

# THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

VOL. 70-71, 2012-2013



ESSAYS IN HONOR OF WILLIAM R. JOHNSTON







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**THE**  
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Issue year 2012–2013, published 2013

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This publication was made possible through the support of The Andrew W. Mellon Fund for Scholarly Research and Publications, the Sara Finnegan Lycett Publishing Endowment, and the Francis D. Murnaghan, Jr., Fund for Scholarly Publications.

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All submitted manuscripts are reviewed by members of the editorial board, in consultation with outside experts. The submission deadline is December 1 for articles to be considered for the next year's issue. Author have the opportunity to review their manuscripts after editing has been completed and again in proofs.



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The opening of the Walters Art Gallery in 1909 did not suspend the pace of Henry Walters' acquisitions. In order to run the gallery, Mr. Walters relied heavily upon a small group of skilled men. Of all the talents needed to keep the gallery functioning, the job of superintendent was the most critical.





Sona K. and William R. Johnston, with Tiger. October 2013. Photograph by Edward Owen.

## FOREWORD

ROBERT MINTZ *Chief Curator and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Quincy Scott Curator of Asian Art*

William R. Johnston has worked at the Walters Art Museum for nearly half of the institution's lifetime as a public institution. During the more than forty years in which he served as curator of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art (as well as associate director for some twenty years, and, most recently, curator emeritus), he organized memorable exhibitions (most often with collaborators, for Bill's intellectual and personal generosity is vast), including *Fortuny and His Circle* (1970); *Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist on the Oregon Trail* (1982); *A Taste of Maryland* (1984); *Alfred Sisley* (1992); *Russian Enamels: From Kievan Rus to Fabergé* (1996); *The Triumph of French Painting* (2001); *The Fabergé Menagerie* (2003); and *Untamed: The Art of Antoine-Louis Barye* (2007). His acquisitions on the museum's behalf include some of museum's most cherished objects: the Dinglinger Ceremonial Cup, Jean Léon Gérôme's *Tulip Folly*, Gustave Doré's *Scottish Landscape*, Charles Cordier's *African Venus* and *Said Abdullah*, works by Alfred Jacob Miller, and an extraordinary collection of Russian enamels from the estate of Jean Riddell. His publications include a catalogue of the Walters' nineteenth-century paintings, a survey of nineteenth-century art told through the museum's collections, and, perhaps most memorably, his biography of the museum's founders: *William and Henry Walters: The Reluctant Collectors*.

The essays in this volume, by his colleagues and friends, pay affectionate tribute to a consummate curator; a discerning connoisseur; a generous colleague; a dedicated steward of the legacy of William and Henry Walters; and, as all who know him will attest, a riotously entertaining storyteller.

The accounts of William R. Johnston's single-day career at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, his encounter with Grand Duchess Olga of Russia, and the elevation of Agatha Christie await full treatment in his memoirs. It has been an honor to work alongside Bill Johnston, and we fondly dedicate this volume to him.

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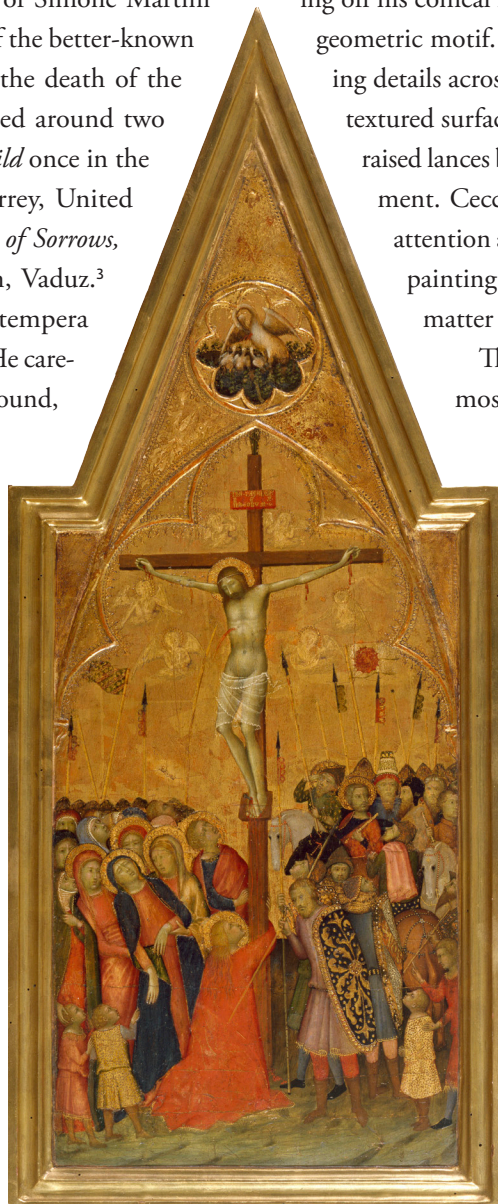
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## A CRUCIFIXION BY NADDO CECCARELLI

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Among the masterpieces of fourteenth-century Siennese painting at the Walters Art Museum is a small panel of the Crucifixion by Naddo Ceccarelli (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Ceccarelli (documented ca. 1347) was a gifted pupil of Simone Martini (ca. 1284–1344) and emerged as one of the better-known personalities of the workshop after the death of the master.<sup>2</sup> His oeuvre is tightly grouped around two signed paintings: a *Madonna and Child* once in the Cook Collection in Richmond (Surrey, United Kingdom) dated to 1347 and a *Man of Sorrows*, now in the Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz.<sup>3</sup> Ceccarelli had a talent for making tempera sparkle with the shine of metalwork. He carefully layered his paint over the gold ground, which he enriched with a variety of tooled and incised designs. Ever alert to the decorative potential of details, Ceccarelli was particularly apt at capturing the gleam of chain mail and the arabesques of damask. Everywhere, precious details are rendered with great care. In the Walters *Crucifixion*, the shield of the centurion at the right is painstakingly decorated with a deep blue pattern laid on a tooled gold ground: the effect is that of *basse-taille* enamel. Ceccarelli lavished the same care on the red-encrusted batons of the figures behind the centurion, as well as on the horse trappings. No detail is too small—everything is embellished with the same meticulous care. The



swooning Virgin holds up her mantle, revealing an extravagant lining of silver and green. On the right of the painting, a stern-looking soldier stands proud in the back row, showing off his conical hat embellished with a green-and-gold geometric motif. Ceccarelli weaves a tapestry of gleaming details across the picture plane that coalesce into a textured surface. Swirling cloaks, flying banners, and raised lances break the composition and imply movement. Ceccarelli's meticulous technique redirects attention away from *historia* and onto the craft of painting. The result is a subtle tension between matter and representation.

The Walters *Crucifixion* is Ceccarelli's most ambitious composition. Compared with other known works of the same subject by the artist, such as the *Crucifixion* in Siena (fig. 2), the Walters panel presents a much more elaborate *mise-en-scène*.<sup>4</sup> Whereas in the Siena painting the event of Christ's final hour is reduced to only four figures surrounding the cross, in the Walters version the number has swelled to a crowd. The spectators are divided in two large groups: one to the left (Christ's right), which

Fig. 1. Naddo Ceccarelli (Italian, documented ca. 1347), *Crucifixion*, ca. 1347. Tempera and gold on panel, 76 × 31.6 × 2.5 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, before 1909 (37.737)



includes the swooning Mary, St. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene, and another at the right (Christ's left) composed of Roman soldiers. Among these soldiers, we encounter Longinus riding a horse and holding a lance. According to Christian legend, Longinus was a half-blind centurion who, after Christ's death, pierced Jesus's chest with his lance; the

blood and water that poured from the wound hit Longinus's face and healed him. In the Walters *Crucifixion*, Longinus holds his hand to his eyes, referencing the popular story. His placement at the left of Christ and thus at the opposite side of Christ's wound is problematic. The same inconsistency is not without precedent in Sieneese paintings; we find it,





for example, in a diptych by the Master of Monte Oliveto (active ca. 1305–ca. 1335) now in the Yale University Gallery (fig. 3).<sup>5</sup> The Yale diptych presents a similar arrangement, with John the Evangelist and the pious women surrounding the Virgin at the left of the painting, and well-armed and gesticulating soldiers grouped to the right. Clearly, in this instance Ceccarelli was following a well-established pictorial precedent rather than adhering to the spirit of the legend.<sup>6</sup>

The comparison with the Yale painting throws light onto Ceccarelli's inability to adapt to new developments in Siene painting, for example, the awareness of space one sees in Lippo Memmi (active 1317–ca. 1356). Like in the Yale painting, the figures in the Walters' *Crucifixion*, grouped in rows

with no real sense of depth, are treated as flat contours rather than bodies. The overall effect would be that of a flat mass were it not for the rhythmical play of lines and details that enlivens the composition. The Walters' *Crucifixion* clearly presented a challenge to Ceccarelli, one that he finally ignored and solved by focusing on technical dexterity and flowing design.

The number and identity of the figures included in the painting might have been suggested to Ceccarelli by his patron, as was common practice in commissions of religious paintings. In an exchange between the Tuscan merchant Francesco Datini and his agent, Domenico di Cambio, Datini commissions a diptych with a picture of the Man of

Fig. 2 (opposite). Naddo Ceccarelli (Italian, documented ca. 1347), *Crucifixion* and *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1347. Tempera and gold on panel, *Crucifixion*: 66 × 28 cm; *Virgin and Child Enthroned*: 65 × 28 cm. Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena (inv. 194 and 196)

Fig. 3 (below). The Master of Monte Oliveto (Italian, active ca. 1315–1335), *The Crucifixion and the Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1315. Tempera on panel, *Crucifixion*: 33 × 21.5 cm, *Virgin and Child*: 33 × 22 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves (1871.10a–b)



Sorrows facing one of the Virgin enthroned.<sup>7</sup> The merchant is specific about the number of saints that he wanted represented around the Virgin—so many in fact that the painter joked that Datini apparently needed a great deal of intercession, suggesting that he sought a picture of a procession rather than a Virgin and Child. Given the challenge of producing a Crucifixion with many figures, Ceccarelli may have been as uneasy as Datini's painter but obliged the patron nonetheless and reverted to old precedents for his composition.

The Walters panel might have been part of diptych. Easy to transport and easy to store, devotional diptychs were very popular in fourteenth-century Tuscany and are often mentioned in inventories.<sup>8</sup> Many survive to this day.<sup>9</sup> Alongside the simple kind made with two folding square panels, such as that by Barna da Siena (active ca. 1330–1350) in the Horne Foundation in Florence, Siennese painters also produced more elaborate versions, complete with Gothic frames and pinnacles, such as the diptych of Osservanza by Paolo di Giovanni Fei (ca. 1345–ca. 1411) in the Pinacoteca of Siena (fig. 4).<sup>10</sup> The Walters panel was thinned by planing prior to entering the collection and cradled during an old conservation treatment, which resulted in the loss of important evidence. We do not know, for example, whether the panel was decorated on the reverse, as most folding diptychs and triptychs were, or whether there were hinges on the sides. However, the dimensions and the shape of the Baltimore painting, with its graceful gabled top, suggest that it was once part of either a triptych or a diptych. The similarities in format and iconography between the Walters *Crucifixion* and the Siena diptych indicate that it was also originally a diptych panel.

In most extant diptychs, the *Crucifixion* is paired with an image of the Virgin and Child, and a portrait of the Virgin seems to have been a prerequisite of any devotional diptych. The example commissioned by Datini, for example, substituted the Man of Sorrows for the Crucifixion but retained the image of Mary.<sup>11</sup> The Walters *Crucifixion* was probably also once accompanied by an image of the Virgin and Child.

The identification of the Walters panel as a diptych allows us to speculate on its intended function. Small paintings with religious subjects often decorated the homes of well-to-do families.<sup>12</sup> In his *Zibaldone* of 1406, the merchant Giovanni Morelli describes his fervent prayers in front of an image of the *Crucifixion* that he kept in his room to seek atonement for the soul of his son, who had died a year previously and whom Morelli feared might languish in Purgatory; it was

the same panel that his son has used during the last days of his illness.<sup>13</sup> The use of sacred images as a focus of devotion was widespread in Italy at this time and was sanctioned by the church. Saints' lives and statutes of confraternities attest to the special veneration commanded by Crucifixion scenes and portraits of the Virgin.<sup>14</sup> In a late thirteenth-century sermon, Jacques de Vitry exhorted children to kneel and cross themselves every time they came across such an image, while a popular sermon from Pisa solicited monks to do the same.<sup>15</sup>

Sacred images had an instructional purpose. In his *Regola del Governo di Cura familiare* of about 1403, Cardinal Giovanni Dominici (1356–1419) advised an aristocratic woman to decorate her house with religious paintings in which young children could delight and from which they could learn to be devout.<sup>16</sup> Dominici describes how images of female saints are appropriate for young girls, while boys should be exposed to images of male virtuous behavior, such as John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. For the Florentine cardinal, it was essential to create a space saturated with religious images so that children could learn from infancy to mirror the examples they studied in the pictures. In the *Regola*, Dominici is primarily concerned with children before school age, arguing that as children learn to read, they should learn from Scripture what they had earlier intuited from the paintings. Dominici's text documents the validity of images as a teaching tool and establishes the idea that religious education started at home.<sup>17</sup>

De Virtry's sermon also stresses the role of parents in raising good Christians. Arguing that children are like soft wax and therefore amenable to learning, Jacques encourages parents to teach children to obey and respect their elders as they do their Maker. Respect for God translated into learning, understanding, and repeating the three main Christian prayers—the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Creed—several times during the day. Jacques explains the meaning of the Lord's Prayer and asks his young audience to recite it when they wake up, before eating, and at the end of the meal, as well as before hearing a sermon, in order to open their ears to understanding.

The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) established that children had to learn the three prayers by heart in Latin.<sup>18</sup> Around age seven, identified by tradition as the age of reason, children started their education. They learned how to read from religious books, and the Lord's Prayer was one of the first texts they mastered.<sup>19</sup> The importance of teaching children to





Fig. 4. Paolo di Giovanni Fei (Italian, ca. 1345–ca. 1411), *Diptych of Osservanza*, ca. 1380. Tempera on panel, overall: 53 × 48.5 cm. Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena (inv. 146)

understand and recite the prayers indicates a belief in a progressive notion of faith, one that grew with age.<sup>20</sup> Children were good Christians in the making and had to be trained to be full participants in the community of the faithful. To that end they were taken to church regularly and were obligated

to partake of the Eucharist at least once a year. Under the Fourth Lateran Council, communion was granted only to children who could comprehend the basic knowledge of the Christian faith and the importance of the sacrament. During the course of the subsequent century, regulations began to be





Fig. 5. Matteo di Pacino (Italian, documented 1359–1394), *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*, ca. 1380–90. Tempera on wood, gold ground, central panel 44.5 × 20.3 cm, left wing 42.9 × 11.4 cm, right wing 43.5 × 11.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.69)

promulgated that established a minimum age for communion. Thomas Aquinas, for example, recommended that boys be at least ten years old before they be given communion. Some statutes required boys aged seven or older to learn the *Pater Noster* and Creed in preparation for confession.<sup>21</sup> The gentle sermon that Jacques de Vitry addresses to children and young adults goes precisely in that direction, when he invites his young public to kneel in front of an image of the Crucifixion in church and recite: “we adore you, Christ, and we bless you, for by your Holy Cross you have redeemed the

world.” Children were invited to say this prayer five times in honor of the five wounds of Christ.

The eager and compassionate disciples meditating over the wounds of Christ evoked by Jacques de Vitry recall the young spectators witnessing the Passion of Christ in the Baltimore painting. Ceccarelli’s *Crucifixion* is one of a small group of fourteenth-century images of the Passion, mostly from Siena, in which children take part in the event.<sup>22</sup> Although children are often present at the spectacle of the Crucifixion in later paintings, especially in northern Europe,



the motif does not seem to appear before the end of the thirteenth century. Amy Neff has traced the origin of this phenomenon to the illustration of the *Supplicationes variae*, a thirteenth-century Italian devotional manuscript in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, in which children appears in several episodes of the Passion, including the way to Calvary and the Deposition.<sup>23</sup> Neff argues that the motif originated in the typological association between Elisha and Christ. In the Old Testament (2 Kings 2:23–24) Elisha was mocked by children for of his baldness. Given the assonance between the Latin word *calvus* (bald) and Calvary, medieval commentators from Augustine onwards linked the mocking of Elisha with the mocking of Christ. In exegetical writings the children mocking Elisha are identified as the Jews of “childish understanding” mocking Christ on the way to Calvary. According to Neff, in late thirteenth-century Italy the typological tradition was transformed into a historical narrative, and the Jews “of childish understanding” became actual children.<sup>24</sup> True to the typological precedent, the children appearing in these scenes are vicious, and their demeanor is belligerent.

These are not the children who stand at the foot of the Cross in Ceccarelli’s *Crucifixion*. Ceccarelli’s well-dressed and composed children are invited by their parents to pay attention and look at the event. The mother on the left tenderly cradle her son’s head while she looks at the cross. On the other side, an adolescent rests his arm on the shoulder of his younger companion and urges him to look up, pointing toward Christ. The classic pointing gesture, the index finger stretched, the thumb closed over the other fingers, is often used in paintings from this period to invite the viewer to participate in the scene portrayed. This is the case in a triptych by Matteo di Pacino (documented 1359–1394), where on the left wing, Mary Magdalene points to Christ crucified, inviting the beholder to participate in her compassion (fig. 5).<sup>25</sup>

To be sure, these children are not rejoicing in Christ’s suffering and death; rather, they seem to empathize with his ordeal. Similar compassionate children appear in a *Crucifixion* by Giotto in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (fig. 6).<sup>26</sup> Here, two small children stand crying by a swooning Mary. They wring their hands in desperation, very much like children would do before their suffering mother. Ceccarelli’s children, like Giotto’s, participate emotionally in the scene. Grouped in pairs, the children exhort each other to pay attention. One is reminded of the *convocationes* established by the Synod



Fig. 6. Giotto di Bondone (Italian, 1266–1336), *Crucifixion of Christ*, ca. 1315. Oil on poplar wood, 59.7 × 36.2 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (inv. 1074 A)

of Salisbury in 1127, when children were summoned by the parish priest to be instructed and sent off to teach others.<sup>27</sup> Given that diptychs like the Walters’ were often used in domestic setting and that religious instruction started in the home, the presence of children at the Crucifixion of Christ in the Walters panel may reflect the practice of using images to teach the rudiments of religion to children. But what is the lesson these children are being taught?

Good Catholics always saluted the image of the Crucifixion: they would make the sign of the cross and often recite short invocations.<sup>28</sup> Bonvesin de la Riva (1240–1313), who wrote a compilation for students, invited his readers to make the sign of the cross at several points during the day and then recite short prayers.<sup>29</sup> The majority of prayers extant in devotional texts from late medieval Italy are eucharistic, centered

around the figure of Christ. The Lord's Prayer itself, with its insistence on the spiritual nature of the "daily bread," was often associated with the Eucharist. A popular fourteenth-century prayer, the *Anima Christi*, ripe with references to Christ's sacrifice, came to be related to the elevation of the host during mass.<sup>30</sup> In vernacular invocation, too, the image of Christ is often connected with his real presence in the Eucharist, as, for example, that found in a North Italian devotional miscellany probably composed for a Franciscan around 1300.<sup>31</sup>

In the Walters panel, the eucharistic undercurrent inherent in any image of the Crucifixion is strengthened by the decoration of the pinnacle. Here, a pelican feeding her chicks with her own blood appears above the Crucifixion. According to medieval lore, soon after birth young pelicans would hit their mother with their beaks; the pelican would strike back and kill them. After three days, she would resuscitate her brood by piercing her side and sprinkling them with her blood. Transmitted by medieval bestiaries, this story was commonly understood to be a reference to the redeeming power of Christ's sacrifice, and it was commonly associated with images of the Crucifixion. In the Baltimore painting the connection between the sacrifice of Christ and that of the bird is stressed by the flow of blood coming out of the pelican's breast, which mirrors that of Christ. Due to the life-giving nature of her blood, images of the pelican were often associated with the Eucharist.<sup>32</sup> The *Adoro Te*, a popular prayer that started circulating in the mid-fourteenth century, makes that connection explicit and compares Christ, the living bread, with the pelican.<sup>33</sup>

With this in mind, the presence of children at Christ's Crucifixion in Ceccarelli's painting assumes the outlines of a well-rehearsed lesson. Looking at the picture of the Crucifixion, with the blood gushing from Christ's wound and the pelican reviving her chicks with hers, children were taught to recite their prayers and meditate on Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The gesture of the younger child at the left of the painting, who brings his left hand to his mouth, underscores the relation between looking at the image, praying, and contemplating Christ's presence in "our daily bread." A similar concern marks the illustration of the celebration of the Mass in the *Laudario* of St. Agnese, a fourteenth-century collection of *Laudes* illustrated for the Florentine confraternity of St. Agnes (fig. 7).<sup>34</sup> Pictured in the capital *C*, the celebrant elevates the host, while a group of laymen looks on.



Fig. 7. Master of the Dominican Effigies (active ca. 1325–ca. 1355), folio from the *Laudario of Santa Maria del Carmine*, detail, ca. 1340. Tempera, gold leaf, and ink on parchment. Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp (MMB.0608)

The latter are outside the liturgical space proper and almost excluded from the scene by the outline of the initial. At the right, one of the men brings his left hand to his mouth, while his companion prays fervently. For the laity, and especially for children, communion was a rare occurrence. Required at least once annually, communion was valid only if taken with the full understanding of its miraculous nature. Union of faith and love of Christ were prerequisites for the miracle of transubstantiation to occur; otherwise the communicant would consume mere bread and wine and not the body of Christ.<sup>35</sup> So important was full spiritual participation to the sacrament that spiritual reception alone—that is, receiving communion by merely watching the liturgy, without actually eating the consecrated host—was commended by the church as a valid way of partaking in the Eucharist. The attentive children in the Walters panel are a model of behavior for those who wished to participate fully in Christ's glory.

In his popular *Moral Treatise of the Eye*, Peter of Limoges discusses at length God's character as a mirror without blemishes and an exemplar of all things.<sup>36</sup> The divine eye, Peter explains, is the innermost part of each object, and therefore each object contains God's essence. Although we cannot see the divine essence until after death, we can get closer to



understanding it when we are made one with him. Peter's sermons were very popular throughout the later Middle Ages, and his understanding that unity with God was achieved through contemplation was dear to late medieval mystics. Ceccarelli's children partake of this culture and show us that it is never too early to start learning the path to God.

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## NOTES

1. The provenance of the painting remains nebulous. The first known mention of the *Crucifixion* appears in a catalogue of Henry Walters' paintings (*The Walters Collection: Catalogue of Paintings* [Baltimore] published in 1909. It entered the collection as "School of Giotto" but was later attributed to Barna da Siena in subsequent versions of the same catalogue (1922 and 1929). The new attribution was probably that of Bernard Berenson, who published the Walters painting on several occasions (Bernard Berenson, *Catalogue of Italian Paintings in the John G. Johnson Collection* [Philadelphia, 1913], 54; and Berenson, *Central and North Italian Schools* [London, 1968], 25). Philippe Verdier dismissed the attribution to Barna (*The International Gothic*, exh. cat., Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery [Baltimore, 1962], 31) and assigned the *Crucifixion* to an unknown painter, who was later identified as Naddo Ceccarelli by Federico Zeri (*Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* 2 vols. [Baltimore, 1976], 1:42. Zeri's attribution remains undisputed. Trademarks of Ceccarelli's style are the long faces with the pointed noses and broad nostrils; the eyes are long and melancholic. Certain details, such as the rippling white border on Christ's loincloth, recur identically in other paintings by the master. There is some consensus among scholars that Ceccarelli followed his master Simone Martini to France, whence he returned a few years after Martini's death in 1344. See on this Cristina de Benedictis, "Naddo Ceccarelli," *Commentarii* 25 (1974): 139–54; Benedictis, "Naddo Ceccarelli," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale Italiana* (Rome, 1991–2002), 4:1993; Giovanni Previtali, "Introduzione ai problemi della bottega di Simone Martini," in *Simone Martini: Atti del Convegno, Siena, 27–29 Marzo 1985*, ed. Luciano Bellosi (Florence, 1988), 151–66. Some scholars (Benedictis 1974, Zeri 1976) date the Walters painting to this last phase of the painter's life. In the absence of any authentic documentation, however, this hypothesis must remain speculative.
2. For a complex discussion of Simone Martini's workshop, see Giovanni Previtali's introduction in *Simone Martini e "chompagni,"* exh. cat., Pinacoteca di Siena (Florence, 1985), 11–32.
3. The Cook Madonna was sold at auction at Christie's London, 25 November 1966, lot. 62. For this painting and that in Vaduz,

- see Keith Christiansen, "Naddo Ceccarelli," in *Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1985), 180, no. 122.
4. Pietro Torriti, *La Pinacoteca nazionale di Siena: I dipinti dal XII al XV secolo* (Genoa, 1977), 142; Torriti, *La Pinacoteca di Siena: I dipinti* (Genoa, 1990), 94; Anna Maria Guiducci, "Dittico," in *Simone Martini e "chompagni,"* 118, nos. 27, 28.
  5. Burton B. Fredericksen and Federico Zeri, *Census of Pre-Nineteenth-Century Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 599; Daniel Lewis Arnheim, Charles Seymour Jr., and Gloria Kury Keach, *Italian Primitives: The Case History of a Collection and Its Conservation* (New Haven, 1972), 43, no. 34 (Sienese school); Laurence Kanter, "Some Early Sienese Paintings; Cleaned, Uncleaned, Restored, Unrestored: What Have We Learned?" *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (2010): 46–65, figs. 12–16.
  6. Ceccarelli's recourse to a Duccesque prototype is indicative of the shift that occurred in the fifth decade of the fourteenth century in Simone's workshop when it became Lippo Memmi's. The paintings from this period reveal the influence of more traditional trends in Sienese painting inspired by the likes of the Lorenzetti and Bartolommeo Bulgarini. For a compelling analysis of Simone Martini's workshops after the master's death, see Previtali, introduction, in *Simone Martini e "chompagni,"* 29.
  7. Renato Piattoli, "Un mercante del Trecento e gli artisti del tempo suo," *Rivista d'Arte*, 1929, p. 221 and *Rivista d'Arte*, 1930, pp. 97–150. The exchange is contained in the letters from 22 December 1390 and 29 April 1391. For a thoughtful discussion of patronage and devotional art in Italy at this time, see Victor M. Schmidt, *Painted Piety. Panel Paintings for Personal Devotion in Tuscany, 1250–1400* (Florence, 2005), 232 and passim.
  8. Schmidt, *Painted Piety*, 60.
  9. For a comprehensive survey of this typology, see Wolfgang Kermer, *Studien zur diptychon in der sakralen Malerei: Von den anfängen bis zur mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, (Neunkirchen-Saar, 1967), 71–123.
  10. For the Giovanni di Fei, see Torriti, *Pinacoteca* [1977], 181.
  11. Schmidt, *Painted Piety*, 60.
  12. Schmidt, *Painted Piety*; Michele Bacci, *Pro remedio animae: Immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale (secoli XIII–XIV)* (Pisa, 2000). David G. Wilkins, "Opening the Doors to Devotion: Trecento Triptychs and Suggestions concerning Images and Domestic Practice in Florence," in *Italian Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. Victor Schmidt Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers 38 (New Haven and London, 2002), 371–93; Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park, Pa., 2005), 346–48.

13. Giovanni Paolo Morelli, *Ricordi*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence 1969). The episode is mentioned in Wilkins, "Opening the Doors," 380.
  14. That is, for example, the case in the story of the conversion of St. Catherine of Alexandria. For a detailed analysis of that story in relation to the veneration of images, see Schmidt, *Painted Prayers*. For later Italian examples, see Thompson, *Cities of God*, 343–57. Thompson also mentions statutes that associate images with veneration, such as the 1260 statutes of the flagellants of Bologna, Thompson, *Cities of God*, 349.
  15. Jacques de Vitry, "Sermon 73: For Children and Young People," in *Medieval Popular Devotion, 1000–1500: A Reader*, ed. John Shinnors (Toronto, 2007), 29; Pisa, Biblioteca Cateriniana del Seminario Arcivescovile, ms 139 (fourteenth century), fol. 136v. I am using the information provided by Thompson, *Cities of God*, 350 n. 47.
  16. Giovanni Dominici, *Regola del Governo di Cura Familiare*, ed. Donato Salvi (Florence, 1864). The passage is quoted in full in Creighton E. Gilbert, *Italian Art, 1400–1500*, Sources and Documents in the History of Art, ed. H. W. Janson (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1980), 145–46.
  17. On the importance of family and especially women in the transmission of religion, see Nicole Beriou, "Femmes et predicateur: La transmission de la foi au XIIe et XIIIe siècles," in *La religion de ma Mère: Les femmes et la transmission de la foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris, 1992), 51–70; Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven and London, 2001), 205–9; Jean Claude Schmitt, "Le Bon Usage du Credo," in *Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVIe siècle, table ronde, Rome, 22–23 juin 1979* (Turin, 1981).
  18. Thompson, *Cities of God*, 351; Schmitt, "Le Bon Usage du Credo,"
  19. Schmitt, "Le Bon Usage du Credo," 346.
  20. Schmitt, "Le Bon Usage du Credo," 347.
  21. Synod of Sisteron of 1225. Odette Pontal, *Statuts synodaux français du XIIIe siècle: Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie 15 (Paris, 1983), 2: p. 192. See on this topic Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge and New York, 1991), 64–65.
  22. The list is given in Amy Neff, "Wicked Children on Calvary and the Baldness of St. Francis," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 34, no. 3 (1990): 215–44.
  23. Neff, "Wicked Children." The manuscript is Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, ms Plut. 25.3.
  24. Neff, "Wicked Children."
  25. The painting is dated 1380–90. Neff interprets this gesture as one of mocking, with which I disagree. See her "Wicked Children." For a discussion of gestures in Italian devotional paintings see Schmidt, *Painted Prayers*, 123–36.
  26. M. Boskovits, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin: Katalog der Gemälde—Frühe italienische Malerei* (Berlin, 1987), 62–64, figs. 109–III, with further bibliography.
  27. See on this subject Schmitt, "Le Bon Usage du Credo," 347.
  28. Thompson, *Cities of God*, 347.
  29. Bonvesin de la Riva, *Vita Scholastica*, ed., Anežka Vidmanová-Schmidtová, *Liber Quinque Clavium Sapientiae* (Leipzig, 1969), 60, ll. 291–302, quoted in Thompson, *Cities of God*, 356.
  30. The prayer was composed by Pope John XXII about 1330 and became widespread. See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 157; Thompson, *Cities of God*, 347.
  31. "Divina sapientia ke celasti, so carne humana lalta Deitate, | con quella celamentu debellasti kilui ke impari na ofese a falzitate. | La pura humanitate ho pilglasti, deforusee a morte sua malignitate. | Laudare devemo tua gran bononeza, ke per mi fece si gran longinnitu; vedemo nostra carne assunta in Deu. | Fecestiti homo in vostra semelglanza; no ladoramo quellu operimentu, nel ostia mutata in corpu teu". Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms 1563, fol. 17v, quoted in Thompson, *Cities of God*, 367.
  32. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 310.
  33. "O memoriale mortis Domini/Parvis vivus, vita praestans homini/ praesta meae menti de te vivere/et te illi semper dulce sapere/Pie Pellicani, Jesu Domine/me immundum munda tuo sanguine/cujus una stilla saluum facere/totum mundum qui ab omni scelere." See Kristen Van Ausdall, "Art and Eucharist in the Late Middle Ages," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall, (Leiden, 2011), 553.
  34. Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, ms 303. The miniature is attributed to the Master of the Dominican Effigies and dated to ca. 1340. See Christine Sciacca, "Reconstruction of the Laudario of Sant'Agnese," in Sciacca, ed. *Florence at the Dawn of the Renaissance: Painting and Illumination, 1300–1350*, exh. cat., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, 2013) 219–35, and "The Last Supper and Initial C," p. 265 (no. 45.15).
  35. Gary Macy, "Theology of the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages"; and Stephen A. Lahey, "Late Medieval Eucharistic Theology," in Levy, Macy, and Van Ausdall, *A Companion to the Eucharist*, 365–99, 499–540.
  36. Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*, ed. and trans. Richard Newhauser (Toronto, 2012), 32.
- PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: bpk, Berlin / Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin / Jörg P. Anders / Art Resource, NY: fig. 6; Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY: fig. 5; permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le attività culturali, photo Soprintendenza B.S.A.E. de Siena & Grosseto: figs. 2, 4; © Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp: fig. 7; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: fig. 1; Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut: fig. 3



## SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHINESE PORCELAIN IN VARIOUS WORLDS

HIRAM WOODWARD

The interactions of Chinese porcelain with the West are of such long standing and of such complexity that it is possible that no one will ever endeavor to present a comprehensive account.<sup>1</sup> The porcelain of the seventeenth century would play a large role in such a publication because it was then that Chinese porcelain—in immense quantities—had its strongest effect on European taste. Narrowing down the subject of study brings to the fore all sorts of issues involving the interpretation of evidence: distinguishing wares made for everyday use in China from those made for export; separating out the wares that by design or accident arrived in various markets (Southeast Asia, India, the Middle East, the Ottoman court, the different European nations); making proper evaluations of the shipwrecked cargoes that have been salvaged in recent decades; interpreting written records; and understanding the significance of shifting trade patterns. The purpose of this article is to focus on a limited number of objects—most but not all in the Walters Art Museum—that in their individual ways contribute to an understanding of the interactions and mutual relations over a period of centuries.

### TWO EUROPEAN-MARKET BOTTLES AND THEIR LEGACY

A bottle with a bulbous ring on the neck and scene of Chinese warriors is one of a number of closely related bottles made within a narrow span of time (fig. 1). The date—1635–45 in recent catalogues—was initially determined by comparison with a type of double-gourd bottle listed in the Dagh Register, the daybooks of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC), maintained in Batavia (the modern Jakarta, Java) and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> During the “Transitional Period”—from the end of the Wanli reign (1620) through the fall of the Ming dynasty (1644), until the time southern China was fully

pacified by the Kangxi emperor, who came to the throne in 1662—the Imperial Kilns were not in operation, and private kilns were able to respond to the demands of the Japanese, the Dutch, and other foreigners, as well as to the desires of elite Chinese, for whom were produced wares of impressive sophistication, including brush washers and vases with finely painted landscapes. These wares, overlooked in older histories of Chinese ceramics, have in recent decades been featured in a series of exhibitions.<sup>3</sup>

The narrative scene on fig. 1 is an adaptation of a woodblock print in an illustrated edition of a novel, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. In chapter 38, warriors brandishing fire brands carry out an ambush. On the other side appears a warrior on a horse, galloping through the air: this is probably Liu Bei, escaping over the Tan River, as described in chapter 34.<sup>4</sup> In 1634, the VOC had sent an order through intermediaries for pieces “all well painted with Chinese figures,” and so there is little doubt that the exotic aspect of the depictions was part of their appeal.<sup>5</sup>

A long-necked bottle was a traditional Chinese shape. What makes this bottle different is the presence of the bulbous ring around the neck—a feature inspired, it is thought, by an Iznik model.<sup>6</sup> Below and above this ring is decoration of a European sort: bilaterally symmetric, with a stem emerging from a ring (traceable back to a vase), with pointed-ended vegetal sprays extending left and right, culminating in a tulip (below the bulbous ring) or a daisy (above). Decor of this type, especially the tulip-like flower, was also introduced during this period in the borders of dishes that had been made for the Dutch since the 1590s, the so-called “Kraak” wares.

The second bottle, one of a pair, is more unusual (fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> When I was installing Hackerman House (the Asian art galleries at the Walters Art Museum, opened in 1991), I

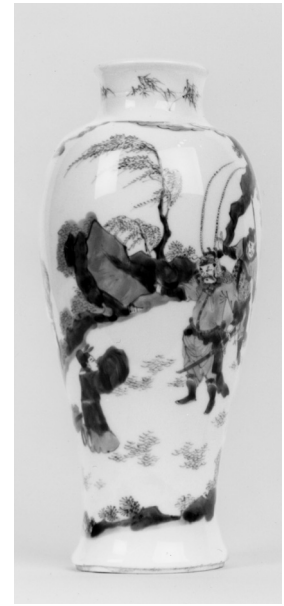


Fig. 1 (left). Bottle with bulb in the neck and scenes of warriors, 1635–45. Porcelain with underglaze blue, height 38.9 cm, diam. 20 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. or Henry Walters (49.1510). Fig. 2 (center). Bottle with bulb in the neck and floral decor, 1640s or later. Porcelain with underglaze blue, height 35.1 cm, diam. 19.6 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. or Henry Walters (49.1613). Fig. 3 (right). Vase with scene of warriors, 1675–1700. Porcelain with underglaze blue, height 25.9 cm, diam. 11.1 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. Walters (49.201)

considered it later. Although there may be features (like a mark in the shape of loosely sketched double leaf), that would permit a date to be pinpointed, the reverse-ground floral patterns on the lower part of the neck, although more common in subsequent decades, are seen on wares that were found on the 1640s “Hatcher” cargo, as well as on a dated dish of 1644–45.<sup>8</sup> On the body the central motif is a bilateral tree with a spreading array of stems and leaves, rising—as on the neck of fig. 1—from a ring. On either side is placed scrolling foliage, wandering tendrils terminating in leaves and flower heads, an international textile-type design found more in Europe and India than in traditional China.<sup>9</sup>

Elements on these two bottles encountered in later ceramics include the narrative scene, the Europeanized motifs (tulips, jagged-edged leaves), and the reverse-ground panels.

The obstacles to the construction of a history of porcelain manufacture in the second half of the seventeenth century are many. There were significant historic milestones. In 1657, Dutch traders started turning to Japan as an alternative source for porcelain, and in 1661, due to Manchu attacks on Amoy, began avoiding China altogether.<sup>10</sup> In 1662, the Kangxi emperor came to the throne at the age of seventeen. The earliest documented ceramics of note were dishes painted primarily with landscape scenes, bearing dates of 1671 and 1672, the inscriptions indicating that they had been commissioned for use in a palace building.<sup>11</sup> These dishes have a significant diagnostic feature—a channel foot, an unglazed recessed channel between a pair of foot rings. This characteristic, which had a short duration, permits a group of dishes of an entirely different type to be assigned to the same period:

these are dishes with red, green, and yellow (and sometimes purple) enamels, in which the well of the dish is filled with concentric rings and geometric devices containing different patterns (a red lattice being an especially common motif). These dishes are not well represented in major European or American collections, and the largest numbers are held in the Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, and in the Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden, the Netherlands, where the holdings consist of examples recovered in Indonesia.<sup>12</sup>

In 1673, warfare spread in southern China, resulting in the destruction of imperial and other kilns in Jingdezhen. The rebels were defeated in 1676, and it is thought that by 1678, the kilns were in operation once again. It was not until 1681 that an order arrived for wares for the imperial household, an order that remained in effect until 1688. During this period the ceramic designer was an artist named Liu Yuan, who apparently died around 1685. Recent research has determined that a large number of palace wares must be assigned to the period of his involvement.<sup>13</sup> In 1684, the ban on private trading was lifted. Before then, all trading was clandestine—the edicts never succeeded in shutting down production or the activities of private traders entirely. After 1684, the numbers of wares that reached Europe and the rest of Asia attained incredible heights.

Fig. 3 shows a vase with a scene of warriors in a landscape; it has a spurious Jiajing-reign mark. Although it might be supposed that such a vase must be a direct offspring of fig. 1, the artist who executed the scene on the bottle some years later painting the vase (a line of thinking reflected in the 1991 Hackerman House label), that appears not to be the case at all. The current view is that vases like the one in fig. 3 date from after 1675.<sup>14</sup> (For instance, the motif of the bamboo spray on the neck is seen also on the necks of cylindrical vases of *rouleau* shape, which became common in the last decades of the seventeenth century.) The warrior scene does not represent a continuous tradition at all, but a deliberate revival.

Europeanized motifs—“tulip-type motifs,” the “tulip tradition”—have been little studied and tend to appear on wares exported to Southeast Asia, India, and the Middle East. There too, evidence contradicts the natural assumption that such motifs would have lingered on in the 1650s, 1660s, and 1670s and then faded away. Instead, such motifs show up on an Indian-market *huqqa* base that was part of a cargo sunk in the 1690s.<sup>15</sup> Therefore it is not yet known which objects bearing tulip-type motifs can be pushed back into the early Kangxi period.

The first example (fig. 4) is a bottle vase on a stand, the upper part having a shape that had become defined by the Yuan Dynasty, the lower consisting of a tall spreading foot that may have been indebted to Indian metalwork. A very similar bottle vase is in the collection of the Topkapı Sarayı (and has been dated in the catalogue to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century).<sup>16</sup> Brown wash has been added on the foot, on the base of the body, on two bands where the neck joins the body, and on the lip.<sup>17</sup> The motifs on the foot and at the top of the neck can be understood as devolutions of the device on the upper neck of fig. 2. The leaves are less naturalistic, and the parts have become separated from each other. The other motifs—the elongated spades, the scroll, and the floral medallions—on the other hand, are not dependent on anything in the fig. 2 bottle.



Fig. 4. Bottle on high foot, ca. 1678–1700 (or earlier). Porcelain with underglaze blue and an additional brown glaze, height 20.2 cm, diam. 9.3 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired before 1931 (49.980)



The *huqqa* base in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 5) was made in three units: both the cup at top, with its flanged foot, and the supporting tubular stand can be separated from the main part, which has a neck with two flanges (on the Indian metalwork prototypes there is always just a single flange).<sup>18</sup> The edges of the flanges and the rims have been washed with a brown glaze, as in fig. 4. The four floral medallions that are the main features of the decoration



Fig. 5. *Huqqa* base, in three separate sections, ca. 1678–1700 (or earlier). Porcelain with underglaze blue and an additional brown glaze, height 26.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, purchase by subscription, 1879 (79.2.359a–c)

somewhat resemble those on fig. 4, though the addition of a narrow border creates a somewhat neater appearance.<sup>19</sup> Motifs belonging to the tulip tradition appear on the neck, above the flanges. Their inclusion suggests that these decor elements were associated by the makers with wares produced for export—regardless of whether the destination was Southeast Asia, India, the Middle East, or Europe. The quatrefoil on the cup at top is a motif seen also on the *huqqa* base from the Vung Tau cargo, dating from the 1690s.<sup>20</sup> The Metropolitan Museum’s own dating is “late 17th–early 18th century.”<sup>21</sup>

Another *huqqa* base, in the Walters collection (fig. 6), shares qualities with figs. 4 and 5. The composition is similar—with four round medallions—but brown glaze covers the surface, rather than being restricted to edges, and the design within the roundel differs. Instead of consisting of a spray with a central element, there is a stylized rocky ground, and a branch that stretches from left to right (though each medallion differs). These elements suggest an effort to copy an Indian design, perhaps as found in textiles. Furthermore,



Fig. 6. *Huqqa* base, ca. 1678–1799 (or earlier). Porcelain with underglaze blue and an additional brown glaze, height with lid (not shown) 21.9 cm, diam. 12.7 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired before 1931 (49.1150)



the interior white lines in the leaves and the rocks have been created by scratching through already applied cobalt blue. Indian metalwork, with incised décor, must have been the inspiration.<sup>22</sup> The *huqqa* base has always had a nineteenth-century Persian brass cap, suggesting that it may have been acquired by William Walters at the international exposition in Vienna in 1873, where objects brought by the uncle of the shah of Persia were being sold.

The last item in this group is a small serving dish recovered from the dock area in Ayutthaya (fig. 7). Although other examples of Siamese-market Kangxi porcelain have been published, much remains unknown — such as how much was made, whether production continued through the eighteenth century, and whether the prototype of this footed dish was earthenware, metal (silver?), or lacquer.<sup>23</sup> The shape became common in the nineteenth century. The



Fig. 7a, b. Footed dish recovered from the dock area of the river at Ayutthaya, Thailand, ca. 1678–1700 (or earlier). Porcelain with underglaze blue, height 4.3 cm. Private collection, United States

pattern having the closest ties to the tulip tradition is seen around the outside of the foot. Inside, the successive rings of decor suggest an aesthetic outlook like that found on the channel-footed enameled dishes. Among the motifs is a reverse-ground scroll-edged cirlet, similar to motifs on the narrow bands of the neck in the Dutch-market bottle, fig. 2. The interior wall has a design composed of small dots and a meandering vine. This is a motif that appears also on the Met *huqqa* base, fig. 5.<sup>24</sup> Its origins are not known, but it looks much like it could be a rendering of a metalwork pattern in pewter or silver, in which a meandering vine has been incised over tiny punch marks.

#### AYUTTHAYA

Evidence concerning Kangxi ceramics at the port city of Ayutthaya is of two quite different sorts, and in the present state of knowledge is in both instances quite partial. The archaeological evidence consists of wares recovered (like fig. 8) from the river; the documentary evidence is a French inventory. When both damaged and whole objects were being pulled up by divers from the muck in the old port sections of the river at Ayutthaya in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it would have been difficult to compile any adequate accounting. The diving was technically illegal and was not easily controllable. Wares ended up in the shops of Ayutthaya or, in the case of the finest pieces, Bangkok, and were then dispersed into private collections. A second pre-Kangxi or Kangxi-period object from the river appears in fig. 8. It is a channel-footed dish decorated in underglaze blue with a scene of a phoenix standing on a rock, a leafy tree above.<sup>25</sup> The channel foot suggests a date in the 1650s, 1660s, or 1670s. A quite similar style of painting — with rock, phoenix, and sketchily drawn leaves — can be found on an enameled basin belonging to the family of channel-footed enameled dishes. This jar, in the Butler Family Collection, has been published more than once, initially with the date 1640–70, most recently 1650–60.<sup>26</sup> The theme of phoenix-on-rocks was common among sixteenth-century wares exported to Southeast Asia, but the earlier dishes are smaller and have a broad rim.

Chinese blue-and-white wares had been exported to Siam since the fourteenth century.<sup>27</sup> In the Kangxi period they could have reached Ayutthaya by various means. Official tribute missions from Ayutthaya to Beijing took place about every seven years during the reign of King Narai (1656–88).<sup>28</sup>

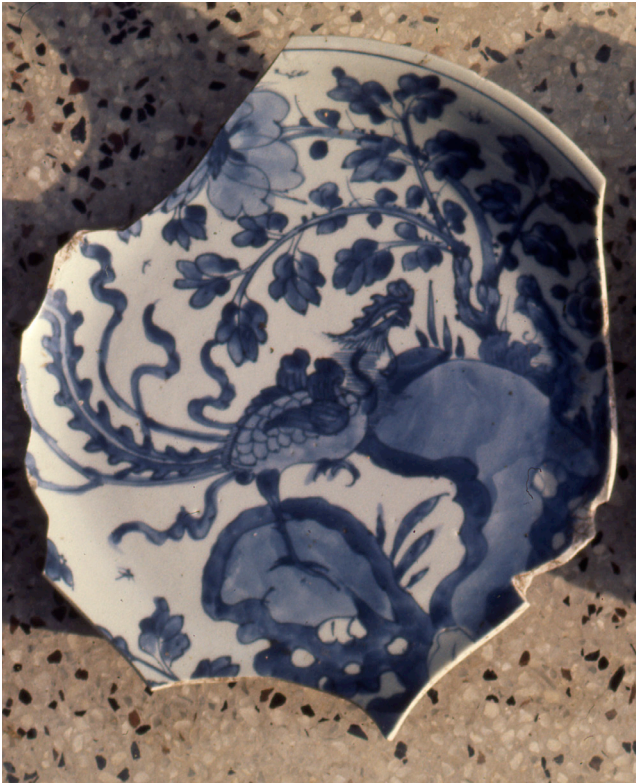


Fig. 8a, b. Fragment of a dish recovered from the dock area of the river at Ayutthaya, Thailand, ca. 1660s–1680s. Private collection, Thailand

Accompanying the party of ambassadors were ships carrying trade goods. The ambassadorial party returned to Siam with Chinese merchandise, including porcelain. Meanwhile, until the ban on private trading was rescinded in 1684, ships of various nationality (including ones belonging to the king of Siam himself) clandestinely traveled between China and Southeast Asia.<sup>29</sup>

During the reign of King Narai (1656–88), foreigners were welcome in Ayutthaya, and there were enclaves of Persians, Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, and Japanese. A Greek adventurer, Constantine Phaulkon, rose to become chief minister, and it was partly Phaulkon's connections with French Jesuits that led to major diplomatic initiatives, the sending of two trade missions to France, one in 1684 and a larger one in 1686. Summary lists of items sent from Ayutthaya to Louis XIV in 1686 include little of Thai origin, being heavily weighted toward Chinese and Japanese luxury items, including silk, silver, and lacquer, as well as porcelain. There



Fig. 9. Covered jar with metal cover, ca. 1660s–1680s. Porcelain with underglaze blue, height 32 cm, diam. 24.4 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired before 1931 (49.1676)

were 1500–1650 pieces of porcelain, described as the most beautiful and curious that could be found in the Indies, to have been made over a period of two hundred and fifty years, and to include cups, dishes, plates, and large vases of all manner and size.<sup>30</sup>

There is another list, however, a catalogue of sixty-four items entitled “Porcelaines Données par les Siamois,” a section of a long 1689 inventory of precious objects in the Versailles Cabinet of Monseigneur le Dauphin (1661–1711), eldest son of Louis XIV.<sup>31</sup> Thirty-nine of the porcelains were from the first voyage, twenty-four from the second. About a fifth were enameled, in red and green or in red, green, and yellow. About half were cups or bowls of various sizes; the larger were called *jattes*, the smaller *tasses*, corrections to the inventory indicating a blurred line between the two.<sup>32</sup> The next largest class of object consist of *urnes*, mostly with a height of a little over a foot, many of them with a lid, including one surmounted by a lion.<sup>33</sup> There were ten *pots couverts*,



six *pots pourris*, and a single *pot à oranger*.<sup>34</sup> There seem to be no instances of dishes.

