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BULLETIN





Grace and Favor

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How marginal the art of the silversmith – those saltcellars, odd-shaped spoons, coffee-pots: disconnected and seemingly incidental survivors of a disremembered past. And yet there was a time when the style of a coffee-pot was as precise an index of taste as one's choice of dress; a time when silver was acquired not as a ready-made luxury but as a necessity of chosen design. It was a time when a whole culture – which we may personify in the Empress of All the Russias – revealed the importance of incidentals.

A Maecenas with “the soul of Caesar and all the seductions of Cleopatra” (as Diderot eulogized her), Catherine the Great lured architects, painters, and sculptors from all over Europe to come and transform Saint Petersburg from a shabby provincial town into a modern Western capital. Those who did not come in person she reached through agents: her ambassador Galitzin, Baron Melchior von Grimm, and the encyclopedist Diderot were active in Paris; and in Petersburg the French sculptor Etienne-Maurice Falconet was for thirteen years the Empress's industrious scout. Through them Catherine purchased entire collections of paintings, such as those of the Walpoles and the Saxon minister Count Brühl, and commissioned the work of contemporary artists as well: Gobelins tapestries, paintings by Greuze and Vernet, furniture from the Parisian ébéniste David Roentgen, portrait busts from Houdon, table services of Wedgwood pottery, Sèvres porcelain, and Parisian silver.

Of all these commissions one in particular, the so-called Orloff service, concerns us here. With its combination of vigorous design and superb craftsmanship it is typical of the work that Catherine's authority and taste could command. The Empress appears to have decided to order a silver table service from Paris shortly before February 13, 1770: in a note to Falconet of that date she observed, “I hear you have some designs for a silver service,” and continued, “I should like to see them if you will show them to me, for I have a mind to order one for sixty people.” No names are mentioned, but it is clear from the progress of the correspondence that this set of designs had been submitted to Falconet by Jacques and Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers. At this date the father and son were the most fashionable of the Parisian silversmiths. Both, as members of a distinguished family that had served the king as medalists and engravers since the seventeenth century, were goldsmiths to the king, and were among the few privileged to live and to have their shop under the long gallery of the Louvre. They enjoyed a

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FRONTISPICE:

Olio pot (pot à huile), by Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers (1736-1788/89?, master 1752), French (Paris). 1770/71. Silver, height 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 33.165.2

ON THE COVER:

Watercolor by Jacob Marrel, discussed on page 316



1. *Catherine II of Russia (1729-1796). Enamel portrait on a snuffbox, by Joseph-Etienne Blerzy (master 1768, working 1806), French (Paris). 1774/75. Gold, enamel, and diamonds, width $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches. Bequest of Catherine D. Wentworth, 48.187.427*



2. *Prince Gregory Orloff (1734-1783). Portrait silhouette, by F.-G. Sideau. About 1783. From *La Cour de l'Impératrice Catherine II* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), by Alexandre Krougly*

reputation that only royal patronage could offer. In 1770 and 1771, for example, while work on the Orloff service was in progress, they were also engaged in making gold rings for the wedding of the future Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, refashioning a toilet service (which, made only thirteen years before, was already old-fashioned) for the bride, and supplying numerous silver objects to be distributed as presents along the princess's route from Vienna to Paris.

That Falconet should have approached the Roettiers (apparently on his own initiative) was therefore natural. Their first sketches must have been acceptable, for by April 25 Catherine was complaining to Falconet of their terms: "I understand nothing of this way of reckoning. They want 25,000 livres a month, and a year and a half of work makes, for eighteen months, 450,000 livres, which, I believe, is nearly 100,000 rubles . . . you will have the kindness to explain to these gentlemen, briefly and clearly, how many pieces there will be, what they charge for the silver and what for the work; then we will see if it pleases us to continue." (In modern currency, the Roettiers were asking about \$680,000, a sum that can be broken down to an average \$230 per item. Not exorbitant by today's price scales, the relative expense to Catherine was many times greater, and her petulance may be forgiven.) This difficulty smoothed over, the next letters concern a new set of designs the empress apparently requested.

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Falconet commented, on May 28, "I believe these approach more nearly than the others good taste in silversmithing"; Catherine saw them the next day, marked those she approved, and promptly authorized monthly payments to the silversmiths. The contract, signed on June 14, stipulated that the service be completed by the two Roettiers within one year of their receipt of the terms (estimated by Catherine as July 20), and that the pieces would be made of the usual standard of silver (11 *deniers* 12 *grains* or .958 silver, slightly higher than sterling) and would be marked with the marks of Paris – the prestige of Parisian silver outside France in the eighteenth century was so great the marks themselves became a symbol of fashion, the guarantee of craftsmanship.

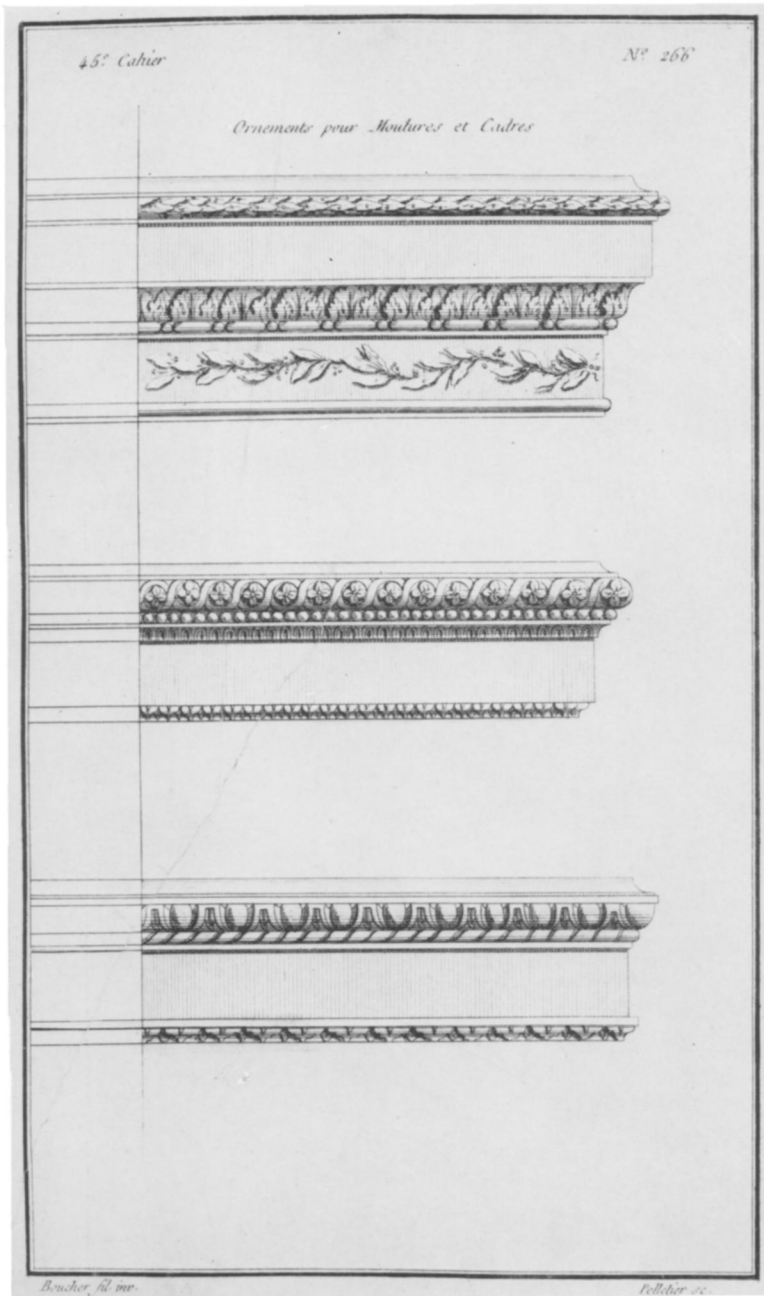
Curiously, neither the price finally agreed on, or the size of the service, is specified in the contract. From the evidence provided by Baron A. de Foelkersam in his detailed account of this commission, the number of pieces – about three thousand – was considerably greater than usual. We can estimate the average table service of the period at about two hundred to two hundred and fifty items, exclusive of utensils; this was adequate for ordinary dining – in what Dr. Johnson's friend Mrs. Thrale, visiting Lyon, described as "a not very numerous company – from eighteen to twenty-two," with "six and thirty dishes [i.e., main courses] where we dined." A few substantially larger services were ordered, such as that of twenty-two hundred pieces of Meissen porcelain made for Count Brühl (the "Swan" service), and a creamware service of almost a thousand pieces made by Wedgwood for Catherine's country palace La Grenouille. But even by these hospitable standards the Orloff service was enormous: the inventories of only six shipments, from 1771 to 1773, account for 2,630 items, including

- 576 dinner plates
- 36 dozen sets of forks, knives, and spoons
- 8 cruet frames
- 128 assorted hors-d'oeuvres, second course, serving, and dessert plates
- 8 braziers
- 8 tureens with platters and serving forks

- 8 *pots à oille* with platters and serving spoons
- 36 saltcellars
- 84 candlesticks
- 8 mustard pots
- 92 dish covers
- 40 coffeepots ranging in size from two to twelve cups
- 16 chocolate pots for two to ten cups
- 24 five-branched candelabra
- plus a variety of coffers, fish slices, marrow spoons, wine coolers, sugar tongs, coffee

3. *Le Petit Jour*. The design of the volute and frieze of the chimney piece, which echoes that on our olio pot, typifies the adaptability of decorative motifs to different scales and media. Engraving by Nicolas Delaunay (1739-1792) after a painting by Sigismund Freudeberg (1745-1801). 14½ x 10¼ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 54.533.24





4. Page of designs. Plate 266 from [Works] of François Boucher the Younger (1736-1782), French. Engraving, 12 x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 37.55.3

spoons, snuffers, cream jugs, kettles, and sauceboats. According to Foelkersam there were seven more shipments, bringing to an estimated three thousand the total number of pieces. (The accounting difficulties are typified by the dish covers, of which ninety-two are listed above; 120 are mentioned in a memorandum of Catherine's in 1773; 103 were in the Hermitage before the partial dispersal of the service in 1930/31.)

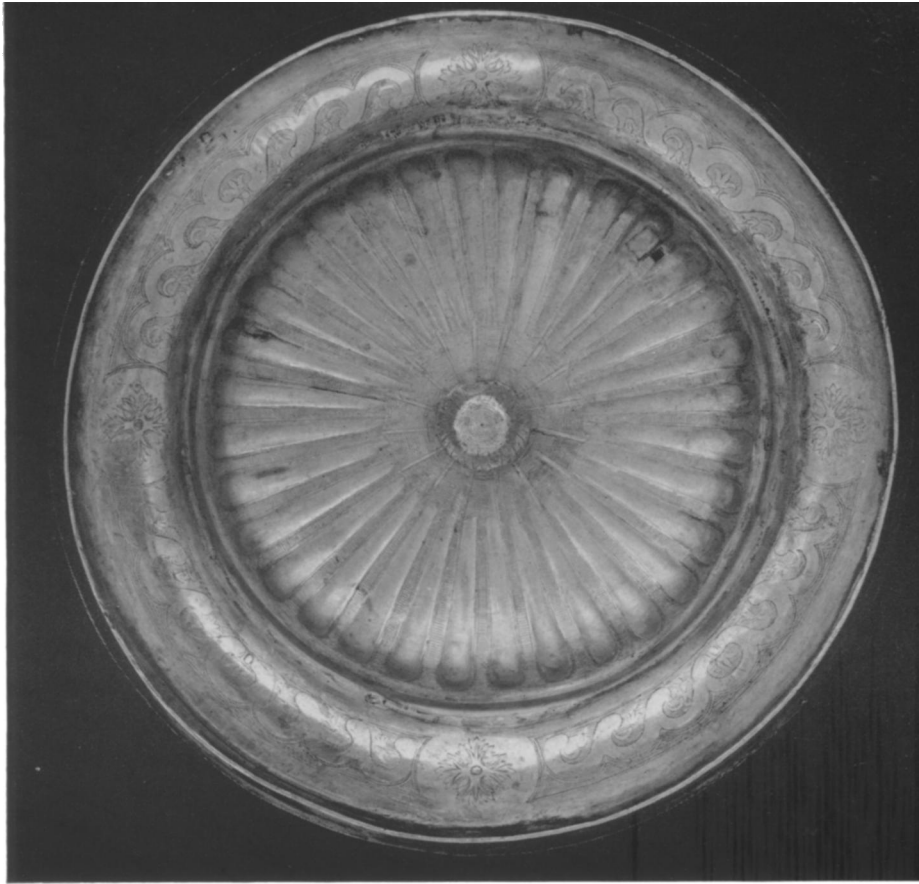
That an order of this size should have been promised in a year seems foolhardy – all the more so as Jacques Roettiers, who retired in 1772, evidently took no part in the work. As it turned out, the service was not finished in a year – date letters span the period 1770-1773 (Figure 12) – nor was it entirely the work of the younger Roettiers: several hundred dishes and plates recorded by Foelkersam were made by Edme-Pierre Balzac and Claude-Pierre Deville. Even so, the output of Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers, whose mark is struck on at least 217 major pieces of the Orloff service, is astonishing. Much of the basic work, of course, would have been done by his apprentices and journeymen, while the use of numerous cast details – handles and finials of tureens, and candlestick shafts, for example – would have further simplified the mechanics of production.

The style of Roettiers's work for this imperial commission is almost uniformly classical, and the individual elements of his designs are the conventional ones of the 1770s. It does not impugn his originality to recognize his debt to the pattern books so widely circulated at this time. Through collections of designs and engravings by dozens of artists specializing in ornamental details, the eighteenth-century craftsman was expected to draw on an enormous repertoire of decorative schemes. Some of these volumes were aimed at a particular métier but most – among them those of P.-P. Choffard, the unidentified La Londe, C.-P. Marillier, and François Boucher the Younger, all active in the sixties and seventies – were meant to be useful to architects as well as silversmiths (Figure 3), gardeners as well as cabinetmakers. The details of Roettiers's schema – the laurel swags, the guilloché and Vitruvian scroll borders, the ro-

settes and leaf-tip moldings – can all be found, in one variation or another, in these popular *vade mecums* (Figures 4, 14). What is original in Roettiers's work is his complete authority over these diverse motifs, his ability to organize them to superb effect.

Most imposing, for sheer size, is a covered *pot à oille* with its serving plateau, in the Metropolitan Museum (Frontispiece). A species of tureen, the “olio pot” was used for a soupy stew made with several kinds of meat and herbs. Introduced into France from Spain in the thirteenth century, olio began to appear regularly on dining tables only in the seventeenth: Madame de Sévigné described it in 1673 as a kind of pot-au-feu, and John Evelyn enjoyed “a good *olio*” at the Portuguese ambassador's in 1679. By the middle of the eighteenth century the *pot à oille* was a standard feature of a French table service. Two tureens and one olio pot were included in 1758 in a porcelain service for the Danish king; in 1767 the Roettiers made four of each for Louis xv's own use. The difference between the two types of vessel was that the tureen was oval, the *pot à oille* round. From the evidence provided by contemporary engravings and accounts this was an invariable distinction, with the possible exception of an olio pot “*forme du Roy*” mentioned in 1757. Both vessels were traditionally accompanied by a large plateau and a serving utensil: a fork for the tureen, a spoon for the soupier olio.

Eight olio tureens are listed in the shipments from Paris to Saint Petersburg, and visitors to the Louvre and the Musée Nissim de Camondo in Paris, to the Hermitage, and to the Santo Silva Foundation in Lisbon can see duplicates of our example. Their basic design is classical, with a serene balance and proportions of architectural grandeur. The vertical solidity of the body poised on its four scrolling legs is countered by the encircling frieze of laurel leaves and berries, and the handles formed as laurel wreaths. The channeling of the body is repeated radially on the footed plateau and, in reverse, on the domed cover. (Most unusually, the entire decoration of the cover is repeated in its interior, engraved in a light, sketchy manner [Figure 5].)



