H18, pp. 140, 141, no. HG2, ill.

49. Scarisbrick, “Jewelry of the Renaissance,” p. 190; C. Truman, in *Princely Magnificence*, p. 137, in connection with no. H18, the similar pendant in the Walters Art Gallery. Both authors wisely refrained from giving an opinion about a jewel that they had been unable to examine more closely.



39, 40. Double-sided pendant, ca. 1870–90: Neptune; marine deities. Enameled gold, pearls, jewels; H. 6.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.665





41, 42. Pendant with Diana of the hunt, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, pearls, jewels; H. 11.4 cm. Germany, private collection (photos: Sotheby's, New York)

43. Lioness pendant, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, pearls, rubies; 8.9 × 4.1 cm. Pittsburgh, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Sarah Mellon Scaife Foundation Grant, 75.29.1 (photo: Carnegie Institute)

of themes there is a monotony about these jewels, the result of sacrificing free invention to conformity.

The temptation to turn out repetitions or variations of a successful design seems to be irresistible to artists working in a retrospective style. The architectural type of pendant in the form of a tabernacle—each has a central niche, often with a shell-shaped top, and a platform to accommodate figures or groups—is found in single-sided versions as well as in the double-sided ones we have discussed. It is based on designs by the Antwerp-born goldsmith Erasmus Hornick, which were published in a series of engravings in Nuremberg in 1565.⁵⁰ The great advantage of this kind of pendant is that it can be prepared before the point of sale to receive any figure or group desired by the client. The nineteenth-century versions range from excellent, as in the case of a pendant with Diana of the hunt surrounded by putti in the frame-

work (Figures 41, 42),⁵¹ to indifferent examples, turned out in quantity by casting from master models. Another frequently encountered type of pendant takes the shape of a bird or animal, parrots, dogs, and lions being the most popular; again there is a wide range of quality. One of the best of its kind, a lioness suspended from a triple chain, is owned by the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh (Figure 43).⁵² Such pendants continue to puzzle those who consider high

50. Hackenbroch (1979) pp. 159–160, figs. 426A,B.

51. Ibid., pp. 160–161, figs. 433A,B, color pl. xviii; *Jack and Belle Linsky Collection*, sale cat., Sotheby's (New York, May 21, 1985) lot 117, color ill. front and back.

52. Ex coll.: Baron de Redé. *Meubles et objets d'art . . . appartenant au Baron de Redé . . .*, sale cat., Sotheby's (Monte Carlo, May 25–26, 1975) lot 150, color ill. Cf. *Princely Magnificence*, p. 138, nos. H21–H23, ill., p. 140—inside back cover, nos. HC5–HC7, ill.



44. Design for pendant with Cain and Abel, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3023-1919 (photo: Hackenbroch)

45, 46. Pendant with Cain and Abel, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, pearls, jewels. Paris, Musée de Cluny (photos: Hackenbroch)

quality of execution an indication of their Renaissance origin. A gifted goldsmith, however, can acquire dexterity and skill in handling his materials; only the freshness and element of surprise in a work of genuine imagination remain unique.

In a class somewhat apart is a group of three oval pendants, all of which are too large to be worn as personal adornments. Although not exceptional enough to qualify as *Kunstkammer* objects, which usually exhibit rare natural formations complemented by harmonious settings, they seem to have been made as *objets de vitrine* of vaguely antiquarian character. Two such pendants, executed by the same jeweler, depend on sixteenth-century pictorial sources. A drawing by Vasters shows one of these pendants, now in the Cluny Museum in Paris (Figures 44–46); the scene has been copied from an engraving after Etienne Delaune illustrating the struggle between Cain and Abel.⁵³ The other pendant, in the Metropolitan Museum, features the Sacrifice of Isaac, conceived in the style of Marten van Heemskerck (Figures 47, 48).⁵⁴ Both



53. Y. Hackenbroch, "New Knowledge on Jewels and Designs After Etienne Delaune," *Connoisseur* 162 (1966) pp. 82–89, color pl.

54. Ex colls.: Maurice de Rothschild; Arturo Lopez-Willshaw. A. Morassi, *Antica oreficeria italiana*, exh. cat., Triennale (Milan, 1936) p. 45, no. 238, p. 122, fig. 118; *Thirty Renaissance Jewels and Works of Art from the Collection of the Late Arturo Lopez-Willshaw*, sale cat., Sotheby's (London, Oct. 13, 1970) lot 22, color pl. p. 44, detail p. 46; G. Bott, *Ullstein Juwelenbuch: Abendländischer Schmuck von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main,



47, 48. Pendant with the Sacrifice of Isaac, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, pearls, jewels; H. 18.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982.60.384

scenes are endowed with a density of form and movement that exceeds traditional standards of sixteenth-century composition; they suggest a nineteenth-century master with an individual approach to his sources and considerable technical ability. The framework around the scene of Abraham and Isaac, more restrained than the other, is composed of rhythmically distributed swags, arabesques, and winged cherub heads in oval reserves. The third of these large pendants, formerly owned by Mrs. Henry Walters, Baltimore, and almost certainly of Florentine origin, was designed to display a Neoclassical interpretation of the Ganymede cameo from the Medici collections (Figures 49, 50).⁵⁵ The setting has strong sculptural qualities and features two sphinx heads; in style and character these are midway between the gold and enameled sphinx heads that Biviverti added to Buontalenti's lapis lazuli vase bearing the Medici arms and the date 1583 (Figure 51),⁵⁶ and repeated drawings of the sphinx motif by Vasters, to which we shall have occasion to return. All three pendants are alike in having extraordinary interlace patterns on the reverse, executed in enameled openwork of great clarity. Several preparatory designs for such patterned backs survive among Vasters's drawings: some were intended for pendants—Figure 52, for example, which can be compared with Figure 46; others for watchcases (Figure 53).⁵⁷ In their harmony and balance they attest to Vasters's ingenuity as an ornamental designer and show the careful planning that went into his work.

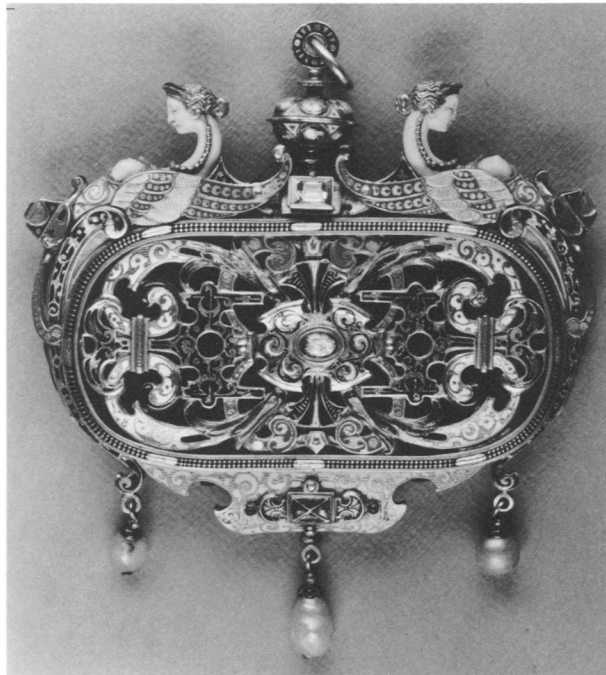
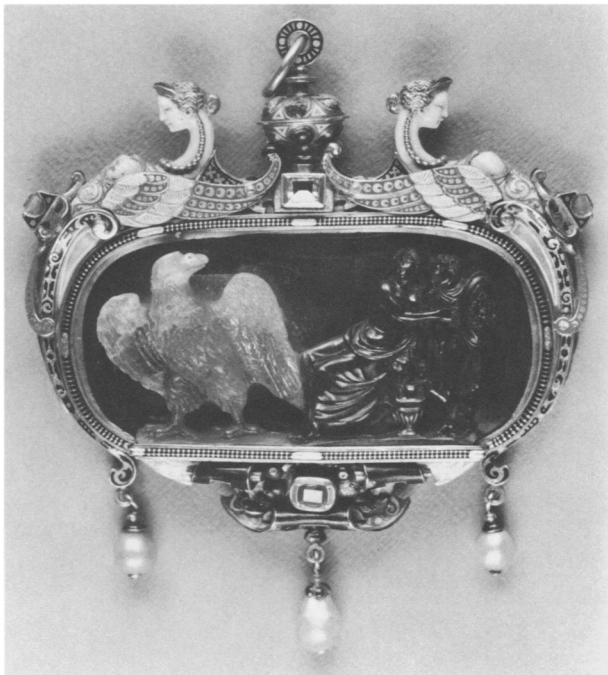


1972) pp. 96–97, 108 ill., 113; Vincent, in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, p. 199, no. 119, ill.

55. *Art Collection of the Late Mrs. Henry Walters*, sale cat., Parke-Bernet (New York, Nov. 30–Dec. 4, 1943) lot 999, ill.; M. McCrory, "An Antique Cameo of Francesco I de' Medici: An Episode from the Story of the Grand-ducal Cabinet of *Antiquarie*," in *Le arti del Principato Mediceo*, ed. C. Adelson et al. (Florence, 1980) p. 312, n. 60, and figs. 116, 117. The pendant is now owned by the firm of Bulgari, Rome.

56. J. F. Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism, 1540–1620* (London, 1976) color pl. iv.

57. For a watchcase similar to this design see Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2710, pl. LXII.



49, 50. Pendant with replica of Ganymede cameo from the Medici collections, ca. 1870–90. Agate, enameled gold, pearls, jewels; H. 11.4 cm. Rome, Bulgari (photos: Bulgari)

51. Jacopo Biliverti (d. 1603), detail of setting of lapis lazuli vase by Bernardo Buontalenti, 1583. Enameled gold. Florence, Museo degli Argenti (photo: Hackenbroch)



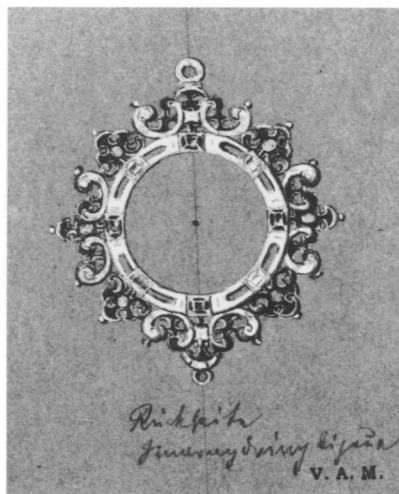
52, 53. Designs for pendant and watchcase backs, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2866,2864-1919 (photos: Eileen Tweedy)





54. Pendant with the Risen Christ: roundel, French, 1560–70; framework and chains, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, green quartz, jewels; H. 10.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George Blumenthal, 41.100.30

55. Design for framework of pendant with the Risen Christ, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3024-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



Finally, a return to Vasters as the creator of new settings for old things. The Metropolitan Museum owns a pendant formed from a sixteenth-century gold and enamel medallion, showing the Risen Christ between the Virgin and St. John, and a framework designed by Vasters (Figures 54, 55).⁵⁸ Although the attenuated figures in the medallion follow the court

style of Henri II as formulated by Jean Goujon and Etienne Delaune, and Vasters's setting can be typified as more robust and Germanic, medallion and frame are nevertheless perfectly combined. A stray fragment has been transformed into an attractive, easy-to-wear, and salable object. It comes as no surprise to learn that the pendant was once in the Spitzer collection.

58. *Collection Spitzer*, III, p. 150, no. 45 (Italian, 16th century), *Bijoux* pl. iv; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 1830, "Ce bijou a été complété"; S. Rubinstein-Bloch, comp., *Catalogue of the George and Florence Blumenthal Collection* (New York, 1926–30) III, pl. 25D.

GOLD-MOUNTED ROCK CRYSTALS OF SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ORIGIN, AND *VERRES EGLOMISES* IN ROCK CRYSTAL SETTINGS

Among the antiques that Spitzer accumulated were precious objects in rock crystal, enriched with intaglio or relief decoration. Some were mounted in gold, others had been left unadorned, many no doubt were acquired in the shape of fragments. It must be understood that well-preserved works in crystal were practically unobtainable on the international market. They survived mostly in dynastic *Schatz-* or *Kunstkammern*, set up under provisions that rendered their contents virtually inalienable. Thus protected, objects in such collections were in less danger of having their gold mounts removed for the value of the metal in times of acute financial embarrassment. By contrast, the survival of rock crystals in private collections was always precarious; the objects changed hands, and their mounts were often forcibly removed, thus causing severe—sometimes irreparable—damage to the crystal. Spitzer's acquisitive and commercial instincts, however, seem to have ren-

dered him determined to collect such crystals, no matter how damaged their condition. Once restored and fitted with new mounts, handles, or covers, they could be offered for sale, often with fictitious, out-of-the-way provenances impossible to verify.

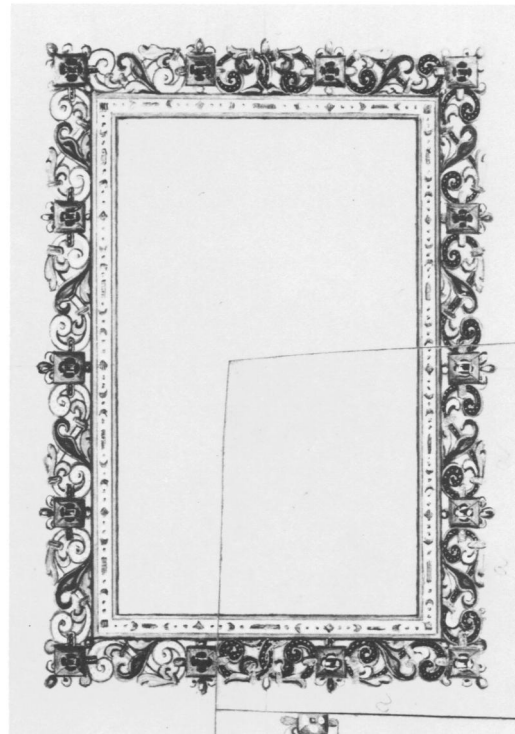
Only rarely can the authorship of such crystals be established beyond doubt. A case in point is a sixteenth-century plaque of great distinction in the Louvre, engraved with an incident from Roman history and signed by Valerio Belli of Vicenza (Figure 56).⁵⁹ The gold and lapis lazuli frame, made of open-work, enamel, and jewels, on the other hand, which has always been accepted as contemporary, follows a

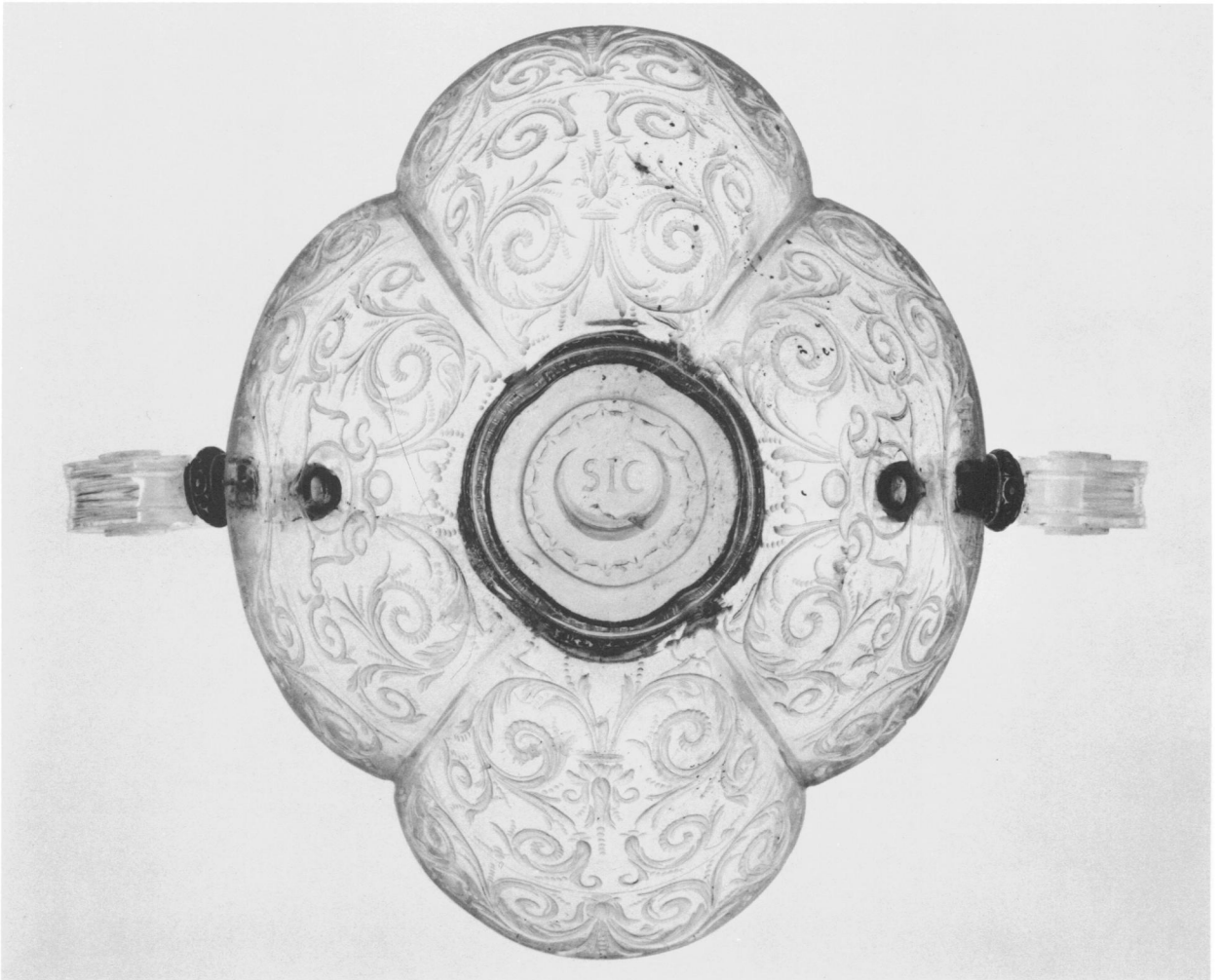
56. Valerio Belli (1468–1546), rock crystal plaque engraved with scene from Roman history, signed VALERIUS.VI.F, Italy, early 16th century. Frame, enameled gold and jewels, ca. 1870–90. 12.3 × 8.6 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musée du Louvre)



59. Ex colls.: Baron Adolphe de Rothschild; Baron Maurice de Rothschild, who bequeathed it to the Louvre in 1935. E. Molinier, *Les Bronzes de la Renaissance: Les Plaquettes, catalogue raisonné* (Paris, 1886) I, pp. 189–212; E. Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneidekunst in der italienischen Renaissance* (Vienna, 1929) I, pp. 48–59; *L'Art italien*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Petit Palais, 1935) p. 408, no. 1454, lent by Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Paris; G. Fontaine, "Deux Cristaux de roche de Valerio Belli," *Bulletin des Musées de France* 8 (1936) pp. 2–4, ill. p. 3; Morassi, *Antica oreficeria italiana*, p. 52, no. 298, p. 109, fig. 91; *The Decorative Arts of the Italian Renaissance: 1400–1600*, exh. cat. (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1958) pp. 154–155, no. 411.

57. Design for frame of rock crystal plaque engraved by Valerio Belli, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3030-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)





58–60. Quatrefoil rock crystal bowl, with device of Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Milan, ca. 1600. Handles and enameled-gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. L. 22.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Irwin Untermyer, 1973, 1974.28.108

colored design by Vasters in every detail (Figure 57), including the inner band of white and gold that separates the plaque from the bright hues of the enameled frame. It is evident once again that Vasters was more conversant with German than with Italian or French sixteenth-century ornament. His background shows in a preference for density of form and vivid colors; by contrast, Italian taste was more classically oriented and French typically more restrained.

It is worth considering the circumstances in which authentic crystal and gold treasury pieces had been produced. Most were created in Milanese workshops during the later sixteenth century. With no local court to supply, Milanese artists were eager to fill commissions for the dukes of Bavaria or Savoy, the grand dukes of Tuscany, the electors of Saxony, and the Hapsburg emperors, kings, or archdukes. Some insight into the workshop practices of the five Saracchi brothers of Milan is possible through Paolo Morigia's *Nobiltà di Milano*, published in 1595, and through the correspondence of Albrecht V and Wilhelm V in Munich with Prospero Visconti, the Wittelsbach agent in Milan.⁶⁰ Each of the Saracchi brothers was a specialist: their different fields ranged from the “arte grossa” of designing and cutting the basic shape out of the block of rock crystal, to the “arte minuta” or “subtile” of cutting the decoration in relief or intaglio, and finally to the goldsmiths’ work, which comprised enameled and often jeweled gold settings with imaginative handles and finials. Emperor Rudolf II was successful in bringing members of another prominent family of glyptic artists—the Miseroni—from Milan to Prague, in order to fill his *Kunstkammer* with carved and mounted rock crystal or hard-stone masterpieces. It was, in fact, Rudolf II’s patronage that prolonged the fashion for these objects. Most of the activities of the artists at the Prague court came to an end with the outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War in 1618, under Emperor Matthias. In Germany, the dukes of Württemberg confined their patronage of lapidaries for the most part to those of Freiburg im Breisgau, where locally mined crystal and hard-



61. Design for section of enameled-gold mount, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2998-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

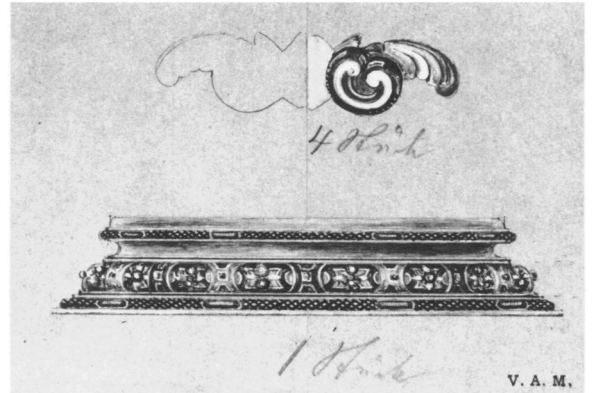
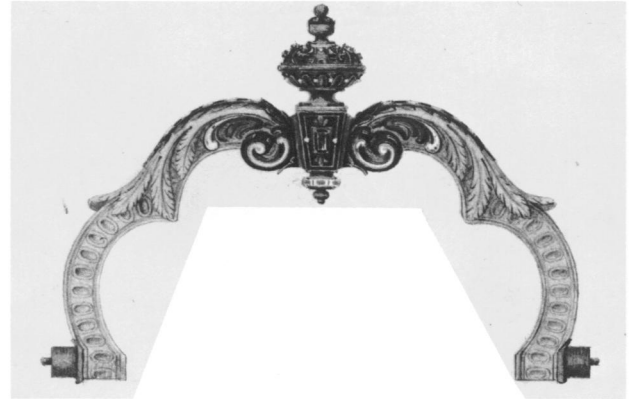
stones were used. Similar practices prevailed in Dresden and Kassel, while the patrician families of Nuremberg and Augsburg preferred to place their commissions in their home towns. As might be expected, their taste was not identical with that of court circles, but attuned to the more solid, down-to-earth character of a merchant society.

A quatrefoil bowl in the Metropolitan Museum illustrates the type of Milanese-cut crystal that must have survived damaged or incomplete into the nineteenth century, when it received handles and enameled-gold mounts after designs by Vasters (Figures 58, 59).⁶¹ A recently identified cipher is engraved on the base, showing a crescent moon around the letters *s i c* (*sic illustrior crescam*—thus shall I grow more famous).⁶² The device was one chosen in 1595 by Vincenzo I Gonzaga (1562–1612), fourth duke of Mantua, on the

60. J. Stockbauer, *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*: III. *Die Kunstbestrebungen am Bayerischen Hofe* (Vienna, 1874); H. Simonsfeld, *Mäiländer Briefe zur Bayerischen und allgemeinen Geschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften Abhandlung XXII (Munich, 1901–02); B. P. Baader, *Der Bayerische Renaissancehof* (Leipzig, 1943).

61. *Notable Art Collection . . . of the Late Joseph Brummer*, sale cat., Parke-Bernet (New York, May 14, 1949) pt. II, lot 756, ill., “Florentine, XVI century,” acquired by Irwin Untermyer.

62. Y. Hackenbroch, “A Gonzaga Rock Crystal Bowl Rediscovered,” in *Festschrift für Carl-Wilhelm Clasen* (Cologne, 1983) pp. 83–90, ills., with full bibliography.



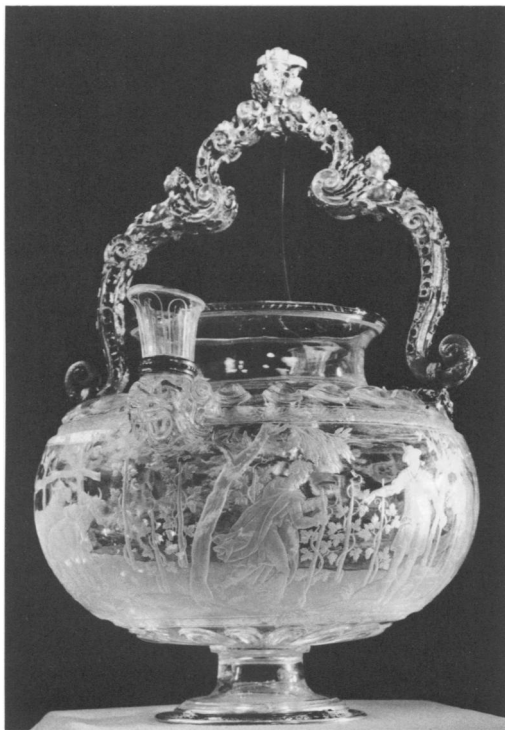
62, 63. Rock crystal bowl with bail handle: bowl, Milan, second half of 16th century; handle and enameled-gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. H. with handle, 20.3 cm., diam. 19.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.654

64, 65. Designs for bail handle, mounts on handle, and foot rim of rock crystal bowl shown in Figures 62 and 63, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3455.3282-1919 (photos: Eileen Tweedy)

66. Rock crystal bowl with bail handle and mounts in enameled gold, Milan, third quarter of 16th century. H. with handle, 42 cm., diam. 25 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)

occasion of the first of his three rather ineffectual expeditions against the Turks, who had taken the Hungarian fortress of Giavarion (Győr). Before his departure, Vincenzo ordered a splendid suit of armor from Pompeo della Chiesa in Milan,⁶³ on which the burnished and gilt scrollwork repeated the device of the crescent moon; the same device was also worn by Vincenzo's troops, stitched to the sleeves of their uniforms, in turquoise, yellow, and rose. Use of the device was short-lived, however, and it was abandoned altogether in 1601 when Vincenzo returned from his third expedition; perhaps the bowl survived without precious mounts in consequence. Vincenzo must by then have realized that he had gained nothing, apart from the possible goodwill of Emperor Rudolf II, and the somewhat vainglorious satisfaction of having joined the ranks of those who had fought the Turks before him—Charles V in Tunis and Don John of Austria at Lepanto.

The particular feature that links the Gonzaga bowl with Vasters is the ornamental pattern of the rims around the handles and foot (Figure 60). They display up-and-down curling feathered scrolls interspersed with crosses, enameled white, black, and red—a pattern seen among Vasters's designs (Figure 61) and



repeated with variations on the mounts of several restored or nineteenth-century vessels in rock crystal or hardstone, including examples in the Metropolitan Museum (see Figures 70, 110). Many of these objects are known to have belonged to Frédéric Spitzer. The Gonzaga bowl would certainly have appealed to Spitzer, although it is not recorded as having been in his collection. We can be glad, however, that this rare piece has survived and has been so harmoniously restored. It is an object of considerable historical interest, and incidentally one of the few rock crystals which can be dated with some precision.

The attribution to Vasters is more fully documented in the case of an intaglio-cut sixteenth-century bowl in the Metropolitan Museum, which was completed around 1870–85 by means of a crystal and enameled-gold bail handle, hinges, and foot rims (Figures 62, 63).⁶⁴ His preparatory colored sketches for all these parts survive (Figures 64, 65). The bowl formed part of the Spitzer collection and was then described as coming from Valencia Cathedral. The claim is an unlikely one, to judge by the profane character of the bowl, engraved as it is inside on the base with nymphs pursued by centaurs and sea serpents. The exaggerated movements of the figures and their attenuated forms invite comparison with figures cut in a small rock crystal barrel by the Saracchi workshop, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,⁶⁵ and suggest a similar date—1560–70—and origin for the bowl. Its flattened globular shape is familiar from Paduan bronze vessels, and also from goldsmiths'

63. The upper part of the armor is recorded in a portrait of Vincenzo I by Frans Pourbus the Younger, owned by the National Trust, Tatton Park, Cheshire: see *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. D. Chambers and J. Martineau, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981) pp. 224–225, no. 240, color ill., with bibliography; and M. Praz, "The Gonzaga Devices," *ibid.*, p. 67; see also V. Errante, "Forse che sì, forse che no," *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, ser. 5, 42 (1915) pp. 15–114. Only the helmet is known to have survived; it is now in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan (*Splendours of the Gonzaga*, pp. 226–227, no. 242, color ill., with full bibliography).