Aside from a few dragons (“trois serpens crestez,” no. 28) and other creatures (“trois animaux,” no. 29), the decor was almost entirely floral or vegetal. Human figures and landscapes were entirely absent. (Similarly, Daniel Marot’s ca. 1695 engraving of wall-mounted porcelain, it is interesting to note, does not include any with landscape or figure decorations.)<sup>35</sup> *Urnes* apparently covered with floral scrollwork (“branches entrelassées de fleurs,” no. 47) bring to mind jars like the one in fig. 9, but the *urnes* on the list have different proportions (more 2:1 than 3:2). This jar is in a general way associable with the dish from the river (fig. 8). Other descriptions on the list suggest that more finely painted wares with floral sprays were included in the shipments.<sup>36</sup> It is not impossible that further research, perhaps within the Walters collection itself, will uncover a plausible match for one or more of the sixty-four Siamese gifts owned by the Dauphin.<sup>37</sup>

## IMPERIAL INTERLUDE

Suzanne Valenstein, in her survey of Chinese ceramics published in 1975, wrote in regard to peach bloom wares that “The refinement seen in the potting, shapes, and glaze of this group indicates that it probably dates to the final portion of the K’ang-hsi reign.”<sup>38</sup> The Kangxi reign ended in 1722. For various reasons this had been my own view as well, and is reflected in the Hackerman House labels. In 2008, Peter Lam, after years of intensive study, and armed with a formidable knowledge of the porcelain of the period, especially the idiosyncrasies of the calligraphy of the marks, published a paper that assigned the creation of the peach bloom wares to the period of the overlordship of Liu Yuan, 1678–88.<sup>39</sup> Peach bloom wares were made in the imperial kilns in limited numbers and in prescribed shapes, for the scholar’s table. One of these shapes, “the three-string vase,” is famously connected with the Walters Art Museum because at the auction of the Mary Morgan collection in New York in 1886, William Walters paid a record amount for a stellar example (fig. 10), a dramatic and newsworthy event that has been recounted in William Johnston’s joint biography of William and Henry Walters.<sup>40</sup>

Because of the richness of the Walters collection of imperial porcelain, it would be possible to write an extensive article on the circles of interrelationships extending out from the

Peach Bloom Vase—involving other vases of the same shape, either in celadon or with a dragon in underglaze red, as well as peach bloom wares of other shapes—illustrated solely by the museum’s own holdings.<sup>41</sup> Such an article would explore the ramifications of the new dating. What appears here, on the other hand, is merely a proposal about the character of the Peach Bloom Vase that may have some novelty.

A bottle decorated in underglaze copper red appears in fig. 11. The mark is in three columns, as are the marks on the peach bloom wares, but the characters are not so widely spaced. The shape and the division of the decoration into registers evoke Han Dynasty bronze bottles, especially ones with gilt décor: there are lozenge grids, archaized dragons, and miscellaneous other creatures such as lions and *chilin* (as well as sea patterns that owe more to bronze imitations of recent centuries than to the Han itself). There is another aspect to this allusiveness: the bottle is surprisingly heavy (it weighs 1360.8 grams). Ordinarily, one would not expect such a vessel to have been heavily potted, and so this is a feature that can be appreciated when the bottle is handled in storage (where it remains) but not when it is on public exhibition. Therefore, picking up the bottle results in an “aha” experience, a smile, and the thought, “isn’t that clever?” Until the publication of similar bottles in China, the design appeared unique.<sup>42</sup>

With the Peach Bloom Vase, related “aha” reactions arise. The “three strings” around the lower part of the neck evoke three bands that appear on an ancient bronze vase, as can be seen in a line drawing in the Qianlong imperial catalogue (fig. 12). Furthermore, the peculiar qualities of the peach bloom glaze—pinkish red, with touches of green (on the Peach Bloom Vase itself, visible in the photograph only at the bottom of the neck)—are not something to delight in merely for their unusual flavor and technical panache. They are supposed to evoke the patina on an ancient vessel. This is demonstrated by the clouds of red and green that have been painted onto an imitation of a Shang Dynasty steamer (fig. 13)—one hard to date but possibly seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup> Somewhat similarly, its clouds are not, it could be said, intended actually to fool the viewer but, instead, to impress through the charm and brazenness of the mock deceit.

There is a parallel line of interpretation. Surely one of the qualities of peach bloom ware, the subtle color modulations of the glaze, engages us because it reminds us of human flesh. This give to the objects an especially feminine character



Fig. 10. Peach Bloom Vase, 1680s. Porcelain with peach bloom glaze, height 20.2 cm, diam. 8.1 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. Walters, 1886 (49.155)

Fig. 11a, b. Bottle with underglaze-red decor, 1680s. Porcelain, height 27.2 cm, diam. 15 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. Walters, before 1895 (49.548)





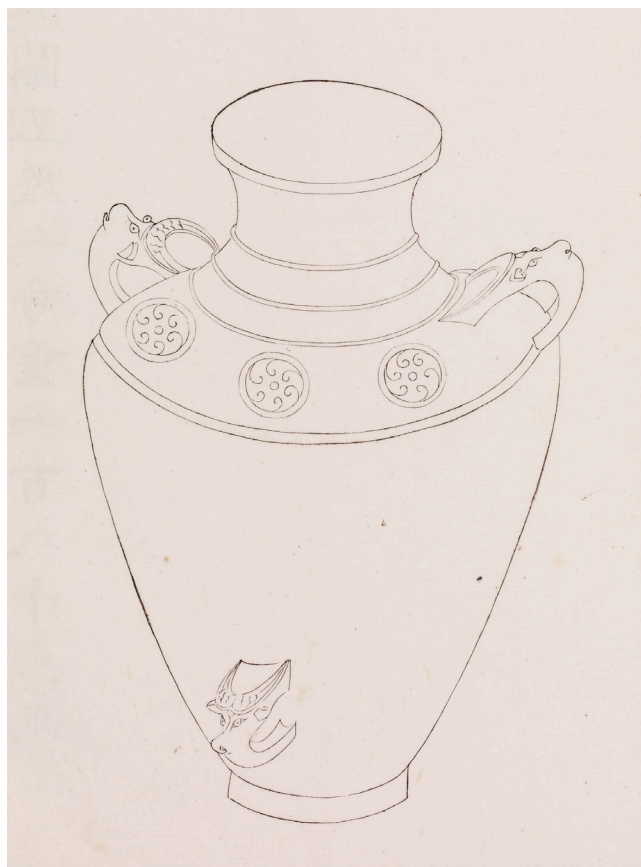


Fig. 12. *Lei*, imperial bronze catalogue of the Qianlong emperor (*Xi qing gu jian* 西清古鑑 [Beijing, 1749], j. 12, p. 10). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books (92.1213)



Fig. 13. Steamer (*xian*), 17th century. Bronze with gold and silver inlay and painted patina, height 38.4 cm, diam. 25.5 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired before 1931 (54.2175)

and makes us think of Wu Hung’s analysis of the paintings of Chinese beauties commissioned by the Kangxi emperor and his successor Yongzheng (r. 1722–35). These beauties stood, he thought, for Chinese culture as a whole. “In the eyes of the Manchu conquerors who came from the north and maintained their headquarters in the north,” he wrote, “all the attractions of Chinese culture — its exquisiteness as well as its submissiveness — made it an extended allegorical *feminine space* that stirred up fantasy and invited conquest.”<sup>44</sup>

The Peach Bloom Vase was described in the 1886 New York auction catalogue: “from the private collection of I Wang-ye, a Mandarin Prince [and it] has a world-wide reputation of being the finest specimen of its class in existence.”<sup>45</sup> This Prince Yi (d. 1861) was the descendant of the first Prince Yi (1686–1730), thirteenth son of the Kangxi emperor. He was born too late to have been a patron in the 1678–88 period, but he was the owner of a painting by Gao Qipei (1660–1734),

whose father, though ethnically Chinese, had come from Manchuria and had served the Manchus.<sup>46</sup> Gao Qipei’s playfully elusive subject matter might be considered a good match for the aesthetics of peach bloom.

#### LANGE LIJZEN

Among objects in the Vung Tau cargo of the 1690s was one with panels bearing tall, elegant Chinese women.<sup>47</sup> The subject became popular in Holland, and such figures were at some point dubbed Lange Lijzen, “Tall Lizzies” (for *Elisabeth*), anglicized as “Long Elizas.” The bottle shown in fig. 14, one of a pair, probably made after 1700, exaggerates the height of the ladies by giving them European-style wigs. The producer has altered the product in response to the apparent desires of the market. It is included here because the silver-gilt mounts demonstrate how, subsequently, porcelain

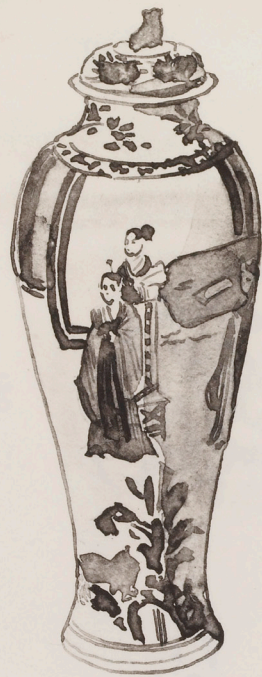
Fig. 14 (left). Bottle with gilt-metal lid (one of a pair), ca. early 18th century. Porcelain with underglaze blue, height with lid 23.8 cm, diam. 7.2 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. Walters, before 1895 (49.1003)



Fig. 15 (right). Beaker with maidens in Kangxi style, Japan (Arita) ca. 1846. Porcelain with underglaze blue, height 15.2 cm, diam. 10.6 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired before 1931 (49.2651)



PLATE XII.



72



74

Fig. 16. *Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain Forming the Collection of Sir Henry Thompson* (London, 1878), with illustrations by James McNeill Whistler, pl. XII. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books (92.1090)



of this type was treasured—considered, evidently, an emblem of Dutch identity and of a golden age of commerce. The silver fittings bear marks that have been identified as those of H. Smits, active 1812–36.<sup>48</sup>

A second instance of the nineteenth-century elevation of the Lang Lijzen is shown in fig. 15. It is inscribed on one face “Geesje” and on the other “van Maanen.” This was Baroness Gesina van Reede van Maanen (1823–93), who married Theodorus Johannes van Maanen (1810–55) in Semarang, on the north coast of Java, in 1846 and most likely ordered a set of china at that time. She knew that she wanted Kangxi-style porcelain, but having it made in China would have been very difficult. Therefore it was made for her in Arita, Japan.<sup>49</sup>

A third nineteenth-century embrace of the Lang Lijzen is that of the American artist James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903). His interest, contrary to Geesje van Maanen’s, had nothing to do with antiquarianism or celebration of the old VOC—though, indeed, blue-and-white porcelain that entered his collection in London had been acquired by Murray Marks in 1863 in Holland, where it was plentiful and cheap.<sup>50</sup> Instead, the Lange Lijzen enabled him to have direct communication with China. Two paintings, both of 1864, involve encounters. In *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (Philadelphia Museum of Art—Whistler used a different spelling), a woman with an embroidered Oriental shawl over her shoulder sits holding a blue-and-white vase, with a brush in her right hand, poised above. Is she painting the vase? Is she holding a brush over a completed vase, contemplating what it would be like to exchange her identity with the Lange Lijzen on the vase, simply by executing brush strokes?<sup>51</sup>

The second painting, *The Little White Girl—Symphony in White No. II* (Tate Gallery, London) shows a woman in Oriental costume standing at a fireplace, gazing at a blue-and-white vase on the mantel. Again, the work is an engagement with questions of identity: the girl is testing her assumed self against the genuine self of the pot. The matter of identity was central to Whistler’s character. At the very beginning of their 1908 biography, Joseph and Elizabeth Pennell relate an anecdote about a man who introduced himself to Whistler in London, saying that he too had been born in Lowell, Massachusetts. This was Whistler’s response:

Very charming! And so you are sixty-eight and were born at Lowell, Massachusetts! Most interesting no doubt,

and as you please! But I shall be born when and where I want, and I do not choose to be born at Lowell, and I refuse to be sixty-seven!<sup>52</sup>

In 1878, a *Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain Forming the Collection of Sir Henry Thompson* was published, with illustrations by Whistler. A fascinating and thorough account of this project by William Johnston has appeared in the *Journal of the Walters Art Museum*.<sup>53</sup> Fig. 16 shows one of the twenty-six plates. These two vases are the same type as the one in fig. 3. In the vase on the right, a warrior appears before an official sitting at a desk.

The sketchiness of the parallel lines on the upper part of the body and down the right-hand side makes it difficult to understand the precise nature of the original design. (This sketchiness could well have convinced Henry Walters, when he decided to publish his father’s porcelain collection, that the illustrations should have an entirely different character.)<sup>54</sup> Whistler presumably thought that the intrinsic nature of the underlying forms could be captured by an immediate reaction—that, or he was also reacting to the reflections on the living object.

There is a passage in Whistler’s lecture “Ten O’Clock (1885/1888)” worth quoting:

Art, the cruel jade, cares not, and hardens her heart, and hies her off to the East, to find, among the opium-eaters of Nankin, a favourite with whom she lingers fondly—caressing his blue porcelain, and painting his coy maidens, and marking his plates with her six marks of choice—indifferent in her companionship with him, to all save the virtue of his refinement.<sup>55</sup>

A paraphrase is in order. Whistler turns from an allusion to philistine Switzerland to Nanking, where an opium-smoking painter welcomes the arrival of Art. She paints Lange Lijzen and acknowledges the painter, because of his exceptional refinement. Art also caresses the artist’s blue-and-white porcelain. So then, perhaps Whistler’s brushstrokes, as illustrated in fig. 16, are, similarly, a way of rendering his own caresses.

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## NOTES

1. For an excellent recent introduction, see R. Kerr and L. E. Mengoni, *Chinese Export Ceramics* (London, 2011). For assistance of various sorts, I am grateful to Louise Cort, David Park Curry, Rose Kerr, Peter Lam, Rob Mintz, and Dawn Rooney. Errors of fact and judgment are my own responsibility.
2. T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima and Other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682* (Leiden, 1954), 41 (1637 CE) and fig. II. See, among recent catalogues, M. Butler and Wang Qingzheng, *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain From the Shanghai Museum and the Butler Collection: Beauty's Enchantment* (Shanghai and London, 2006), 324–25; C. J. A. Jörg and J. van Campen, *Chinese Ceramics in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: The Ming and Qing Dynasties* (London, 1997), 76 (no. 63), “1635–45.”
3. R. S. Kilburn, *Transitional Wares and Their Forerunners* (Hong Kong, 1981); S. Little, *Chinese Ceramics of the Transitional Period, 1620–1683* (New York, 1983); B. Harrison, *Chinese Porcelain: the Transitional Period, 1620–1683: A Selection from the Michael Butler Collection* (Leeuwarden, 1986); M. Butler, M. Medley, and S. Little, *Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain from the Butler Family Collection* (Alexandria Va., 1990); J. B. Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century: Landscapes, Scholar's Motifs and Narratives* (New York, 1995); M. Butler, J. B. Curtis, and S. Little, *Treasures from an Unknown Reign: Shunzhi Porcelain, 1644–1661* (Alexandria, Va, 2002); Butler and Wang Qingzheng, *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain*.
4. Hsü Wen-chin, “Fictional Sources on Chinese Transitional Porcelain (1620–ca. 1683) and Their Sources of Decoration,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 58 (1986): 3–146.
5. C. J. A. Jörg, “Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and Private Enterprise,” in R. E. Scott, ed., *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen* (London, 1993), 186.
6. Butler in *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain*, 324–25.
7. R. Krahl and N. Erbahar, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul: a Complete Catalogue*, 3 vols. (London, 1988), 3: 961, no. 1971 (dated mid- to late seventeenth century) is comparable, but the scrollwork around the body is more Chinese in character. In the same catalogue, cf. also 990 (no. 2093), “late 17th” century. There are two related bottles in the Walters Art Museum in French gilt-bronze mounts, 49.1644 and 49.1645, illustrated in S. W. Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art: Illustrated by Examples from the Collection of W. T. Walters* (New York, 1897; repr. 1980), 6 (fig. 14).
8. C. Sheaf and R. Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Record* (Oxford, 1988), 27 (pl. 14; dated dish, Percival David Foundation), 51 (pl. 63), and 55 (pl. 91).
9. P. Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo Silks* (London, 1965), pl. 7B (identified as Italian, about 1640).
10. C. J. A. Jörg and M. Flecker, *Porcelain from the Vung Tau Wreck: the Hallstrom Excavation* (Singapore, 2001), 21; Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 109.
11. P. K. Y. Lam, “The Dating of Imperial Kangxi Ceramics,” *Bulletin of the Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong* 14 (mid-2005–2006): 51–66, esp. 52–53.
12. Krahl and Erbahar, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray*, 3:930–31 (color plates), 3:1170–74 (nos. 2841–52). Princessehof: B. Harrison, *Later Ceramics in South-East Asia* (Kuala Lumpur, 1995), 48–51 (figs. 60–67), some of which are blue and white and some of which lack the channel foot-rim. Also, the Princessehof website, <http://collectie.princessehof.nl/>, GRV 1929-094 and many others. For an early notice of the type, Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 219 n. 20, wares with a “grooved stand ring.”
13. Lam, “The Dating of Imperial Kangxi Ceramics.”
14. Butler in *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain*, 264–65; a related vase, Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains*, 82–83 (“ca. late 1680s”); Jörg and van Campen, *Chinese Ceramics*, 96–97 (no. 87; “1670–90”).
15. Jörg and Flecker, *Porcelain from the Vung Tau Wreck*, 72 (fig. 65).
16. Krahl and Erbahar, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray*, 3:980 (no. 2058) (no. 2142).
17. Brown-washed rims are considered a pre-1675 feature by Butler in *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain*, 206.
18. M. Zebrowski, *Gold, Silver and Bronze from Mughal India* (London, 1997), 225–45 (the *huqqa* chapter), 224 (fig. 360; a supporting ring).
19. Roundels are standard in Indian metalwork, but isolated ones are rare: Zebrowski, *Gold, Silver and Bronze*, 234 (no. 388).
20. Jörg and Flecker, *Porcelain from the Vung Tau Wreck*, 72 (fig. 65).
21. On the museum's website.
22. The scratching technique can also be seen on a green-, yellow-, and purple-enameled dish at the Walters, 49.1281, a dish related to the enameled channel-footed dishes and resembling Krahl and Erbahar, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray* 3:984–85.
23. Kangxi-period blue-and-white in Thai collections appears in Phutchong Chanthawit, *Khrüang lăi khram* (Bangkok, 2008), 58, 59 (probably specifically Thai market), and 60 and in J. Sng et al., *Bencharong and Chinaware in the Court of Siam: The Surat Osathanugrah Collection* (Bangkok, 2011). There is no documentary evidence that the death of King Narai in 1688 would have brought to an end the production in China of wares with Siamese-type patterns: Dhirawat na Pombejra, “Ayuthaya at the End of the Seventeenth Century: Was There a Shift to Isolation?” in A. Reid, ed., *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1993), 250–72.
24. There are presumably connections with the “blobby dots” border, described as a motif characteristic of the 1662–75 period by Butler in *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain*, 207. Also, the “splash

- and dot border,” Kilburn, *Transitional Wares*, 189 (no. 182, “early Kangxi”).
25. This dish was acquired by the late Henry Ginsburg and is now in a private collection in Thailand. An exception to the absence of recorded information concerning finds in the river is a presentation by the late Richard Kilburn, “Wares for the Southeast Asian Market,” at Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain—A Symposium, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 27–28 March 1992. After the period of recovery had ended, Kilburn visited a site where unsalable shards had been deposited.
  26. 1640–70: Kilburn, *Transitional Wares*, 186 (no. 173); 1650–60: Butler and Wang Qingzheng, *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain*, 344–45 (no. 132).
  27. For a survey, Natthaphat Chanthawit, *Khrüang thuai chîn. . . / Natthapatra Chandavij, Chinese Ceramics from the Archaeological Sites in Thailand* (Bangkok, 1986).
  28. Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652–1853* (Cambridge Mass., 1977), 41.
  29. For the king of Siam’s ships, Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 180 (1664) and 191 (1681), and Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit*, 40 (clandestine Ayutthaya-Fujian trade).
  30. “Il y a quinze cens ou quinze cens cinquante pieces de pourcelaine des plus belles, des plus curieuses de toutes les Indes; il y en qu’il y a plus de deux cent cinquante ans qui sont faites, toutes très fines, et toutes des tasses et assiettes, petits plats et grand vases de toutes sortes de façons et grandeurs.” H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le gout chinois en France au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1910), 256–62, esp. 258. Publications concerning the exchange include M. Jacq-Hergoualc’h, *Phra Narai, roi de Siam, et Louis XIV: Musée de l’Orangerie, 13 juin–13 juillet* (Paris, 1986), and Jacq-Hergoualc’h, *L’Europe et le Siam du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: Apports culturels* (Paris, 1993).
  31. A copy of this document, *Agates, cristaux, porcelaines, bronzes, et autres curiositez qui font le Cabinet de Monseigneur le Dauphin à Versailles inventoriez en M DC LXXXIX*, was made for the library of the Walters Art Museum by the Getty Research Institute. It is discussed in F. J. B. Watson, G. Wilson, and A. Derham, *Mounted Oriental Porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, Calif., 1982), 8–10.
  32. For bowls and cups of various dimensions, see Krahl and Erbahar, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum*, 3:963–69, 971–77.
  33. For a lion lid, see Krahl and Erbahar, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum*, (no. 2079). There were covered silver (?) bowls with lion on the lid among the gifts from Siam: Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland* (New Haven, 1978), 20 (fig. 18).
  34. The *pot couvert* no. 19 is height 7.5 × diam. 7 French inches (20.3 × 18.9 cm). (The old French inch [pouce] = 0.94 of our inch.) Two covered blue-and-white covered bowls that remain in Thai collections are probably relevant to the *pot couvert*: Phutchong Chanthawit, *Khrüang lái khrām* (Bangkok, 2008), 58 and 60. Cf. also *Dong Hai Pingtan Wan Jiao yi hao chu shui ci qi* 東海平潭碗礁一号出水瓷器 (Beijing, 2006), 78–83 (nos. 24–27). This publication records the cargo of a shipwreck found in Chinese waters, apparently dating from the 1680s or early 1690s (perhaps somewhat earlier than Vung Tau). There is another wreck that has been salvaged (in 1986–88) but remains unpublished, the San Jose, sunk off Lubang Island, Mindoro, Philippines in 1694. An object from the cargo is on view in a case of wares recovered from shipwrecks at the Musée Guimet, Paris.
  35. Watson, Wilson, and Derham, *Mounted Oriental Porcelain*, 7 (fig. 10).
  36. Other *urne* in the Walters collection include a pair in gilt-bronze mounts (49.2203 and 49.2204), published in Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art*, 138 (fig. 178), but they cannot be matched with any object in the list of sixty-four. Nevertheless, the dimensions are similar: H. 41.7 × D. 22.9 cm. *Urne* no. 47 has a height equivalent to 36.9 cm. and diameter equivalent to 20.3 cm. The metal cover on jar 49.1676, fig. 11, might be of Indonesian manufacture. An apparently identical jar collected in Indonesia is in the Princessehof, GAM 1736, dated “c. 1650–70” in Harrisson, *Later Ceramics*, 45 (fig. 58a, b). The design on a covered bowl in *Dong Hai Pingtan*, 82–83 (no. 27), suggests that such patterns persisted into the 1680s. The fairly common Kangxi-marked dishes with channel foot and overall lotus scroll are also relevant. One of these is in the Walters (49.1507): Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art*, 7 (fig. 17).
  37. According to the list of gifts from the king of Siam to the Monseigneur in 1686, “Il y a outre cela 190 porcelaines tant grandes que petite, toutes belles et quelques-unes fort anciennes” (Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le gout chinois*, 262). The inventory has a separate section listing pieces of Chinese porcelain that were not part of the Siamese gift.
  38. S. G. Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics* (New York, 1975), 199.
  39. Lam, “The Dating of Imperial Kangxi Ceramics.”
  40. W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters: The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore, 1999), 95–99.
  41. For one aspect of such a study, Hui-Wen Lu, “Two Pieces of Kangxi Porcelain Decorated in Underglaze Red in the Walters Art Museum,” *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 64/65 (2006/2007, published 2009): 171–76.
  42. A matching bottle in underglaze blue in the Palace Museum, Beijing, is published in 青花釉裏紅 *Qing hua you li hong*, vol. 3 / *Blue and white porcelain with underglazed red (III)*, The Complete Collection of Treasures of the Palace Museum, vol. 36 (Xianggang, 2000), 24 (no. 19). A second underglaze-red example has been published in Xu Huping, 宮廷珍藏：中國清代官窯瓷器 *Gong*

ting zhen cang: *Zhongguo Qing dai guan yao ci qi / Treasures in the royalty: The Official Kiln Porcelain of the Chinese Qing dynasty* (Shanghai, 2003), 98.

43. There is a similar steamer in the Victoria and Albert Museum: R. Kerr, *Later Chinese Bronzes* (London, 1990), 51. See also R. D. Jacobsen, "Inlaid Bronzes of Pre-Imperial China: a Classic Tradition and Its Later Revivals" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1984), 268–69. *Xian* 54.2175 has a cast-in inscription of twelve characters in three columns. It consists of characters taken (with errors) from the inscription on either the Da Yu Ding or the Xiao Yu Ding, famous tripods of the Western Chou period. I thank Wei-Ling Chang of the Academia Sinica (also Te-chi Tsao) for the identification.
44. Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago, 1996), 217.
45. Quoted in Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 96. The source for the information about the provenance is given incorrectly in J. Ayers, "The 'Peachbloom' Wares of the Kangxi Period (1662-1722)," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 64 (1999–2000): 31–50.
46. Klaas Ruitenbeck, *Discarding the Brush: Gao Qiwei (1660–1734) and the Art of Chinese Finger Painting* (Amsterdam, 1992), 258 (a painting in the Collections Baur, Geneva).
47. Jörg and Flecker, *Porcelain from the Vung Tau Wreck*, 45 (fig. 10).
48. Letter from C. J. A. Jörg, 7 November 1990, curatorial files, Walters Art Museum. Marked HS; there is no letter denoting the year. The pair is illustrated in Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art*, 18 (fig. 42).
49. For the identification I thank Dr. Christiaan Jörg, email of 6 August 2004. A second piece from the set, a covered beaker with flower sprays in panels, is in a private collection in the Netherlands and was published in C. Jörg, "Negentiende-eeuwse Japans export-porselein in Kangxi stijl: Chinese thee uit Japanse kopjes," in *Een illusie armer, een ervaring rijker*, Vormen uit voor 184/185 (2003): 72–75. On both objects the six-character mark, in two columns, reads: [藏春亭三保造] *Zoushuntei Sanpo Zo* (Chinese *cang chun ting san bao zao*), "Made by Sanpo of the Pavilion of the Hidden Spring," a mark used between 1842 and 1856 on porcelain made by or for Hisadomi Yojibe, a merchant in Arita.
50. E. R. and J. Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1908), 1:117.
51. L. Merrill made similar observations in *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (Washington, New Haven, and London, 1998), 54, but proposed "an allegorical reading, in which the vase represents the creative product and the brush is the artist's attribute. . . ."
52. Pennell, *James McNeill Whistler*, 1:2.
53. W. R. Johnston, "A Bibliophile's Confection," *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 66/67 (2008/2009, published 2011): 69–86.
54. For the project that led to the publication of S. W. Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art* (1896), see Hui-Wen Lu, "Imaging Oriental Art in Late Nineteenth-Century America: The Walters Collection Catalogue," in J. Silbergeld, D. Y. C. Ching, J. G. Smith, and A. Murck (eds.) *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Wen C. Fong*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 2011), 2:713–44.
55. [J. McN.] Whistler, *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (New York, 1953), 156–57.

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## WHAT'S BEHIND THE *MONA LISA* (IN THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM)?

JOANEATH SPICER

An aspect of the study of the most famous portrait in the world, *Portrait of Lisa Gherardini, known as Mona Lisa* (fig. 1), painted by Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) in 1503–6, has been to consider the various extant early copies, those datable to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> One of these belongs to the Walters Art Museum (fig. 2), having been acquired

by Henry Walters, possibly in 1905 (in any case by 1909 and bequeathed to the new Walters Art Gallery in 1931).<sup>2</sup> Virtually its whole publishing history is tied to this connection.<sup>3</sup>

Until now, the Walters version enjoyed only one modest claim to particular attention in this context: the copyist's development of the columns at the sides, of which there are



Fig. 1. Leonardo da Vinci (Italian, 1452–1519), *Portrait of Lisa Gherardini, wife of Francesco del Giocondo, known as the Mona Lisa*, 1503–6. Oil on poplar panel, 77 × 53 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (779)



Fig. 2. French, copy after the *Mona Lisa*, ca. 1630–35 or later. Oil on canvas, 79.3 × 63.5 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, before 1909 (37.1158)



Fig. 3. X-radiograph of painting in fig. 2, 1959, illustrated upside down and revealing a version of Vouet's *St. Veronica* (fig. 4) underneath



Fig. 4. Simon Vouet (French, 1590–1649), *St. Veronica Holding the Holy Shroud*, ca. 1629–35. Oil on canvas, 120 × 90 cm. Musée de Tessé, Le Mans (10.83).

only slivers and a bit of the bases along edges of the painted area in the original and in the Prado copy, the latter now established as produced in Leonardo's studio at the same time as the original and therefore a workshop replica.<sup>4</sup> While that version may have remained in Italy, Leonardo took the original painting with him to France. It was purchased by Francis I, becoming part of the royal collections at the palace at Fontainebleau, which is where the copyist of the Walters painting presumably saw it. Indeed, all the known early copies appear to reflect the original in the royal collections rather than the replica.<sup>5</sup>

Technical examinations of the Louvre painting published in 2006 indicate that the minimal indication of columns in the original is not due to the panel having been cut down (as many had thought) but must have been Leonardo's intention;<sup>6</sup> therefore it is likely that the solidly defined columns introduced by later painters were meant as "clarifications," possibly under the mistaken impression that Leonardo's panel

must have been cut down. The result of the introduction of columns is to give a clearer sense of the sitter's spatial location within a specific architecturally articulated space of a loggia, whereas deemphasizing such specificity (as in Leonardo's completed composition) places more emphasis on the dreamlike, fantastical character of the famous landscape.

Given the interest surrounding the publicizing in 2011 of the discovery that an early copy belonging to the Museo del Prado in Madrid was probably made right in Leonardo's workshop, I am prompted to publish a small discovery concerning the history of the Walters copy, a discovery made in 2006 — at the time of excitement surrounding the publication of technical examinations of the Louvre original.

The Walters copy was traditionally dated to the late 1500s or early 1600s. In 1959 the painting was x-rayed (fig. 3), and it was noted that the present painting was executed over another half-length figure but with the orientation of top and bottom reversed. If the intended composition of the



new painting is similar to the preceding, artists working in oil on canvas sometimes reversed the orientation of top and bottom, presumably to cut down on the possibly disruptive effect of the build up of the paint of the earlier one on the second. At the time that the x-ray was made, the underlying figure was recognized by the veil held up as St. Veronica, a popular figure in late medieval art.

Taking a look at a photograph of the x-ray during a meeting, I had the happy inspiration that the general outlines of the underlying figure did not suggest fifteenth century at all (the earliest period from which a work on canvas could probably date) but rather mid-seventeenth, maybe 1630s and (given that the artist was assumed to be French) perhaps Simon Vouet. The conservator sitting next to me in the meeting, Terry Drayman Weisser, and I went back to my office and with the wonders of Google images, immediately found Vouet's *St. Veronica* in Le Mans (fig. 4), datable to ca. 1629–30.<sup>7</sup> As can be seen by a comparison of the illustrations, the *St. Veronica* under the *Mona Lisa* was probably originally about the same size as the Le Mans painting but was cut down to create a support that is about the same size as the Louvre *Mona Lisa*.

Simon Vouet (1590–1649) was recalled to Paris by Louis XIII in 1627 from a multiyear stay in Rome.<sup>8</sup> He became an active participant in the king's plans to commission grandiose artistic projects to support the cause of the monarchy but also the cause of resurgent Catholicism. In her catalogue of the French paintings in the museum at Le Mans, Elizabeth Foucart-Walter outlines the contemporaneous revival of interest in the legendary saint, whom some believed to have died in France, and identifies two "faithful" copies of the Le Mans painting, of the type that could have met this new demand.

The intriguing result of the curious superimposition in the Walters painting is that the portrait now visible is executed in an earlier style than the painting underneath. Over the course of his career in Paris, Vouet had a number of younger artists in his workshop, some of whom are only names today.<sup>9</sup> While it is possible that the seventeenth-century painting underneath is a rejected version by the master, it is more likely that it is a further copy.<sup>10</sup> Certainly the execution of the Walters *Mona Lisa* does not reflect Vouet's creamy Baroque style of brushwork. Nevertheless, in a workshop geared to serve the needs of the monarchy, it cannot be excluded that a request for a close copy of a famous painting was filled by

an assistant ready to subordinate his own style to that of the great Renaissance master.<sup>11</sup>

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## NOTES

Throughout his career, Bill Johnston has provided a model of the scholar who can magically extract intriguing results from unexpected places, a model that I strive to follow. He remains as well a model of collegial generosity and friendship. Thanks.

1. See, for example, M. Burrell, "Reynolds's *Mona Lisa*," *Apollo* 65, no. 535 (September 2006): 71 (in the appendix catalogue of the most frequently discussed versions).
2. The known history: Lady Louisa Ashburton, Kent House, Knightsbridge; Ashburton Sale, Christie's, London, 8 July 1905, lot no. 17; Henry Walters, Baltimore, before 1909 (possibly purchased directly or indirectly from the 1905 sale but before the publication of the 1909 catalogue [see following note]); Walters Art Museum, 1931, by bequest. Henry Walters was preoccupied with eliminating documentation surrounding his purchases, for which see W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore, 1999).
3. [Henry Walters], *The Walters Collection* (Baltimore, [1909]), 100, no. 468 as a copy of L. da Vinci, "Lisa, Gioconda"; M. Florisoon and S. Béguin, *Hommage à Léonard de Vinci*, exh. cat., Paris: Musée du Louvre (1952), 28, no. 31; C. Pedretti, "Uno 'studio' per la Gioconda," *L'Arte* 24, n.s. 3 (July–September 1959): 159–224; F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1976) 2:580 (list of paintings that were not catalogued); J. F. Mills and J. M. Mansfield, *The Genuine Article* (London, 1979), 138; M. R. Storey, *Mona Lisas* (New York, 1980), 21; A. Chastel, *L'illustration inconnue: Mona Lisa* (Paris, 1988), 16; F. Zöllner, "Leonardo's Portrait of Mona Lisa del Giocondo," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 121 (March 1993), 133 n. 52; F. Zöllner and J. Nathan, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (Cologne, 2003, rev. ed. 2011), 241; Burrell, "Reynolds's *Mona Lisa*," 71.
4. Atelier of Leonardo da Vinci, *La Gioconda*, ca. 1503–16. Oil on walnut panel, 76.3 × 57 × 1.8 cm, cat. no. P-504 [formerly no. 393,666,199]. See Vincent Delieuvin, ed., *La Sainte Anne: L'ultime chef-d'oeuvre de Léonard de Vinci*, exh. cat., Paris: Musée du Louvre (2012), no. 77 (A. González Mozo).
5. As clarified by Miguel Falomir Faus, Head of the Department of Italian and French Painting (before 1700) at the Museo Nacional del Prado, in private communications.
6. See J.-P. Mohen, M. Menu, and B. Mottin, *Au coeur de La Joconde: Léonard de Vinci décodé* (Paris, 2006. English translation: *Mona Lisa: Inside the Painting* [New York, 2006]).



7. Elisabeth Foucart-Walter, *Le Mans, Musée de Tessé: Peintures françaises du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1982), no. 93 (with earlier bibliography).
8. For the best overview of the artist, see Jacques Thuillier, *Vouet*, exh. cat., Paris: Galleries nationales du Grand Palais (1990).
9. For Vouet's studio in Paris, see Thuillier, *Vouet*, 36–60.
10. Since the image of St. Veronica in the Walters example was initially roughly the same size as Vouet's original, it is unlikely that it was based on the reproductive engraving of Vouet's painting by Charles David, which in any case is engraved in reverse. For an illustration of the engraving, see Thuillier, *Vouet*, 71.
11. To address the possibility that the copy was made much later than the mid-1600s, a study of the elemental composition of the paint was carried out by Glenn Gates, conservation scientist at the Walters, Karen French, senior paintings conservator, and Pamela Betts, associate paintings conservator. Their findings, though cursory, indicated that "the elemental composition of the paint used for Mona Lisa is consistent with materials available to artists since antiquity. . . . The only evidence of Industrial Age materials is the presence of barium traces, but this seems to be in the material of the lining, which was apparently applied in France before acquisition by H. Walters."

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Musée de Tessé, Le Mans, France / Giraudon / The Bridgeman Art Library: fig. 4; © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY: fig. 1; The Walters Art Museum, Division of Conservation and Technical Research: fig. 3; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: fig. 2

## DOMINIQUE DAGUERRE AND JOSIAH WEDGWOOD

DIANA EDWARDS

By 1787 Josiah Wedgwood's (1730–1795) earthenware, or “creamware,” as well his ornamental jaspers and basalts, had been exported for more than a decade throughout Europe. From surviving documents in the Wedgwood archives, it would appear that French interest in Wedgwood's wares was particularly active just prior to the French Revolution, beginning around 1785. The manufactory was in Etruria, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, with London showrooms located at no. 12 Greek, Soho. Portland House, as it was known, opened in 1774 and was as fashionable a shopping destination in London as Dominique Daguerre's (d. 1796) À la Couronne d'Or in Paris. A great deal has been written about Daguerre's role as one of the leading Parisian *marchands-merciers* of the last third of the eighteenth century;<sup>1</sup> Daguerre's business association with Wedgwood, however, has been overlooked.

Daguerre joined his mentor and partner Simon-Philippe Poirier (1720–1785) in a shop along the fashionable rue Saint-Honoré, where other leading *marchands-merciers* such as Thomas-Joachim Hébert, Lazare Duvaux, the Julliot family, and Gilles Bazin were established.<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known about Daguerre's birth or his past before his association with Poirier. Poirier opened his shop, À la Couronne d'Or, near the rue du Roule, in 1742 and probably came into the business through Hébert, his uncle.<sup>3</sup> It would seem that Daguerre began working with Poirier at least by 1772 and perhaps earlier. Daguerre, who married on 15 April 1772, was at that time styled as a marchand-mercier living in a house on rue Saint-Honoré. Kinship relationships established many marchand families in business. Daguerre was a cousin of Poirier's wife, Marguerite-Madeline Heucquerre. At the time of Daguerre's marriage, his wife's dowry was 31,600 *livres*, to which an additional 20,000 *livres* was gifted them by the Poiriers, with a promise of 30,000 more from the Poirier estate, as the Poiriers were childless.<sup>4</sup>

The business in the 1770s and 1780s consisted of sales of bespoke furniture, often inset with Sèvres porcelain plaques or other ceramics, clocks, gilt bronzes, and marble vases. Poirier and Daguerre often commissioned *mâtres ébénistes* Martin Carlin (ca. 1739–1785) or Adam Weisweiler (1744–1820) to execute furniture orders, buying the plaques or other porcelain pieces directly from the Sèvres factory (fig. 1). Many of these high-fashion objects were destined for the royal family. By 1777 Daguerre seems to have taken over the business at La Couronne d'Or from Poirier.<sup>5</sup> Sometime around 1780 Daguerre brought Martin Eloi Lignereux (d. 1809) into the partnership.<sup>6</sup> Daguerre and Lignereux opened a London branch in Piccadilly in June 1787, either with the prospect of working with Henry Holland, architect of Carlton House, or simply to take advantage of the opening of commercial



Fig. 1. Paper trade label bearing the name of the purveyor, Dominique Daguerre. This label is affixed to a *bureau plat* or writing table stamped “Martin Carlin.” The table, inset with fourteen soft-paste porcelain Sèvres plaques, was purchased by Empress of Russia Maria Feodorovna in 1784 from Daguerre and installed in the state bedroom at Pavlovsk. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (83.DA.385)

prospects offered by the Anglo-French Treaty of 1786/87.<sup>7</sup> The greater part of the work on Carlton House was executed between 1787 and November of 1789. Holland listed £50,374.88 as his expenses in 1789, and a further £7,025.00 were charged by Daguerre, who worked with Holland on furnishings for the grand house.<sup>8</sup> Daguerre also supplied Holland with furnishings for Althorp, Woburn, and other English country houses.

Josiah Wedgwood was not particularly early in penetrating the French market. His first exports seem to have been to North America and the Baltic states, but they consisted primarily of direct sales to consumers or the occasional merchant without the participation of an agent. By 1769, trade with New York was considerable, and that same year Du Burk in Holland began selling Wedgwood wares. In 1772 Wedgwood supplied the Elector of Saxony with goods that elicited the highest praise; by 1774, he was selling to Italy and by 1776 to Spain, but it was only in late 1776 that Wedgwood's partner, Thomas Bentley (1730–1780), visited Paris and began considering that market.<sup>9</sup>

Correspondence between Daguerre and Wedgwood, as well as Wedgwood's son, Josiah Wedgwood II, and his nephew, clerk of the works Thomas Byerley, survives in the Wedgwood archives spanning the period 1787 to 1793, with the bulk of the correspondence dated 1787 and 1788.<sup>10</sup> In a long letter, dated 26 February 1787, Daguerre responds to Wedgwood about an offer to make Daguerre a Paris agent. The letter indicates that Josiah Wedgwood II and Byerley negotiated a verbal agreement when they were in Paris to use Daguerre's premises at La Couronne d'Or as a showroom for Wedgwood's earthenware, ornamental jaspers, and basalts.<sup>11</sup> Daguerre writes: "I can assure you that in all Paris your depot could not be either in a house more known, or a quarter more advantageous . . . [and] your articles will be better distinguished from those which your imitators may send hither." Daguerre goes on to say that "it would be infinitely better that there should be only one house that was the depository," reasoning that rivalries might arise between agents. Daguerre adds that he wishes to have "a complete assortment of every model. . . . Your manufacture being little known here, it is experience that will teach us which articles will have the greatest vogue." The letter finishes with the terms of the agreement regarding carriage, breakage, and discounts and instructs Wedgwood to send the wares to the port of Rouen (the closest seaport to Paris).<sup>12</sup> The ensuing

months of 1787 brought several items of correspondence between Wedgwood's Parisian bankers Perregaux & Cie, suggesting that Daguerre was less than prompt in signing the final agreement; in September, Perregaux wrote to Daguerre saying that he should also settle his debts to Mr. Byerley.<sup>13</sup>

However, by the summer of 1787 Daguerre was already in London and meeting with Byerley and Wedgwood's other Paris agent, Henry Sykes.<sup>14</sup> Sykes & Co were located advantageously in Paris on the Place du Palais Royale (fig. 2) and in Bordeaux; their London depot was in Blackfriars. It would be interesting to know what language was spoken between Daguerre, Sykes, and Byerley; presumably Sykes spoke French, as his business was based mainly in France. Byerley was fluent in French and may have translated much of the French correspondence for Wedgwood.

In 1787 Wedgwood produced two bas-reliefs, modeled by John Flaxman, representing the commercial treaty with France. One consisted of three figures representing Mercury as the God of Commerce uniting England and France. The second was Mars attempting to burst into the locked Temple of Janus, which is guarded by two caducei; Peace waits outside the temple and arrests Mars's rage with her gentle arms. Wedgwood intended Daguerre to deliver these two plaques to Sir William Eden, the English representative in negotiating the terms of the commercial treaty, on Daguerre's way back to France. The treaty, signed in Versailles on 26 September 1786, kept Eden in France for much of the following year.<sup>15</sup>

In August 1787 Wedgwood sent Daguerre thirteen cases of creamware from Liverpool on the *Roma*. It was a large order, with each of the cases ranging in weight from 210 to 335 pounds.<sup>16</sup> Another undated letter probably written around the same time placed an order for 127 pieces of tableware including a *Lampe de nuit premier grandeur* and two smaller lamps. The creamware borders in the tableware included a Greek border, *bord et bordière Bleu* (edged and blue-edged), *Blanches* (white), *Bleu émail* (blue enamel), and *feuille vigne* (acanthus vine).<sup>17</sup> The order comprises tea wares, cups and saucers, milk pots, and butter dishes as well as a breakfast set for two in the Etruscan brown border pattern and twenty-two covered water pots with blue Etruscan borders. Flower pots and garden pots in various colors, including red and white and *blanches circle doré et perle*, were among the specified forms in earthenware. There were also listings for ornamental wares in *Camené porcelain Jaspe* (jasper relief). Another



	Shilling
7 Large Jasper's Antique Subjects	3 3
6 Lamps	2 5
15 Lamps	3 15
15 Lamps	2 12 6
6 Small Wares	0 15
	<hr/>
	12 10 6
	2 10 1
Nett	£ 10 0 5

Fig. 2. Invoice from Henry Sykes & Co, Paris, returning cameos to Wedgwood, 25 January 1787. Sykes and Daguerre were Wedgwood's principal agents in Paris. Wedgwood Archives, Barlaston, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, Ms. 11919-69

*Lampe de Nuit* costing £2,2,0, one *Ecritoire [en] forme de Bateau* (£1.11.6), two *petite Vase[s]* no. 13 *avec anses* (21 shillings each), and one *Tasse et Longcoup fond Bleu* (9 shillings). Under *Camené Blanc et autre* are one candelabra no. 2 (£1.11.6), various flower and garden pots, cruet stands for oil and vinegar, double salt cellars, basalt teawares and inkwells, baskets and stands, and a variety of covers and bases for various pots that probably came without them or whose bases had been broken in transit.<sup>18</sup>

Wares were shipped through Rouen as suggested by Daguerre and then sent to Paris. Wedgwood's factor receiving the goods in Rouen was William Sturgeon.<sup>19</sup> According to Sturgeon, Daguerre was not easy to work with; he wrote to Byerley in London: "if M. Daguerre gave me some uneasiness & vexation your kindness sufficiently compensates. I acknowledge myself hurt at Mr. Daguerre's [word undecipherable] Reproaches, & had not your [*sic*] better accounted in some measure for Temper, I should have supposed he had mistaken me for my stable Boy."<sup>20</sup>

The first shipment of Daguerre's order was forwarded from Rouen along the Seine on 30 July 1787 but did not arrive in Paris until 30 August. A Wedgwood account book for the months June, July, and October 1787 lists goods amounting to £2647.8.8 sold to Daguerre, which would have included the July shipment.<sup>21</sup> In mid-August 1787, Captain Roberts's ship from Liverpool became stranded in one of the rivers, probably the Seine, and was quickly off-loaded to try to salvage the goods.<sup>22</sup> A year later, in September 1788, Byerley

came to Paris and found that only part of the goods—the jasper and basalt vases, medallions, and relief wares—had been unpacked. Most of the earthenware had been crammed into a dark cellar still packed in the original straw; Byerley could not do a proper inventory since many of the inventory numbers had faded in the damp warehouse. In short, those wares could not be sold and had to be replaced. A postscript to the letter Byerley sent to Wedgwood records that Wedgwood felt materially damaged and betrayed by Daguerre; because of their agreement the previous year, he had not looked for other commercial outlets in Paris.<sup>23</sup> The replacement creamware table wares may have been those sent on the *Ellen* on 10 January 1788<sup>24</sup>; they included "200 doz. Table plates, 500 'differs' [?] and 100 bowls."<sup>25</sup> That particular crossing incurred much damage to the goods on board the *Ellen*, including those intended for Daguerre.<sup>26</sup>

Surviving correspondence between Wedgwood and Daguerre from the autumn of 1788 and January 1789 records that Daguerre ordered "1 oblong Tablet Apotheosis of Homer" for £10.10.0 and a set of chessmen for £5.5.0.<sup>27</sup> These would have been blue-and-white jasper, which was the height of fashion and very expensive. The tablet, modeled by John Flaxman, could have been inset into a large piece of furniture, but it was more likely intended for a fireplace surround.<sup>28</sup> Later that year Daguerre ordered "4 oblong octagon medallions upright single figures 6 7/8 by 4 1/8 [inches]" for £6.6.0.<sup>29</sup> Medallions of this size were likely furniture insets.