5. Interior of the cover of the Museum's olio pot



6. Detail of the Museum's olio pot

The variety of borders and moldings that complete the ensemble in no way detract from an effect of calm, uncluttered order.

Because of the importance of the czarina's commission, this service was surely well known, and that it was admired we may infer from Roettiers's repetition of this model for other customers. We are fortunate in being able to compare one variant, with American associations. A pair of oval tureens and a vegetable dish have been lent to the Museum by the descendants of Robert Livingston (1746-1813), Chancellor of New York State. They derive from a service, now dispersed, acquired in France by Gouverneur Morris, probably during his term as American ambassador (1792-1794), and purchased from him by his friend Livingston, whose arms are engraved on the tureens. It will be seen that the basic design of the Livingston tureens

(Figure 7) and the disposition of details are unchanged from the Orloff version. Minor differences include the substitution of oak leaves and acorns for the laurel, and a guilloche border for the Vitruvian scroll on the cover. The most radical alteration is in the design of the finial, the neat berry-topped plinth covered in fish scales of the Orloff tureen being transformed into an elaborate vase draped in oak-leaf festoons. Yet another version, combining features of both the Orloff and Livingston tureens, is recorded. In a memorandum of December 31, 1775, Roettiers described two *pots à oille* he had completed for Mesdames, daughters of Louis xv. There the handles and sprays were of olive, and olive pendants filled each groove of the channeled plateaux. On the covers "*il y a pour bouton un vase plat à écailles de poisson* [like our olio tureen] *enrichi de guirlandes de*

7. *Tureen, by Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers. 1775/76. Silver, height 12½ inches. Lent by Mrs. Reginald L. McVitty and Janet C. Livingston, L 29.87.1*



8. The Museum's olio pot



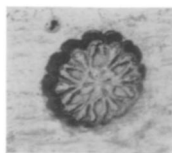
roses,” and, inside, the channeling was recalled by engraving “of the greatest care.” (The engraving inside the covers of the Livingston pieces, too, is exceptionally graceful.) Roettiers further describes the liners of these two olio tureens as having “*petites anses ornées*”: the small scrolled handles of the liner of one Livingston tureen (the other liner is now lost) are perhaps duplicates of these. The liner for our *pot à oille* is missing but may well have been of the same design.

Roettiers's remaining work for the Orloff service includes a variety of smaller pieces. Perhaps most familiar are the domed, fluted dish covers (*cloches*) with laurel festoons (Figure 15), of which many examples are to be found in public and private collections. In the same massive style are four candlesticks in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Wrightsman (Figure 16). Four dozen “*chandelières à une seule bougie*” are specified by Catherine in September 1771 in a memorandum requesting additional pieces from Roettiers. The date letter for 1771/72 and the inventory number 48 on one of the Wrightsmans' candlesticks suggest that all four were part of this lot.



9. Maker's mark of Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers. The device is a sheaf of wheat. All marks enlarged about three times

10. Paris charge mark for large silverwork, 1768-1775



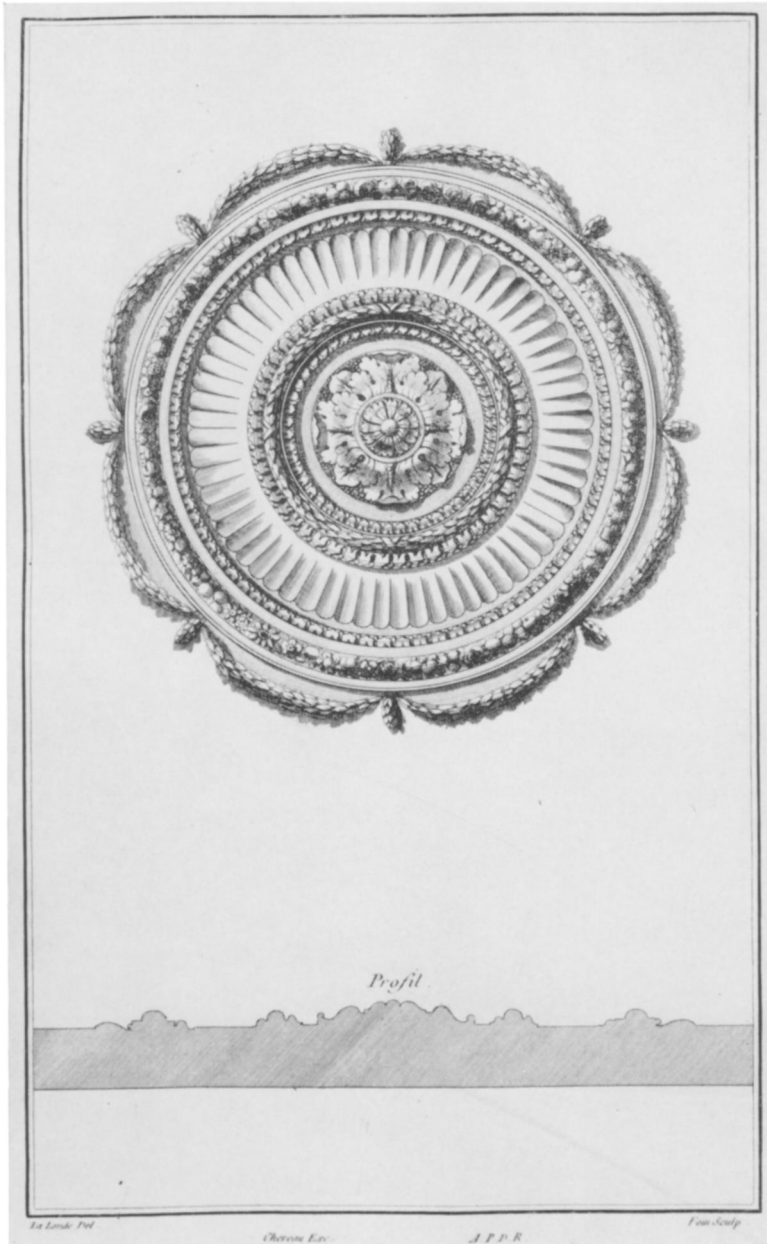
11. Paris charge mark for medium-sized silverwork, 1768-1775

12. Paris date letters for 1770/71, 1771/72, and 1772/73



13. Paris discharge mark of a little cow, struck on work made for export, 1733(?)–1775; and the three Russian marks added to the Orloff pieces in 1784: the standard mark 91, with the numerals struck individually; the Cyrillic initials N.M. for the assayer; and the Saint Petersburg town mark in a variant punch

14. Page of designs. Plate 84 from *Oeuvres diverses* by La Londe, French. About 1770-1780. Engraving, 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.49(1)



While Roettiers chose some decorative motifs for his candlesticks that do not appear on our *olio tureen*, there is no incompatibility of style: so thoroughgoing was the grammar of classical ornament that a change of vocabulary did not disturb the coherence. It is because of this pervasive stylistic unity that the traditional inclusion in the Orloff service of two small dishes (Figure 17) is at best uncertain. Their naturalistic style is in unexpected contrast to the controlled classicism of Roettiers's other work for this commission. Each a silver fragment of intertidal life, they are scallop shells to which cling parasitic snails—a periwinkle and possibly a dog whelk—while the handles are formed of rockweed, which spills down the back. Twenty-two of these dishes are recorded by Foelkersam, all apparently dating 1772/73; most (like the majority of Orloff pieces) are struck with the Paris discharge mark of a little cow (Figure 13), used from about 1733 to 1775 exclusively on work made for export. Our two dishes, while having the same date letter as the others, are struck with the succeeding export mark of a camel's head, registered only on September 1, 1775, an apparent irregularity presumably due to the dishes having all been made at the same time but simply sent off in different lots. If so, our shell dishes will have been among the last of the service to reach Petersburg, as Foelkersam states that the final shipment was in 1775.

To judge from her correspondence with Falconet, Catherine evidently ordered this table service for her own use at court, but circumstances soon altered her plan. By September 1772 she had decided to present it to Count (later Prince) Gregory Orloff (Figure 2), and notes signed by him acknowledge receipt of several lots of the silver between that year and 1776. The Empress's faithful lover for a decade, Orloff enjoyed every privilege but the one he most desired: that of sharing the throne with Catherine. He and his brothers had played a pivotal role in the coup of 1762 that deposed her husband, Peter III—Gregory even accompanied his mistress in her carriage as she drove from Peterhof to the Kazan Cathedral in Petersburg to be



15. Dish cover (cloche) from the Orloff service, by Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers. 1771/72. Silver, height $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The plate was made in Russia to replace the original French one. Formerly in the Camille Plantevignes Collection



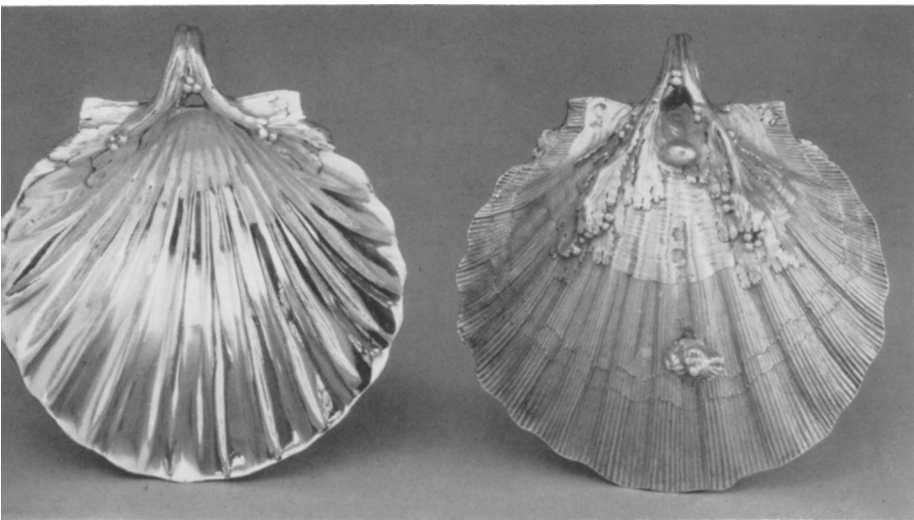
16. Two of a set of four candlesticks from the Orloff service, by Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers. 1771/72. Silver, height $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Wrightsman Collection. Photograph: Taylor and Dull

proclaimed – and it is thought that Peter’s assassination by Alexei Orloff was designed to enable the empress to marry her favorite. She declined to do so, however, and to appease Gregory’s fits of dissatisfaction she gave him money, titles, expensive presents – everything, in fact, but what he wanted most. That the Roettiers service was meant to pacify him there is little doubt, but Gregory hardly benefited from the gesture. By 1776 Catherine had finally thrown him over and he had left Russia for Holland, where he married the next year. Returning to his native country only in 1782 he discovered that his place at court had been usurped by his friend Gregory Potemkin; resentment seems to have disabled him and he died the following year.

Catherine ordered the Roettiers service returned to her, but she apparently had to buy it back. The Museum’s *pot à oille*, the cloches, and the candlesticks (but not the shell dishes, a circumstance that contributes to the uncertainty of their provenance) are struck with three Russian marks: the town mark of Saint Petersburg for 1784 in a variant punch; the assay mark of 91 *zlotniks* or .947 silver, the nearest equivalent of the French standard; and the mark of the Saint Petersburg assayer Nikofof Moschtjalkin (working 1778-1800) (Figure 13). Had Cath-

erine been able to recover the service privately she would not have had to have it officially assayed and marked. In addition to the marks, all the pieces bear at least two Russian inventory numbers, engraved and stamped, with some partially erased. The occurrence of different numbers on a single piece indicates a thorough mix-up of the Orloff service both as to the matching of original dishes and covers, and so forth, and to its probable confusion with other French silver made for Catherine. A correlation of the various sets of numbers might clearly separate the Orloff pieces from other work, but too few pieces are accessible for this to be done. Some of the service was withheld from Catherine in 1784 (forcing her to substitute Russian-made plates for nearly two hundred missing Parisian ones); most of the pieces cited by Foelkersam were sold by the Soviet Government in 1930/31 and are now scattered throughout the West. The pieces that remain for us to enjoy are witnesses to more than the art of a particular craftsman. Roettiers’s work speaks not merely of a family tradition and his own skill, but of the collective pulse of a whole society – of a Catherine, a Diderot, a Falconet – that desired and created what comes down to us today as the eighteenth-century tradition.

17. Pair of dishes, by Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers. 1772/73. Silver, length 5¼ inches. Bequest of Catherine D. Wentworth, 48.187.386, 387



NOTE

It is extremely doubtful whether certain objects that Foelkersam included in the Orloff service – three large tureens and two candelabra by Louis Lenhendrick and the unidentified P. C., respectively – were part of the original scheme. Quite apart from their flamboyant rococo style, which is in unsettling contrast to the classical sobriety of Roettiers’s pieces, they are marked with the date letter F that was in use from July 12, 1769, to July 16, 1770. As the contract between the empress and the Roettiers was drawn up only on June 14, 1770, and was not expected to reach Paris before the end of July, it is unlikely that these large, time-demanding pieces can have been executed for this commission. In view of the continuous tradition of imperial orders for French silver dating from the Westernizing reign of Peter the Great, it is probable that they represent earlier orders.

Gideon Saint

An Eighteenth-Century Carver and His Scrapbook

MORRISON H. HECKSCHER

Formerly Chester Dale Fellow, Department of Prints



Twenty-five years ago the Museum purchased a London wood-carver's scrapbook filled with drawings and prints of carved ornament. This volume was put together in the 1760s, and is a unique document, to my knowledge, of the means by which the English rococo style was disseminated at the level of the craftsman. Pattern books—that is, pamphlets or whole volumes of printed illustrations of ornament, usually by one designer—originated during the sixteenth century in Italy. They were popular in seventeenth-century France for everything from paneling and furniture to carved work and jewelry, and they became equally popular in eighteenth-century England. Their importance for the spread of styles has long been recog-

nized, but the precise way in which they were used has seldom been documentable. The Museum's scrapbook illustrates how one craftsman cut up, among other things, English and French pattern books and rearranged their illustrations in a single volume from which his clientele could choose whatever designs pleased them. "Working" volumes such as this one are rare because few have survived both years of incessant shop use and then inevitable neglect. The pattern or design books themselves are rare, too, for the practice of cutting them up was not restricted to this surviving scrapbook.