64. *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 14, no. 6 (Italian, 16th century), GEMMES pl. VI; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2598, "Provient de la cathédrale de Valence (Espagne)," pl. LIX (see Figure 13).

65. M. A. H. Blussé van Oud-Alblas, "Bergkristal in de schatkamer van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam," *Antiek* (May 1967) pp. 3–12, fig. 7; R. Distelberger, "Die Saracchi-Werkstatt und Annibale Fontana," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 71 (1975) pp. 146–147, and p. 139, fig. 167.



67. Rock crystal reliquary: *The Annunciation* in *verre églomisé*, Milan, mid-16th century; rock crystal and enameled-gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. H. 28.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.666

drawings by Giulio Romano and Francesco Salviati. A comparable work is the famous rock crystal bowl with the story of Noah, from the French crown treasure, its bail handle formed by two winged caryatid figures in a virtuoso display of the Milanese goldsmith's technique (Figure 66).⁶⁶ The New York bowl seems to be unique in its undulating rim with two pairs of dolphins, the interspaces being used for the attachments that hold the bail handle, which rises to a knob above foliage at the apex. The foot rim shows cartouches alternating with bunches of fruit, of an intensity of color and fullness of form that bring to mind ornamental engravings by Matthias Zündt and Wenzel Jamnitzer of Nuremberg rather than the more restrained work of Milanese goldsmiths.

An almost identical foot rim, only with larger bunches of fruit, encircles the base of a rock crystal reliquary created to house a sixteenth-century Lombard *verre églomisé* of the Annunciation (Figure 67).⁶⁷ Other unmistakable Vasters touches are the narrow bands around the medallion with a herringbone pattern and with vertical black and gold stripes. Once again Spitzer, to whom the reliquary belonged, and Vasters have succeeded in giving a genuinely old work a new setting.

A late sixteenth-century Milanese rock crystal bowl similar to Figure 62 is in the Robert Lehman Collection (Figure 68).⁶⁸ Its enameled-gold mounts include a foot rim, an ovolo band around the lip interrupted by two crystal lion masks with gold manes, and hinges for an extraordinarily imaginative bail handle, for which Vasters's preparatory designs survive (Figure 69). The handle is formed by two pairs of opposing dolphins, each dolphin fastening its jaws on an object held in suspense between them;⁶⁹ the tails of the lower dolphins end in griffins' heads that loop through the hinges; the upper dolphins are joined at the apex of the handle by a winged female half-figure with a diadem and swags. The graceful curve created by the

66. Marquet de Vasselot (1914) p. 140, no. 859, pl. LX; P. Verlet, "Galerie d'Apollon, Paris," in *Royal Treasures*, ed. E. Steingräber, trans. S. de Haan (New York, 1968) p. 27, no. 17, p. 18, ill.

67. Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2638, pl. LIX (see Figure 13).

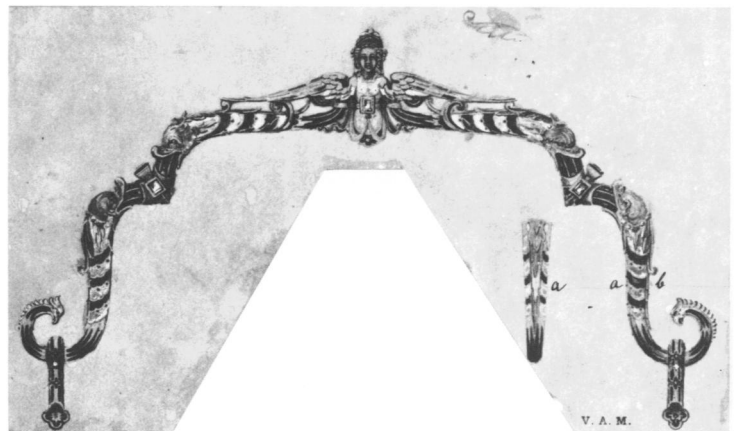
68. Ex coll.: Freiherr Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Frankfurt am Main.

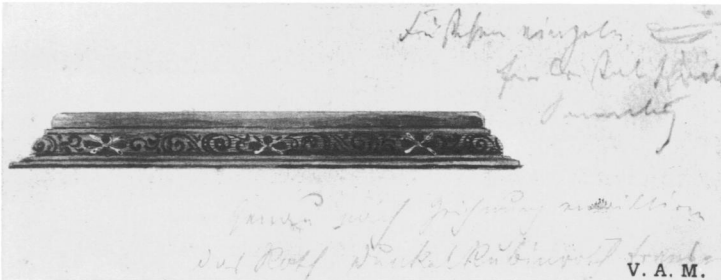
69. Vasters's whimsical motif of the swallowing fish is also found on a jasper cup with dragon and mermaid mounts (see Figure 161).



68. Rock crystal bowl with bail handle: bowl, Milan, third quarter of 16th century; handle and mounts in enameled and jeweled gold, ca. 1870–90. 20.3 × 18 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.1496

69. Design for bail handle and attachments of rock crystal bowl shown in Figure 68, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3458-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)





70. Rock crystal bowl surmounted by a bird: bowl, Milan, ca. 1580; bird and enameled-gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. 12.1 × 25.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.656

71. Design for foot rim in enameled gold, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3613-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

slim bodies of the dolphins shows Vasters's skills as a designer. These mounts, with such original touches as the addition of gold manes to complement the carved crystal lion masks, are almost undoubtedly Vasters's autograph work and show him at his very best.

Another rock crystal from the Spitzer collection that incorporates nineteenth-century restorations is a shell-shaped oval bowl with the figure of a long-necked bird at one end, poised to drink (Figure 70).⁷⁰ The bowl itself is of sixteenth-century Milanese origin, in the style of Annibale Fontana, with an allover intaglio-cut design of tendrils, some of which terminate in birds' heads. At one end are large feathers carved in relief, a motif that in conjunction with the tendrils is only explicable if it originally formed part of a bird perched above; the present bird is a nineteenth-century re-

placement. A similar combination of intaglio tendrils and feathers in relief occurs on the bowl of a table-fountain in the Munich Schatzkammer.⁷¹ Another, slightly later example also of interest in this connection is the helmet-shaped rock crystal bowl in the Museo degli Argenti, probably cut by Cristofano Gaffuri in Florence.⁷² This bowl was originally fitted with an enameled-gold handle, now lost, which was

70. *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 15, no. 8 (Italian, 16th century), ill.; *Spitzer Sale*, II, lot 2600, pl. LIX (see Figure 13).

71. *Schatzkammer*, p. 175, no. 359, where it is described as "probably Prague, ca. 1610–20."

72. Piacenti-Aschengreen, *Il Museo degli Argenti a Firenze*, p. 138, no. 176. C. W. Fock, in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Vecchio, 1980) pp. 226–228, no. 431, gives a complete account of the history and bibliography of the bowl.



72. Two-handled rock crystal bowl surmounted by a bird: bowl, Milan, third quarter of 16th century; rock crystal additions and enameled-gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. L. 28.9 cm. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 41.63 (photo: Walters Art Gallery)

73. Design for a rock crystal bowl surmounted by a bird, ca. 1870–95. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2662-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



the last known work by Jacopo Biliverti and dates from 1600; the dragon of the lost handle (see Figure 113) continues onto the crystal, where its wings and feet appear cut in relief.

The foot rim of the bowl echoes a design by Vasters (Figures 71); though lacking the interspersed jewels, this shows the same black enameled scrolls—one curled up, the other down—separated by a red-and-white enameled star, a motif that is often repeated in his work. The somewhat stiff, unimaginative figure of the bird with spread wings, placed on a square enameled base, recurs on a two-handled rock crystal bowl in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Figure 72).⁷³ Although there are no designs that correspond exactly to this bird, Vasters's drawings include a different version of the bowl and drinking bird (Figure 73); a piece that matches this drawing in al-

most every detail was exhibited in Düsseldorf in 1902 with other rock crystals from Vasters's private collection (see Figure 14).⁷⁴

Among the various combinations of old and new from Spitzer's collection is a large shell-shaped cup

73. The bowl is said to have belonged to the grand duke of Baden.

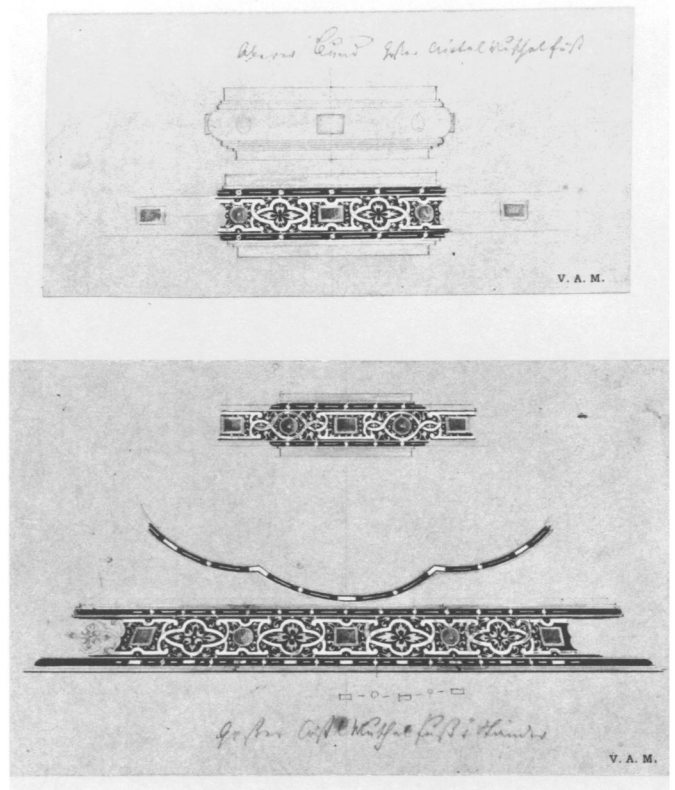
74. Its present location is unknown.



74. Shell-shaped rock crystal cup: cup, Milan, ca. 1600; stem, foot, and enameled-gold mounts with jewels, ca. 1870–90. 24.1 × 31.1 × 26 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.655

(Figure 74).⁷⁵ The scalloped rock crystal shell is the product of a Milanese workshop that had survived into the early seventeenth century. Carved with a tight all-over pattern of foliage scrolls incorporating rows of dots instead of flowers, the shell is raised on a fluted baluster stem and oval foot with scalloped edges designed by Vasters. The foot is carved with foliage scrolls and dots that imitate the pattern on the cup in a rigid nineteenth-century manner. Vasters's detailed drawings for the mounts show a geometrical design of moresque derivation, enameled black and white, with narrow strips as borders (Figure 75). Of these proposals all but one have been faithfully adopted. Vasters indicated spaces for the attachment of pearls and gemstones in their collets, and two tiny holes for securing the pierced pearls to the ground. The goldsmith, apparently inexperienced and fearful of damaging the enamel when using solder for the collets, chose to sink the pearls in apertures, an unorthodox solution which resulted in tiny protrusions on the reverse. The alternative practice, widely used, was to secure superimposed parts to the base by means of butterfly clips, a practice first observed about 1500. It is possible that Spitzer became aware of this goldsmith's shortcomings and raised an objection, since there is no sign of the same impoverished method being used in any of the other pieces under discussion.

Intended for liturgical use was a set of two tall pricket candlesticks and a crucifix, made of assorted rock crystal sections of sixteenth-century origin; the gold figure of Christ and the mounts in silver-gilt and enameled gold are nineteenth-century (Figures 76, 77).⁷⁶ As usual, Vasters seems to have taken infinite pains to display the genuine crystal parts to the best advantage. One of his drawings shows the entire crucifix (Figure 78). A simulated rocky base, like that of the crucifix, also appears in a large-scale drawing of a monstrance, encircled by an enameled band and resting on alternative designs for the feet (Figure 79); one of these is a scroll-shaped design akin to the feet of the candlesticks. The enameled decoration of the set is executed in a technique well suited to these large pieces, if economies of material and labor were to be taken into consideration: silver-gilt was substituted for gold, and the applied ornament was cast for convenience in identical sections. Introduced during the later sixteenth century—an agate cup from the French royal collections now in the Metropolitan Museum is a distinguished contemporary example of the prac-



75. Designs for enameled-gold mounts of shell-shaped rock crystal cup shown in Figure 74, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3142,3144–1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

tice (Figure 80)⁷⁷—the technique was revived for many large-scale objects in the Spitzer collection.

Another devotional piece from that collection, a

75. *Collection Spitzer*, V, pp. 14–15, no. 7 (Italian, 16th century), *GEMMES* pl. vii; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2599, “La monture de cette pièce nous semble d’époque postérieure à la coupe,” pl. LIX (see Figure 13).

76. Ex colls.: F. Spitzer; F. Gans; K. W. Bachstitz. *Collection Spitzer*, V, crucifix—p. 13, no. 2 (German or Italian, 16th century), candlesticks—p. 14, no. 3 (Italian, 16th century), *GEMMES* pls. II, III; Spitzer Sale, II, lots 2594, 2595, pl. LIX (see Figure 13); *Collection Fritz Gans* (Frankfurt am Main, 1910) pl. 8; *The Bachstitz Gallery Collection* (Berlin, 1921) III, pl. 76.

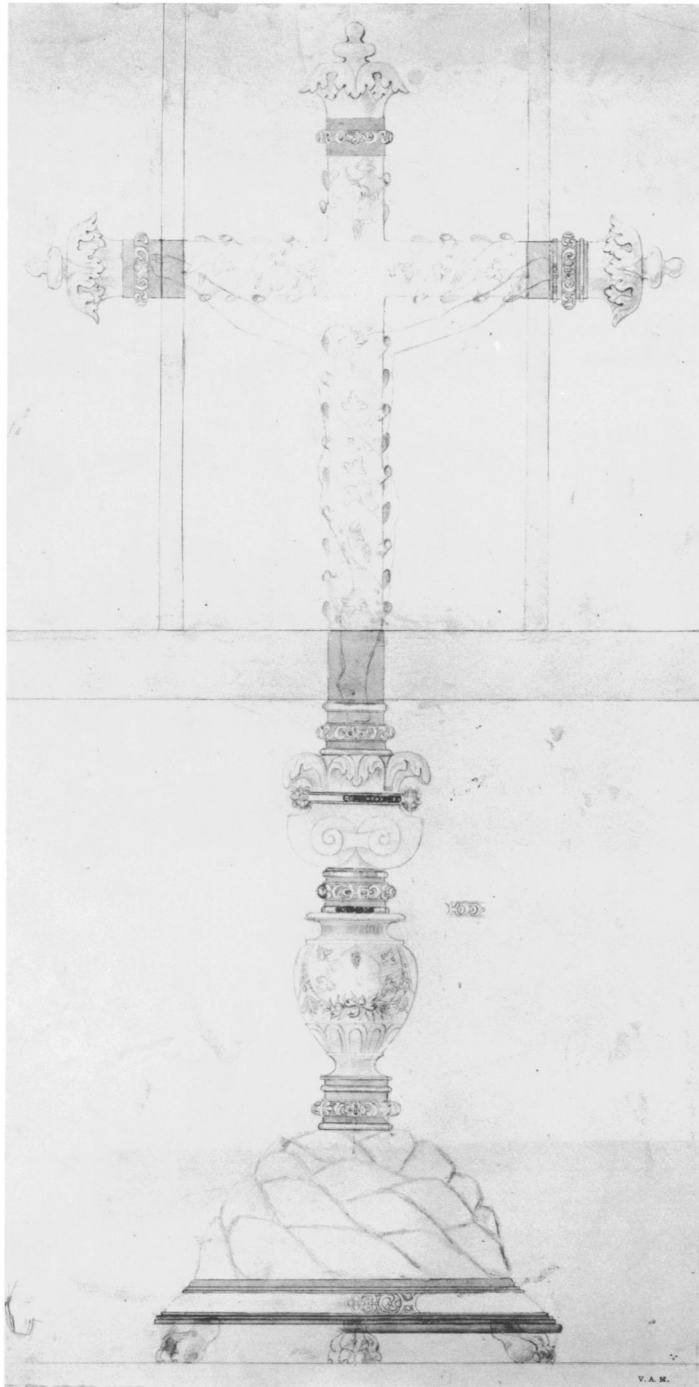
77. Ex colls.: Louis XIV; Louis XV; Louis XVI; Baron Karl Mayer von Rothschild, Frankfurt am Main; Princesse Jacques de Broglie, Paris. Another round agate cup from the French crown treasury exemplifying this technique for the mounts is in the Louvre; see Marquet de Vasselot (1914) p. 133, no. 820.



76. Crucifix and pair of pricket candlesticks: rock crystal parts, Italy, 16th century; gold corpus, silver-gilt mounts with enameled-gold decoration, ca. 1870–90. H. crucifix 57.2 cm., candlesticks 34.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931, 32.100.243–245

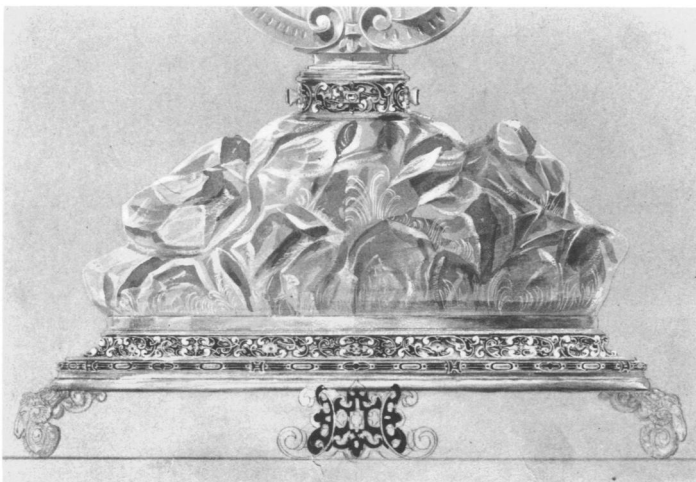
77. Detail of foot and bracket support of a candlestick shown in Figure 76 (32.100.243)





78. Design for the crucifix shown in Figure 76, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2572-1919 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

80. Agate cup with cover, mounted in silver-gilt with applied enameled-gold decoration, Italy, second half of 16th century. H. 17.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931, 32.100.241a,b

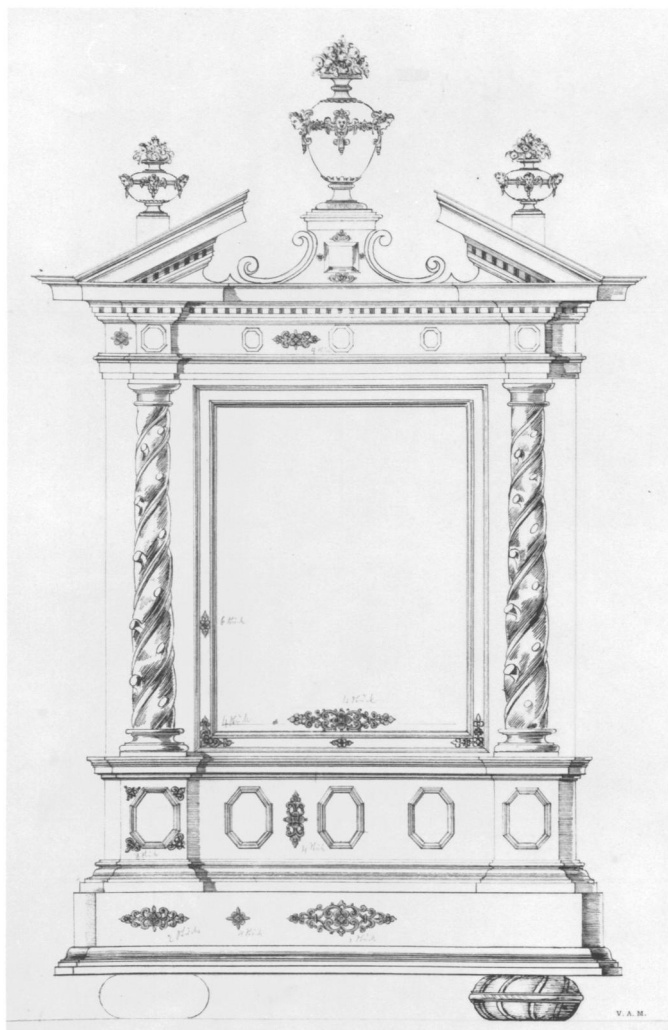


79. Detail of design for a monstrance, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2596-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



81, 82. Pax: *The Adoration of the Magi* and six medallions of saints in *verre églomisé*, Italy (Lombardy), 16th century; rock crystal frame, silver-gilt mounts and back, group of St. George and Dragon at apex and applied decoration in enameled and jeweled gold, ca. 1870–90. 31.1 × 18.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.664

83. Design for a house altar with spiral rock crystal columns, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2779-1919 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



large pax, shows the same technique, with similar ornamental sections applied as part of the decoration in front (Figures 81, 82).⁷⁸ The pax incorporates a *verre églomisé* of the Adoration of the Kings and six small *verres églomisés* of saints' heads, all of sixteenth-century Milanese origin. The nineteenth-century outer frame in rock crystal is flanked by two spiral columns that support an architrave and a broken pediment, with perceptible classical overtones. Similar spiral rock crystal columns appear in one of Vasters's designs for an ebony house altar (Figure 83), which has marked

affinities with the pax in its conception and style; blanks have been left for *verres églomisés* or other forms of representation.⁷⁹

The pax, surmounted by a figure of St. George defeating the dragon, is engraved at the back with conventional foliage and fitted with a scroll handle. I am inclined to believe this pax to be the work of Italian artists following designs by Vasters and based perhaps in Paris, where Spitzer, who would have supplied the *verres églomisés*, could have supervised their activity.

A large oval plate in the Metropolitan Museum, composed of carved rock crystal sections within a silver-gilt framework, presents another example of restoration (Figure 84).⁸⁰ Badly damaged, the sixteenth-century oval center surrounded by a continuous hunting frieze is bordered by shaped decorative panels of a later period, reminiscent of designs by Vasters (Figure 85). The silver-gilt frame is basically original, although in part concealed beneath added strips filled in with translucent enamel in the *basse-taille* technique. In its general type the plate can be compared with a basin of intaglio-cut rock crystal in silver-gilt and jeweled mounts, interspersed with painted enamel roundels (Figure 86);⁸¹ the basin and its matching ewer, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, are the work of the Augsburg silversmith Hans Jakob Mair and date from 1664. Although damaged and restored, the Metropolitan Museum plate represents a not unjustifiable effort to rescue fragments of value.

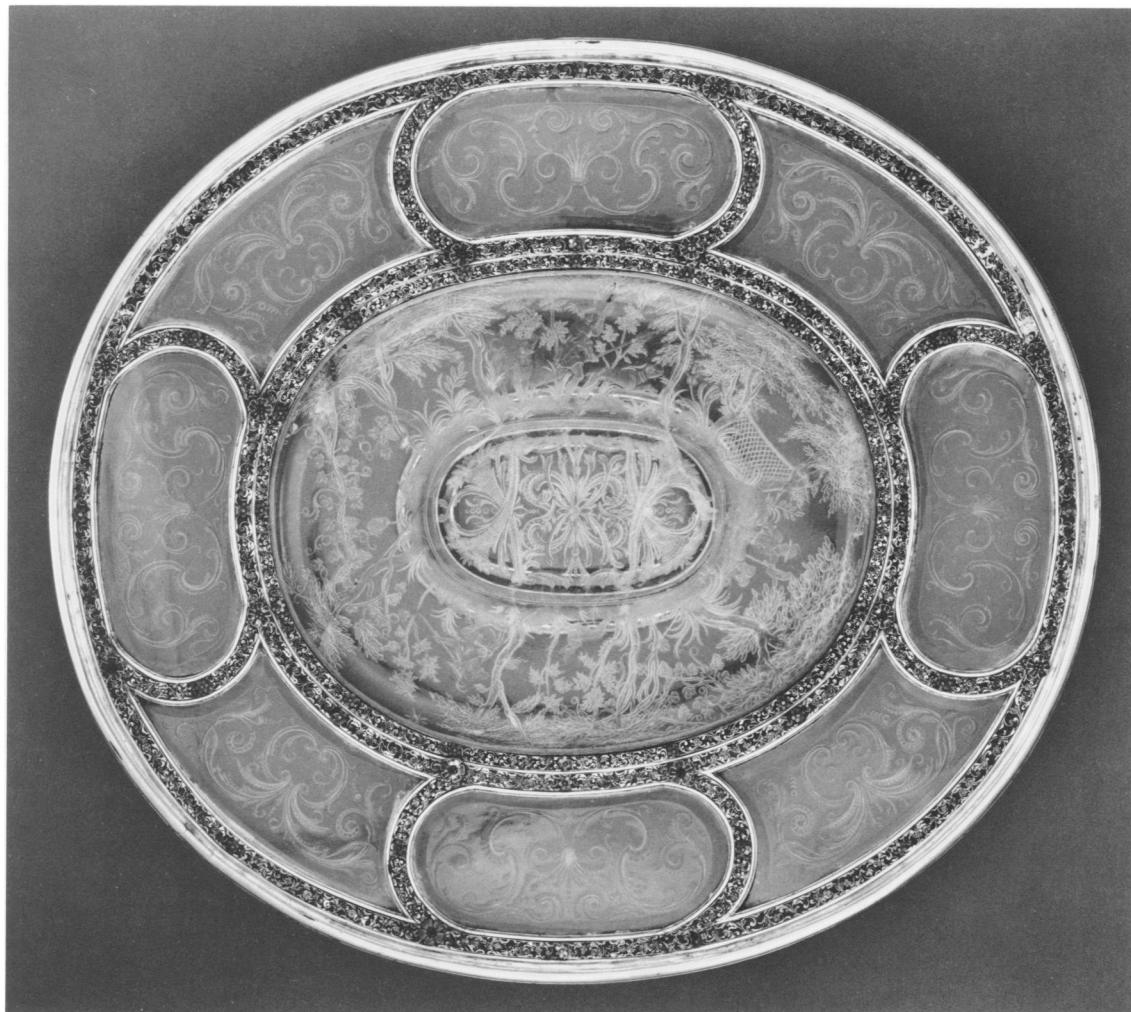
Among the sixteenth-century rock crystals which have undergone ingenious repairs or disguises is an

78. *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 13, no. 1 (Italian, 16th century), GEMMES pl. 1; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2593, pl. LIX (see Figure 13). The spiral rock crystal columns with silver-gilt capitals are of Italian derivation: cf. the Venetian reliquary chest of ca. 1600 in the basilica of Sta. Barbara, Mantua (*Splendours of the Gonzaga*, pp. 207–208, no. 313, ill.).

79. For house altars designed by Vasters see below under Wood Objects Mounted in Gold and Figures 178, 179, 183, 185, 186.

80. Provenance unknown.

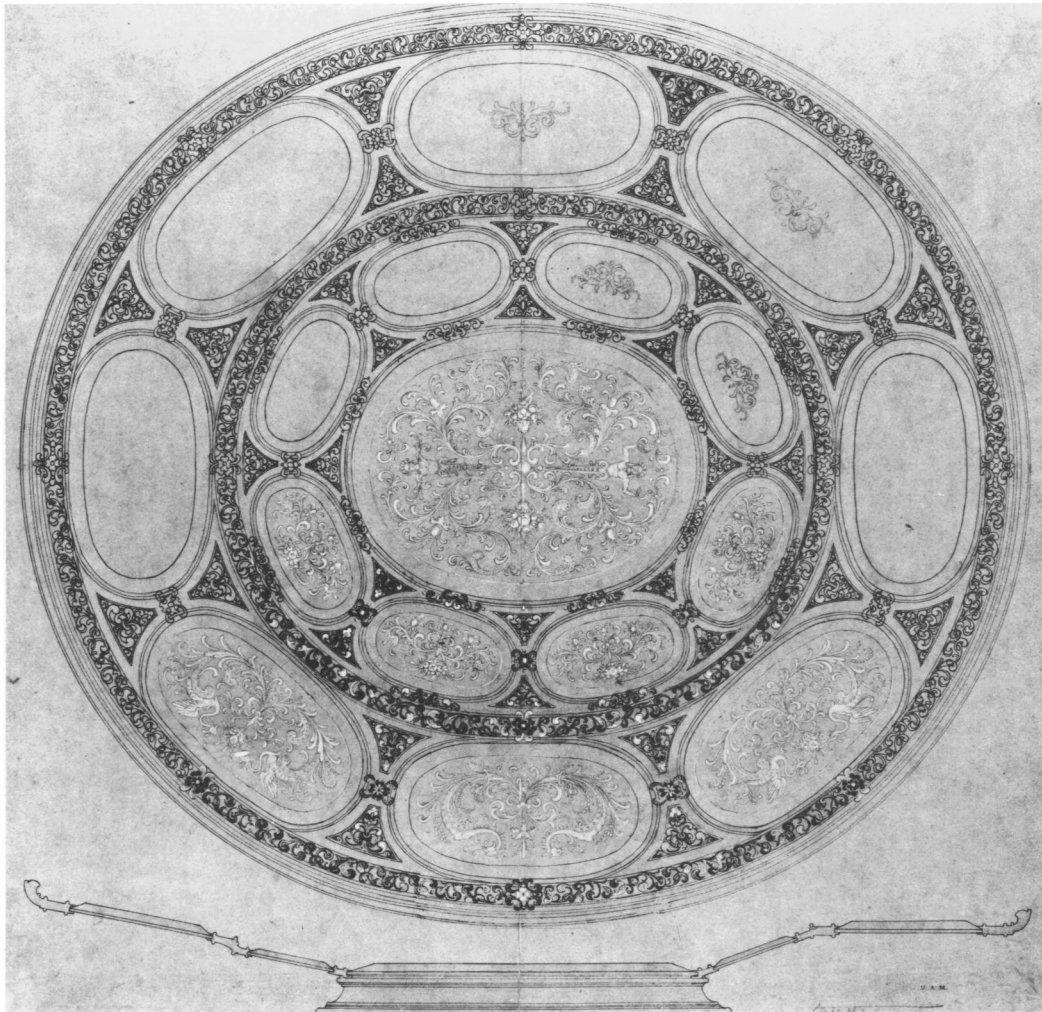
81. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 3226 (ex coll. Imperial Treasury). *Augsburger Barock*, exh. cat. (Augsburg: Rathaus and Holbeinhaus, 1968) p. 341, no. 494, pls. 300, 301, described as with no visible marks; these have recently been discovered, see H. Seling, *Die Kunst der Augsburger Goldschmiede 1529–1868* (Munich, 1980) I, p. 104, n. 446, color pl. XI.