Daguerre involved lawyers in what appear to be minor conflicts with Wedgwood in the autumn of 1788. William Boyd was negotiating for both sides with the advice of Monsieur Perregaux in Paris. Nevertheless, business took precedence, and Daguerre ordered "une quantité de perles" (jasper beads for jewelry), cameos, and bas-relief medallions. Each order contains reproaches against Wedgwood for orders not expeditiously received.<sup>30</sup> In spite of the friction between Daguerre and Wedgwood, correspondence from "Daguerre & Cie Paris" in 1789 (probably composed by Daguerre's partner Martin-Eloi Lignereux), indicates that Daguerre continued to make purchases of creamware dinnerware to be sent through the factor, a Monsieur Cotereau, in Rouen.<sup>31</sup>

Where Daguerre was principally located at this time, whether in London working with Henry Holland, or in Paris, is not known. It would appear that after 1787 Daguerre was mainly doing business in London, but he probably traveled back and forth until the Revolution. A partner in Paris, such

as Lignereux, would have provided the mobility Daguerre required to work in both countries. In the fall of 1791 Daguerre was ordering a “buis camées ronds du subjects varies . . . aller deux par deux” and “un buis garnituerée du signe du Zodiac du nouveau bleu”;<sup>32</sup> a drawing on the order indicates the size (4 ¾ inches). Another order (in English) requests “2 Etruscan painted bell drops” (black basalt encaustic painted bell pulls) at 7/, “8 round medallions 4 5/8 diameter £7.4.0, 8 Sets of Cameos Signs of the Zodiac £24.0.0, 2 Jasper Baskets and Garden Pots £2,2,0, 2 figure[s] Apollo £1.1.0, 1 Black Antique Lamp £0.1.6, 2 Sitting Sphynx [sic] with Nossels £1.10.0.”<sup>33</sup> The Apollo, the lamp and the Sphinx candlesticks, on the evidence of the low prices and description, were all black basalt; the round medallions (priced significantly higher) were jasper, probably intended for mounting into furniture. In 1793 Daguerre ordered another tablet, probably also for furniture or as an element in a fireplace surround, of blue-and-white jasper for £6.6.0, the subject of which was not specified.<sup>34</sup>

Opportunities for commerce between England and France increased after the signing of the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce on 26 September 1786; the highest duties on imports to each country were fixed at 10 percent for metalwork and woodwork and 12 percent for porcelain.<sup>35</sup> In 1787 the Prince of Wales owed him £14,565.12s, being the balance outstanding on goods supplied. By 1794 Daguerre had moved his business to England, setting up offices at 42 Sloane Street, Hans Town (now Chelsea), very near Holland House. In 1795, Daguerre wrote. “I am seen in this country [England] as an honest man, according to the Treaty of Commerce that exists between the two nations. . . .”<sup>36</sup> The Prince of Wales’s bill was still unpaid when Daguerre died on 20 August 1796.<sup>37</sup>

Daguerre seems to have been on very good terms with Henry Holland; Holland and Robert Slade were the executors of his estate, the partnership with Lignereux having been dissolved shortly before Daguerre’s death in 1796.<sup>38</sup> Apparently

Daguerre’s wife had predeceased him, as the remainder of his estate was left to a sister, Clare Daguerre, at Jean-de-Luz, and the children of his late brother Jean.<sup>39</sup> Josiah Wedgwood died the previous year, on 3 January 1795.

Daguerre’s position as the principal marchand-mercier for Sèvres furniture plaques is well documented, but no such documentation survives regarding his relationship with Wedgwood; indeed, there are fewer examples of furniture inset with Wedgwood jaspers than with Sèvres porcelains. The two major ébénistes working for Daguerre were Martin Carlin and Adam Weisweiler. Although many examples of Carlin furniture with Sèvres insets survive, only two by (or attributed to) Weisweiler are known: an upright secretary in the Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 3) and a table in the Walters Art Museum (figs. 4, 5).

The principal wood in the upright *secrétaire à abattant* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is thuya veneer on oak; the central panel is inset with a rectangular Sèvres plaque of pale turquoise with an *oeil-de-perdrix* border; although Sèvres was producing imitation Wedgwood jasper medallions, the



Fig. 3. *Secrétaire à abattant*, ca. 1787–90, attributed to Adam Weisweiler inset with a rectangular Sèvres plaque decorated by Edme-François Bouillat père (1739/40–1810) and fifteen blue-and-white jasper cameos by Josiah Wedgwood. 129.5 × 68.6 × 40.6 cm. The central cameo inset into the stand, *Winged Cupid upon a Swan*, is number 181 “Class II Bas-Reliefs, Medallions and Tablets” in the 1787 Wedgwood trade catalog of 1787; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958 (58.75.57)



blue-and-white medallions flanking the porcelain panel are in fact Wedgwood, probably supplied to the cabinetmaker by Daguerre. Dauterman and Parker suggest that the cat's cradle stretcher of the upright secretary is in Weisweiler style and very like one in a drawing supplied by Daguerre to Prince Albert, duke of Sachsen-Teschen.<sup>40</sup> The larger oval medallions on the sides are designs from "Domestic Employment" by Lady Templeton, who worked for Wedgwood in the 1780s; they were advertised in the 1787 Wedgwood Trade Catalog. Other medallions are by John Flaxman, and the smaller cameos are taken from antique gems also listed in the 1787 catalog.

Another Weisweiler piece inset with a Wedgwood blue-and-white jasper medallion is a console table in the Walters Art Museum with an inlaid front panel very similar to the bottom panel of the Kress secretary, except that the Walters console medallion depicts the *Sacrifice to Peace* whereas the secretary has *Winged Cupid upon a Swan*. The full extent of Dominique Daguerre's commercial activities with Josiah Wedgwood may never be elucidated, but the glimpses are tantalizing.

*Diana Edwards is an independent scholar who has published widely on English ceramic history*

## NOTES

The author is grateful for the help of Christianne Henry, former head of the library at the Walters Art Museum, for help in obtaining sources for this article and to the Trustees of the Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston, Stoke-on-Trent, for permission to quote from the Wedgwood archives and reproduce the Sykes invoice.

1. Marchands-merciers were a guild of merchants dealing in luxury furnishings and works of art. Guild rules prevented them from designing or manufacturing anything themselves, thus the employment of gifted artisans to supply the needs of clients from the royal family and members of the nobility. Among the many sources, some of which are cited below, is Carolyn Sargentson's *Merchant and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996), which has many references to Daguerre.
2. S. Erickson, *Early Neoclassicism in France* (London, 1974), 133.
3. G. de Bellaigue, *James A. de Rothschild Waddeston Manor: Furniture, Clocks and Gilt Bronzes* (Fribourg, 1974), 858.



Fig. 4 (left). Console, ca. 1787–90, made by Adam Weisweiler of rosewood with painted tin and a marble top, 88.5 × 122 × 30.4 cm. The central panel is inset with a Wedgwood blue-and-white jasper medallion of *Sacrifice to Peace*, number 171 "Class II Bas-Reliefs, Medallions and Tablets" in the Wedgwood Trade Catalog of 1787; The console was in the Baron Alfred de Rothschild collection, purchased by Henry Walters from Jacques Seligmann & Co., New York before 1931. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters (65.18)

Fig. 5 (right). Detail of fig. 4



4. Ibid. In 1788, two *livres* were the equivalent of one shilling (Wedgwood Ms. 4079–23); a pound comprised twenty shillings.
5. For a thorough account of the Daguerre and Poirier porcelain furniture insets, see J. Whitehead, “The Marchands-Merciers and Sèvres,” in *International Ceramics Fair Catalogue*, (London, 1993), 36–43.
6. D. Stroud, *Henry Holland: His Life and Architecture* (London, 1966), 75.
7. A. Finer and G. Savage, eds., *Selected Letters of Josiah Wedgwood* (London, 1965), 304.
8. Stroud, *Henry Holland*, 69.
9. E. Meteyard, *A Group of Englishmen (1795–1815)* (London, 1871), 41.
10. The Wedgwood archives are located at the Wedgwood factory in Barlaston, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, and largely comprise business letters from the factory. There are two principal accumulations of letters: those written between Josiah Wedgwood and his partner Thomas Bentley during from partnership from 1769 until Bentley’s death in 1780 (Wedgwood and Bentley Papers). A second archive was disposed of by the factory in the mid-nineteenth century and partially returned when Joseph Mayer of Liverpool happened upon greengrocers in Birmingham wrapping up produce in the factory correspondence; he purchased what remained and returned it to Wedgwood (Mayer Papers). In the main, the papers are indexed, but they are not on line.
11. Wedgwood Ms. 4070–23.
12. Wedgwood Ms. 4070–23.
13. Paris, 19 April 1787, Wedgwood Ms. 11925-69; 3 May 1787, Wedgwood Ms. 6877-8; 13 August 1787, Wedgwood Ms. 6878-8; 23 September 1787, Wedgwood Ms. 6879-8.
14. 4 July 1787, Wedgwood Ms. 11927-69.
15. E. Meteyard, *Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, 2 vols. (London, 1866), 2:563.
16. 29 August 1787, Wedgwood Ms. 27851-36.
17. Undated (probably August 1787), Wedgwood Ms. 27853-36.
18. Undated (probably August 1787), Wedgwood Ms. 27853-36.
19. 12 August 1787, Wedgwood Ms. 15589-87.
20. November 1787, Wedgwood Ms. 86215-18 4.
21. Wedgwood Ms. Ledger A, vol. 1 (1787–1794), 27.
22. 15 August 1787, Wedgwood Ms. 15590-87.
23. Undated (probably September 1787), Wedgwood Ms. 4079-23. Although Wedgwood suggested he did not have other agents in Paris, he was clearly sending vast quantities of wares to Henry Sykes & Co at the Place du Palais Royale.
24. Wedgwood Ms. 15592-87.
25. Wedgwood Ms. 15592-87.
26. 26 January 1788, Wedgwood Ms. 15593-87.
27. 14 January 1788, Wedgwood “Sales O” Ms. 15458-16.
28. An *Apotheosis of Homer* tablet, now in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, Merseyside, was set into the central panel of a fireplace surround made in 1785 for the Master of the Dublin Mint. Perregaux noted in a letter to Wedgwood (Wedgwood Ms. 11097-63) that the medallion was safely received by Daguerre on 10 April 1788,
29. 9 September 1788, Wedgwood Ms. w/M 1761.
30. April 1789, Wedgwood Ms. 4064-23.
31. 7 October 1789, Wedgwood Ms. 4065-23. The “Daguerre & Cie” appellation first appears in October 1789 and was certainly a partnership by 25 October 1790. Bellaigue, *James A. de Rothschild Waddeston Manor*, 858. Lignereux’s name first appears on Daguerre letterheads in business correspondence in August 1791. Wedgwood Ms. 4068-23.
32. 1 September 1791, Wedgwood Ms. 4067-23.
33. 31 October /1 November 1791, Wedgwood Ms. 15568-16.
34. 11 February 1793, Wedgwood Ms. 15632-17.
35. De Bellaigue suggests that Daguerre came to England in 1787 at the invitation of the Prince of Wales to supervise the furnishings of Carlton House and the Brighton Pavilion. Bellaigue, *James A. de Rothschild Waddeston Manor*, 859.
36. Bellaigue, *James A. de Rothschild Waddeston Manor*, 859, quoting Public Record Office, HO73/19.
37. Bellaigue, *James A. de Rothschild Waddeston Manor*, 859.
38. Lignereux, operating from 44 rue Vivienne in Paris, was still doing business with Wedgwood in 1802, ordering garden pots and fashionable jaspers. 17 February 1802, Wedgwood Ms. 4082-23. In March 1802, a large number of old cameos and medallions in the hands of Sykes and Lignereux were sold in Paris, the fashion for the neoclassical being *passé*. Meteyard, *A Group of Englishmen*, 177.
39. Stroud, *Henry Holland*, 145–46.
40. Carl Christian Dauterman and James Parker, “The Porcelain Furniture,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s. 18, no. 9 (May 1960), 284.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles: fig. 1; Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY: fig. 3; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 4, 5; Wedgwood Archives, Barlaston, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire: fig. 2

## ALFRED JACOB MILLER'S *PORTRAIT OF ANTOINE*

RON TYLER

Alfred Jacob Miller was a young man of twenty-seven when he attended the celebrated rendezvous along the Green River in present-day western Wyoming. A cross-country expedition, particularly one to the heart of the Rocky Mountains, where no Anglo-American artist had ever gone, was probably the furthest thing from his mind when he moved from Baltimore to New Orleans in December 1836, hoping to establish his career as a portrait painter. But when presented with the opportunity the following spring, he jumped at the chance, producing the only eyewitness visual record of some of American history's most storied characters and events—the mountain men, the fur trappers, and the Rocky Mountain rendezvous.<sup>1</sup> The Walters Art Museum's portrait of Antoine Clement (fig. 1) originated in this fabled setting.

The rendezvous was a grand affair. It had been devised by Saint Louis businessman and politician William H. Ashley in the mid-1820s as an efficiency measure to keep the fur trappers from having to leave the mountains to deliver the season's catch. Ashley advertised for one hundred "Enterprising Young Men" who would agree to remain in the mountains for two or three years. They trapped all year long; then, in June or July, he sent a caravan of traders from Saint Louis to meet them at a prearranged place with supplies and trade goods to exchange for the pelts. Other companies followed his lead, and by the 1830s the rendezvous was made up of numerous camps involving hundreds of company trappers, free trappers, and Indians. Following several days of "High Jinks," as Miller described it, and then some serious trading, the trappers and Indians would return to the mountains and the traders to Saint Louis. But the rendezvous was more than just a business transaction; it was a "meeting in the context of equality [that] redeemed a process which might otherwise have been merely a cold exchange of material goods," according to historian Wilcomb E. Washburn. It was a gathering

that was "revolutionary in its implications" for the trade and for the participants themselves as they experienced the "emotional release" and the "jubilant excesses" of a three-week-long social event that Washington Irving likened to a "saturnalia among the mountains."<sup>2</sup>

Miller's odyssey began shortly after he found quarters on the second floor of L. Chittenden's dry-goods store at 26 Chartres Street in New Orleans. He exchanged a portrait of the landlord for his first month's rent and was permitted to display several paintings in a ground-floor window and to keep his studio on the second floor. And it was there, while he was working on a view of Baltimore harbor, that a formal, dignified gentleman—he was five feet nine inches tall, but his military bearing made him seem taller—with a hook nose came in, browsed, and watched him paint for a few moments, then complimented him on the handling of the picture and left. Miller supposed him to be a Kentuckian because of his stylish dress, but thought no more of the incident, until a few days later when the man returned and presented Miller with a card that read "Captain W. D. Stewart, British Army." The captain explained that he was planning to attend the annual rendezvous of fur trappers and traders in the Rocky Mountains that summer and wanted an artist to accompany him to make a record of the trip. He gave Miller several local references and asked that he consider the offer. Antoine Clement, whom Stewart introduced as "a famous Western hunter," accompanied Stewart on this visit. He was the illiterate son of a French-Canadian father and a Cree Indian woman, and Miller grew curious about their relationship, describing Antoine as "a fish out of water in N. Orleans" with whom Stewart played cards in their rooms to keep him occupied.<sup>3</sup>

From British Consul John Crawford, Miller learned that Captain William Drummond Stewart was the second



Fig. 1. Alfred Jacob Miller (American 1810–1874), *Portrait of Antoine*, ca. 1840. Oil on canvas, 76.5 × 63.5 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, gift of the Moser family in memory of Rebecca Ulman Weil, 1980 (37.2573)

son of Sir George Stewart, seventeenth lord of Grandtully and fifth baronet of Murthly, who, like many other sons of nobility, had found in the United States adventure and opportunity that were denied him in Britain and Europe. He had been born in 1795 at Murthly Castle on the River Tay, in Perthshire, approximately fifty miles from Perth, Scotland, and was a veteran of the peninsular campaign and Wellington's victory over Napoleon at Waterloo. Sir

George died in 1827, leaving the titles, castles, and estates to his oldest son, John. Sir George left William £3,750 but with the requirement that John manage it, paying William an annual annuity of £150.<sup>4</sup>

Father of an illegitimate son by a servant girl and retired on half-pay, William had quarreled bitterly with his brother over his inheritance and had come to America in 1832 "for the sole purpose of penetrating the great wilderness of the



West.”<sup>5</sup> Some say that he vowed never again to spend the night under Murthly’s roof, but historian William Benemann has recently questioned the accuracy of this bit of family lore. Stewart landed in New York, where he met J. Watson Webb, editor of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, politician, and adventurer, who gave him letters of introduction to friends in Saint Louis. He headed westward, pausing to wonder at Niagara Falls before moving on to Missouri. “I think you are quite right to see America thoroughly now that you are there,” his brother had written from Scotland.<sup>6</sup>

Through Webb’s introduction, Stewart met William Sublette and Robert Campbell, Saint Louis fur traders who had just returned from the 1832 summer rendezvous, and Governor William Clark, who had helped open the West as a member of the 1804–1806 reconnaissance with Meriwether Lewis and now served as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Clark also maintained a priceless collection of Indian artifacts and maps in his office *cum* museum in the city.<sup>7</sup> Stewart listened to their stories of the mountain rendezvous, one of the true spectacles that the West had to offer during the 1830s, and offered Sublette and Campbell \$500 if they would permit him to go along the following spring. Stewart must have impressed them as a man who could take care of himself, as they agreed. Just before departing, he encountered the veteran explorer Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, who had also served in the Napoleonic campaigns. A student of the great German anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Maximilian was en route west with the artist Karl Bodmer and his servant David Dreidoppel to study the Indians. Stewart invited Maximilian to accompany the caravan to the rendezvous, but, after a conversation with Campbell, who must have been blunt about the trail conditions and possible dangers, Maximilian decided to accept the American Fur Company’s offer of a berth on the steamboat *Yellow Stone* for a trip up the Missouri River rather than attempt to cross the prairie.<sup>8</sup> This chance encounter might have influenced Stewart to take an artist with him on his later trip.

Stewart had attended the 1833 rendezvous, which was held four miles north of Horse Creek near its confluence with the Green River in what is today western Wyoming. It was like nothing else that he had seen: hundreds of Indian teepees were clustered unevenly throughout the valley; Indians, free trappers, company men, and traders frolicked amidst horse races, powwows, games of chance, and occasional “rough and tumble” fights. The traders quickly obtained the beaver

pelts and buffalo robes from the trappers and Indians, then spent the rest of the time selling their tawdry goods and illegal alcohol to the newly flush customers. It was here that Stewart met Antoine Clement, an excellent hunter, and they became fast and, perhaps, even intimate friends. Stewart later wrote two novels about his experiences in the West, and in his second novel, *Edward Warren*, he describes Antoine as he first saw him:

The figure which stood before us, was that of a youth under twenty, a half-breed, with light brown hair worn long, and the almond shaped hazel eyes of his mother’s race—the fine formed limbs and small hands, with a slightly olive tinge of skin. His dress was almost Indian, consisting of a leather shirt and leggings, coming a little above the knee, almost to meet it, and tied up to the waist belt by a small strip of leather, on the outside of each thigh. The skirt of the shirt, though full, did not reach far down, thus forming a short Scotch kilt and coat all in one, which may probably be the original shape of that species of attire.<sup>9</sup>

Antoine was a spirited young man, as the artist Miller later noticed: he was “one of the noblest specimens of a Western hunter” who flourished in the social ambiance of the rendezvous. Miller heard him singing “*Mam’selle Marie, qui est bonne comme elle?*” and “*Dans mon pays je serais content*” as he left camp in the morning, and claimed that he had killed 120 buffaloes for the caravan on the way west. But, when aroused, Antoine had an uncontrollable temper and no regard for authority. William Clark Kennerly, William Clark’s nephew, called him the “most fearless man I ever saw—the only one who would walk straight up to a grizzly bear.”<sup>10</sup> Miller described an incident in which Stewart, who “was somewhat of a martinet, and would not tolerate for a moment any neglect of orders by a subordinate,” upbraided Antoine for not carrying out some order. Miller recalled:

here were two men contending, one whose ancestors dating back to the Conqueror (and how much further, Heaven only knows,)—the other,—Well, if he knew who his parents were, that was the extent. Nevertheless both (now) were on a perfect equality, well mounted, armed with “Manton” rifles, and neither knowing what fear was, it was a question of manhood, not social position. As they rode side-by-side, and were not at all choice

in their language, I expected every moment to see them level their rifles at each other, and also busy and conjecturing how I was to reach the Caravan for aid in case they came to extremities, — having no compass with me; and the company at least 10 or 12 miles distant, and the sun almost vertical. . . . While things were in this critical situation, but every minute growing worse, as Providence would have it, and a herd of Buffalo was discovered at a distance, and this was too much! — the ruling passion overtopped everything, off went Antoine at full gallop, under whip and spur, & in a moment our Captain followed suit. . . . The result in a short time was two noble animals biting the dust, each of the late belligerents in a great good humor, and the subject of the quarrel entirely forgotten.<sup>11</sup>

Toward the end of the summer, as Sublette and Campbell prepared to return to Saint Louis, the caravan split up, with the merchants taking the year's accumulation of furs back to the city, and Stewart choosing to go with Thomas Fitzpatrick, a thirty-eight-year-old Irish-American who had engaged Antoine as his chief hunter, to trap along the Littlehorn, Powder, and Tongue rivers. As the rendezvous drew to a close, Stewart commissioned an Indian woman to make him a buckskin shirt, trousers, leggings, and half a dozen pairs of moccasins, which would be more appropriate for the wilderness travel than the elegant clothing that he had brought with him.<sup>12</sup>

As they made their way eastward, Stewart was involved in an incident that forever established his reputation with this rough crowd. Hoping to resolve some difficulties with the Crow Indians, caravan leader Fitzpatrick visited at a nearby Crow village, leaving Stewart in command of approximately twenty-five men camped about three miles away. While he was gone, a large band of young Crows swarmed into the camp, confronting Stewart and the traders and taking any articles that struck their fancy, including horses, beaver pelts, and other valuables. Encountering Fitzpatrick on their way back to the village, the Indians even took his clothing. Apparently the Crows were now aligned with the rival fur company and had taken the opportunity to profit from their change of allegiance. But Stewart told Miller a different version of the story. He initially protested their actions, he claimed, but Antoine, who spoke the Crow language, took him aside and explained that the Crow medicine man had told the warriors that if they could coax Stewart into

retaliating, they would be free to kill the heavily outnumbered whites and take whatever they wanted. If the Crows struck the first blow, however, they would lose the battle. So Stewart and the trappers restrained themselves while their camp was stripped clean. Fitzpatrick returned to the village and was somewhat successful in getting their goods and horses back, but the beaver pelts wound up in the hands of the rival American Fur Company. Stewart took credit for saving the lives of all those in camp, through his discipline and restraint, and this incident became the basis for one of Miller's greatest paintings.<sup>13</sup>

Stewart returned to the rendezvous in 1834, this time accompanying Nathaniel Wyeth all the way to Fort Vancouver and spending the winter exploring the Northwest. Back at the rendezvous again in 1835, he became one of the mainstays, contributing good food, wine, and exotic presents, and matching the mountain men's stories with accounts of his own feats during the Napoleonic wars. Antoine also attended the rendezvous, and he and Stewart resumed their friendship and returned to Saint Louis together, where Antoine's family welcomed the wanderers. Stewart spent the winter in New Orleans and Cuba, then back to the 1836 rendezvous. Sometime in the fall of 1836 he received word that his older brother was ill and knew that if John died without an heir, he would have to return to Scotland to take charge of the family's affairs. As he prepared to attend the 1837 rendezvous, he realized that it might be his last. Perhaps that is why he offered to take Miller with him — an artist who could compile a pictorial record of what might be the captain's last trip into the wild and exotic Rockies. So Consul Crawford, who had known Stewart all these years, was able to assure the young artist that, even though Stewart's brother, John, had inherited all the family titles and lands, the captain would be able to fulfill any financial commitments that he made.<sup>14</sup>

Miller accepted Stewart's offer, and they set out for Saint Louis in April. Miller was a particularly good choice for the task.<sup>15</sup> His talent was recognized early on, and he had studied for a time with Thomas Sully while Sully was in Baltimore before going to Paris, where Miller had audited the life classes at the École des Beaux-Arts and copied works of the masters, including details of Eugène Delacroix's *The Barque of Dante* (1822, Musée du Louvre). Perhaps he even saw some of Delacroix's early paintings from his well-publicized 1832 expedition to Morocco and bore them in mind as he later prepared his sketches of the American West. He studied religious

art in Rome and sketched through the Lake District and the Alps. Young Miller was well grounded in his romanticism and felt the excitement of his summer adventure: "It's a new and wider field both for the poet & painter," he wrote his friend Brantz Mayer before leaving Saint Louis, "for if you can weave such beautiful garlands with the simplest flowers of Nature—what a subject her wild sons of the West present, intermixed with their legendary history."<sup>16</sup>

In Saint Louis, Miller met merchants and mountain men alike. William Sublette immediately handed him "a piece of . . . prepared meat to give us a foretaste of mountain life. He told us that every season he caused a bale of meat to be brought down to him which lasted six or eight months." The young artist, whose only other travel experiences were Europe and New Orleans, found Saint Louis to be a "thriving little place," but the creature comforts were below his expectations. The hotels he pronounced "abominable" and the food even worse. Stewart introduced Miller to Governor Clark, who had helped acquaint many another newcomer with the West. Miller found Clark seated in an enormous chair "covered with a very large Grizzly bear robe." He had a "fine head surrounded with a mass of hair falling over his shoulders," Miller recorded, with "quick vigorous eyes and expressive features." Clark repeatedly entertained them before they started on their trip, and Miller especially enjoyed the governor's museum containing "many trophies. . . . Indian implements, dresses, war clubs, pipes, etc."<sup>17</sup>

They paused at Westport (present-day Kansas City), where Stewart outfitted the expedition; then forty-five men and twenty carts set out across present-day Kansas to the Platte River, with Stewart as second in command. They followed the North Fork of the Platte into present-day Wyoming, along what would soon become known as the Oregon Trail. Approximately 150 miles west of Fort Laramie, the caravan picked up the Sweetwater River and followed it into the foothills of the Rockies—past exotic landmarks such as Devil's Gate, Independence Rock, Split Rock, and finally South Pass, or the Continental Divide, with Miller sketching all along the route. Miller got up early and left camp with the hunters, and sometimes Antoine accompanied him, which gave Miller a chance to observe his marksmanship first hand. Miller had apparently fretted about not being able to get close enough to a bison to make a good sketch, so Antoine stunned an animal by grazing a bullet off his skull. Miller approached, pencil and paper in hand. Antoine urged him closer, until the

beast lunged, forcing the artist into a "doubly quick" retreat and sending the hunter into gales of raucous laughter. But a charming portrait of the beast that caught the attention of every artist who ventured into the West resulted.<sup>18</sup>

The caravan then turned northwestward, paralleling the Wind River Mountains into the valley of Horse Creek sometime in June, where the trappers and Indians had already begun to gather.<sup>19</sup> David L. Brown, who made the trip in an effort to regain his health, recalled that "we came suddenly upon a long line of beautiful Indian tents ranging in regular order, and stretching away for at least two miles in perspective, and terminating in a wide and circular array of the same romantic and fairy-looking dwellings." It was an idyllic scene, reminding him of the "storied wonders of my childhood and early youth . . . poring over the delightful pages of Scott and Froissart."<sup>20</sup> Stewart was again the hit of the gathering, well known for his open-air dinner parties, with fine wines and brandies and canned sardines to supplement the buffalo hump ribs and antelope steaks. He rode good horses, hunted with superb guns, told an endless succession of exciting stories, and even presented Jim Bridger with the plumed helmet and steel cuirass of an elite British regiment. He more than held his own around the campfire with legendary trappers and mountain men the likes of Bridger, Fitzpatrick, Old Bill Burrows, and Joseph Reddford Walker.<sup>21</sup>

Miller, meanwhile, documented the entire trip, from the departure of the caravan at Westport to its arrival in the mountains. Then he prowled the rendezvous grounds, painting portraits, camp scenes, trappers and Indians at leisure and play, hunting scenes. Many of his images form a narrative of the trip and the rendezvous; some are portraits of specific individuals, while others are timeless depictions of the "noble savage" at home in the wilderness, or composites of exotic mountain scenery, pictures that American and European romantics alike would have easily recognized as the equivalent of personal mementoes for Stewart.<sup>22</sup>

Miller produced at least two portraits of Antoine on the trip, one an individual, bust portrait and the other a double portrait with Stewart showing only heads, and included him as a figure in many other paintings. Perhaps the first portrait that Miller did was *Antoine—Principal Hunter* (fig. 2), an oval composition that shows a hatless Antoine wearing a fringed buckskin jacket and with his small right hand resting on the muzzle of his rifle, his long, dark hair draping over his shoulder. The portrait with Stewart (fig. 3) shows





Fig. 2. Alfred Jacob Miller, *Antoine—Principal Hunter*, ca. 1837. Watercolor on paper, 22.6 × 20 cm. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska, museum purchase (1988.10.95)



Fig. 3. Alfred Jacob Miller, *Sir William Drummond Stewart with Antoine (Canadian Halfbreed)*, ca. 1837. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 19.1 × 25.4 cm. From the Collection of Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma (0236.1070)

Antoine's head only, in profile, with his hair sweeping down to his shoulder.

After Miller returned to New Orleans in the fall of 1837, he set to work on a series of eighty-seven pen-and-ink washes and watercolors for Stewart, probably completing them some

time in 1838, while Stewart and Antoine attended the rendezvous. These small paintings told the story of Stewart's entire trip across the prairie, the rendezvous in the Rockies, and the extended hunt into the mountains that followed. Art historian Lisa Strong has recently observed that Miller depicted Stewart, representing European nobility, as an equal with nature's noblemen. Number 41 in this series is a portrait of Antoine with his dog, which was done with pencil and watercolor on paper. A hatless Antoine sits under a tree, apparently relaxing with his loyal friend. As a portrait of an individual, this is one of the few paintings in this set that does not feature Stewart in the middle of the action. (Miller would later use the same composition for a picture titled *Indian Runner* [watercolor sketch in the collection of the Joslyn Art Museum and a more finished example in the Walters Art Museum (fig. 4)].) Antoine is easily recognizable, sometimes among many figures, with his distinctive facial features, belted jacket and leggings, and, sometimes, a loose-brimmed hat, in more than a third of these album pictures.<sup>23</sup> When Stewart returned to Scotland as the nineteenth lord of Grandtully and seventh baronet of Murthly, he kept these small paintings in a "richly bound portfolio" in the drawing room of Murthly Castle, where they were "one of the Chief Attractions . . . to . . . distinguished visitors who are profuse in their compliments to me," as Miller wrote to his brother.<sup>24</sup>

In addition, Stewart commissioned twenty-eight oil paintings from Miller to hang in Murthly Castle along with the many artifacts from the West that he had collected, and Miller returned to Baltimore to complete the commission.<sup>25</sup> By the spring of 1839, Miller had completed eighteen pictures, which Stewart's good friend Webb arranged to have exhibited at the Apollo Gallery in New York before they were shipped to Scotland.<sup>26</sup> As would be expected, Stewart also appears in many of these paintings; Antoine is included as one of many figures in *Pipe of Peace at the Rendezvous* (fig. 5).

Meanwhile, Stewart and Antoine had departed for Murthly, where he explained that Antoine was his valet. Stewart worked and entertained from the castle, but he and Antoine lived in nearby Dalpowie Lodge, a retreat on the estate. Perhaps that is when the story of Stewart's supposed vow began to circulate—to explain the fact that he did not sleep in the castle.<sup>27</sup> In late 1839, Stewart took Antoine to London, where they lived in the family's townhouse for a while, then took off for an extended trip to the Adriatic, Constantinople, and Egypt. By the fall of 1840 they were back at Murthly Castle



and Stewart invited Miller to visit to fulfill additional commissions. Miller arrived in August with all his sketches, a number of finished oils, and a collection of Indian artifacts that he intended to use as props in additional paintings. “One of the best chambers in the castle was allotted to me, & a room next [to] the Library for a studio,” he wrote in his journal. To his brother he wrote that “Sir William Stewart brought to Scotland ‘Antoine,’ his famous Indian hunter. He

has been metamorphosed into a Scotch valet and waits on the table in a full suit of black, and this is every thing that he does. I am told that while in the mountains he was twice instrumental in saving his master’s life, and for this reason I have no doubt he indulges him. He presented him the other day a full Highland suit which cost fifty pounds—that he may attend the balls the peasantry hold in the neighborhood.”<sup>28</sup>

Of another occasion, Miller wrote to his family: “Murthly is full of company just now, and yesterday Antoine put on my Indian chief’s dress and made his appearance in the drawing room, to the astonishment and delight of the company, for the dress became him admirably. Afterwards he made his debut in the servant’s hall to the great wonderment of the butlers and valets and to the horror of the ladies’ maids.”<sup>29</sup>

While at Murthly, Miller completed at least ten more oils, four of which included Antoine, either in a portrait or as a prominent figure. *Portrait of Antoine* (see fig. 1) is a bust portrait of the hunter in his familiar beaded and fringed buckskin jacket, but this time wearing his wide-brimmed, plumed hat set at a jaunty angle. The pose is the same as Miller’s first portrait of a hatless Antoine, with his right hand resting on the muzzle of his rifle. Miller depicted handsome and refined features (alert blue-grey eyes, aquiline nose, cleft chin, long and tapered fingers, long and wavy dark-brown hair) for a



Fig. 4. Alfred Jacob Miller, *Indian Runner*, 1858–60. Watercolor on paper, 18.5 × 27 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, commissioned by William T. Walters, 1858–1860 (37.1940.103)



Fig. 5. Alfred Jacob Miller, *Pipe of Peace at the Rendezvous*, ca. 1839. Oil on canvas, 99.1 × 171.5 cm. Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas (31.34.29)





Fig. 6. Alfred Jacob Miller, *Antoine Watering Stewart's Horse*, ca. 1840. Oil on canvas, 91.4 × 76.2 cm. Everett D. Graff Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie

subject who had spent most of his life as a “wild child of the Prairie.”<sup>30</sup> But, by then, Miller himself had known Antoine for several months to a year and surely had the opportunity for Antoine to pose for the portrait.

Antoine appears as the major subject in *Antoine Watering Stewart's Horse* (fig. 6). Miller used his sketch of *Auguste Watering His Horse* (fig. 7) as a model for this large painting, changing the portrait from Auguste, one of Stewart's retainers, to Antoine. (There are two other watercolors of this scene, one in the Walters Art Museum collection and another in the Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas.)<sup>31</sup> Antoine is shown in a full-length portrait, holding the reins while the horse drinks from a stream. He is hatless, with his long, dark hair draping over his shoulders and dressed, as fur-trade historian Hiram Chittenden described the free trappers, in a shirt with a long tail—in this case, a buckskin jacket, but not the familiar fringed one—that sometimes reached to the



Fig. 7. Alfred Jacob Miller, *Auguste—Watering His Horse*, 1840. Pen and ink with sepia wash on paper, 25 × 18.5 cm. Yale Collection of Western Americana, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (WA MSS 342)

knees and “long deerskin leggings . . . , leaving the thighs and hips bare. . . .”<sup>32</sup>

Antoine is also a major figure, along with Stewart, in two other paintings, *An Attack by Crow Indians on the Whites on the Big Horn River East of the Rocky Mountains* (fig. 8), and *Pipe of Peace at the Rendezvous* (fig. 9). In *Pipe of Peace*, Stewart accepts a pipe from an Indian woman in preparation for a smoke, while Antoine, in his familiar fringed buckskin jacket and plumed hat, stares dreamily at him. Antoine is a bit more forceful in *An Attack by Crow Indians*. While Stewart stares defiantly at the young Crow warriors, Antoine leans supportively at his shoulder, perhaps counseling him to maintain his demeanor. The relationship between the Stewart and Antoine double portrait sketch done at the rendezvous and the two central figures in this painting cannot be missed. At the very least, Miller has documented the close relationship between Stewart and Antoine that endured over a period of





Fig. 8. Alfred Jacob Miller, *The Crows Attempting to Provoke an Attack from the Whites on the Big Horn River, East of the Rocky Mountains*, 1841. Oil on canvas, 179.7 × 268.6 cm. American Museum of Western Art—The Anschutz Collection, Denver



Fig. 9. Alfred Jacob Miller, *Pipe of Peace at the Rendezvous*, ca. 1839, detail. Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas (31.34.29)

ten years. Miller remained at Murthly for a year and a half, then established a studio in London for a few months to complete a religious painting that Stewart had commissioned before returning home.<sup>33</sup>

Nor was Stewart yet done with America. In 1842, he sold Logiealmond, one of his estates that was not entailed, paid off all his debts, and had enough money left over for one more grand fling in the mountains. In September 1842, Sir William and Antoine returned to the United States. Stewart brought with him two servants and a large supply of Elizabethan finery—“the most superb Uniforms for Cavaliers that I have seen since We left England, Scarlet Blue &c covered with *Gold lace* and truly Splendid,” according to the artist and naturalist John James Audubon—for the Renaissance costume party that he intended to stage in the exotic wilds of the Rocky Mountains. The rendezvous had ceased as an institution in 1840, victim of a diminishing supply of beaver pelts and changing fashions. But Stewart wanted another mountain holiday, and he planned an extravaganza. He stopped

in Baltimore to review Miller's latest paintings and commissioned two more for the chapel at Murthly. He invited Miller to join the excursion, but the artist declined, citing a chronic case of rheumatism. Stewart spent the winter at Nicholstone, the home of his Texas friend and business associate, Ebenezer B. Nichols, near Dickinson Bayou, on the Texas mainland north of Galveston, then, in the early spring, returned to New Orleans and began preparations for his summer jaunt.

By the spring, overland travelers inundated the Missouri frontier. Stewart encountered John James Audubon in Saint Louis and invited him to come along, but Audubon was on his first trip west, a mission critical to the success of his second great book, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, and declined, confiding to his family that Stewart's party look more like a "gang" than a scientific party. He took the steamboat *Omega* up the Missouri River instead. At Westport, Lieutenant John Charles Frémont prepared for his second expedition into the Rockies, this time with Thomas Fitzpatrick as the guide. He, too, took a different route westward. One who did join Stewart's party was Matthew C. Field, a reporter for the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* who produced a series of articles documenting what must have been one of the strangest of all the rendezvous. It was his sad duty to document the tragic death of Antoine's young brother, François, about fifteen years old, who was killed when he reached for a shotgun, and it went off, putting a ball through his heart. François was buried on the prairie and a fire burned over the grave to disguise it. Despite this wretched event, it is clear from Field's many mentions of Antoine that the hunter was, again, critical to the success of the adventure, managing to provide sufficient meat for the travelers despite the dwindling numbers of buffaloes on the Plains.<sup>34</sup>

After the 1843 frolic, Stewart returned home. Antoine remained in Saint Louis and sometime before April 1844 he married. Stewart invited him and his wife to visit Murthly and left money with Robert Campbell for Antoine to draw on as needed, but Campbell was afraid to give it to him because of his alcoholism: "I confess I have some fear that Antoine might be led to squander the money in dissipation and that you might regret his having started," he wrote Stewart. Stewart sent additional funds with more stringent conditions, to which Antoine quickly agreed, but then went on a weeklong "drinking frolic" as soon as he got the money. Sublett wrote: "I am Enclined to think that Antuon Clemon is doing Very Little Good."<sup>35</sup>

In 1846 Antoine joined a regiment of Missouri volunteers under the command of Col. Stephen W. Kearny that marched to Santa Fe. He was with Kearny's troops when they invaded Mexico. Alexander Chauvin, a trapper who had been a member of one of Stewart's parties, reported that

Antoine behaved very well in all the Mexican War[.] [H]e fought bravely in several battles, and received very high wages, so soon as he landed in St. Louis, he got in his old way of drinking and came near killing himself. [H]e is now in the mountains with his brother Bazil, they are to winter amongst the Black Feet Indians.

Stewart might have been reflecting on this turn of events when he wrote in *Edward Warren* some years later of how the West had changed: "But the pedlar and the 'mover' came, and Antoine, after visiting Paris, Constantinople, and Cairo, has gone to the Blackfoot village." They would never meet again.<sup>36</sup>

Miller retained his field sketches and continued to paint from them for the remainder of his life. In 1858 to 1860 he made a set of two hundred finished watercolors for William T. Walters of Baltimore (for which he received \$12 each; now in the collection of the Walters Art Museum) and thirty-seven for William C. Wait; in 1867 he made forty for Alexander Brown of Liverpool (for which he was paid \$25 each; now in the collection of the Public Archives of Canada). Miller painted Stewart out of his later pictures, through no ascertainable animosity toward Stewart, but perhaps to emphasize the universality of his character types rather than to identify them with specific individuals. Nevertheless, Antoine's likeness is recognizable in many of his later works.<sup>37</sup>

Sir William Drummond Stewart died in 1871 and left everything to an adopted son, Francis Rice Nichols Stewart,<sup>38</sup> but the laws of primogeniture and entail prevented him from receiving the land and titles, which went to Stewart's younger brother, Archibald. Franc took everything from Murthly that could be moved and auctioned it at Chapman's in Edinburgh. This included Miller's paintings, which the Edinburgh *Scotsman* reported were purchased by gentlemen of the area and slipped from the public record.<sup>39</sup> In the twentieth century, the paintings gradually surfaced, mainly through the London gallery of B. F. Stevens and Brown in 1937 and made their way to the United States. The *Portrait of Antoine* first turned up in the collection of Rebecca Ulman Weil about



1900 and descended to M. Peter Moser of Baltimore. The Moser family gave it to the Walters Art Museum in 1980 in honor of Rebecca Ulman Weil.

European-influenced art relating to Indians has been characterized recently as being little more than white Americans' perception of Indians "through the assumptions of their own culture."<sup>40</sup> This is true of Miller, whose romantic point of view may be seen time and again in what critic Vernon Young called the poetic essentials of Indian life before the mass invasions of the frontiers.<sup>41</sup> Miller frequently depicted the encounter between what he perceived to be "savagery" and "civilization," such as in *Attack By Crow Indians*, and in his choice of Indians to sit for portraits, not because they were great warrior chiefs or braves within their culture, but because they "approached a classical form" that he thought to be "a good specimen of the tribe." His finished paintings do not possess the thoroughness and attention to detail of George Catlin's or Karl Bodmer's and, by comparison, seem almost frivolous. Ethnologist John C. Ewers observed, in fact, that his sketches "show details more clearly [than the finished works and] . . . tell me more about Indian material culture than do any of Miller's other pictures." That would have been no surprise to Miller, who, no doubt, understood the immediacy and authenticity that watercolor sketches represented for a nineteenth-century audience. He painted the 1837 rendezvous with all the romanticism and mythic power that an evening around a campfire could inspire. He presented the first exhibition of paintings of the Rocky Mountains at the Apollo Gallery in New York City in 1839—the eighteen large oils as well as many of the sketches that Stewart had commissioned, prior to their being shipped to Scotland—which was so popular that it was held over. But the urgency and almost coincidental detail of his field sketches rendered them of more aesthetic and documentary value than his finished paintings. It was in the sketches for those epic pictures, Young concluded, that "he revealed his flair for conveying movement. . . . With a sometimes slapdash economy of line he caught the precise cant of a man in the saddle as he counterweights the motion of his horse. Mountains and distant caravans are softly indeterminate. Man and beast are interfused, grass bends with the wind, wafted smoke and shadows are differentiated—the campfire vigils have sounds."<sup>42</sup> The more finished works he intended as a pictorial record of Captain Stewart's last holiday frolic in the mountains, but the sketches he kept to work from for the remainder of his career.<sup>43</sup>

The reclusive Miller was not better known during his own lifetime because his most important work was for a single patron and few of his pictures were published.<sup>44</sup> Now that his work is documented and familiar—beginning with Bernard DeVoto's *Across the Wide Missouri* in 1947—Miller is recognized as one of the earliest and most important artists to paint the American West, and the only one to depict the rendezvous and the mountain man at work. In a work such as *Portrait of Antoine* he can also be appreciated for preserving the likeness of one of the West's fabled hunters as well as an immensely popular vision of the Far West and its denizens.