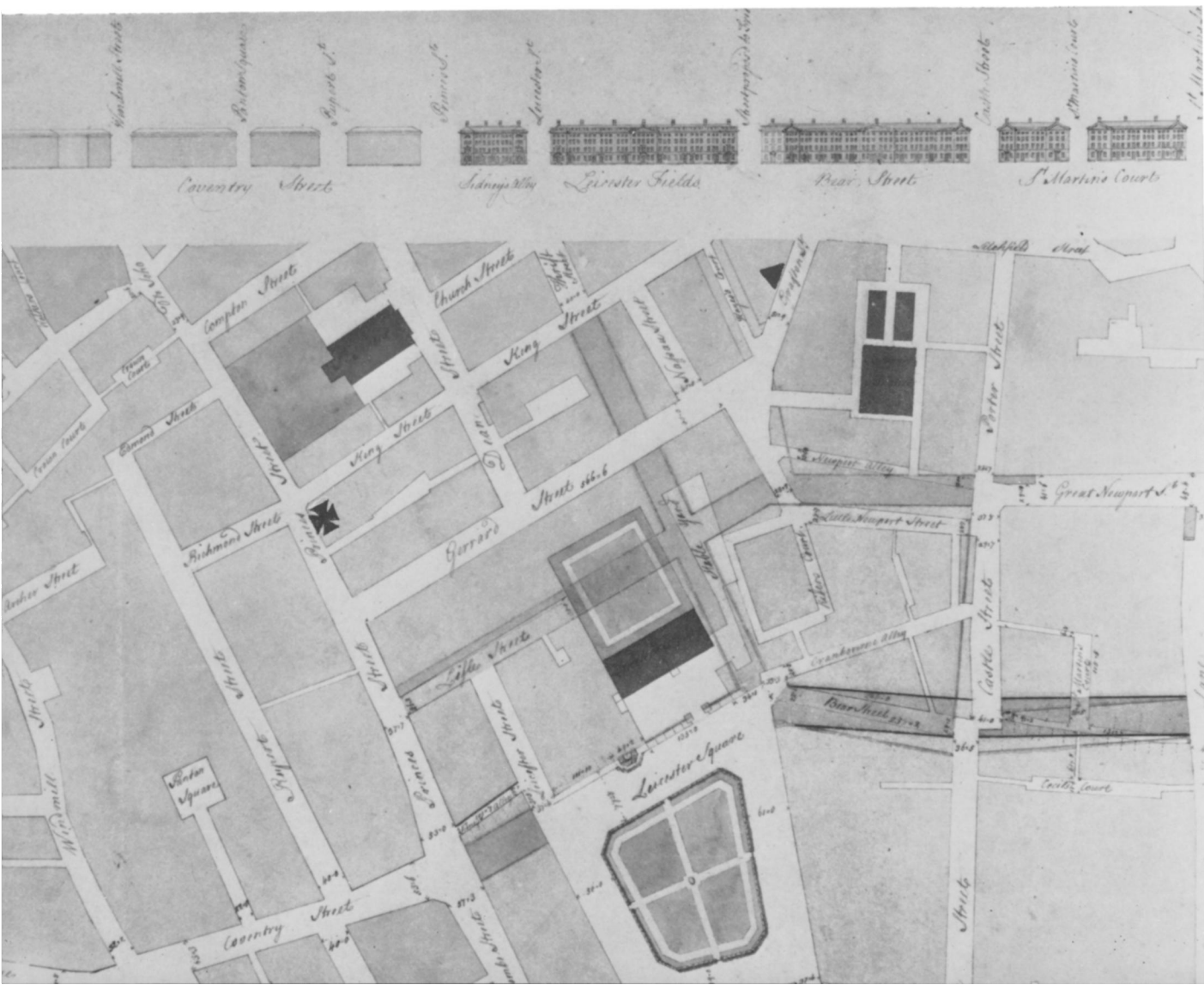
English eighteenth-century furniture is almost never signed, labeled, or otherwise documented to its maker. Hence it is espe-

1. *The trade card of Gideon Saint (1729-1799), British, pasted on the inside front cover of his scrapbook. About 1763. Etching, 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches*

2. Detail of a manuscript map of the Leicester Square area of London. British, drawn between 1746 and 1792. Ink and wash, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 29 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The site of Gideon's shop has been marked by a cross (left center); that of Thomas Johnson by a triangle (upper right). British Museum, Grace Collection, X111.39

cially fortunate that this scrapbook's authorship is recorded. A very ambitious trade card, inscribed "Gideon Saint Carver & Gilder," is pasted on the inside front cover of the album (Figure 1). This name has heretofore meant nothing to students of Georgian craftsmen; consequently, the Museum's scrapbook has not received the publicity it deserves. With no name attached, we could have happily attributed it to an already well known exponent of the English rococo, such as the designer and carver Thomas Johnson. Gideon's name and address, however, were a sufficient starting point for me to search out, in parish and municipal records in London, facts enough to sketch the broad outlines of his life. Let me summarize these findings and briefly describe the English rococo style in which he worked before turning to the scrapbook itself.

The earliest mention of Gideon Saint is in the Apprenticeship Books at the Public Record Office, where he is listed as apprenticed to "Jacob Touzey of St Martin's fields Midx. [Middlesex] Carver," on Thursday, September 22, 1743. The indenture was signed on the fifteenth of September and was to run for a term of seven years. Since boys at this time in London were ordinarily apprenticed between the ages of eleven and fourteen, Gideon must have been born about 1730. When the discovery of Gideon's will indicated strong Huguenot connections, I turned to the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* (1909-1911) and was rewarded with a short biographical reference to him, not as a carver but as an overseer of a French church in London. The information given in the *Proceedings* was based upon the

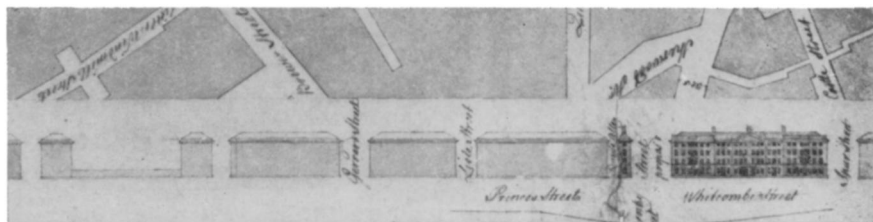


Saint family genealogy—now at University College, London—wherein I found that Gideon was born on June 11, 1729, son of “Jaques Saint, native of St Lô and of Elizabeth, daughter of Abraham Bosquet, Sieur des Long Champs.”

There is no reference to Jacob Touzey, Gideon’s master, in either the Poor or the Watch Rates of St. Martin’s parish. (The former were described in the rate books themselves as “A Rate or Assessment . . . of three pence half penny in the pound for . . . the necessary relief of the Lame Impotent Old Blind” of the parish. The latter provided for neighborhood watchmen.) We do find him, I believe, listed as “Tousey, John, Carver and Gilder. Bow-street, Bloomsbury,” in Mortimer’s *Universal Directory* for 1763. Gideon is not recorded. At the end of his apprenticeship in 1750, he probably became a journeyman carver and gilder, but the identity of the master under whom he then served remains to be discovered.

Wood carving, it must be noted, was an independent profession in the eighteenth century. The carver was not a cabinetmaker or a joiner. Rather, he restricted himself to carving and gilding the soft, easily worked woods—often pine or fir—used in the manufacture of mirror frames, tables, stands, and interior architectural ornament.

In 1762 Gideon was thirty-three years old. He must have been doing well enough by that time to settle down, for the Saint family genealogy records his marriage to Marie Catherine Paisant on December 4. (They had five children, of whom only John and William survived childhood.) Consequently, it is not surprising to find that in the following year Gideon set himself up in business as a carver and gilder at the address given on his card, “the Golden head in Princes Street, near Leicester Fields.” The rate books for the parish of St. Anne, Soho, show him in residence from 1763 until 1779 in a house with a yearly tax valuation of twenty pounds (about average for the street). His house must have been on the east side of the street, the west side being within the boundaries of the parish of St. Martin. Since Gideon’s name



appears second in the list of rate-paying inhabitants on Princes Street, which begins directly after the King Street list, the Golden Head was probably just south of King Street (Figure 2). (While the law of 1765 requiring each house in London to be numbered or otherwise described was the death knell of the shop sign, the rate books do not indicate that Gideon ever changed the “Golden Head” to a mundane number.)

John Strype, in *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, published in 1720, describes the houses on Wardour Street, of which Princes Street was the southern extension, as “very ordinary and ill inhabited.” Major rebuilding on the Pulteney estate, comprising the east side of Princes Street, took place by about 1730, so the area was much improved when Gideon worked there.

A manuscript map, drawn sometime between the publication of Rocque’s famous London map of 1746 and the demolition in 1792 of Leicester House, on the north side of Leicester Square, provides the only elevation that I have found of the east side of Princes Street when Gideon lived there (Figure 3). While the elevation is only an outline, it can be seen that these houses probably were similar to the finished rendering of the substantial, four-storied brick houses on Whitcombe Street.

The 1963 *Survey of London* characterizes eighteenth-century Princes Street as “never [having] had any pretensions to fashion, the inhabitants being chiefly tradesmen and innkeepers.” Princes Street was therefore an appropriate location in the 1760s at which to open a craftsman’s shop. Others had. Thomas Johnson, listed by Mortimer in 1763 as “Carver, Teacher of Drawing and Modelling, and Author of ‘A Book of Designs for Chimney-pieces and other Ornaments’,” was situated

3. Another detail of the map shown in Figure 2. The unfinished elevations of the buildings (including Gideon’s, second from left) on the east side of Princes Street, south of Compton Street, are of the same configuration as, and were probably similar to, the block of brick houses on Whitcombe Street, designed to appear as a single architectural unit

at the Golden Boy on nearby Grafton Street from 1757 to 1763 (Figure 2). It is indeed conceivable that Gideon worked for Johnson during those unaccounted-for years after his apprenticeship, but the geographical proximity, the similarity of the names “Golden Boy” and “Golden Head,” and the appropriate dates are by no means conclusive. Another craftsman and designer in the neighborhood, although a little later, was Thomas Sheraton, for whom the style of English furniture is named. He gave his address in 1795 as 106 Wardour Street. The house remains, up the street and on the opposite side from the presumed site of Gideon’s. In 1878 Princes Street became a part of Wardour. Today it is the center of the film-making industry and the other activities that make Soho famous.

The next indication of Gideon’s activities is in October 1775, when he was signatory, as a warden and overseer of the French Chapel in Milk Street, Soho, to a letter to the bishop of London. In the same year the yearly valuation on Gideon’s house rose from twenty to twenty-four pounds, while that of his neighbors remained stationary. Four years later he ceased paying rates in Princes Street, probably moving directly to Charles Square, Hoxton, the address at which he is recorded in his will. Charles Square, in the now decayed parish of St. Leonard, was a new and prosperous area in the 1770s.

For the following fifteen years there seem to be no references to Gideon. Then the *Gentlemen’s Magazine* for January 1791 reports the death of “Mrs. Saint, aged 52, of Hoxton,” and the next year Gideon is listed as a director of the *Ecole de Charité Française* de Westminster.

Gideon Saint made his will, which survives in the Principal Probate Registry at Somerset House, on the twenty-first of February, 1799. He was “late of Charles Square Hoxton, . . . & Now of Groombridge, in ye County of Kent, Gentn. [Gentleman].” The elder son, John, lived at Groombridge, and he probably took his aging father to live with him for the last months of his life. Gideon died on April twenty-fourth and was buried next to his wife in the churchyard (since de-

stroyed) of St. Anne, Soho. On the fourth of May the will was probated. Administration was granted to the two sons, and it was sworn “that the Whole of the Goods Chattels and Credits . . . do not Amount in value to the Sum of Five Thousand Pounds.” (In other words, it was probably actually valued at just under that amount.) The description of Gideon’s possessions, while sadly general, reflects a comfortable way of life: “I give . . . John Saint all my Household Goods; Plate, Pictures; Prints; Glasses; Bed & Table Linnen & Wearing Apparels.” This was a handsome estate in the eighteenth century, far more than a craftsman would be expected to accumulate.

The estate was to be divided between the sons after certain other legacies were settled. Bequests totaling 105 pounds were made to schools, charities, and individuals within the French community in London. Furthermore, Gideon gave five pounds to each of his servants for the purchase of a mourning ring.

Two features of Gideon’s life stand out. The first is the remarkable metamorphosis from apprentice carver to well-to-do gentleman. The increase in taxes upon his Princes Street establishment in 1775 suggests expanded quarters for a flourishing business, while the removal to Hoxton in 1779 and the attributes of a gentleman of means—with no carver’s tools or lumber—in Gideon’s will are grounds for claiming that he left the carving business, probably in 1779. No business accounts exist, and the available evidence does not point convincingly to Gideon’s having so prospered as a carver that he could retire elegantly on his profits. A simple explanation of Gideon’s affluence would be that his wife came into a sizable inheritance about 1779, but this is pure conjecture.

The second outstanding fact of Gideon’s life is his French ancestry and his lifelong identification with the French Huguenot community in London. The Huguenot artisans in London might logically be expected to have worked in French styles, or in English adaptations of French styles, in preference to any others. Such is the case with the well-known silversmiths who came to London in

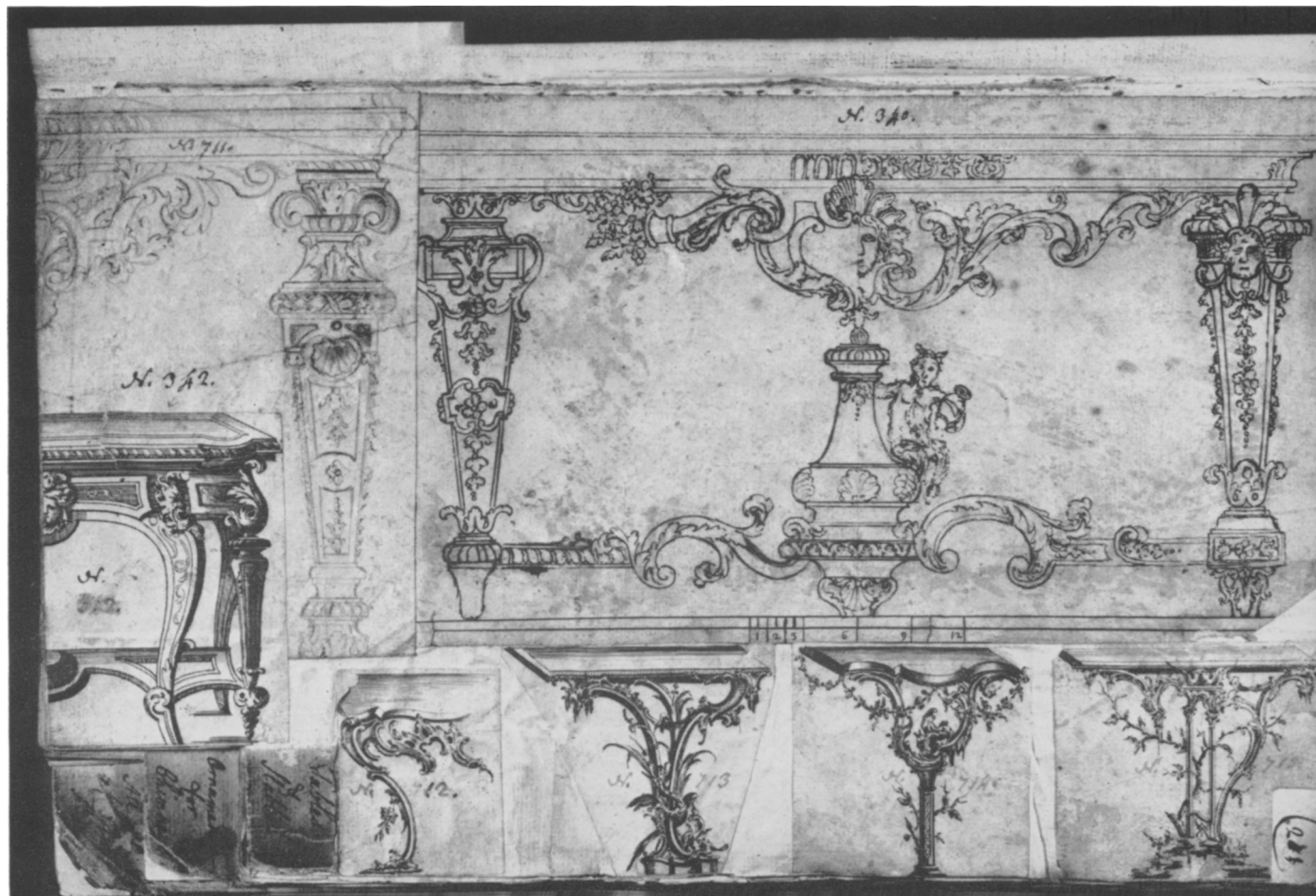
the first decades of the eighteenth century and created the “Huguenot” style in English silver. Likewise, the largely unknown proponents in England of the French-inspired rococo style of carving may have been primarily members of the Huguenot community. The example of Gideon Saint supports this hypothesis and suggests a path for future inquiry.