84. Oval rock crystal plate: the two center panels and the silver-gilt setting, Milan, ca. 1600; border panels and mounts in enameled gold, ca. 1870–90. 49.9 × 43.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.527

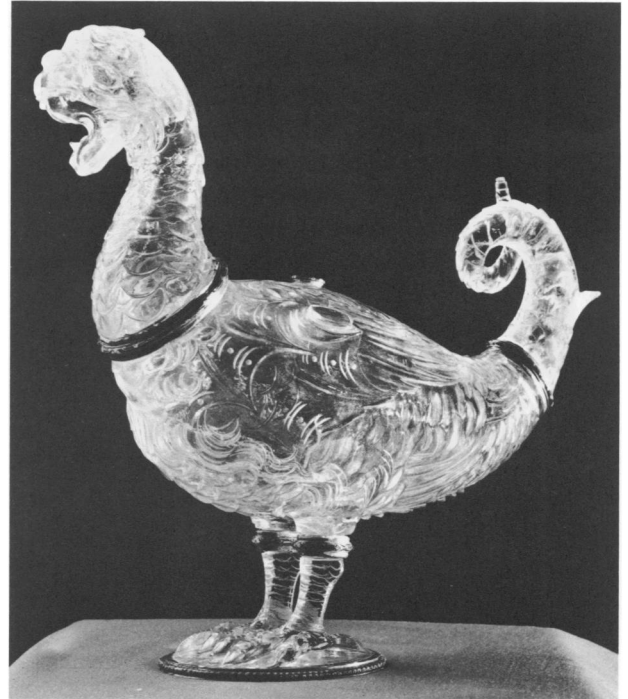
85. Design for an oval plate composed of oval rock crystal medallions mounted in enameled bands, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2670-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

86. Hans Jakob Mair, oval plate with rock crystal panels mounted in enameled and jeweled gold, Augsburg, ca. 1686. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

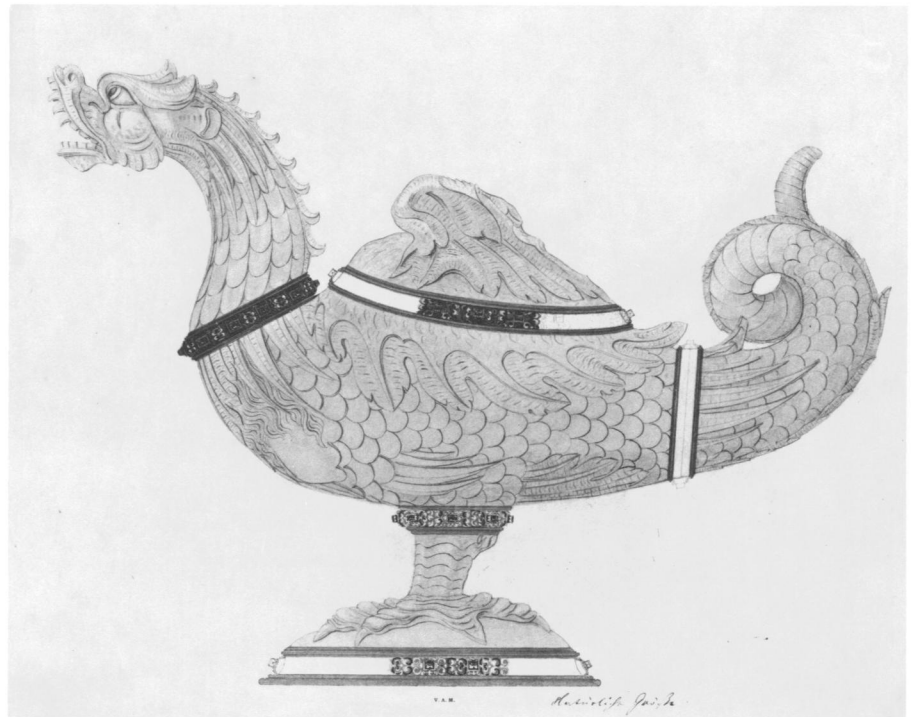




87. Filippo Negroli, breastplate of suit of armor for Guidobaldo II della Rovere, ca. 1530–35. Steel. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (photo: after Boccia and Coelho, *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia*)



88. Rock crystal ewer in the shape of a basilisk, with enameled-gold mounts, Milan, second half of 16th century. 26.5 × 31 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)



appealing group of vessels carved as fabulous creatures, often fitted with dragons' wings of Milanese invention. Such wings appear on Milanese armor as helmet crests; their scalloped outlines and peacock eyes also extend across breastplates, as in the suit by Filippo Negroli, made between 1530 and 1535 for Guidobaldo II della Rovere (Figure 87).⁸² In rock crystal, the griffins and basilisks go back to such splendid mid-sixteenth-century examples as the one from the French royal collections (Figure 88).⁸³

None of the vessels in the group is recorded as having been in the Spitzer collection, and their attribution to Vasters as restorer depends not on any surviving drawings but on their characteristic mounts. That Vasters was familiar with such vessels, however, is borne out by his large drawing of a monster-shaped ewer on a claw foot, complete with meticulous designs for the mounts (Figure 89).⁸⁴

The Metropolitan Museum owns a ewer in the shape of a basilisk which is somewhat later in date than the one in the Louvre, being composed of several sections joined together (Figure 90);⁸⁵ earlier examples were made of fewer parts. The basilisk's head, body, wings, curled tail, and claw feet standing on a circular base are separate components, held together by enameled and jeweled gold mounts. At some stage the head was broken off and suffered multiple injuries; these have been mended and concealed by means of added gold swags, a motif recurrent in Vasters's work. The upper lip had to be shortened and smoothed, and what was lost was replaced by rows of

90. Rock crystal ewer in the shape of a basilisk: rock crystal, Milan, second half of 16th century; enameled and jeweled gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. 22.2 × 18.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.538



diamond teeth. The legs are old but do not belong to the body; the point of attachment has been moved forward, since the original area was weakened by repairs. In spite of these considerable misfortunes, however, the basilisk has survived with a certain supercilious charm and humor.

A ewer from the Widener Collection, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., forms part

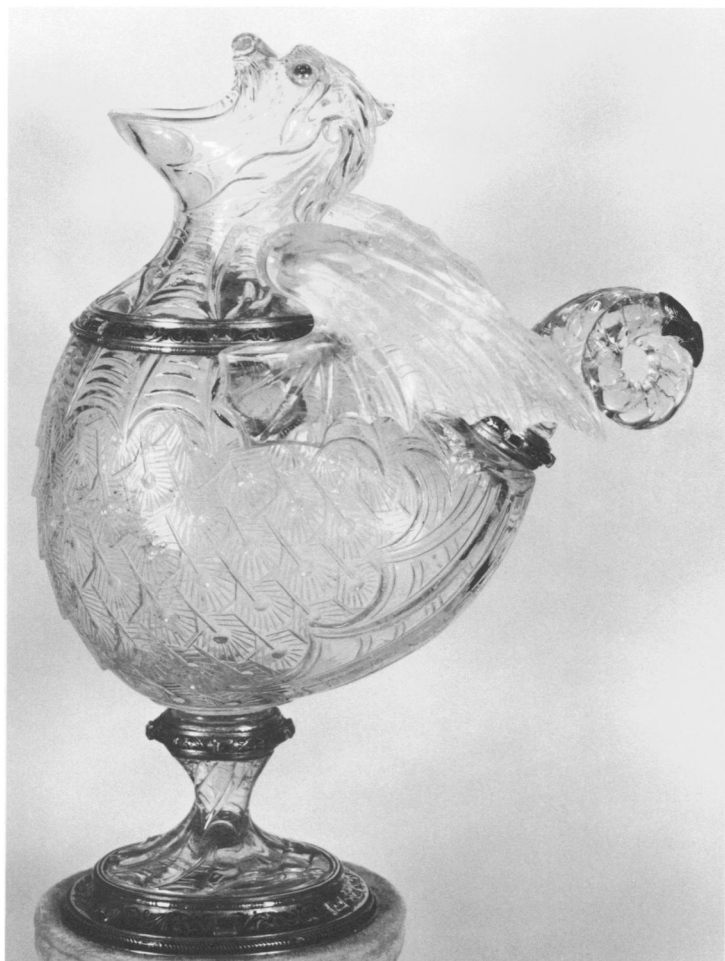
82. L. G. Boccia and E. T. Coelho, *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia* (Milan, 1967) figs. 245, 246.

83. Ex coll.: Cardinal Mazarin. Marquet de Vasselot (1914) p. 141, no. 866, pl. LIX; D. Alcouffe, "The Collection of Cardinal Mazarin's Gems," *Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974) pp. 514–526, no. 545 of Mazarin's inventory of 1661, fig. 23.

84. The present location of this ewer, if it exists, is unknown. Another drawing by Vasters shows a similar ewer, but lacking mounts, cover, and tail (Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2618-1919).

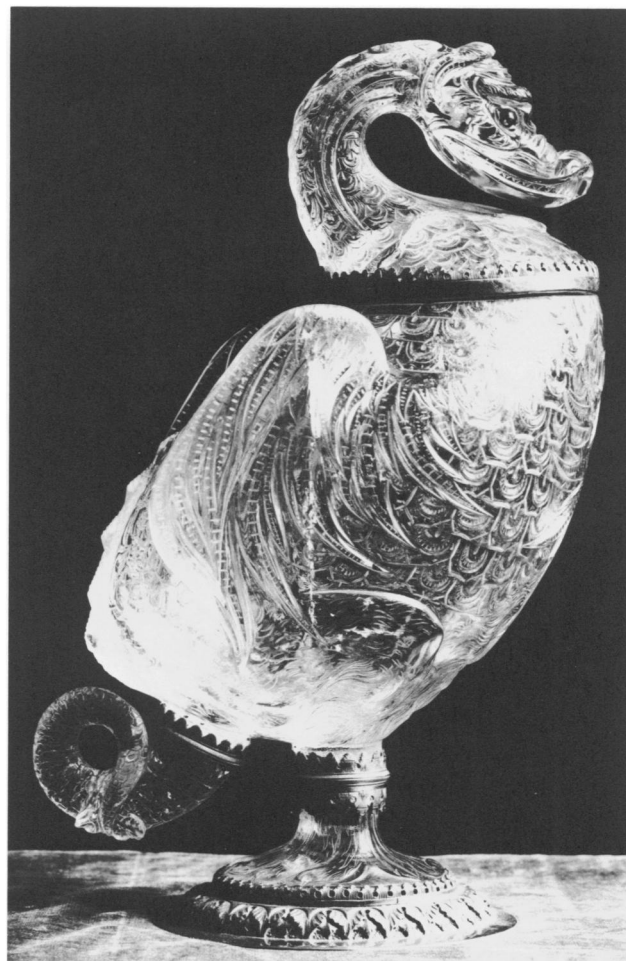
85. Ex coll.: Lord Hastings. Williamson, *Catalogue of the Collection of Jewels and Precious Works of Art the Property of J. P. Morgan*, pp. 92–93, no. 61, "The mounts are later in date than the rock-crystal," pls. xxxix, xl.

89. Design for rock crystal ewer in the shape of a monster, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2661-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



91. Rock crystal ewer in the shape of a basilisk: body and head, Milan, second half of 16th century, with wings, tail, and foot of later date; enameled and jeweled gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. H. 22.9 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942.9.298 (photo: National Gallery)

of the same group (Figure 91).⁸⁶ In the course of its existence, this basilisk has suffered even more grievous damage than the example in the Metropolitan Museum. Although the head and body are old, they do not belong together, and the head has been attached at an awkward angle. The tail, which has been repaired, is also old; the wings, feet, and enameled-gold mounts, on the other hand, are nineteenth-century and closely related to Vasters's style of work. The strangely squared plumage is of a kind seen, for example, on the splendid basilisk attributed to Annibale Fontana, in the Schatzkammer in Munich (Figure 92); bought by Duke Albrecht V of Wittelsbach, this is one of the few treasury pieces to have suffered a loss—its original ruby-studded gold mounts were removed and replaced by substitutes in 1779.⁸⁷



92. Annibale Fontana(?), rock crystal ewer in the shape of a basilisk: rock crystal, Milan, second half of 16th century; silver-gilt mounts, after 1779. Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz (photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser)

A grotesque rock crystal ewer in the Robert Lehman Collection takes the form of a seated quadruped

86. Ex colls.: F. Gans; K. W. Bachstitz; J. Widener. *Collection Fritz Gans*, pl. 2; *Bachstitz Gallery Collection*, III, pl. 75.

87. *Schatzkammer*, p. 160, no. 324. A perfectly preserved basilisk ewer, with leaf-shaped plumage, survives in the collections of the dukes of Hesse in Kassel; see E. Link, *Die landgräfliche Kunstkammer Kassel* (Kassel, 1975) pl. 11.



93. Rock crystal ewer in the shape of a seated quadruped, displaying arms dated 1571: body, Milan, 1571; head, scroll handle, and enameled-gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. H. 24 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.1497

displaying a coat of arms in *verre églomisé* between its front paws (Figure 93).⁸⁸ The head, scroll handle, and enameled-gold mounts are nineteenth-century replacements in the manner of Vasters, similar to those seen on the basilisk in Washington. Although its refitted head is distinctly doglike, the creature, cut in relief, was probably intended as a lion. The lion of Bavaria would have been an appropriate choice, since the arms displayed, dated 1571, are those of the Palatinate, Bavaria, and the monastery of Waldsassen in the Upper Palatinate—the latter a red basilisk on a silver field.⁸⁹ These are the arms of Count Palatine



94. Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Festival Costume*, Milan, ca. 1570. Drawing. Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni (photo: Soprintendenza)

88. Ex coll.: Freiherr Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Frankfurt am Main. *Exposition de la Collection Lehman de New York*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée de l'Orangerie, 1957) p. 141, no. 233, pl. 93; *The Lehman Collection: New York*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1959) p. 41, no. 525, ill.; G. Szabó, *The Robert Lehman Collection* (New York: MMA, 1975) p. 106; *Renaissance Decorative Arts from The Robert Lehman Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, 1977) no. 98, ill.

89. E. Zimmermann, *Bayerische Kloster-Heraldik* (Munich, 1930) p. 168 (top left), dated 1565. The arms are those of the Palatinate: 1. Sable, a lion argent, crowned gules; 2. The *Rautenschild* of Bavaria, in bend lozenge of argent and azure; and of the monastery of Waldsassen: 3. Argent, a basilisk gules. I am grateful to Helmut Nickel for this description.

Reichard von Simmern (1521–98) as administrator of the monastery, a former Cistercian foundation which had turned Lutheran; von Simmern held the office from 1560 to 1571, when Frederick III of the Palatinate took over. It is tempting to consider this crystal vessel as a presentation piece, given in recognition of services rendered. If it was indeed originally fashioned as an armorial lion, two Milanese ewers in the Munich Schatzkammer come to mind, one of jasper, the other of crystal, each surmounted by the bust of the Bavarian lion in gold.⁹⁰ Both ewers were made in Milan for Duke Albrecht V, and the Lehman ewer most probably originated in Milan too.

The quaint character of this seated quadruped owes much to Giuseppe Arcimboldo (1527–93) of Milan, who designed fabulous costumes as part of the wedding festivities for Maria of Wittelsbach, daughter of Albrecht V, and Archduke Charles II of Styria, at Vienna in 1571 (Figure 94).⁹¹ The nineteenth-century

restorer was no doubt unaware of such precedents and comparisons. However, he might have known a crystal ewer, then in one of the Rothschild collections and now in the Louvre, which has the shape of a winged, seated monster (Figure 95).⁹² At some time in its history the ewer has been combined with a crystal nef on wheels; although totally different in character and scale, both parts are essentially of sixteenth-century Milanese origin.

90. *Schatzkammer*, pp. 163–164, no. 330, p. 210, no. 480; R. Distelberger, “Die Saracchi-Werkstatt und Annibale Fontana,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 71 (1975) pp. 128–129, figs. 148, 149.

91. B. Geiger, *I dipinti ghiribizzosi di Giuseppe Arcimboldi: Pittore illusionista del cinquecento (1527–1593)* (Florence, 1954); S. G. Alfons, *Giuseppe Arcimboldo*, *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* XXXI (Malmö, 1957) pp. 74–84; P. Preiss, “Prager Marginalien zu Giuseppe Arcimboldo,” *Alte und Moderne Kunst* 9 (Nov.–Dec. 1964) pp. 12–14, with bibliography; A. Pieyre de Mandiargues, *Arcimboldo le merveilleux* (Paris, 1977), Eng. trans. *Arcimboldo the Marvelous* (New York, 1978); R. Barthes, *Arcimboldo* (Geneva, 1978). See also K. Vocolka, *Habsburger Hochzeiten 1550–1600: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zum manieristischen Repräsentationsfest* (Vienna, 1976) pp. 47–98.

92. Gift of Baronne Salomon de Rothschild, 1922, no. R.148. See C. Dreyfus, “La Fondation Salomon de Rothschild,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., 10 (1924) p. 325, ill.

95. Rock crystal ewer in the shape of a monster, combined with rock crystal vessel on wheels, mounts in enameled gold, Milan, ca. 1570. 40 × 40 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musée du Louvre)



GOLD-MOUNTED ROCK CRYSTALS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ORIGIN

In addition to designs involving the use of parts or fragments of authentic sixteenth- and seventeenth-century rock crystals, Vasters's work includes a number of vessels derived from Renaissance models but entirely nineteenth-century in execution. As a designer Vasters seems to have gradually developed a certain self-assurance and to have enjoyed combining styles in a way that reflects the historicism of his time. The objects that follow illustrate his progression from faithful interpreter to one who occasionally delighted in creating variations on set themes, with results which, although traditional in essence, are very much in keeping with prevailing retrospective tendencies.

Among the nineteenth-century rock crystals that most closely resemble sixteenth-century prototypes is a double-spouted, double-handled vase with cover, once owned by Spitzer and bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum by Benjamin Altman in 1913 (Figures 96, 97).⁹³ Vasters furnished colored designs for both crystal and mounts (Figures 98–103), showing the body of the vessel and the lid intaglio-cut with a foliage pattern; the handles carved in relief, and the spout and low foot fluted. Design and execution are so closely matched as to rule out any possibility that the crystal might in fact be older. The exquisite black and gold mounts, which include a cone-shaped finial, make use of a classical ovolo pattern not found elsewhere on enameled-gold settings for rock crystal vessels; it was, however, part of the vocabulary of sixteenth-century silversmiths, particularly in Germany and England.

Another rock crystal vessel from the Spitzer collection which is now in the Metropolitan Museum as part of the Altman Bequest is a relief-cut covered ewer that rises from a windswept foliated calyx (Figure 104).⁹⁴ It presents a number of unconventional elements: the spout is shaped as a female caryatid, the winged caryatid handle is topped by an animal head, and the unattached lid is in the form of a grotesque mask with ruby eyes, reminiscent of the kind proposed by Giulio Romano for silver vessels (Figure 105). Of related design and execution is a covered ewer in the Robert Lehman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum, with relief decoration showing Neptune and Amphitrite (Figure 106): similar windswept foliage surrounds the

calyx; there is a mask beneath the spout; the handle, this time with a putto's head, is again impractically designed; the hinged cover takes the form of a dolphin. The ewers, both elliptical, are alike in having circular, cone-shaped bases. They bear a marked family resemblance—the Altman ewer in particular—to a coverless ewer known to me only from an old photograph in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Figure 107), which is annotated to the effect that the owner was a Milanese collector, Annibale Conti. From the photograph this ewer appears to be a genuine Milanese work of the late sixteenth century, which stands on an eighteenth-century silver-gilt fluted foot, presumably a replacement of the original foot in rock crystal. Perhaps it served as a point of departure for the two nineteenth-century ewers: given the affinities between them, these are likely to have been the work of one designer, one crystal cutter's workshop, and one goldsmith. A Milanese rock crystal coverless ewer from the French crown treasury could have offered a model for their handles, though its handle is in one piece and hence far more usable (Figure 108);⁹⁵ among Vasters's drawings is one of just such a ewer (Figure 109). A comparison of the example in the Louvre with the Altman ewer in particular shows at a glance how impractically this is designed: the spout is too low, the handle too high, and the cover tends to slide off. The cover of the Lehman ewer, on the other hand, is rather too efficiently hinged to its body, with an enameled-gold rod running through the attachments. Both covers, in fact, seem to be alien elements of the design.

93. *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 18, no. 19 (Italian, 16th century), "Ce vase est fêlé," *GEMMES* pl. x; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2611, pl. LIX (see Figure 13).

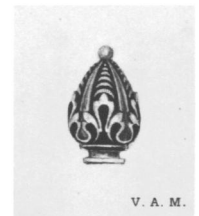
94. *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 23, no. 37 (German, end of 16th century), ill.; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2632, pl. LIX (see Figure 13). The intriguing suggestion has been made, as this article was going to press, that the ewer may be the one shown in Figure 107, embellished after acquisition by Spitzer (Helmut Nickel, personal communication).

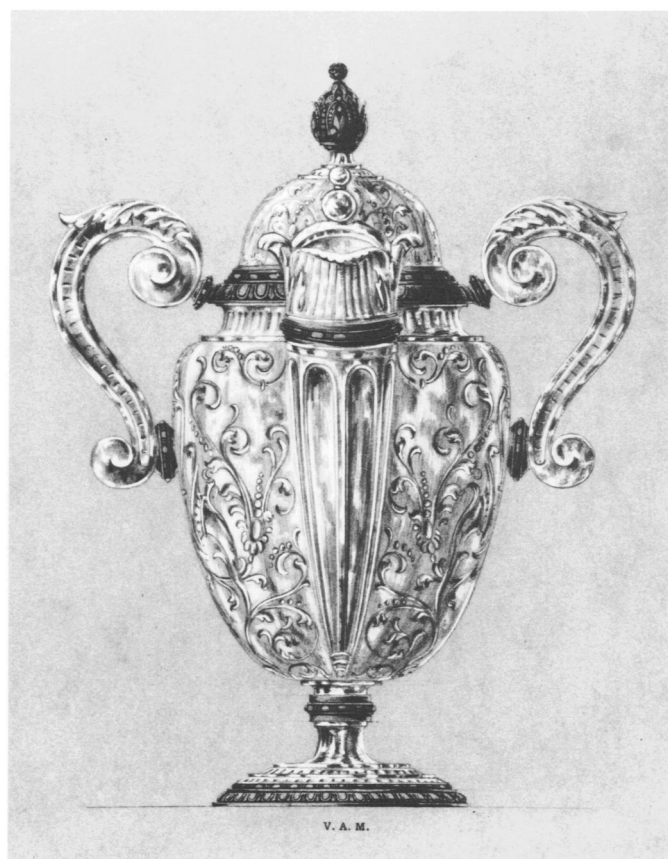
95. H. Barbet de Jouy, Musée du Louvre, *Galerie d'Apollon: Notices des gemmes et bijoux* (Paris, 1867) pp. 42–43, E.92, "No. 156 bis de l'Inventaire des Bijoux de la Couronne, 1791"; Marquet de Vasselot (1914) p. 140, no. 962; Alcouffe, "The Collection of Cardinal Mazarin's Gems," pp. 514–526, fig. 20, no. 481 of Mazarin's inventory of 1661.



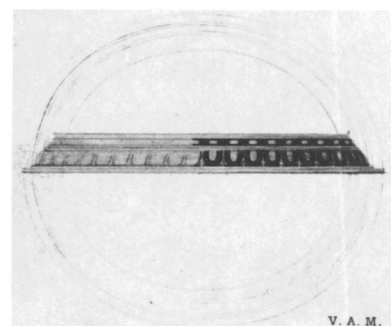
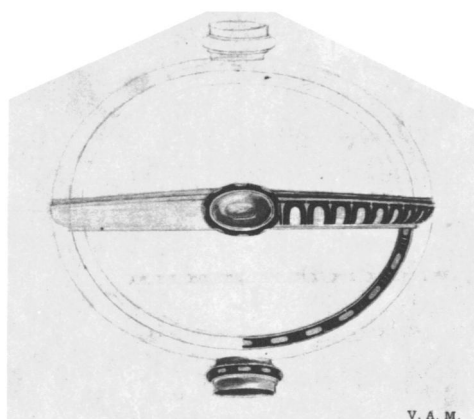
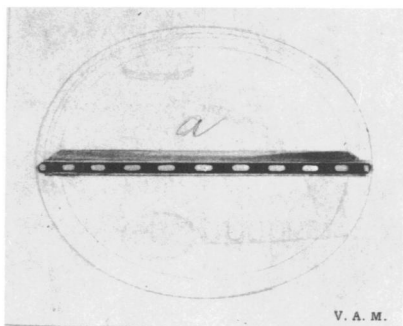
96, 97. Double-spouted rock crystal vase with cover and two handles, enameled-gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. 17.1 × 19.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.659a,b

100–103. Designs for finial and mounts of double-spouted rock crystal vase, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3141,3460–3462-1919





98, 99. Designs for double-spouted rock crystal vase shown in Figures 96 and 97, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2612,2613-1919



104



106



105

107



216



104. Rock crystal ewer with cover, mounts in enameled and jeweled gold, ca. 1870–90. H. 24.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.660a,b

105. Giulio Romano (1492–1546), *Design for a Silver Dish and Cover*, first quarter of 16th century. Pen and wash over chalk. Oxford, Christ Church (photo: Christ Church)

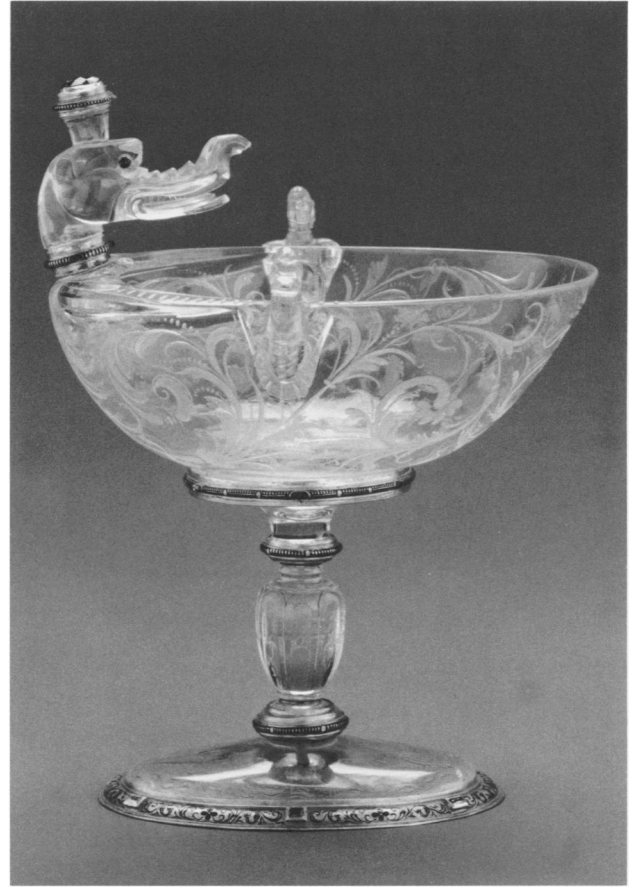
106. Rock crystal ewer with cover, enameled-gold mounts, ca. 1870–90. H. 18 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.1498



107. Rock crystal ewer on silver-gilt foot: crystal, probably Milan, second half of 16th century; foot, 18th century. Formerly Annibale Conti Collection, Milan (drawing, after photo: Kathleen Borowik)

108. Rock crystal ewer, enameled-gold mounts, Milan, second half of 16th century. H. 31.5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)

109. Design for a rock crystal ewer, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2636-1919 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



110, 111. Two-handled rock crystal cup with dragon's head, mounts in enameled and jeweled gold, ca. 1870–95. 17.6 × 13.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.1495

There are no drawings to link the Museum's ewers with Vasters, and only the Altman example is known to have been owned by Spitzer. That provenance, however, and the character of both ewers argue strongly in favor of Vasters's authorship—as do the enameled-gold mounts, so reminiscent of his style.