Ron Tyler ([rontyler@charter.net](mailto:rontyler@charter.net)) worked with Bill Johnston on the exhibition *Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist on the Oregon Trail in 1882 while Curator of History at the Amon Carter Museum of American Art in Fort Worth. He was later Professor of History and Director of the Texas State Historical Association at the University of Texas at Austin from 1986 until 2006 and Director of the Amon Carter Museum from 2006 to 2011, when he retired.*

## NOTES

1. R. Tyler, "Alfred Jacob Miller and Sir William Drummond Stewart," in R. Tyler, ed., *Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist on the Oregon Trail, with a Catalogue Raisonné* by K. D. Reynolds and W. R. Johnston (Fort Worth, 1982), 19.
2. C. P. Russell, "Wilderness Rendezvous Period of the American Fur Trade," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 42 (March 1941): 1–2; R. M. Clokey, *William H. Ashley: Enterprise and Politics in the Trans-Mississippi West* (Norman, Okla., 1980), 67; F. R. Gowans, *Rocky Mountain Rendezvous: A History of the Fur Trade Rendezvous, 1825–1840*, repr. (Layton, Utah, 1985), 12–13; M. C. Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller (1837), from the Notes and Water Colors in the Walters Art Gallery*, rev. ed. (Norman, Okla., 1968), pl. 110; D. J. Wishart, *The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807–1840* (Lincoln, Neb., 1979), 121–24, 190–200; W. E. Washburn, "Symbol, Utility, and Aesthetics in the Indian Fur Trade," in R. W. Fridley, ed., *Aspects of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the 1965 North American Fur Trade Conference* (St. Paul, 1967), 50–54; Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West*, ed. E. W. Todd (Norman, Okla., 1961), 155.
3. Miller's journal, which is a series of memoirs written late in his life, contains newspaper clippings, sketches, and his accounts of various incidents in his life, including the meeting with Captain Stewart in New Orleans (p. 35). No date is given. He gives the address of Chittenden's store as 132 Chartres Street, but a check of the New Orleans City directory shows it at 32 Chartres. See *Gibson's Guide and Directory of the State of Louisiana, and the Cities of New Orleans & Lafayette* (New Orleans: John Gibson, 1838), 42,



146. The journal is now in the archives of the Walters Art Museum. A portion of it is quoted in Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, xvi. See also M. R. Porter and O. Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin: Sir William Drummond Stewart and the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade* (New York, 1963), 128–31.
4. Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, xvii–xviii; W. Benemann, *Men in Eden: William Drummond Stewart and Same-Sex Desire in the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade* (Lincoln, Neb., 2012), 27; Porter and Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin*, 4, 16–19.
  5. Quoted in [Sir William Drummond Stewart,] *Altowan: or, Incidents of Life and Adventure in the Rocky Mountains by an Amateur Traveler*, ed. J. W. Webb, 2 vols. (New York, 1846), 1:viii.
  6. Stewart had a son by Christian Marie Battersby, a servant girl. He did not immediately marry her but recognized William George as his son and provided for them. Subsequently, Stewart fabricated a marriage in unofficial documents and placed the date nine months before William's birth. See Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 24–28, 230–33; Stewart, *Altowan*, ed. Webb, 1:viii; John Stewart to William Stewart, Perth, Scotland, 25 September 1832, Bundle 21, Box 101, Murthly Muniments, C. D. 121, Scottish Record Office, H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh; Porter and Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin*, 17–18.
  7. J. C. Ewers, "William Clark's Indian Museum in St. Louis, 1816–1838," in W. M. Whitehill, intro., *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Five Episodes in the Evolution of American Museums* (Charlottesville, 1967), 49–72.
  8. B. DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947), p. 18; J. E. Sunder, *Bill Sublette, Mountain Man* (Norman, Okla., 1959), 123; Porter and Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin*, 21–29; Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, pl. 110. For an account of Maximilian's and Bodmer's adventure, see W. H. Goetzmann et al., *Karl Bodmer's America* (Lincoln, Neb., 1984), p. 8. Maximilian does not mention Stewart's invitation in his journal, although he mentions being with Stewart on several occasions. See S. S. Witte and M. V. Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied, May 1832–April 1833*, trans. W. J. Orr, P. Schach, and D. Karch, 3 vols. (Norman, Okla., 2008), 1:383 (note), 387–89.
  9. Gowans, *Rocky Mountain Rendezvous*, 80–99; Irving, *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, 154–56; quoted in W. D. Stewart, *Edward Warren*, ed. B. Barbour, Classics of the Fur Trade Series, ed. W. Blevins (Missoula, Mont., 1986), 226.
  10. Quoted in M. Rico, "Sir William Drummond Stewart: Aristocratic Masculinity in the American West," *Pacific Historical Review* 76 (May 2007): 171.
  11. Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, opposite pls. 2, 37.
  12. Porter and Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin*, 65.
  13. L. R. Hafen, *Broken Hand: The Life of Thomas Fitzpatrick: Mountain Man, Guide and Indian Agent* (Denver, 1973), 134–36; Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 119–22, discusses several versions of what happened in this incident. See also Porter and Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin*, 71–73. The painting is *The Crows Attempting to Provoke an Attack from the Whites on the Big Horn River, East of the Rocky Mountains*, 1841, oil on canvas, 179.9 × 268.6 cm, now in the Anschutz Collection, Denver, Colorado. Stewart later commissioned a lithograph of this painting to illustrate the family history, Sir William Fraser, *The Red Book of Grandtully*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Privately printed for Sir William Drummond Stewart, 1868), 1, opposite ccxli.
  14. Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 125–85, discusses Stewart's activities during 1834–36. See also Porter and Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin*, 86–98, 126–27.
  15. Unlike artist Karl Bodmer, Miller was able to keep his field sketches, which he used to produce several large commissions later in his career, most notably two hundred watercolors for William D. Walters, which are now in the collection of the Walters Art Museum. Prince Maximilian retained all but a few of Bodmer's watercolors, which are now in the collection of the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska. Some few sketches that Bodmer had in his studio are now in the collection of the Newberry Library. See W. R. Wood, J. C. Porter, and D. C. Hunt, *Karl Bodmer's Studio Art: The Newberry Library Bodmer Collection* (Urbana and Chicago, 2002).
  16. W. R. Johnston, "The Early Years in Baltimore and Abroad," and C. Clark, "A Romantic Painter in the American West," in Tyler, *Alfred Jacob Miller*, pp. 11–17, 48–49; Lisa Strong, "Alfred Jacob Miller and the Bank of America Collection," in Margaret C. Conrads, ed., *Alfred Jacob Miller: Romancing the West in the Bank of America Collection* (Kansas City, 2010), 38–39; quoted in Miller to Mayer, St. Louis, 23 April 1837, in R. C. Warner, *The Fort Laramie of Alfred Jacob Miller: A Catalogue of All the Known Illustrations of the First Fort Laramie*, University of Wyoming Publications 43, no. 2 (Laramie, 1979), 144. See also D. Glanz, *How the West Was Drawn: American Art and the Settling of the Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 32.
  17. Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, pl. 150. This book contains reproductions of the set of sketches that Miller prepared for William T. Walters between 1858 and 1860, as well as the notes that he supplied for each picture. Most of the notes, in essence, are contained in an earlier form in Alfred Jacob Miller, "Rough Draughts for Notes to Indian Sketches" (manuscript in Thomas Gilcrease Museum Library, Tulsa, Oklahoma); see preface and entry no. 146 for quotations; Stewart, *Edward Warren*, ed., Barbour, 75–76; Miller to Brantz Mayer, St. Louis, 23 April 1837, in Warner, *The Fort Laramie of Alfred Jacob Miller*, 143–46; Ewers, "William Clark's Indian Museum in St. Louis, 1816–1838"; Tyler, "Alfred Jacob Miller and Sir William Drummond Stewart," 21.
  18. Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, opposite pl. 155; Benemann, *Men in Eden*, p. 195. Miller's buffalo portrait is now in the collection of the Thomas Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

- See J. C. Troccoli, *Alfred Jacob Miller: Watercolors of the American West From the Collection of the Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma* (Tulsa, 1990), 55.
19. For information on Westport, see M. J. Mattes, "The Jumping-Off Places on the Overland Trail," in J. F. McDermott, ed., *The Frontier Re-examined* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 38–40; and M. J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, Nebraska State Historical Society Publications 25 (Lincoln, 1967), 108–9. See also H. R. Lamar, *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven and London, 1998), p. 1069; quoted in Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, opposite pl. 155.
  20. D. L. Brown, *Three Years in the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1950), 12. Brown's articles in the *Cincinnati Atlas* were reprinted as *Three Years in the Rocky Mountains*; see p. 10.
  21. Most of Miller's sketches are in the collections of the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, Nebraska, and the Thomas Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma. See W. H. Goetzmann and J. C. Porter, *The West as Romantic Horizon* (Omaha, 1981), 61–70; and J. C. Troccoli, *Alfred Jacob Miller: Watercolors of the American West from the Collection of the Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma* (Tulsa, 1990).
  22. See K. A. Foster, "Alfred Jacob Miller, the Sketch, and the Album: The Place of Watercolor in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Art," in M. C. Conrads, ed., *Alfred Jacob Miller: Romancing the West in the Bank of America Collection*, exh. cat., Kansas City: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (2010), 60–62.
  23. L. Strong, *Sentimental Journey: The Art of Alfred Jacob Miller* (Fort Worth, 2008), 45.
  24. Miller to his brother, Murthly Castle, 19 May 1841, in Warner, *The Fort Laramie of Alfred Jacob Miller*, 154; Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, xxxiii. The small paintings measure approximately 18 × 25.5 to 20 × 28 cm.
  25. Miller exhibited some of the paintings in his hometown. See *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* [Baltimore], 17 July 1838, 2, col. 1; and Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, xxii.
  26. Miller to Stewart, New Orleans, 27 March 1839, Bundle 21, Box 101, Murthly Muniments, G. D. 121, Scottish Record Office, H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh.
  27. Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 220.
  28. Miller's Journal, p. 43, quoted in Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 219–26.
  29. Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 226.
  30. Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, xviii.
  31. See Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, pl. 10; and J. Schimmel, *Stark Museum of Art: The Western Collection 1978* (Orange, Tex., 1978), 205.
  32. Quoted in Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 70–71.
  33. Miller to Decatur H. Miller, London, 22 November, and Christmas Day, 1841, and 10 February 1852, in Warner, *Fort Laramie*, 185–92; and Miller to Stewart, London, 25 February 1842, Bundle 22, Box 101, Murthly Muniments, G. D. 121, Scottish Record Office, H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh.
  34. Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 237–38, 242, 263. For the events of the 1843 trip, see *ibid.*, pp. 242–82. See also Audubon to "My Dearest Friends," St. Louis, 2 and 17 April 1843, in J. F. McDermott, ed., *Audubon in the West* (Norman, 1965), 49, 58; M. C. Field, *Prairie and Mountain Sketches*, ed. K. L. Gregg and J. F. McDermott (Norman, 1957), 49, 62, 90, 95, 104, 112, 114, 126, and 131; and R. M. Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous: Mountain Men and the Paths to the Pacific* (New York, 1997), 174–75, 194.
  35. Quoted in Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 281.
  36. *Ibid.*, 282.
  37. Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, xxvii, xxxiii, pl. 55; and Strong, *Sentimental Journey*, 45. See also M. Bell, *Braves and Buffalo: Plains Indian Life in 1837: Water-colours of Alfred J. Miller, with Descriptive Notes by the Artist*, Public Archives of Canada (Toronto, 1973).
  38. Franc, as he was called, was the son of E. B. Nichols, Stewart's business associate from Texas. During an 1856 visit to London, Nichols and his wife had permitted two of their children to spend time at Murthly. When they prepared to leave, Franc, who had grown accustomed to life on the estate, refused to go. Stewart offered to provide a home and education for the boy, and the parents reluctantly agreed. When Stewart's son died attempting to perform an "exotic sword swallowing" in 1868, Stewart adopted Franc. See Benemann, *Men in Eden*, 295–303; DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri*, 449; Porter and Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin*, 268–74.
  39. See the *Glasgow Herald*, 11 May 1871, p. 4, col. 3, and 20 May 1871, p. 5, col. 5, for information on the Stewart family's dispute with Franc and its resolution; see *The Scotsman* [Edinburgh], 1 June 1871, p. 8, col. 2; 17 June 1871, p. 2, cols. 3–4, and 19 June 1871, p. 2, cols. 4–5, for coverage of the auctions.
  40. J. Schimmel, "Inventing 'the Indian'," in W. H. Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920* (Washington, 1991), 149.
  41. V. Young, "The Emergence of American Painting," *Art International* 20 (September 1974), 14.
  42. See *ibid.*
  43. Tyler, "Alfred Jacob Miller and William Drummond Stewart," 36–38; Young, "American Painting," 14; Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, xxxiii; K. A. Foster, "Alfred Jacob Miller, the Sketch, and the Album: The Place of Watercolor in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Art," in Conrads, *Alfred Jacob Miller*, 56–57.
  44. Ten chromolithographs after Miller's work were published in books by Charles W. Webber: *The Hunter-Naturalist: Romance of Sporting; or, Wild Scenes and Wild Hunters* (Philadelphia: J. W. Bradley, 1851; Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1852), which also includes a steel

engraving of Miller's *Death of a Panther*; and *The Hunter-Naturalist: Wild Scenes and Song Birds* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1854; Riker, Thorne, 1854). See W.H. Cadbury, "Alfred Jacob Miller's Chromolithographs," in Tyler, *Alfred Jacob Miller*, 447–49. Sir William included a lithograph titled *Scene in the Rocky [sic] Mountains of America*, after Miller's *The Crow Indians Attempting to Provoke an Attack* (now in the Anschutz Collection, Denver, Colorado), in Fraser, *The Red Book of Grandtully*, vol. 1; and H. Ward Jr. of New York City published a chromolithograph of *Lost on the Prairie* (45.1 × 67.2 cm, in the collections of the Joslyn Art Museum and the Amon Carter Museum of American Art), after Miller's *The Lost Greenhorn* (Warner-Gulf States Collection), in 1851.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Everett D. Graff Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie: fig. 6; Courtesy of American Museum of Western Art—The Anschutz Collection, Denver, William J. O'Connor: fig. 8; Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma: fig. 3; Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska: fig. 2; Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas: figs. 5, 9; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 4; Yale Collection of Western Americana, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut: fig. 7



## DELACROIX'S EASEL-SIZED VARIATION ON *THE LAST WORDS OF MARCUS AURELIUS*

EIK KAHNG

With the death of the distinguished art historian Lee Johnson (1924–2006), Delacroix studies stand at something of a crossroads. Rarely has the study of a single artist been so dominated by a single individual. In the case of Delacroix, Johnson's eye was often the primary and definitive resource for questions of hand. His multivolume catalogue raisonné, published between 1981 and 1988, along with the 2002 supplement that corrected and recorrected his previous publications, is still the definitive monographic account of the artist. Interestingly, this quintessentially French artist was thus chronicled for modern audiences by an art historian who was decidedly not French.<sup>1</sup> One thread that should be traced, though it is not the primary focus here, is the rise of the very format of the catalogue raisonné and its impact on the critical reception of nineteenth-century French artists. The Musée Delacroix was founded in 1971, and was the culmination of an initiative founded by the Société des Amis d'Eugène Delacroix, which included among its membership the painters Maurice Denis and Paul Signac and the Delacroix scholars André Joubin and Raymond Escholier. The recent establishment of a state-run nonprofit institution dedicated to the artist guaranteed his cultural currency, at least in France. The Musée Delacroix, a sort of house and studio museum, has produced a continuous string of small exhibitions devoted to the artist since its founding; but the major exhibition catalogues after the world wars have been produced not only by the French, but by American, Swiss, and German museums as well, and almost always, until his death, with the input of Lee Johnson.<sup>2</sup>

While at the Courtauld as an undergraduate, Lee Johnson studied with Anthony Blunt (1907–1983), who, reputedly, directed him toward Delacroix. One presumes, then, that Blunt trained Johnson in the connoisseurial methods that he had perfected in his own obsessive pursuit of the art of

Nicolas Poussin, which he published, also in exhaustive, catalogue raisonné format, in 1966. Although such catalogues are still indispensable tools for the study of art history, they have become dinosaur-like in a digital age that can produce in an instant a host of images with just a simple on-line search engine. Aspiring art historians are rarely encouraged to pursue exhaustive study of a single artist with the objective of systematically chronicling their work, and degree-awarding graduate programs now spurn cataloguing as sufficient evidence of scholarly sophistication deserving of a masters degree, let alone the doctorate. Indeed, the monograph itself has long been held under strict suspicion, as an ideologically tainted document of spurious intentionality, devoid of the synchronic and diachronic complexity of a nuanced interpretive approach. Yet the fact remains that with the extinction of this last generation of connoisseurs, almost all contemporaries of Lee Johnson, there are no great "eyes" (let alone 'I's') to replace them. Instead, the market has begun to rely more and more on a wiki-like approach to consensus with freely available documentation and digital imagery on the internet as the sieve through which attribution can be lodged. Increasingly, it is through the marketplace, whether at auction or through private dealers, that newly surfaced works of art by long-dead artists have jostled for a place in the accepted oeuvre.

Delacroix makes for a particularly interesting example in this brief commentary on the state of connoisseurship in the digital era. With Johnson's passing, few have dared pronounce on questions of attribution, although there are several French specialists still vitally contributing to the literature on the artist.<sup>3</sup> This has resulted in an unmet demand for authentication when the occasional unknown work arises, whether formerly, according to Johnson's catalogue, corresponding to a documented placeholder as "whereabouts unknown"



Fig. 1. Eugène Delacroix (French, 1798–1863), *The Last Words of Marcus Aurelius*, 1844. Oil on canvas, 256 × 337.5 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (A-2928)

or as an entirely new addition to the oeuvre, unknown to Johnson altogether.

Take, for example, the fairly detailed drawing, presented as a study for a composition best known through the monumental canvas preserved in Lyon (fig. 1) with the subject of *The Last Words of Marcus Aurelius* (fig. 2). It sold at Christie's several years ago and was described as one of a number of sketches included in a single lot from the artist's 1864 posthumous estate sale related to the subject, purchased by the prominent collector Gustave Arosa for 60 francs. Johnson alludes to it in his comprehensive catalogue entry of related works for the Lyon monumental canvas, noting that it was acquired by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney F. Brody by 1963. The pedigree of Johnson's citation, even if it was not reproduced in the catalogue entry, is sufficient to secure its authenticity, no questions asked. However, what is the procedure for



Fig. 2. Eugène Delacroix (French, 1798–1863), *The Last Words of Marcus Aurelius*, ca. 1845. Black chalk on paper, 23.8 × 30.8 cm. Private collection





Fig. 3. Eugène Delacroix, *The Last Words of Marcus Aurelius*, undated. Oil on canvas, 65.1 × 80.6 cm. The van Asch van Wyck Trust

authentication of a work of art that Johnson never saw, as is the case for the newly discovered, easel-sized variation on the theme of *The Last Words of Marcus Aurelius* (fig. 3) that is the subject of the 2013 exhibition and accompanying publication, organized by the Santa Barbara Museum of Art?<sup>4</sup>

Another oil sketch with this subject, formerly in the collection of John S. Newberry, was attributed by Johnson to Pierre Andrieu (1821–1892), one of Delacroix's best known and prolific students. Interestingly, that oil sketch, after changing hands several times, was recently reacquired by the nephew of the namesake of his uncle, John S. Newberry IV (fig. 4).<sup>5</sup> It is included in the exhibition and catalogue as a useful point of comparison with the larger Santa Barbara variation, not only with respect to relative degree of finish, but also with respect to its fidelity to the particulars of the prime version. The sketch, unlike the Santa Barbara variant,



Fig. 4. Pierre Andrieu ? (French, 1821–1892), after Eugène Delacroix, *The Last Words of Marcus Aurelius*, undated. Oil on canvas, 37.3 × 46.2 cm. Collection of John S. Newberry IV





Fig. 5. Infrared image of figure 3

sticks closely not only to the disposition of compositional elements in the prime version, but also to the chromatic specificity of hues. For example, in the Santa Barbara variant, the mourning philosophers who encircle the foot of the bed sport togas of subtler color gradients than in the Lyon version. This shift in palette corresponds to a softer illumination overall in the variant, which appears to represent the early morning light of dawn (perhaps a quite specific response on the part of Delacroix to Baudelaire's admiring recognition of the fiery-robed Commodus as the rising sun to his father, the Stoic-Emperor Marcus Aurelius's setting sun). In the Newberry sketch, x-ray and infrared photography show no trace of adjustments to the composition, unlike the many pentimenti to be found in the Santa Barbara variant, visible to the naked eye and even more readily obvious in the infrared (fig. 5).

The owners of the Santa Barbara variant also had their painting imaged through the more advanced technology of spectral imaging by MegaVision. The resulting full-size tiff allows for extraordinary zooming capability, which is often where deficiencies of brushwork become obvious in student work. When zooming into the surface of the canvas, one sees the complex touches of color so characteristic of the artist and never fully matched by even his best students (fig. 6). In fact, the chromatic subtlety of the Santa Barbara variant and the flicks of the brush one finds throughout speak well for the full authorship of the easel-sized canvas by the master, as opposed to the monumental Lyon version, which is documented as a collaboration between Delacroix and his fellow *Toulousain*, Louis de Planet.<sup>6</sup> Further, pigment analysis shows nothing inconsistent with mid-nineteenth-century technique.<sup>7</sup> Certainly, the richness of the palette is



Fig. 6. Detail of spectral image, Santa Barbara variant

consistent with Delacroix's singular color sensitivities. His favorite forest greens and saffron-tinged, orangey reds are richly applied in this death-bed scene of a father, pleading indulgence for his intemperate son from his faithful officers and advisors, who, from their demeanor, already register the tragedy of the empire's demise through the faulty character of the new emperor.

Conservation research thus supports the attribution of the unsigned Santa Barbara variant to Delacroix's hand. But of course, the inability to call upon Johnson's authoritative opinion has meant that scholarly consensus must be sought. It is to be hoped that the exhibition, catalogue, and attendant programming, including a symposium and scholars' day, will yield an informed determination as to whether or not the Santa Barbara variant should find a place in the published oeuvre of Delacroix. In the meanwhile, in the absence of a logical successor to take up Johnson's mantle, an initiative should be made to transpose his catalogues into digital, web-based form, so that a team of vetted specialists can take on the formidable task of sorting out questionable attributions of newly surfaced works of art (and, at times, to reevaluate works of art that were demoted by Johnson, at times with little clear rationale).<sup>8</sup> Such web-based catalogues, like the Picasso Project, for example, appear to be the digital equivalent of hard-copy catalogue raisonnés, although the actual

vetting of works of art, whether through artist foundations or appointed committees (disturbingly, at times composed of private dealers) remains largely unregulated. In an era in which the discipline of art history continues to shun the overt subjectivity of connoisseurship, the problem of attribution will continue to fall to newer, on-line resources. Non-profit funding for the arts should be invested in these digital catalogues, if they are to match the probity of individual academics such as Johnson and remain removed from the biased judgment necessarily introduced by commerce alone.

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## NOTES

It is with great fondness and sincere gratitude that I dedicate this short essay to my colleague, William R. Johnston, curator emeritus at the Walters Art Museum, my former institution.

1. Johnson was the son of an Italian immigrant named Tommaso Bruno Bertuccioli. His mother was from Connecticut and met Bertuccioli while in London to study acting Reference Dictionary of Art Historians. <http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/johnsonl.htm>). Johnson emigrated with his mother and sister to America in 1940 when he was sixteen. He adopted his mother's last name after his parents' divorce. He returned to London and entered

the Courtauld Institute of Art in 1952, where he studied with Anthony Blunt.

2. For example, the most ambitious overview was organized in Switzerland by the Kunsthau Zurich and the Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut in 1987–88. It included the canonical large-scale history paintings from French collections, including *The Death of Sardanapalus*, *The Sultan of Morocco*, and *Medea*. The 1991 exhibition of holdings from North American Collections, organized by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, demonstrated how many smaller-scaled easel paintings, drawings, and prints had been acquired by American collectors and museums. The last major groundbreaking monographic show was *Delacroix: The Late Work*, organized collaboratively by the Grand Palais and the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1998–99. An exception is the recent monographic exhibition, organized specifically for travel in Spain (the first major exhibition devoted to Delacroix in that country), which was held in the fall and winter, 2011–12 (*Delacroix: De l'idée à l'expression (1798–1863)*). Caixa Forum, Madrid, 19 October 2011–15 January 2012; Caixa Forum, Barcelona, 15 February–20 May 2012 (catalogue edited by Sébastien Allard). But this show was composed exclusively of the holdings of the Musée du Louvre.
3. Since the death of Maurice Sérullaz in 1997, his wife, Arlette Sérullaz, has continued to publish regularly on the artist. Sérullaz, Barthélémy Jobert, and Sébastien Allard remain the best-known French Delacroix specialists practicing today. However, no one wields the same authority on questions of connoisseurship as the late Lee Johnson. Certainly, Michèle Hannoosh, editor of the most

recent edition of the Delacroix's *Journal*, is arguably the most fluent scholar when it comes to Delacroix and his world.

4. *Delacroix and the Matter of Finish*, edited by Eik Kahng, with essays by Michèle Hannoosh and Marc Gotlieb. Distributed by Yale University Press for the Santa Barbara Museum of Art, New Haven, 2013. The exhibition was on view in Santa Barbara from October 27, 2013 through January 26, 2014 and then, at the Birmingham Museum of Art from February 23 through May 18, 2014.
5. Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix: A Critical Catalogue*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1981–1989), 3:107.
6. Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, 3:107.
7. A technical examination of the Santa Barbara variant was undertaken by the Balboa Art Conservation Center in 2011. It included dispersed pigment analysis, which revealed no inconsistencies with a painting made in the mid-nineteenth century.
8. See, for example, the splendid version of *Desdemona Cursed by Her Father* (ca. 1852, oil on panel, Brooklyn Museum of Art) given to Andrieu by Johnson, but reattributed to Delacroix in *Delacroix and the Matter of Finish*, echoing the opinion of Luigina Rossi Bortolatto in *L'opera pittorica completa di Delacroix* (Milan, 1972).

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## “THE BIGGEST LANDSCAPE OF THE BIGGEST MODERN LANDSCAPE PAINTER”

### THÉODORE ROUSSEAU'S *LE GIVRE*

SIMON KELLY

In the winter of 1846, Théodore Rousseau's recently painted *Le Givre (Hoar Frost)* (fig. 1) appeared at auction in Paris.<sup>1</sup> This was the first time that the reclusive and difficult artist's work had appeared on the market. It attracted little interest among collectors and was bought in for only 985 francs (around \$6,000 in today's terms). Some thirty-six years later, on Boxing Day 1882, George Lucas, acting on behalf of William Walters, entered the Parisian gallery of the prominent dealer Adolphe Goupil. He was in search of the very same painting, which was, by now, one of the most famous contemporary French landscapes. Lucas paid 112,000 francs (around \$500,000 today) in cash for the work. Shortly after, he telegraphed Walters to inform him of the purchase. This was the most expensive picture in the entire Walters collection to date. How did the remarkable change in fortune of this picture take place? This essay seeks to explore the evolving history and growing acceptance of this strange picture between the 1840s and 1880s, examining the work's genesis as well as previously unknown critical discourse around the picture.

*Le Givre* represents a desolate winter view of hills around the small rural village of Valmondois some twenty miles to the north of Paris.<sup>2</sup> Rousseau's vantage point was from the des Forgets road running north to south between the town of L'Isle-Adam and Paris, and he looked west across the river Oise, not visible in the picture, toward the Valmondois hills a mile away.<sup>3</sup> The foreground land is covered with flecks of hoarfrost that have remained unmelted into the evening in the cold winter temperatures. An incandescent sunset burns brightly through a dark mass of clouds.<sup>4</sup> The intensity of this sunset—in yellow orange at top, descending to red orange on the horizon—is offset by the rich and complementary viridian greens of the foreground hills. Rousseau's composition is geometrically ordered, with the horizon line dissecting

the composition at its center: the warm colors of the sky also advance in space, flattening the composition and conflating foreground and background. A tiny solitary figure walks along a fenced path to the left, lending a human element to the scene, although this figure is largely subsumed within the greater whole of the composition.

Recent years have seen a growing interest in the work of Théodore Rousseau, and *Le Givre* has been part of this discussion. For Greg Thomas, the picture signaled Rousseau's intense ecological concerns and his radical aim to screen out any reference to human or social content: “No previous landscape painter had even left atmospheric effect so patently unembellished, so detached from human drama and free of social intervention.”<sup>5</sup> Kermit S. Champa saw the painting as emblematic of “Rousseau's taste for the tragic/dramatic” and noted that the artist's “personal accent is absolutely clear in the almost unearthly, barren prospect of the land that seems virtually inflamed by the coloristically complex, yet at the same time, almost iconic, sunset.”<sup>6</sup> The present author has highlighted the work's significance to Rousseau in the creation of new markets for his art in the 1840s.<sup>7</sup> Rousseau painted this work at a time when he was a controversial *refusé* from the official Salon, his works having been refused in 1834, 1836 and 1838–41. Yet, despite, or perhaps even because of, this refusal, he received growing support from patrons and critics in the 1840s. In the very year that *Le Givre* was created, for example, the critic Charles Baudelaire hailed Rousseau as leader of the French landscape school alongside Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot.<sup>8</sup>

The early accounts of *Le Givre* give a different view of its genesis. The artist's friend and critical supporter Théophile Thoré said that it was painted after nature in a single session.<sup>9</sup> However, Alfred Sensier, the artist's later biographer, noted that it was painted outdoors over an eight-day period



Fig. 1. Théodore Rousseau (French, 1812–1867), *Le Givre*, 1845. Oil on canvas, 63.5 × 98 cm (unframed). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. Walters, 1882 (37.25)

in the fall of 1845, with the artist returning to the same site every day.<sup>10</sup> Sensier also affirmed that his account had been confirmed by the painter Jules Dupré, with whom Rousseau was sharing a studio at the time he painted this work. Rousseau's build up of glazes in his painting—particularly in the sky—would have required some working time, suggesting that Sensier's account is the more accurate.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, eight days was still a relatively short period to paint a work of this scale, and the composition retains a unifying wholeness, perhaps because of the rapidity of execution. Rousseau's work is, indeed, notable for its exceptionally gestural, sketchy handling. The artist, for example, employed vigorous impasto swirls across the foreground hills (especially to the right) that clearly allow the raw sienna underpainting to show through (fig. 2).

*Le Givre* signals a new ambition in Rousseau's outdoor work. Previously his outdoor sketches had generally been of a smaller scale.<sup>12</sup> This work was of a far more significant size. The painting is moreover perhaps the first winter landscape of this scale and ambition to be created outdoors. Logistically this was a feat given the extreme cold of the weather at this

time. The picture anticipates Monet's later experiments with the painting of snow outdoors, bundled up against the cold in three coats and painting alongside a foot-warmer.<sup>13</sup> Later commentators have indeed identified the importance of *Le Givre* in the elimination of the traditional division between the *plein-air* sketch and studio finished work, thus anticipating Impressionism and later nineteenth-century *plein-air* painting. Rousseau himself, however, never articulated his



Fig. 2. Detail of fig. 1



view on the status of the picture. Contemporary critics in the 1840s, indeed, actually described the painting as both an *étude* and an *esquisse*—terms generally used to describe preparatory works.<sup>14</sup> Rousseau also did not sign the work, but he did later consider it worthy of public display, indicating his belief that it was indeed a finished exhibition picture, unlike his smaller preparatory sketches, which he generally preferred to remain private.

According to Sensier, the picture was painted on a white, unprepared canvas.<sup>15</sup> A canvas stamp on the back of the work identifies the supplier as Ange Ottoz, a prominent supplier to the Barbizon painters (fig. 3), who had his shop at 2, rue de la Michaudière. Rousseau's decision to paint on such a canvas might account for the appearance of “milkiness” in the dark areas of the sky that we see today.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, Rousseau was able to develop a great intensity of color in short duration that, according to Sensier, was the envy of his fellow painters. Rousseau's study of the sunset in *Le Givre* is particularly notable and is emblematic of his wider exploration of intense sunset effects in the mid-1840s. This is also evident in the *Sunset, Forest Edge* (fig. 4), painted around the same time and representing a scene of scrubby forest land around L'Isle-Adam with a sunset of yellow, orange, and salmon pink and a single tree starkly silhouetted against the sky. It is evident too in the grand *Forest in Winter* (fig. 5), a work begun around the same time as *Le Givre* and showing the ancient wood of the Bas-Bréau in the Forest of Fontainebleau. The enclosed space of the forest here contrasts with the expansive, open vista of *Le Givre*. Rousseau's approach to light had a metaphysical underpinning, and the intense, moody rendering of the sunset in *Le Givre* arguably has a spiritual dimension, reflecting the artist's pantheistic belief in the immanence of

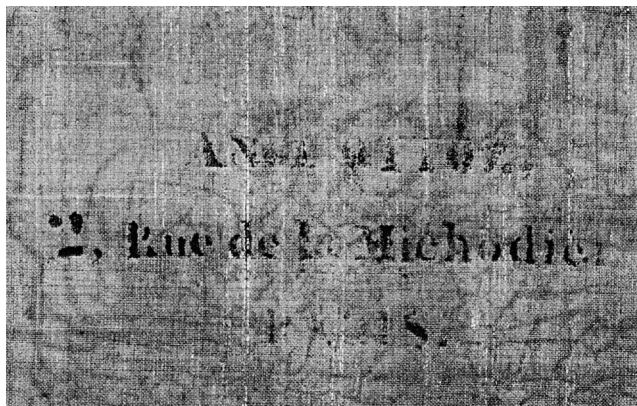


Fig. 3. Detail of reverse of Théodore Rousseau, *Le Givre*

the divine within nature as well as his conviction that light was a carrier of transcendent meaning.

Rousseau's exploration of sunset effects was also developed in close collaboration with Jules Dupré, with whom he worked closely in the mid-1840s and who also produced his own richly coloristic sunset effects around this time. *Sunset over a Marsh* (fig. 6), dating about 1840–45, highlights Dupré's interest in expansive horizons and shows a luminous red-orange evening sky. From 1834, when they first met, until 1849, the year of their rupture, Rousseau and Dupré worked together and emerged as principal figures among the group of young naturalistic landscape painters who, from the 1830s, challenged the earlier predominance of the historical landscape. They first worked together at L'Isle-Adam in 1840, regularly sharing a studio, and, around October 1845, again set up a studio together there that on this occasion had been constructed for them by Monsieur Mellet, Dupré's brother-in-law. They lived here through the autumn of 1845 with Mme Dupré looking after them: it was at this time that Rousseau painted *Le Givre*.<sup>17</sup>

*Le Givre* was acquired by the banker Paul Périer (1812–1897), the most prominent patron of Rousseau's work in the 1840s, although we are unclear of the price he paid.<sup>18</sup> According to Sensier, other collectors were frightened off by the “wildness” of the picture—by which the biographer probably meant the choice of such a desolate, barren scene as well as the artist's unusually rugged and gestural handling. It is probable that buyers were disturbed not only by the picture's lack of *fini* but also by the absence of a *motif*. Early nineteenth-century landscapes generally contained a picturesque focal point—a *motif*—such as a castle or cathedral, but there was no such element in Rousseau's empty scene. The focus of the picture is light rather than any topographical feature. Owing to financial problems, Périer was forced to sell off much of his modern collection in December 1846 including this work, which appeared in his sale catalogue titled *Sunset in Wintertime (Soleil couchant par un temps d'hiver)*.<sup>19</sup> This represents the earliest known title for the picture. Although bought in, Rousseau's picture attracted high praise from a perceptive young avant-garde critic and aristocrat, Comte Clément de Ris (1820–1882), who was making his name with a series of reviews in the Romantic arts journal *L'Artiste* in the mid-1840s. For Ris, *Le Givre* had a power equal to that of the greatest known landscape painters.<sup>20</sup> He went on to describe the picture thus, highlighting its atmosphere of melancholy:





Fig. 4 (above). Théodore Rousseau, *Sunset, Forest Edge*, ca. 1845–46. Oil on canvas, 42 × 63 cm. The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Purchased with funds provided by William Randolph Hearst Collection by exchange (86.1)

Fig. 5 (opposite top). Théodore Rousseau, *Forest in Winter*, ca. 1846–67. Oil on canvas, 162 × 260 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of P.A.B. Widener, 1911 (11.4)

Fig. 6 (opposite bottom). Jules Dupré (French, 1811–1889), *Sunset over a Marsh (Soleil couchant sur un marais)*, ca. 1840–45. Oil on panel, 52 × 76 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 1423)

Some land, flecked with snowflakes here and there, in the dim dusk of a sad winter’s day; in the middle ground, some trees with their bare branches silhouetted against the sky; in the background, land disappearing into a dark and dismal mist; above, a reddish and bloody sky appearing through the long tears of dark clouds. That is the canvas of M. Rousseau, which has a terrible sadness that we can compare only to Ruysdael’s *The Bush*.

Ris’s comparison of the painting to Jacob van Ruisdael’s well-known *Bush* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1819) is of interest since, of all Dutch landscape painters, it was Ruisdael whose works were principally associated with melancholy in mid-nineteenth-century France.<sup>21</sup> Ris’s description of the painting continued, and he noted the confidence of Rousseau’s painting method: “There is no struggle here, no trial and error, no

hesitation. It’s a plein-air study of nature, realized on canvas, after having traversed the mind of an intelligent man.” Ris concluded his commentary by comparing Rousseau’s vibrant complementary colors with the more uniform tonalities of two other prominent landscape painters in the 1840s, Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot (1796–1875) and Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps (1803–1860): “The sky above all has a solidity, a vigor, a sense of correct tone that M. Rousseau alone can find without fear of falling into exaggeration; because that is the great merit of this fortunate artist: to render nature with its wild and harmonious range of colors without falling into the ‘red,’ like Decamps on occasions, or the ‘gray,’ like Corot from time to time.<sup>22</sup>”

Despite such critical support, *Le Givre* failed to find a buyer, and it was bought in by Périer. Soon after, it seems to have been acquired by the dealer, Jean-Marie-Fortuné







Durand-Ruel, a prominent supporter of naturalistic landscape during the July Monarchy. This dealer then traded it with the painter Constant Troyon (1810–1865), a prominent landscape painter in his own right in the 1840s, for a study of sheep (unlocated). *Le Givre* was subsequently stored in Troyon's studio during the 1850s. Troyon does not seem to have treated the painting well; indeed, it remained unframed in the lumber-room of his studio. Nonetheless, the work formed part of Troyon's interesting collection, which also included the grandest version of Delacroix's *Christ on the Sea of Galilee* (Walters Art Museum) (fig. 7).

In 1861, Rousseau referred to the painting for the first and only time in his correspondence. He described it as “the painting of Troyon (le Givre)” and considered sending

it to the Belgian Salon at Antwerp.<sup>23</sup> This was an important show for Rousseau; the previous year he had planned to exhibit there his grand painting *Le Chêne de Roche* (private collection), which he subsequently showed as his only work at the 1861 Paris Salon. This plan suggests the significance he ascribed to *Le Givre*, but it never came to fruition. The work next appeared publicly in the 1866 sale of the Troyon collection.<sup>24</sup> This was a pivotal moment in the history of the picture. It sold for 9,800 francs, the top price of the sale. Critical comment was favorable, and Sensier later noted that “for the first time, it was seen in its true light, having required twenty years to make it understood.”<sup>25</sup> By now, there seems to have been a greater acceptance for the lack of *fini* and wild, unpicturesque aspect of the work. Shortly after, it appeared



Fig. 7. Eugène Delacroix (French, 1798–1863), *Christ on the Sea of Galilee*, 1854. Oil on canvas, 59.8 × 73.3 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. Walters, 1889 (37.186)



in a show organized by the *Cercle de l'Union Artistique*, a kind of arts club for gentlemen that regularly exhibited displays of contemporary art at the rue de Choiseul in the 1860s. The critic Léon Lagrange (1828–1868) reviewed the exhibition in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and focused on Rousseau's picture, describing it as a darkly infernal vision and sensing the intense, metaphysical quality to Rousseau's work:

We remember the admirable landscape of the Troyon sale, which surprised the most enthusiastic admirers of the talent of M. Théodore Rousseau: in the sky, a bloody smile; below, pale ground which oozes rain; in the distance, the terrors of a mysterious infinite. *The Cercle of the rue de Choiseul* has shown us this nameless page which recalls the drawings of Victor Hugo. We could not study it, because there is nothing to study but examine it at leisure, and I know few paintings to which the gaze is drawn with greater persistence and unquiet reverie. One would think that the painter lives in Dante's Hell.<sup>26</sup>

Lagrange's account is also of interest in comparing Rousseau's work to the dark, often surreal pen-and-ink drawings of the Romantic novelist, poet and artist Victor Hugo.

By the early 1870s, *Le Givre* was in the collection of the wealthy tailor Laurent-Richard. It appeared in his sale in April 1873, where it sold to the dealer and sale expert Alexis Febvre for 60,100 francs. In the same year, it was reproduced in a collection of three hundred etchings of the stock of Durand-Ruel. The etching by the young printmaker Henri Lefort (1852–1916) (fig. 8) (titled *Le Givre*) provides greater detail than we see today in the painting, clearly delineating the screen of trees in the middle distance. It is possible that the layers of paint representing these trees may have been removed by a later overcleaning.<sup>27</sup> *Le Givre* had once again returned to Laurent-Richard by 1878, when it appeared in another sale of his collection in May of that year: this time it was sold for 46,500 francs. It then appeared in the prestigious sale in Paris of the Baron de Beurnonville collection on 30 April 1880.<sup>28</sup> For the first time, William Walters now tried to buy the picture with George

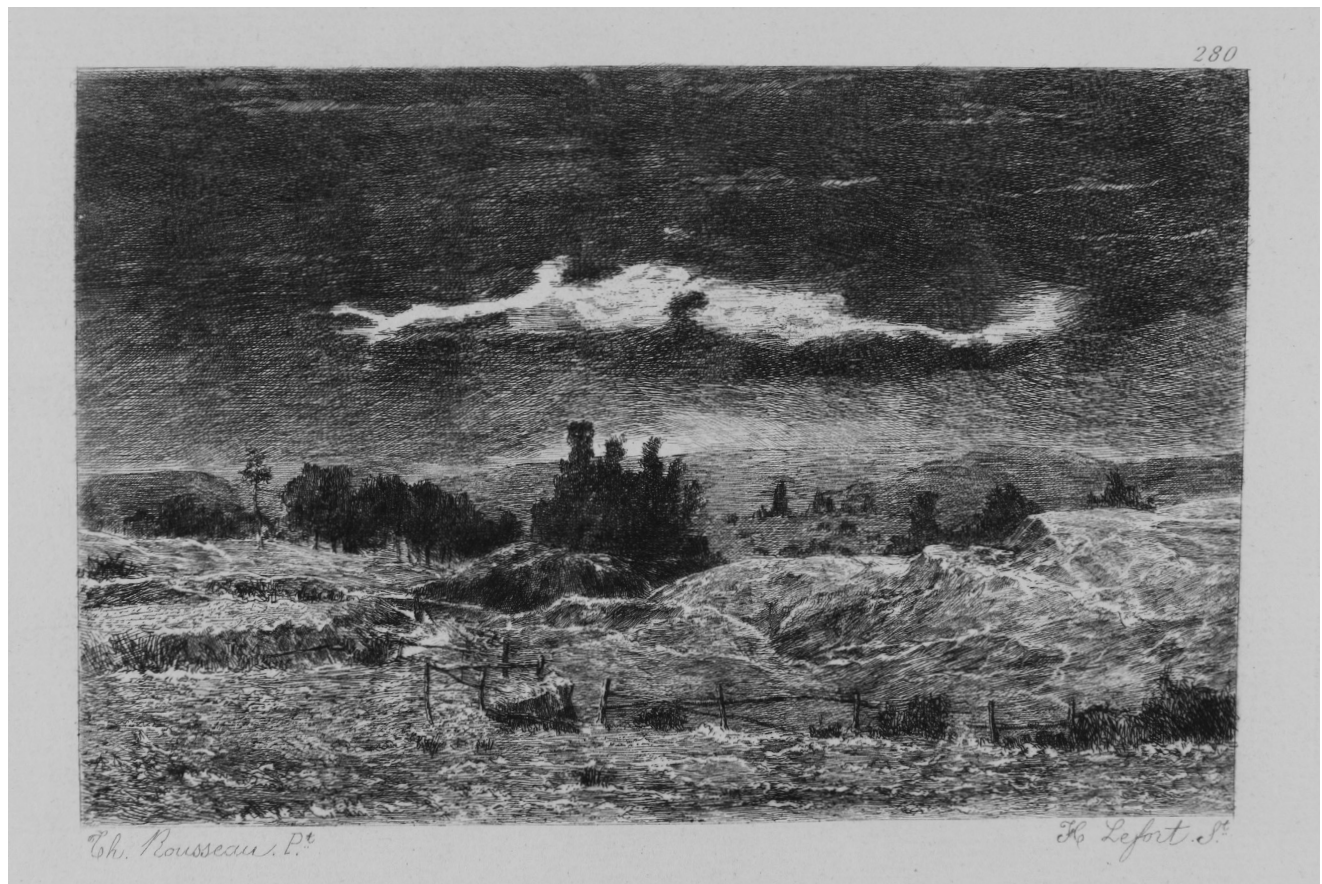


Fig. 8. Henri Lefort (French, 1852–1916), after Théodore Rousseau. *Le Givre*. Etching, 8.2 × 12.7 cm (plate). Saint Louis Art Museum, Richardson Library

Lucas as his agent. He seems, however, to have set limits for the purchase, and the work was acquired by another bidder as the top price of the sale at 74,100 francs. Lucas wrote to Walters after the sale in disappointment, while also highlighting the exceptional importance of the painting, as well as Rousseau's seminal position in the history of nineteenth-century French landscape painting. Lucas wrote:

Dear Walters:

On other side you will find prices of Beurnonville sale—sorry to say that I was unable to secure the Givre—the price as you see, knocked down at 74,100 francs—I cannot express to you how sorry I am that you had not said “go to 100,000fs” —It is certainly the *biggest landscape of the biggest modern landscape painter* [my emphasis] and how I wish that you had got it—In 10 years if offered it will be sold at 150,000 fs. However no regretting over spilt milk—you may find one of these days a “stunning” Rousseau but you will never find the like of this—

Only two years later, however, during Christmas 1882, Walters was provided with a second opportunity to buy the work. On this occasion, he showed no hesitation.

*Le Givre* thus crossed the Atlantic, but the work nonetheless remained fresh in the mind of French artists. This was particularly so for the prominent landscape painter Eugène Boudin (1824–1898), perhaps best known as the first teacher of Claude Monet (1840–1926), whose comments provide an interesting postscript to the picture's history. In 1888, Boudin sought to explain the remarkable recent rise in the prices and reputation of the “sketchy” work of Daubigny and the Barbizon School, whose loosely handled works had once been criticized as slapdash daubs.<sup>29</sup> He emphasized the new acceptance of their loose, sketchy handling as a sign of their artistic spontaneity, and, in so doing, he drew on the example of Rousseau's *Le Givre*, with which he was familiar from an early stage, having been an assistant of Troyon in the early 1860s. For Boudin, the change in fortunes of Rousseau's work was emblematic of a wider appreciation for a “sketchy” finish as the century had progressed. He wrote:

Didn't we long ago see, in Troyon's lumber-room of a studio where I worked, a sunset by Rousseau, rather knocked around and unframed? When I placed it on the

easel to see it better Troyon said: “It is pretty, but all the same I must make up my mind to give it a frame.” Well, my good fellow, that scarcely sketched-in picture, as you did not fail to point out, has since been sold for 65,000 francs, then for 100,000, and it's still rising. You can see from this example, and a hundred others one could quote, that all this is nothing more than the passing of time.<sup>30</sup>

As we have seen, the work that Boudin had seen neglected in Troyon's studio had sold to Walters in 1882 for the very large sum of 112,000 francs.

*Le Givre*, in conclusion, is a crucial example of Rousseau's production in the 1840s and is important for many reasons. Iconographically, its stripped-down, antipicturesque composition subverted conventional ideas of picture-making in the 1840s, looking forward to the more reductive compositions of the Impressionists. At the same time, its rich, gestural facture and intense color also set it apart among other contemporary landscapists. Over the course of some forty years, the commercial fortunes of the work changed radically. From being difficult to sell, it became one of the most sought-after and expensive landscape paintings of the late nineteenth century. The broader taste for landscape in some sense caught up with Rousseau's pioneering experimentation: his radical motifs and facture came to be more widely accepted as the century progressed. For these reasons and more, George Lucas's elevated judgment of the innovative work was well founded. The picture may not have been Rousseau's “biggest” in terms of its scale but it can certainly lay claim to being among the most intensely imagined and evocative compositions developed over the course of his career.

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## NOTES

All translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.