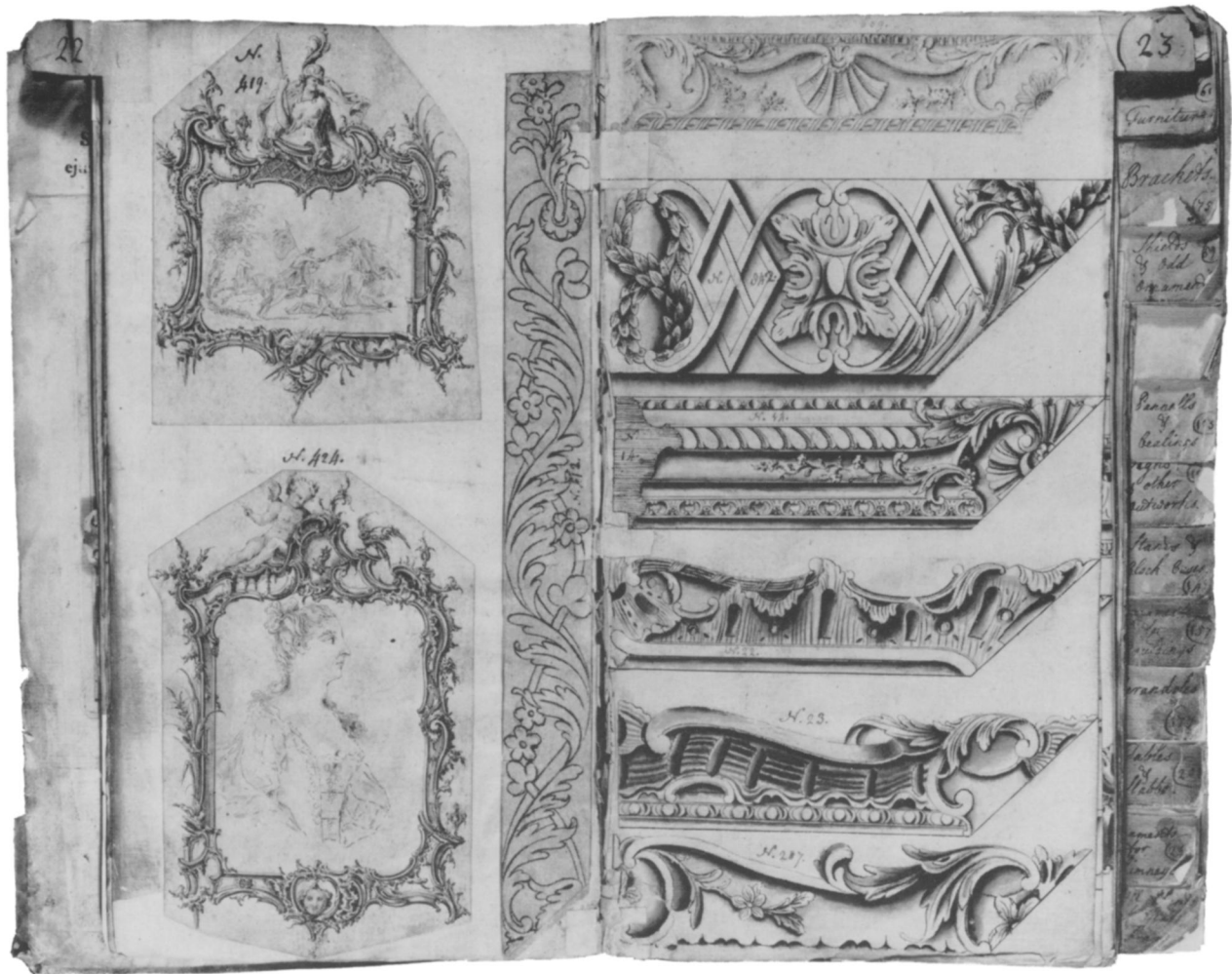
With few exceptions, the designs incorporated into Gideon’s scrapbook are done in the English rococo style. The rococo came to England from France. It was adopted in often violent reaction to the dogmatic obedience to Italian Renaissance rules by members of the English Palladian movement, which dominated English art by the 1720s. The new style may be said to have arrived in England in 1732 with the French painter Hubert Gravelot. Mathias Lock, an etcher and carver, was the first English artisan to successfully capture the spirit of the French style in furniture designs. His first pattern book was published in 1740; two prints from it appear as numbers 437 and 471 in Figure 10. Lock

published several other small collections of rococo designs, and in 1758 Thomas Johnson published a volume with 150 plates in a style indebted to Lock. These books are the basic published documentation of the carver’s rococo in England.

The English version of the rococo style is perhaps best described in comparison with its French antecedents. The Louis xv style – that is, the French rococo style – emerged in France in the 1720s and 30s. It was characterized by flowing lines and continuous curves, in sharp contrast to the preceding rectilinear styles, the Louis xiv and the Régence. The English rococo adopted the curved lines of the Louis xv, but without their continuity and linear beauty. The English style is best summed up as “fantastic.” Thomas Johnson even felt it necessary to state that he, or any other fine carver, could actually execute his designs in wood. Objects are frequently asymmetrical and decorated with naturalistic plant and animal life; attenuated, irregularly faceted columns form supports in mirrors and girandoles or sconces. Compare the styles in

4. First page of the “Tables & Slabbs” section of Gideon’s scrapbook. Numbers 711, pencil, and 340, brown ink, both copied from Pierre LePautre’s *Livre de Tables qui sont dans les Appartemens du Roy* (Paris, [about 1685]); 342, etching from Boullé’s *Nouveaux Deisseries*; 712-715, etchings from Johnson’s [Collection of Designs]. The sources of the prints are abbreviated in the captions; a complete list is at the end of the article





5. *Gideon Saint's scrapbook. Compiled about 1763-1768. 360 numbered pages, 520 illustrations. 13½ x 8½ inches. Tabs inscribed: "House Furniture, Brackets, Shields & Odd Ornaments, Pannells & Cealings, Signs & other Outworks, Stands & Clock Cases, Ornaments for Mouldings, Gerandoles, Tables & Slabbs, Ornaments for Chimneys, All Kinds of Glass Frames."* Opened to two pages of the first section, picture frames. Numbers 419 and 424, etchings from Johnson's [Collection of Designs]; 412, brown ink; 609, pencil; the others, black ink and wash. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 34.90.1

Figure 4. The drawings numbered 340 and 711 are Louis XIV; the etching numbered 342 exhibits both Régence and Louis XV characteristics; and those numbered 712-715 are fully developed English rococo. The unbroken curved line forming both leg and front skirt of number 342 becomes a series of c-shaped scrolls in the English examples. The semblance of structural logic in the French designs is totally absent in the English.

Hanging wall furniture – pier tables, shields, girandoles, brackets, and mirrors – was an ideal target for the full range of rococo fantasy, although picture frames were usually restricted by the shape of the canvas or other material and the necessity for a full view of the picture. Carved ornament, readily applied to chimney pieces and architectural

moldings, was equally suited to the style. It is these types of furniture and ornament that must have formed the bulk of Gideon's carving business, for they predominate among the illustrations in his scrapbook.

The precise date when Gideon began putting designs in his scrapbook cannot be ascertained, although it was probably at the time he set up shop for himself on Princes Street. Each of the book's 364 pages bears the same English watermark depicting a lion. The mark is possibly identical with one found on an English legal document dated 1753. The latest datable prints in the book were published in 1758, excepting, of course, Gideon's trade card, which can be no earlier than 1763.

The Museum's scrapbook is bound in con-

temporary vellum and measures $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Stamped on its spine is the legend “235/Ornament in General,” which is undoubtedly the classification label of a collector who acquired the volume after Gideon’s ownership. The pages are divided into twelve sections, readily identified by finger tabs, visible at the right in Figure 5. Each section is devoted to illustrating a specific furniture form. There are blank pages at the end of all sections but one, demonstrating that Gideon purchased the empty scrapbook already bound. Thereupon he determined the size of each section, cut out the tabs, and set to work filling it with designs of the carver’s art.

These illustrations fall into three categories: drawings pasted into the book, engraved and etched prints from published pattern books pasted into the book, and drawings made directly on the pages of the book. Judging by the location of the different categories within the individual sections, Gideon must have begun the scrapbook by pasting in drawings. The majority of pasted drawings occur at the beginning of the sections to which they belong. The other types of illustrations, which follow, were probably added on various later occasions. The order in which the prints were added is in no way dependent upon their date of publication. Since none of the recognized examples was published after 1758, all were presumably available to Gideon when he commenced his book.

Each illustration bears a handwritten number. The number’s sole function was to permit ready identification of a particular design. Gideon must have flipped through his book at various times and numbered the newly added illustrations that were unmarked. More often, however, the prints and pasted drawings must have been numbered before being incorporated into the book. This would explain why the progression of numbers frequently does not coincide with the order in which the material was added. Numbered prints and drawings may have been used in other scrapbooks, too, judging from the many numbers missing from this one.

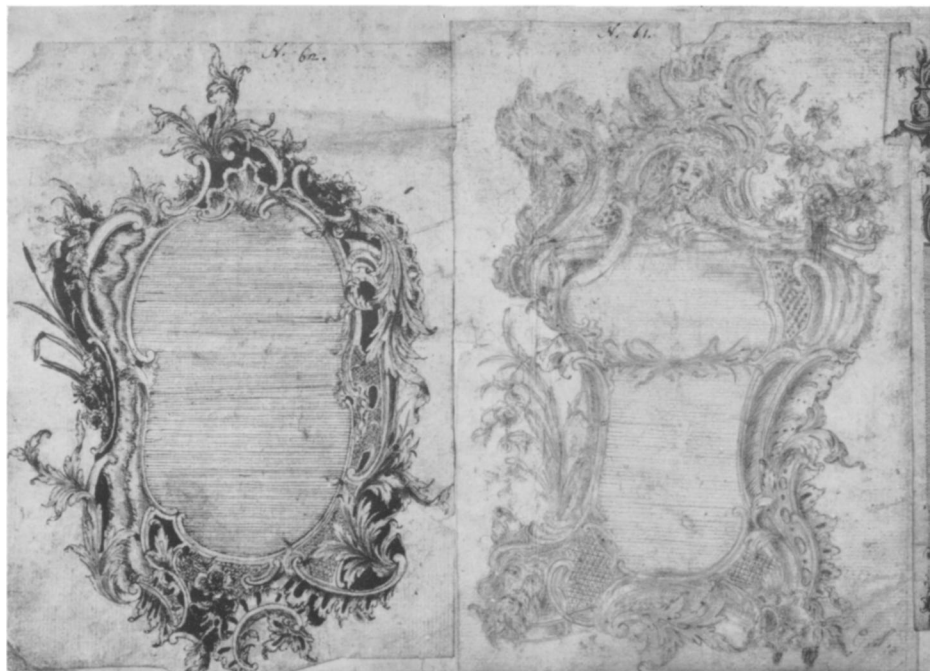
It is not now possible to separate the different hands that were at work in creating

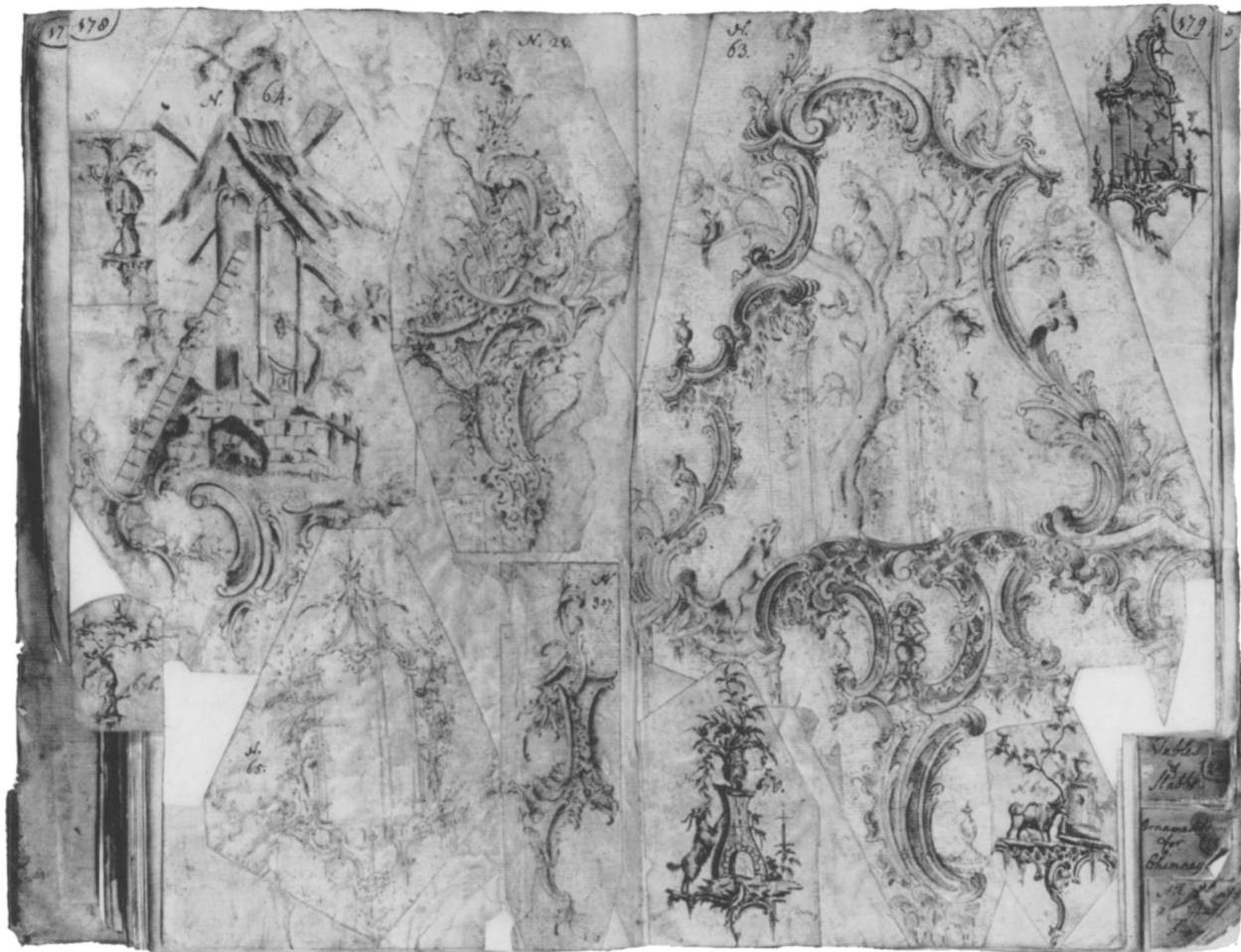
the 162 drawings pasted into the scrapbook. Variety in the medium—pencil, ink and wash, and red chalk—and in the types of drawings—copies after prints and original designs—render identification difficult. Their early inclusion in the book, however, suggests that Gideon probably gathered most of them in his years as apprentice and journeyman carver. Certain ones may eventually be attributed to Jacob Touzey.

Some of the drawings are copies made after illustrations in pattern books. The only signed drawing by Gideon Saint, with the initials “G.S.” written in the lower right corner, is one of these (Figure 6). It is a copy, with variations, of the title page to Mathias Lock’s *A New Drawing Book of Ornaments*, published in 1740. The other at the left on the same page is a variation on Plate 2 from Lock’s book. Similarities in the draughtsmanship indicate that it is probably by Gideon, too. Though the signed one is the superior drawing, neither does justice to the original rococo design. Both have that dryness typical of copies; they must have been done as exercises early in Gideon’s career, before he had the scrapbook.