By contrast, a baluster-stemmed cup in the Robert Lehman Collection is well documented (Figures 110, 111).⁹⁶ Vasters's design (Figure 112) includes all the crystal parts: the bowl with two small dragon heads as handles, the pattern of the intaglio-cut tendrils, the gadrooned baluster and circular foot, and the ruby-eyed, open-mouthed dragon's head that looks inward across the bowl. An immediate prototype for this curious head, which is topped by a circular gold-capped knob, can be found in the dragon's head that once

supported Biliverti's gold and enamel handle for the helmet-shaped cup by Gaffuri in Florence (Figure 113);⁹⁷ the lower attachment of that now-missing loop handle appears on top of the dragon's head. Vasters, unaware of its purpose, has treated this hard-to-explain rudiment as mere ornament. For the overall design of the cup Vasters might have referred to a number of genuine Renaissance examples: a Milanese one in the Munich Schatzkammer;⁹⁸ one by Ottavio Miseroni in Vienna;⁹⁹ or a later one in Stuttgart, made for the dukes of Württemberg in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1633, which has a somewhat less fan-

96. Ex coll.: Constantin Bulgari, Rome, 1955.

97. See note 72 above.

98. *Schatzkammer*, p. 169, no. 342. See also *Bachstitz Gallery Collection*, III, pl. 72, an oval rock crystal bowl on a baluster stem with a dragon's head (ex coll. F. von Gans, Frankfurt am Main).

99. R. Distelberger, "Beobachtungen zu den Steinschneidewerkstätten der Miseroni in Mailand und Prag," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 74 (1978) p. 147, fig. 126.

112. Design for two-handled cup with dragon's head, ca. 1870–95. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2604-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



tastic head with enameled wings attached to it (Figure 114).¹⁰⁰

The mounts envisaged in Vasters's design are much more elaborate than in the finished version, except for the narrow striped bands encircling the dragon's neck and the knob on its head, which are identical in both. The motif has been carried over to the mounts of the cup and stem, while the foot rim shows a characteristic feathery scroll pattern (see Figures 61, 71).

A two-handled rock crystal cup, with the same curiously crowned dragon's head facing inward, was exhibited by Vasters in Düsseldorf in 1902 as part of his collection (see Figure 14). It appears to have been identical with the one in the Robert Lehman Collection, except that it was mounted on a low, scroll-patterned foot. We shall have occasion to revert to the Düsseldorf exhibition in connection with another object in this group.

100. M. Landenberger, ed., *Kleinodien aus dem Württembergischen Landesmuseum Stuttgart* (Pfullingen, 1973) color pl. p. 47.



113. Jacopo Biliverti, dragon-head attachment for enameled-gold handle formerly on rock crystal cup by Gaffuri, Florence, ca. 1590. Florence, Museo degli Argenti (photo: Hackenbroch)

114. Rock crystal cup with bird's head and wings, mounted in enameled and jeweled silver-gilt, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1633. H. 18.2 cm. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum (photo: Württembergisches Landesmuseum)



In addition to the pair of pricket candlesticks incorporating sixteenth-century rock crystals (see Figure 76), Spitzer owned a second pair, this one based on a design by Vasters that shows the rock crystal sections intaglio cut with gadroons and floral festoons (Figures 115, 116).¹⁰¹ Vasters might have known the pair of sixteenth-century pricket candlesticks now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, a prototype with similar vase-shaped and gadrooned rock crystal sections (Figure 117);¹⁰² indeed, Vasters himself might have been responsible for raising these candlesticks onto their present drum-shaped bases, encircled with silver-gilt bands and applied enamel ornament of a kind frequently encountered in his work. The silver-gilt mounts of the pair from the Spitzer collection, however, are different in character, and the bases are decorated with animals in a continuous landscape

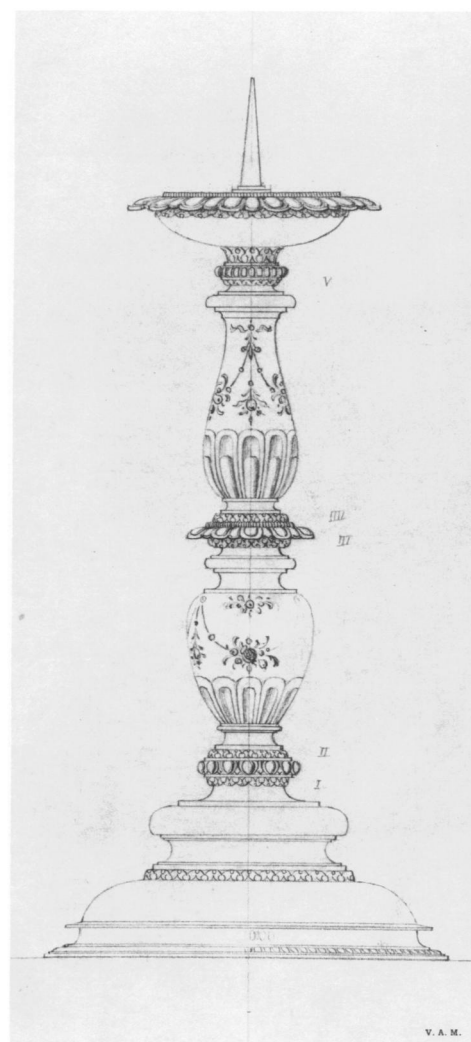
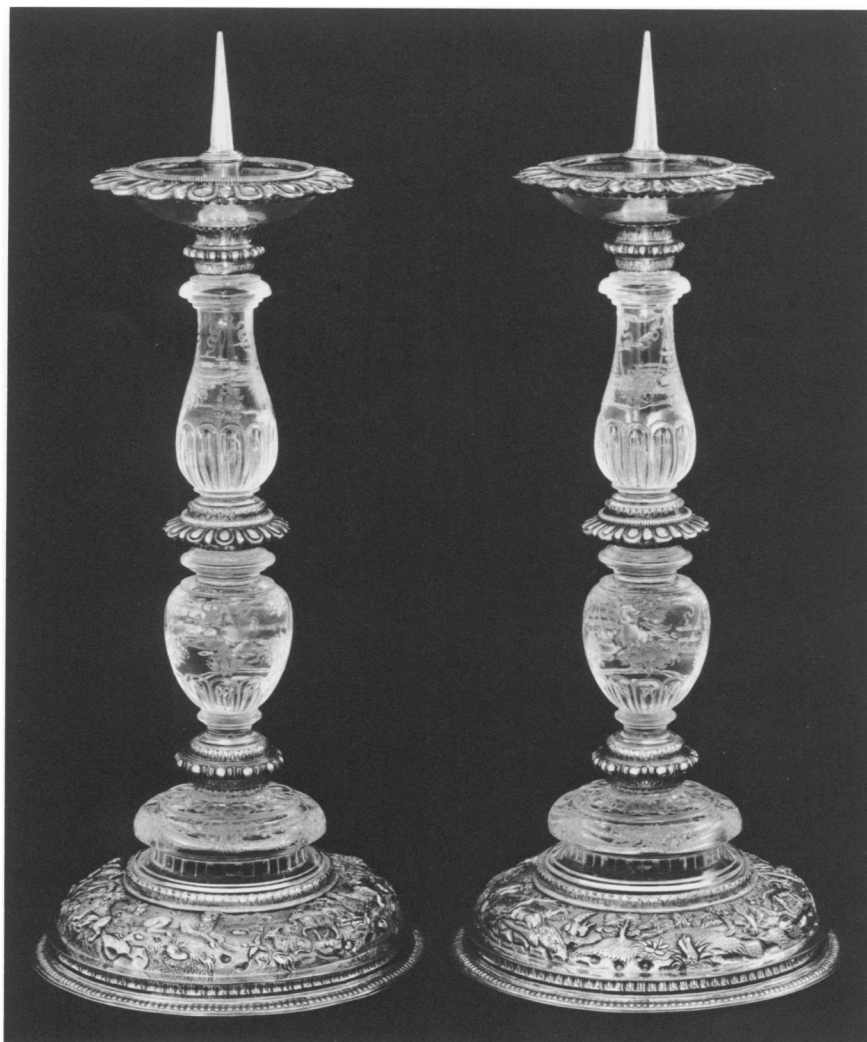
(Figure 118). Rendered in low relief in late sixteenth-century South German style, these friezes may have been modeled from plaster casts or galvanoplastic reproductions in Vasters's possession, such as were listed in the sale catalogue of his estate in 1909. If so, it would explain why there are no traces of hammering on the reverse. The surfaces are chased to give the slight relief more definition and sharpness; the backgrounds are tooled with coarse punches applied in a pedantic manner that would have disqualified any practicing member of a sixteenth-century goldsmiths' guild. Another technical observation concerns the

101. *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 13, no. 4 (German, 16th century), *GEMMES* pl. IV; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2596, pl. LIX (see Figure 13).

102. Inv. no. 17196. Ex colls.: Gustave de Rothschild, Paris; Mme Stern, Paris; Mannheimer Collection, Amsterdam.

115. Pair of pricket candlesticks in rock crystal and silver-gilt, ca. 1870–90. H. 34.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.652,653

116. Design for pricket candlestick shown in Figure 115, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2728-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)





117. Pair of pricket candlesticks in rock crystal with enameled-gold mounts, second half of 16th century; raised on rock crystal bases mounted in silver-gilt with enameled-gold decoration, ca. 1870–90. H. 35.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum)



118. Detail of foot of a pricket candlestick shown in Figure 115, with silver-gilt frieze of animals in a landscape

dentated upper edge of each frieze, which serves as an attachment to grip the segment of rock crystal rising from the base: too close to the animals in the frieze, this edge cuts into many of their heads. By contrast, the ovolo border that forms the outer rim of the base is cast and stamped separately.

The animals in their continuous landscapes are shown in repose, recalling scenes of the Creation or of Orpheus charming the beasts with his music. In this connection, two friezes engraved by Virgil Solis (1514–62) of Nuremberg come to mind: one, dated 1540, shows Orpheus with almost identical animals in a wooded landscape; the other depicts Adam and Eve among the animals in the Garden of Eden.¹⁰³ A Creation scene such as the latter was used to decorate the round base of a spectacular gold cup sold in 1937 as part of the Airthrey heirlooms (Figures 119, 120).¹⁰⁴ The cup was then described as a Renaissance work;

in view of the similarities between the friezes decorating its base and the bases of the pricket candlesticks under discussion, an attribution to Vasters cannot be excluded.

Illustrating clearly the differences between a work of genuine creation and the retrospective attitudes of Vasters and his generation is a similar scene of Orpheus charming the animals, featured in relief on a

103. I. O'Dell-Franke, *Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Werkstatt des Virgil Solis* (Wiesbaden, 1977): *Orpheus and the Animals*, p. 97, no. d 66, pl. 34 (see also no. d 65, pl. 33); *Adam and Eve*, p. 75, no. a 8, pl. 2 (see also no. a 7, pl. 2).

104. C. R. Beard, "The Airthrey Gold Cup: Discovery of an Unique Renaissance Treasure," *Connoisseur* 98 (1936) pp. 3–8, ill.; *The Airthrey Gold Cup*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: How of Edinburgh, 1936) pl. 5; *Catalogue of the Airthrey Treasures Formerly the Property of the Late Donald Graham . . .*, sale cat., Sotheby's (London, June 10, 1937) lot 1, frontispiece and ill.



large silver-gilt basin with matching ewer in the Museo degli Argenti, Florence.¹⁰⁵ Commissioned by Prince-Bishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau of Salzburg, the set was made by Cornelius Erb of Augsburg about 1590. The relief shows a freedom of composition that reveals the sure touch of a master who knew how to benefit from the sources of design that served him for guidance.¹⁰⁶

The objects described so far are nineteenth-century versions of sixteenth-century prototypes. We turn now to adaptations in the style of the seventeenth century. One of these is a sturdy rock crystal tankard with sil-

105. I. Weber, "Bildvorlagen für Silberreliefs an Arbeiten von Paul Hübner und Kornelius Erb, heute im Palazzo Pitti und im Britischen Museum," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (1970) pp. 362–368, fig. 52.

106. Erb was able to enrich his vocabulary of quadrupeds and birds from books with woodcut illustrations of animals by Conrad Gessner, published in Zurich in 1551–58, and by Jost Amman, whose *Ein neww Thierbuch* appeared in Frankfurt am Main in 1569. See W. G. Zimmerman, "Conrad Geßner: Die Entdeckung eines großen Zürcher Künstlers," in *Zürcher Kunst nach der Reformation: Hans Asper und seine Zeit*, exh. cat. (Zurich: Helmhaus, 1981) pp. 161–163, nos. 171–176; and Y. Hackenbroch, "Renaissance Pendants After Designs by Jost Amman," *Connoisseur* 160 (1965) pp. 58–65.

119. The Airthrey globe cup, Germany (Nuremberg?), ca. 1560–70. Gold, H. 24.1 cm. England, private collection (photo: after *Connoisseur* 98, 1936)

120. Detail of foot of the Airthrey globe cup, with frieze of animals in the Garden of Eden (photo: after *Connoisseur* 98, 1936)



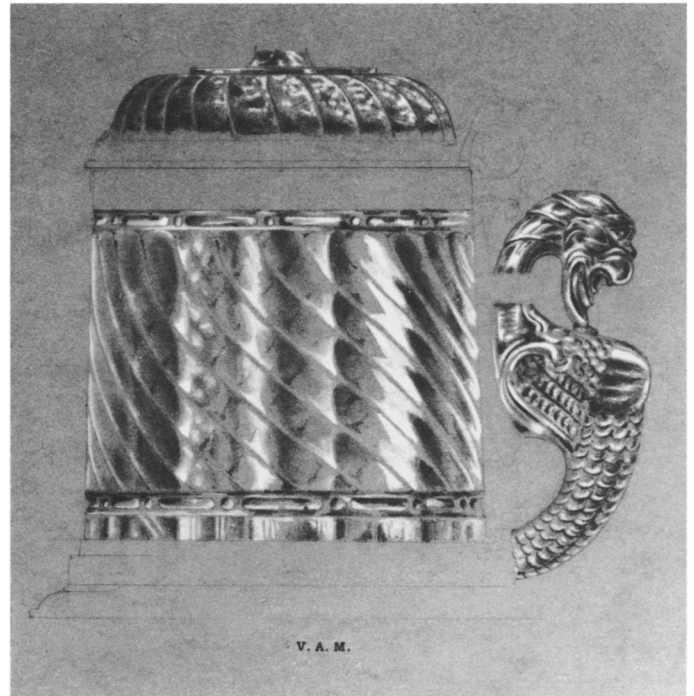


121. Rock crystal tankard, with silver-gilt and enameled-gold mounts, ca. 1870–95. 17.1 × 17.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.631

ver-gilt, gold, and enamel mounts (Figure 121).¹⁰⁷ Vasters must have had in mind a prototype such as the silver-gilt example executed by Philipp Küsel, who became a master in Augsburg in 1668; this tankard, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, has similar spiral fluting on the body and cover, although it differs in being fitted with a caryatid handle and ball finial.¹⁰⁸ Vasters left two preparatory drawings for his tankard: one for the crystal parts only, complete with domed cover and scroll handle in the form of a winged sea serpent; and the other for the whole piece with its silver-gilt mounts (Figures 122, 123). The handle he devised is totally impractical, a detail that seems

107. Williamson, *Catalogue of the Collection of Jewels and Precious Works of Art the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan*, pp. 96–97, no. 65, pl. XLIV.

108. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 1877-1898. *Augsburger Barock*, p. 326, no. 471, fig. 309; Seling, *Die Kunst der Augsburger Goldschmiede*, III, p. 227, no. 1692, e.

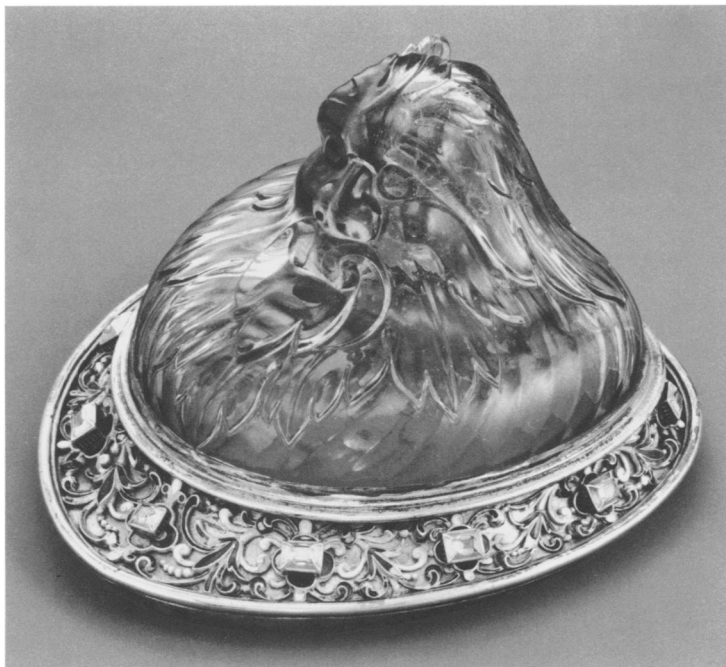


122, 123. Designs for rock crystal tankard shown in Figure 121, ca. 1870–95. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2642,2713-1919 (photos: Eileen Tweedy)





125. Cover of rock crystal ewer shown in Figure 124, with foliage mask



124. Smoky rock crystal ewer with cover, mounts in silver-gilt and enameled and jeweled gold, ca. 1870–90. H. 35 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.58a,b

not to have disturbed him in the least. The cone-shaped finial is found elsewhere in his work (see, for example, Figure 96). Indeed, most of Vasters's finial designs were used more than once. They are subtle but telltale reminders of his authorship.

One of the installation photographs of Vasters's loans to the Düsseldorf exhibition of 1902 shows a tankard that is almost identical to the one now in the Metropolitan Museum, except that it lacks the enameled scroll decoration applied to the mounts (see Figure 14).

Another object of seventeenth-century inspiration is a large, helmet-shaped, covered ewer in smoky crystal, formerly in the Spitzer collection, when it was described as a German work of the late sixteenth century (Figures 124, 125).¹⁰⁹ Its prototype may have been a cup from the Miseroni circle in Prague, such as a smaller, coverless example on a baluster stem and shell-shaped foot in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (Figure 126);¹¹⁰ the relief on both cups includes masks and palmettes. The nineteenth-century ewer shows the degree to which its designer responded to traditional form, while unwittingly adopting certain contemporary trends. The result is a stylistic compromise. Rising from a leaf-shaped base, the ewer is carved with windswept palmettes which frame a grotesque foliage mask. Foliage reappears on the cover, issuing from a stylized head that resembles a woodwose or—more specifically German—the old fairytale figure of Rübezahl, a well-meaning giant, half-spirit half-man, who lived in the woods. The prominent handle is also covered with foliage. Vasters prepared colored drawings for every detail of this ewer and its mounts (Figures 127, 128). The latter are silver-gilt with applied enameled-gold decoration forming a continuous frieze. In pattern and technique these mounts show a close resemblance to those of an agate cup from the French royal treasure (see

109. *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 16, no. 11 (German, end of 16th century), *GEMMES* pl. IX; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2603, pl. LIX (see Figure 13).

110. Inv. no. 2176.

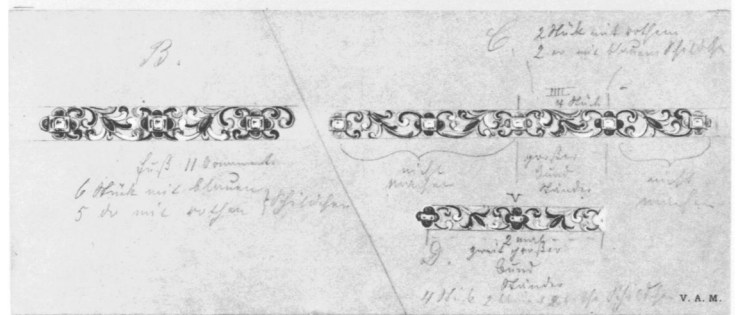


126. Circle of Ottavio Miseroni, rock crystal vessel with foliage mask, Prague, early 17th century. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum)

127. Design for smoky rock crystal covered ewer shown in Figure 124, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2643-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



128. Designs for enameled-gold mounts of smoky rock crystal ewer and cover shown in Figures 124 and 125, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3133,3134-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



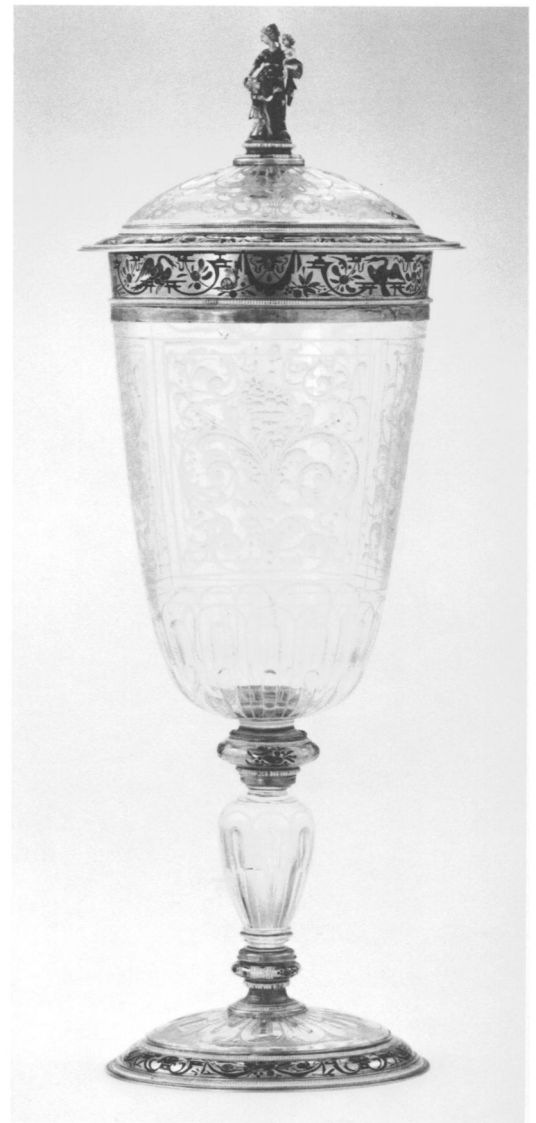


129. Smoky rock crystal cup, mounts in enameled and jeweled gold, ca. 1870–90. 13.3 × 14.3 × 11.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.1702

Figure 80); somewhat similar mounts have already been noted on a pair of pricket candlesticks formerly in the Spitzer collection (see Figure 77). The late sixteenth-century technique was one suited to the bold character and generous proportions of the ewer, for it allowed the sparing use of gold as a carrier of the enamel, applied to a sturdy base of silver-gilt.

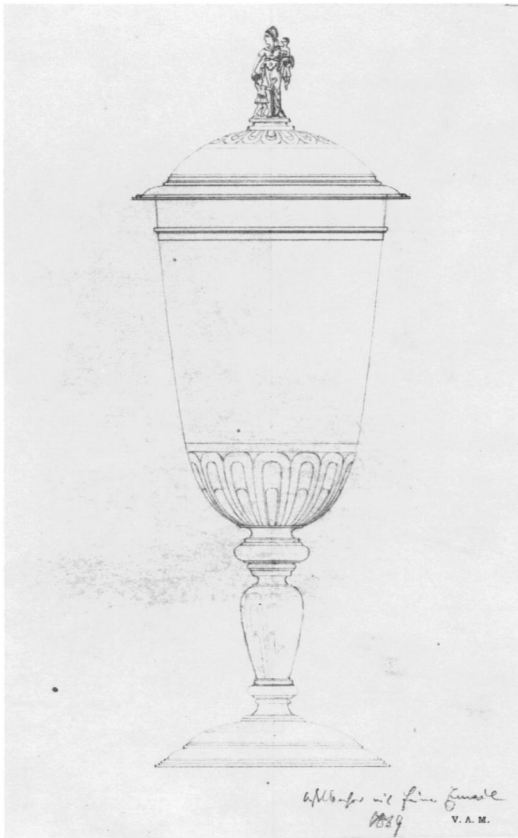
Another object in smoky rock crystal, this time very dark in color, is a cup standing on a high faceted foot (Figure 129).¹¹¹ Lapidary and goldsmith have achieved a strikingly harmonious relationship: the purely ornamental carving of the oval bowl is utterly restrained; so are the gold and black enameled mounts, which display the up-and-down feathery scroll pattern repeatedly chosen by Vasters, highlighted here by rubies and diamonds in rectangular box settings. In the absence of any preparatory drawings, it is the mounts that link this cup to Vasters, who seems likely

111. Ex coll.: Karl Mayer von Rothschild. *Orfèvrerie allemande . . . collection . . . C. M. de Rothschild*, sale cat., Galerie Georges Petit (Paris, June 12–13, 1911) lot 98, p. 83, ill.



130, 131. Rock crystal covered goblet, with enameled-gold mounts and Charity finial, ca. 1876–90. H. 26 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.661a,b





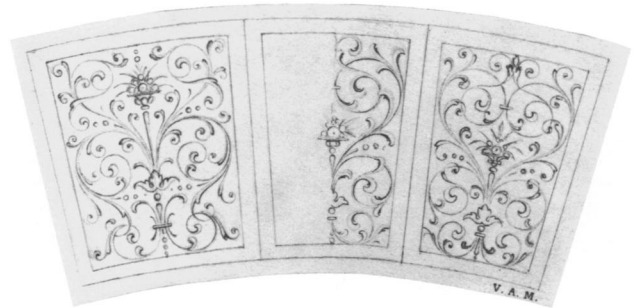
132.
Design for rock crystal
covered goblet with Charity
finial, ca. 1870–90.
London, Victoria and
Albert Museum, E.2748-
1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

133.
Design for rock crystal
goblet with intaglio-cut
panels, ca. 1870–90.
London, Victoria and
Albert Museum, E.2610-
1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

134.
Design for intaglio-cut
panels of the goblet shown
in Figure 130, ca. 1870–90.
London, Victoria and
Albert Museum, E.3502-
1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

to have supervised the work of both lapidary and goldsmith.

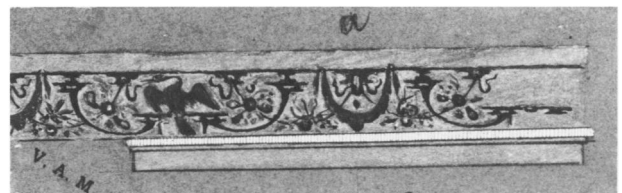
Two covered rock crystal goblets in the Metropolitan Museum, both with elaborate enameled-gold mounts, illustrate Vasters's more contemporary tendencies as a designer. For the first (Figures 130, 131), formerly in the Spitzer collection, Vasters left sketches showing the entire cone-shaped goblet, one with its cover and finial in the shape of a figure of Charity (Figures 132, 133).¹¹² Separate drawings exist for the final design of the ornamental panels cut into the crystal; for the finial; and for the decorative rims in *Tiefschnitt*, a technique in which the design is engraved into the gold and filled in with colored enamel, mostly but not exclusively translucent (Figures 134–136). The running ornament is formed by cartouches enclosing bunches of fruit linked by festoons with birds and flowers; both technique and imagery



135, 136. Designs for Charity finial and enameled-gold
border of the goblet shown in Figures 130 and 131,
ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum,
E.3273,3288-1919 (photos: Eileen Tweedy)



112. *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 24, no. 41 (German, 16th century), ill.; *Spitzer Sale*, II, lot 2633, pl. LIX (see Figure 13). Cf. a rock crystal goblet and cover bequeathed to the British Museum by Viscount Lee of Fareham (inv. no. 1935.2-1,4), for which Vasters's designs also survive: *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 16, no. 12 (Italian, 16th century), ill.; *Spitzer sale*, II, lot 2605, pl. LIX (see Figure 13); Truman (1979) p. 158, figs. 1–4; Tait, "Spitz in Bloomsbury," p. 63, figs. 2, 3.





137. House altar of Duke Albrecht V of Wittelsbach and his consort Anna: detail, statuette of St. Anne, Augsburg, 1573–74. Ebony, enameled gold, pearls, jewels. Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz (photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser)

were prevalent in the Kaiserliche Hofwerkstatt of Rudolf II in Prague, and were already in use in Augsburg around 1573–74 on the *Hausaltar* of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and his consort, Anna of Austria. This private altar, a masterpiece which was the first of its kind to use ebony among other precious materials, included figures of the duke and duchess's patron saints, St. Albert the Great and St. Anne (Figure 137), and it must have been known to Vasters, if not directly, then in the pages of a book on the *Schatzkammer* that he owned.¹¹³

The figure of St. Anne on Duke Albrecht's house altar seems to have influenced Vasters in his renderings of Charity—with the addition of a third child—as a centerpiece for pendants, such as the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see Figures 30, 31). The finial group designed for the crystal goblet, however, is more closely derived from a representation of Charity with two children, standing beneath an arch inscribed *CHARITAS*, on a jewel casket by Wenzel Jamnitzer and Nicolaus Schmidt in the *Grünes Gewölbe*, Dresden. The casket, first listed in the Saxon *Kunst-kammer* in 1589 and presumably made for the wedding of Elector Christian I and Sophie in 1582, was reproduced in a folio volume that Vasters owned (Figures 138, 139).¹¹⁴ Charity, wearing a long, belted dress with a short overskirt or *peplum*, supports one infant on her left arm; she looks down at a boy on her right, who is older than the children usually gathered about her. Clad in a classical skirted outfit, he hangs anxiously onto Charity's dress, while she ex-

113. The earliest large color reproduction of this famous altar was published by Zettler (1876) pl. xxxiii; pl. xxxiv shows the altar closed and pl. xxxvi (misplaced with xxxv) its back. See *Katalog Vasters*, lot 732, for the copy owned by Vasters. For the most thorough, recent study of the altar and the Augsburg workshop from which it originated, together with a complete bibliography, see U. Krempel, "Augsburger und Münchner Emailarbeiten des Manierismus aus dem Besitz der Bayerischen Herzöge Albrecht V, Wilhelm V, und Maximilian I," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 18 (1967) pp. 111–186, esp. pp. 137–140, p. 176, no. 17, figs. 29–31. See also *Schatzkammer*, pp. 75–76, no. 59, pl. 32; and Seling, *Die Kunst der Augsburger Goldschmiede*, III, pp. 52–53, fig. 27, color pls. I, II, and p. 79, no. 864, e.