1. The painting has had various titles; the title employed here was used by Rousseau's biographer, Alfred Sensier, as well as in the 1873 print by Henri Lefort after the picture (fig. 8). An alternative title, *Effet de Givre*, was later given to the work by William Walters.
2. Girault de Saint-Fargeau described the village as having 384 inhabitants: “Valmondois, v.g. Seine-et-Oise (Vexin), arr et à 10 k. de Pontoise, cant de l'Isle-Adam, pop. 384 h.” See A. Girault de

- Saint-Fargeau, *Dictionnaire géographique, industriel et commercial de toutes les communes de la France*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1844–46), 3:723.
3. “un jour de givre il se mit à peindre sur une toile blanche, non préparé, les coteaux de Valmondois, vus d’une demi-lieue, à la route des Forgets, sur le côté opposé de l’Oise.” A. Sensier, *Souvenirs sur Théodore Rousseau* (Paris, 1872), 151.
  4. The painting has been identified as both a sunrise and sunset, but the geographical identification of the site—looking to the west—makes it clear that this must be a sunset. For an earlier commentary on the work, see W. R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth Century Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1982), 70.
  5. See G. M. Thomas, *Art and Ecology in Nineteenth-Century France: The Landscapes of Théodore Rousseau* (2000), p. 30.
  6. See K. S. Champa, *The Rise of Landscape Painting in France: Corot to Monet* (New York, 1991), p. 211.
  7. See S. Kelly, “Early Patrons of the Barbizon School: The 1840s,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 16, no. 2 (2004), 161–72.
  8. “At the head of the modern school stands M. Corot. If M. Théodore Rousseau were to exhibit, his [Corot’s] supremacy would be in some doubt, for to a naïveté, an originality which are at least equal, M. Rousseau adds a greater charm and a greater sureness of execution.” See Charles Baudelaire, “The Salon de 1845,” in *Art in Paris, 1845–1862*, trans. J. Mayne, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1981).
  9. Thoré described the work as “a sketch painted after nature . . . in a single sitting” [“une esquisse peinte d’après nature . . . en une seule séance”], “See T. Thoré, “Vente de la galerie de M. Paul Périer,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 27 December 1846.
  10. “Rousseau exécuta tout en fièvre ce beau tableau en huit jours; il m’a fallu le témoignage de Dupré pour croire à une semblable prodige” (Rousseau executed this remarkable picture, under great excitement, in *eight days* [emphasis added]. I would not believe this miracle until Dupré assured me of it). Sensier, *Souvenirs sur Théodore Rousseau* (note 3), 152.
  11. Thanks to Eric Gordon, head of paintings conservation at the Walters Art Museum, for his valuable observations on Rousseau’s process and working method.
  12. Rousseau had, however, recently produced some larger studies in the Landes in 1844. See, for example, the grisailles of the same size: *Ferme dans les Landes* (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, SMK 3269) and *Four communal dans les Landes* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon).
  13. In 1868, for example, a journalist described Monet working in the deep snow at Honfleur, probably in the winter of 1866–67: “We have only seen him once. It was in the winter, during several days of snow, when communications were virtually at a standstill. It was cold enough to split stones. We noticed a foot-warmer, then an easel, then a man, swathed in three coats, his hands in gloves, his face half-frozen. It was M. Monet, studying a snow effect.”
- Quoted in J. House, *Monet: Nature into Art* (New Haven and London, 1986), 137.
14. “une esquisse . . .”: see Théophile Thoré, “Vente de la galerie de M. Paul Périer,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 27 December, 1846. Clément de Ris referred to the work as “a study, quite finished it is true” (une étude, assez achevée il est vrai). Clément de Ris, “Vente du cabinet de M. Paul Périer,” *L’Artiste*, 4th series, vol. 8, no. 8 (27 December 1846), 125–27.
  15. Ange Ottoz’s shop was very popular among Barbizon painters and was used not only by Rousseau but also by Corot, Daubigny, and Jacque. Rousseau would continue to use the shop until the end of his career. The canvas *Sunset* (Cincinnati Museum of Art), dated 1866, thus also carries the stamp of Ange Ottoz on its reverse. Ottoz, whose shop opened in 1827, sold “large seamless painting canvases up to 15 feet 6 inches” (toiles pour tableaux jusqu’à 15 pieds et 6 pouces sans couture). Quoted in S. Constantin, “The Barbizon Painters: A Guide to Their Suppliers,” *Studies in Conservation* 46, no. 1 (2001), 57.
  16. Anthea Callen identifies a similar “miliness” in the works of Degas as a result of his readiness to work on unprepared, unprimed canvases. See A. Callen, *The Art of Impressionism: Painting Technique and the Making of Modernity* (New Haven and London, 2000), 67–68.
  17. In 1968, Hélène Toussaint noted that Rousseau also produced a virtually identical, slightly smaller variant of the Walters painting. H. Toussaint, ed., *Théodore Rousseau, 1812–1867*, exh. cat., Paris: Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1968), 49–50. She noted that this was acquired by Barroilhet in 1847 and sold some 20 years later and that the work measured 41 by 63 cm and was last recorded (with those measurements) at the Laurent-Richard sale of 1878, no. 59. See *Catalogue de tableaux modernes et de tableaux anciens composant la collection Laurent-Richard* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 23–25 May 1878). This painting has, however, never been located, and it is probable that Toussaint was mistaken. The etching used to reproduce the work in the 1878 Laurent-Richard sale is indeed the same etching as that after the Walters painting included in the previous Laurent-Richard sale in 1873. The measurements in the 1878 sale catalogue were probably simply an error. Albert Wolff, in *La Capitale de l’Art* (Paris, 1886, 115–17) did note that Barroilhet acquired *Le Givre* (the Walters Art Museum painting) for 500 francs in the mid-1840s before selling it some twenty years later for 17,000 francs. But again, this was a mistake with Wolff confusing *Le Givre* with other sales made by the artist to the collector. There is no evidence in the Barroilhet sales of the Walters painting, nor of any variant. Michel Schulman’s catalogue raisonné of Rousseau’s paintings makes no reference to a variant of the Walters picture. See M. Schulman, *Théodore Rousseau: Catalogue raisonné de l’oeuvre peint* (Paris, 1999), 188.
  18. The sale also contained several works by Decamps, Dupré, and Diaz de la Peña as well as Rousseau’s *Avenue of Chestnut Trees*



- (Musée du Louvre, RF 2046). For Périer and this sale, see S. Kelly, “Early Patrons of the Barbizon School” (note 7).
19. See *Vente du cabinet de M. Paul Périer*, December 1846 (Paris, 1846)
  20. “une puissance égale à celle des plus grands paysagistes connus . . .” Clément de Ris, “Vente du cabinet de M. Paul Périer,” *L’Artiste*, 4th series, vol. 8, no. 8 (27 December 1846), 125.
  21. See, for example, a reproductive print after Ruysdael’s *Le coup de soleil* (Musée du Louvre, inv. 1820) that appeared in the magazine *L’Artiste* in May 1849. The print was entitled *Mélancolie* and accompanied by the following commentary: “L’âme ardente de Ruysdael était tourmentée par la passion des poètes pour l’inconnu et l’infini. Ruysdael, cœur blessé par quelque amour plein de larmes, fuyait le monde pour se réfugier dans la solitude agreste.” See *L’Artiste*, 5th series, vol. 3, no. 4 (15 May 1849).
  22. “Quelques terrains qu’estompe le crépuscule d’une triste journée d’hiver, et mouchetés ça et là de flacons de neige; au second plan, des arbres qui profilent sur le ciel leur fouillis de branches dépouillées; au fond, d’autres terrains se perdant dans une brume noire et morne; là-dessus, de sombres nuages qui laissent entrevoir par leurs longues déchirures un ciel rougeâtre et sanglant; voilà l’autre toile de M. Rousseau, dont on ne peut rendre la navrante tristesse, et à laquelle nous ne connaissons d’égale que le *Buisson* de Ruysdael. Là, rien de cherché; pas de tâtonnement, d’hésitation. C’est une étude de la nature prise sur le fait, et transportée sur la toile après avoir traversé le cerveau d’un homme intelligent. Le ciel surtout est d’une solidité, d’une vigueur et d’une justesse de tons que M. Rousseau peut seul trouver sans crainte de tomber dans l’exagération; car c’est là l’immense mérite de cet heureux artiste: c’est de rendre la nature avec sa farouche et harmonieuse gamme de couleurs sans tomber dans le *roux*, comme quelquefois Decamps, ou dans le gris, comme quelquefois Corot.” Clément de Ris, “Vente du cabinet de M. Paul Périer,” *L’Artiste*, 4th series, vol. 8, no. 8 (27 December 1846), 125–27.
  23. In 1861, Rousseau asked Sensier to find some paintings from private collections to represent him at the Belgian Salon in Antwerp. Sensier suggested *Le Givre* as well as *L’Avenue de l’Isle-Adam* (Musée d’Orsay, RF 1882), two works that “vous personnifient et qui, grâce au temps déjà écoulé, vous feront voir sans les brouillards et les mauvais tours des embus” (see Sensier, *Souvenirs sur Théodore Rousseau* [note 3], 259). The two works proved difficult to borrow and on 10 July 1861, Rousseau wrote to Sensier: “What are we going to do if we have neither the Painting of Troyon (Le Givre belonged to him) [Sensier’s parenthesis] nor that of the Avenue de l’Isle-Adam? Either one or the other would still work, but without either of them, that places a heavy burden on the small paintings to hold up in an exhibition like that of Antwerp, where one is supposed to appear at full strength” (Comment faire si on n’a ni le Tableau de Troyon (le Givre lui appartenait), ni celui de l’Avenue de l’Isle-Adam? L’un ou l’autre ça irait encore, mais aucun des deux, cela laisse aux petits tableaux une rude charge pour soutenir une exposition comme celle d’Anvers, où l’on est censé paraître avec toutes ses armes.). Rousseau thus thought of *Le Givre* as worthy of display and also highlighted the importance of its significant scale. See Sensier, *Souvenirs sur Théodore Rousseau* (note 3), 259–60.
  24. Vente Troyon, 22 January–1 February 1866 (Paris, Hôtel Drouot).
  25. Sensier, *Souvenirs sur Théodore Rousseau* (note 3), 152
  26. “On se souvient de l’admirable paysage de la vente Troyon qui a surpris les admirateurs les plus enthousiastes du talent de M. Théodore Rousseau: dans le ciel, un sourire sanglant; en bas, des terrains livides qui suent la pluie; au fond, les terreurs d’un infini mystérieux. Le Cercle de la rue de Choiseul nous a montré cette page sans nom qui rappelle les dessins de Victor Hugo. On a pu, non pas l’étudier, car il n’y a rien pour l’étude, mais la regarder à loisir, et je connais peu de tableaux où le regard s’attache avec plus de persistance et d’inquiète rêverie. On croirait que le peintre habite l’Enfer du Dante.” L. Lagrange, “Bulletin Mensuel, Mars, 1866,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1 April 1866, 398.
  27. Thanks to Eric Gordon for this observation.
  28. The Beurnonville sale raised 599,725 francs in total and also included works by Corot, Delacroix, and Millet.
  29. “Look at the Daubignys, which used to be called shocking sketches, and which now fetch exorbitant prices” (Voilà les Daubigny, qu’on appelait des esquisses heurtées, qui atteignent déjà des prix exorbitants). See G. Jean-Aubry, *Eugène Boudin d’après des documents inédits* (Paris, 1922), p. 96.
  30. N’avons-nous pas vu chez Troyon, jadis, traînant un peu, sans cadre, dans son atelier de débararras où j’ai travaillé, un coucher de soleil de Rousseau? Lorsque je le mettais sur le chevalet pour le mieux voir, Troyon faisait: ‘Il est joli, tout de même, il faudra que je me décide à lui donner un cadre.’ . . . Eh bien, mon bon, ce tableau à peine esquissé, comme tu n’aurais pas manqué de dire, a été, depuis, vendu soixante-cinq mille, puis cent mille et il monte toujours. Tu vois par cet exemple et cent autres qu’on pourrait citer, que tout cela n’est qu’une affaire d’entraînement.” Boudin to Martin, 11 September 1888, in Jean-Aubry, *Eugène Boudin d’après des documents inédits* (note 29), p. 86. Translation by Caroline Tisdall in G. Jean-Aubry with Robert Schmit, *Eugène Boudin* (Greenwich, Conn., 1968), p. 110.
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## THE MAKING OF A PRE-RAPHAELITE ICON

### G.C. WILLIAMSON AND WALTERS 38.419

JO BRIGGS

In 1963 the Walters Art Museum received a major gift of miniatures from the collection of A. Jay Fink<sup>1</sup> that included a piece described in the paperwork received with the collection as follows:

Miniature of: Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal [*sic*] (wife of Artist). Artist: Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882). School: English. Description and history of miniature: Three-quarter length seated figure, head slightly turned to the left; costume lilac colour with brown stripes, with white at the sleeves and a white frill about the neck; over the shoulders is thrown a red shawl; a brooch fastens the dress at the neck; both hands are shown and are represented clasped; titian hair, long to shoulders; eyes downcast; background blueish-green [*sic*].<sup>2</sup>

Now accessioned as Walters 38.419 (fig. 1), this portrait has appeared in the secondary literature on the Pre-Raphaelites, most recently in the catalogue for the exhibition *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Art and Design* held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. This catalogue reproduced the portrait in color for the first time, although it is shown without its elaborate jeweled frame.<sup>3</sup>

Although Walters 38.419 entered the museum with a collection of miniatures, it is in fact a tinted photograph, likely a carte de visite albumen print. The photograph, or at least the glazed opening in the jeweled frame through which the photograph is seen, measures 5.1 by 7.6 cm. The frame is made of gold, bowenite, opal, diamonds, and star sapphires, and measures 13.2 by 10.8 by 1 cm. On the back of the frame (fig. 2) is the following engraved inscription:

This represents / Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal [*sic*], / who on the 25th of May 1860 became the wife of / Dante Gabriel Rossetti. / In May 1861 she gave birth to a child, / and

died on February 10th 1862, / having unhappily taken an overdose of Laudanum / in order to relieve a severe form of Neuralgia / by which she was afflicted. / This Portrait was painted by her husband / between December 1860 and May 1861, / and is the only portrait the artist painted / of his wife after her marriage. / He painted her portrait numberless times / before her marriage and made many sketches of her / but afterwards made one slight sketch in pencil / which has been lost / and painted this miniature.

Taking this inscription at face value, the Walters possesses the only locatable photograph of Elizabeth Siddall.<sup>4</sup> However, the object's provenance is unclear, and so far no documentary evidence linking the image to either Siddall or Rossetti has come to light. The object itself may provide more information with further scientific analysis, but the metal-backed frame is sealed in such a way that accessing photograph is impossible. Due to the uncertainties surrounding this piece, throughout this essay I will refer to it by its accession number, or by the deliberately imprecise terms "object" and "portrait."

Siddall was a significant Pre-Raphaelite artist and poet in her own right and, as feminist art historians have argued, was crucial to Rossetti's artistic development.<sup>5</sup> Yet her status as muse to her husband, which casts her in a passive rather than active role, continues to overshadow her short artistic career.<sup>6</sup> Throughout this essay I will use the correct spelling of the family name, Siddall, rather than "Siddal" as preferred by Rossetti. Deborah Cherry and Griselda Pollock have drawn an important distinction between Siddall the historical person and "Siddal" as "sign" constructed through Rossetti's art as "cipher for masculine creativity inspired by and fulfilled in love for a beautiful feminine face."<sup>7</sup> Rossetti is best known for his paintings of female subjects, usually at bust length, which are often allegorical or symbolic types based



Fig. 1. Attributed to Dante Gabriel Rossetti (British, 1828–1882). *Elizabeth Eleanor Siddall* (?), probably 1860–61. Image: albumen print and gouache, 5.1 × 7.6 cm; frame: gold, bowenite, opal, diamonds, sapphires, glass: framed with loop: 14.5 × 10.8 × 1 cm; framed without loop: 13.2 × 10.8 × 1 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Gift of the A. Jay Fink Foundation, Inc., in memory of Abraham Jay Fink, 1963 (38.419) (actual size)

on women with whom he was romantically involved, such as Jane Morris and Fanny Cornforth, as well as his wife and fellow artist Elizabeth Siddall. Rossetti's co-opting of Siddall for his own artistic and autobiographical ends is telling in relationship to the Walters photograph, as here, yet again,

Siddall has apparently been effaced by Rossetti's art—his overpainting obscuring one of the few photographs of her.

This raises questions about how we categorize Walters 38.419, do we look at it as a painting or a photograph? Does it tell us about Siddall and her self-presentation as an artistic



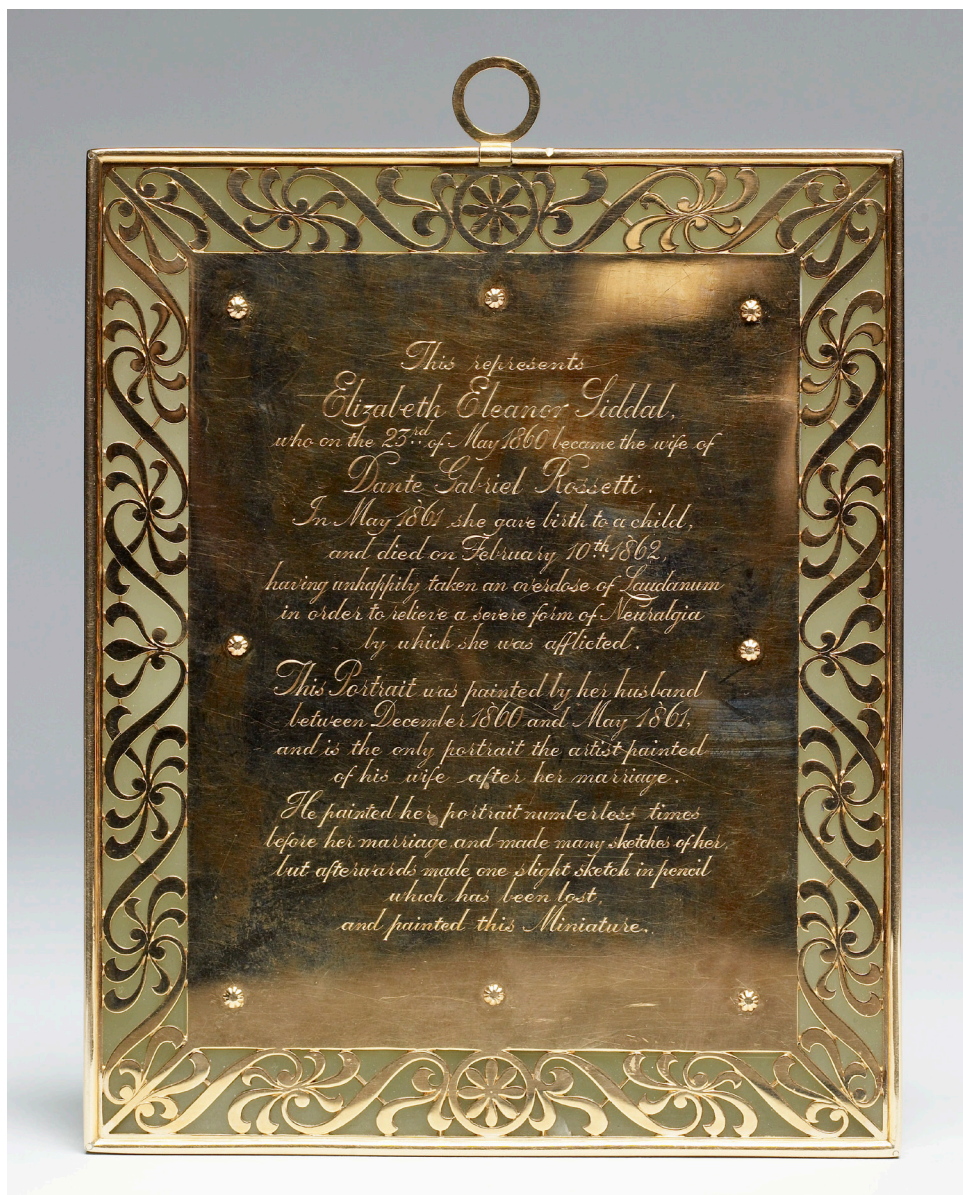


Fig. 2. Reverse of Walters 38.419

woman, or about Rossetti and his art? Answers take on an ideological dimension in the light of the work of the feminist art historians quoted above.<sup>8</sup> Yet focusing on the relationship between Rossetti and Siddal, it is easy to overlook the jeweled frame and its engraved inscription, which is a material

testament to the object's provenance, the uncertainties associated with its history, and its place in the historiography of "Siddal"/ Siddall. The frame is a highly considered material intervention in how we approach this image. It completely and permanently encases the photograph, turning a

commercially produced image into a relic, a fragile piece of paper into a three-dimensional object, irrevocably altering it and mediating our relationship to it.<sup>9</sup>

Archival research has enabled me to clarify certain aspects of the object's provenance, significantly the largely neglected role of art historian George Charles Williamson (1858–1942) in shaping both how we understand the portrait's history and how we view and engage with it as a material object.<sup>10</sup> It is Williamson who transformed a small tinted image of an unknown woman into the Pre-Raphaelite icon we see today by identifying the sitter as Siddall, attributing the overpainting to Rossetti, and playing a significant role in the production of its frame. There is no entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* for Williamson, but his obituary in *The Times* (London) in 1942 noted that he “was a highly industrious and versatile writer on art,” who “wrote much on miniatures,” was art editor for the publishers George Bell and Sons, besides playing a part in forming and cataloging the collection of John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913).<sup>11</sup> The fact that scholars who have published on the portrait have not probed its provenance more deeply speaks to the function that it performs in literature on the Pre-Raphaelites. As befits an icon, it is freighted with significance that outweighs its uncertain origins.

Though documentary evidence linking Walters 38.419 to either Rossetti or Siddall is lacking, the visual evidence reveals marked similarities between portraits known to depict Siddall and the sitter in the photograph. Notably, the pose of Beatrice in Rossetti's *Beata Beatrix*, a posthumously completed portrait of Siddall dating from almost immediately after her death (fig. 3), recalls the pose of the woman in the tinted photograph, as do certain facial features, hair style, and hair color. This is one of Rossetti's best-known paintings, and the resemblance might have led Williamson to identify Walters 38.419 as a portrait of Siddall and attribute the overpainting to Rossetti (although this is not a comparison cited in his writing on the piece).<sup>12</sup> The white undersleeves shown projecting from a looser overgarment in *Beata Beatrix* also show parallels with the dress in the photograph. Facial similarities and similarity of pose can also be observed between the now unlocated photograph after a daguerreotype that appears as the frontispiece to Violet Hunt's 1932 book, *The Wife of Rossetti*, and Walters 38.419.<sup>13</sup> Pencil drawings of Siddall likely dating from the first half of the 1850s also show marked similarities to the sitter in the Walters picture

in the tilt of the head and neck, facial features, heavy-closed eyes, and hair-style, especially studies for the watercolor *The Return of Tibullus to Delia* (ca. 1853) (fig. 4).<sup>14</sup> A round brooch similar to that worn at the neck of the model in the Walters image appears in several pictures of her; a dress with wide oversleeves and tighter pale undersleeves can also be seen in several works known to depict Siddall.<sup>15</sup> More general similarities can be detected in numerous other portraits of Siddall.<sup>16</sup> Additionally the photographic medium of the *carte de visite* is correct for the period mentioned in the engraved inscription—1860–1861—as is the style of costume worn by the sitter. Other circumstantial evidence is worthy of note; Rossetti appears to have known or have been told that Siddall was to have a stillborn child and therefore feared for her life.<sup>17</sup> This may have prompted him to seek a photographic document of her appearance.

Reproducing Walters 38.419 and *Beata Beatrix* from the Tate collection at the same scale reveals that the female figure takes up the same space within the rectangular field of both photograph and painting (compare figs. 3–5). This could be the result of squaring off a *carte de visite* photograph from the same sitting, now lost, for enlargement as the basis of the painting. However, is there a risk of seeing what we want to see, just as Williamson may have? Walters 38.419 fits perfectly with our understanding of the relationship between Rossetti and “Siddal” / Siddall, and between Rossetti and his female models more generally, but, through Williamson's writing on the piece, this portrait constructs the reputations that now frame our understanding of it. The melding of what we know, what we see, and what we believe is what makes this object an icon in the history of the Pre-Raphaelites.

The provenance of this piece since the beginning of the twentieth century can be traced as follows: it was acquired by Pierpont Morgan before 1906 on the recommendation of Williamson. The portrait was then sold at Christies, Manson and Wood in the 1935 sale of the Pierpont Morgan's miniatures in New York City.<sup>18</sup> The piece entered the collection of A. Jay Fink at an unknown date, and in 1963 it was generously gifted to the Walters Art Museum. The earliest reference to this piece in the archives at the Morgan Library is a letter dated 7 November 1906 from Williamson to Pierpont Morgan's secretary. I have been unable to find written evidence of the prior whereabouts of this piece or its existence.



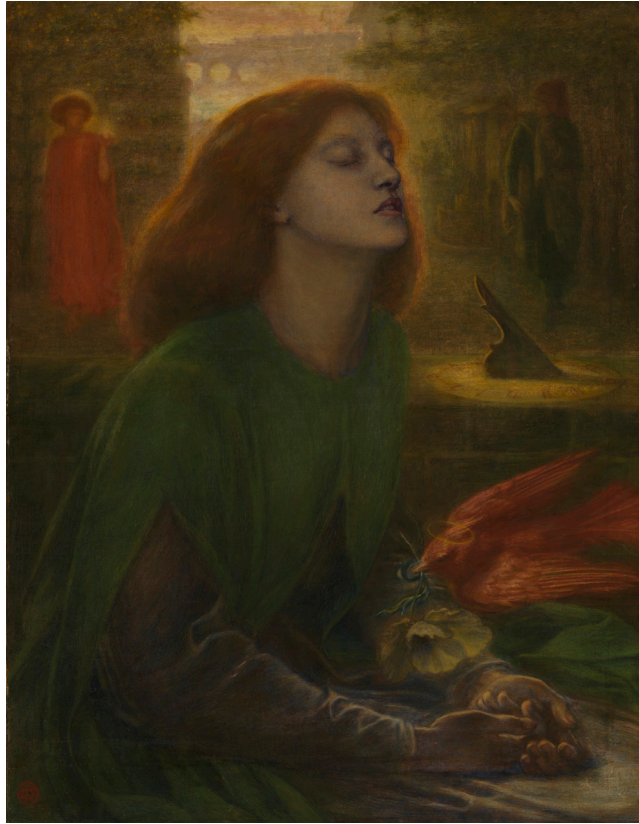


Fig. 3 (top left). Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Beata Beatrix*, ca. 1864–70. Oil on canvas, 86.4 × 66 cm. Tate, London (N01279)

Fig. 4 (above). Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Return of Tibullus to Delia—Figure Study*, 1853. Pencil touched with pen and ink on irregular shaped paper, 32.2 × 41 cm. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, Purchased and presented by subscribers, 1903 (1904P403)

Fig. 5 (left). Reversed image of Walters 38.419



At this time Williamson was in Pierpont Morgan's employment and preparing for publication a four-volume catalogue of his extensive collection of miniatures.<sup>19</sup> Pierpont Morgan paid Williamson for his work on the collection, and he seems to have occasionally suggested miniatures for his patron to purchase; it is unclear if Williamson had a financial interest in any of these transactions, but he later distanced himself from this possibility.<sup>20</sup> In the letter Williamson reports on the process of choosing stones for a new and lavish frame for the photograph. Enclosed with the letter Williamson sent were a hand-colored photograph of the front of the frame and a black-and-white photograph of the back, showing the engraved inscription. The frame was made in London by Mr. Walker, likely of the firm today known as Johnson Walker. This new frame can be placed in the context of the extensive reframing and cataloging campaign commissioned by Pierpont Morgan between around 1902 and the publication of the catalogue of his miniatures.<sup>21</sup>

Williamson wrote:

I am sending you rather fuller particulars as to the enclosed payment than usual. It relates to a very fine frame which has been made for Mr Morgan for his unique Rossetti miniature and which he has not seen.

I submitted the idea to him, in Princes Gate and he told me after looking at various stones, I brought on that occasion, that he would leave it entirely to me to frame the miniature for him as I thought would be most suitable.

It's very curious technique, dull rich and original colour and fine oil like surface, made the task one of some difficulty. The ordinary diamond frame was quite out of place, pearls looked too dull, other stones far too brilliant and at last I hit upon contrasting precious opal with pale jade [*sic*], and the result is, as those who have seen it declare, very charming.

It was difficult to get four pieces of milk opal, big enough or any star sapphires pale enough, but at last the task is done and the Jewellers have carried it out admirably. I send you a photograph partly coloured and one of the gold back showing the full inscription. I will also send the page of the Catalogue giving its history of the Miniature that Mr Morgan may see exactly what has been done, and that I have justified his confidence.

The miniature is one of his greatest treasures and it is now in a frame, not only worthy of it, but suitable in colouring, precious in material and delightful in effect. I believe when he sees it, he will be charmed by it.

It is costly, of course, but I think no other man in London other than Mr Walker could have obtained the needful opal and jade and done the work.

I have no other frame in hand or work of this sort.<sup>22</sup>

The inscription on the back of frame was reproduced as text in volume two of the *Catalogue of the Collection of Miniatures in the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan*, which describes the piece as depicting "Mrs. Rossetti." The catalogue also gives additional information concerning the piece's purported provenance. To paraphrase, it had passed from Rossetti to Siddall's nurse, then on the nurse's death it was inherited by her daughter, who in hard times sold it to her clergyman, and through the advice of friends it was acquired by Pierpont Morgan, the sum raised allowing the woman an annuity.<sup>23</sup> This story also appears with very slight variations at the conclusion of Williamson's article on Pierpont Morgan's English miniatures, published in *Connoisseur* in June 1907.<sup>24</sup>

The timing of the discovery and the subsequent sale of portrait to Pierpont Morgan via Williamson is significant within the historiography of Rossetti and Siddall mapped out by Jan Marsh's book *The Legend of Elizabeth Siddal*. The early years of the twentieth century saw the publication of several texts that put forward new information about "Siddal" / Siddall's life: William Michael Rossetti's *Ruskin, Rossetti and Pre-Raphaelitism* (1899), Georgiana Burne-Jones' *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* (1904), and Holman Hunt's *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* (1905), among others.<sup>25</sup>

Some three decades later in 1935, Williamson gave a fuller account of the miniature's history in his memoirs, *Stories of an Expert*, which he dedicated to Pierpont Morgan.<sup>26</sup> This publication is highly significant as it reveals that the identification of the sitter as Elizabeth Siddall and the attribution of the overpainting to Rossetti were both made by Williamson, who was also responsible for the portrait passing into Pierpont Morgan's collection. Williamson relates that a noblewoman making a charitable visit to an elderly lady in the East End of London was begged to choose something from among the

woman's possessions as a gift to the doctor who had been attending to her. In a narrative of discovery that mirrors the account of Siddall's "discovery" by Walter Deverell as related by F. G. Stephens in 1894,<sup>27</sup> Williamson relates that:

Just as she was leaving the room . . . she noticed what appeared to be a coloured photograph, and the good woman explained that it had been given to her daughter, who was a monthly nurse, by "a painter man," and if that was of any service to the doctor she would only be too delighted to part with it. A sudden idea occurred to the lady visitor. She put the little portrait, which was in a cheap frame, into her bag, came to my club, and asked me to look at it. I recognized at once that it was a portrait of Mrs. Rossetti . . . it was left with me. I went off at once and showed it to Mr. William [Michael] Rossetti [Dante Gabriel's brother], and to Mr. [Charles] Fairfax Murray [a former pupil of Rossetti], both of whom were extremely interested, the latter gentleman desiring at once to purchase it, and his eager interest to possess it proved to me that my first conjecture was the correct one. . . . The picture was taken out of its frame, and then was clearly revealed as a photograph, but the technique with which the coloring was applied was evidently that of Rossetti himself, and the picture in consequence one of considerable interest. . . . As soon as I had obtained the needful information concerning its authenticity, I showed the portrait to Mr. Morgan, who gladly secured it.<sup>28</sup>

The fact that the attribution and identification of the sitter were put forward by Williamson and were unknown to its owner is curious: he gives very specific details of how the portrait was made in the *Catalogue of the Collection of Miniatures in the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan* that implied its painting was witnessed by someone and the portrait painted from life.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the fact that the "miniature" was a painted photograph is not mentioned prior to the 1930s.<sup>30</sup> Further discrepancies emerged later, in the 1907 account that appeared in *Connoisseur* it is the nurse's daughter who is sick and sells the work, while in the 1935 account in *Stories of an Expert* it is the mother of the nurse who is sick. In addition, close reading shows that in *Stories of an Expert* neither William Michael Rossetti nor Fairfax Murray is reported as having explicitly stated Siddall was the subject of the portrait and that it was painted over by Rossetti; they

are described simply as having been "extremely interested," William Michael Rossetti stated that "he knew of no portrait of his sister-in-law executed by the painter after their marriage," while Murray expressed an interest in buying it, which "proved" to Williamson that his attribution was correct.<sup>31</sup> Both men died in 1919, years before Williamson's memoirs were published.

The year following the publication of *Stories of an Expert* Williamson again retold the story of the miniature, giving a highly colored account of its creation and history in an article for *County Life*.<sup>32</sup> Parts of the story are told as if the author had witnessed the events he is describing, and dialogue is reported from moments that took place more than three decades previously when Williamson cannot have been present. The article opens with the lines:

The baby was dead, and "Gumgums" was very seriously ill. It was in Hampstead [*sic*] in 1861, and the rooms were small and untidy, while scattered about were all the paraphernalia of an artist's work. . . . Rossetti himself was seated at the foot of the bed, gazing at his beautiful wife. She was unearthly pale, her magnificent coppery golden hair lay in shaggy masses all around her head. . . .

Williamson continues

An album lay close at hand. Seizing it, he [Rossetti] tore out a *carte de visite* portrait, and then, taking hold of her water-colour paints, began to put on to the photograph what would represent her beauty.<sup>33</sup>

Williamson's final account of the miniature, which gives further details such as the old woman's first name (Elizabeth) and the name of the noblewoman who visits her (Lady Sudeley) merges into fiction.

Manipulations and misunderstandings continue in more recent accounts of the portrait. In Elisabeth Bronfen's book on the persistent conjunction of death and femininity in Western art and literature she gives the story of the piece as follows:

To the midwife who had attended Elizabeth Siddall's tragic confinement, namely the birth of a stillborn baby, Rossetti gave, as a memento, a coloured photograph, showing his wife in the typical pose of semi-closed eyes and hands clasped beneath her breast, the hall mark of her existence as his ethereal muse. Though it was later

sold by Rossetti as a genuine miniature to the collector J. Pierpont Morgan, to purchase an annuity for the old woman, it was in fact a portrait painted on to and covering one of the few surviving photographic images of Siddall . . . Siddall's photographic image disappears into and is resurrected in the paint of Rossetti.<sup>34</sup>

Here the roles of Williamson and Rossetti are traded or collapsed in the history of the portrait's transfer to Pierpont Morgan as a "genuine miniature." Perhaps this is not crucial to Bronfen's argument; both Williamson and Rossetti were men who attempted to lay claim to or, put more strongly, invent images of Siddall as suited their purposes, but she strengthens Rossetti's control over the portrait.

Masking off the jeweled frame behind a white mount, the 2013 exhibition at the National Gallery of Art intervened to shape the piece's meaning. By disguising the early twentieth-century component of the piece, the display (and indeed the catalogue, where the portrait is again shown without its frame) attempted to restore for the viewer the experience of the portrait as a *carte de visite* photograph, and perhaps inadvertently made a plea for it as dating from the mid-nineteenth century, contemporaneous with Rossetti and Siddall, and thereby silently arguing for it as a genuine relic of Pre-Raphaelitism. Adding the frame and the engraved inscription to this portrait, or subtracting these elements, are both attempts to fix its meaning, but the question of the "correct" way to view this object remains vexed: is it a photograph or a painting, a creation of the nineteenth or twentieth century; does it provide information about Rossetti or "Siddal" or Siddall; is it genuine or an elaborate fake? The object refuses easy answers, continuing to entice, provoke, and confuse; what at least I hope to have revealed with new clarity is the central role of Williamson as a twentieth-century art expert in the making of a Pre-Raphaelite icon.

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## NOTES

1. Given by the A. Jay Fink Foundation, Inc. given in memory of Abraham Jay Fink.
2. Catalogue card, "A.J. Fink Miniature Collection," no. A-91, curatorial file 38.419, Walters Art Museum.

3. See T. Barringer, J. Rosenfeld, and A. Smith, eds. *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Art and Design* (London, 2012), 12. The image is also reproduced in J. Marsh, "Imagining Elizabeth Siddall," *History Workshop* 25 (Spring 1988): 64-82 at 75 (with frame); J. Marsh, *The Legend of Elizabeth Siddall* (London, 2010), among unnumbered illustrations opposite page 72 (with frame); E. Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic* (Manchester, 1992), 175 (without frame); J. Straub, "Morphing and Mourning Beatrice: Mythopoesis in Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Julia Margaret Cameron," in C. J. Emden and G. Rippl, eds., *ImageScapes: Studies in Intermediality* (Oxford, 2010), 147-66, fig. 7 (with frame).
4. A second photograph was reproduced as the frontispiece to V. Hunt's *The Wife of Rossetti: Her Life and Death* (London, 1932). The caption to this image reads "Elizabeth Eleanor Siddall, from a photograph by Felix Hollyer of an old daguerreotype," but the present location of this portrait is unknown.
5. See D. Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London, 1993), 191.
6. For a detailed account of Siddall's life and work, see J. Marsh, *The Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood* (New York, 1985).
7. See D. Cherry and G. Pollock, "Woman as Sign in Pre-Raphaelite Literature: A Study of the Representation of Elizabeth Siddall," *Art History* 7, no. 2 (June 1984): 206-27 at 207. See also D. Cherry and G. Pollock, "Woman as Sign: Psychoanalytic Readings," in G. Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art* (London and New York, 2003), 166-211.
8. Interestingly the Walters piece is not discussed in Cherry and Pollock's "Woman as Sign." This is perhaps because it does not sit easily within the argument they put forward about Rossetti's abstraction of women in his work to the point that they function only as evidence of his artistic genius. They write that Rossetti's depictions of "female faces are not portraits," arguing that the "facial type and attitude which are treated as the expressed attributes of 'Siddal' . . . can be traced in drawing labeled Fanny Cornforth, Jane Burdan, Emma Hill Brown" (p. 222). The Walters photograph is, however, the trace of a real individual, even though altered in the overpainting, but the woman also conforms to Rossetti's fantasy image of "Woman as sign," suggesting a more complex relationship between reality and fiction, history and legend than has generally been allowed. For more on this idea, see E. Prettejohn, "The Pre-Raphaelite Model," chapter 2 in J. Desmarais, M. Postle, and W. Vaughan, eds., *Model and Supermodel: The Artist's Model in British Art and Culture* (Manchester and New York, 2006), 26-46.
9. Marsh notes this resemblance to a reliquary. See Marsh, "Imagining Elizabeth Siddall," 68, and Marsh, *The Legend of Elizabeth Siddall*, 32.
10. Marsh notes the role of Williamson in the identification of the sitter and attribution of the painting to Rossetti. This essay attempts to add further clarity to his involvement with this image. See Marsh, *The Legend of Elizabeth Siddall*, 31.



11. The obituary also records that Williamson was born in 1858. "Dr. G. C. Williamson," *The Times* (London), 6 July 1942, 6.
12. Since 1889 the original version of this painting has been owned by the Tate Gallery, London.
13. See Hunt, *The Wife of Rossetti*.
14. See also pencil drawing, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, reproduced in V. Surtees, *Rossetti's Portraits of Elizabeth Siddal: A Catalogue of the Drawings and Watercolours* (Aldershot, 1991), fig. 9. Both drawings were part of Charles Fairfax Murray's collection.
15. For example, pencil drawing, *Elizabeth Siddal (Mrs. Dante Gabriel Rossetti)* (ca. 1854), Art Institute of Chicago, 1989.472; pen and wash drawing, *Miss Elizabeth Siddall* (between 1854 and 1855), Yale Center for British Art, B1975.4.681; and two works in private collections reproduced as figures 31 and 57 in Surtees, *Rossetti's Portraits of Elizabeth Siddal*.
16. See, for example, a portrait in pencil of Siddall in profile by Barbara Leigh Smith (later Bodichon) dated 1854, Mark Samuel Lasner Collection (reproduced in E. Prettejohn, *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites* [London, 2000], 78 fig. 49); and Rossetti's pencil drawings *Elizabeth Siddall in a Chair* (date not known) Tate, No4628 and *Elizabeth Siddall Plaiting her Hair* (date not known) Tate, No4629. Many images in Surtees, *Rossetti's Portraits of Elizabeth Siddal* provide excellent comparisons with Walters 38.419.
17. See Rossetti to Ford William Allingham, 10 May 1861, in W.E. Fredeman, ed., *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: The Formative Years, 1835-1862* (Cambridge, 2002) vol. 2, p. 356. See also Marsh, *The Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood*, p. 202.
18. Lot 431, Christies, Manson and Wood, *Catalogue of the Famous Collection of Miniatures of the British and Foreign Schools the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan, Esq. . . . Monday, June 24, 1935 and the three following days* (New York, 1935), 156. The name "Mitchell" is noted next to this object in the Morgan Library's copy of this sale catalogue.
19. The closeness in date of the letter and the date on the title page of the *Catalogue of the Collection of Miniatures in the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan* is interesting. The miniature is illustrated in this volume as one of three miniatures reproduced in plate 60, but the frame is not shown. This might suggest that the frame was just to be added at the time that the illustrations were made.
20. See Williamson, *Stories of an Expert*, 38.
21. In the years up to the publication of his catalogue, Pierpont Morgan's collection grew annually. New lists of holdings were produced, and new cases were made, often by refitting eighteenth-century furniture. Details of this elaborate undertaking can be found in the receipts from the firm of A. B. Daniel and Sons, London, in the archives at the Morgan Library. The frame for Walters 38.419 was previously thought to be either French or by Fabergé (for the latter see Marsh, "Imagining Elizabeth Siddal," p. 68).
22. Letter from G. C. Williamson to J. Douglas, 7 November 1906. Archives of the Morgan Library & Museum, New York (record 150282).
23. G. C. Williamson, *Catalogue of the Collection of Miniatures in the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan Compiled at His Request* (London, 1906), 2:116. One particular nurse seems to have been so close to the circle of the Rossettis and Edward Burne-Joneses that she is named as "dame Wheeler" in Georgiana Burne-Jones's biography of her husband. Wheeler had attended Siddall at the birth of her stillborn daughter, and may have nursed her previously. She was then engaged by the Burne-Joneses. G. Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* (London, 1904), 222 and 230-31. Wheeler appears to have been particularly attached to Siddall. Burne-Jones writes: "Lizzie's nurse was a delightful old country woman, whose words and ways we quoted for years afterwards; her native wit and simple wisdom endeared her to both Gabriel and Lizzie, and were the best possible medicine for their overstrained feelings. Naturally, after meeting her at Blackfriars, we invited her to come to us." Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, 222. Siddall's sister Lydia married a John Wheeler, and their daughter, who was born shortly after Siddall's death, was named Elizabeth, the name mentioned by Williamson in connection with the lady from whom the portrait came in 1936.
24. G. C. Williamson, "Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's Pictures, the English Miniatures, V," *Connoisseur* 18 no. 70 (June 1907): 71-76.
25. See Marsh, "Imagining Elizabeth Siddal," 69-70 and her "Chronological Bibliography," 81-82.
26. G. C. Williamson, *Stories of an Expert* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1935), 37-39. The portrait was also reproduced with the frame as plate V in this volume.
27. F. G. Stephens, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London, 1894), 35.
28. Williamson, *Stories of an Expert*, 37-38. It is notable that within Marsh's schema of shifting interpretations of "Siddal" / Siddall and her relationship to Rossetti, Williamson's publications show most similarity with late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century texts, rather than those published in the 1930s, which Marsh characterizes as ushering in a psychological account of their relationship based on "sexology." See Marsh, "Imagining Elizabeth Siddal," 72.
29. The catalogue states that Rossetti "painted it in her [Siddall's] bedroom, shortly before the arrival of the baby, seated upon the end of the sofa, close to Mrs. Rossetti." Williamson, *Catalogue of the Collection of Miniatures in the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan*, 116.
30. In *Stories of an Expert* Williamson seems to cover himself by stating, "It [the portrait] was itself of an unusual nature, because it was painted partly in water-colour and partly in body-colour, on a carte-de-visite photograph, and therefore, strictly speaking, was not a miniature, although painted in the style of one, and of such a small size that it could readily be held in the hand, and this, after all, is the present method of judging what is and what is not, a miniature." Williamson, *Stories of an Expert*, 36.

31. Williamson, *Stories of an Expert*, 37–38.
32. G. C. Williamson, “The Cases of an Art Expert, 2: The Rossetti Miniature,” *Country Life* 80 (11 July 1936): 35–36.
33. Williamson, “The Cases of an Art Expert,” 35. Siddall actually died in Blackfriars.
34. Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body*, 177.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: © Birmingham Museums Trust: fig. 4; © Tate, London 2013; fig. 3; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 2, 5

## ALPHONSE LEGROS, KEEPER OF THE FAITH

CHERYL K. SNAY

William T. Walters (1820–1894) was not an overtly devout Christian, but one of his more intriguing collecting interests included drawings and watercolors of religious genre scenes that he mounted into two leather-bound albums (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> William Johnston long ago established the motivation for this project: the untimely death of Ellen, Walters' wife, after the couple visited the World's Fair of 1862 in London.<sup>2</sup> Ecumenical in their scope, the albums focusing on prayer gathered images of Muslims, Jews, Eastern Orthodox Christians, and Catholics (fig. 2). While the



Fig. 1. William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *All Souls Day*, ca. 1859. Graphite on wove paper, 24.2 × 19.4 cm. Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum, acquired by William T. or Henry Walters (37.1408)

strongest holdings in William Walters' collection are stunning examples of Barbizon landscapes, Walters also bought history paintings, such as Hendrik Leys's impressive composition, *The Edicts of Charles V*, depicting the announcement in Antwerp in 1546 that the practice of Protestantism was punishable by death. It is tempting to read political intentions into Walters' purchases, but as he was loath to leave



Fig. 2. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Arab Standing in Prayer*, 1864. Graphite on wove paper, 28.9 × 21.1 cm. Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum, acquired by William T. Walters, 1864 (37.1305)



any records that could serve as evidence of such ideas, the collector's motives must remain speculative.

Christian art in France in the nineteenth century is addressed infrequently in art historical literature perhaps under the mistaken presumption that after the French Revolution and the break between the Catholic Church and the state, such art was on the wane. The Catholic Church in France never fully recovered the privileged position it enjoyed during the *ancien régime* and had few opportunities to decorate new churches, hospitals, or schools until after the Restoration in 1815 and especially the July Monarchy in 1830 when there was a resurgence of mural painting in churches.<sup>3</sup> The decline of the church as a patron of the arts in France, however, did not suppress religious art. Rather, artistic expression of religiosity manifested itself differently over the course of a century marked by numerous political and social upheavals. Reading surveys of nineteenth-century art, one gets the impression that religious art was in decline until the symbolist movement began and Paul Gauguin and Vincent Van Gogh arrived on the scene in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>4</sup> Nothing could be further from the truth.

Alphonse Legros (1837–1911) seems to have slipped between the cracks in this discussion despite his overtly religious subject matter and his roots in the modern movement begun by the realists Gustave Courbet (1819–1877) and Édouard Manet (1832–1883) among others. He suffered a fall from grace in critical circles in the early years of the twentieth century when he was regarded as out of date—merely an “influence” and no longer an “initiator.”<sup>5</sup> The Snite Museum of Art owns two paintings by Legros, both religious in nature. *A Cardinal and His Patron Saint* (1862–65) (fig. 3) has been published on several occasions;<sup>6</sup> but a second painting, *Le Plain Chant* (1863) (fig. 4) has been largely ignored in the scholarship. This essay will examine the painting in the context of the changing function of the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century French society.

The painting is signed and dated 1863 in red in the upper left corner and is thought to be an *ébauche* of another more finished work *Le Lutrin*, or *The Lectern*, dating to about 1862 (location unknown).<sup>7</sup> *Le Lutrin* was exhibited at the Salon of 1863, cut down, and exhibited again at the Salon of 1868. Legros made two prints after the Salon paintings. *Le Plain Chant* in the Snite Museum's collection shows four clergy and an acolyte, all in half-length, facing a lectern placed to the far left of the composition that holds a large book opened to a



Fig. 3. Alphonse Legros, *A Cardinal and His Patron Saint*, ca. 1865. Oil on canvas, 56.2 × 71.1 cm. Notre Dame, Indiana: Snite Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Noah L. Butkin (1978.025.001)

page of music. A priest occupies the center of the composition, his right hand resting on the page. The three remaining clergy are pushed to the far right of the picture and look over his shoulder at the book; one plays a double-bass. The young acolyte carrying a candle is placed closest to the picture plane to the side of the priest, and he engages the viewer in a direct gaze as if we are disrupting the rehearsal.

Legros began his artistic education by hand-coloring popular religious prints in Dijon. Later he worked at the cathedral of Lyon as an apprentice, helping to decorate a chapel.<sup>8</sup> The Catholic Church held more sway in the provinces than in the capital. After the Restoration and July Monarchy, the church was allowed to reestablish schools and seminaries, explicitly interjecting religion into the training of craftsman and artisans, especially in poor rural areas.<sup>9</sup> Legros's upbringing in this environment manifests itself throughout his career.