Some other identifiable copies are worth mentioning. The first page of the “Tables & Slabbs” section (Figure 4) bears copies, numbered 340 and 711, of Plates 1 and 6 in Pierre LePautre’s *Livre de Tables qui sont dans les Appartemens du Roy*, of about 1685. The exe-

6. Drawings for mirror frames, by Gideon Saint. Number 62, black ink, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Number 61, pencil, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches; signed at lower right: G. S. Both copied from Lock’s *A New Drawing Book of Ornaments*, the source of some of the prints





7. *Designs for girandoles. Number 64, red chalk, copied from Johnson's [Collection of Designs]; 21, 63, 65, and 307, pencil; 675-677 and 679, etchings from Johnson's [Collection of Designs]; 678, etching from an unknown pattern book*

cution of number 340 is unlike that of any other drawing in the book, and Gideon probably got it from one of his early masters. Number 711, although by a different hand, is the only other illustration in the Louis XIV style. At the start of his career Gideon was willing to include such old-fashioned table designs. His awareness of fashion apparently developed rapidly, however, for nothing else in the Louis XIV style graces his book.

A final example of copying is the drawing for a girandole numbered 64 in Figure 7. This skillful rendering in red chalk is a copy of Plate 52 in Thomas Johnson's untitled collection of designs published in 1758.

There are several other very fine red-chalk drawings pasted into the book. But for the most part they cannot be identified with

known prints. Many are probably fresh, creative ideas. The same is true for many pencil drawings, including those numbered 21, 63, 65, and 307 in Figure 7. Consequently, Gideon, his shop (for he most likely employed other carvers), or that of one of his employers may be credited with the execution of any furniture that is found to correspond with these original drawings.

There are 290 printed designs—almost all etchings—in the book, of which 263 seem to have been cut from pattern books. All but twenty-nine of the latter come from the books listed at the end of this article. The other etchings are the trade cards of London merchants and artisans. Of the recognized pattern-book illustrations, twenty-eight are French, the rest English. Whenever a print

illustrated more than one form or more than one example of a particular form, it was cut up so that each part could be pasted in the appropriate section. Furthermore, all names, titles, and other inscriptions were trimmed off. Even a second impression of Gideon's trade card was cut apart and the inscriptions deleted. Gideon sought to create a single, all-encompassing pattern book of wood-carvers' designs, and by insisting upon their anonymity, he prevented his clients from worrying about either their authorship or date.

Gideon's approach has general significance for the study of Georgian decoration. His treatment of pattern books is irrefutable evidence that the author of published designs need not have been the executor of them. These prints were the common property of all craftsmen, a reality sometimes forgotten in the quest to document English furniture.

Gideon used no more than fragments of a few plates from any one of the French pattern books, and there is no guiding principle in his choice of subjects. French prints appear in half the furniture categories; there are from one to half a dozen per section. Though from many sources, they are all in the Régence and Louis xv styles. Gideon probably acquired them from the workshops in which he was trained during the 1740s and 50s. At that time these prints were of great interest to English designers. For example, Nicolas Pineau, whose *Nouveau desseins* Gideon utilized, published a book of tables that was pirated for use in an English pattern book in 1740. That Gideon would incorporate such designs into his book in the 1760s speaks of a conservative approach to style.

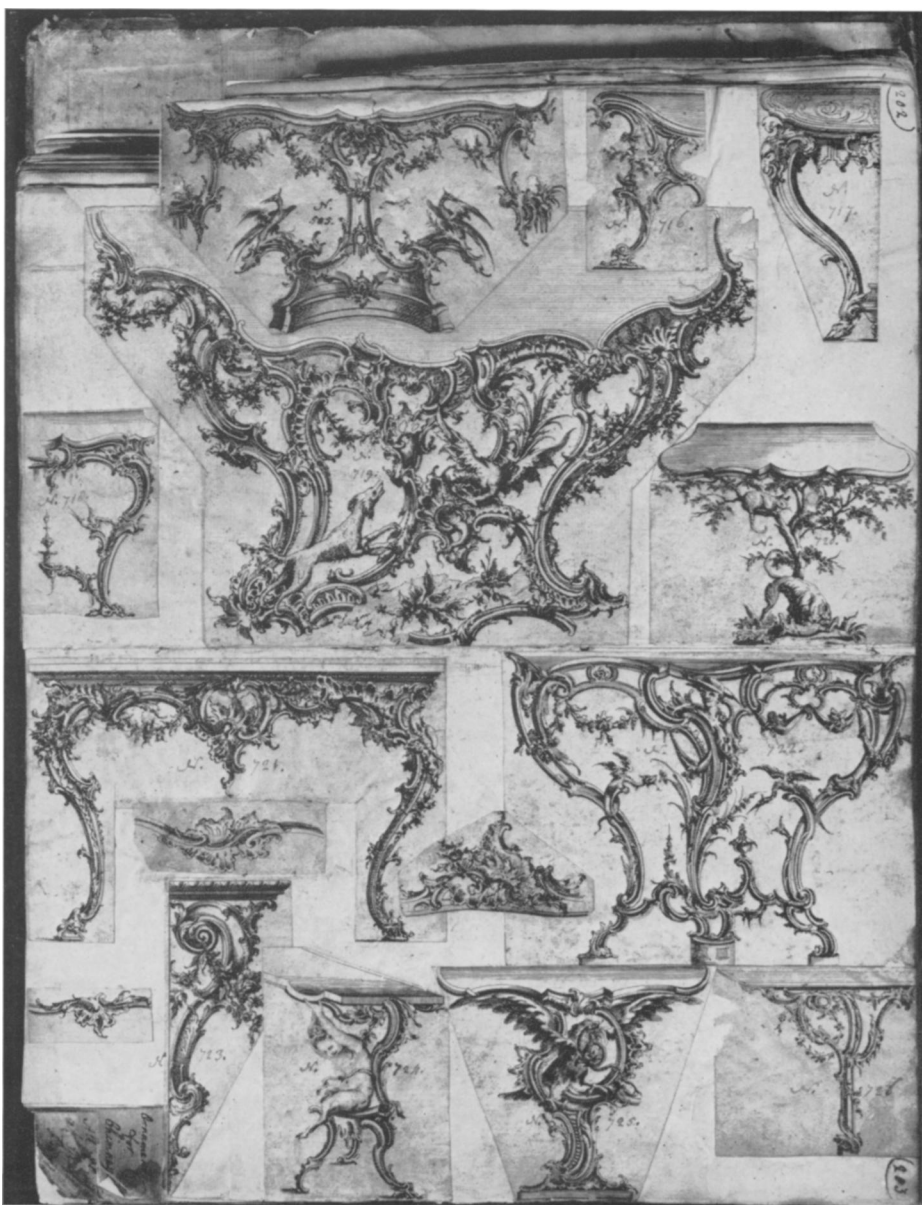
The English prints tell a different story. Gideon pasted in all the illustrations from English publications in nearly every case. The preponderance in the scrapbook of etchings by Thomas Johnson—150 designs to 67 for the combined prints of Lock and his mysterious sometime partner, H. Copland—manifests the size and importance of his 1758 publication. The two scrapbook pages shown in Figure 8 represent a typical mixture of printed designs: seven of the fifteen are by Johnson, five by Lock, one by Lock and

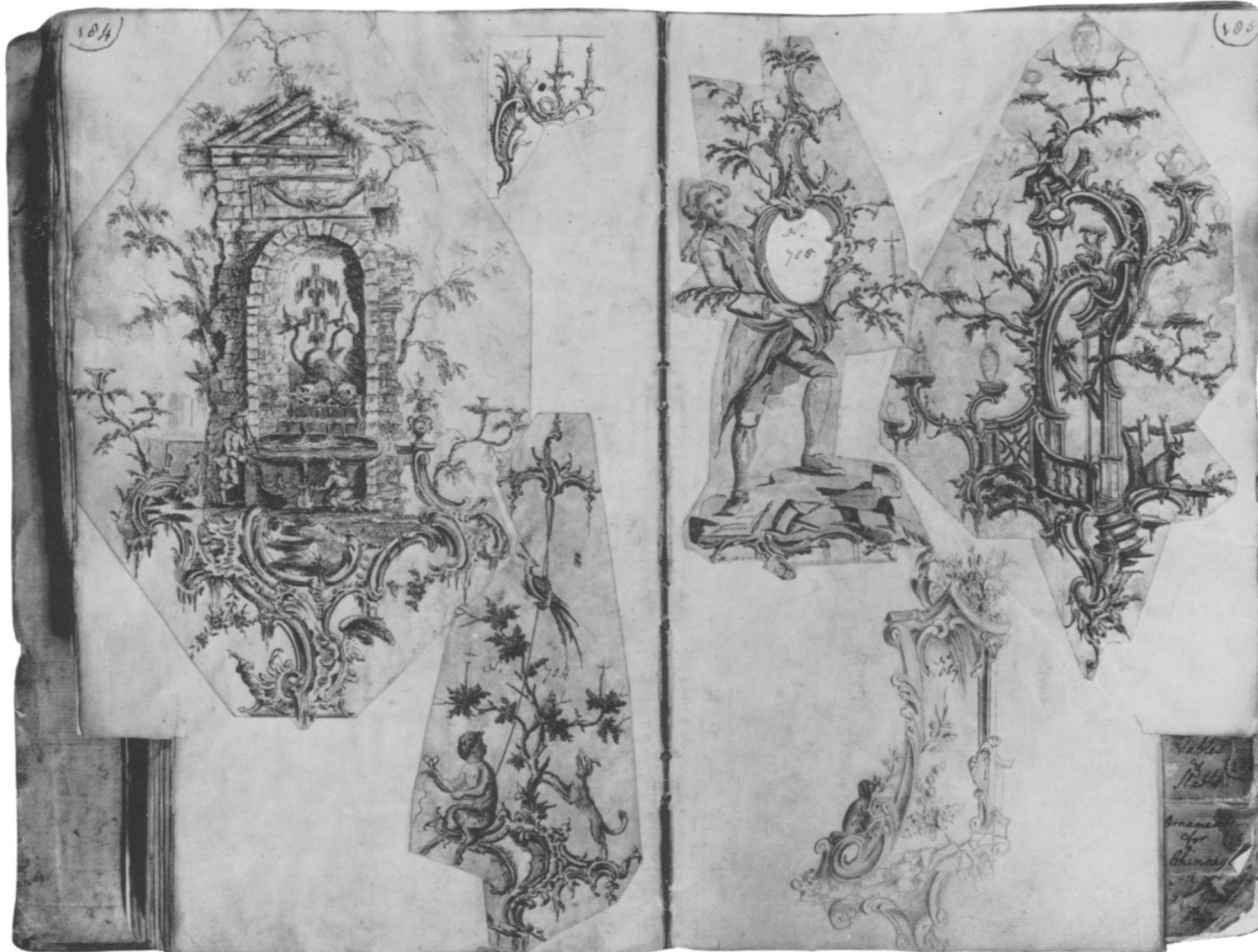
Copland, one by the Frenchman Boulle, and one unknown.

Most of the unknown prints in Gideon's book appear to be from two unrecorded pattern books. Butler Clowes was the etcher of one set, of which one example is number 678 in Figure 7. But there is no inscription on the others; two of these, numbers 704 and 705, are among the prints in Figure 9.

It has already been noted that Gideon's scrapbook contains no prints published after 1758. Among the pattern books he used, Johnson's untitled collection of 1758 was reissued in 1761 as *One Hundred & Fifty New Designs*; and both Lock's *Six Tables* and *A Book of Shields* were republished in 1768. Differences observed between the prints in the

8. *Designs for tables. Etchings from various pattern books. Numbers 716, 718, 720, 722, and 724-726, from Johnson's [Collection of Designs]; 717, from Boulle's Nouveaux Deiseins; 505, from Lock's and Copland's A New Book of Ornaments; 719, 721, and three unnumbered fragments, from Lock's Six Tables; 723, from an unknown pattern book*





9. Designs for girandoles. Numbers 702 and 706, etchings from Johnson's [Collection of Designs]; 703-705, etchings from unknown pattern books; 867, pencil, by Gideon Saint

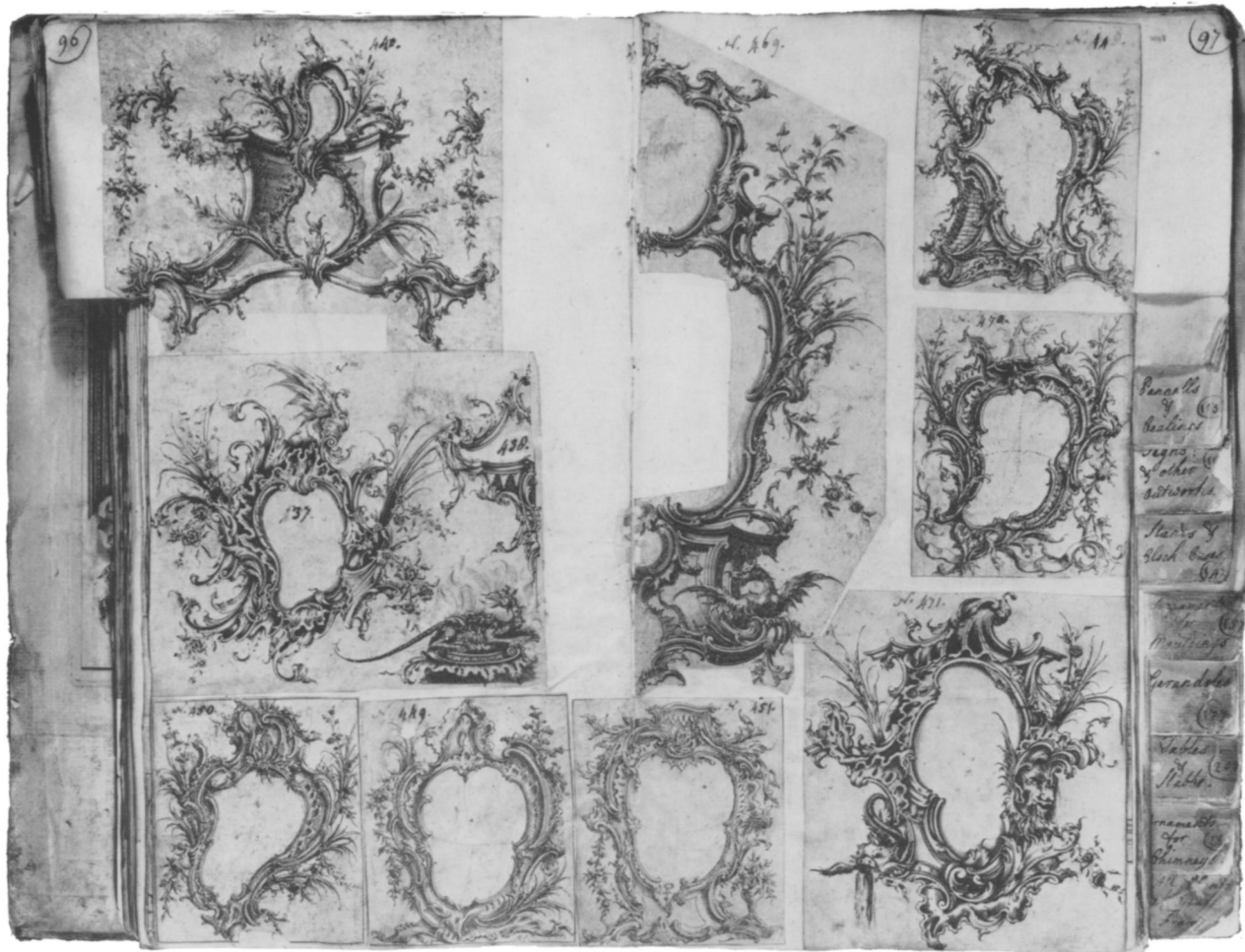
scrapbook and those in the second editions of these publications at the Museum prove that Gideon used the earlier edition each time.