114. J. G. T. Grässe, *Das Grüne Gewölbe zu Dresden* (Berlin, 1876) pl. 5; for Vasters's copy see *Katalog Vasters*, lot 574. See also J. L. Sponsel, *Das Grüne Gewölbe zu Dresden: Eine Auswahl von Meisterwerken der Goldschmiedekunst* (Leipzig, 1925–29) I, pp. 115–116, pls. 21, 22.

tends a protective hand over his head. The finial on the cover of the crystal goblet repeats all the essential details of Wenzel Jamnitzer's composition.

The allegorical figure of Charity was a popular one, especially in Protestant regions. A group very like the finial, except for a narrow piece of drapery billowing around Charity's head and shoulders, appears at the apex of an ebony tabernacle in one of Vasters's sketches (see Figure 183), and a similar group stands in the center niche of a small cabinet in damascened iron that formed part of the Spitzer collection.¹¹⁵

The second covered goblet in the Metropolitan Museum that can be attributed to Vasters is shaped like a latter-day champagne flute, while the intagliocut motifs are derived from designs by the Saracchi (Figures 140, 141).¹¹⁶ Vasters made a detailed drawing of the floral finial, with instructions beside it (Figure 142). The mounts have been executed in the late sixteenth-century technique already discussed (see Figure 80), whereby enameled-gold scrolls are affixed to a slightly concave ground that allows the applied ornament to stand out. This is a rare instance in which the entire setting is made of gold; the applied ornamental sections can only be cast in and enameled on gold, but it is common to find silver-gilt being used for the ground. The technique, often chosen for objects of large proportions or intended for occasional use, allowed shortcuts to be made in the production process, since the ornamental sections could be cast in one or two complementary molds. These units gradually tended to acquire a monotonous character, the result of being turned out by busy, specialized workshops—a criticism, however, that certainly cannot be leveled at this exquisitely finished goblet.

A covered bowl in the Schroder Collection, with elaborate enameled and jeweled gold mounts on a

115. Charity is one of three silver statuettes; the present location of the cabinet is unknown. See *Collection Spitzer*, III, p. 44, no. 5 (Italian, 16th century), *FERS INCRUSTES* pl. III; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2534, pl. LVII. This allows us to form an idea of the magnitude of Spitzer's enterprise. Apparently master designs by Vasters—and not only by him—circulated from goldsmiths' workshops to other metalworkers.

116. Rubinstein-Bloch, *Catalogue of the George and Florence Blumenthal Collection*, III, p. xxx, said to be ex coll. Baron Karl Mayer von Rothschild, although no independent confirmation of this provenance has yet been found.



138. Wenzel Jamnitzer and Nicolaus Schmidt, jewel casket, Nuremberg, ca. 1582, as published in 1876 by J. G. T. Grässe, *Das Grüne Gewölbe zu Dresden*, pl. 5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

139. *Charity*, detail of Figure 138





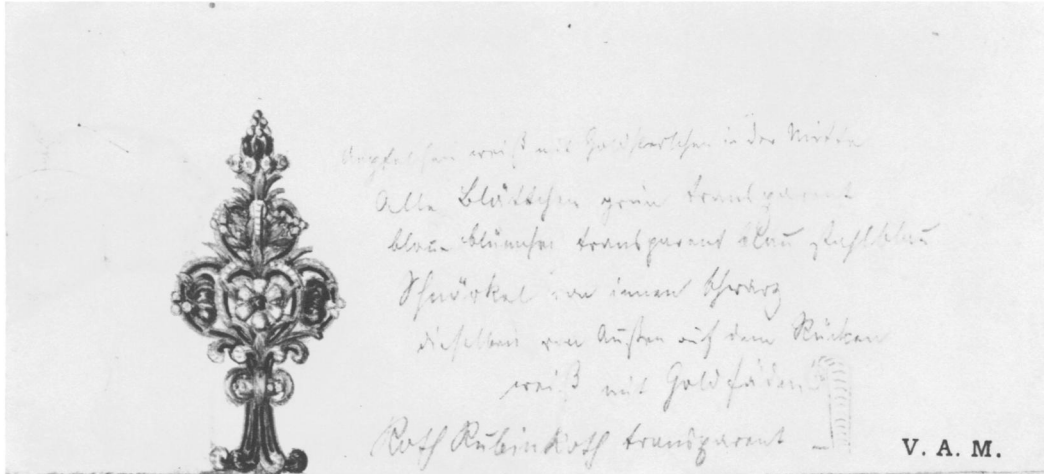
140, 141. Rock crystal covered goblet, with enameled-gold mounts and floral finial, ca. 1870–90. H. 36.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George Blumenthal, 41.100.316a,b



white ground, serves to conclude this discussion of nineteenth-century rock crystals (Figures 143, 144).¹¹⁷ Formerly thought to be late sixteenth-century in origin, the bowl has now been reattributed to Reinhold Vasters as a result of these studies. The general shape of the piece is not unlike that of a sixteenth-century

in surviving drawings of similar scenes (Figures 147–150). The style of these vignettes is derived from seventeenth-century sources, of the kind illustrated by the hunting scene on the Metropolitan Museum's oval crystal plate (see Figure 84).

Unmistakable as is the authorship of the Schroder



142. Annotated design for the floral finial shown in Figures 140 and 141, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3322-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

covered crystal cup on a baluster-stem foot from the French royal treasury.¹¹⁸ Vasters's preparatory drawings include a version of the entire bowl and cover, with its sphinx-shaped handles and floral finial, and detailed sketches for the lip and foot rims, showing the enameled-gold bands with a pattern of arabesques inset with jewels (Figures 145, 146). The half-figures of sphinxes are embellished with diadems and rows of pearls, and have draperies descending from ears and wings. Their full breasts protrude from white-enameled chests patterned with dots and arabesques. Similar half-sphinxes, as we shall see, occur elsewhere in Vasters's sketches and in work depending on them. The floral finial can be compared with that in Figure 141, and with one on a large moss agate bowl for which Vasters's designs survive (see Figure 163). The crystal bowl itself is engraved with mythological scenes—Apollo pursuing Daphne, Cypris with the stag—in oval frames with scrollwork embellishments at the apex, much as outlined

bowl, the differences between it and the design in Figure 145 are worth noting. In the drawing the bowl rests on a flat foot, not a baluster stem; and the mythological scene envisaged, that of the Judgment of Paris, is without a frame and covers the entire side of the bowl.

The survival of so many designs by Vasters for rock crystals raises the question of where such objects could have been made during the later nineteenth century. The flourishing enterprises of the Saracchi and Miseroni in Milan had long since come to an end, in part transferred to Prague, in part affected by the dismal situation during and after the Thirty Years' War, and in part victims finally of increased competition from the glass industry, especially in Bohemia. Some cut crystal was produced in Paris during the period, but Spitzer—who owned at least five of the pieces now in

117. T. Schroder, comp., *Schroder Collection*, exh. cat. (London: Goldsmiths' Hall, 1979) no. 28, color pl. and cover ill., "North Italian, probably Milan, circa 1580"; American Federation of Arts, *Schroder Collection: The Art of the European Goldsmith*, exh. cat. (New York, 1983) pp. 179–181, no. 77, ill. and color pl., reattributed to Vasters.

118. Marquet de Vasselot (1914) p. 144, no. 883, pl. LXI.

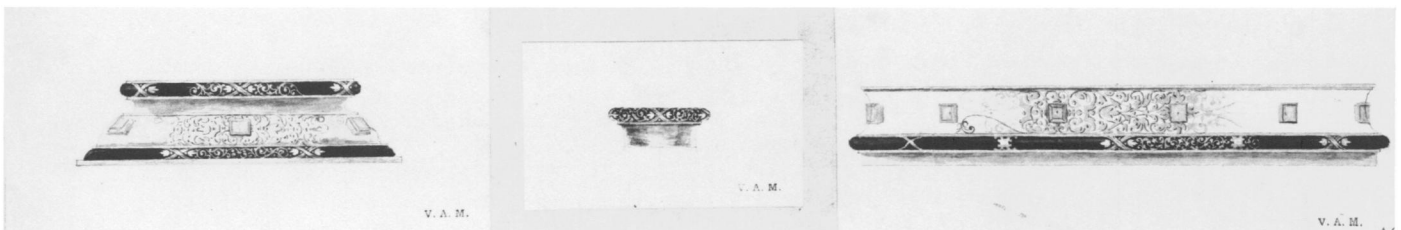


143. Rock crystal covered bowl with sphinx handles, mounted in enameled and jeweled gold, ca. 1870–90. 23 × 20 cm. London, Schroder Collection (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

144. Detail of sphinx handle of the Schroder bowl (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

145. Design for the Schroder bowl, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2606-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

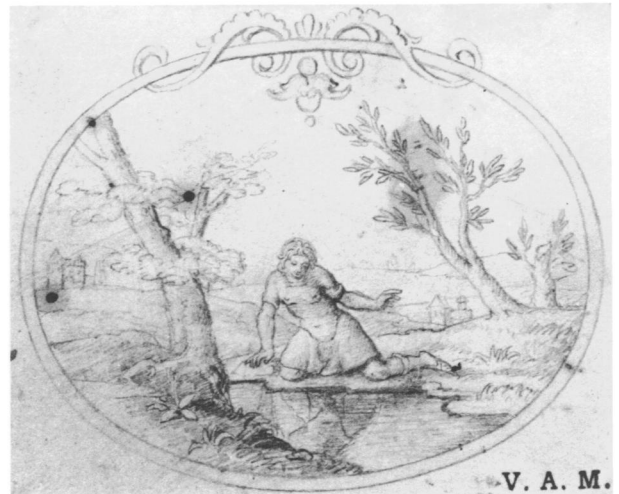
146. Designs for mounts of the Schroder bowl, ca. 1870–90; in the center, the finial base upside down. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3145–3147-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)





147, 148. Oval medallions seen from inside the Schroder bowl: *Apollo and Daphne*; *Cyparissus and the Stag* (photos: Eileen Tweedy)

149, 150. Designs for oval medallions, ca. 1870–90: *Apollo and Python*; *Narcissus*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3520.3524-1919 (photos: 149. Eileen Tweedy; 150. Hackenbroch)

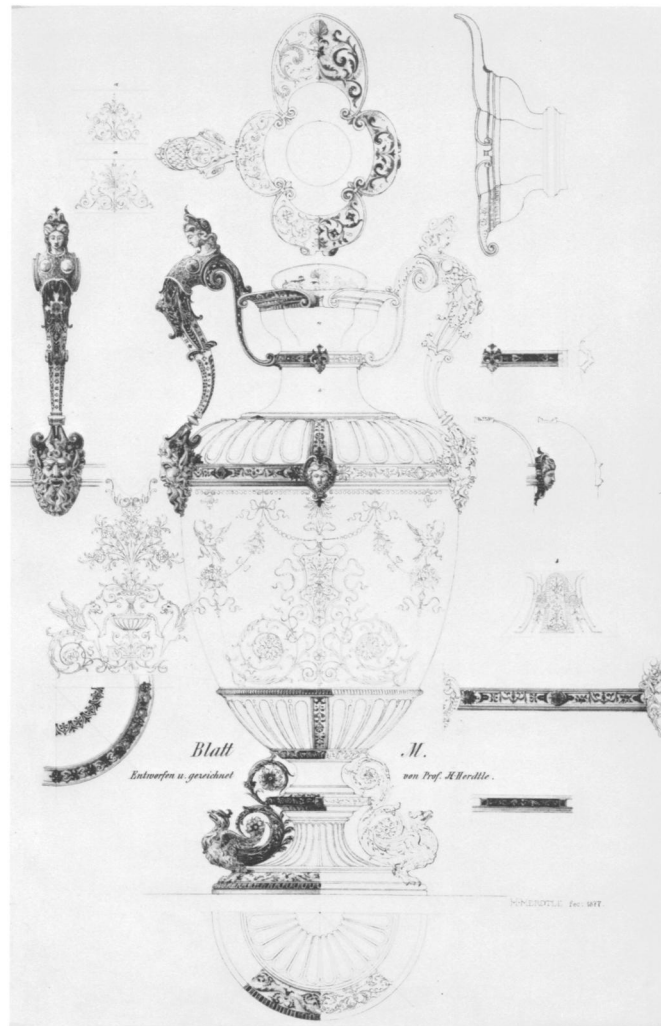


the Metropolitan Museum—would surely have preferred Vasters’s designs to be executed somewhere else, given that the results were to be passed off in Paris as sixteenth-century collector’s items. A possible resource existed in Spitzer’s native Vienna, where the well-known firm of J. and L. Lobmeyr, founded in 1822 and flourishing to this day, specialized in the decoration of Bohemian glass. The moving spirit was Ludwig Lobmeyr (1829–1917), one of the founder’s sons, who designed models himself or commissioned them from gifted artists in both contemporary and

retrospective styles. Although the firm’s commercial *raison d’être* was glass decoration, its men would have possessed the necessary skills to cut rock crystal as well. A single drawing of 1877 (Figure 151), out of over twenty volumes of designs presented by Lobmeyr’s to the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, will serve to indicate the type of work they undertook. Another possibility lay closer to home: this was the town of Idar-Oberstein in the Rhine Palatinate, where rock crystal is known to have been cut in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁹

151. H. Herdtle, *Design for a Glass Vase and Mounts*, 1877, from the archives of J. and L. Lobmeyr. Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (photo: Museum für Angewandte Kunst)

119. See K. E. Wild, *Die Edelsteinindustrie in Idar-Oberstein und ihre Geschichte* (Idar-Oberstein, n.d.) pp. 5–15, and idem, “Zur Geschichte der Schmucksteinschleiferei im Gebiet der oberen Nahe und der Saar,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Heimatkunde im Landkreis Birkenfeld*, Sonderheft 2 (1959) pp. 7–27.



HARDSTONE VESSELS WITH GOLD MOUNTS

Hardstone, as an alternative material to rock crystal, has had a distinguished tradition, for it is equally well suited to receive precious, often highly imaginative, gold mounts. During the last third of the sixteenth century, the Medici grand dukes favored the use of lapis lazuli, although by no means exclusively. In countries north of the Alps, the use of hardstone resulted in large part from a growing interest in locally mined minerals, especially near Prague, Dresden, and Freiburg im Breisgau. The exploitation of state-owned mines became a prestigious enterprise for members of ruling houses—the Hapsburgs, the Wettins, and the dukes of Württemberg among them—who wished to promote the use of domestic agate, jasper, chalcedony, or serpentine in *Schatzkammer* or presentation pieces. This development was accelerated by the growing competition between Milanese crystal cutters and Venetian glassblowers, while the import of rock crystal from the St. Gotthard region, along the hazardous trade routes from Switzerland, continued to be precarious. Tipping the scales still further in favor of semiprecious stone, hardstone, shell, and other natural substances for *Kunstammer* objects, seventeenth-century collectors developed a baroque delight in voluminous form and varied colors, a taste well suited to the characteristics of *naturaliae*. These were transformed into one-of-a-kind works of art, to be presented as vehicles of a fertile imagination combined with the utmost technical virtuosity.

Vasters's drawings show the ease with which he was able to interchange designs using rock crystal or hardstone, the choice of material depending no doubt on availability and demand. Several drawings are of the traditional shell-shaped cup on a baluster stem, surmounted by a figure or figures, often mythological or fabulous in derivation.

The Metropolitan Museum owns a remarkable red jasper shell-on-shell cup with enameled-gold mounts and decoration surmounted by a recumbent dog, formerly in the Spitzer collection (Figures 152, 153).¹²⁰ Among the surviving drawings by Vasters is a detailed sketch for one of the scrolling bands that frame the dog on either side, its floral motifs echoing those of the mounts (Figure 154); two other drawings show a jasper shell-on-shell cup surmounted by figures of

a nymph and a river god, and a similar cup in crystal with a recumbent dog emerging from the enameled-gold decoration (Figures 155, 156). It seems clear from these drawings that the Museum's cup—at least in part—must be attributed to Vasters.

That he was not responsible for the entire object is suggested by the splendid surface quality of the elongated shell bowl, a quality that speaks of a seventeenth-century rather than a nineteenth-century origin. Whether Spitzer or Vasters was responsible for finding this rare jasper shell, Vasters was certainly fortunate to have it as a point of departure, and he designed embellishments well worthy of it; components of different periods and materials have been brought together in a satisfyingly harmonious relationship. The result is one of Vasters's most imaginative compositions, masterly in its execution. The fact that preparatory drawings for it remained among his effects may indicate that it is a work produced in his workshop in Aachen, perhaps by Vasters himself.

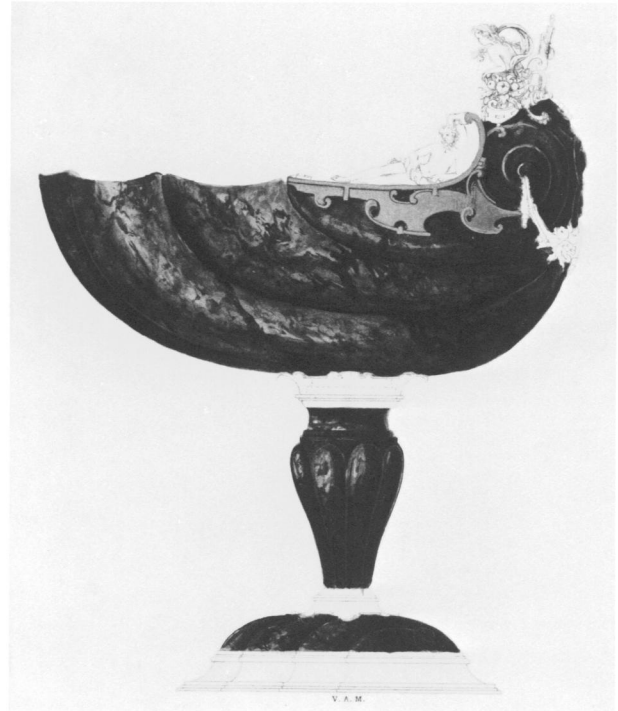
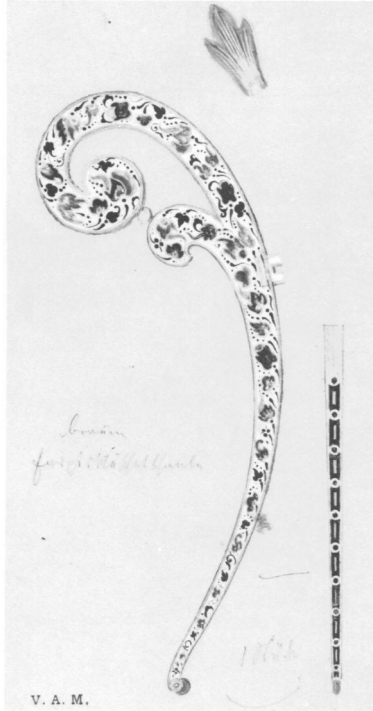
The search for a prototype, in the shape of a seventeenth-century shell-on-shell cup that has survived with its original settings, leads to an example in Stuttgart. This is a bloodstone or speckled green jasper cup carved by Daniel Mayer of Augsburg around 1662–63 for Duke Eberhard III of Württemberg, and described in a *Kunstammer* inventory of 1669 as a shell-shaped jasper cup with a silver-gilt foot enriched by emeralds and garnets (Figure 157).¹²¹ The Stuttgart *Kunstammer* has three shell-on-shell cups, and the Munich *Schatzkammer* one (Figure 158), in which the hardstone components are joined together

120. *Collection Spitzer*, V, p. 15, no. 9 (Italian, end of 16th century), GEMMES pl. VIII; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2601, pl. LIX (see Figure 13).

121. Stuttgart, *Kunstammer*, inv. no. E 408. See Landenberger, *Kleinodien*, color pl. p. 55; W. Fleischhauer, *Die Geschichte der Kunstammer der Herzöge von Württemberg in Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1976) p. 60, n. 124, pl. 19 (the author quotes from an inventory of 1669, no. 19; "eine tiefere Schale von Jaspis muschelweis geschnitten, mit einem Fuss zierverguldet gefasst mit [27] Smaragd und [37] Granaten"); and W. Fleischhauer, "Zur Kunst der Edelstein- und Kristallschneider des Barock in Augsburg," *Pantheon* 35 (1977) pp. 17–20. For the shell-shaped jasper cup with silver-gilt mounts in Munich (Figure 158), see *Schatzkammer*, p. 213, no. 491.



- 152, 153. Red jasper shell-on-shell cup surmounted by recumbent dog, with mounts in enameled gold with jewels: cup attributed to Daniel Mayer, Augsburg, ca. 1670; stem, foot, and mounts, ca. 1870–90. 20 × 19.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.657



154. Design for enameled-gold mount flanking the dog on the jasper cup shown in Figures 152 and 153, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3445-1919 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)
155. Design for hardstone shell-on-shell cup with mounts including mythological figures, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2614-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



156. Design for rock crystal shell-on-shell cup surmounted by recumbent dog, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2626-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



157. Daniel Mayer, bloodstone shell-on-shell cup, with mounts in enameled silver-gilt with emeralds and garnets, Augsburg, 1662–63. H. 23 cm. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum (photo: Württembergisches Landesmuseum)

by plain bands, offering a fascinating glimpse of seventeenth-century marketing practices. Clients could select a cup which had already been carved by the lapidary and which awaited only the addition of a precious setting designed by the goldsmith of their choice. Meanwhile, and in order to present the three hardstone components of the cup as a whole, the lapidary gave them a provisional setting with plain bands of silver or gilt metal. This practice explains the relatively sober appearance of the cup in Figure 158, and it may also account for the condition in which the bowl of the Museum's cup survived into the nineteenth century. In view of the quality of that bowl, an attribution to Daniel Mayer of Augsburg may not be too farfetched.

The extraordinarily congenial settings devised by Vasters illustrate his response to seventeenth-century style. Bands enameled with a floral design on a white ground show his ability to adopt the naturalistic floral representation favored at that time. One of his drawings actually reproduces an agate cup from the French royal treasure (Figures 159, 160),¹²² whose scrollwork handle in predominantly white and green enamel gave him a point of departure for the handle in his sketch of a rock crystal cup surmounted by a dog (Figure 156). He seems to have spared no effort in trying to acquaint himself with an appropriate style before arriving at his own solution. The recumbent dog, on the other hand, is of considerable originality, for the dog, though a familiar symbol of fidelity in Renaissance pendants, is a motif unrecorded on other cups. Not so, however, is the way in which its hind-quarters disappear from sight, lost beneath lobed foliage. A panther similarly posed, half hidden by foliage, occurs on a nautilus cup in the Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden. Designed by Balthasar Permoser and exe-

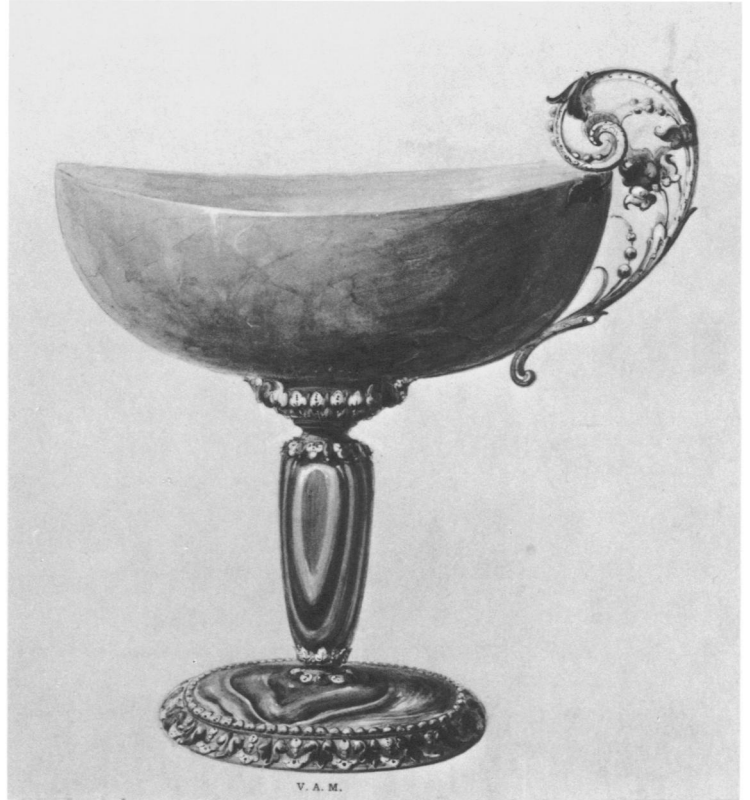
122. Marquet de Vasselot (1914) p. 133, no. 823.



158. Daniel Mayer, red jasper shell-on-shell cup mounted in silver-gilt, Augsburg, 1660. H. 31 cm. Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz (photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser)



159. Agate cup mounted in enameled gold, France(?), ca. 1600. H. 18.5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)



160. Drawing of the agate cup shown in Figure 159, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2603-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

cuted by Bernhard Quippe about 1700, this cup is illustrated in the folio volume by Grässe, a copy of which Vasters owned.¹²³ He seems rarely to have missed an opportunity to enrich his vocabulary and to add to his versatility of style from the pages of the illustrated books in his library.

When similar enrichments are executed by a goldsmith of equal virtuosity but lesser sensibilities, the results may not be as happy. Another red jasper shell cup in the Metropolitan Museum, which stands on a baluster stem and an oval foot carved with simulated waves, poses its own set of problems (Figure 161).¹²⁴ The carving of the hardstone suggests a nineteenth-century origin for the entire cup. It is lavishly embellished with enameled and jeweled gold mounts that incorporate many of Vasters's decorative motifs, although it relates specifically to none of the surviving drawings. However, the fierce-looking horned and winged dragon with its long winding tail—a dragon

of Chinese parentage—that surmounts one end of the cup seems, in its grotesque exaggeration, to depart from Vasters's manner. (A somewhat similar dragon can be seen atop the helmet on the head of Athena that rises above a seventeenth-century agate-onyx ewer with enameled-gold mounts, from the French royal collections; see Figure 193.) At the other end of the

123. Grässe, *Das Grüne Gewölbe*, pl. 9; for Vasters's copy see *Katalog Vasters*, lot 574. See also J. Menzhausen, *Das Grüne Gewölbe* (Leipzig, 1968) pp. 104–105, pl. 122; H. W. Weihrauch, "Vorstufen eines Nautiluspokals," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1976) pp. 105–112, fig. 10, described as a work by Permoser and Quippe.

124. Ex coll.: Baron Adolphe de Rothschild. According to MMA records, it was bought by J. Pierpont Morgan with other items from J. & E. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt and London, in 1896. MMA, *The Pierpont Morgan Wing: A Brief Guide to the Art of the Renaissance, Mediaeval and Earlier Periods* (New York, 1918) pp. 24 ill., 26; MMA, *The Pierpont Morgan Wing: A Handbook*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1929) p. 167 fig. 92, pp. 205–206.

cup, the treatment of the mermaid who acts as a caryatid supporting the shell with arms entangled in a network of jeweled and enameled scrolls, presents another departure. Her face and body are entirely covered with white enamel, which shows off the anatomical precision of the modeling in every detail and introduces a somewhat dry, unsympathetic note. A similar surface treatment is found on a sphinx pendant in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (Figure 162),¹²⁵ whose sixteenth-century origin, much disputed, can no longer be defended; its exaggerated, lifeless symmetry is too far removed from any semblance of free invention. Arguably, the hand is that of an accomplished master who had come under Vasters's influence. A tentative impression, based on our present knowledge of objects that correspond closely with designs by Vasters, is that his three-dimensional figures are not usually totally covered by enamel in this way, and that at least their faces and hands are in gold. Closer to Vasters's designs are swags of colorful flowers and the fish swallowing the tip of the mermaid's tail, a motif used in the bail handle of a rock crystal bowl in the Robert Lehman Collection (see

Figure 68). Discrepancies of this kind suggest the existence of different workshops. Nor can one lose sight of the possibility that Vasters's drawings may have circulated beyond his immediate control.