Legros moved to Paris in 1851 and became one of a group of artists surrounding Manet in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Even after several of his paintings were accepted into the Salons, he could not earn enough money to support himself, and at the urging of James A. McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), he moved to London in 1863, where he remained until his death in 1911. As the professor of fine art at the Slade School in London, he taught a generation of British artists using very traditional methods, studying the old masters and drawing from the antique and from casts. Legros traced his artistic lineage from Ingres through Poussin. He lamented his students' eventual departure for Paris, where he believed they



Fig. 4. Alphonse Legros, *Le Plain Chant*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 50.8 × 69.2 cm. Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Noah L. Butkin (2009.045.041)

became “unsettled.”<sup>10</sup> He sent works to the annual exhibitions at the Royal Academy of London and to the Salon in Paris, but by 1870 had entirely abandoned the French art market. He was little known in his native country outside critical circles. In 1880, he became a citizen of Great Britain, although he never mastered the English language. The titles of most of his paintings are in French.

Probably best known and more appreciated for his contributions to the etching revival in the second half of the nineteenth century—he produced more than six hundred prints during his career—Legros was first a painter of portraits and religious genre scenes. His first submission to the Paris Salon in 1857 was a portrait of his father; his second in 1859, *The Angelus*. His painting *A Cardinal and His Patron Saint* in the Snite Museum’s collection was thought to be a portrait of the artist and his father. Charles Baudelaire commented on Legros’s work in 1859, characterizing him as a “religious painter” irrepressibly drawn to the spectacle of cultic ceremonies and popular devotions.<sup>11</sup>

Legros moved from the provinces to Paris in 1851, the year of the *coup d’état* that wrested political power from the Second Republic and established the Second Empire under Napoleon III, forging new political alliances between previously antagonistic groups. Prior to the Revolution of 1848, the bourgeoisie and the Catholic Church had been hostile toward one another. After the insurrection, however,

their mutual fear of the working class brought them closer together. The period is marked by an increasing clericalization of the middle classes. By 1850, forty-two bishops in France were described as having come from the “middle class,” while only twelve were identified as “noble.” Ten came from farming families and eight from the artisan class. One bishop came from a family of sailors. In contrast, from 1815 until 1830 seventy-six of the ninety-six nominees to the episcopate made by the government were from the noble class and all of them were anti-revolutionaries.<sup>12</sup>

In *Le Plain Chant*, Legros invests his figures with a degree of intimacy customary in his style. His use of half- or three-quarter-length figures puts us, the spectators, close enough to the subjects to be in their rather compressed space. The acolyte addresses us directly with his gaze. The men are arranged horizontally across the picture plane, their heads aligned in imitation of musical notes on a staff, a comparison begged by the imposition of the protagonist’s head within the horizontal armature of the window. Moreover, the hymnal is turned toward us, so that we are invited to share in the contemplation of the music. There is a casual, if sober, air about the scene that suggests a rehearsal rather than a religious event, with the diamond-paned window half open and a book set haphazardly on the side table with what appears to be a scroll. A similar diamond-paned window is found in Legros’s etching *Le Philosophe*, and the mature man hunched over a book

in that interior scene, thought to be another self-portrait, bears some resemblance to the face in three-quarter view that emerges from the shadows of *Le Plain Chant*. The dark palette, ritual costumes, and somber visages evoke piety in a modern world.

None of the participants in the scene interact with each other. In fact, for a picture titled *Le Plain Chant*, it is curious that none of the participants seem to be singing. All of the performers' mouths are closed. The seminaries and schools run by the religious in mid-century were described as very grave places.<sup>13</sup> Students, often drawn from the ranks of commoners,<sup>14</sup> were kept under strict surveillance. Friendships were discouraged. There was very little talking, eyes were kept low, and laughing was prohibited. The slow, deliberate movements and austere mien were meant to convey a deep sense of religiosity, seriousness, and grace that distinguished them from—and elevated them above—the general population. Legros has captured that demeanor precisely.

*Le Plain Chant* was owned by James Anderson Rose (1819–1890), a lawyer in London who was a close friend of Whistler and whose collection of prints was renowned. It passed into the collection of E. A. V. Stanley (dates unknown), also of London, and finally into the hands of Frank E. Bliss (1883?–1966), an American businessman associated with the Standard Oil Company then living in London. The painting was included in an exhibition of Bliss's collection at the Grosvenor Galleries in London in 1922.<sup>15</sup> It appeared on the art market in New York in 1963. Noah and Muriel Butkin purchased the painting as part of their effort to reevaluate nineteenth-century French art, then dominated by impressionists, and put it on loan to the Snite Museum in 1978.

Legros's realism and religious genre scenes, once considered at the forefront of the modernist movement, were regarded with a mixture of affection and disdain in the early decades of the twentieth century. His quiet, mysterious depictions of contemporary religious devotions undermined art historical accounts that focused on stylistic progression, formal qualities, and the modernist mantra of "art for art's sake," devoid of spiritual or psychological content. Informed by the history of the Catholic Church in France in the nineteenth century, Legros's religious paintings regain their relevance in the narrative of modernism.

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## NOTES

1. For a discussion of prayer albums and William Walters' albums in general, see the author's essay in *The Essence of Line: French Drawings from Ingres to Degas* (Baltimore and State College, Pa., 2005), 30.
2. For a discussion of the Walters family, see W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore, 1999).
3. For an example of such a commission, see Hippolyte-Jean Flandrin's project for the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist in Saint-Séverin, 1839–40, discussed in G. Weisberg et al. *Breaking the Mold: The Legacy of the Noah L. and Muriel S. Butkin Collection of Nineteenth-Century French Art*, (Notre Dame, Ind., 2012), 116–25. See also P. ten-Doesschate Chu, *Nineteenth-Century European Art*, 2d ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2006), 231–32.
4. Chu, for example, discusses art addressing religious subjects in Germany, including (but not limited to) the Nazarenes, and the Pre-Raphaelites in England.
5. "Artists Who Matter: Alphonse Legros," *The International Interpreter*, 24 June 1922, p. 372.
6. Weisberg, *Breaking the Mold*, 158–59. See also D. Porter and S. Spiro, *A Decade of Collecting, 1970–1980* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1979), 87; M. L. H. Reymert and R. Kashey, *Christian Imagery in French Nineteenth-Century Art, 1789–1906*, (New York: Shepherd Gallery, 1980), 362–64.
7. A. Seltzer, "Alphonse Legros: The Development of an Archaic Visual Vocabulary in Nineteenth-Century Art" (Ph.D. diss, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1980), 311.
8. Seltzer, "Alphonse Legros," 36–37.
9. Seltzer, "Alphonse Legros," 37.
10. C. Holroyd and T. Okey, "Alphonse Legros: Some Personal Reminiscences," *The Burlington Magazine*, 20:107 (February 1912), 274.
11. Paul-Emmanuel-Auguste Poulet Malassis. *M. Alphonse Legros au Salon de 1875: Note critique et biographique* (Paris: P. Rouquette, 1875), 7.
12. R. Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789–1913* (New York, 1989), 62 and 195–99.
13. Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism*, 88–90.
14. Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism*, 68.
15. Grosvenor Galleries. *Alphonse Legros (1837–1911): Paintings, Drawings and Prints, from the Collection of Frank E. Bliss* (London, 1922).

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame, Indiana: figs. 3, 4; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 2



## BOUGUEREAU IN BALTIMORE

ERIC M. ZAFRAN

Perhaps no other French painter of the later nineteenth century so exemplified the classical, academic style of Salon painting as William Bouguereau (1825–1905). What were described as his “faultlessly smooth,”<sup>1</sup> highly finished works “of exquisite modeling”<sup>2</sup> devoted to myth, history, and delightful genre were much appreciated and widely collected in America. In 1888 the critic Clarence Cook wrote: “Hardly any modern French painter can be named who is more widely popular in America than William Bouguereau. His pictures always meet with ready sale at large prices, and at the exhibitions, they are sure of the approval from the majority of visitors.”<sup>3</sup> The painter himself was happy to acknowledge this connection, as the *New York Times* in 1875 informed its readers that “Bouguereau, a jolly, red-cheeked, plump little man, full of gayety [was] especially pleased with Americans because they bought his pictures.”<sup>4</sup>

Naturally, Baltimore, with its extensive history of collecting nineteenth-century academic art, had an interest in the artist, although until very recently there was not a major work to be seen in the city.

One of the chief sources for supplying Bouguereau’s works to America was, in fact, that indefatigable expatriate Baltimorean go-between, George A. Lucas. He went to Europe in 1857 and settled in Paris. Supposedly the voyage crossing the Atlantic had been so rough that he swore never to return, but equally important was the fact that he found a cozy niche in the Parisian artistic milieu acting as an agent for wealthy Americans and enjoying the company of his mistress, Josephine Marchand.<sup>5</sup> It was Lucas who was the intermediary for the New York art dealer, Samuel P. Avery, in commissioning from Bouguereau a major painting for a Baltimore patron. This was one of the artist’s first works intended specifically for an American client—the successful importer of coffee and other goods, J. Striker Jenkins (1831–1878), who

formed a significant collection of American and European paintings.<sup>6</sup> It is recorded in Avery’s diary that in November 1864 he requested from Bouguereau an allegorical painting *Art and Literature*, which the artist initially agreed to do for 8,000 francs, saying it would take twelve to eighteen months to complete. But when in July 1866, he presented Lucas with the oil sketch, he upped the price to 12,000 francs to which the dealer agreed.<sup>7</sup> In March 1868 the finished painting (fig. 1) arrived in Baltimore, and Jenkins installed it in his home, but then in 1873 he lent it to Avery for an exhibition in New York City. This was not an unmitigated success, as the *New York Times* observed that the work

represents two classically beautiful, smooth-skinned round-limbed women and nothing more. It requires greater genius than Bouguereau possesses to adequately represent such a subject. The truth is that, as a painter of children, rosy cheeked, cherry-lipped with laughing eyes and golden hair Bouguereau is unequalled; but when he steps out of this line of subjects, he simply betrays his poverty of imagination.<sup>8</sup>

Back in Baltimore the work remained the centerpiece of Jenkins’s collection at his North Charles Street residence and was noted there by the intrepid cataloguer of academic art in America Edward Strahan, in his monumental three-volume compendium *The Art Treasures of America*. According to Strahan, Bouguereau had “expressed unusual delight to his American patrons for a chance to give loose to his classical feeling and idealism in a kind of theme which the dealers, enamored of his accomplished peasant-girls, seldom allowed him to attempt.” Strahan also provided his own typically flowery and slightly acerbic description of the large composition “of the faultily faultless painter [which] affords the impeccable painter the more room to be infallible in”:

The smoothness and finish of this group are equal to that of the most highly-polished sculpture. . . . The sister muses are depicted as young Greeks, who have additionally acquired, by some happy anachronism, the modern repose of the Paris drawing room. . . . Painting, however, has a rather dissatisfied and perplexed expression as she stands searching the horizon for a subject, while Literature, sitting with tablet and stylus, is severely calm, and will evidently turn out sophomore verses as correct as Bouguereau's pictures.<sup>9</sup>



Fig. 1. William-Adolphe Bouguereau (French, (1825–1905), *Art and Literature*, 1867. Oil on canvas, 200 × 108 cm. Collection of the Arnot Art Museum, Elmira, New York

Sadly in 1876, ill health forced Jenkins to sell his collection, and the Bouguereau, failing to meet its reserve, was bought in<sup>10</sup> and ultimately was sold at auction by his executors in 1881 to a Mr. E. Walter of New York.<sup>11</sup> So instead of remaining in Baltimore, it then passed through sales and other collections in New York and Providence before being acquired by the Arnot Art Museum in Elmira, New York.<sup>12</sup>

But there was still hope that Baltimore might acquire a Bouguereau painting as Lucas and Avery had one other notable Baltimore client, in fact the city's most important collector, William Thompson Walters (1819–1894). However, Walters' Art Gallery, now Museum, although known, as Strahan observed, as a "magnificent collection"<sup>13</sup> and one of the few from the era to remain intact could not boast of a Bouguereau painting. The reason seems to be that the senior Mr. Walters, despite his love for highly finished works of a sentimental nature, was also quite frugal and believed that Bouguereau paintings were just too expensive!<sup>14</sup>

Fortunately Mr. Walters was also forming a collection of drawings, primarily of religious subjects, and within this a place could be found for several examples by Bouguereau. The most significant one, acquired for Walters by Lucas (for 500 francs) on 11 June 1883, was the impressive charcoal drawing of 1882 (fig. 2)<sup>15</sup> done after Bouguereau's 1880 painting *The Flagellation of Christ*, a large altarpiece now in the cathedral of his hometown, La Rochelle.<sup>16</sup> This drawing was published in the 1884 edition of the Walters collection, seeming to indicate that it was exhibited as a framed work hung in the galleries. But before the time of the 1909 catalogue, it was unframed and added to the collector's album of religious devotional images.<sup>17</sup> The additional drawings by Bouguereau, also of a religious nature, acquired by Mr. Walters were a graphite and white chalk *Angel Holding Two Infants* (fig. 3), a variant of his 1859 composition *La Foi (Faith)*;<sup>18</sup> a watercolor and graphite version of the work known as *L'Invocation à la Vierge (Prayer to the Virgin)*, (fig. 4),<sup>19</sup> showing an Italian peasant woman holding a rosary and kneeling with her child in front of a baptismal font; and a graphite drawing of his painting *All Souls Day* (fig. 5), a touching work exhibited at the Salon of 1859 and now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux.<sup>20</sup>

Thus surprisingly William Walters did not have a major Bouguereau painting to go with his many *Gérômes* and other contemporary nineteenth-century masterpieces. Equally surprising is the fact that the wife of his son, Henry (1848–1931), known primarily for her taste in eighteenth-century art, did



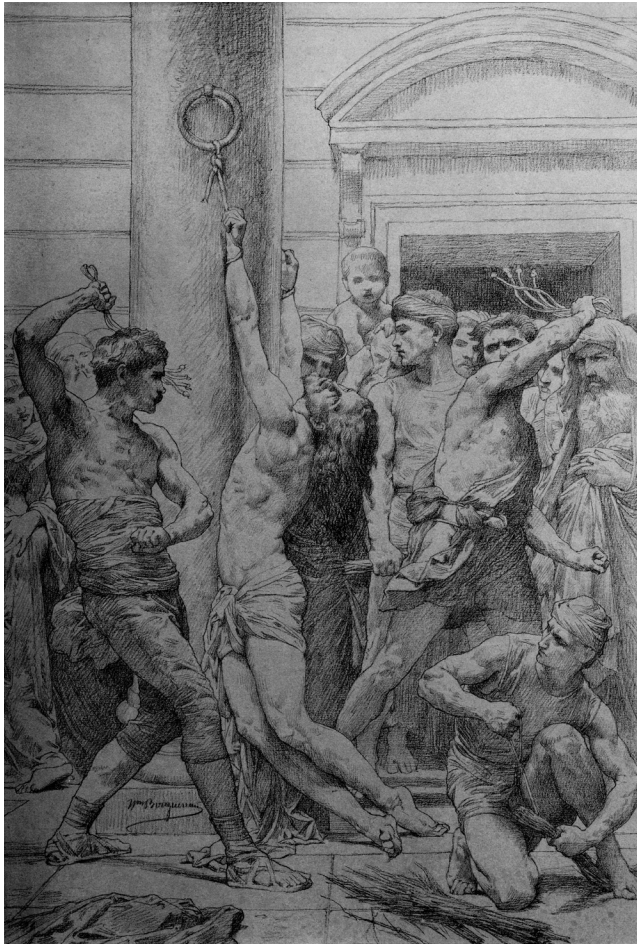


Fig. 2 (left). William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *The Flagellation of Christ*, 1882 Charcoal on gray paper, 43.2 × 29.8 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. Walters, 1883 (37.1348)



Fig. 3 (right). William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Faith*, ca. 1859. Graphite and white chalk on paper, 42.4 × 20.3 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. Walters, 1882 (?) (37.1345)



Fig. 4 (left). William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Prayer to the Virgin*, ca. 1866. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 27.1 × 19 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. Walters (37.1380)



Fig. 5 (right). William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *All Souls Day*, ca. 1859. Graphite on paper, 24.2 × 19.4 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by William T. or Henry Walters (37.1408)



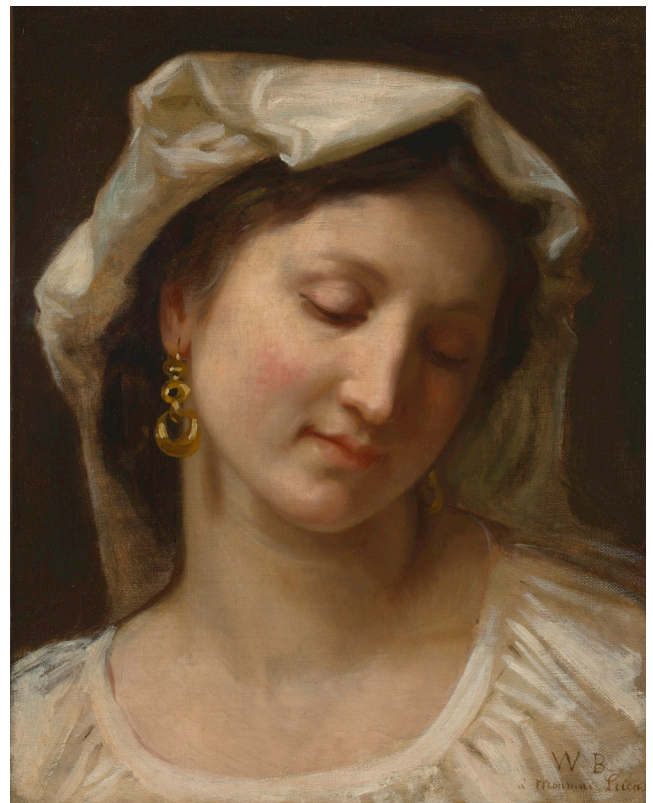


Fig. 6 (above). William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *A Young Girl Defending Herself against Eros*, about 1880. Oil on canvas, 81.6 × 57.8 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (70.PA.3)



Fig. 7 (top right). William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Sketch for *Charity*, ca. 1872. Oil on wood panel, 29.8 × 21 cm. The Baltimore Museum of Art, The George A. Lucas Collection, purchased with funds from the State of Maryland, Laurence and Stella Bendann fund, and contributions from individuals, foundations, and corporations throughout the Baltimore community (BMA 1996.45.35)

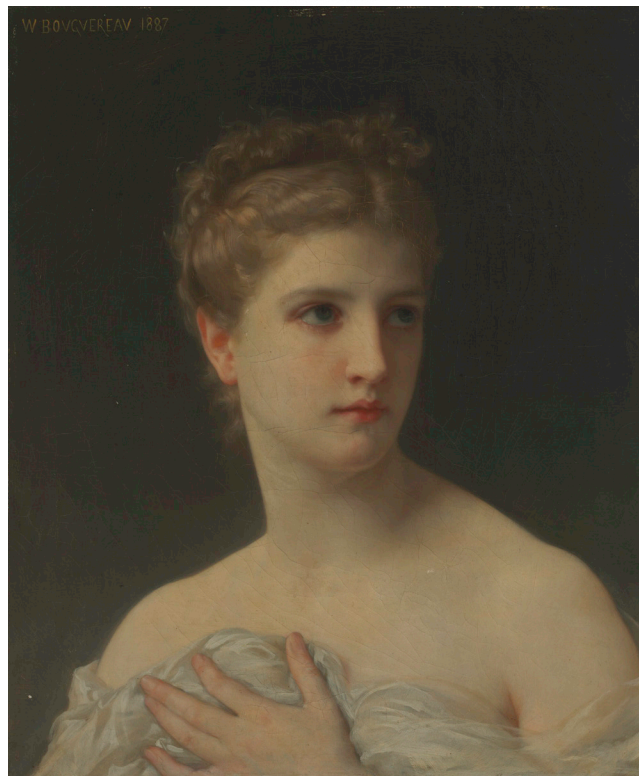
Fig. 8 (right). William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Sketch for figure in *The Oranges*, ca. 1860–1865. Oil on canvas, 40.3 × 32.2 cm. The Baltimore Museum of Art, The George A. Lucas Collection, purchased with funds from the State of Maryland, Laurence and Stella Bendann fund, and contributions from individuals, foundations, and corporations throughout the Baltimore community (BMA 1996.45.36)





purchase a Bouguereau. It was the small, but quite fine, version of *A Young Girl Defending Herself against Eros* (fig. 6), which was included in the sale of her collection and is now at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles.<sup>21</sup>

When George Lucas died in 1909, he left his rather substantial collection of art works, collected over his fifty years in Paris, to the Maryland Institute in the hope that they would benefit aspiring art students in Baltimore. These were primarily small-scale paintings and oil sketches, as well as prints, often given to Lucas by the artists in thanks for his efficiency and scrupulous dealings in selling their grander pieces to wealthy Americans. The collection, which was



long on deposit at the Baltimore Museum of Art, was finally acquired by the museum in 1996.<sup>22</sup> Among its contents were two modest oil sketches by Bouguereau: that for the 1874 composition *Charity* (fig. 7) commissioned by Avery,<sup>23</sup> and an inscribed study of the woman at the center of *The Oranges* (fig. 8).<sup>24</sup> In addition Lucas had made a fascinating collection of seventy-two artists' palettes, and that from Bouguereau (although discolored and congealed, fig. 9) is nicely signed and inscribed and dated on the back, "A Monsieur Lucas, Wm. Bouguereau, Paris, 1884."<sup>25</sup>

In 1947 another modest Bouguereau, *The Head of Diane* (fig. 10), entered the Baltimore Museum of Art as a gift of Zella Payette Lyon in memory of her husband, James W. Lyon.<sup>26</sup> It is supposed to be a study of a model named Diane, but certainly appears more like a study of the mythical goddess of the hunt, Diana.

Still, there was no major work by this most charming of painters to be seen in Charm City. It was therefore a particularly wonderful thing that in 2008 a characteristic painting by Bouguereau did at last come to the Walters as the gift from a local family. It is the work originally known in French as *Petite fille cueillant des cerises* (*The Cherry Picker*, fig. 11). The painting is signed and dated 1871, making it one of Bouguereau's earliest depictions of a young girl with a variety of fruits, particularly those showing them plucking fruit from a tree.<sup>27</sup> As in many of Bouguereau's representations of young girls as shepherdesses or peasants, the figure is juxtaposed with splendidly rendered flowers — in this case, hollyhocks.<sup>28</sup>

The well-kept records of Bouguereau's works allow us to trace in detail the history of this painting. It was sold by the artist to his dealer, Adolphe Goupil of Paris, on September 12, 1871 for 4,000 francs.<sup>29</sup> There it was Theo van Gogh

Figs. 9 (top left). William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Artist's Palette*, 1884. Oil on wood, 43.5 × 30.8 cm. The Baltimore Art Museum, The George A. Lucas Collection, purchased with funds from the State of Maryland, Laurence and Stella Bendann fund, and contributions from individuals, foundations, and corporations throughout the Baltimore community (BMA 1996.45.305)

Fig. 10 (left). William Adolphe Bouguereau, *The Head of Diane*, 1887. Oil on canvas, 55.9 × 45.7 cm. Baltimore Museum of Art, gift of Zella Payette Lyon, in Memory of her Husband, James W. Lyon (BMA 1947.316)





Fig. 11. William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *The Cherry Picker*, 1871. Oil on canvas, 130.5 × 88.3 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, gift of Dorothy D. Bair and Robert R. Bair, 2008–2011 (37.2780)



who quickly sold it to Samuel B. Avery on 15 September 1871 for 9,000 francs.<sup>30</sup> Then, in turn it was acquired by the Philadelphia collector William B. Bement, who for many years was the director of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where he exhibited the painting in 1877.<sup>31</sup> He had made what Strahan characterized as “a numerous and tasteful collection;” and of his Bouguereau the writer admiringly observed:

[it is] of unusual excellence, having as much of technic as one may rightfully seek in a Bouguereau, and the advantage of an unusual charm thrown in; it is a life-size figure of a child plucking fruit: she looks cunningly up at the cherries on a fine branch above her head, which she pulls down as she stands upon the ground. One very red cherry, a match for her cherry mouth, is already between her small finger and thumb, and in a moment will be ravished. Of her face, held sideways in a quizzical wise, one can but say that it is just the face of a child about to eat a tartish cherry: that interior operation of the arcana of Nature called watering of the mouth is here represented to a nicety in an external view. If ever a kissable face was painted it is this.<sup>32</sup>

Mr. Bement’s Bouguereau was also well enough known to have been listed in the entry for the artist in the 1886 *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings*.<sup>33</sup> Following Mr. Bement’s death, his collection was sent to auction in New York in 1899, and of the Bouguereau with an estimate of \$2,500, the sale catalogue was extremely laudatory:

Bouguereau arrived at that perfect technical knowledge and masterly skill in handling his implements which puts him in the very front rank of the masters of his art. An exquisite example of this we find in this canvas, which is one of the truly artistic gems of the Bement Collection. The whole is conceived in a refined style with that inimitable grace which makes even the peasant child an idyl. The delicate seriousness of the face, lit up by those wonderful blue eyes, with the flaxen hair as a halo, is perfectly captivating. There is no pose, no weariness of arrested action, but a natural movement in the uplifted arms with the cherry just plucked. The summer air, the rich dark foliage, give an *envelope* to this picture which makes it idealistic.<sup>34</sup>

*The Cherry Picker* was purchased by Emerson McMillan of New York and sold by him at auction in 1913 for \$1,500.<sup>35</sup>

It then went to the Thomas E. Finger Gallery of New York, and was next sold at the Plaza Art Galleries, New York in March 1943 with an estimate of \$925,<sup>36</sup> perfectly epitomizing the precipitous fall at this time in Bouguereau’s popularity and prices.<sup>37</sup> The work was purchased by George Brent Dorsey of Baltimore and remained in his home for more than fifty years. It was inherited by his daughter, Dorothy Blair, who most generously donated it to the Walters. The painting, which had been listed in nineteenth- and twentieth-century catalogues of the Bouguereau’s works,<sup>38</sup> reappeared in Baltimore just in time to be included in the modern catalogue raisonné compiled by the late Damien Bartoli,<sup>39</sup> and it marks a most fitting final coup for both the Walters Collection and its great curator William R. Johnston.

*Eric Zafran was Bill Johnston’s colleague when he was the first James Murnaghan Curator of Renaissance and Baroque Art at the Walters from 1984 to 1989. He was later Associate Curator of European Painting at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and then Hilles Curator of European Art for fifteen years at the Wadsworth Atheneum, from which position he retired in October 2012.*

## NOTES

1. W. Rowlands, “Art Sales in America,” *Art Journal*, London, 1887, 294.
2. C. H. Stranahan, *A History of French Painting* (New York, 1888), 405.
3. C. Cook, *Art and Artists of Our Time* (New York, 1888), 85.
4. *New York Times*, 11 July 1875, 4.
5. See *The Diary of George A. Lucas, an American Art Agent in Paris, 1857-1909*, ed. L. M. C. Randall, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1979), 1:7–9.
6. See William R. Johnston in *The Taste of Maryland: Art Collecting in Maryland 1800–1934* (Baltimore, 1984), 21–23.
7. See the several references to the commission in the *Lucas Diary* 2: 212–13, 221, 234, 251, 256 and 263. Also according to Lucas (2:258), he was given the sketch by Bouguereau. However, it is not to be found in his collection now in the Baltimore Museum of Art.
8. *New York Times*, 19 April 1873, 4.
9. Edward Strahan, *The Art Treasures of America*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1879–1882), 3:76.
10. Sale Clinton Hall, New York, 2–3 May 1876, no. 134.
11. Strahan, *Art Treasures of America*, 3:77.
12. See Damien Bartoli, *William Bouguereau: Catalogue Raisonné of His Painted Work* (Woodbridge, N.J., 2010), 1867/10.
13. Strahan, *Art Treasures of America*, 1:81.

14. This was the reason kindly suggested to me a number of years ago by Bill Johnston.
15. *Diary of George A. Lucas*, 2:566.
16. See Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1880/02.
17. See Cheryl K. Snay in the exhibition catalogue *The Essence of Line: French Drawings from Ingres to Degas* (University Park, Pa., and Baltimore, 2005), 130, no. 19.
18. Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1859/05A.
19. For two versions of this see Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1866/02A and 1866/02B.
20. Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1859/01A
21. Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1880/01A.
22. See *Exhibition of the George A. Lucas Art Collection*, Maryland Institute, Baltimore, 1911 and *The George A. Lucas Collection of the Maryland Institute*, Baltimore Museum of Art, 1965.
23. *Exhibition of the George A. Lucas Art Collection* (1911), 13, no. 40; *George A. Lucas Collection of the Maryland Institute* (1911), 26, no. 36. Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1874/04.
24. *Exhibition of the George A. Lucas Art Collection*, 1911, 24, no. 97; *George A. Lucas Collection of the Maryland Institute* 26, no. 35, Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1865/03.
25. *Exhibition of the George A. Lucas Art Collection*, 1911, 117, no. 336.
26. 1947.316. See Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1887/02.
27. See Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1875/14, 1883/11, 1890/09, 1895/21, 1897/09 and especially 1881/08 and 1883/10.
28. Seen also Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1861/01A and 1891/08.
29. In the Goupil account books, now housed at the J. Paul Getty Research Center, Los Angeles, under no. 5723.
30. *The Diaries, 1871–1882, of Samuel P. Avery, Art Dealer*, ed. M. F. Beaufort et al., (New York, 1979), 70.
31. See P. H. Falk, ed., *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 2: 1876–1913* (Boston, 1989), 99, 542.
32. Strahan, *Art Treasures of America*, 2:41.
33. J. D. Champlin and C. C. Perkins, eds., *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings*, 4 vols. (New York, 1887), 1:189.
34. Sale, American Art Galleries at Chickering Hall, New York, 27–28 February 1899, 62–63, no. 135.
35. Sale, American Art Association, New York, 20–23 January, 1913, no. 216.
36. Sale, American Art Association at the Plaza Art Galleries, New York, 26 March, 1943, no. 14.
37. See the present author's study "William Bouguereau in America," in the exhibition catalogue *In the Studios of Paris: Bouguereau and His American Students* (Tulsa: Philbrook Museum of Art, 2006), 17–46.
38. C. Vendryes, *Dictionnaire illustré des Beaux-Arts: Bouguereau* (Paris, 1885), 46; M. Vachon, *W. Bouguereau* (Paris, 1900), p. 150; and M. S. Walker, *William Bouguereau: A Summary Catalogue of the Paintings* (New York, 1991), 68.
39. Bartoli, *William Bouguereau*, 1871/09.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Collection of the Arnot Art Museum, Elmira, NY: fig. 1; The Baltimore Museum of Art, Mitro Hood: figs. 7–10; The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles: fig. 6; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 2–5, 11



## TASTE AND OPPORTUNISM

### THE EX-WALTERS THINKER

BERNARD BARRYTE

Knowing Bill Johnston's passion both for the history of the Walters collection and for the quirky, I'm delighted to honor his contributions to the museum with a note about Rodin's *Thinker*, a monumental bronze that was acquired in 1904 and deaccessioned eighteen years before Bill's arrival in 1966. Although this famous statue was never Bill's responsibility, its temporary appearance in the Walters collection offers an interesting glimpse into the vagaries of taste and fashion.

William Walters (1819–1894) belonged to the first generation of serious American collectors. Although he had a precocious interest in Asian art and an early interest in American art, his dominant interests resembled those of his entrepreneurial peers, so he devoted most of his effort to acquiring Salon and Barbizon School paintings during what Gerald Reitlinger characterized as “the golden age of the living painter.”<sup>1</sup> Henry Walters (1848–1931), William's son and heir, was clearly a member of the second generation of American collectors, sharing with his cohort a broader perspective. As described in *William and Henry Walters, the Reticent Collectors*,<sup>2</sup> Henry expanded the historical and geographical scope of his father's collection, enriching it with Egyptian antiquities, rare books and manuscripts, Asian treasures, and most significantly Don Marcello Massarenti's remarkable assemblage with its exceptional Roman sarcophagi and Renaissance paintings.

Although contemporaries sometimes questioned his acquisitions (243 crates of objects were found unopened at Henry Walters' death),<sup>3</sup> now that the collection has benefited from the scholarly ministrations of successive curators, we can better understand the significance of his seemingly fitful collecting habits. What they were not is a manifestation of irrational acquisitiveness, as was the case with William Randolph Hearst, for example; rather Henry's purchases were opportunistic and their diversity a consequence of his

This town ain't big enough for the two of us.

—“Duke Lee” in *Bandits of the Badlands*, 1945

ambitious goal. Having a taste for the fine as well as the decorative arts, he sought examples from both realms in order to create a museum that that was essentially encyclopedic in content.

In working toward this objective, he was also a man of his time and to a degree swayed by contemporary enthusiasms. He evidently shared the competitive desire to possess a Madonna by Raphael, and in 1901 he purchased the

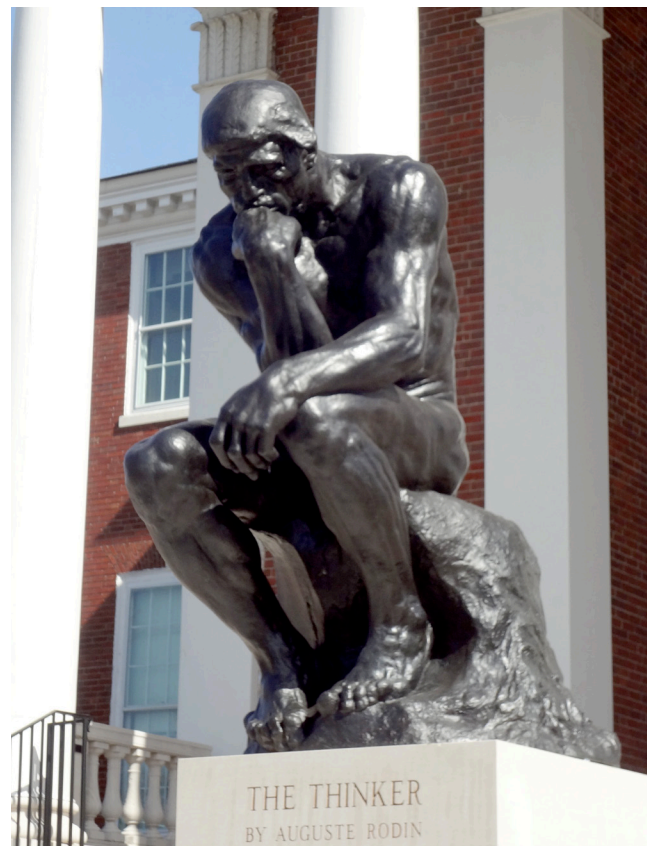


Fig. 1. Auguste Rodin, *The Thinker*, conceived ca. 1880, cast Hébrard Foundry, 1903–4. Bronze, 181.6 × 78.7 × 142.2 cm. Installed in front of Grawemeyer Hall, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky

*Madonna of the Candelabra*, becoming the first American to fulfill this ambition.<sup>4</sup> He was also conscientious in his efforts to augment and contextualize his father's collection, acquiring works by influential predecessors such as Delacroix and successors such as Sisley, Monet, and Degas. Because he was so taciturn regarding his personal preferences, we have no evidence for determining his motives, but in the case of these Impressionist works it seems likely that they were acquired more in response to their vogue among the elite collectors with whom he was acquainted rather than as an expression of his personal taste.<sup>5</sup> Similar considerations coupled with a unique opportunity may have prompted Henry to make what was arguably his most daring and least characteristic acquisition: the purchase in 1904 of Rodin's *Thinker*, a work almost direct from the foundry.

Beyond the opportunity presented by the presence of this bronze in the United States, a variety of factors may have influenced Henry Walters in acquiring a monumental work by Auguste Rodin (1840–1917). This sculptor first came to public notice in 1877 because of the controversy roused by the exceptional naturalism of *The Age of Bronze* (fig. 2). When he submitted it to the Salon, the statue was slandered by the insinuation that the figure had been cast from a human being rather than modeled by the sculptor. Finally vindicated in 1880, Rodin received a succession of public and private commissions, and his reputation continued to rise in spite of the controversies that punctuated his career. His display of partial figures as self-sufficient works of art and his purposeful, emotive use of *non finito* provoked conservative critics, but nothing matched the firestorm of negativity that greeted his *Monument to Honoré de Balzac*, displayed opposite *The Kiss* at the 1898 Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts (fig. 3). Rodin was severely disappointed in his hope that the public would be impressed by his artistic progress. While the public admired *The Kiss*, a composition conceived about 1880 as part of the initial design for *The Gates of Hell*, Rodin's recent work was greeted with derision. For example, under the headline "A Famous Freak Sculpture," the *New York Journal* described Rodin's "grotesque and impossible" bronze portrait as "the queerest piece of sculpture with which an intelligent world was ever insulted."<sup>6</sup>

Pained but undaunted by the critical reaction, Rodin's "savagely tenacious"<sup>7</sup> to his artistic principles enabled him to persist and eventually triumph over negative critiques to achieve unprecedented renown:



Fig. 2. Auguste Rodin, *The Age of Bronze*, 1875–76, cast Alexis Rudier Foundry ca. 1920. Bronze, 180.3 × 50.8 × 50.8 cm. Iris. & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, Gift of the B. Gerald Cantor Collection (1983.300)

If my modeling is bad . . . if I make faults in anatomy, if I misinterpret movement . . . the critics are right a hundred times. But if my figures are correct and full of life, with what can they reproach me? What right have they to forbid me to add meaning to form? How can they complain if, over and above technique, I offer them ideas?<sup>8</sup>

Rodin responded to the critical debacle provoked by his *Balzac* by participating more avidly in international exhibitions and by touring his work. These efforts at self-promotion culminated in the vast personal retrospective he organized



in 1900, displaying 150 works in a purpose-built gallery on the Place de l'Alma near the entrance to the Exposition Universelle.<sup>9</sup> Seen by thousands of visitors, the exhibition was both a financial and a promotional success. Summarizing its impact, the New York critic James Gibbons Huneker declared, "Paris, Europe, and America awoke to [Rodin's] haunting visions."<sup>10</sup> Firmly establishing him as the most famous and influential artist of his day, the retrospective supported Rodin's conviction that if an artist "persists in his effort, affirming it even more strongly, he will overcome and will impose himself. In a work of art, however misunderstood at first sight, truth always asserts its rights."<sup>11</sup>

Given the attention lavished on Rodin by the press, it is unlikely that Henry Walters was unaware of the sculptor, the controversies his innovations engendered, and his

growing reputation. It also seems unlikely that Walters failed to visit Rodin's celebrated pavilion during his annual trip to Paris when he visited the World's Fair. Walters may also have heard positive things from George Lucas, art advisor to both William and Henry Walters, who in 1887 was the first American to purchase a work by the French sculptor.<sup>12</sup> In 1892–93, Charles Yerkes, a transportation tycoon, purchased two powerful marbles, *Orpheus and Eurydice* and *Cupid and Psyche* (both New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), an example that was not ignored. So popular did Rodin become that by his death in 1917, American collectors and museum owned some ninety-six sculptures, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art dedicated an entire gallery to his works.<sup>13</sup>

There were other connections as well. Although all of these factors are circumstantial, in combination they may



Fig. 3. H. Roger-Viollet, *Salons of 1898—Sculpture, Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts*. Gelatin silver print, 22.9 × 27.9 cm. Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, Estate of Albert E. Elsen (2011.15)





Fig. 4. *Third model for The Gates of Hell*, 1880. Plaster, 111.4 × 74.9 × 30.2 cm. Musée Rodin, Paris

have helped dispose Henry to acquire *The Thinker*. William and subsequently Henry Walters were both benefactors of the Maryland Institute College of Art, and William was also a patron of the expatriate Baltimore sculptor William Henry Rinehart (1825–1874). As executor of the sculptor’s estate, Walters established the Rinehart School of Sculpture at the institute and the Rinehart Fellowship to support travel abroad by selected graduates. The school’s first class included Edward Berge (1876–1924), who received a Rinehart Fellowship that he used to travel to Paris, where he worked in Rodin’s studio. Another member of the first class was Hans Schuler (1874–1951), who witnessed the casting of *The Thinker* later acquired by Henry Walters. Although details of their association are unknown to me, the collector maintained a connection with Schuler over a long period, acquiring his youthful *Ariadne Deserted on the Isle of Naxos* (1903) and sitting for his portrait in 1930.<sup>14</sup> Like so many of their compatriots, Schuler and Berge profoundly admired Rodin. It seems likely that they shared their enthusiasm with Walters.

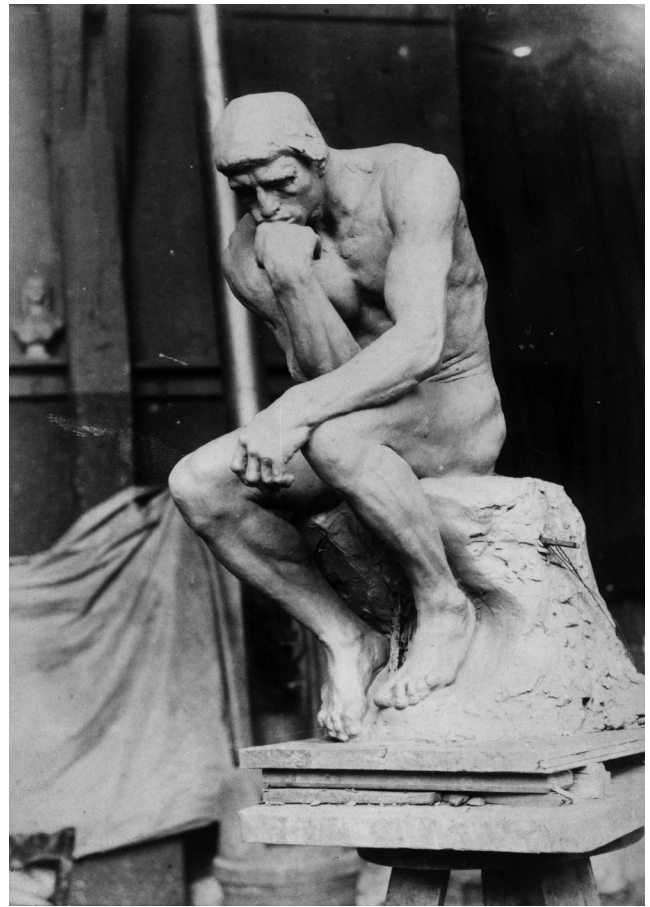


Fig. 5. *The Thinker* in clay in Rodin’s studio, 1880–81. Photo: Elsen Rodin Archives, Cantor Arts Center, Stanford University

*The Thinker* has a long history within Rodin’s career. When he was given the commission to create the doorway of a proposed museum of decorative arts in 1880, Rodin took the *Inferno* by Dante Alighieri as its theme. Almost immediately he decided to place a figure of the author above the narrative panels as seen in his third and final maquette for the project (fig. 4). As his concept of the monumental portal changed, Rodin retained the traditional meditative pose but transformed the gaunt poet into a robust and powerful figure that conveys the idea of thought as a dynamic process demanding great effort (fig. 5). “What makes my *Thinker* think,” Rodin explained, “is that he thinks not only with his brain, his distended nostrils, and compressed lips, but with every muscle of his arms, back and legs, with his clenched fist and gripping toes.”<sup>15</sup> Historians who recognize within it references to the *Belvedere Torso* (Musei Vaticani, Vatican City), Michelangelo’s *Il Pensieroso*, his tomb sculpture of Lorenzo de’Medici in the Medici chapel of San Lorenzo, Florence, and Carpeaux’s *Ugolino* (original plaster at Valenciennes,





Fig. 6. Edward Steichen, *Rodin—Le Penseur*, 1902. From *Camera Work* 11 (July 1905) offset lithograph, 15.6 × 18.4 cm. Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, Gift of the B. Gerald Cantor Foundation (1988.263)

Musée des Beaux-Arts) are all correct.<sup>16</sup> It is Rodin's assimilation of these and other powerful influences that help make this masterpiece, a work with which he was immediately and intimately identified (fig. 6), into the archetypal—and ubiquitous—image of rumination.

As he did with many of the components of the *Gates*, Rodin also treated the *Thinker* as an independent figure, displaying the twenty-seven-inch portal-size version in 1889 in his joint exhibition with Claude Monet at the Galerie George Petit, Paris. Encouraged by a British patron, Ernest William Beckett, Rodin decided to enlarge the figure and in 1902 set Henri Lebossé, a master of the process, to the task. Although the craftsman reported in November 1902 that he had set “the head . . . on the torso and the torso on the

base”<sup>17</sup> he was still working on it the following August. As of January 1903, Rodin had determined to exhibit the colossal *Thinker* at the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition scheduled to open in Saint Louis on 30 April 1904.<sup>18</sup> To have the statue in Saint Louis on time, it had to arrive at port of Le Havre no later than 24 January in order to be loaded on a ship scheduled to depart on 30 January; the next ship would arrive after the fair's opening.<sup>19</sup>

Rodin had an advantageous offer from the Hébrard foundry to cast the figure using the superior lost-wax process for 10,000 francs, discounted from the founder's initial proposal of 13,000.<sup>20</sup> Surviving correspondence in the archives of the Musée Rodin enables us to track the fabrication of the bronze as everyone rushed to meet the looming deadline.





Fig. 7. *The Thinker* in the central court, Walters Art Gallery, ca. 1933. The Walters Art Museum Archives

On 9 October, Hébrard reported the arrival of the plaster at his atelier and later announced that the statue had been cast on Christmas Day.<sup>21</sup> The bronze was then chased and delivered on 17 January to a special studio set up for Jean Limet, Rodin's most skilled patinator. Although he had been assured by Hébrard that the bronze looked as though it had been modeled directly by Rodin's fingers, when the sculptor saw it he was disappointed with the chasing and informed André Saglio, curator of the French contributions to the fair, that he would not send the cast. Saglio responded that he was "absolutely devastated," and Rodin relented, allowing the bronze to sail.<sup>22</sup> This decision must have nagged at him, and his doubts may have been increased by a note from Limet noting damage to the thumb of the *Thinker's* left hand.<sup>23</sup> In any case, on 11 March he determined to send a patinated plaster to Saint Louis and was emphatic in a letter to Saglio written just seven days before the fair was scheduled to open: "I do not want my work *The Thinker* to be represented by the bronze sent to Saint Louis, with whose cast I was not

satisfied. I expressly forbid this cast to be exhibited and I want *The Thinker* to be represented by the plaster sent to Saint Louis."<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, Rodin was willing to sell the bronze, and a note written eighteen days after the fair ended states that the price for the *Thinker* is 25,000 francs.<sup>25</sup> How Walters became aware that the bronze was for sale is unknown, but evidently he was willing to pay the price. (What is also unknown is whether his purchase influenced Rodin's decision to donate the replacement plaster to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of which Walters became a trustee in 1904.)

The first decade of the twentieth century marked the apogee of Rodin's fame, so Walters' important acquisition was both timely and astute. By mid-century, however, Rodin's critical fortunes had fallen to their nadir. His once radical modernism looked passé as Cubism, Futurism, and other radical "isms" rapidly succeeded one another. Purists who advocated direct carving derided his use of assistants, which was a commonplace practice in nineteenth-century studios;

others decried his focus on the human figure and narrative.<sup>26</sup> That the Walters cast, which had once dominated the central court (fig. 7), was consigned to storage in 1934 is symptomatic of this decline. Therefore, it was surely rather idiosyncratic that in his will dated 4 October 1944, Arthur E. Hopkins (d. 1944), Louisville lawyer, judge, alderman, authority on steamboats, and member of the Amateur Cinema League, should stipulate that his trustees purchase “a copy of the statue in bronze, in what is known as the colossal [*sic*] size, by Auguste Rodin of ‘The Thinker’” to be given to the city of Louisville.<sup>27</sup>

The timing could not have been better. In 1945 a monumental *Thinker* was bequeathed to the Baltimore Museum of Art by Jacob Epstein; consequently the gallery’s trustees, as opportunistic as the museum’s founder, decided to sell their cast to the Hopkins estate—although how the parties discovered their mutual interest is as mysterious as how Henry Walters initially discovered that the cast itself was available. The rationale for the trustees’ decision was summarized in 1948 by Edward S. King on page 134 of the *Sixteenth Annual Report*: “The sale was made . . . as there was no place to exhibit the statue in the Gallery, where it had been in storage since 1934, and as there appeared to be no likelihood that it ever would be exhibited in Baltimore since a replica of identical character given by the late Jacob Epstein is permanently installed in front of the Baltimore Museum of Art.”