The five smallest illustrations in Figure 10, each with dotted lines intersecting at the middle of the cartouche (probably to suggest three-dimensionality), are from *A Book of Shields*. The Museum has what may well be unique examples of the first edition of this book – pasted into Gideon's scrapbook – and the second, 1768 edition. This pattern book has been overlooked in all studies of Lock's works, and one reason is that both the scrapbook and the later edition were acquired after Fiske Kimball and Edna Donnell had published what became the standard bibliography of English rococo design books in *Metropolitan*

Museum Studies for 1928/29.

The striking absence of plates from Thomas Chippendale's *Director*, of 1754, and Ince and Meyhew's *Universal System of Household Furniture*, issued in 1762, two major pattern books in the rococo style, is readily enough explained. Both were cabinetmakers' books rather than carvers' books, and both were expensive folios, not pamphlets like Lock's that sold for a shilling each.

The final category of illustrations consists of drawings executed right on the pages of Gideon's book. By virtue of this fact alone, they must be credited to Gideon himself, though some could be by the carvers whom Gideon presumably employed in his shop. The drawings are done either in black ink and wash or in pencil. The former mostly



illustrate picture frames and ornaments for moldings (Figure 5); the latter provide designs for chimney ornaments and an occasional girandole, as well as ornaments for moldings and picture frames.

Any attribution of authorship for the drawings based solely upon the medium would be more apparent than real. Stylistically, they all exhibit typically English rococo features. They are restrained in comparison to Johnson's etchings (but relatively few of Johnson's designs were ever realized, so formidable and expensive was the task).

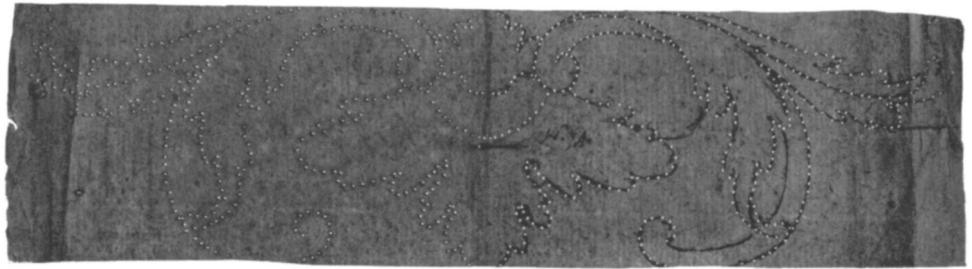
Gideon's youthful efforts at drawing are represented by the pasted copies of designs by Lock, his mature work by the drawings done directly in the scrapbook. Although the style of the latter group is generally based

upon the etchings of Lock and Johnson, they display practiced and lively draughtsmanship and competence in the handling of rococo motifs. A fine example is number 867 in Figure 9.

The great number of drawings by Gideon illustrating frames, moldings, and chimney-piece surrounds suggests that these may have been a specialty with him. He may have had regular employment with London builders, and his most readily identifiable work may turn out to be in the parlors of London town houses. It must be remembered that while Lock and Johnson provided designs of tables and girandoles for carvers, no one had published many frames and moldings. Perhaps Gideon had no choice but to make his own illustrations for these categories.

10. "Shields & Odd Ornaments." Numbers 448-451 and 470, etchings from Lock's *A Book of Shields*; 437, 438, and 471, engravings from Lock's *A New Drawing Book*; 446, engraving from Copland's *A New Book of Ornaments*; 469, engraving from Lock's and Copland's *A New Book of Ornaments*

11. Working drawing for a picture frame found in Gideon's scrapbook when it was acquired by the Museum. Brown ink, pricked for transfer. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ inches



The illustrations in Gideon's book furnished the ideas for carving. To execute a given design, especially of a frame or molding where the motifs were repeated, Gideon had to make actual-size working drawings. Two such drawings were lying loose in the scrapbook when it was acquired. Both are for the same picture frame, numbered 74. One represents a corner design, the other the central motif of one side (Figure 11). These drawings served as templates for carving the frame. Gideon first drew one half of the design on a folded sheet of paper. He pricked this drawing with a pin, duplicating it on the other half of the sheet. When he unfolded it, he had a complete, symmetrical image ready to be transferred, by pen or pricking, directly to the wooden surface to be carved.

The Museum owns another English carver's book that was begun just as Gideon was finishing his. This is the much smaller drawing book of Henry Allen, bearing dates ranging from 1767 to 1772. It is simply the sketchbook of a designer or wood carver who practiced copying over and over a limited number of prints. Allen, about whom little is presently known, copied some plates from Thomas Johnson's *Twelve Girandoles*, published in 1755 but not used by Gideon, and *One Hundred & Fifty New Designs*; but mostly he practiced on the unidentified plates that also appear in Gideon's scrapbook. One of his drawings in Figure 12 is taken from the etching numbered 705 in Figure 9.

In addition, Allen drew from Lock's *A New Book of Pier-Frames, Ovals, Gerandoles, Tables &c*, published in 1769, the first English pattern book to reflect the trend toward the neoclassical style, which superseded the rococo (Figure 13). The neoclassical taste was char-

acterized by straight lines, geometrical shapes, and delicate surface ornament. Allen, who may have been an apprentice around 1770, naturally copied from the latest book of furniture designs.

Gideon, too, had used the fashionable design books, including everything by Lock, when he was putting together his scrapbook during the 1760s; and if he had still been compiling his book in 1769, he probably would have included *A New Book of Pier-Frames*, Lock's first new series of designs in seventeen years. Its omission from the scrapbook is circumstantial evidence that Gideon had completed gathering his material before 1769.

Gideon's presumed retirement from the carving business by 1779 may have been hastened by the neoclassical trend. The rococo was the wood-carver's style par excellence, and the profession dwindled with the widespread use of molded composition ornament in the neoclassical taste. Gideon may have foreseen this decline in the carver's art.

On the other hand, a glance at his contemporaries shows that Gideon was not an innovator. The authors of pattern books that championed neoclassicism were older men than Gideon. Thomas Chippendale, the great publicist of the rococo in the 1750s and a convert to neoclassicism in the 1760s, was born in 1718. Robert Adam, the driving force of English neoclassicism, was born in 1728. But Gideon Saint, born in 1729, was probably carving rococo designs until the late 1770s.

It will be impossible to judge Gideon Saint on his own terms—as a carver—until woodwork carved by him has been verified. For the present, he merits our attention because of the fortuitous survival of his scrapbook.

SOURCES OF THE PRINTS
USED BY GIDEON SAINT

French

Berain, Jean, *Ornemens inventez par J. Berain* (Paris, n.d.).

Roumier, François, *Livre De plusieurs coins de Bordures* (Paris, 1724).

Boulle, André Charles, *Nouveaux Deisains de Meubles et Ouvrages de Bronze et de Marqueterie* (Paris, n.d.).

Mariette, Jean, *L'Architecture à la Mode* (Paris, n.d.).

Mariette, J., *L'Architecture Française* (Paris, 1727 f.).

Pineau, Nicolas, *Nouveau desseins de Plaques, Consoles, Torchères et Medailliers* (Paris, n.d.).

English

Lock, Mathias, *A New Drawing Book of Ornaments, Shields, Compartments, Masks, &c* (London, [1740]).

Lock, M., *Six Sconces* (London, 1744).

Lock, M., *Six Tables* (London, 1746).

Lock, M., *A Book of Shields* (London, n.d.).

Copland, H., *A New Book of Ornaments* (London, 1746).

Lock, M., and Copland, H., *A New Book of Ornaments* (London, 1752).

Johnson, Thomas, [Collection of Designs] (London, 1758).

NOTES

My work was much simplified by Olivia Paine, who, in her years of exhaustive research in the Museum's ornament collection, identified the great majority of English prints in the scrapbook. Stuart Feld first brought the scrapbook to my attention, and Frank Halliwell located the Saint family genealogy for me.

For related reading, I suggest Peter Ward-Jackson, *English Furniture Designs of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1958), and Helena Hayward, *Thomas Johnson and English Rococo* (London, 1964).

12,13. Pages from the drawing book of Henry Allen. British, 1767-1772. Both pencil, 12¾ x 7⅞ inches. The figure holding the frame, at the left, is copied from an unknown pattern book; the table designs are copied from Mathias Lock's *A New Book of Pier-Frames, Ovals, Gerandoles, Tables &c* (London, 1769). Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 39.104.4



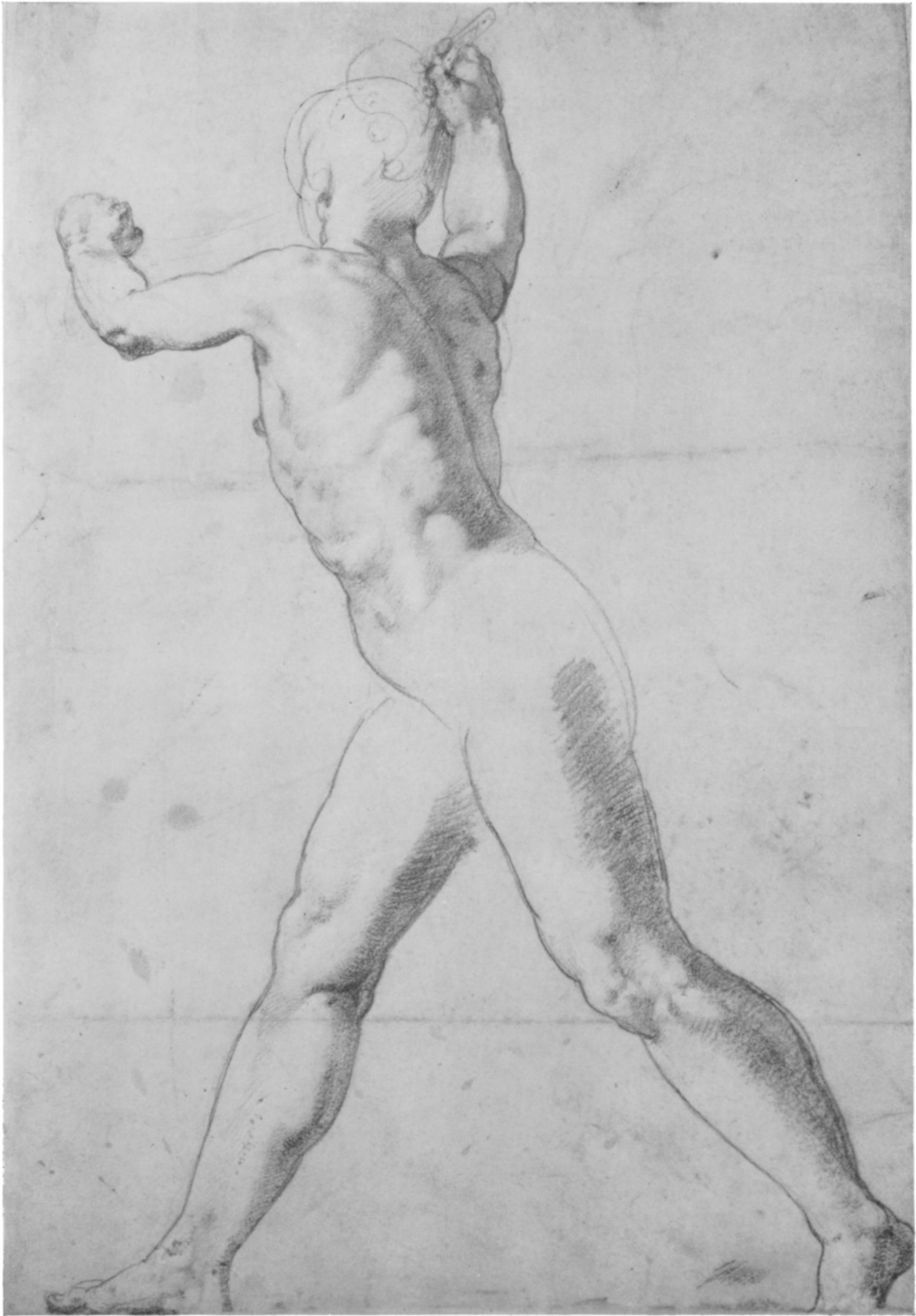
A Fortunate Year

Over a hundred drawings, prints, and illustrated books currently on exhibition testify to the good fortune through the past year of the Department of Drawings and the Department of Prints. The works shown have been selected from a total of several thousand acquired by purchase, gift, and bequest during 1968. The variety is extraordinary and the range in time is vast – from the fifteenth century right up to the present – from Raffaellino del Garbo to Jasper Johns.

JACOB BEAN AND JOHN J. MCKENDRY

Taddeo Zuccaro (1529-1566), *Italian. Nude Male Figure with Upraised Arms. Red chalk, 16 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 11 $\frac{5}{16}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 68.113*

Following the example of Polidoro da Caravaggio, Taddeo Zuccaro was a practitioner of the art of exterior fresco decoration in imitation of classical bas-reliefs. This powerfully modeled male figure, which must have been studied from life, reappears in another drawing by Taddeo that is clearly a study for a frieze for a Roman palace façade. An old inscription on the reverse of the sheet, which bears studies of warriors in ancient armor, gives the drawing to Maturino, the mysterious associate of Polidoro, but J. A. Gere has very convincingly assigned this excellent drawing to Taddeo Zuccaro.





Jusepe Ribera (1591-1652), Spanish. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 68.64

The vigorous yet highly polished naturalism of Ribera's style as a painter had a dominating influence in Naples, where he was active for a number of years. His style as a draughtsman was equally influential: witty, free, and abbreviated, it comes as rather a surprise for an artist so meticulous as a painter. Not many of his drawings have survived, and most are studies of single figures. The present exceptionally complete composition was a fortunate discovery at a recent New York auction sale, where it was offered with an old, erroneous attribution to the Venetian Giuseppe Porta Salviati.

Unknown Artist *St. Basil Received by the Archbishop at Rheims, one of twenty illustrations in the History of the Life and Miracles of the Glorious St. Basil (Rheims, 1632), by D. I. Soret, Chaplain of the Abbey of St. Basil. Etching, $4\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 68.690.1*

Rheims, never a center for book production, is the place of publication of this beautifully printed book on the life of St. Basil. It is illustrated by twenty sprightly and charming etchings. The pictures lack the careful finish characteristic of the work of a professional printmaker, but have a vitality and sureness more typical of a painter. No attribution has yet been suggested for these etchings, which are unsigned.

Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Il Guercino (1591-1666), Italian. *The Sleeping Endymion Watched Over by the Moon. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, $8\frac{5}{16} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 68.171*

Guercino's account books record payments for five pictures representing Endymion, the shepherd who caught the fancy of the chaste Selene, goddess of the moon. Four of these are specifically described as half-figures; only one depicted the sleeping Endymion full length. This picture, now lost, was executed in 1650 for Don Antonio Ruffo of Messina, for whom Rembrandt painted, three years later, the Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer, since 1961 one of the great treasures of the Metropolitan Museum.



Jacob Marrel (1614-1681), *Dutch. Four Tulips. Watercolor on vellum, 13 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 17 $\frac{15}{16}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 68.66*

Tulips were introduced to Europe from Persia in the sixteenth century, and the first illustrated description of them was published in Germany in 1561. *Tulpenwoede* – Tulipomania – reached its height in Holland between 1633 and 1637. Wildly speculative buying and selling of rare species became a national scandal, precipitating a major economic crisis. From 1636 dates this exquisitely precise watercolor by Jacob Marrel, a specialist in flower painting. Four species are recorded here: *Boter man* (Butter Man), *Joncker* (Nobleman), *Grote geplumaceerde* (The Great Plumed One), and *Voorwint* (With the Wind). The graceful curve of the tulip on the right emphasizes the aptness of its name.



Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), *Italian. Figures Around a Globe. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{15}{16}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 68.56*

Who knows what elaborate philosophical allegory the artist intended to represent in this free and brilliant sketch? The figure to the right of the terrestrial globe seems to be tearing off the epidermis of the earth, and in fact the inscription reads *scortica*, "he flays." Another drawing of this curious subject is at Orléans, but the painting for which they may have been studies has not survived, if it was ever painted. Rosa, one of the most vivacious draughtsmen of the seventeenth century in Italy, aspired above all to be a painter of allegory and history, but to his frustration most of his commissions called for genre scenes and landscapes.

G.-F. Blondel (*flourished 1765-1774*),
French. The Vestibule of Sta. Maria Maggiore,
Rome. Mezzotint, 24¼ x 16 inches. The Elisha
Whittelsey Fund, 67.797.6

G.-F., probably Georges-François, Blondel was the son of the well-known French architect Jacques-François Blondel. He did only ten prints, all of them mezzotints and all produced during his stay in London between 1765 and 1767. Unlike the great majority of eighteenth-century mezzotints, Blondel's were done after his own designs. Doubtless influenced by Piranesi, their subjects, except for one portrait, are the buildings of Rome, dominating and dwarfing human figures. All of his prints are rare; only three impressions of this one are known. It is dedicated to Lady Mary Hervey, the English court's great beauty and wit, of whom Lord Chesterfield wrote admiringly, "she understands Latin perfectly well though she wisely conceals it," and to whom Walpole dedicated his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*.



Domenico Tiepolo (1727-1804), *Italian. Acrobats. Pen and brown ink, gray wash, over black chalk, 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 68.54.4*

In the 1790s Domenico Tiepolo executed a series of highly entertaining scenes of contemporary Venetian life. The drawings, fairly elaborately finished, were no doubt ends in themselves, not studies for pictures. With much good-natured humor he shows us ladies visiting their dressmakers, quayside cafés, quack dentists, country walks, Punch and Judy shows. In the present drawing he leads us to an acrobatic performance. The handstanders are drawn with much wit, and we admire the smart bloomers and the mod watch worn by the star on the right. Domenico had been his father Giambattista's principal assistant in many of the great religious and allegorical decorative schemes undertaken by the family studio. It was after Giambattista's death in 1770 that Domenico affirmed his own personality as a painter and draughtsman of the contemporary scene.





Francis Towne (1739/40-1816), *English. View near Glaris. Pen and brown wash, 18 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 68.93*

The landscape is identified by the artist's own inscription on the reverse of the sheet: "Near Glaris, light from the right hand in the morning. September 2, 1781." Towne had gone to Rome in 1780, and he returned to England the following year by way of Switzerland, where glowering mountain peaks and prodigious glaciers were revealed to him. They were splendid subjects for his pen, and he rendered them with that sense of mass and structure, that abstract pen line that made him so idiosyncratic a figure in eighteenth-century art. Towne's later English work is dull by comparison with this fine example; it took Rome and the Alps to elicit from him the highly personal drawings that have such a "modern" look to them.

Jules-Edmond-Charles Lachaise (died 1897), *French. Gallery elevation and ceiling design for the Hôtel Cottier, rue de la Baume, Paris. 1867. Watercolor with gilt, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Dodge Fund, 67.827.1*

This interior is one of an extraordinary group of approximately five hundred drawings by Jules-Edmond-Charles Lachaise and Eugène-Pierre Gourdet recently acquired by the Museum. These two decorators did interiors in the rich, opulent, and derivative style expected by their lavish clientele at the height of the Second Empire. A favorite of the Empress Eugénie, Lachaise continued to work for her after the fall of the Empire, when she retired to England; he designed the chapel in her "monstrous chalet" in Hampshire where she lived until her death in 1920.

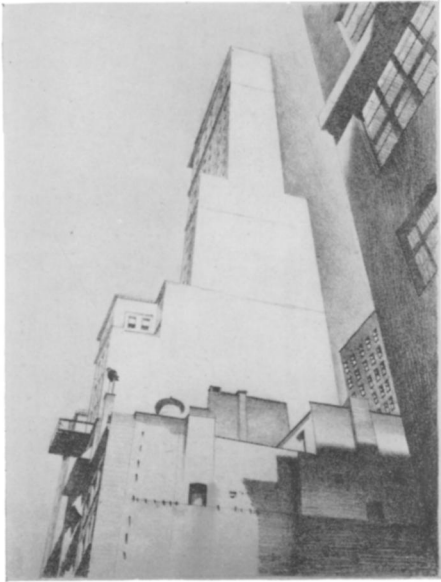






Edgar Degas (1834-1917), French. *The Fireside (Le Foyer)*. 1880-1890. Monotype, 16 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 23 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, and C. Douglas Dillon Gift, 68.670

One of the major acquisitions of several years, Degas's *The Fireside* is one of more than three hundred monotypes that the artist produced between 1870 and 1893. As unorthodox in technique as in vision, Degas had none of the purist attitude toward printmaking of so many of his contemporaries and used the monotype technique with a versatility and imagination that has never been equaled. Because of the limbo into which they fall – Degas called them “*dessins faits avec l'encre grasse et imprimés*” (“drawings made with greasy ink and printed”) – these monotypes, being neither prints nor drawings by completely conventional standards, have been unjustly neglected until recently. *The Fireside*, with its strange, brooding mood, doubtless depicts prostitutes in a brothel, a subject Degas returned to again and again.



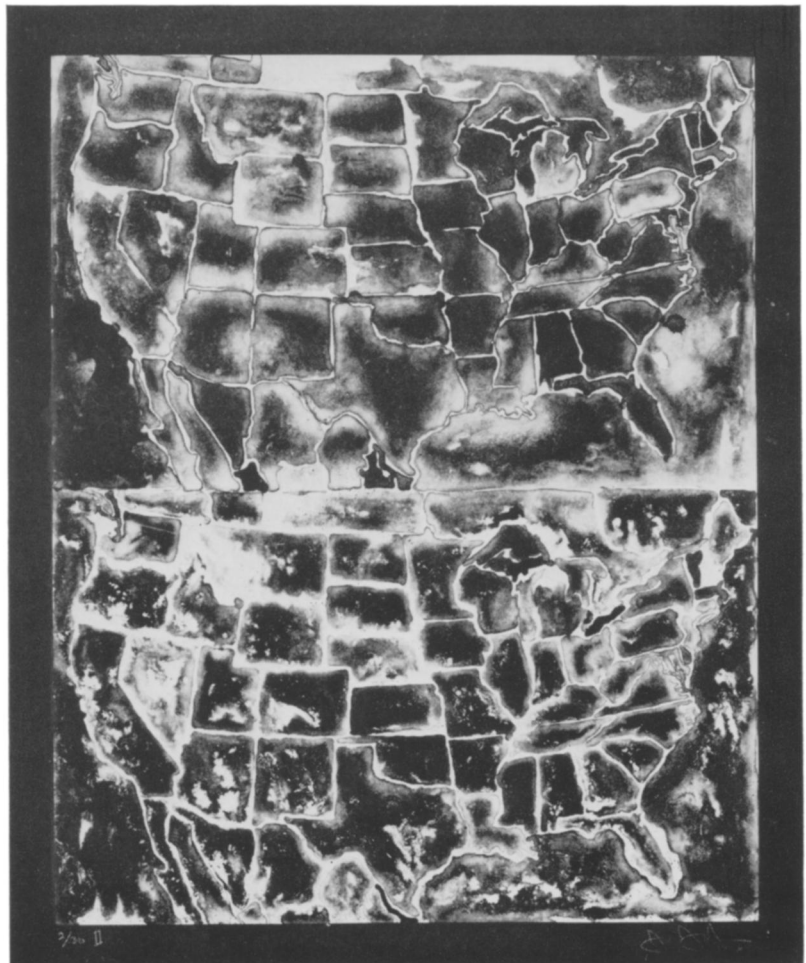
Charles Sheeler (1883-1965), *American*. *Delmonico Building*. 1926. *Lithograph*, 9¾ x 6¾ inches. *John B. Turner Fund*, 68.728

Just as so many eighteenth-century artists chose the buildings of Rome as their principal subject, Sheeler used the industrial buildings and skyscrapers of America. A painter and a photographer, he did not often turn to print-making, doing only six lithographs and one silkscreen.

Jasper Johns (born 1930), *American*. *Two Maps II*. 1966. *Lithograph*, 25¼ x 20¼ inches. *Gift of Dr. Joseph I. Singer, Florence and Joseph I. Singer Collection*, 68.749

Jasper Johns has often taken as subjects for his works familiar objects that are no longer seen visually but are preconceived as symbols. By his choice of these images – targets, letters of the alphabet, numbers, and the flag and the map of America – and by his treatment of them he forces us to reconsider both our preconceptions about the symbol itself and our definitions of a work of art.

Johns is a virtuoso printmaker, using lithography with extraordinary subtlety. The rich texture and illusionistic quality of this lithograph is achieved by printing with black ink on white semitransparent paper affixed to black paper.



Some Portraits of Charles V

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Portraits of Charles v were a political necessity. They symbolized his dynastic power and omnipresence as head of a vast empire "on which the sun never set," extending from Hungary to Spain, from Flanders to North Africa, and including the new colonies in America. But Charles's restless life, dictated by political and military events, rarely allowed him to sit for artists. In his youth he posed occasionally for court artists of his aunt, Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, at Malines. In his later years he was fortunate in securing the services of Titian and Leone Leoni, and refused to be portrayed by others; for he appreciated not only their extraordinary talents but even more their concept of him as a ruler. It is therefore not surprising to find that even the small, intimate representations of Charles illustrated on the following pages depend almost entirely upon the work of these few chosen masters.

The earliest known portrait medallion is a painted Limoges enamel *enseigne* or hat jewel, in a silver-gilt setting, at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1). The youthful Charles is depicted facing left, a black cap on his golden-brown hair and the collar of the Golden Fleece upon his fur-trimmed cloak. Written in gold letters on a translucent royal blue ground are his name and title: CAROLVS REX CATOLICVS, the traditional title of the

1. *Enseigne showing Charles v (1500-1558). French (Limoges), about 1517. Enamel and silver gilt, diameter $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches (including setting). Inscribed:*

CAROLVS REX
CATOLICVS. *Michael
Friedsam Collection,
32.100.270*

- 2,3. *The medal and the engraving from which the enseigne above is derived. Medal by Gian Maria Pomedello (1478-1536), Italian (Verona). 1517. Silver, diameter $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Inscribed:*

CAROLVS •
REX • CATOLICVS.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Engraving by Daniel Hopfer (1470-1536), German (Nuremberg). About 1517. $8\frac{7}{8}$ inches x $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Inscribed: KAROLVS • REX • CATOLICVS. Gift of Junius S. Morgan, 19.52.19



45. Two ensembles. Netherlandish (Malines), 1520. Both enamel and gold, diameters $1\frac{15}{16}$ and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Inscribed: PLVS VLTRA and CHARLES • R • DE • CASTILLE • LEEON • GRENADE • ARRAGON • CECILLES • 1520. *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*



kings of Spain. Although Charles's father, Philip the Handsome of Hapsburg, had died in 1506, it was not until 1516 that Charles became eligible to use this title. During that year death claimed his maternal grandfather, who had ruled over the Spanish inheritance after his mother, Joanna, had been declared insane. The Spaniards, however, refused to recognize their young king until he came to Spain—a request he fulfilled the following summer. To celebrate Charles's arrival in 1517, Gian Maria Pomedello of Verona executed a silver medal (Figure 2), the first to represent Charles as a king. From this medal our enameled enseigne is indirectly derived.

Pomedello may never have met Charles, for he idealized his features, which in real life were characterized by a protruding lower jaw and an open mouth. On Pomedello's medal Charles faces right, and on the enseigne he faces left, a fact indicative of an intermediate engraved design. This design was undoubtedly a print (Figure 3) from the engraving on iron done by the Nuremberg artist Daniel Hopfer between 1517 and 1520, when Charles was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. A copy of this popular print could easily have reached the Limoges workshop where the enamel was made, perhaps for a supporter of the Hapsburg cause. Although the French enameler followed the print quite closely, he, rightly enough, converted the Germanic "k" of *KAROLVS* into the more usual Latin "c."

Portraits of the young sovereign are also found on two gold and enamel ensembles in Vienna (Figures 4 and 5). The larger one shows the future emperor in three-quarter view, his wide black hat decorated with a jewel under the brim; he wears the order of the Golden Fleece and holds white gloves in his right hand. The portrait is encircled by a black enamel inscription: *CHARLES • R[EX] • DE • CASTILLE • LEEON • GRENADE • ARRAGON • CECILLES • 1520*, naming him king of his Spanish inheritance. The other enseigne depicts Charles in profile, his motto, *PLVS VLTRA* ("and beyond"), written in black enamel lettering across the roughened ground. This motto, which usually appears with representations of the Pillars of Hercules, implies that the expanding Hapsburg empire reached beyond the limits of the ancient world as defined by the legendary pillars.

In contrast to the earlier likenesses, these are highly individualized and are in fact based upon works by artists who knew Charles at Malines. The first enamel portrait is taken from a lost painting executed in 1519 by Barent van Orley, which survives in several copies (Figure 6). Van Orley was court painter to Margaret of Austria, who devoted herself to the education of Charles at her court in Malines, after his father's early death and his mother's departure for Spain. In portraying the king, the highly skilled jeweler succeeded brilliantly in rendering his distinctive features on so small a scale.



the Low Countries were devotedly loyal to Charles, the grandson of Mary of Burgundy and the Hapsburg emperor Maximilian, because he was born in Ghent and raised as a Fleming; these medallions were probably made to be worn as signs of loyalty to the young heir after Maximilian's death in 1519, when the succession was in doubt.

Among the aspirants to the Hapsburg throne were Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France, who was backed by Pope Leo X. In the end, however, the financial resources of the house of Fugger tipped the scales in favor of Charles. On July 3, 1519, at Frankfurt, the German electors chose him as the future Holy Roman Emperor, and on October 23, 1520, he was crowned in the ancient cathedral of Aachen. Thus the medallion dated 1520 was probably made between January and October, to be worn as a kind of "campaign button," and the undated one

6,7. *A copy of the painting and the bust from which the ensembles opposite are derived. Copy after Barent van Orley (1491/92-1542), Netherlandish (Brussels). XVI century. 16½ x 8⅝ inches. Galleria della Villa Borghese, Rome. Bust by Conrad Meit (active about 1505-1544), German (Worms). Terracotta, height 19½ inches. Gruuthusemuseum, Bruges*

The second medallion, certainly from the same workshop, bears a similar portrait in enameled gold relief. Yet it is dependent upon the work of another of Margaret's court artists, the striking terracotta bust of Charles by Conrad Meit (Figure 7). Meit, the "Meister Konrat" of Worms much admired by Dürer and visited by him at Malines in 1520, was Margaret's favorite sculptor, and she entrusted him with the execution of her family tombs in Brou. From Meit's bust the jeweler adopted the round-necked costume, fur-trimmed cloak, and wide black hat, but when he decided on a profile of Charles, he must have felt that the king's unusual features could thus be more clearly defined.