In recent years, a large moss agate covered bowl with enameled-gold mounts has been on the art market, at first prompting ripples of optimism that a hitherto unknown Cellinesque work had been discovered. We are particularly fortunate in being able to link this extraordinary bowl (Figure 163), once owned by Spitzer, to a full range of preparatory drawings by Vasters.¹²⁶ The drawings show not only the entire bowl and cover (Figure 164) but also most of the details of the enameled and jeweled mounts,¹²⁷ including the

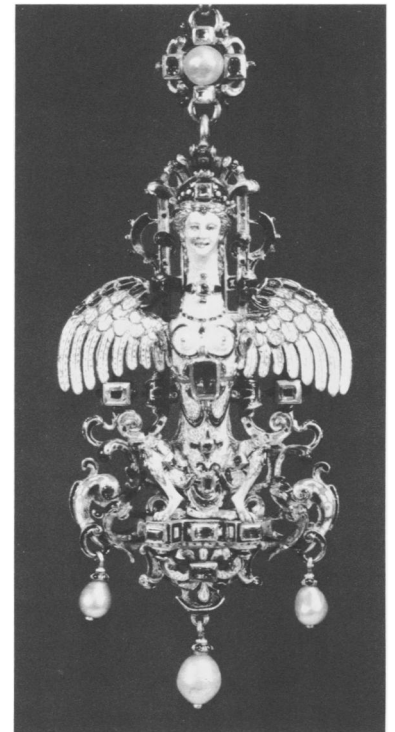
125. Hackenbroch (1979) p. 238, figs. 637A–C.

126. Spitzer Sale (1929) lot 628, ill., "French, in part 17th century"; *Fine Continental, English and American Silver and Objects of Vertu*, sale cat., Christie's (New York, Mar. 28, 1979) lot 237, cover, color ill., pp. 79, 80 ills. (designs); *Christie's Review of the Season 1979*, ed. J. Herbert (London, 1979) p. 310, color pl.; Truman (1979) p. 158, color pls. B–E.

127. *Fine Continental . . . Objects of Vertu*, p. 80, ills.; Truman (1979) color pls. D, E (Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2911–2927–1919).

161. Red jasper shell cup surmounted by a dragon, the mounts in enameled gold with jewels incorporating the figure of a mermaid issuing from a dolphin, ca. 1880–90. H. 26 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.1703

162. Sphinx pendant, ca. 1880–90. Enameled and jeweled gold with pendent pearls, H. 12.7 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942.9.307 (photo: National Gallery)

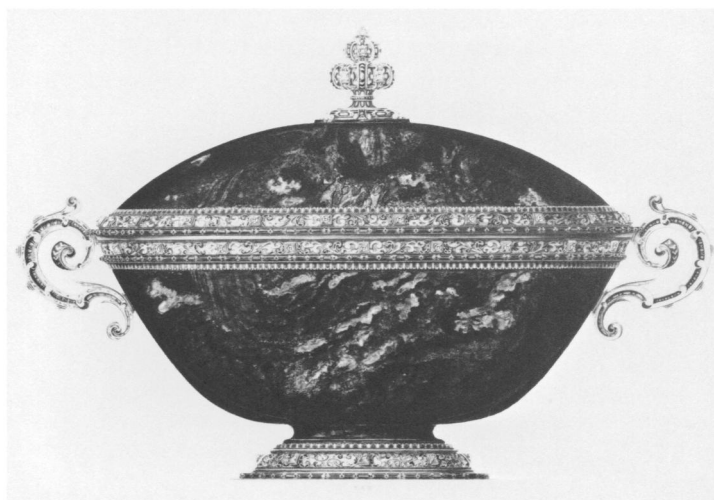




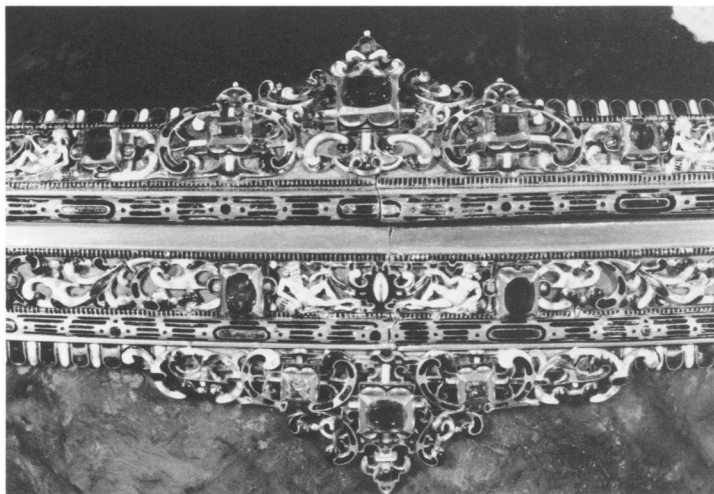
163. Moss agate covered bowl, mounted in enameled gold with jewels, ca. 1870–90. 35.6 × 50.8 cm. Europe, private collection (photo: Christie's, New York)

164. Design for agate covered bowl shown in Figure 163, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2599-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

165. Detail of enameled and jeweled mounts of the agate bowl and cover (photo: Christie's, New York)



double-knob finial, of a kind that Vasters repeated with variations elsewhere (see Figures 141, 143). The two scroll handles of the bowl follow the designs closely; only its lip and foot bands present a fascinating alternative solution, modifying the purely ornamental character of the continuous foliage in the design to include tiny pairs of white-enameled recumbent nudes confronting one another (Figure 165). Although their posture recalls that of ancient river gods and fountain nymphs, their thin, unathletic bodies are more akin to figures created by the Mannerist goldsmiths of Abraham Lotter's circle in Augsburg. Vasters was well acquainted with their work through the illustrated volume on the *Schatzkammer* in his library.¹²⁸



¹²⁸ Zettler (1876); see *Katalog Vasters*, lot 732.

THE ROSPIGLIOSI GOLD CUP

Among Vasters's drawings of shell cups with different embellishments, to which reference has already been made in connection with hardstone vessels, are three that call for a closer look. Two of these show variations on the figure of a sphinx; for the more elaborate figure Vasters has left a separate, annotated design (Figures 166–168). The third shell is presented with lavish decoration in gold: a figure of Neptune astride a dolphin surmounts the cup, which is supported by a dragon riding a tortoise or turtle; the base rests on the backs of two small snails (Figure 169). To date, no objects that correspond exactly or substantially to these drawings have come to light. In certain respects, however, the drawings parallel a celebrated work of art in the Metropolitan Museum's collections: the Rospigliosi gold cup (Figures 170, 171). This cup, whose name reflects its traditional provenance, consists of a shell-shaped bowl surmounted by a sphinx and supported by a reptilian winged dragon or basilisk riding a tortoise. What links, if any, Vasters had with this work remain to be explored.



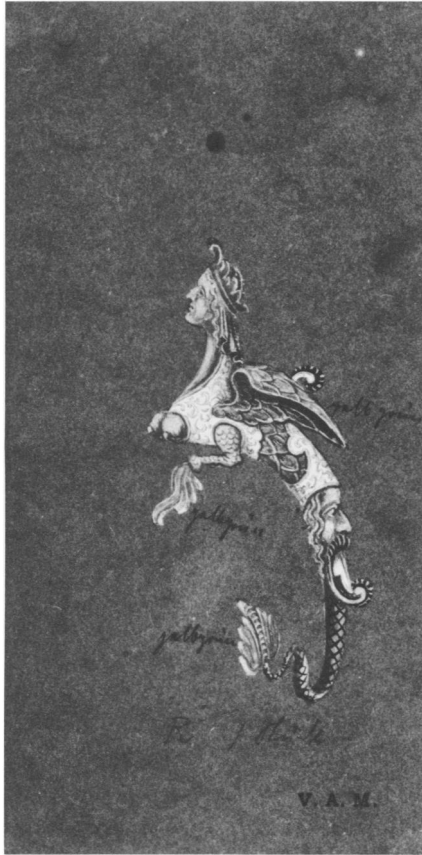
Once thought to be the work of Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71), the Rospigliosi gold cup shared in the mystique that surrounded many such attributions. Its style, however, as I have previously pointed out,¹²⁹ is too late for Cellini's Florentine period and even for his life span, though the composition was derived from a series of twenty-one engravings of grotesque vessels published in Antwerp in 1548 by Hieronymus Cock (Figure 172). The designer of the series was Cornelis Floris (1514–75), an architect and sculptor of great originality.¹³⁰ His work attracted the immediate at-

129. Y. Hackenbroch, "Jacopo Bilivert and the Rospigliosi Cup," *Connoisseur* 172 (1969) pp. 175–181.

130. D. Guilmar, *Les Maîtres ornementistes . . . école française, italienne, allemande et des Pays-Bas . . .* (Paris, 1880–81) I, p. 477; R. Hedicke, *Cornelis Floris und die Florisdekoration* (Berlin, 1913) I, pp. 13–15, II, pls. ix, x; R. Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1925–26) I, pp. 154–157 (although Berliner does not illustrate the 1548 series, he gives a succinct appraisal of Floris's contribution and the dependence of Cornelis Bos on him); F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and*



166, 167. Designs for hardstone and rock crystal shell cups surmounted by sphinxes, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2634,2625-1919 (photos: Eileen Tweedy)



168. Design for enameled-gold sphinx shown in Figure 167, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3359-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



169. Design for hardstone shell cup with gold mounts, supported by a dragon riding a tortoise and surmounted by Neptune astride a dolphin, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2657-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

tention of Lodovico Guicciardini (1523–89), a Florentine historian then living in Antwerp, whose book on the Low Countries first appeared in Antwerp in 1567 and was frequently reprinted. In it Guicciardini recorded his impression that Floris was the first to have introduced into the Low Countries from Italy the art of the grotesque with naturalistic elements.¹³¹ The observation helps to explain the success that Floris's designs were to have in Florence. Other engravings of decorative vessels—by Agostino Veneziano of 1530 and 1531, and by Eneo Vico of 1543—were known, but they were primarily composed of elements derived from Roman art. Floris introduced fabulous creatures of land and sea, some supporting shells, and his work revealed a hitherto unfamiliar bent for the anticlassical, the grotesque, and even the scurrilous.

Outside the Low Countries, Floris's designs circulated only after the Spanish occupation—and in particular after the sack of Antwerp in 1576—when many

Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts: Ca. 1450–1700 (Amsterdam, 1940–80) VI, p. 250; Hackenbroch, "Jacopo Bilivert and the Rospigliosi Cup," p. 174, figs. 1, 2; J. S. Byrne, *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings* (New York: MMA, 1981) p. 64, ill.

131. "Il primo, che portasse d'Italia in questi paesi l'arte del contrafare le grotesche al naturale," quoted from the Plantin edition of L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione di M. Lodovico Guicciardini . . . di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore . . .* (Antwerp, 1588) p. 132. The important passage is also given by Hedicke, *Cornelis Floris*, I, p. 110, and by Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter*, I, p. 157.



Protestant artists fled, taking with them their tools, designs, and pattern books, and introducing Netherlandish overtones wherever they settled and worked. Among these artists was an outstanding goldsmith from Delft, Jacopo Biliverti, who came to Florence in 1573 at the invitation of Francesco de' Medici. The grand duke's commissions included the enameled-gold setting of Buontalenti's famous lapis lazuli vase of 1583, with two sphinxes on its shoulders (see Figure 51), figures that invite comparison with the sphinx on the Rospigliosi cup.¹³²

The links connecting the Rospigliosi cup to engravings after Cornelis Floris of Antwerp and to enameled-gold mounts by Jacopo Biliverti of Delft show a merging of Netherlandish realism with Florentine stylization, characteristic of the scene in Florence during the last decades of the sixteenth century. In 1969, on the basis of these links, and in the ab-

sence of any contemporary documents that refer to the cup and to the circumstances of its commission, I proposed an attribution to Biliverti himself.¹³³ That was before the cup was removed from display for examination, and before knowledge of the Vasters drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum had raised speculations about a great many objects in

132. Piacenti-Aschengreen, *Il Museo degli Argenti a Firenze*, p. 141, color pl. 27; C. W. Fock, "Der Goldschmied Jacques Bylivert aus Delft und sein Wirken in der Mediceischen Hofwerkstatt in Florenz," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 70 (1974) pp. 89–178, esp. pp. 117–121, figs. 94–96; idem, "Vases en lapis-lazuli des collections médicéennes du seizième siècle," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 27 (1976) pp. 119–154; Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths*, pp. 152–153, 169, nn. 66–70, color pl. iv; C. W. Fock, in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici*, pp. 226–228, nos. 429–431, p. 229, no. 435, p. 236, no. 449 (these notes are the latest and most informative of all).

133. Hackenbroch, "Jacopo Bilivert and the Rospigliosi Cup."



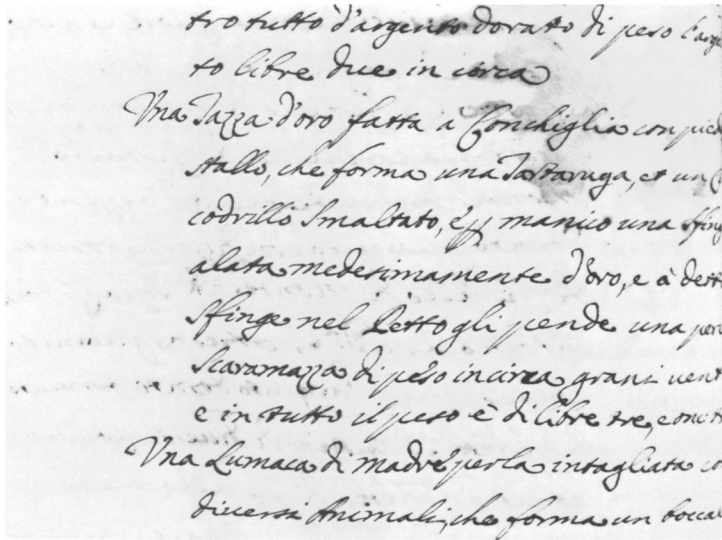
170, 171. Cup known as the Rospigliosi Cup, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold and pearls, 19.7 × 21.6 × 22.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.667

172. After Cornelis Floris, *A Fantastic Cup*, Antwerp, 1548. Engraving. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet Edmond de Rothschild (photo: Cliché des Musées Nationaux)

public and private collections whose authenticity had previously been taken for granted.

Before reviewing the physical evidence, we should consider the question of provenance. The first known reference to a gold vessel of this design occurs in an inventory of Rospigliosi possessions dated October 6, 1722, now in the Archivio di Stato in Rome (Figure 173):





173. "Una Tazza d'oro fatta à Conchiglia. . .," excerpt from the Rospigliosi Inventory of 1722. Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma (photo: courtesy James Parker)

A tazza of gold worked like a shell, on a foot in the form of a tortoise, and an enameled reptile, and for handle a winged sphinx also of gold, and that sphinx has hanging at her breast an irregular pearl of about twenty grains, and the whole weighing three pounds and [] ounces.¹³⁴

What appears to have been the first publication of the cup so described took place in Frankfurt am Main in 1852, when a large colored illustration of it was included by C. Becker and J. von Hefner-Alteneck in their two-volume compilation of medieval and Renaissance works of art (Figure 174). The reproduction is remarkably clear and detailed, and it is accompanied by a careful description of the "rich enamel ornaments" and their various colors.

This account opens with the following legend:

"Salt vessel" of gold and enameled in different colors, from the years 1540–70, said to be made by Benvenuto Cellini. The property of Prince Rospigliosi in Rome. From a sketch slightly smaller than the actual size, made by the Frankfurt sculptor von der Launitz.¹³⁵

As a matter of record, Vasters owned a copy of this book.¹³⁶ Von Hefner-Alteneck published the plate again in 1888, adding the information that von der Launitz had done the sketch while in Rome.¹³⁷

Some thirty years after the first publication of the

cup in Germany, Eugène Plon included a photographic reproduction of it in his study of Cellini, naming Prince Rospigliosi as the owner but giving its location as the family's ancestral country seat at Lamporecchio, near Pistoia, in Tuscany. Plon stated that the prince had no documents authenticating the attribution to Cellini, but knew only that "this magnificent object" had belonged to his ancestor, grand master at the court of the grand duke of Tuscany.¹³⁸

After Plon saw the Rospigliosi cup in Tuscany, in or before 1883 when his book was published, nothing more is heard of it until 1909, when the London

134. "Una Tazza d'oro fatta a Conchiglia con piedestallo che forma una Tartaruga, et un cocodrillo smaltato, e per manico una sfiga alata medesimamente d'oro, e a detta sfige nel petto gli pende una perla scaramazza di peso in circa grani venti, e in tutto il peso è di libre tre, e onc: []." Excerpt from the Rospigliosi Inventory, Oct. 6, 1722, in the Archivio di Stato, Rome (Notei Tribunali A.C. vol. 7023). I am indebted to my colleague James Parker for supplying photographs of the document.

135. C. Becker and J. von Hefner[-Alteneck], eds., *Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Frankfurt am Main, 1852–63) I, pp. 49–50, color pl. 38. The cup is reproduced in the upper part of the plate, above two bands of ornament, and is described as follows: "Salzfaß aus Gold und in verschiedenen Farben emailirt, aus den Jahren 1540–70, angeblich von Benvenuto Cellini gefertigt. Im Besitz des Fürsten Rospigliosi in Rom. Nach einer von dem Bildhauer v. d. Launitz in Frankfurt, etwas unter Originalgrösse, gefertigten Zeichnung.

"Die geschmackvolle Form im Styl des Cinque-cento, wird durch die reichen Ornamente in Email noch besonders hervorgehoben. Die Schildkröte, worauf das Ganze ruht, ist golden mit braunschwarzen Feldern auf der Schale. Der darüber stehende Drache ist grün mit rothen Schuppen am Halse und mit goldenen, rothen und grünen Federn in den Flügeln. Die emailirten Streifen an der Schale bestehen aus abwechselnd rothen, blauen und goldnen Rauten auf weißem Grunde. In der Schale ist ein kleiner rother Krebs angebracht. Die Syrene, deren Gesicht, Brust und Füße golden und der Fischschweif grün-golden sind, trägt eine blätterartige Verzierung auf der Brust, worin eine Perle angebracht ist. Die Ornamente am Halse und auf der Seite sind ebenfalls golden auf weißem Grunde."

136. *Katalog Vasters*, lot 540.

137. J. B. von Hefner-Alteneck, *Trachten, Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften vom frühen Mittelalter bis Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 1888) IX, color pl. 588, "nach einer Zeichnung, welche daselbst [Rome] Bildhauer v. d. Launitz in Frankfurt etwas unter Originalgrösse anfertigte."

138. E. Plon, *Benvenuto Cellini: Orfèvre, médailleur, sculpteur* (Paris, 1883) pp. 262–263, pl. xxiv, "Le prince ne possède cependant aucun document de nature à établir l'authenticité absolue de l'attribution; il sait seulement que ce magnifique objet appartenait à son aïeul, grand maître de la cour du grand-duc de Toscane."

dealer Charles Wertheimer sold the cup now in the Metropolitan Museum to Benjamin Altman, who bequeathed it to the Museum in 1913.

What of the gold cup itself? Examined with heightened awareness for telltale signs of a copyist's hand, its construction reveals some worrisome short-cuts.¹³⁹ Above all, the figures are cast in halves, and further subdivided in totally unorthodox sections, contrary to any observation of nature. This process indicates close adherence to a graphic design rather than to an actual model, which would have suggested more logical methods of casting. Casting in such small sections is certainly no sixteenth-century practice, but it is useful in helping to avoid the risk of a second firing that might damage the enamel. To avoid this risk, the joins were covered with cold enamel, which has mostly chipped off. Certain elements, such as the wings of the sphinx and the dragon, are attached by means of soft solder. This unprofessional procedure has been disguised by covering the silver-colored solder with a thin layer of electrotype gilding. The tortoise has strange, tubular reinforcements within its legs, clearly visible in X-rays, which are needed to

support the weight of the cup. Lastly, a loop placed between the sphinx's wings—a loop that might have served to chain the precious cup to a base and that is visible in the illustration of 1852 (Figure 174)—turns out in the Museum's cup to be the head of a long pin holding the separate parts together, parts that would have been soldered in a genuine work of the sixteenth century.

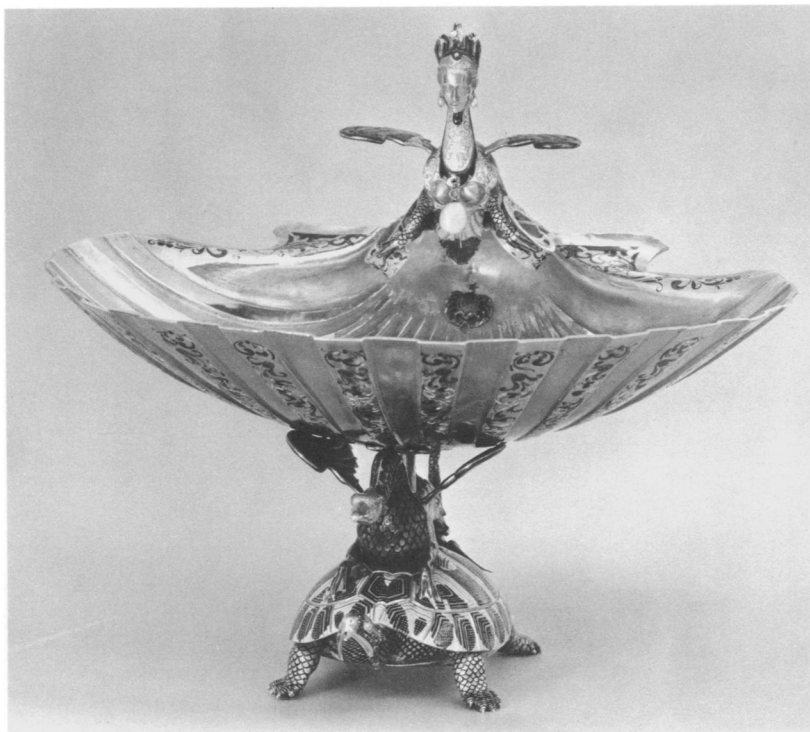
The *basse-taille* or *Tiefschnitt* enamel bands beneath the shell are noteworthy in that they show an easy flow of continuous ornament, applied with a lightness of touch that is entirely free of those hesitations so often present in the work of a copyist. Their flawless execution is indicative of a large workshop in which outstanding specialists participated.

Similar versatility is evident in the rhythmic display of multicolored ornament in *champlevé* technique on a white ground, running along the curving bands that flank the sphinx. These bands form a persuasive link with the white-ground ornament that flanks the recumbent dog surmounting a hardstone cup, ornament for which a drawing by Vasters survives (see Figures 152–154).

139. Richard E. Stone, Conservator in the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Objects Conservation, plans to publish a technical study of the cup.

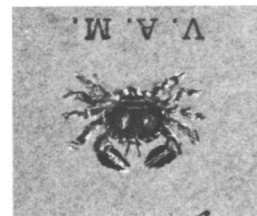
174. The Rospigliosi Cup, as published in 1852 by C. Becker and J. von Hefner[Alteneck], *Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, pl. 38 (photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich)





175. Cup known as the Rospigliosi Cup, showing enameled-gold crab inside the shell

176, 177. Two designs for enameled-gold crabs, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3415.3413-1919 (photos: Eileen Tweedy)



The sphinx displays considerable sculptural qualities, far exceeding those of the more decorative versions that serve as handles of the Schroder cup (see Figures 143, 144). Her lobed diadem and lambrequinlike draperies descending from ears and chest are features that, with slight variations, are present on all the sphinxes and mermaids attributed to Vasters. Of these, the sphinx on the Rospigliosi cup in the Metropolitan Museum is the most stylized, resplendent in cold perfection. The process of copying from a model or an illustration may account for this loss of life.

A surprising detail is a small red crab found inside the shell of the Rospigliosi cup, both in the 1852 illustration and in the Museum's version, where one might rather have expected a pearl (Figures 174, 175). The logical explanation for its occurrence escapes us, unless the crab represents an enigmatic pun, the meaning of which was shared only by a select circle of initiates. It is perhaps significant that in its appearance and placement the crustacean in the plate of 1852 differs slightly from its counterpart in the Museum's cup; and that sketches of two comparable crabs exist among Vasters's drawings (Figures 176, 177).

The question remains as to why Vasters—if indeed it was Vasters—would have been asked to make a copy of the Rospigliosi cup. Was it because of irreversible

damage to the original or difficulties over an inheritance? Was Spitzer a party? The scale of Spitzer's operations makes this a plausible supposition, although nothing has been found to date that either confirms or denies his involvement. Surely, though, to match a work by Benvenuto Cellini, to pass off an object as by the great master himself, is something that would have fired Spitzer's ambitions and presented a unique challenge to a nineteenth-century goldsmith.

The present gaps in our knowledge are disturbing, especially as the Rospigliosi gold cup became an instant focus of attention when first exhibited to the public in 1914, and legends have been woven around it ever since. Even if it is no longer possible to regard the cup in the Metropolitan Museum as identical with the "Tazza d'oro fatta alla Conchiglia" described by the Rospigliosi inventory of 1722, that inventory remains a reliable link with the historic past. It was almost certainly not accessible to foreign scholars, artists, or other applicants in the second half of the nineteenth century. After 1852, however, a detailed color illustration of the cup was available to those interested in antiquarian pursuits, Reinhold Vasters among them. The tantalizing thought cannot be entirely dismissed that somewhere, hidden away in a private collection, the original Rospigliosi cup still survives.

WOOD OBJECTS MOUNTED IN GOLD

Vasters's designs include a group of house altars and cabinets in wood and ebonized wood with enameled-gold figures and mounts, which show both his use of sources and his versatility. The Munich Schatzkammer, repository of several ebony and enameled-gold house altars dating from the late Renaissance, seems to have supplied the main impetus for this field of endeavor. Whether or not Vasters knew the Schatzkammer at first hand, he had, as we have seen, a copy of the folio volume of 1876 illustrating its treasures, and no doubt was able to use this as a work of reference.¹⁴⁰

The earliest and most important *Hausaltar* in the

Schatzkammer was the one made for Duke Albrecht V and his consort Anna around 1573–74 (see Figure 137);¹⁴¹ it was the work of Abraham Lotter the Elder of Augsburg, assisted by the enameler David Altenstetter and the *Kistler*, or cabinetmaker, Ulrich Eberl. Only the close cooperation of the three masters made possible the creation of this new type of work, combining as it does different skills and materials. Vasters revived this South German art form, borrowing entire compositions or selected details to suit his own

140. Zettler (1876) pls. I, IX, XXI, XXXIII.

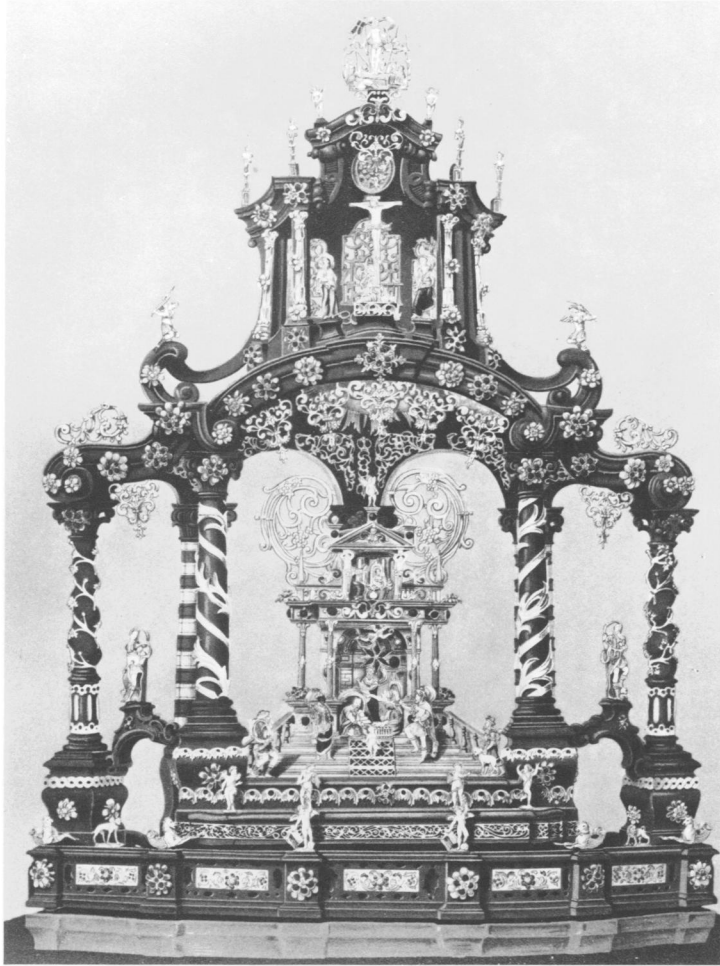
141. Ibid., pl. XXXIII (see note 113).