The price agreed upon was \$22,000. This relatively high value may be indicative of the compelling authority of the figure that must have stirred Walters and other early collectors at the time the statue was first exhibited.<sup>28</sup> As the art editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* observed at the time the statue was installed at the University of Louisville, “Mention Rodin and 99 out of a hundred people . . . will say *The Thinker*.”<sup>29</sup> Although Rodin’s fame had diminished by the time this transaction occurred, his *Thinker* had already acquired its iconic status. For Rodin, the figure he initially conceived as Dante had changed from a dreamer to a creator.<sup>30</sup> For the public, the transformation was just as profound: Rodin’s *Thinker* had evolved in the popular imagination from a mere statue into the embodiment of an ideal.

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## NOTES

1. G. Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of the Picture Market, 1760–1960* (New York, 1964), 143–74. See also W.G. Constable, *Art Collecting in the United States of America: An Outline of a History* (London, 1964), 52 and 69–82. Writing in 1964, Reitlinger could not foresee the present frenzy for contemporary art among these collectors’ current counterparts.
2. W.R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore, 1999), *passim*.
3. Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 222.
4. On the quest for a Raphael *Madonna*, see D.A. Brown, *Raphael and America*, exh. cat., Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1983), 22–23 and 72–80 on Henry Walters’ purchase and the controversy regarding its attribution. The Walters tondo is now considered to be the work of Raphael with considerable assistance from his workshop: see F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1976), 1:348–54.
5. Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 139.
6. *New York Journal*, 21 August 1898.
7. T.H. Bartlett, “Auguste Rodin, Sculptor” (1888), in *Auguste Rodin: Readings on His Life and Work*, ed. A. Elsen (New York, 1965), 107.
8. P. Gsell, *Rodin on Art*, trans. Mrs. Romilly Fedden (New York, 1971), 153.
9. Re-created on its centennial, the exhibition is discussed at length in A. Le Normand-Romain et al., *Rodin en 1900: L’Exposition de l’Alma* (Paris, 2001).
10. H. L. Mencken, ed., *Essays by James Huneker* (New York, 1929), 380.
11. H. Dujardin-Beaumetz, *Rodin’s Reflections on Art* (1913), trans. A. McGarrell, in Elsen, *Auguste Rodin*, 179.
12. L. M. C. Randall, ed., *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent in Paris, 1857–1909*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1979), 2:661–62. Lucas purchased a plaster of the *Monument to Bastian-Lepage* and a *Bust of Saint John the Baptist*.
13. See A. Tahinci, “Rodin’s American Collectors in His Lifetime” in B. Barryte and R. K. Tarbell, eds., *Rodin and America: Influence and Adaptation, 1876–1936* (Milan, 2011), 329–33. For a study of these collectors, see Tahinici’s associated essay, “Rodin and His American Collectors,” 315–28.
14. Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 223.
15. Marcel Adam in *Saturday Night* [Toronto], 1 December 1917, quoted in A.E. Elsen, *Rodin’s Thinker and the Dilemmas of Modern Public Sculpture* (New Haven, 1985), 4.
16. Some have also observed a relationship to the *Seated Boxer* (Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, Rome), but this famous Hellenistic bronze was not excavated until 1885, years after Rodin had modeled his figure.



17. Lebossé to Rodin, 28 November 1902, Archives, Musée Rodin, Paris. I am exceedingly grateful to Sarah Grandin and Hélène Pinet for their assistance in securing the relevant documentation at the Musée Rodin and especially to Anna Tahinci for her assistance in clarifying the orthography and translating the letters.
  18. Rodin's plan was reported by H. de W., "L'Art Français à l'Exposition de Saint-Louis—Rodin et son "Penseur," *La Vie Illustrée*, no. 271 (1 January 1903), 201. Ever the bold entrepreneur, when he received the invitation to participate, Rodin reportedly asked for an entire gallery, proposing to send a sufficient number of works to fill it, but the organizers refused, and in the end he was represented only by his monumental *Thinker*. Rodin's initial proposal was reported in the New York newspaper *Vogue*, September 1903. *The Thinker* is listed among the French national displays in Halsey C. Ives, *Official Catalogue of Exhibitors — Universal Exposition St. Louis, U.S.A.* (Saint Louis, 1904), 163.
  19. Hébrard to Rodin's secretary, Réne Chérut, 8 January 1904, Archives, Musée Rodin, Paris.
  20. Rodin to Hébrard, 24 August 1903 and 9 October 1903, Archives, Musée Rodin, Paris.
  21. Hébrard to Rodin, 9 October 1903 and 25 December 1903, Archives, Musée Rodin, Paris. According to Hans Schuler, the Baltimore sculptor who was having his own work cast at the same time, Hébrard entrusted the actual casting to his Italian foreman, Valsuani, who had helped re-introduce the lost-wax process. Schuler, who happened to meet Rodin at the foundry "inspecting the wax figure from which all seams had been removed," recalled thinking that the cast of *The Thinker* was very successful, although his own piece had a flaw and needed to be recast. Justus Bier, "The Thinker," *Courier-Journal Magazine*, 16 January 1949, 6. Bier also reported that Marcel Aubert, then curator of the Musée Rodin, asserted that the ex-Walters cast was seriously flawed, "the back and the stomach of the figure being defective had to be done over by the sand-mold method," but there seems to be no basis for the assertion. Andrew Lins and Shelley Paine, the conservators who recently treated the bronze, "could [not] find anything to support a previous repair of that kind." According to Paine, "I even got inside the sculpture and photographed the interior. . . . All I could see were the seams consistent with a lost wax casting" (e-mail from Paine to author, 31 March 2013).
  22. Saglio to Rodin, 27 January 1904, Archives, Musée Rodin, Paris. In this letter, Saglio alludes to the "chisling error" of which Rodin had evidently complained as merely "*un détail de ciselure*" ("a detail in chiseling").
  23. Limet to Rodin, 26 February 1904, Archives, Musée Rodin, Paris.
  24. Rodin to Saglio, 23 April 1904, Archives, Musée Rodin, Paris.
  25. Note dated 19 December 1904, Archives, Musée Rodin. In addition, the archives of the Musée Rodin reveal no evidence that Walters ever visited Rodin (Hélène Pinet to author, 22 May 2013).
  26. On the change in Rodin's critical fortunes in mid-twentieth-century America, see Jennifer Jane Marshall, "The Rodinoclasts: Remaking Influence after Rodin," in Barryte and Tarbell, *Rodin and America*, 279–307.
  27. Between 1937 and 1938 Hopkins documented on film several antebellum homes in Jassamine County and Mercer County, Kentucky: see [www.youtube.com/watch?v=vV8jGL2FfDc](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vV8jGL2FfDc). He also published "Steamboat at Louisville and on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 17 (1943): 143–62.
  28. During his lifetime, some thirty-seven "original size" and nine monumental *Thinkers* were cast. Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, *The Bronzes of Rodin: Catalogue of the Works in the Musée Rodin*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2007), 1:586–87.
  29. Jeff Wylie, quoted in J. Bier, "The Thinker," *Courier-Journal Magazine*, 16 January 1949, 5.
  30. Rodin to Marcel Adam published in *Gil Blas*, 7 July 1904, quoted in A. Elsen, *The Gates of Hell* (Stanford, 1985), 96.
- PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center: figs. 2, 3, 5, 6; Marburg, courtesy Musée Rodin: fig. 4; University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky: fig. 1; The Walters Art Museum Archives: fig. 7

## STAGING THE *INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE AT CORDOVA* BY EDWIN LORD WEEKS

MARIANNA SHREVE SIMPSON

Like many American artists of his generation, Edwin Lord Weeks (1849, Boston–1903, Paris) lived and traveled abroad for much of his career. Weeks recorded his experiences and impressions from these journeys, particularly to such “exotic” regions as North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia, in a variety of publications, including numerous magazine articles, as well as in his substantial artistic production. His illustrations and paintings of places and people in such disparate countries as Morocco, Iran, and India earned Weeks contemporary praise as “A Painter of the Enchanted East,” a reputation renewed in recent decades by the scholarly focus on Weeks as an Orientalist artist and especially on the works resulting from his three extended Indian sojourns during the early 1880s through early 1890s.<sup>1</sup>

Compared with the considerable interest in Weeks’s Indian oeuvre, relatively little attention has been paid to the compositions resulting from his time in Spain. The major exception here is *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova* (fig. 1), purchased in 1905 by Henry Walters at the American Art Association sale of Weeks’s estate and since 1931 a highlight of the nineteenth-century collection of the Walters Art Museum.<sup>2</sup> Measuring 142.2 by 184.3 centimeters (56 × 72 ½ in.), this grand composition was first described in an often quoted passage from the 1905 sales catalogue as

Preaching the holy war against the Christians, the old Moor holds aloft the green flag of Mohammad, while he curses the “dogs of Christians” with true religious fervor, and calls on Mohammed to drive them out of Spain. The devout audience, kneeling facing the shrine, composed of all classes of Moors, rich and poor, as well as soldiers in armor, is probably an ideal and almost photographic view of the Mosque of Cordova as it was at the beginning of the downfall of Moorish power in Spain. The entrance

to the shrine is most artistic, composed of many-colored glass mosaics, with texts from the Koran set in. Down the long vista of arches the crowd of worshipers gives one some idea of the enormous size of this mosque, that stands to-day an imposing monument of the grandeur and power of the Moors several hundred years ago.<sup>3</sup>

While this effusive description reads as if Weeks was depicting a religious ceremony or related event that actually took place in the Mosque of Cordova, nowadays the painting’s subject, as explicated in 1905, is generally recognized as fictional, while its setting is appreciated as realistic.<sup>4</sup> As Holly Edwards put it so felicitously in her discussion of *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova* within the context of nineteenth-century American and European Orientalism, what Weeks created was “a fabricated story given the appearance of verisimilitude.”<sup>5</sup>

This essay proposes to continue Edwards’s apt assessment by taking a closer look at Week’s treatment of the mosque architecture, as well as elements of its furnishings, with the goal of better understanding how the artist engaged both imagination and documentation in the construction of such a large and impressive *mise-en-scène*. Again following Edwards, this evaluation takes the perspective of a historian of Islamic, rather than American, art and culture. By way of background and context, it begins with a very brief résumé of Weeks’s early “Oriental” travels and Orientalist training, and then turns at greater length to his experiences in and pictures of Spain, the artist’s presumed “gateway to the Orient.”<sup>6</sup>

### WEEKS IN THE “ORIENT” AND THE “ORIENTALIST” MILIEU

By all accounts, including his own, Edwin Lord Weeks was an intrepid and adventuresome traveler with a special fascination





Fig. 1. Edwin Lord Weeks (American, 1849–1903), *Interior of a Mosque at Cordova*, ca. 1880. Oil on canvas, 142.2 × 184.3 cm (unframed). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1905 (37.169)

for lands within the Islamic koiné on the northern coast of Africa and the western regions of Asia. From 1871–72 through about 1880 he made multiple trips to Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria. Judging from reports of the pictures he brought or sent back to America for exhibition beginning in 1873, as well as those shown in Paris and London toward the end of the decade, the artist took every opportunity to depict the novel sights and scenes he encountered during his eastern journeys.<sup>7</sup> His writings are equally revealing about what he found most compelling abroad, as we see in the following typescript from Cairo, which begins:

The November climate warm and moist, but not oppressive. Hazy air and soft rich tone of the sky, red mornings and sunsets. Vastness of the city viewed from the Citadel. . . . Rich and quaint forms of the minarets and

other architecture, bizarre outline and colors, embroidered [*sic*] domes. Animated bazaar seen through Bab el Nasr [actually Nasr]. Smooth roads, not paved with uncomfortable stones as in Damascus, Rome or Jerusalem. Donkey riding in Cairo; shaved donkeys [and] shouts of the donkey boys. Their importunities when you don't want 'em driving their animals right in front of one. Costumes, abundance of crimson turbans and gowns. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

Such first-hand perceptions and experiences were further reinforced in Paris, where Weeks lived between his North African and Near Eastern trips (eventually becoming a permanent, expatriate resident) and where he studied with Léon Bonnat (1833–1922), a prominent Spanish-trained portraitist. Doubtless even greater influence came from the leading Orientalist master Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904), to whose atelier at the École des Beaux-Arts Weeks was admitted in

September 1874.<sup>9</sup> Although Weeks did not formally matriculate at the École, it is generally agreed that he benefited from G r me as an artistic mentor and, as the following discussion of *Interior of the Mosque of Cordova* reveals, looked to the master for both compositional inspiration and iconographic models.

## WEEKS IN SPAIN

The precise chronology of Weeks’s early travel years remains to be fully documented, and there is as yet no definitive itinerary for his Spanish visits. Indeed, Weeks himself referred to Spain only in passing, and various of the secondary sources make no mention whatsoever of his time there.<sup>10</sup> Fortunately, we can begin to reconstruct the outlines of a Spanish travelogue based on a couple of dated compositions as well as contemporary publications. A 1876 painting depicting the Court of the Myrtles within the Alhambra, the large palace complex built by the Nasrid rulers of Spain’s last Muslim dynasty (1230–1492) on the ridge overlooking the town of Granada, offers reliable evidence that the artist had visited Andalucia in southern Spain by that time.<sup>11</sup> Further confirmation comes from American newspaper reports about an exhibition in Boston in September 1876 that featured scenes of Granada among Weeks’s subjects of “Eastern life.”<sup>12</sup> A painting titled *the Market Square in Front of the Sacristy and Doorway of the Cathedral, Granada* and signed “E. L. Weeks/Granada/1880” indicates that the artist was once again in Spain at the turn of the next decade, apparently while en route to Paris after a trip to Morocco.<sup>13</sup> He seems to have made a return visit during the following summer, when, according to a November 1881 article in *Century Magazine*, he worked in the studio of the late Spanish (actually Catalan) artist Mariano Fortuny (1838–1874).<sup>14</sup> Latter-day scholarship has taken this report, which immediately follows a romanticized description of the Alhambra, to mean that the Fortuny studio was located within the precincts of the old “Moorish” palace.<sup>15</sup> While Fortuny certainly did reside in Granada during the last few years of his life, his correspondence provides evidence that his living-cum-work quarters were never situated in the Alhambra palace itself.<sup>16</sup>

Although Weeks may never have been in residence in the Nasrid monument, he definitely was taken with the palace and followed Fortuny in using it as the setting for various paintings. Among those is small interior scene variously titled

*The Three Moorish Princesses* and *Torre de las Infantas* that he mentioned in a 1882 letter addressed to George Corliss, secretary at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts:

The smaller one (interior) is an attempt at rendering one of Irving’s Legends of the Alhambra, “The Three Moorish Princesses” — and the interior itself is identical spot where the plot [?] was laid. I have attempted a restoration of the original color as the arabesque work is now partially destroyed.<sup>17</sup>

These remarks underscore Weeks’s familiarity with Washington Irving’s popular *Tales from the Alhambra*, which, as M. Elizabeth Boone has put it so well, “imbued the Moorish palace with a timeless quality that Weeks strove to reproduce in his images.”<sup>18</sup> More significantly, Weeks obviously had made a careful study of the architectural decoration of the Alhambra, and particularly of the designs, composed of calligraphic, vegetal, and geometric motifs, which combine and repeat to form “arabesque” patterns similar to those that Weeks later described and illustrated in a magazine account of his travels through Morocco.<sup>19</sup>

## WEEKS AT THE MOSQUE OF CORDOVA

A handful of other studies, sketches, and paintings, with titles indicating that they depict scenes set in the Alhambra, were among the works catalogued in the 1905 sale from Weeks’s estate, while more than a half-dozen mention Granada as their locale.<sup>20</sup> In addition to giving us a better idea of the extent of Weeks’s interest in Granada, the 1905 sales catalogue provides some insight into what attracted Weeks’s attention elsewhere in Andalucia and more specifically in Cordova.

The ancient town of Cordova, first settled in Roman times (second century BC to early fifth century AD) and later seat of the first Muslim rulers in Spain (711–756) and the subsequent Umayyad dynasty (756–1031), lies just under 170 kilometers northwest of Granada. Modern-day tourists invariably visit both sites (along with Seville) as part of their Andalucian tour and transfer between the two with relative ease. In Weeks’s day, however, the journey was far more arduous due in part to the mountainous terrain that separates coastal Granada from inland Cordova. There was train service, inaugurated in 1874, but that required a transfer of rail lines in the town of Bodabilla. Coach would have been an alternative, albeit also long and tiring, means of conveyance. In



short, in the late nineteenth century this was no day-trip. So however and whenever Weeks got to Cordova, presumably traveling from Granada, he doubtless stayed there for some time. And however long the Cordovan visit, his artistic focus was primarily on the Great Mosque, which, as we shall see, he depicted in both exterior and interior views.<sup>21</sup>

The Great Mosque, or Mezquita, of Cordova is among the greatest examples of early Islamic architecture, and one of the most important monuments surviving from Muslim Spain.<sup>22</sup> Its construction was begun in 785 with an open courtyard and a covered prayer hall laid out according to a classical hypostyle plan of aisles and bays defined by two-tiered horse-shoe arches with alternating red brick and white stone voussoirs. Simple in plan yet complex in elevation, the interior was enlarged three times during the following centuries with additional bays to the south and the east. The second such extension, in 961–966, also created a new *mihrab* to mark the *qibla* wall indicating the Muslim direction of prayer toward Mecca. While traditional in its function, the tenth-century *mihrab* was innovative in form and decoration, and constructed as a small, domed heptagonal room with a horseshoe-shaped opening and flanked by two other doorways, all sheathed in a rich and colorful surface of carved plaster, marble, stone, and mosaics. The five bays in front of and beside the *mihrab* were further elaborated by a series of intersecting, polylobed and tiered arches, rising up to three ribbed domes and forming a basilical-like space known as the *maqsura* that was reserved for the Umayyad ruler. The extensions and expansions to the mosque's interior also affected its exterior; by the late tenth century both the western and eastern façades featured a series of striking frontispiece-like doorways, each topped with a blind horseshoe arch set in a rectangular frame and further framed by two registers of niches and blind arcades.

The building's function as a Muslim place of worship lasted until 1236, when Cordova fell into Christian hands and the mosque was immediately consecrated as a cathedral. By the late thirteenth century, structural alterations and additions to the prayer hall's interior were underway, work that would culminate in the insertion of a vast, vaulted cathedral, a project initiated in 1523 and completed only at the end of the eighteenth century. The southern or *qibla* end of the mosque, around the elaborate *maqsura* and *mihrab*, largely retained its original form, however, as did the exterior façades.

From the late eighteenth century, European artists began to create images, especially prints, of the monument's still impressive remaining Muslim spaces, often focusing on the *mihrab* area.<sup>23</sup> This pictorial interest continued throughout the nineteenth century and involved prominent French illustrators such as Gustave Doré (1832–1883).<sup>24</sup> So it is possible, even probable, that Weeks was already visually familiar with certain key sections of the building before he even visited Cordova. His artistic output from the visit seems to have been limited, however, judging from the small number of compositions featuring the mosque recorded in the catalogue of the 1905 Weeks estate sale and those that may be securely identified today. They include *Old Moorish Gateway*, a small sketch depicting a view through one of the entrances into the mosque courtyard with its rows of orange trees, as well as two scenes of women around the ablutions tank within the courtyard.<sup>25</sup> Another larger painting, titled *Entering the Mosque*, represents one of the monumental framed doorways on the mosque's eastern façade with two turbaned figures climbing the steps and another man standing inside the open door, while two armed escorts and three horses wait on the cobbled street below, along with a squatting fruit vendor.<sup>26</sup> Returning for a moment to the 1905 description of the *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*, it is tempting to read *Entering the Mosque* as a kind of prologue or introduction to the supposed narrative of Muslim *jihād*, or holy war, that Weeks set within the mosque's prayer hall. Indeed, the second man on the exterior staircase has a long white beard and looks very similar to a white-bearded and bare-headed man kneeling in the back row of the interior scene. Likewise, the two soldiers in the foreground of *Entering the Mosque* seem to reappear among the worshipers in *Interior of the Mosque*, in close proximity to the bearded man. The duplication or reuse of figures for different compositions has been recognized as characteristic of Weeks's working method for his Indian compositions;<sup>27</sup> its evidence here suggests that the practice began even earlier in his career.

Another aspect of the artist's style, documented in the illustrations to his various magazine articles and discussed very favorably by contemporary and later commentators, again principally vis-à-vis his Indian oeuvre, is his attention to architectural detail.<sup>28</sup> Weeks certainly has rendered the mosque entryway very precisely, including the many panels of carved stone within both the portal arch and its surrounding frame and the pair of flanking double arches

surmounted by pierced window grilles on either side. For all his concerns for architectural accuracy, however, Weeks was not above manipulating buildings for greater artistic effect. Thus *Entering the Mosque* actually conflates the two middle entryways on the mosque's eastern façade, as a comparison of the painting with a 1879 drawing of the entire length of the façade reveals.<sup>29</sup> It is equally telling that Weeks chose not to depict one of the more elaborately-decorated doorways on the mosque's western façade, where the central portal frames are surmounted by a blind arcade supported by six engaged columns. That Weeks preferred the sparser aesthetic of the eastern façade is borne out by his later writings on what he called Moorish architecture. In particular he signaled out how on gateways, doors and street fountains, "the ornamented portions, usually confined within rectangular spaces, gain in effect from the contrast afforded by the surrounding blankness," so that "each motive tells with the force of a picture well-framed" He then proceeds to extol the outer wall of the Cordova mosque as "one of the most satisfactory instances of this treatment . . . where there is a long series of small portals, each flanked by a window on either side; while they all are of the same size the details are more or less varied."<sup>30</sup>

In addition to three scenes featuring the mosque courtyard, the 1905 American Art Association catalogue includes a composition titled *Mosque at Cordova, Spain* and described as the "entrance to the shrine: the whole archway and inscriptions beautifully wrought in glass mosaic (Byzantine)."<sup>31</sup> Although catalogued among the "important finished pictures," the painting's relatively modest size (52.1 × 59.7 cm [20 ½ × 23 ½ in.]) and the absence of any figures suggests that it may have been a study or preparatory rendering of the *mihrab* area that Weeks then used as the *mise-en-scène* for his much larger and more elaborate *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*. This too would correspond to the process that Weeks is known to have followed for his Indian compositions and that doubtless was standard operating procedure throughout his career.<sup>32</sup>

While it is obvious that Weeks's interest in and attention to the details of "Moorish" architecture were well developed at first hand during his travels in Islamic lands and that his attraction to the Great Mosque of Cordova was entirely serious, the idea for a large figural painting set in the prayer hall cannot, however, be considered entirely original. Already in 1871 Jean-Léon Gérôme had completed a major canvas, *Prayer in the Mosque* (fig. 2), based on sketches and photographs of

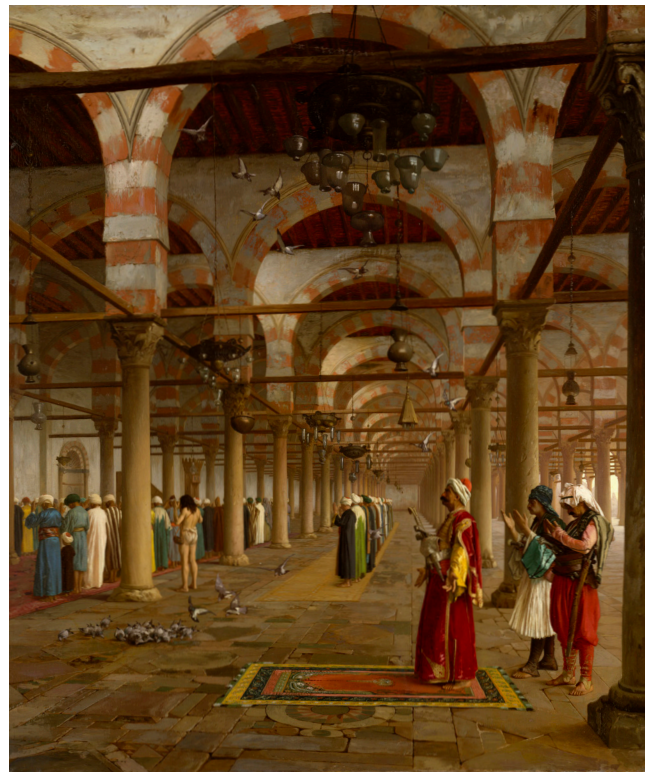


Fig. 2. Jean-Léon Gérôme (French, 1824–1904). *Prayer in the Mosque*, 1871. Oil on canvas, 88.9 × 74.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Bequest of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, 1887 (87.15.130)

the early Islamic mosque of 'Amr in Cairo, or more precisely in the former capital of Fustat, that he made during a trip to Egypt in the company of Léon Bonnat in 1868–69. First erected in the seventh century according to a hypostyle plan, the mosque of 'Amr had been modified and reconstructed in various building campaigns by the time of Gérôme's visit. The artist structured his composition with the view point looking across and down the prayer hall's arched aisles, with the *qibla* wall to the left, so that all the architectural and figural features, including the supporting columns and capitals, white and red stone arches, hanging mosque lamps, *mihrab* niche and *minbar* (or pulpit, to be discussed below), and three straight rows of uniformly clad worshipers standing side by side on long carpets facing the *qibla*, appear in diminishing perspective. To further emphasize the longitudinal vista. Gérôme placed a large and heavily armed dignitary on a separate prayer rug in the foreground, accompanied by two escorts. And to further emphasize what nineteenth-century Orientalists generally regarded as the exoticism of Muslim devotion, the artist inserted a long-haired mendicant, clad



only in a loin cloth and holding a beggar's bowl, standing apart behind the more conventionally attired worshipers in the scene's middle ground.

Given that Weeks arrived in Paris to study, initially in Bonnat's atelier and then privately with Gérôme, only a few years after the completion of *Prayer in the Mosque*, it is logical to assume that the American artist saw (or at least heard about) the painting either while working under Bonnat's or Gérôme's tutelage or in one of the many subsequent published reproductions of the painting.<sup>33</sup> Whether Weeks knew the canvas at first or second hand, he certainly seems to have had it in mind when he later conceived and executed *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*. That is not to say that his painting copied or mimicked the French master's creation, but it does share various key elements, including the sideways, angled view into and diminishing perspective down the prayer hall's succession of columns and arches; the prominent placement of an armed figure in the immediate foreground; and the

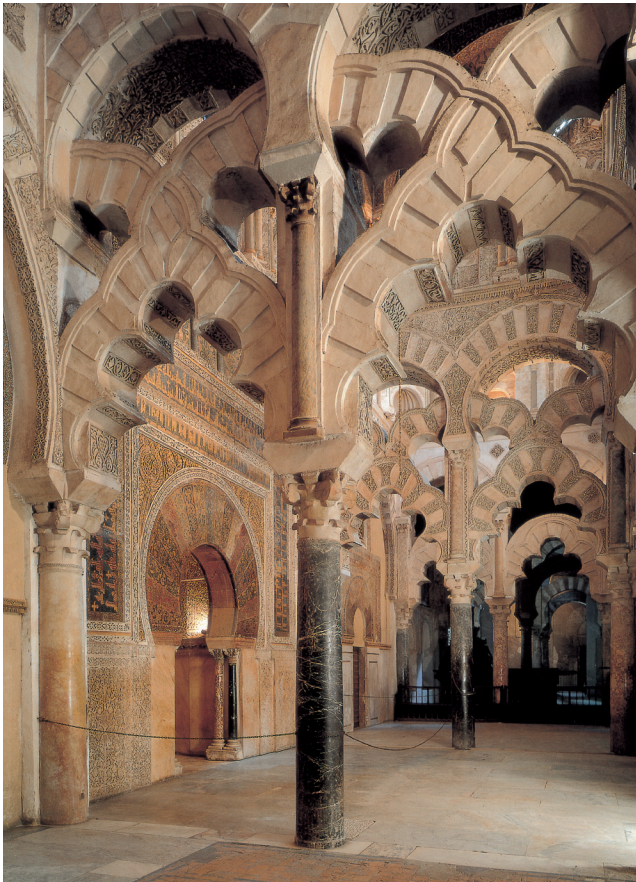


Fig. 3. View of *mihrab* and *maqsura* in Great Mosque of Cordova, as reproduced in M. Barrucand and A. Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture in Andalusia* (Cologne, 1992), p. 77.

equally distinctive presence of a single, ragged individual (“the old Moor”) whose position and actions differ so markedly from the scene's other figures—all suggestive of a certain degree of artistic influence or inspiration. At the same time that Weeks may have been stimulated by *Prayer in the Mosque*, he also may have been trying to surpass his former mentor: his canvas is in a horizontal rather than vertical format and almost twice as large as Gérôme's earlier work (88.9 × 74.9 cm), and his worshipers are much more varied in appearance, attire, posture, and relationship to each other than their 1871 counterparts. Furthermore, the American artist enhanced the pronounced diagonal movement into the Cordova mosque with a broad expanse of crimson carpet. Whereas the overall effect of *Prayer in the Mosque* is controlled uniformity, that of *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova* is markedly dynamic, partly as a result of Weeks's dramatic treatment of space and light.<sup>34</sup>

The visual impact of Weeks's painting derives in equal, if not greater, measure from the mosque architecture itself, and more particularly from the specific section of the prayer hall where Weeks set his scene and which is altogether more arresting than that of Gérôme's 'Amr mosque setting (fig. 3). More so than even his *Entering the Mosque*, the interior scene, and especially the *mihrab*, confirms Weeks's concern for and mastery of architectural design and decoration. His rendering of the distinctive horseshoe opening, the marble and carved stone panels that face its lower walls, the twin columns (one black and the other red) inside the doorway, the color scheme and brilliant sheen of the mosaics, and even the Qur'anic inscriptions in angular, so-called Kufic script, is so accurate and meticulous—“almost photographic,” as the 1905 sales catalogue put it—that he clearly spent a great deal of time sketching and doubtless even photographing the *mihrab* as the basis for the right side of his final, studio composition.<sup>35</sup> The representation of the three columns and two tiers of lobbed and intersecting arches that frame the eastern side of the *maqsura* and that dominate the left side of Weeks's canvas is similarly exact, although the space between the columns appears wider than in the building itself.

Indeed, the *maqsura*, or royal enclosure in front of the *mihrab*, is precisely where Weeks begins to introduce adjustments into the mosque architecture and to construct an environment that reflects artistic vision and invention more than architectural fidelity and rigor. As Edwards has noted, Weeks opened out the *maqsura* area, presumably to allow more room for the groups of seated and kneeling worshipers.<sup>36</sup>

In addition, he eliminated the railing or fence enclosing the *maqsura*, visible in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century prints, and inserted the wide crimson carpet onto what would have been bare pavement, running it right up to, and seemingly (and thus improbably) under and around, the final pair of *maqsura* columns.<sup>37</sup> Weeks also has given a clear view though the *maqsura*'s polylobed arches and down a row of arches to the eastern end of the prayer hall. In fact, such a vista would not have been possible in Weeks's day, as it was interrupted by the chapel and reliquary of St. Theresa, constructed before 1741 within the four bays immediately adjacent to those of the original *maqsura*.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Weeks seems to have added a few extra columns to the eastern section of the prayer hall, evidently to define and extend the receding space within the middle and background planes of his painting. Even more imaginatively, he has that recession culminating in a lit opening that does not actually exist within the mosque's eastern façade. In short, Weeks manipulated the mosque architecture to emphasize the monument's "enormous size" and to lengthen his composition's extensive, angled expanse.

In addition, Weeks introduced several features that he would not possibly have found in the Great Mosque of Cordova. The first and most visually prominent is the pierced metal lamp hanging within the *maqsura* that basically serves as the initial focal point of his painting (fig. 4). While hanging lamps would have illuminated the building during the centuries that it functioned as a Muslim house of worship, they probably would have been made of glass.<sup>39</sup> In any event, these lamps did not survive the mosque's transformation into a church, and are not visible in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century views of the interior.<sup>40</sup> There is today, however, a long chain hanging down from the central dome in front of the *mihrab*.<sup>41</sup> If this chain was there in Weeks's time too then he might easily have divined its intended purpose on the basis of observations made in mosques during his earlier trips to Syria, Morocco, and especially Egypt.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the material and technique of the lamp he hung in *Interior of the Mosque* call to mind the lighting devices, fashioned in several distinctive shapes and sizes, known to have illuminated Cairene mosques dating from the Mamluk period (1389–1517).<sup>43</sup> Weeks's version consists of two faceted and inverted cones separated by bulbous units (presumably for the requisite oil containers) and surmounted by three spheres, and corresponds somewhat to Mamluk pyramidal lamps.<sup>44</sup> Lamps of this type remained popular well after the Mamluk

period, and variants continued to be produced and used in Egyptian and Syrian mosques until the nineteenth century. Orientalist artists also favored them as accessories, both in mosque scenes, as is clearly evident in Gérôme's 1871 painting, and in their studios.<sup>45</sup> Weeks himself hung a large Mamluk-style lamp, doubtless post-Mamluk in origin, in his own quarters in Paris, as a contemporary photograph of the artist, lounging on a divan beneath the lamp, clearly documents.<sup>46</sup> While this particular lamp was not the precise model for the one suspended in his Cordova painting, it does confirm his familiarity with such traditional Islamic objects and his facility at adapting and making use of items from one Muslim realm and culture to augment his pictorial vision of another.

The hanging metal lamp also draws deliberate attention to the second of Weeks's additions to the Great Mosque of Cordova. Immediately beyond and beneath the lamp and the first polylobed arch of the *maqsura* is the side view of a dark wooden *minbar*, an enclosed staircase-like structure that

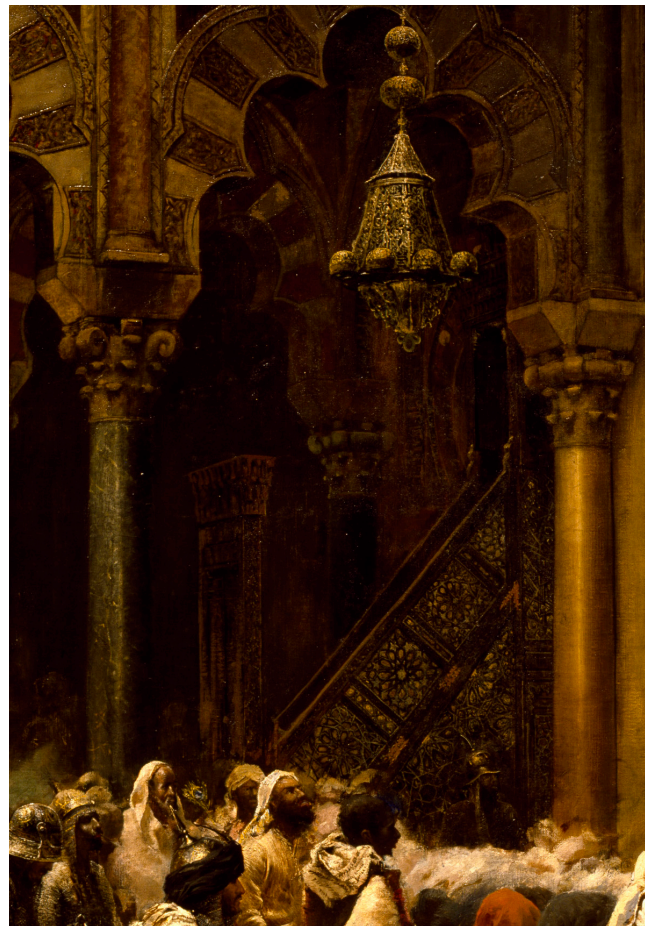


Fig. 4. Weeks, *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*, detail of hanging lamp and *minbar*



served as a pulpit throughout the history of Islamic mosque architecture.<sup>47</sup> The Umayyad caliph al-Hakam II, responsible for the 961–99 expansion of the Cordova mosque and the construction and decoration of its grand *mihrab* and *maqsurah*, also ordered a *minbar* made of various kinds of wood and ivory inlay and described in a medieval source as “unequal for its craftsmanship.”<sup>48</sup> The same source also states clearly that al-Hakam’s *minbar* was situated on the right side of the *mihrab*, which is indeed the traditional place for this piece of mosque furniture throughout the Islamic world. We also know that it was freestanding and moveable and that, when not in use during the Friday prayer services, it was stored in a slot to the right of the *mihrab*.<sup>49</sup> The al-Hakam *minbar* was destroyed in the sixteenth century<sup>50</sup> and was never replaced, since by then the Muslim house of worship had long served as a Christian one. Yet, while Weeks never would have come across a *minbar* in Cordova, he could not possibly have failed to notice the standard relationship of *minbar* to *mihrab* during his travels throughout various Muslim lands, as his mentor Gérôme clearly did, judging from the *minbar*’s correct placement in the French master’s painting of the Mosque of ‘Amr in Cairo. Weeks’s switch from right to left for the *minbar* in his mosque interior was obviously yet another adjustment made for pictorial purposes, that is, to emphasize the composition’s overall east-to-west orientation and perspective.

As with the hanging lamp, Weeks also took historical and cultural liberties with the style of his *minbar*. While his visit to Cordova came several centuries too late to see the original Cordova pulpit, he very well might have seen a *minbar* of comparable marquetry, dating from the twelfth century and also made in Cordova, in the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakesh.<sup>51</sup> Be that as it may, the design and decoration of his Cordova *minbar* corresponds more closely to *minbars* still *in situ* in Cairene mosques dating from the Mamluk period, as in the 1479–81 Mosque of Qijmas al-Ishaqi.<sup>52</sup> Particularly telling elements in Weeks’s version include the side plane, featuring a wide slanting band of four wooden panels that follows the rise of the *minbar* staircase, a larger triangular zone below, and two more vertical panels at the rear that rise up to the platform, all inlaid with dark wood and white (presumably ivory) in intricate and bold geometric designs.<sup>53</sup> The tall framed entrance at the foot of the *minbar* staircase and the arched canopy over the platform at the top (although less distinctly rendered by Weeks) also compare

closely. So once again, Weeks appears to have “imported” a later Islamic object into Cordova, presumably with the goal of restoring to the Great Mosque the kind (if not exactly the most historically accurate) of items with which it once would have been furnished and thereby enhancing the authenticity of his scene.

Finally, and has been pointed out already, Weeks covered a large expanse of the *maqsurah* pavement with a brightly colored carpet, consisting of a primary field in red, edged by multicolored borders and guard stripes and also featuring what looks like a stylized bird at the lower edge of the picture plane. The basic color scheme and design recall seventeenth century Turkish red ground carpets, which, however, are typically much smaller than the Cordova carpet and decorated with central and/or corner medallions.<sup>54</sup> What Weeks seems to have rendered as a bird-like form may actually be a corner quarter medallion. Photographs of Weeks at work and at home in Paris show Oriental rugs of various sizes and types.<sup>55</sup> While none approximates the long carpet in his painting, it is tempting to imagine that he adapted a rug he actually owned for use in *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*.

There is more to be said about Weeks’s creation of this grand composition, and particularly about his treatment of its diverse array of figures and the armor and weaponry with which he equipped the five soldiers mixed in among his “devout audience.” For the moment it suffices here to conclude that the artist did indeed manage to achieve an “appearance of verisimilitude” for the staging of his “fabricated story” through an artful and convincing combination of archaeological exactitude, architectural transformation, and inventive appropriation and application of works of Islamic art encountered or acquired during his “Oriental” travels and far removed in time and space from the Umayyad dynasty’s Great Mosque of Cordova. Above all *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova* reveals a carefully crafted and deliberate working method that Weeks would continue to employ during his career’s next phase as he shifted the locus of his travels and the focus of his picture-making from North Africa and Spain to Iran and India.

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## NOTES

I am grateful to Jo Briggs, Dodge Thompson, and Ulrich Hiesinger for their interest and advice during the research for this essay.

1. M. Quick, *American Expatriate Painters of the Late Nineteenth Century* (Dayton, 1976), 142; D. D. Thompson, "Edwin Lord Weeks, American Painters of India," *Antiques* (August 1985): 246–58; G. M. Ackerman, *American Orientalists* (Paris, 1994), 234–57; W. R. Johnston, *Nineteenth-Century Art: From Romanticism to Art Nouveau* (London, 2000), 112–13; U. W. Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks: Visions of India* (New York, 2002), with an extensive bibliography.
2. The painting's renown has received an additional boost by its reproduction on the Wikipedia entry for Cordova (accessed 20 May 2013).
3. American Art Association, *Catalogue of Very Important Finished Pictures, Studies Sketches and Original Drawings by the Late Edwin Lord Weeks* (New York, 1905), lot 269. Also quoted in H. Edwards, *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870–1930* (Princeton and Williamstown, 2000), 138.
4. The painting has, however, occasionally been regarded as representing an actual historical event (Thompson, "Edwin Lord Weeks" [note 1], 256) or as re-creating "what it [the Great Mosque] must have looked like during the triumphant days of the Umayyad [*sic*] dynasty." K. Davies, *The Orientalists: Western Artists in Arabia, the Sahara, Persia & India* (New York, 2005), p. 284.
5. Edwards, *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures* [note 3], 139.
6. M. E. Boone, *España: American Artists and the Spanish Experience* (New York, 1998), 104. See also Boone, *Vistas de España: American Views of Art and Life in Spain, 1860–1914* (New Haven and London, 2007), 81. Boone's publications constitute the most substantive discussion of Weeks in Spain to date.
7. Thompson, "Edwin Lord Weeks" [note 1], 256; Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 1], 16–18.
8. Edwin Lord Weeks, "Cairo Notes," unpublished manuscript in Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.
9. Thompson, "Edwin Lord Weeks," [note 1], 248–50; H. B. Weinberg, *The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme* (Fort Worth, 1984), 51; Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Artists and Their French Teachers* (New York, 1991), 176–78; Ackerman, *American Orientalists* [note 1], 236. Given the connections among Bonnat, Gérôme, and Weeks and the interest in these artists by William and Henry Walters, it is perhaps not a coincidence that paintings by all three artists, including a magisterial portrait of the senior Mr. Walters by Bonnat, ended up in the Walters Art Museum.
10. E. L. Weeks, "Two Centres of Moorish Art," *Scribner's Magazine* 29 (April 1901): 436–37, 442 and 449, mentioning monuments in Cordova, Granada, and Seville. No mention of Weeks in Spain is made by the contemporary travel writer Theodore Child, "American Artists at the Paris Exhibition," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 79 (September 1889): 514–16, nor in the following latter-day discussions of Weeks: Quick, *American Expatriate Painters* [note 1]; Ackerman, *American Orientalists* [note 1]; *The Art of Edwin Lord Weeks (1849–1903)*, exh. cat., University Art Galleries, University of New Hampshire (Durham, 1976); L. Thornton, *Orientalists: Painter-Travelers, 1828–1908* (Paris, 1983), 267; "Weeks, Edwin," *Oxford Art Online* (accessed 27 February 2013). John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500–1920* (Cambridge, 1988), 226, provides an oblique reference by mentioning Weeks's contributions to *Scribner's Monthly* and *Harper's* magazines, "which often reflected the interest of the period in Spain and Moorish art."
11. Boone, *España* [note 6], 105. Mention is also made of "Weeks' late-1870s sojourn through Spain:" Christie's, *Nineteenth Century European Art*, New York, 27 October 2004, sale 1427, lot 17.
12. Spanish scenes were also included in a Boston auction in February 1878. Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 1], 16–18.
13. Christie's, *Nineteenth Century European Art*, New York, 27 October 2004, sale 1427, lot 18. The lot notes mention that the painting is derived from an "*in situ* study executed in 1880 while the artist traveled through Spain on his return to Paris after an extended stay in Morocco." See also Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 1], 19, for the 1880 trip to Morocco, and Christie's, *Orientalist Art*, New York, 19 April 2006, sale 1774, lot 6, with lot notes mentioning two visits to Spain by Weeks, "the first en route from Paris to Morocco in the mid-1870s and the second on his return to resume residence in Paris in the early 1880s." If Weeks did go on to Paris following his Andalusian sojourn, then he would indeed have traveled through Spain, and more specifically northward through the province of Castille-La Mancha and the city of Toledo, which he captured in a painting subsequently exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. C. K. Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair*, exh. cat., National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery (Washington, D.C., 1993), 344, no. 406. This seems to be the only documented Spanish scene by Weeks set somewhere other than Granada or Cordova.
14. "In the Footsteps of Fortuny and Regnault," *Century Magazine* 23 (November 1881): 30. It is difficult to know for certain when the author of this article, identified in the magazine's table of contents as M. Lizzie Champney and by recent scholars as Elizabeth Champney [Boone, *España* (note 6), 104], encountered Weeks in Granada. Her narrative begins (p. 15) in Tangier "in the last days of the month of Ramazan," which in 1881 began in late July and concluded in late August. Champney then mentions (p. 17) having spent the summer, presumably meaning the preceding summer months, "following through the length of Spain in the footsteps of Fortuny and Regnault." Given that the *Century Magazine* was



- a monthly publication, with articles appearing soon after they were written, it may be reasonable to assume that Champney's trip from Spain to Morocco occurred in 1881.
15. Boone, *España* [note 6], 104; Boone, *Vistas de España* [note 6], 81 n.80.
  16. J. C. Davillier, *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence* (Philadelphia, 1885), 84: in 1870 Fortuny "installed himself at the *Fonda de los Siete Suelos*, on the same hill as the Alhambra, some minutes walk from the ancient palace of the Moorish kings"; pp. 97–98: At the end of a letter from Granada dated 27 November 1871 to his friend Baron Davillier, Fortuny writes, "My House is at your disposal—*Realejo Bajo*, no. 1"; pp. 106–7: Davillier confirms that in 1872–73 Fortuny was still living in "a large house in the *Realejo Bajo*, at the foot of the hill on the summit of which is the Alhambra." The house featured an open courtyard that "served as an atelier, when he [Fortuny] wished to work in the open air."
  17. Letter dated 6 September 1882, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Archives. Weeks's painting was exhibited at the Academy's annual exhibition of 1882. In subsequent correspondence, Weeks refers to the painting as *Torre de la Infantas* and again describes the "motive," apparently in response to an inquiry from Corliss. "The legend is in Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra* called 'The Legend of the Three Moorish Princesses' who were imprisoned in that tower." Letter dated 10 May 1883, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Archives. My thanks to Jeff Richmond-Moll, PAFA Archives Coordinator, for making the Weeks letters available for me to study. The painting was sold at Christie's, *Orientalist Art*, New York, 19 April 2006, sale 1774, lot 6.
  18. Boone, *España* [note 6], 104.
  19. Weeks, "Two Centres of Moorish Art" [note 10], 436–37. Although published in Weeks's later years, this article is clearly based on his travels in Morocco during the mid-1870s through early 1880s.
  20. American Art Association (1905) lots 41, 51, and 55 (this is likely a study or oil sketch, 34.3 × 49.5 cm [13 ½ × 19 ½ in.], for the larger *Market Square in Front of the Sacristy and Doorway of the Cathedral, Granada*, dated 1880 and sold at Christie's, New York, 15 March 2000, lot 33); 60 (this might be a study or oil sketch, 48.9 × 61 cm [19 ¼ × 24 in.], for the larger *A Court in the Alhambra at the Time of the Moors* dated 1876); 72, 85, 89, 140, 157, 161, 166, 247, 250.
  21. Weeks's only other known Cordovan subject is *The Three Beggars of Cordova*, a large and impressive canvas (166.4 × 250.2 cm [65 ½ × 98 ½ in.]) exhibited at the Paris Salon and the Philadelphia Art Club (where it garnered a gold medal) in 1891, acquired by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts the following year (1892.5) and displayed in 1893, along with five other Weeks paintings, at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. Thompson, "Edwin Lord Weeks" [note 1], 255, fig. 10; Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 1], 43, fig. 43; Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City* [note 13], 344, no. 462.
  22. There is extensive bibliography for the Great Mosque. For a convenient discussion of its architecture and history, see J. M. Bloom and S. S. Blair, eds., *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture* 1 (Oxford, 2009), 122–24 and 507–8.
  23. E. Sordo, *Moorish Spain: Cordoba Seville Granada* (New York, 1963), 30: "Chapel of the Alkoran in the Mosque of Cordoba." Engraving by F. Giomgnani from a drawing by Henry Swinburne, 1776. For a very useful introduction to the interest in Andalusian art and architecture by European antiquarians, travelers, and architects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see G. D. Anderson and M. Rosser-Owen, eds., *Revisiting al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond* (Boston, 2007), xix–xx.
  24. For Doré's wood engravings of the interior and exterior of the Cordova mosque, originally published in *Le Tour du Monde* (Paris, 1867), see *Doré's Spain: All 235 Illustrations from Spain* (New York, 2004) and at [www.123rf.com](http://www.123rf.com) (accessed 23 May 2013). For views of the mosque by other nineteenth-century artists see *El esplendor de los Omeyas cordobeses* (Granada, 2001), p. 176; M. Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain* (London, 2010), fig. 5; [www.oldantique-prints.com](http://www.oldantique-prints.com) (accessed 23 May 2013).
  25. American Art Association, 1905, lot 35 (16 × 12 ½ in. [40.6 × 31.8 cm]), described as "One of the principal gates leading to the interior courtyard and garden of the great mosque of Cordoba through an old wooden door heavily studded with iron nails; a clump of orange tree is seen." Also Christie's, *Nineteenth Century European Art*, New York, 27 October 2004, sale 1427, lot 17. Two entrances would offer such a vista onto the mosque courtyard: the Puerta de los Deanes, on the western side and the Puerta de Santa Catalina on the east. This view may be the latter. American Art Association (1905), lots 198 (19 × 24 ½ in. [48.3 × 62.2 cm]) and 211 (24 ½ × 20 ½ [62.2 × 52.1 cm]), both categorized as "important finished pictures" and similarly described as Spanish girls and women around the well or big tank, resting, gossiping, arranging their hair, filling and carrying water jars.
  26. This painting was not included in the 1905 auction catalogue. It is dated ca. 1885 in both Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 1], pl. 15, and Davies, *The Orientalists* [note 4], 242. The work's inclusion in the Hiesinger publication (actually a gallery exhibition catalogue subtitled *Visions of India*), suggests that it was assumed to depict an Indian monument and scene. A preparatory sketch of the mounted soldier also exists; Davies, *The Orientalists* [note 4], 243; Christie's, *Orientalist Art*, New York, 19 April 2006, sale 1774, lot. 16, described as "a figure study of an armored Moghul horseman . . . executed *in situ* in India."
  27. Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 1], 39.
  28. Child, "American Artists at the Paris Exhibition" [note 10], 514–16; Thompson, "Edwin Lord Weeks" [note 1], 250; Ackerman, *American Orientalists* [note 1], 244; Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 1], 36; Edwards, *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures* [note 3], 139.