Because both these jewels are based upon concepts formulated by Margaret's court artists and the inscription of one is in French, the language spoken at her court, I believe that they were made in Malines. Moreover,





8. Medal, by Giovanni Bernardi (1496-1553), Italian (Castel Bolognese). About 1535. Silver, diameter $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches. Inscribed: CAROLVS·V·IMP·AVG·AFRICANVS. *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*

9. Medal, by Hans Reinhart the Elder (1510?-1581), German (Leipzig). 1537. Silver, diameter $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Inscribed: CAROLVS·V·DEI·GRATIA·ROMAN·IMPERATOR·SEMPER·AVGVSTVS·REX·HIS·ANNO·SAL·M·D·XXVII·AETATIS·SVAE·XXXVII. *Gift of Ogden Mills, 25.142.62*



made at the same time for the same purpose. This would explain the occurrence of two such similar jewels from the same workshop and leads me to believe that there may have been others—certainly more worthy of preservation than those buttons we see today.

Until his first visit to Italy in 1529/30, Charles remained somewhat in the background on the European stage. But when Pope Clement VII crowned Charles in Bologna, he stood in the limelight. Not only was this the last time in history that a pope crowned an emperor, but the pope even came part of the way to meet Charles, who could not leave Germany for long during the turbulent period of the Reformation.

On the occasion of Charles's first visit, his portrait appeared on coins and medals, including one by Giovanni Bernardi from Castel Bolognese, whom Charles tried in vain to attract to his court in Spain. Five years later Bernardi executed another portrait medal (Figure 8) to commemorate Charles's expedition to Tunis in 1535, when he freed thousands of Christians from enslavement by the Moors. This victory earned him the additional title AFRICANVS that appears on this medal. In later years, however, when the fortunes of war were once more reversed, the title was dropped. Nevertheless, the Tunisian exploit was considered a great victory. Charles appeared to the world as the defender of the Christian faith against the infidel, just as he would later against the Protestants at Mühlberg.

On Bernardi's medal Charles's features are unmistakable, even though the artist rendered him as a Roman emperor, crowned with laurel, wearing a Roman cuirass and a cloak across his shoulders. This type of portraiture, based upon the study of Roman coinage, perpetuated such ancient concepts as *Imperator Maximus*. It is a heroic countenance that is typically Italian. In Germany, by contrast, as seen on a silver medal of 1537 by Hans Reinhart the Elder (Figure 9), the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V was considered a *Landesvater*, whose image had the popular appeal that endeared him to his subjects or *Landeskinder*. Occasionally, he was idealized

to suggest the lofty qualities of ideal Christian knighthood to which he aspired.

At the Metropolitan Museum is an oval pendant on which Charles also appears as Roman emperor and victor in Africa (Figure 10). His profile is surrounded by the same legend as on Bernardi's silver medal, CAROLVS·V·IMP[ERATOR]·AVG[VSTVS]·AFRICANVS, indicating that pendant and medal originated about the same time, soon after the Tunisian campaign of 1535. The portrait is executed in finely raised and tooled gold relief, applied to bloodstone and lapis, within a frame of enameled gold with a pendant pearl below. Charles is crowned with laurel; he wears the order of the Golden Fleece over a Roman cuirass and a purple enamel cloak across his shoulders. His raised head shows the quiet authority of a born ruler, who in his maturity had become the spiritual leader of his people—a man of high principles and deep convictions. Only an artist who had come into direct contact with the emperor could have created such a remarkable portrait, in which the human and heroic aspects of Charles's complex personality are completely reconciled.

The artist whose name comes immediately to mind is Leone Leoni of Arezzo, Charles's outstanding Italian sculptor, who in his portrayals of the monarch could be rivaled only by the painter Titian. There is no evidence of a meeting between the emperor and Leoni before 1549, when he visited Charles in Brussels and stayed at the imperial residence. But a passage in a letter to Cardinal Granvella, the Spanish governor general of the Netherlands, from Antonio Patanella, an economist in Milan, refers to a portrait medal of the emperor that Leoni had made in 1536, when Charles returned from Tunis. This is precisely the time when the enameled pendant at the Museum must have been made. Only such an early contact between the artist and his patron could explain Leoni's subsequent appointment, on February 20, 1542, as master of the imperial mint in Milan. No doubt Leoni faced stiff competition when he sought this high and lucrative office, and he must have been most anxious to attract the emperor's attention. This splendid gold and

10. *Portrait pendant, by Leone Leoni (1509-1590), Italian (active in Milan). 1536. Gold, enamel, bloodstone, lapis lazuli, and pearl; height 4¾ inches. Inscribed: CAROLVS•V•IMP•AVG•AFRICANVS. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.863*

enamel portrait medallion would seem to be just the kind of masterpiece Leoni might have made to demonstrate his virtuosity and to please the emperor. How well he succeeded in gaining Charles's favor is confirmed not only by his appointment at the mint but also by the gift of a splendid house in the center of Milan, known by the *omenoni* or giants that guard it and support the façade.

Two other portraits of Charles appear on Leoni's silver testons struck in Milan between 1542 and 1555 (Figure 11) and on his silver medal (Figure 12) finished in 1549, after he returned from Brussels. On the testons Charles appears as *imperator*, much in the spirit of Bernardi's medal; since they were official currency and widely circulated, Leoni may have wished to idealize the emperor, to create a public image rather than an intimate one. The portrait on the medal, intended as a presentation piece, is the closest to our gold pendant, although the emperor looks older – a middle-aged man, his forehead deeply lined and his once keen eye dulled.

A minor detail shared by both pendant and medal is the emperor's narrow, turned-out collar, not observed on other portrait medals of Charles. It recurs on Leoni's bronze relief of the emperor's life-size profile bust, executed in 1552 for Cardinal Granvella,

11. *Teston, by Leone Leoni. Struck in Milan between 1542 and 1555. Silver, diameter 1¾ inches. Inscribed: CAROLVS•V•AVG•IMP•CAES. American Numismatic Society, New York*

12. *Medal, by Leone Leoni. 1549. Silver, diameter 2⅝ inches. Inscribed: CAROLVS•V•AVG•IMP•CAES. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*





ABOVE:

13. Relief, after Leone Leoni. South German, 1552. Honestone, height 20¾ inches. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.744



RIGHT:

14. Cameo of Charles V and Philip II (1527-1598) and Isabella of Portugal (1503-1539), by Leone Leoni. 1550. Sardonyx, height 1¾ inches. Milton Weil Collection, 38.150.9

BELOW:

15. Portrait mounted on an ivory box. Italian (Milan), middle of the XVI century. Gold and semiprecious stone, diameter 3½ inches. Inscribed: CAROLVS V • IMP • AVG • AFRICANVS. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



now in the Louvre. A contemporary south German version, carved in honestone, is owned by the Museum (Figure 13). It is set in a gilt frame, copied from Leoni's, with cartouches resembling those on the enameled frame of the gold pendant.

The technique of the Museum's pendant is highly original, merging those of goldsmith, medalist, and gem cutter. This is a combination of skills for which Milan was ideally suited, for not only did Leoni contribute toward establishing Milan as a great center of the art of the medal but gem and cameo cutting were also revived then, and new workshops established for the cutting of rock crystal. All these art forms shared one feature, a particular stress upon clear-cut outlines. But few, if any, artists besides Leone Leoni had command of all these techniques, and few would have exhibited their virtuosity with the restraint evident in this pendant.

There exists only one other pendant comparable to ours in its rare technique and superb quality. This jewel (Figure 16), made of gold, enamel, and lapis lazuli, now in a private collection in France, represents Francis I as a chevalier of the order of St. Michael, the French counterpart of the Hapsburg order of the Golden Fleece. On both pendants the clearly defined profiles of the two antagonistic personalities are identically treated, and both are endowed with the heraldic precision and nobility characteristic of Leoni's work. The circumstances of the origin of the pendant with Francis's portrait are unknown. It is believed that Charles may have ordered it after the death of Francis in 1547 for presentation to his widow, Charles's sister Eleonore. (In true Hapsburg fashion, Charles had insisted upon this union to appease the Valois king, his greatest adversary.) Although Leoni may have known Cellini's earlier medal of Francis or Titian's painting of 1538 based upon it, it is more likely that he worked from a later portrait of the aged king.

A few other related portraits are known, but none can compete with the splendor and technical refinement of the one in the Metropolitan. The Kunsthistorisches Museum in

Vienna owns a profile portrait of Charles, made of gold and mounted on semiprecious stone (Figure 15), enclosed in a turned ivory box. This and similar examples are contemporary sixteenth-century workshop repetitions, made to fill the demand for the emperor's portraits by reproducing an outstanding model in simplified form and technique.

In 1550 Leoni wrote to Cardinal Granvella that he was carving a cameo with a profile of Charles beside his son Philip II, following a Roman prototype depicting Caesar and Augustus. On the reverse he planned to portray the late empress, Isabella of Portugal. Ernst Kris recognized Leoni's work in a remarkable sardonyx cameo at the Metropolitan (Figure 14). No other cameo portrait of Charles displays the same sensitivity. The profile of the emperor is carved in pale colors that are suggestive of the resignation he must have experienced while contemplating the futility of his campaigns before renouncing the throne. Charles wears the outward signs of his high rank, the crown of laurel and the order of the Golden Fleece, over his armor from Mühlberg, and the narrow, turned-out collar typical of Leoni's compositions; the attribute of Jupiter, a thunderbolt, appears in the background. Philip, in contrast to his father, shows the vigor of youth, and Isabella the remoteness of a venerated image, for she had died in 1539.

One of the most memorable events in the emperor's later life was his victory over the Protestant armies at Mühlberg on April 24, 1547, when he took John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse prisoners. Charles was hailed as a second Caesar, and his crossing of the Elbe was compared to Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon. To recapture the spirit of that great day the emperor decided to have his portrait painted in the armor worn at Mühlberg. He was to appear as the defender of Christendom, emphasizing his prominent position in the delicate balance of power between the pope and other European rulers. To execute this task the emperor chose Titian and invited the artist to meet him in Augsburg, where he had established headquarters after his victory. Titian accepted and crossed

16. *Portrait pendant of Francis I (1494-1547), by Leone Leoni. About 1550. Gold, enamel, and lapis lazuli. Jeweled frame dates from the XVI century. Private collection, Paris*





17. *Charles V Riding into Battle at Mühlberg*, by Titian (1477-1576), Italian (Fieve di Cadore - Venice). Oil on canvas, 10 feet 10 inches x 9 feet 2 inches. Prado, Madrid. Photograph: Alinari - Art Reference Bureau

the Brenner in January 1548. In Augsburg he painted the emperor at least twice - seated in an armchair, in the picture now at the Alte Pinacothek in Munich, and riding into battle at Mühlberg (Figure 17).

Titian's heroic portrait of Charles at the battle of Mühlberg is one of the few equestrian portraits of the emperor, who in later years was plagued by gout and frequently forced to exchange his horse for a litter. Undoubtedly based on this painting is a tiny mounted figure of Charles, made of enameled gold and set with precious stones (Figure 18), that forms the finial of a late sixteenth-century south German gold cup in Nuremberg. The original purpose of the jewel is not known, but its oval base is obviously not intended for the circular knob on the cup's cover. It seems to be the central figure of a pendant, probably originally placed within an architectural setting. The shield of the Löffelholz family of Nuremberg attached to the base suggests that a member of this family had the horse and rider added to the cup.

The goldsmith must have been deeply impressed with Titian's masterpiece. When he undertook the modeling of a similar figure, he abandoned the traditional concept of a knight in arms, usually created in the image of the youthful St. George, or of a hero from antiquity, whose close-fitting armor revealed the athletic body beneath. Instead the goldsmith fashioned a rider no longer in the prime of youth, but, in spite of his small size, still retaining some of the nobility with which Titian had endowed his portrait. The armor, a suit with gilded borders and a Spanish burgonet decorated with plumes, is very close to that rendered by Titian, which had been made for the emperor by Desiderius Helmschmied of Augsburg in 1544 and is still preserved in the Armeria Real in Madrid; similar, too, are the roweled spurs and golden stirrups. But the horses differ. Titian portrayed the emperor's mount as a dark brown horse of a Spanish breed, its forelegs raised off the ground and caparisoned with crimson velvet. The jeweler fashioned a sturdier, cold-blooded horse, with heavy neck and quarters, better suited to carry the weight of an armored

rider. It is white, following a preference for white enamel on gold established around 1400, and is caparisoned with jewels. The charger's tail is tied up, a practice devised to prevent the tail from being grabbed and the horse hamstrung in battle. The charger strides forward on a kind of green plinth and is steadied by a branch beneath its right hoof. The jeweler has transformed Titian's portrait into a miniature equestrian monument that is reminiscent of Verrocchio's Colleoni in Venice.

Charles carries a sword with quillons beneath the handle, a kind used in the sixteenth century, instead of the long lance he holds in the painting. When he changed the weapon, the goldsmith was most likely unaware of the symbolic meaning of the lance. It was the weapon carried by St. George and the Christian emperor Constantine, and it was therefore a fitting one for Charles, the great Catholic emperor who had defeated not only the infidel Turks and Moors but also the dissenting Protestants.

The goldsmith who made the jeweled rider could have seen Titian's painting only at the time Titian painted it at the Fugger house, on the Weinmarkt, before it was shipped to Spain. Titian executed the picture between his first meeting with the emperor, which took place after Charles's recovery from illness in April 1548, and Titian's departure for Venice in September. As soon as the colors had dried and an accidental tear had been repaired by the Augsburg painter Christoph Amberger, the portrait was dispatched to the emperor's sister, Mary of Hungary, in Brussels. She in turn sent it to his son, Philip, in Spain. Thereafter the painting remained inaccessible to the public until it was incorporated into the collections of the Prado in recent years. The equestrian figure must therefore have originated in Augsburg between April and September of 1548.

No earlier Augsburg-made jewel has as yet been identified, and such a precious object would probably not have been made there before the middle years of Charles's reign, when he extended his patronage to the Catholic town. Up to the death of Albrecht Dürer



18. *Finial modeled on Titian's painting. German (Augsburg), 1548. Gold, enamel, ruby, and emerald; height 1 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches (without base). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg*



19. *Vanitas*, by Antonio de Pereda (1609-1678), Spanish (Valadolid-Madrid). About 1650. Oil on canvas, 5 feet 8½ inches x 5 feet. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

20. Detail of Figure 19



in 1528, Nuremberg had been the leading art center of south Germany. But during the Reformation the town became Protestant. Thereafter its prosperity declined, not to be revitalized until the arrival of Protestant refugee artists from the Netherlands. Charles avoided Nuremberg and chose Augsburg as the site of his diets. Augsburg was also the seat of the Fugger family, whose members were great humanists and patrons of the arts, and whose presence may have been an additional attraction for Charles. For the duration of the diet in 1548, Anton Fugger, head of the banking firm, placed his own house at the emperor's disposal as a temporary residence; he was also the owner of the building given over to Titian's Augsburg workshop. Because of Charles's repeated visits, the importance and wealth of Augsburg increased considerably; in addition to the delegates, many visitors were attracted. Their arrival must have created an atmosphere similar to that prevailing at trade fairs, where eager merchants and artists offer their goods for sale. Consequently, Augsburg became a lively center for the production of small works of art that could easily be packed and taken away. A jeweled pendant commemorating

the emperor as a heroic leader would have been especially appropriate.

These small, intimate portraits allow us – at a great distance – to follow the outstanding events of Charles's life, from his election to his abdication. We are made aware of the gigantic task he shouldered, and sense the deep conflict between his religious convictions and heroic impulses that prompted Charles to be portrayed in the guise of a Roman *imperator*. The ultimate futility of his endeavors is shown in a "vanitas" allegory painted about 1650 by Antonio de Pereda (Figures 19 and 20). Here a cameo portrait of the aged emperor is shown surmounted by the Austrian eagle, beside a globe symbolizing his great empire, long since divided, and juxtaposed with a Renaissance imitation of a Roman coin of the Emperor Augustus. This allegory illustrates the human drama of Charles V, whose courage and faith far exceeded his vanity and formed the true pillars of his greatness.

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