178. House altar-cabinet, ca. 1870–90. Ebonized fruit-wood and enameled gold, H. 36.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982.60.133



179. Design for house altar-cabinet shown in Figure 178, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2738-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)





180. The Andechs house altar, as published in 1876 by F. X. Zettler et al., *Ausgewählte Kunstwerke aus dem Schatz der Reichen Capelle in der königlichen Residenz zu München*, pl. ix. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

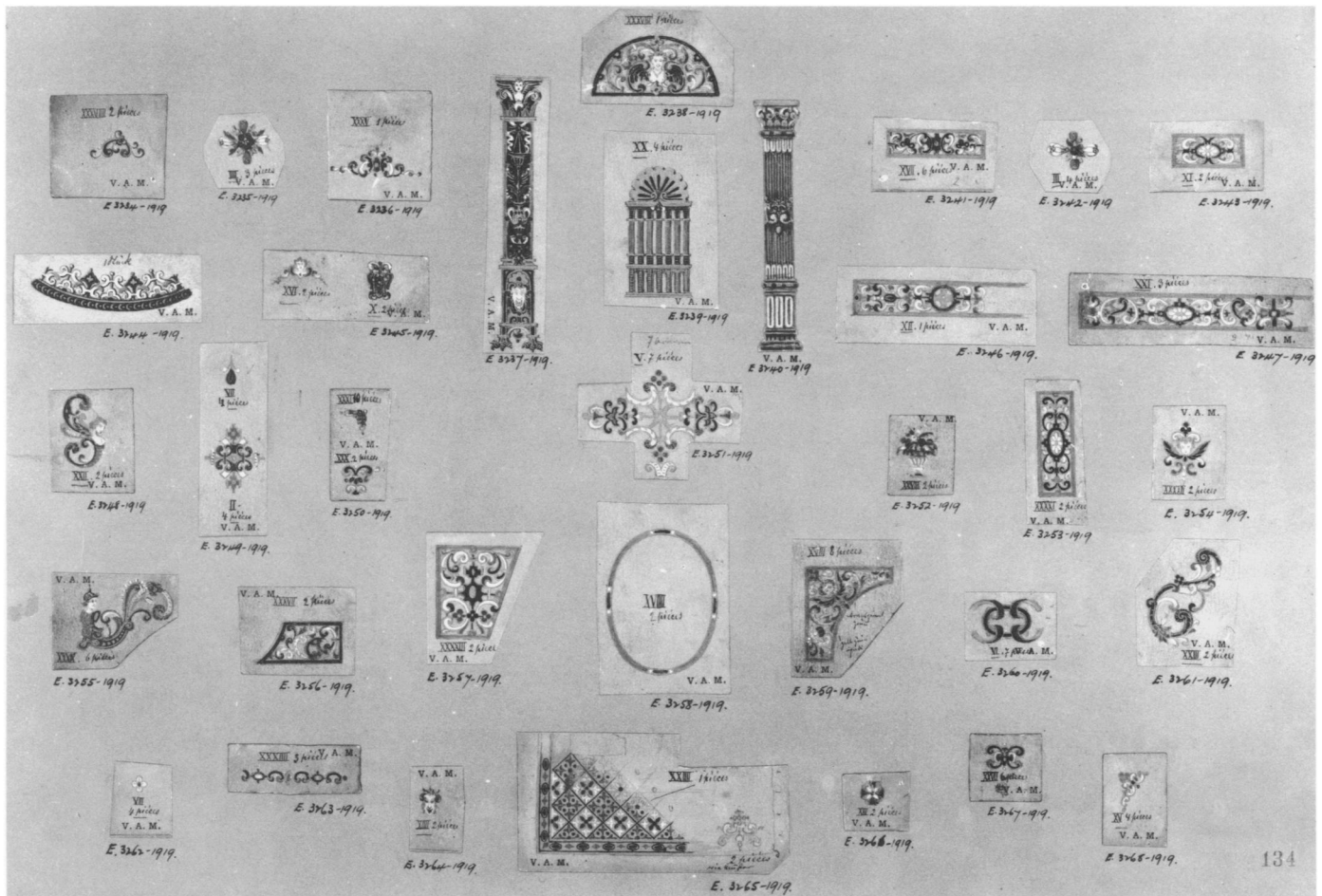
purposes. One result of this enterprise can be seen in a splendid altar-cum-cabinet recently presented to the Metropolitan Museum as part of the Jack and Belle Linsky Collection (Figure 178).¹⁴² With certain minor differences—notably in the treatment of the base and in the choice of a crowning figure (St. Martin and the Beggar have been substituted in the executed version for St. Michael overcoming Satan)—this object follows closely its meticulously drawn design (Figure 179). Religious and secular prototypes have been combined by placing the small private altarpiece on a cabinet with drawers; these were usually intended to conceal jewels or writing utensils, although the storage of prayerbooks should not be altogether excluded. To reconcile the object's disparate devotional

and secular intentions, religious themes have been continued on the front of the cabinet.

The upper part of the altar-cabinet in the Linsky Collection is derived from a South German prototype: the *Hausaltar* once in the Benedictine monastery of Andechs in Upper Bavaria. Sold by the monastery in 1805, it was subsequently acquired by Ludwig I of Bavaria for the Reiche Kapelle, now part of the Munich Schatzkammer, and thus it came to be reproduced in the publication of 1876 (Figure 180).¹⁴³ At the center of the Andechs altar, prominently featured on a baluster-bordered flight of steps, is the Adoration of the Christ Child by the Magi and two shepherds, immediately below the scene of the Annunciation. Above the baldachin is the Crucifixion, with the Virgin, St. John, and St. Mary Magdalen clasping the foot of the cross; at the apex is the Resurrection of Christ. The ebony architectural setting that harbors these groups and additional allegorical figures was very largely replaced during the eighteenth century, but enough of the original character is preserved to suggest a source close to Lotter and his Augsburg followers. Vasters, with his keen, selective eye, borrowed freely from the Andechs altar, taking over the scene of the Adoration, with the Annunciation above it, along with several other elements, and borrowing minor details from other house altars in the Schatzkammer. Following the historicist trends of his time, though, he overstated his interest in bygone architectural shapes, adding niches, extra figures, terms, and figural scrollwork that tend to crowd the composition. A somewhat similar altar be-

142. Ex coll.: Arturo Lopez-Willshaw, Paris. Krempel, "Augsburger und Münchner Emailarbeiten des Manierismus," pp. 152–156, fig. 51; *Thirty Renaissance Jewels and Works of Art from the Collection of the Late Arturo Lopez-Willshaw* (cited in note 54), lot 20, 3 ills. pp. 39–41, color pl. p. 41; J. F. Hayward, "The Lopez-Willshaw Collection," in *Art at Auction 1970–71* (London, 1971) pp. 10–33, color pl. p. 12, detail p. 14; idem, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths*, p. 380, no. 453, fig. 453; Truman (1979) p. 158; Vincent, in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pp. 193–194, no. 113, color ill.

143. Zettler (1876) pl. ix. For the recent scholarship see T. Müller, "Ein Augsburger Silberaltärchen in Prag," in *Opuscula in Honorem C. Hernimarch*, 27.12.1966 (Stockholm, 1967) p. 164; Krempel, "Augsburger und Münchner Emailarbeiten des Manierismus," pp. 154–156, no. 27, figs. 48, 49; R. Rückert, in *Der Schatz vom Heiligen Berg Andechs*, exh. cat. (Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1967) pp. 60–61, no. 53, figs. 68, 69; *Schatzkammer*, p. 79, no. 62.



181. Designs for enameled-gold mounts used on the altar-cabinet shown in Figure 178 or projected in the design (Figure 179), ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3234–3268-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

182. *The Last Supper*, design for enameled plaque on the lower register of the altar-cabinet in Figure 178, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.3014-1919 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



longs to the Museum for Industrial Art in Prague, which opened in 1885.¹⁴⁴

In addition to the overall sketch of the altar-cabinet, Vasters made careful drawings for its ornamental details (Figure 181). There are reeded pilasters encircled by ornate belts with masks, symmetrical sections of foliated scrolls for repetition as enameled friezes, and shell motifs to top tabernacles. The items are identified by roman numerals, and the number of repeats required is written in French. This has been taken to indicate a French origin for the cabinet, but such speculations are hazardous: we know too little about the workshops and craftsmen executing Vasters's designs. It seems unlikely that such a typically Germanic object, which does not appear in the catalogues of Spitzer's collection, would have been commissioned for sale in France.

144. E. Poche, *Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze k 70. výročí založení ústavu* (Prague, 1955) no. 165, "Small cabinet. Ebony with enamelled figures of the Passion Christi. Augsburg; middle of the 17th century," ill.



183. Design for ebony tabernacle with three silver-gilt statuettes and rock crystal columns and plaques, mounted in enameled gold with jewels, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2586-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)

The scene displayed in the center of the cabinet, below the Adoration, seems to have been Vasters's own conception. In the preparatory drawing it appears as Christ at Emmaus, the three figures seated at table beneath a vault supported by two columns. A separate sketch (Figure 182), to which the executed version corresponds, shows this group expanded to represent the Last Supper, staged within a similar architectural setting. The scene is flanked by personifications of Faith and Vanitas, counterparts of two

freestanding figures on the Andechs altar; as recreated, their billowing draperies—a detail much favored by Vasters—are totally unmotivated, since both now stand well protected in shell-topped niches, framed by ornate columns and pilasters.

The figures of Faith and Vanitas recur, this time as freestanding statuettes, in a color drawing by Vasters of a tabernacle with rock crystal columns and plaques (Figure 183).¹⁴⁵ Crowning the whole is a figure of Charity with two children, similar to the group used by Vasters as the finial of a covered goblet (see Figures 130–132, and for his model Figures 138, 139); here a loop of drapery, corresponding to the draperies of Faith and Vanitas, frames the heads of Charity and the child on her arm.

The scene of the Crucifixion on the Andechs altar, with the Virgin, St. John, and St. Mary Magdalen, reappears as a freestanding group, formerly in the Spitzer collection and now in Amsterdam (Figure 184).¹⁴⁶ The group is mounted on a mottled green jasper pedestal containing a niche flanked by reeded pilasters of the kind seen on the altar-cabinet in the Metropolitan Museum. Placed in the niche is a *Trinity*, or *Vesperbild*: God the Father holds the dead Christ, while the dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above. The figure of St. John, with raised head and hands, has taken on something of the appearance of Vanitas as reinterpreted by Vasters. Although no drawing for the composition survives, there are several familiar features to connect it with Vasters, such as the reeded columns and the standing figures with billowing draperies around their heads.

The group at the top of the Andechs altar, showing Christ triumphant rising from his tomb, is found in a number of pendants, only one of which—an example in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna—is

145. For the executed work see Spitzer Sale (1929) lot 625, ill., "from the treasure of a guild. . . in part Italian, 16th century," the group at the top described as South German, Renaissance, the ebony cabinetwork as 19th century. The whereabouts of this piece are not known.

146. Ex colls.: Frédéric Spitzer, Paris; James Simon, Berlin; Hermine Feist, Berlin; Frederick Mannheimer, Amsterdam. In the Rijksmuseum since 1952. *Collection Spitzer*, V, pp. 20–21, no. 30 (Italian, 16th century), GEMMES pl. v; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2622, pl. LIX (see Figure 13); *Collection Dr. James Simon de Berlin*, sale cat., Frederik Muller & Cie. (Amsterdam, Oct. 25–26, 1927) lot 293, ill.; Krempel, "Augsburger und Münchner Emailarbeiten des Manierismus," p. 156, fig. 50.



184. *The Crucifixion*; below, *The Trinity*, ca. 1870–90. Enameled gold, pearls, ebony, jasper; H. 18 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum)

certainly late sixteenth century in date. The others, including one formerly owned by Spitzer and now in the Metropolitan Museum, all appear to be products of the late nineteenth century.¹⁴⁷

The Linsky altar-cabinet is not the only such object in the Metropolitan Museum to follow a Vasters design. In the Robert Lehman Collection is another

house altar, this time in the style of about 1620, for which a preparatory sketch exists (Figures 185, 186).¹⁴⁸ The ebonized wood framework has been designed to exhibit sixteenth-century *verres églomisés* of Lombard origin. Spitzer, who once owned the altar, had a large collection of such fragments, some of which he had enshrined in rock crystal (see Figures 67, 81). The Lehman altar houses a large plaque with the Adoration of the Shepherds, above a narrow frieze of smaller plaques: in the center, the Adoration of the Magi, between the angel Gabriel and the Virgin of the Annunciation, with outer panels showing the eucharistic host, chalice, and paten on the left and the Arma Christi on the right. Two columns with composite capitals of silver-gilt support a pediment filled with a silver-gilt relief of God the Father in benediction. At the apex of the altar is an agate and silver-gilt draped vase in classical-revival style (two versions of a similar vase can be seen in Figure 183), flanked by two agate pinnacles. The altar has suffered losses, notably the two covered vases rising from the lateral scrolls, as shown in the drawing; the stands for these vases were apparently in place when the altar formed part of the Spitzer sale of 1893,¹⁴⁹ and a tiny socket is still to be found on top of each scroll. The winged cherub heads applied to the scrolls are repeated below above the rock crystal bun feet.

An elaborate ebony cabinet in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Figure 187), may well represent another endeavor by Spitzer and Vasters to create new settings for old fragments, although no direct connection with either man has yet been established. The cabinet contains banks of drawers suitable for the storage of coins and medals or of writing utensils. Each drawer has an applied enamel and gold openwork

147. MMA, Gift of George Blumenthal, 41.100.28: see *Collection Spitzer*, III, p. 150, no. 46 (Italian, 16th century), ill.; Spitzer Sale, II, lot 1831, "La monture de cette pièce a été restaurée," pl. XLVII. For a Resurrection pendant in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, see Scarisbrick, "The Jewelry of the Renaissance" (cited in note 45), p. 184, no. 504, ill.; cf. *Medieval and Renaissance Jewelry . . . The Melvin Gutman Collection*, sale cat., Parke-Bernet (New York, Apr. 24, Oct. 17, 1969) pt. I, lot 29, ill., pt. II, lot 70, ill.

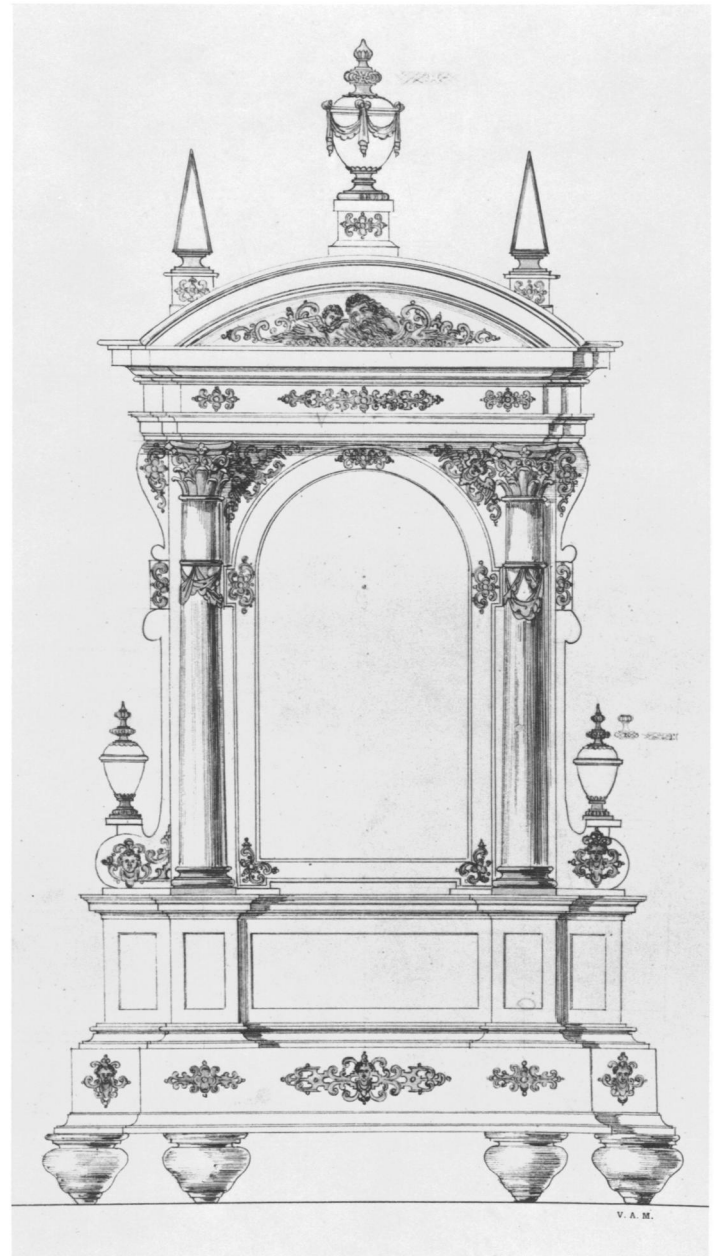
148. *Collection Spitzer*, III, p. 64, no. 5 (Italian, 16th century); Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2092, pl. LI; Spitzer Sale (1929) lot 599, ill., "Italian, late 16th or early 17th century."

149. See Spitzer Sale, II, lot 2092, pl. LI; they do not appear in the illustration of Spitzer Sale (1929) lot 599.



185. House altar: *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, and other subjects in *verre églomisé*, Italy (Lombardy), late 16th century; setting of ebonized fruitwood, enameled gold, silver, agate, rock crystal, ca. 1870–90. H. 40.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.1558

186. Design for house altar shown in Figure 185, ca. 1870–90. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2728-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



plaque of scroll ornament, of the kind seen in Lotter's Augsburg work and adapted by Vasters; the ornament in Vasters's design for an altar surmounted by Charity (Figure 183) offers a particularly close comparison. The drawers in the Walters cabinet are grouped around a rectangular central door displaying a silver-gilt shaped plaque with the Annunciation to the Shepherds rendered in low relief. The small oval plaque in the pediment shows God the Father in benediction. Both reliefs follow those seen on an early

seventeenth-century house altar in the Geistliche Schatzkammer in Vienna.¹⁵⁰ As Karl Feuchtmayr has pointed out, these are the work respectively of Hans Krumper of Munich and Jakob Krohner of Überlingen. Without dismantling the Baltimore cabinet to examine its plaques on the reverse, it is impossible to determine whether these are old or new casts; nor indeed does the heavy gilding, which is not present on the Vienna examples, allow a clear view of the surface tooling.

The impressive skill displayed in these adaptations and re-creations of suitable prototypes was motivated, at least in part, by a deliberate return to past styles, characteristic of a period when the creative impulse was at a low ebb. When disparate stylistic elements have been combined for purely decorative purposes, the results seem far removed from any genuine vision. But seen in the perspective of Vaster's own time, such inconsistencies must have appeared much less obvious.

150. H. Fillitz, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Katalog der Weltlichen und der Geistlichen Schatzkammer*, ed. E. Neumann, 5th ed. (Vienna, 1971) p. 70, no. 48, pl. 24.

187. Cabinet with banks of drawers and two gilt reliefs, probably ca. 1870–90. Ebony, enameled gold, silver, agate; 72.4 × 62.2 cm. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 65.31 (photo: Walters Art Gallery)



A HARDSTONE STATUETTE

The Metropolitan Museum owns a statuette of a Roman emperor (Figures 188, 189),¹⁵¹ composed of jasper, onyx, agate, and chalcedony, with enameled-gold mounts, which turns out to have an interesting bearing on the relationship between Vasters and Spitzer. The emperor stands on a high, circular, green jasper base, carved with mythological figures, for which there is a drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 190). Enameled-gold mounts similar to those on the base appear as ornamental elements of the emperor's attire. No drawing for this figure seems to have survived. Undoubtedly, however, it was inspired by a late sixteenth-century silver-gilt statuette of Vitellius (Figures 191, 192), now also in the Metropolitan Museum, which belonged to Spitzer and of which Vasters is known to have had a replica.

The original Vitellius is one of the twelve Caesars from a set of twelve large historiated tazzas made about 1570–80, possibly by an Augsburg-trained goldsmith active in Italy. There are no distinguishing town or master's marks, but each tazza has pricked in beneath its bowl the arms of Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, applied in the manner of an addition rather than of an original owner's mark. This, then, must have occurred before 1592, when Ippolito was elected pope as Clement VII. Six of the tazzas—those with Julius Caesar, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian—wound up in the hands of Spitzer, who for reasons of his own changed their original fluted bases (in harmony with the fluted bases on which the emperors stand) for more ornate ones of sixteenth-century Spanish origin.¹⁵²

Sixteen years after these tazzas were dispersed at the sale of the Spitzer collection in 1893, we find lot

151. Ex colls.: Adolphe and Maurice de Rothschild. Described as a work by Valerio Belli, it was bought by J. Pierpont Morgan from the firm of Jacques Seligmann, Paris, in 1911.

152. When the Metropolitan Museum acquired the Vitellius tazza in 1945, it had been wrongly combined with the figure of Otho, and it was not until 1955 that exchanges among a number of collections reunited this and other tazzas with their appropriate figures. For the history of the twelve tazzas see J. Culme, *Nineteenth-Century Silver* (London, 1977) pp. 74–75, a reference for which I am indebted to Anthony Phillips, who has also given the best recent account of the set in connection





188, 189. *Roman Emperor*, ca. 1890–95. Statuette in various semiprecious stones, jasper base, mounts in enameled gold; H. 33.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.599

with the sale of the Vespasian tazza (*The Morgan Collection*, sale cat., Christie's [New York, Oct. 26, 1982] lot 68, ills. incl. color pl. and cover). The entire set was exhibited by Kensington Lewis in London in 1826 and published by R. Ackerman in *The Repository*, 3rd ser., 7 (1826) pp. 303–304. For the six tazzas owned by Spitzer see *Collection Spitzer*, III, pp. 23–24, nos. 58–63, ORFÈVREURIE CIVILE pls. XIII, XIV; Spitzer Sale, II, lots 1758–1763, pls. XLV, XLVI; and Spitzer Sale (1929) lot 626 (Julius Caesar); cf. the 16th-century Spanish feet Spitzer substituted with the base of a silver-gilt chalice made in Cordova in 1569 (MMA 07.198). See also: E. A. Jones, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Collection of Old Plate of J. P. Morgan, Esquire* (London, 1908) p. 84, pl. LXXV (Vespasian); Y. Hackenbroch, "The Emperor Tazzas," *MMAB* n.s. 8 (1950) pp. 189–197, ills. (proposing the exchange of the mismatched tazzas); J. Hayward, "The Aldobrandini Tazzas," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970) pp. 669–674 (with photos taken before the exchange of figures referred to above); *Schroder Collection* (London, 1979) no. 26, ill., and *Schroder Collection* (New York, 1983) pp. 66–70, no. 16, color pl. (Galba/Caligula, with original reeded foot); D. W. Wright, "The Morgan Collection of English and Continental Silver," in *Christie's Review of the Season 1983* (Oxford, 1983) p. 296, color pl. p. 297 (Vespasian).

190. Design for base of the *Roman Emperor* statuette, ca. 1890–95. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2683-1919 (photo: Eileen Tweedy)



303 of the sale catalogue of Vasters's effects described as: "Two large silver basins, gilded inside, from a set of twelve, representing the history of the Caesars. Replicas after Augsburg works of the sixteenth century. a) Vespasian . . . b) Vitellius. . ."¹⁵³ These copies, probably galvanoplastic reproductions, must have been in Vasters's possession before Spitzer's death in 1890.

What, if any, are the stylistic differences separating the sixteenth-century Vitellius from its nineteenth-century descendant? The former has a heroic presence, the latter strikes a theatrical attitude. In contrast to the earlier statuette's athletic build, the later one is portly, with a poorly articulated body, lacking any martial air. Instead of a simple laurel wreath on his head, the hardstone emperor wears a helmet in the shape of a mask, topped by a winged dragon. This dragon, with its humped neck and long curly tail, suggests that the designer was familiar with a seventeenth-century agate-onyx ewer in the Louvre (Figure 193), whose cover is surmounted by the helmeted head of Athena crowned with just such a beast.¹⁵⁴

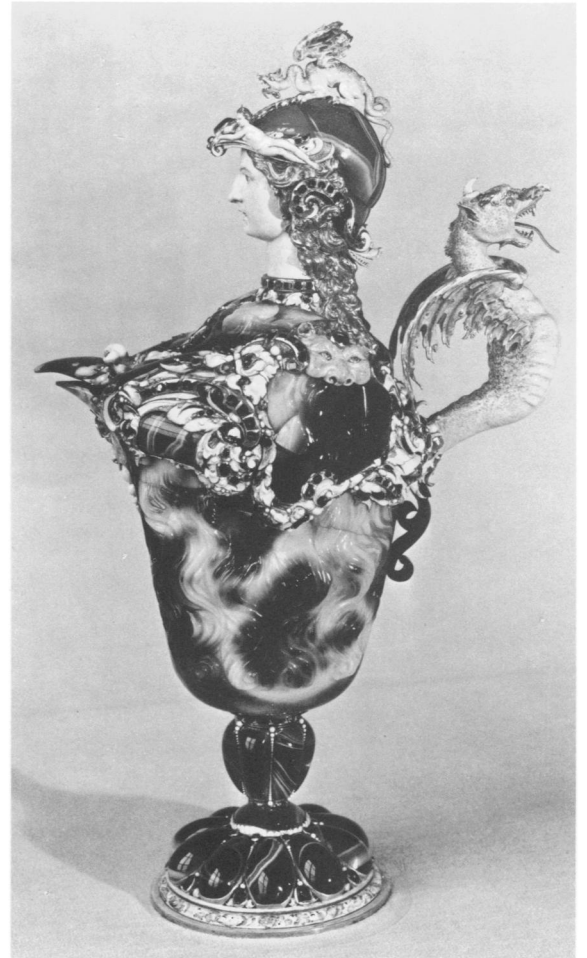
The Museum's hardstone "Vitellius" can be said to illustrate the neo-Baroque tendencies typical of the closing phase of historicism in Germany, when exaggeratedly sentimental Christian saints gave way to more earthbound heroes drawn from Greek and Roman history or myth. I am inclined to date the figure as late as 1890–95, that is, during the last five years in which Vasters was active as a goldsmith, between the death of Spitzer and the point at which Vasters was first described as a *Rentner*. There is a distinctive Germanic flavor about the statuette that Spitzer, *homme du monde*, might not have tolerated so gladly.

153. *Katalog Vasters*, lot 303, "Zwei grosse silberne Schüsseln, innen vergoldet, aus einer Folge von Zwölf, die Geschichte der Cäsaren darstellend. Nachbildungen nach Augsbürger Arbeiten des XVI. Jahrh. a) Vespasian. . . . b) Vitellus. . ." The four scenes on the Vitellius tazza are correctly described.

154. Marquet de Vasselot (1914) p. 164, no. 997, pl. LXII. For a somewhat similar dragon surmounting a hardstone cup see Figure 161.

191, 192. *Vitellius*, statuette and matching tazza, from a set of twelve formerly owned by Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, Italy, ca. 1570–80. Silver-gilt, H. statuette, 21.4 cm., overall, 41.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 45.60.58a–h





193. Agate-onyx ewer, the cover surmounted by the head of Athena, mounts in enameled and jeweled gold, Italy, 17th century. H. 28 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musée du Louvre)

A NEO-GOTHIC DRINKING HORN

Vasters's activities were even more complex than might appear from this survey of neo-Renaissance works grouped around examples in the Metropolitan Museum. His drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum also show an interest in medieval goldsmiths' work both ecclesiastical and secular in character, including champlevé enamels of Mosan and Limousin origin. This is hardly surprising in view of his early career as a cathedral goldsmith and a creator of church silver in the style of the Middle Ages. He was perhaps more in his element when following in the foot-

steps of Renaissance jewelers and goldsmiths, though this could be the result of a dependence on commissions by Frédéric Spitzer in Paris. That astute collector and dealer was sensitive to tides of taste and fashion—in fact, he contributed essentially in promoting them. His influence made itself felt beyond the turn of the century, when American collectors started to compete in Europe, acquiring many of the objects that would eventually pass into American museums. By contrast, medieval goldsmiths' work appealed more strongly to German collectors.

Illustrating this point is a spectacular ceremonial drinking horn of late Gothic German style, now attributed to Vasters (Figure 194). It was acquired in unknown circumstances by Karl von Rothschild of

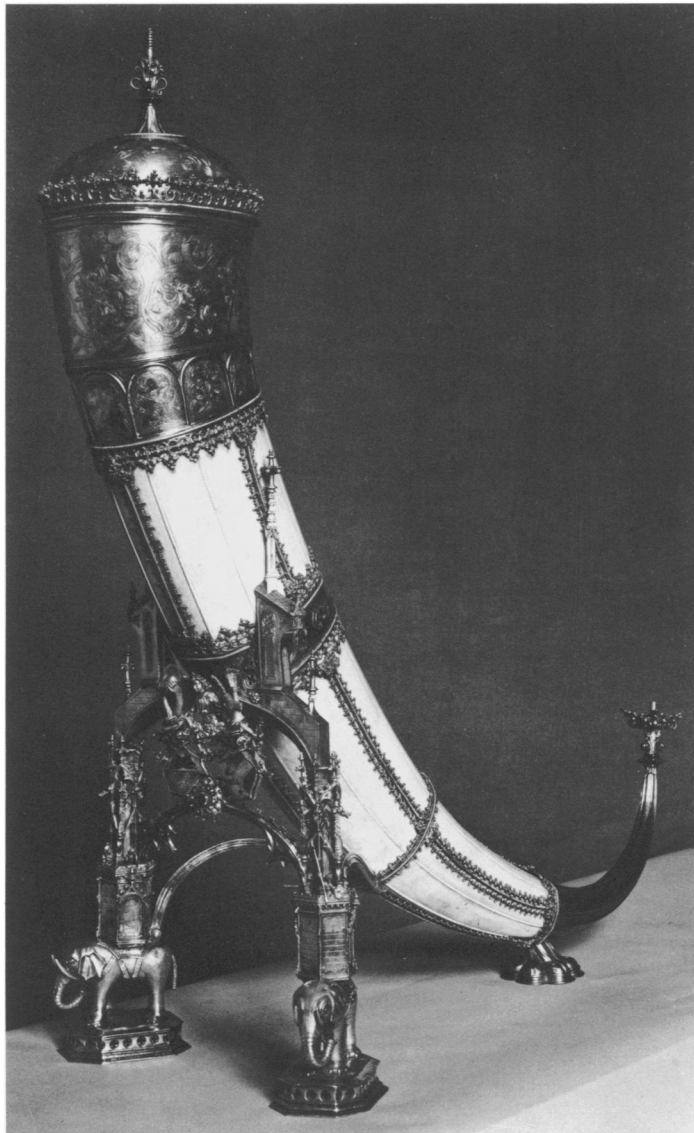
194. Ceremonial drinking horn with cover, ca. 1870–80. Ivory tusk mounted in silver-gilt. United States, private collection (photo: courtesy the collector)



Frankfurt before 1883, when it was included in the catalogue of Rothschild's collection.¹⁵⁵ As an heirloom, the horn eventually became the property of Victor Rothschild in London, who sold it at public auction in 1937.¹⁵⁶

The prototype of the Rothschild horn, which consists of an ivory tusk mounted in silver-gilt (the silver-gilt has suffered corrosion), is a smaller one dated 1486, made for the Lüneburg Rat, or town council, probably by Hinrick vom Howell (Figure 195). Together with most of the *Ratssilber*, this horn was sold in 1874 to the Deutsche Gewerbemuseum in Berlin.¹⁵⁷ Although it was destroyed in 1945 during the Second World War, the Lüneburg horn is known from

195. Attributed to Hinrick vom Howell, ceremonial drinking horn with cover from Lüneburg, 1486. Ivory tusk mounted in silver-gilt. Formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, destroyed 1945 (photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)



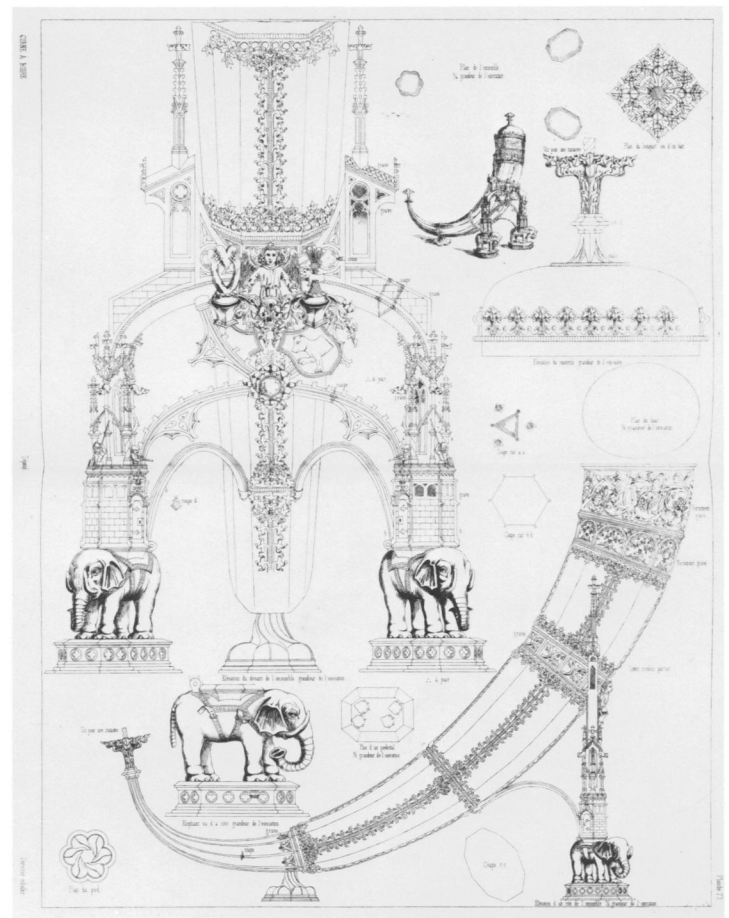
photographs and also from several publications. Detailed line illustrations of it, for example, were included by Thomas H. King, a Bruges architect, in a collection of drawings entitled *Orfèvererie et ouvrages en métal du moyen-âge*, published in two parts in the early

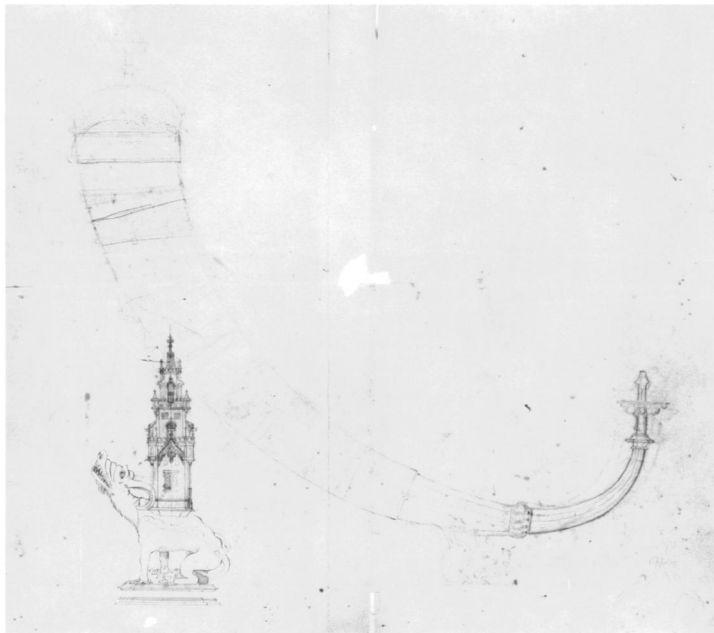
155. Luthmer (1883–85) I, pl. I; II, pl. VII. See also: F. Luthmer, *Gold und Silber* (Leipzig, 1888) p. 164; idem, *Führer durch die Freiherrlich K. von Rothschild'sche Kunstsammlung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1890) p. 23, ill. p. 41; von Falke, "Silberfälschungen" (cited in note 36), pp. 2–3; Truman (1979) p. 161; Richter (1983) pp. 9–10, fig. 1, p. 65, figs. 56a,b.

156. *Catalogue of the Magnificent Contents of 148 Piccadilly, W.1, Sold by Order of Victor Rothschild, Esq.*, sale cat., Sotheby's (London, Apr. 27, 1937) lot 125, pl. VIII. Via the London trade the horn was purchased by Lord Gort, Bunratty Castle, Ireland. After Lord Gort's death it was sold as part of his estate to the present owner, who has kindly given me permission to reproduce the horn and has supplied new photos.

157. Luthmer (1883–85) I, text to pl. 1; idem, *Gold und Silber*, pp. 164, 166 fig. 88; E. Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie du Ve à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1896–1919) IV, p. 278; H. Appuhn, *Das Lüneburger Ratssilber*, exh.

196. *Corne à boire*, measured drawings of the Lüneburg drinking horn of 1486, published in 1852 by T. H. King, *Orfèvererie et ouvrages en métal du moyen-âge*, pl. 71. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library





197. Design for drinking horn shown in Figure 194, ca. 1870–80. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2589-1919 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

198. Detail of Figure 197 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

199. Detail of drinking horn shown in Figure 194 (photo: courtesy the collector)

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200. Design for drinking horn shown in Figure 194, front elevation, ca. 1870–80. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.2585-1919 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

201. The drinking horn from the front (photo: courtesy the collector)



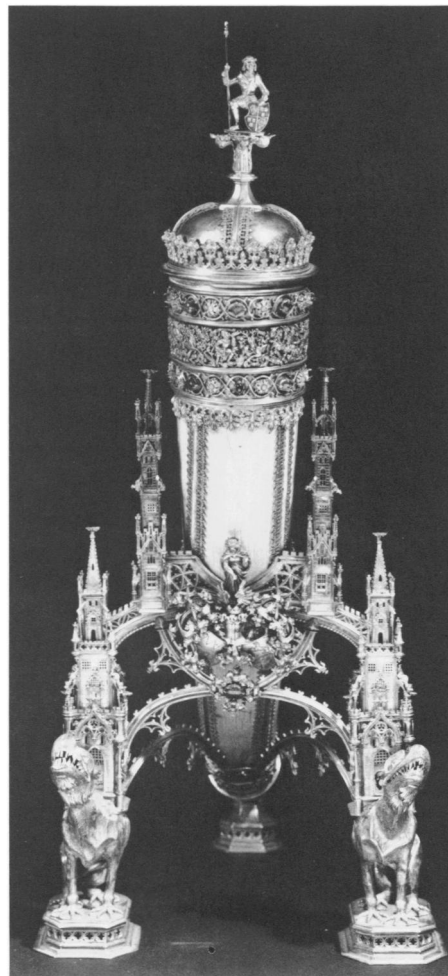
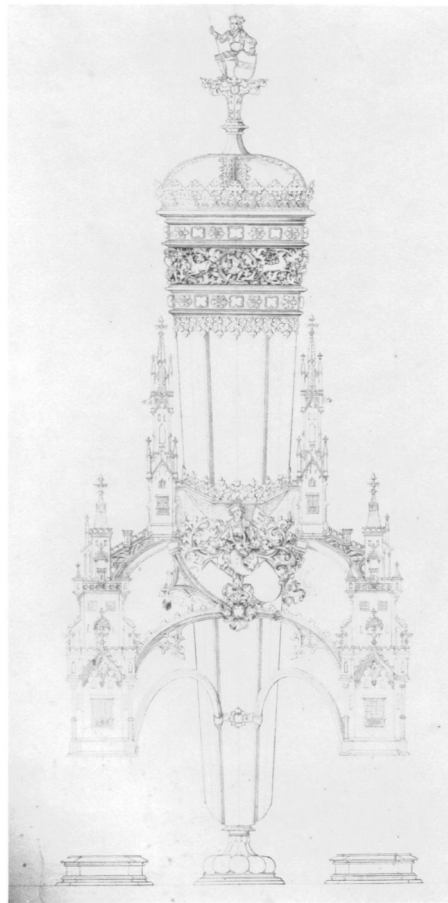
1850s and listed in the contents of Vasters's library (Figure 196).¹⁵⁸ In his preface King, in terms altogether appropriate to the spirit of historic revival, explained that the purpose of his publication was to promote a better understanding of Gothic art, by means of illustrations primarily intended for the practicing artist; contemporary artisans were thus to become familiar with the style of the Middle Ages and with the methods required to reproduce its works. If a replica were to be made larger than its model, King's advice was that its details should not be rendered on a larger scale, they should be repeated.¹⁵⁹

Vasters certainly seems to have been inspired by such advice in his re-creation, for which full-scale drawings survive (Figures 197–201). The basic quality of Gothic art, its architectural clarity, has been disregarded. The Lüneburg horn, mounted throughout in silver-gilt, was supported by two elephants carrying Gothic towers on their backs. Logically associated with an ivory tusk, these elephants were replaced by Vasters with two fierce gargoyledragons, each carrying a flamboyant Gothic turret. The composition is crowded with a surfeit of architectural motifs—flying buttresses, tracery, barred windows, parapets, portals, gangways, pinnacles—and of more gargoyles, though none in places where these could fulfill their function as spouts for rainwater. The finial, an armorial supporter, resembles the figure of an

cat. (Lüneburg, 1956) p. 6; W. Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Niedersachsens* (Berlin, 1965) II, p. 896; K. Pechstein, Kunstgewerbemuseum, *Goldschmiedewerke der Renaissance: Katalog V* (Berlin, 1971), where the surviving pieces of the *Ratssilber* purchased in 1874 are discussed and illustrated; B. Mundt, *Die deutschen Kunstgewerbemuseen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1974) pp. 75, 81, for the sale of the *Ratssilber*; J. Michael Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa* (Munich, 1982) p. 307, pl. 871; Richter (1983) fig. 2.

158. T. H. King, *Orfèvrerie et ouvrages en métal du moyen-âge mesurés et dessinés d'après les anciens modèles*, 2nd ser. (Paris, 1855) pl. 71; *Katalog Vasters*, lots 672 (Brussels, 1852) and 673 (Paris, 1855).

159. King, *Orfèvrerie et ouvrages en métal du moyen-âge*, p. 1: "Ce travail devait être considéré uniquement comme préliminaire, comme une collection de simples modèles, dans le but d'habituer nos artisans au style du moyen-âge et à la manière de travail nécessaire pour reproduire avec exactitude les plus finies parmi les oeuvres d'art. . . . Ce n'est qu'en reproduisant les oeuvres des anciens artistes que nous pourrions acquérir le talent nécessaire pour créer nous-mêmes"; and p. 2: "Une plus grande dimension doit être obtenue, non par en agrandissant les détails, mais en les répétant."

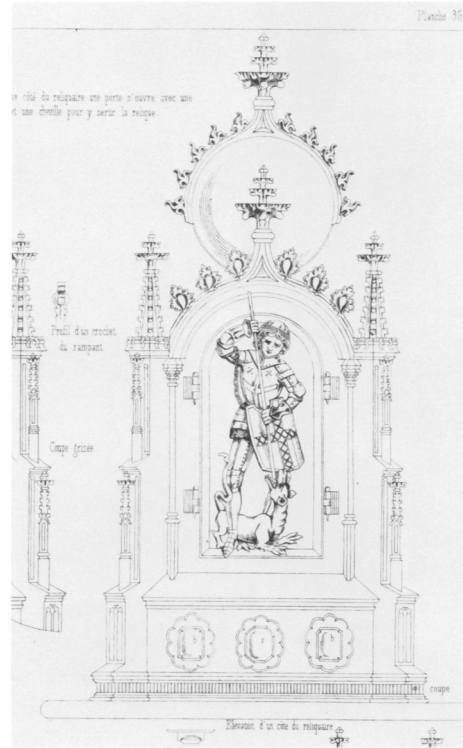




202. Badge with figure of armored knight displaying an achievement, ca. 1870–80. Silver-gilt, 14.3 × 11.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 49.56.7

armored knight displaying an achievement in a silver-gilt badge owned by the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 202); the knight stands awkwardly beneath a double arch, surrounded by a quatrefoil frame set with cabochon stones.¹⁶⁰ This figure in turn has affinities with a St. George illustrated in King's *Orfèvrerie . . . du moyen-âge* (Figure 203), and his unsteady posture might well be due to the elimination of the dragon on which St. George was shown standing. Horn and badge could be from one and the same workshop.

Instead of the ornamental bands that encircled the lip of the Lüneburg horn, the nineteenth-century version has a heavily cast hunting frieze of extraordinarily dense design, bordered on either side by a row of glass pastes and pearls. Freiherr Karl von Rothschild owned other works in the late Gothic style derived from the Lüneburg *Ratssilber*, including a silver-gilt tazza surmounted by St. Hubert and the stag; around this group is a hunting frieze similar to the one just described.¹⁶¹ In the graphic arts the same kind



203. Measured drawing of a reliquary, detail with figure of St. George and the Dragon, from King's *Orfèvrerie et ouvrages en métal du moyen-âge*, pl. 36. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

of frieze can be seen framing the title page of a book published in Frankfurt in 1875 (Figure 204). All three friezes have more in common with nineteenth-century historicism than with fifteenth-century invention.

Vasters, of course, was by no means the only practicing goldsmith of his generation to adopt revival styles.¹⁶² In this connection it is interesting to compare his work with a drinking horn by Emil-Ferdinand

160. Ex colls.: Delannoy, Paris; Blumka Gallery, New York; Joseph Brummer, New York. *The Notable Art Collection . . . of the Late Joseph Brummer* (cited in note 61), pt. 1, lot 429.

161. Luthmer (1883–85) II, pls. iv, v.

162. Two such goldsmiths, Martin Vogeno and August Witte, were colleagues of Vasters at the Aachen cathedral treasury: see above and note 12, also notes 6, 15; see also Grimme (1981) pp. 13–31. For 19th-century goldsmiths' work, especially in the Rhineland, see C.-W. Clasen, "Die Kölner Goldschmiede Hermeling," in *Beiträge zur rheinischen Kunstgeschichte und Denkmalpflege* (Düsseldorf, 1974) II, pp. 263–278. For the firm of F. H. Hellner of Kempten (Düsseldorf) see Y. Hackenbroch and K. Citroen, "A Chalice of Jacoba of Bavaria in Gouda," *Nederlands*

204. Title page of catalogue for a decorative arts exhibition, *Historische Ausstellung kunstgewerblicher Erzeugnisse*, published in Frankfurt am Main, 1875 (photo: University Library, Frankfurt am Main)

Dahl,¹⁶³ who copied the so-called Oldenburg Horn of 1476–80 in Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen, sometime between 1840 and 1879 (Figure 205).¹⁶⁴ Dahl elected to follow his original model closely and to identify his work by his maker's mark. But, like Vasters, he chose a highly elaborate example of late Gothic art to emulate, in keeping with the preferences of the *Gründerjahre*.

The Lüneburg horn displayed the arms of the donors, a former mayor of the town and his wife. Vasters's version comprises eight different armorials, including those of the Würzburg bishop Lorenz von Bibra (1495–1519), whose dates are too late for the Gothic style. The kneeling knight of the finial displays the arms of a bishop of Eichstätt. The shields

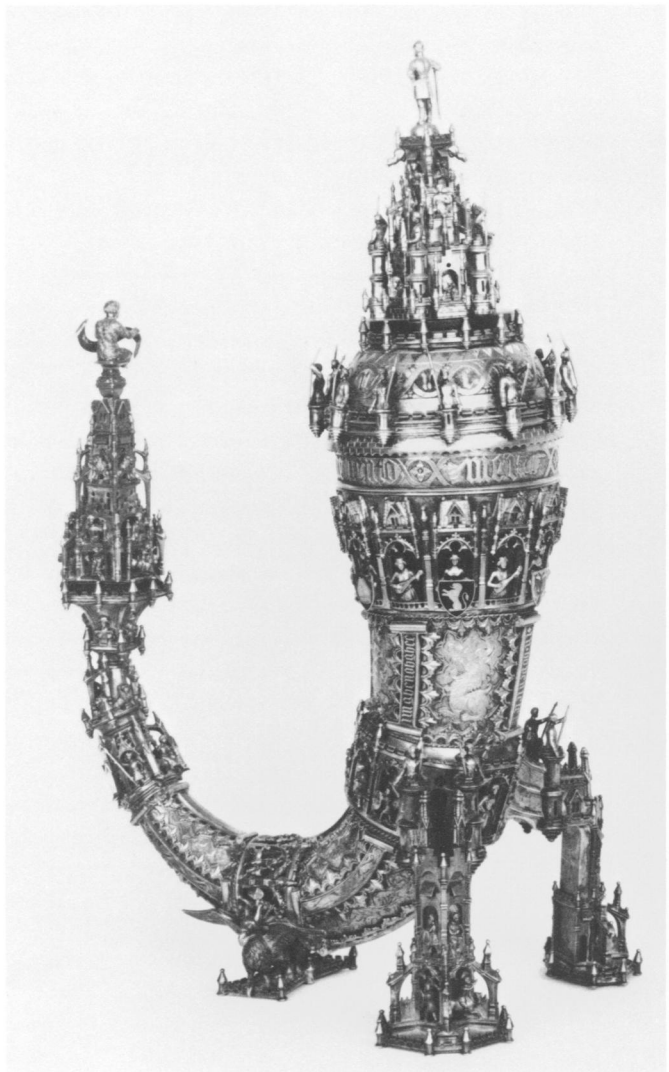


Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 31 (1980) pp. 1–15. For the firm of Schleissner in Hanau see K. Siebert, *Hanauer Biographien aus drei Jahrhunderten*, August Schleissner (Hanau, 1919); and G. Bott, "Getriebenes Tafelgerät als Specialität im antiken Genre," in *Studien zum Europäischen Kunsthandwerk: Festschrift Yvonne Hackenbroch*, ed. J. Rasmussen (Munich, 1983) pp. 297–310. For ecclesiastical goldsmiths' work see *Schatzkunst Trier* (cited in note 11), esp. A. M. Zander, "Goldschmiede des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts in Trier," pp. 37–48.

163. *Argenterie européenne, objets de vitrine, succession de Monsieur Hubert de Saint-Senoch . . .*, sale cat., Sotheby's (Monte Carlo, Dec. 6, 1983) lot 1116, ill. The Metropolitan Museum owns a drinking horn from the J. Pierpont Morgan collection (17.190.507)—an ox horn mounted in silver-gilt with the figure of St. Michael—which was also made during the 19th century in the style of the 15th. It was produced by the Marcy workshop in Paris.

164. G. Boesen, "Rosenborg Castle Collections, Copenhagen," in *Royal Treasures*, ed. E. Steingraber, trans. S. de Haan (New York, 1968) pp. 84, 85 no. 5, color pl. p. 131; it was presumably commissioned by Christian I, the first Danish king of the House of Oldenburg. See also Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Niedersachsens*, II, p. 896; C. Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith 1430–1820* (London, 1977) no. 205; Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst*, p. 259, pl. 518.

205. Emil-Ferdinand Dahl, ceremonial drinking horn with cover, after Oldenburg Horn of 1476–80, Copenhagen, ca. 1860. Silver-gilt, H. 37 cm. Private collection (photo: Sotheby Parke Bernet Monaco)



of six other donors are listed in the catalogue of the Rothschild collection published in 1883.

The expert entrusted with that catalogue was Ferdinand Luthmer (1842–1921), an architect and the director of the Frankfurter Kunstgewerbeschule und Kunstgewerbemuseum.¹⁶⁵ Founded in 1878, this combined school and museum of the decorative arts had as its principal purpose the revival of the arts and crafts tradition, menaced by industrialization. Luthmer, a native of Cologne, came to Frankfurt from Berlin, where he had taught at the Kunstakademie for eight years. He had also taught in Berlin at the Deutsche Gewerbemuseum, precisely during the period when the much-publicized Lüneburg *Ratssilber* was acquired. In Frankfurt, Freifrau Mathilde von Rothschild sponsored the decorative arts movement, providing Luthmer with financial backing in order to arouse interest and to suggest fresh scope for the teaching and exhibiting of “unsere Väter Werke”—the works of our fathers. Hence it may be assumed that Luthmer was in relatively close contact with members of the Rothschild family. That he was chosen to write the two-volume catalogue of their collection published in 1883–85, and later handbooks brought out in 1890, 1908, and 1915, suggests that he enjoyed their confidence over a span of years. In the absence of any proof to the contrary, then, it seems likely that Luthmer acted as the Rothschilds’ artistic adviser, although he need not have been the only one. Beyond conjecture at present are what objects Karl von Rothschild had acquired, and what advice he may have had in purchasing them, before Luthmer’s arrival in Frankfurt in 1879.

The neo-Gothic drinking horn designed by Vasters was probably made soon after 1874, when the Lüneburg horn became widely known as a recent addition to the Berlin collections. The later horn passed as one similar to the Lüneburg example—at least Luthmer described it as such in the catalogue of 1883, in his book *Gold und Silber*, published in Leipzig in 1888, and in an 1890 guide to the Rothschild collection.¹⁶⁶ Luthmer’s obvious mistake was to have accepted a recently made object without questioning its age and authenticity. Typical of his generation, he had an exaggerated admiration, not to say reverence, for monuments of the distant past, particularly for anything that had historical associations. The prevailing mistrust in the creative powers of contemporary artists may have predisposed him to accept retrospective

works as genuine, on the basis of their general style. It must also be said that substitutions and replicas, including galvanoplastic reproductions, were as yet uncommon, taking early victims of such frauds unawares and unprepared.¹⁶⁷ These factors may help to explain Luthmer’s vulnerable position as one better acquainted with theory than practice.¹⁶⁸

Even if they were not personally acquainted, Luthmer and Vasters almost certainly knew of one another. They were both from the Rhineland and less than a generation apart in age. Both were involved in the revival of medieval and Renaissance styles, though in different ways. As a practicing artist and craftsman, Vasters had a firsthand knowledge of techniques, but he was not a scholar like Luthmer, whose principal interest was in the theory of styles and their historical sequence. Reinhold Vasters, goldsmith, seems to have shunned attention during his most active years, having established some reputation in his field when he was working at the cathedral treasury in Aachen and creating church silver that bore his maker’s mark; in old age he apparently emerged as a collector, who exhibited objects from an eclectic collection and presumably, on occasion, sold from it.

165. “Ferdinand Luthmer,” *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Literatur* 3 (1920–21) pp. 94–95; Mitteldeutscher Kunstgewerbeverein, *Zum Gedächtnis des Direktors unserer Kunstgewerbe-Schule, des Geh. Baurats Ferdinand Luthmer (1842–1921)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1921) pp. 6–17; Mundt, *Die deutschen Kunstgewerbemuseen*, pp. 203–207, where she describes some of Luthmer’s activities; *100 Jahre Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main 1878 bis 1978*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt am Main: Historisches Museum, 1978) I, pp. 214–218.

166. Luthmer (1883–85) I, text to pl. 1; idem, *Gold und Silber*, p. 164; idem, *Führer durch die Freiherrlich K. von Rothschild’sche Kunstsammlung*, p. 23.

167. For galvanoplastic reproductions commercially available in the late 19th century, see G. Egger, *Gold- und Silberschätze in Kopien des Historismus*, exh. cat. (Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst in Schloss Grafenegg, 1972).

168. Luthmer, who was described by contemporaries as a recreator (*Erneuerer*) rather than a creator (*Neuerer*), maintained an interest in silver with historic associations all his life, especially in municipal silver. Before 1903 he designed some of the principal pieces of the *Ratssilber* intended to recall Frankfurt’s glorious past, commissioned to honor Emperor Wilhelm II when he visited the town in 1912 (*Das Frankfurter Ratssilber*, exh. leaflet [Frankfurt am Main: Historisches Museum, 1982] ill.). Luthmer furnished the design for the gold and silver-gilt Emperor Cup (*Kaiserbecher*), modeled by a friend, Professor Hausmann, and executed by the firm of E. Schürmann.

Professor Ferdinand Luthmer, by contrast, enjoyed the limelight as a well-known teacher and museum director, a prolific writer, and probably also one whose advice on artistic matters was eagerly sought. When he died in 1921, his obituary recorded his many gifts and contributions with gratitude. Vasters's death, on the other hand, seems to have passed without notice.

None of the several objects in the Karl von Rothschild collection that suggest Vasters's hand appears in the Spitzer catalogues. All are works of pronounced German character, with a bias toward the late Gothic, of a kind that might have been difficult to place among Spitzer's sophisticated French clientele, whose taste for Italian Renaissance objects was being nurtured by Spitzer himself. The fact that Vasters's drawings for the drinking horn remained in Aachen may mean that they were executed close to home, though in this rare instance the execution in silver-gilt is somewhat rough, indicative of Vasters's style rather than his hand. How Karl von Rothschild in Frankfurt, not very far from Aachen, was persuaded to buy a brand-new article as a genuine antique is an open question. It seems improbable that Vasters himself would have dared to make the offer since the circumstances created a serious risk of exposure. Nor would such a prominent collector as Rothschild have been easy to approach without a middleman.

This excursion into Vasters's medievalizing activities serves to remind us of how much remains to be

learned. That he was known as a collector in later life, and as such participated in at least two retrospective exhibitions in the Rhineland, is something which has only recently come to light. More information of this kind, forgotten and overlooked, will undoubtedly emerge. In view of the attributions that so many of his works enjoyed during his lifetime, however, we can assume that much was deliberately concealed and may never be known. The connection with Frédéric Spitzer, probably the greatest collector-dealer in Europe at the time, seems firmly established. What is missing is a sense of Vasters the man. Were the financial rewards of his anonymous activities so seductive that they compensated for the loss of professional recognition? Was it the sheer challenge of successful deception that attracted him, or the opportunity to develop his skills as a jeweler and goldsmith over a wide range of styles and materials? Was he perhaps initially taken in by Spitzer, finding out the real purpose of Spitzer's commissions when it seemed too late to turn back or when he had become accustomed to the affluence they brought him?

Future inquiries may furnish answers to these questions and uncertainties. In the meantime, and in spite of Vasters's evident attempts to avoid publicity, it has nevertheless been possible to link some remarkable examples of nineteenth-century jewelry and goldsmiths' work in the Metropolitan Museum and elsewhere to his name, and to acknowledge Vasters as a striking interpreter of historicism in Europe.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It was the late John F. Hayward who introduced me several years ago to the collection of Vasters's drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The thought of publishing them in connection with objects in The Metropolitan Museum of Art occurred to me at once. In discussing that project, Claude Blair, formerly Keeper of Metalwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum, suggested that the drawings might first be published by Charles Truman, who was then Assistant Keeper of Metalwork. These circumstances contributed to the long delay of the present publication.

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Red jasper cup attributed to Daniel Mayer,
Augsburg, ca. 1670; the stem and foot and the
mounts in enameled gold attributed to Rein-
hold Vasters, ca. 1870–90. The Metropolitan
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