29. M. Nieto Cumplido, *La Catedral de Córdoba* (Córdoba, 1998), 308–9. I am indebted to Glaire D. Anderson for this reference, and for her kind assistance in identifying the façade depicted by Weeks.
30. Weeks, “Two Centres of Moorish Art” [note 10], 436. Interestingly, Gustave Doré’s wood engraving also depicts the less ornate eastern façade, suggesting that the contrast of ornamented and blank surfaces might have been of broad appeal among nineteenth-century artists.
31. American Art Association, 1905, lot 240.
32. Quick, *American Expatriate Painters* [note 1], 29; *Art of Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 3], 15; Weinberg, *American Pupils* [note 9], 54; Ackerman, *American Orientalists* [note 1], 234, 238, 240; Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 1], 12 and 29–30; *Oxford Art Online* [note 10]. Weeks also did figure studies for *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*. See American Art Association, 1905, lots 64 and 87; Ackerman, *American Orientalists* [note 1], 246; Christie’s, *A Private Collection of Ottoman and Orientalist Paintings*, London, 15 June 2005, Sale 7181, lot 18.
33. The likelihood of the first scenario (i.e., that Weeks saw *Prayer in the Mosque*, or perhaps the sketches and photographs that Gérôme made in Cairo, while a private student of Gérôme’s) is complicated by the fact that the painting was bought by the art dealership Goupil et Cie on 23 September 1874—one day after Gérôme wrote a letter authorizing Weeks to enter his studio—and sold on 5 November to Knoedler, the French gallery’s New York branch. A week later the painting was purchased by the collector Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, who bequeathed it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1887 (87.15.130). Both the painting’s provenance and bibliography are available on the Met’s website ([www.metmuseum.org/Collections](http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections), accessed 23 May 2013). Edwards, *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures* [note 3], 139 n. 10, also has drawn attention to Gérôme’s scenes of Muslims at prayer with reference to Weeks’s composition, and a similar connection is made with a reproduction of *Prayer in the Mosque* in *Art of Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 10], fig. 4. See also Weinberg, *American Pupils* [note 9], 51 for other stylistic similarities between Gérôme and Weeks; Thompson, “Edwin Lord Weeks,” [note 1], 250 and 255.
34. By contrast, Edwards, *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures* [note 3], 138–39, regards the effect of the painting as “prosaic” and “notable for its quietude” compared with the contentious and strident tone of the 1905 description.
35. Weeks has been described as an “active photographer,” although none of his photographic work seems to have survived. Quick, *American Expatriate Painters* [note 1], 142; Thompson, “Edwin Lord Weeks” [note 1], 254; Hiesinger, *Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 1], 12; *Art of Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 10], 15. The Weeks papers in the Archives of American Art includes a photo labeled “the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in the 19th century,” but it may not have been taken by Weeks himself.
36. Edwards, *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures* [note 3], 137 n. 6. The very fact that there are “regular” worshipers, including soldiers, in such large numbers in the royal enclosure is another artistic fabrication on Weeks’s part, not to mention the “old Moor holding aloft the green flag of Mohammad” under the *mihrab* arch.
37. See above, notes 23, 24, for the prints. The carpet’s border approximates the location of the original *maqsura* railing, as does the figure sitting next to the paired columns.
38. This chapel is visible in the earliest ground plan of the Cathedral of Cordova commissioned in 1741. See H. Ecker, “The Great Mosque of Córdoba in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 121 fig. 3.
39. For a fascinating re-creation of the mosque’s original lighting system and effect, see the on-line essay J. T. Kider, Jr., R. L. Fletcher, et al., “Recreating Early Islamic Glass Lamp Lighting” at <http://cg.cis.upenn.edu/hms/research/Archaeology/> (accessed 20 May 2013). I am grateful to Renata Holod for directing me to this research.
40. An exception here is a painting dated 1894 by the Swedish artist Frans Vilhelm Odelmark (1849–1937) that depicts the *mihrab* arch surmounted by a projecting wooden rod from which hang nine small glass lamps. Gros & Delettrez, Hôtel Drouot, *Orientalisme, Art Islamique*, Paris, 18 June 2012, lot 262.
41. M. Barrucand and A. Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture in Andalusia* (Cologne, 2007), 72 and 79.
42. For the artist’s North African travels and oeuvre, see Ackerman, *American Orientalists* [note 1], 236–38; the subject merits further study. Weeks’s 1901 article in *Scribner’s Magazine* (see note 10) mentions specific mosques in Morocco (pp. 446 and 450), and illustrates the minaret of the Kotubia (i.e., Kutubiyya) Mosque in Marrakesh (p. 445), but says nothing about their interiors. As for Cairo, his unpublished “Cairo Notes” (see note 8) state: “Went out the other day to find a certain mosque which I knew lay to the left of one of the long streets.” A watercolor identified as “Near Eastern Courtyard,” may depict a Cairene mosque (*Art of Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 10], cat. no. 15). The extent to which Weeks’s familiarity with Cairo monuments and their furnishings might have derived from contemporary publications such as A. C. T. E. Prisse d’Avennes, *L’art arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire* (Paris, 1877) also remains to be investigated.
43. As represented, for instance, by the Orientalist artist David Roberts. S. S. Blair and J. M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800* (New Haven and London, 1994), fig. 108.
44. D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Mamluk and Post-Mamluk Metal Lamps* (Cairo, 1995), especially chapter 4. Most of these lamps are known today from museum collections and may no longer have been *in situ* when Weeks visited Cairo. See, for example, B. O’Kane, *Treasures of Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo* (Cairo and New York, 2006), fig. 147.



45. While Gérôme embellished the Mosque of 'Amr with lamps of various kinds (that he doubtless did not actually see there), a medieval source confirms that the building once contained a large bronze polycandelon (Behrens-Abouseif, *Mamluk and Post-Mamluk Metal Lamps* [note 44], 11). Gérôme's own collection of lamps is recorded in a contemporary painting. Thornton, *Orientalists: Painter-Travelers* [note 10], 25. For more on Mamluk revival objects, especially nineteenth-century antiquities dealers specializing in such works, see E. Whelan, *The Mamluk Revival: Metalwork for Religious and Domestic Use* (New York, 1981).
46. *Art of Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 10], fig. 1. At his death Weeks's estate included a lamp described as "Old style. Persian metal." American Art Association, *Catalogue of Arms, Embroideries and Other Objects from the Studio of the late Edwin Lord Weeks, Paris*, New York, 14 March 1905, lot 36.
47. M. Frishman and H.-U. Khan, eds., *The Mosque* (London, 1994), 26–27, 33 and 35–36 (for relative placement of *mihrab* and *minbar*); Bloom and Blair, *Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture* [note 22], 2:534–36.
48. J. Bloom, ed., *The Minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque* (New York, 1998), 21–22 and 51–52.
49. J. Schacht, "An Unknown Type of Minbar and Its Historical Significance," *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 149–50; Frishman and Khan, *The Mosque* [note 47], 109.
50. Bloom, *The Minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque* [note 48], 21. Interestingly, after the conversion of the mosque into a cathedral in the thirteenth century, the *minbar* was stored in a chamber to the left of the *mihrab*, "perhaps as a kind of war trophy," although it is highly unlikely that Weeks would have been aware of this. Ecker, "The Great Mosque of Córdoba" [note 38], 118.
51. See Bloom, *The Minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque* [note 48], The *minbar* remained in the Kutubiyya Mosque until 1962. The speculation here about Weeks's familiarity with this particular *minbar* is unfortunately not supported by his 1901 published account of the Kutubiyya [sic] Mosque that mentions (p. 450) and illustrates (p. 445) only the monument's tower (i.e., minaret) and says nothing at all about the interior.
52. Frishman and Khan, *The Mosque* [note 47], 36. The *minbar* made in 1468–96 for another Cairene mosque is also very similar, although by 1867 it had been acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. See Bloom, *The Minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque* [note 48], fig. 8; T. Stanley, ed., *Mosque and Palace* (London, 2004), 100–107 (with a reproduction that includes a Mamluk pyramidal lamp, also in the museum's collection) and 135.
53. Weeks seems to have collected various forms of Islamic woodwork, including possibly inlaid marquetry, as Gérôme clearly did. See the photograph of Weeks in his studio, Thompson, "Edwin Lord Weeks [note 1]," fig. 2, and note 45 above for Gérôme's studio.
54. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has examples of such carpets and their derivatives: 1974.149.11 and 1974.149.33. See [www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/](http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/) (accessed 27 May 2013). I am indebted to Carol Bier for her identification of the Cordova carpet and for the comparanda and references.
55. *Art of Edwin Lord Weeks* [note 10], fig. 1; Thompson, "Edwin Lord Weeks" [note 1], fig. 2.

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## NOTES FROM THE DIVISION OF CONSERVATION AND TECHNICAL RESEARCH

It is the rare curator whose knowledge is so comprehensive that it could inspire work on such diverse topics as presented here by conservators in the Division of Conservation and Technical Research. Such has been the experience of working with William R. Johnston, whose insight, enthusiasm, and scholarship in the decorative arts, paintings, and the Walters family story fostered more than a generation of investigation into collections at the Walters.

The important relationship between curator and conservator begins with . . . a cup of coffee. This has been Bill's winning approach and entry into conversations both artistic and beyond. Our work as conservators, as those who safeguard the preservation of the collection, also involves the interpretation of individual artworks based upon technical and visual evidence. Bill's trained eye as curator of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art at the Walters was indispensable to this aspect of our work. Perhaps it is the fruit of collaborative efforts such as preparations for the exhibitions on Sisley paintings, Russian enamels, and Barye sculpture and paintings, in which this curatorial/conservator dynamic was most rewarding. Bill could often be found wrestling with the eyepieces of our binocular microscope for a closer look at maker's marks on Russian silver and peering at the gemstone cuts on the Walters' magnificent collections of Fabergé and Tiffany jewelry.

Over the years as our discipline incorporated increasingly more scientific analysis, Bill recognized the importance of that aspect of our work, even though at times it may have run contrary to his aesthetic sensibility. Every object had its story, and there was none better at relaying those stories than William Johnston, and so it is with great pleasure and honor that members of the Conservation and Technical Research Division dedicate these short notes—or stories—with thanks to their colleague and friend.

### A PRELIMINARY TECHNICAL STUDY OF WHITE-GROUND ENAMELWARE FROM VELIKII USTIUG

TERRY DRAYMAN-WEISSER AND JENNIFER MASS

In November 1996 the Walters Art Museum opened a groundbreaking, comprehensive exhibition focusing on the history of Russian enameling. Spanning more than eight centuries, *Russian Enamels: Kievan Rus to Fabergé* highlighted styles and techniques through some of the most remarkable works outside of Russia. The exhibition brought together examples from the collections of the Walters Art Museum, the Hillwood Museum in Washington, D.C., and a museum-quality private collection owned by Mrs. Jean M. Riddell.<sup>1</sup> The exhibition was curated by Anne Odom, then chief curator of the Hillwood Museum, in collaboration with William R. Johnston, at the time associate director of the Walters and curator of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art.

During preparations for this exhibition, the Russian enamels in the Walters collection were brought to the conservation laboratory for examination and treatment. The enamels in the worst condition were those made in the eighteenth century in Velikii Ustiug, a town in northern Russia on the Sukhona River near Solvychevodsk. What distinguishes the Velikii Ustiug enamelwork is its simplicity of design and coloration, so different from the colorful fanciful examples often associated with Russian enamelwork. The Velikii Ustiug enamels were produced with one opaque background color, initially blue, and later an overall snow white (fig. 1) and were further decorated with silver foil appliqué. The silver on the white-ground wares was often embellished with translucent colored enamels of green, golden yellow, and pinkish purple that stand out against the white background (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup>





Fig. 1. Tray, Velikii Ustiug, second half 18th century. Copper, enamel, and silver, 16.5 × 19.9 × 2 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1929 (44.466)

This unique type of enamelware was produced only from the 1730s to the 1790s<sup>3</sup> and may have been an inexpensive substitute for porcelain, which was not yet readily available in Russia. Velikii Ustiug had a large German settlement, and Odom suggested that the technique was brought to the area from Berlin, where Alexander Fromery used this type of decoration in the early eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Today these objects have generally suffered major losses to the enamel, and where silver appliques had been applied, the silver is often worn through, revealing a dull grayish material beneath.

Little is known about the method of manufacture of the Velikii Ustiug works, and Odom and Johnston supported an in-depth technical study to reveal as much as possible about the method for producing its unusual surface decoration. In response to their questions about the white-ground wares, a technical study was initiated, focusing on this group of enamels.



Fig. 2. Detail of fig. 1. Note reflective silver visible through surviving colored enamels.



In the catalogue for the exhibition, Odom described the enamelwork from Velikii Ustiug as cruder than the more typical courtly wares<sup>5</sup> and posited that it was likely intended for everyday use, which might account for its generally poor condition. She also described, based on a 1941 Russian source, what she believed to be the method of producing the silver appliqué decorations.<sup>6</sup> Repeating designs in the silver were formed over a copper matrix; the thin silver readily conformed to the relief designs on the matrix's surface. Odom posited that the backs of the thin silver foils were packed with gray enamel for support before positioning on the white enamel background and that this aided in fusing the appliqué to the surface during firing. The colored enamels were applied over the silver foils before this final firing. Odom observed that often only traces of the translucent colored enamels remain, exposing the thin silver foils to tarnish and abrasion and "revealing the grayish enamel filler used to support the appliqué."<sup>7</sup>

A recent preliminary translation of the 1941 text supports much of Odom's description of the technique.<sup>8</sup> The translation suggests that thin silver foil was stamped with a cast copper matrix with the relief image on its surface; the foil was applied on top of the matrix and pushed into the depressions of the design with lead sheet or leather. By using this technique, the stamped design could be reproduced many times until the matrix wore out. The silver relief design was placed upon the top layer of unfired enamel, and as the assembly was fired, soft and fresh enamel took the form of the relief design and adhered to its reverse. The thin silver foil retained its relief form due to the hardened enamel backing.

While the translation of the description of the process sheds light on the decorative techniques, it also raises some questions. A critical observation when comparing a surviving matrix with an appliqué on a decorated vessel is that the image on the convex or front surface of the silver foil is in the same orientation as on the surface of the original matrix.<sup>9</sup> In order to accomplish this, an additional step in the process would likely have been necessary. Support for the side of the silver not in contact with the matrix (what would become the front side) would likely be needed during several procedures: stamping, removal from the matrix, trimming, and transfer to the object's surface.

Other than the 1941 Russian source, Odom did not find other historical references to the decorative techniques used for the Velikii Ustiug enamelware, and Odom and Johnston knew of no contemporary accounts on workshop practice



Fig. 3. Tray with a Double-Headed Eagle, Velikii Ustiug, mid-18th century. Copper, enamel, and silver, diam. 26.6 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters (44.196). Sampled for SEM-EDS analysis carried out at the Winterthur Museum.

from this region.<sup>10</sup> The goal of this technical study was to determine whether evidence preserved on the objects themselves would broaden our knowledge about the method of their manufacture and, in particular, address the question of the structure and method of application for the appliqué decorations. Several enamels from Velikii Ustiug in the Walters collection were included in the study.<sup>11</sup>

The technical study was conducted in two parts. The objects were initially examined with the naked eye and under magnification to characterize the surfaces. Further study included x-radiography, xeroradiography<sup>12</sup> and ultraviolet light examination. This work was carried out in the Walters conservation laboratory. In addition, two very small (milligram-sized) samples for scientific analysis were removed from broken edges of enamel on a tray (fig. 3), one from each side of the object. Sample 1 was taken from the reverse, which was decorated only with white enamel; the sample represented a cross section through the enamel from the metal substrate to the upper surface. Sample 2 was taken from the front of the object, which was decorated with silver and translucent colored enamel appliqué in addition to the white background enamel; the sample site was selected so that it contained all layers in cross section from the enamel



in contact with the metal substrate through the silver foil and the translucent colored enamel over it. Both samples were marked to confirm their orientation so that it could be determined during analysis which part of the enamel was in contact with the underlying metal during firing. All analytical work was performed on the samples at the Winterthur Museum's Scientific Research and Analysis Laboratory using scanning electron microscopy (SEM) and elemental analysis with an energy dispersive x-ray microanalysis (EDS) system.<sup>13</sup>

This short contribution highlights the preliminary findings of the technical and scientific study. Several preliminary observations were made:

1. *Overall structure and condition:* Generally the objects were made from metal covered with opaque white enamel. Examination under the microscope suggests that the substrate metal is copper-based, and elemental analysis of the enamel samples where they were in contact with the substrate metal confirmed the presence of copper that had migrated into the enamel during firing.

X-radiography revealed a pattern of circular thinned areas in the underlying metal suggestive of hammer blows, indicating that the general object shapes were formed by hand forging. The objects are in poor condition, with deformations to the metal and major losses to the white enamel.

2. *Enamel:* SEM-EDS analyses of the white enamel from both sides of the object detected silicon, lead, potassium, calcium, magnesium, and fluorine. The absence of tin and arsenic, components of compounds commonly used to make white enamel opaque, and the presence of fluorine indicate that the enamel opacifier in the samples is likely calcium fluoride. This result is surprising, since it has been reported in the literature that calcium fluoride was not introduced as an opacifier for glass in Europe until the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Additional analyses need to be carried out to corroborate these results. If confirmed, other questions need to be asked: Is the date of the object correct? Was calcium fluoride as an opacifier introduced in enamel earlier than in glass? Was it used in Russia earlier than in Europe? Will additional analyses of European white enamels push back the date of use of calcium fluoride in Europe?

Analysis of the "gray enamel," reported by Odom as being packed behind the foils, indicates that it was likely

originally white, not gray. The elemental compositions of the white enamel and the gray layer are identical, except that the gray-colored enamel contains silver. Based on semiquantitative SEM-EDS analysis of the cross section of the enamel below the silver foil, there appears to be a gradient from higher to lower in the amount of silver present in the enamel as the distance from the underside of the foil increases. In the SEM image it was also noted that there is no visible separation between the gray and white colored enamel, and that the thickness of the gray enamel is not uniform overall. These observations suggest that the gray color is not intentional, but the result of staining from the diffusion of silver ions into the white enamel where it is in contact during firing.<sup>15</sup>

Where the silver foil is worn away or corroded, the top surface of the underlying enamel that would have been hidden behind the foil is revealed. Microscopic examination of this surface may give some clues as to how the appliqués were created. Several immediate observations can be made. The first is that the enamel in the appliqué areas, even where the foils are missing, is raised above the general level of the white background enamel surface. Another important fact is that the enamel beneath the foils retains the relief and sharp details originally present in the foil layer. This indicates that the now gray-colored enamel was in direct contact with the back of the foils during firing, lending support to the idea that enamel was packed into the back of the foils before being transferred to the surface of the object. Also noticeable are many tiny bubbles in the gray-colored enamel, concentrated at the top surface where the enamel would have been in contact with the foil, suggesting that gases which normally escape from enamel during firing were trapped behind the foils. It could also indicate that an organic binder was added to the enamel behind the foils to give additional support during handling; bubbles often form as the organic material burns away during firing.

3. *Appliqués:* SEM analysis confirms that the appliqués are composed of two layers: metal foil covered with translucent colored enamels. EDS analysis of the metal foil in the appliqué cross section shows that it is very pure silver with no other elements detected except a trace amount of lead, likely remaining from the incomplete refining of the silver ore. Measurements made during the SEM

examination show that the silver foil is only ten microns thick. If this is typical of other silver foils used with Velikii Ustiug work, it explains why the silver, if not protected, tends to be easily lost through corrosion or abrasion.

Imaging with SEM clearly showed in cross section the enamel overlying the silver foil. These translucent colored enamels must have been applied at the same time that the silver foils were fused to the underlying white enamel; if the silver had been left bare, it would have quickly oxidized during firing. As noted by Odom and confirmed through microscopic examination, the colored enamels did not adhere well to the silver and survive today only as traces. Overall, the silver foils are now either tarnished or completely lost wherever the protective layer of enamel is no longer present. Where the colored enamels do remain, the silver beneath appears bright and reflects light, giving a hint of the now lost gem-like original effect intended for the appliquéés (see fig. 2).<sup>16</sup>

The observations made during this study have moved us closer to understanding these enamels from Velikii Ustiug. But many questions remain that may be addressed through further study and analysis. Much needed is an extensive review of Russian sources that may reveal texts describing the manufacturing techniques in greater detail. Direct examination of surviving matrices may also shed more light on how they were used. The compositions of the translucent colored enamels were not determined during this study, and analysis should be carried out to give a more complete picture of the materials used and possible sources. More analyses must be carried out to determine whether calcium fluoride is in fact a typical opacifier for this group of eighteenth-century enamels; if it is, this information will alter our current understanding of its historic use. A study of the enamels made during the late nineteenth-century revival of the Velikii Ustiug style may also give more insight into the processes involved. And finally, once the processes are better understood, an attempt to replicate the technique will give us a deeper understanding of this group of unusual Russian enamel objects and how it fits into the broader history of enamels.

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## NOTES

We would like to acknowledge the following individuals for their assistance and support of this project: the late Anne Odom and William R. Johnston for encouraging us to pursue this study and sharing their insights so generously; Anya Shutov, assistant paintings conservator, Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia, for donating her time to provide what she called a “rough” translation of the 1941 Tikhomirova text; Meg Craft, head of objects conservation, Walters Art Museum, for offering thought-provoking feedback during discussions on technique; and Kristen Regina, head of research collections and archivist, Hillwood Museum, Washington, D.C., for providing many sources for background reading on Russian enamels.

1. This collection was generously gifted to the Walters by bequest in 2010.
2. The blue-ground wares also were decorated with silver appliquéés but, according to Odom, the silver was not covered with colored enamels.
3. This type of enamelware was revived in the late nineteenth century by Pavel Ovchinnikov. See A. Odom, *Russian Enamels: Kieven Rus to Fabergé* (Baltimore and London, 1996), 46–47, 107–8.
4. Anne Odom, personal communication and Odom, *Russian Enamels*, 46. Gold foil–decorated porcelains produced in Paris and Vienna in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries bear a resemblance to the Velikii Ustiug enamels.
5. Odom, *Russian Enamels*, 46–47.
6. T.N. Tikhomirova, “Ustiuzhskie email XVIII V. s serebrianyimi nakladkami,” *Trudy gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeia* 13 (1941), 191–216.
7. Odom, *Russian Enamels*, 46.
8. I am indebted to Anya Shutov, assistant conservator of paintings, Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia, for the recent translation, personal communication 2012.
9. Tikhomirova, “Ustiuzhskie email XVIII V. s serebrianyimi nakladkami,” 198, figs. 6, 7.
10. Shutov noted that Tikhomirova does not cite any earlier sources that pertain to technique.
11. Acc. nos. 44.196, 44.422, 44.466, and 44.640.
12. Xeroradiography uses x-rays to expose an electrically charged plate to create an image on paper rather than film without the use of wet chemicals. The image produced has high contrast, which gives good resolution and image quality.
13. EVEX microanalysis software was used during the study.
14. P. Craddock, *Scientific Investigation of Copies, Fakes, and Forgeries* (Oxford and Burlington, Mass., 2009), 213; calcium fluoride opacifiers were used earlier in China and, it is possible, although



unlikely, that trade from the East is the origin of the unusual opacifier at this early date.

15. An analogous phenomenon can be observed with the diffusion of copper ions into enamels upon firing, resulting in a reddish or green appearance to white enamels where they are in contact with the copper.
16. It should be noted that on some Velikii Ustiug objects there is no indication that the silver foils were ever covered with colored enamels, yet the silver is in better condition than on those with traces of translucent colored enamel. This may indicate that some silver foils were thicker and were not originally covered with colored enamels, but instead may have been protected from oxidation during firing with a layer of clear, colorless enamel.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: The Walters Art Museum, Division of Conservation and Technical Research: figs. 1–3

## RESTORING BALANCE: REINTEGRATING A DAMAGED SKY IN ALFRED SISLEY'S *LA TERRASSE DE SAINT-GERMAIN*

ERIC GORDON

Alfred Sisley's *La Terrasse de Saint-Germain* depicts a sun-drenched, early spring panorama with a distant town outside Paris (fig. 1). Blue and white brushstrokes swirl through the sky, while green and white impasto highlights the emerging leaves of the trees in the foreground. Spring and the joy of painting radiate from the landscape. But in 1990 the work looked more like a late autumn scene, dark and overcast (fig. 2). At that time, the painting's condition was undergoing evaluation in preparation for William Johnston's upcoming landmark *Alfred Sisley* exhibition at the Walters, the Royal Academy of Arts, London, and the Musée d'Orsay, Paris (1992–1993).<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the appearance of this important work was not representative of an artist known for his delicate palette and dynamic brushwork. Because of the painting's unusual sweeping view and the historical significance of the subject—the royal residence of the kings of France (seen in the background)—it was decided to proceed with a comprehensive conservation campaign to restore the painting to its original spirit.

The painting was acquired from the Baltimore collector E. J. Blair by Henry Walters, though the date and the

circumstances of its acquisition are unknown.<sup>2</sup> Its conservation history is partially documented in the Walters files. Elisabeth Packard, painting conservator at the Walters from 1937 to 1976, observed in a 1952 article that “because it presented a difficult problem of restoration, the *Terrace of Saint-Germain* has not been exhibited since the collection was given to the city of Baltimore.”<sup>3</sup> Ms. Packard had cleaned the painting the previous year, revealing a lighter palette and an abraded surface once hidden beneath discolored layers of varnish. She noted that the painting “suffered such physical damage and deterioration in the space of only seventy-five years . . . as a result of neglect and a faulty method of relining.”<sup>4</sup> It appears that the early lining, which occurred before Henry Walters acquired the painting, was carried out with an aqueous-based, white adhesive that caused the original water-sensitive ground layer to soften and swell. Subsequently, heavy pressure was applied to the painting to ensure contact between the original linen and the auxiliary support. In fact, the water-based lining adhesive damaged the ground in Sisley's landscape, and excessive pressure resulted in an accentuated canvas weave.

The damage was most apparent in areas such as the sky, where Sisley integrated exposed ground into his composition. Like many other Impressionist artists, Sisley made use of an exposed ground, thus engaging the viewer in the physical process of painting. Brushing thick, wide paint strokes across the bare ground, he incorporated the ground color into the design of the clouds. During the first restoration (prior to 1950) when the painting was cleaned and lined, the darkened reddish brown tops of the canvas were exposed as the ground had partially dissolved. After cleaning in the 1950s treatment, little was done to hide the losses (fig. 3), leaving a damaged but lighter-colored painting underneath a fresh natural resin varnish. Forty years later, the natural resin coating had seriously discolored, and it was felt that the painting would suffer by comparison with the other canvases in the upcoming exhibition.

Before attempting to treat *La Terrasse de Saint-Germain*, research was carried out on other paintings by Sisley to determine whether they showed evidence of a similar pattern of paint and ground loss. *The Boulevard Heloise, Argenteuil* (Washington, National Gallery of Art, acc. no. 1970.17.82) revealed the same dark reddish brown dots scattered throughout areas where the ground had been used as a design layer, and the accompanying losses followed the warp and weft



Fig. 1 (top). Alfred Sisley (French and British, 1839–1899), *La Terrasse de Saint-Germain, Spring*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 73.6 × 99.6. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, after 1900 (37.992)

Fig. 2 (bottom). *La Terrasse de Saint-Germain, Spring*, photo ca. 1952; arrows point to areas of abrasion



pattern of the fabric support. In fact, like *La Terrasse de Saint-Germain*, the Gallery's canvas had been lined with an aqueous-based adhesive.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, the British organizers of the exhibition knew of a third Sisley in Hamburg with similar issues; this painting was being evaluated for potential conservation and inclusion in the exhibition. With a better understanding of the nature and cause of damage to the ground layer, it was possible to proceed with the treatment of the Walters painting.

The discolored varnish was thinned with organic solvents. Once cleaned, it was possible to detect the color of the ground in the small areas where the ground layer remained in good condition, where it had been protected by nearby areas of thickly built up paint. It was a light pearly gray with a lavender tint. This color was compared with the grounds in Sisley's oils in good condition in other collections and found to be similar. The inpainting approach was to first retouch the losses that corresponded to the bare horizontal and vertical canvas threads, matching them to the surrounding intact ground. With these losses hidden, the surface design began to materialize.

The next areas to be retouched were in the sky, where losses were dotted through Sisley's broken blue and white brushstrokes. At this point, the sky began to emerge as a flurry of bold strokes. Subsequently the ground color, which was an integral part of the composition, was balanced overall, as some areas were more damaged than others. There was the temptation to over-retouch the damage, and at one point some retouching was removed as the landscape began to look overly finished and new. Regularly stepping back and reevaluating what was needed to bring the painting together with as minimal an intervention as possible was an important step in achieving the look of a late nineteenth-century canvas.



Fig. 3. *La Terrasse de Saint-Germain, Spring*: Detail of area of loss, due to abrasion

Restoration techniques incorporating materials harmful to the original materials, in this case water in the lining adhesive affecting a water-sensitive ground, seriously altered the artist's balance of color and composition. A sensitive, conservative retouching approach brought the picture back into balance, and with research, caution, and advice from William Johnston, the painting was ready to take its place in one of the curator's most memorable exhibitions.

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## NOTES

1. See MaryAnne Stevens, ed., *Alfred Sisley*, exh. cat., London: Royal Academy of Arts; Paris: Musée d'Orsay; Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery (New Haven and London, 1992).
2. The painting's provenance and early exhibition history are detailed in W.R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth Century Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1982). More recent discussions of the painting include C. Loyd, in Stevens, *Alfred Sisley*, 156–57 (no. 34); W.R. Johnston, *Nineteenth-Century Art: From Romanticism to Art Nouveau* (Baltimore and London, 2000), 133 (ill.), 134–35; and S.K. Johnston and W.R. Johnston, *The Triumph of French Painting* (Baltimore and London, 2000), 110–11 (no. 36).
3. E. Packard, "La Terrasse de Saint-Germain," *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* 4, no. 6 (March 1952), 1, 3.
4. *Ibid.*, 1.
5. Conservation report, acc. no. 1970.17.82, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 23 February 1989.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: The Walters Art Museum, Division of Conservation and Technical Research: figs. 2, 3; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: fig. 1

## THE TIFFANY IRIS ANALYZED

MEG CRAFT AND GLENN GATES

The iris corsage ornament (acc. no. 57.939; figs. 1–3) created about 1900 by Tiffany & Co. is one of the most treasured and well-documented pieces of jewelry in the Walters collection. Henry Walters purchased the piece directly from Tiffany & Co. for \$6,906.84 at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900,

as recorded in the Tiffany ledger book.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the iris and several extravagant works in diamonds, Tiffany's display at the Exposition included a spectacular group of realistic enameled orchids; the jewelry display was awarded a gold medal, and the designer of the iris, G. Paulding Farnum (1859–1927), head designer at Tiffany from 1893 to 1907, was awarded a silver medal.<sup>2</sup> Another award was presented to George Frederick Kunz (1856–1932), a renowned geologist and gemologist at Tiffany & Co. from 1865 until 1912, who selected the gemstones that compose the blossom of the iris corsage ornament.

According to a Tiffany & Co. pamphlet for the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, “the distinguishing characteristics of this year's display are notably American. It is a comprehensive revelation of the mineral wealth of the United States.”<sup>3</sup> As gemologist for Tiffany & Co., Kunz popularized colored gemstones, promoting American gemstones in particular. The petals that form the iris, including the three upright standards and the three downward-facing falls or sepals, are decorated with 134 blue sapphires set into purple-blue colored, or patinated, metal. These Yogo sapphires, sometimes called Montana sapphires, were selected by Kunz, who also was instrumental in identifying these newly discovered American gems. In 1895, the first blue stones from a deposit called the Yogo Gulch near Utica, Montana, were discovered by a gold prospector and forwarded through an assay office to Kunz, who identified them as sapphires.<sup>4</sup> The Yogo sapphires used for the iris corsage ornament are untreated; most have a very uniform deep blue color and few flaws or inclusions, and the largest stones are 2 to 2.5 carats apiece.

Three small violet-hued sapphires are set at the leading inner edge of the right-hand standard petal at the front (fig. 4), contrasting with the adjacent golden topaz mounted in gold metal that forms the beard of the blossom. These violet-colored gems are very rare, comprising less than 2 percent of all Yogo sapphires. Their violet hue derives from trace amounts of chromium; traces of iron and titanium color the deep blue Yogo sapphires.<sup>5</sup>

Other gemstones used for the iris corsage ornament include brilliant diamonds and green demantoid garnets that emulate the colors of a bearded iris in full bloom. The spine of each drooping sepal was created with a line of diamonds set into platinum. The green spathes are composed of demantoid garnets mounted *à jour* in a gold alloy, enabling light to pass through the stone (fig. 5). Kunz promoted the

use of green demantoid garnets that were discovered in the Ural Mountains of Russia in 1868.<sup>6</sup> The term *demantoid* (derived from a Dutch word meaning diamond-like), alludes to the gem's dispersive qualities, visible as rainbow-like fiery flashes of light.<sup>7</sup>

While much scholarship has focused on the ornament's high-quality gemstones and superb workmanship, the metals used for setting and mounting the gemstones have received virtually no systematic study. Questions about the composition of the blue-colored metal used to set the sapphires were raised as early as 1962, when it was postulated that an alloy of silver and platinum might have been used. During an examination of the ornament for a recent traveling exhibition, however, we observed that the blue metal attracted a magnet, which suggested that the metal is an alloy of iron (fig. 6).

To systematically study the metals used for the iris, we examined their composition in 2010 using x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy. XRF is a nondestructive analytical instrument used for elemental identification,<sup>8</sup> by which low-power incident x-rays temporarily excite the elements that are present in a one-square-millimeter area at the object's surface; during the relaxation that immediately follows, characteristic x-rays are emitted that correspond to the elements present. The results of the analysis of the iris's metal were surprising but might have been expected: given the considerable care devoted to selecting the gemstones, why wouldn't the same focus have been devoted to the selection of the metal gem mounts? In fact, it was.

The XRF analysis detected primarily the element iron with small amounts of manganese in the blue metal used to mount the Yogo sapphires. Iron metal is the primary constituent in steel. Iron and steel alloys are much more difficult to work than silver or gold, since these precious metals are more ductile and can be formed into jewelry at lower temperatures. Presumably, the iron alloy was selected since it can be used to achieve a purple-blue color to enhance the sapphires. The small addition of manganese was certainly intentional since it improves the working properties of iron alloys at high temperatures; this might have been necessary to achieve the organically curved forms that constitute the upright and drooping petals of the iris.<sup>9</sup>

The blue color on the iron alloy surface is an extremely thin film of iron oxide, specifically a nanometer-thick layer of the mineral magnetite, or  $\text{Fe}_3\text{O}_4$ , that was induced to



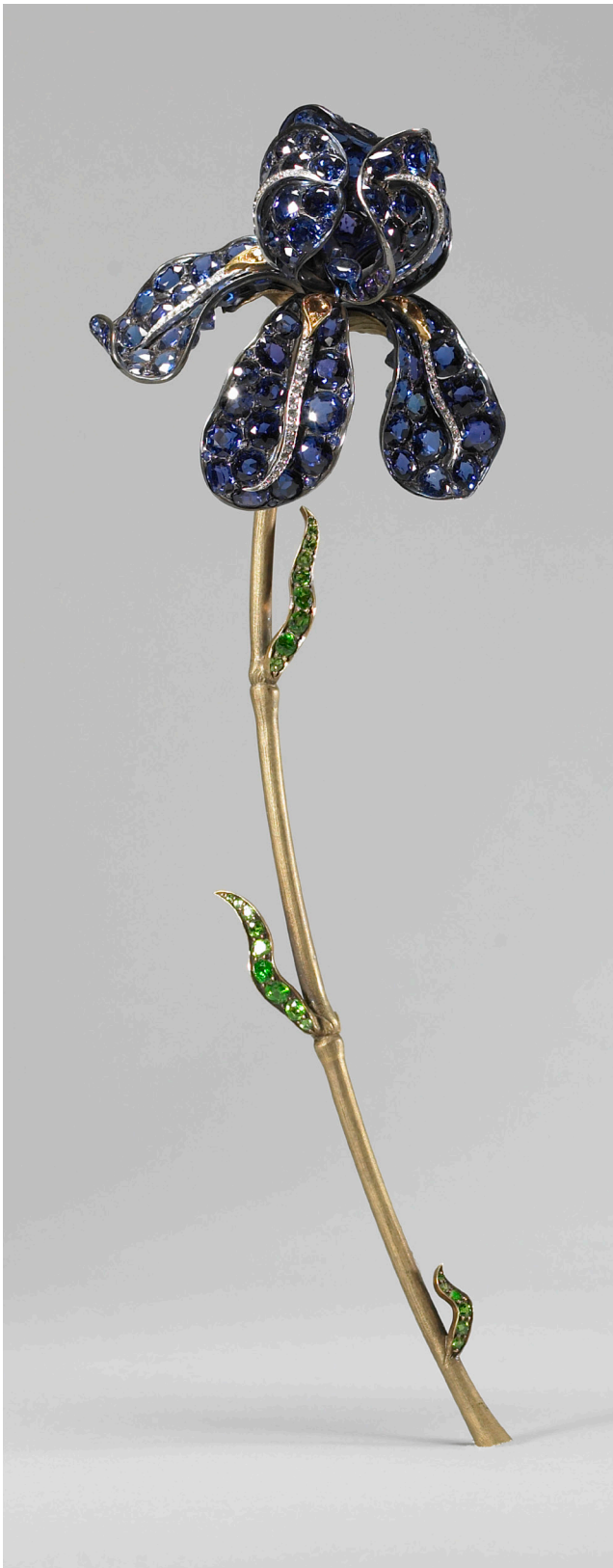


Fig. 1. Tiffany & Co., *Iris Corsage Ornament*. Montana sapphires, diamonds, demantoid garnets, golden topaz, blued steel, gold alloys, and platinum, 24.1 × 6.9 × 3.2 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1900 (57.939)



Fig. 2. The Tiffany & Co. mark for the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, the initials TCO over a peacock feather, is located on the back of the stem above the clasp.



Fig. 3. A preliminary *Sketch for the Tiffany Iris Corsage Ornament* (Gift of Tiffany & Co., 1988, 37.2632), watercolor on tracing paper, by designer George Paulding Farnham is held in the Walters' collection.





Fig. 4. Three rare violet sapphires highlight the leading inner edge of the right petal. A golden topaz creates the beard of the iris.



Fig. 5. The mount for the green demantoid garnets permits light to pass through the gemstones.



Fig. 6. The Yogo sapphires are enhanced by the blueed steel mount, most easily seen on the reverse of a fall.



form either through controlled heating in the range of 540° to 600°F, or through electrochemical techniques.<sup>10</sup> The exact procedure used by Tiffany's jewelers to create the blue color is not known. Bluing steel is commonly applied to guns and steel watch parts, especially screws and springs. To produce the iris, the metal gem mount would have been cast, hammered, and finished to a high polish. The sapphires were then set into the frame and final buffing completed. The formation of the blued metal surface was the penultimate step in fabrication. The individual elements were finally attached mechanically using tiny blued or gold screws and rivets.

Bluing serves two functions on the iris: to enhance and complement the colors of the sapphires, and to prevent rust by forming a passivating surface. Since the blue layer is so thin and can be damaged by most cleaning or polishing methods, the survival of the blue patina suggests that the brooch has been carefully handled and that no cleaning has been attempted since its manufacture. The major environmental threat to the iris is the high humidity that promotes corrosion: rust or Fe<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>. The recent technical examination of the iris revealed several tiny spots of dark red corrosion resembling rust on the blue metal used to mount the sapphires. In the future, the iris will be displayed in a specially designed case with low relative humidity, creating a micro-environment to ensure its preservation.

XRF analysis also revealed that specific gold alloys were selected to complement each type of gemstone or metal function. Each golden topaz is mounted in a teardrop-shaped mount made of soft 24-karat gold. At the narrow tip of the tear drop are two 24-karat gold granules that are attached without the use of solder to enhance the dimensionality of the beard. The demantoid garnets are mounted in an alloy of gold, silver, and copper. The greenish yellow stem is an alloy called green gold, composed of approximately 75 percent gold and 25 percent silver. The clasp and long pin contain more copper, making them hard and durable, out of necessity to function well. The fine detail, careful selection of materials, and meticulous craftsmanship that are evident in all components of the iris corsage ornament, make it a true tour-de-force.

For more than four decades, conservators at museums and research institutions throughout the world have relied on Bill Johnston's generously shared expertise. His profound knowledge of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art extends to his rich collection of anecdotes, which attest

to his profound affection for the Walters Art Museum and the people who built and supported it. According to Bill, the Tiffany iris was worn only once. When Henry Walters' housekeeper was getting married, he asked her what she wanted for a wedding gift. All she asked for was to wear the iris corsage ornament at her wedding. Her wish was granted.

Thank you, Bill.

*Meg Craft (mcraft@thewalters.org) is head of objects conservation at the Walters Art Museum; Glenn Gates (ggates@thewalters.org) is conservation scientist at the museum.*

## NOTES

1. W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, the Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore, 1999), 271.
2. J. Loring, *Tiffany's Twentieth Century: A Portrait of American Style* (New York, 1997), 17; J. Zapata, "The Rediscovery of Paulding Farnham, Tiffany's Designer Extraordinaire, 1: Jewelry," *Antiques*, March 1991, 565.
3. J. T. Busch and C. L. Futter, *Inventing the Modern World: Decorative Arts at the World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (New York, 2012), 156.
4. S. Voynick, *The Great American Sapphire* (Missoula, Mt., 1985).
5. K. Mychaluk, "The Yogo Sapphire Deposit," *Gems & Gemology* 31, no. 1 (1995), 33.
6. J. Loring, *Tiffany Colored Gems* (New York, 2007).
7. R. Webster, rev. P. G. Read, *Gems: Their Sources, Descriptions and Identification*, 5th ed. (Oxford 1994), 204.
8. The museum's purchase of the equipment was made possible by funds generously supplied in 2005 by the Stockman Family Foundation and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.
9. Manganese is added to iron because at elevated working temperatures, the manganese preferentially combines with the sulfur-based impurities common in most iron alloys and forms solid manganese sulfide, thereby preventing the formation of liquid iron sulfide between the metallic crystals that compose the alloy and make it crumbly and brittle.
10. D. A. Scott and G. Eggert, *Iron and Steel in Art: Corrosion, Colorants, Conservation* (London, 2009), 10.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: The Walters Art Museum, Division of Conservation and Technical Research; figs. 2, 4, 6; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin; figs. 1, 3, 5



Fig. 1. Ancient-inspired Salviati & Co. glass in the Walters collection. Clockwise from left: Bottle with Ring Attachments, late 19th–early 20th century, glass, height 16.8 cm, diam. 9.4 cm (47.326); Phoenician Bottle, late 19th–early 20th century, glass, height 17.6, diam. 8 cm (47.339); Ewer, late 19th–early 20th century, glass, height 12.1, diam. 8.8 cm (47.340); Small Two-Handled Vase, before 1911, clear glass, height 5.8 cm, diam. 12.5 cm (47.316). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1911 or before 1931

## THE TECHNICAL ANALYSIS OF A GLASS EWER BY SALVIATI & CO.

ANGELA ELLIOTT AND JENNIFER GIACCAI

In 2007, a focus exhibition titled *Salviati and the Antique: Ancient Inspiration for Modern Glassmaking* explored the Walters Art Museum's collection of magnificent early twentieth-century Venetian revival glass made in the style of ancient glass. This collection remained largely unseen and unstudied for many years as revival glass fell out of fashion. Its reemergence in this exhibition raised questions about whether the surface of one of these objects, a blue ewer, exhibits actual deterioration or an intentionally applied surface treatment intended to re-create the appearance of naturally occurring

dirt and deterioration from burial. Of the handful of revival glass objects in the collection that exhibit deterioration, whether intentional or natural, the aforementioned blue ewer (47.339) from the Venetian glass manufacturer Salviati & Co. demonstrates the complexities of differentiating intentional surface treatments from natural deterioration.

The story of the Venetian glass revival is intricately linked to antiquarianism and the appreciation of older artifacts, particularly during the nineteenth century with the development of archaeology as a formal discipline. The desire to replicate the forms and effects of ancient glass extended even to the deterioration evident on most archaeological glass. Intentionally applied surface treatments can be seen on other objects from this collection (fig. 1) but have rarely been discussed in the literature; little is known, therefore, about



the variety or prevalence of techniques for replicating ancient glass surfaces in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The interpretation of whether these deterioration layers were deliberately applied is further complicated by a type of natural deterioration caused by unstable glass recipes used in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Venetian glass dominated the world market for centuries before its decline and virtual disappearance after the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797. This political upheaval led to restrictions on the import of raw materials for glassmaking and the eventual disbanding of the glass guilds.<sup>1</sup> The revival of the Venetian glass industry can largely be attributed to Antonio Salviati (1816–1890), a Venetian lawyer turned entrepreneur who sought to revive glassmaking techniques from earlier centuries. He accomplished this by training a new generation of glassmakers who were encouraged to replicate ancient glass vessels located in the newly founded Murano glass museum (the present-day Museo del Vetro). The reliance on older glass techniques and the fervor surrounding contemporary archaeological excavations throughout Europe and the Middle East signaled a new appreciation of ancient glass, which encompassed an appreciation of the aesthetic of deterioration. The credibility of these archaeological reproductions was further enhanced by the involvement of Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894) as Salviati's business partner. Layard was a well-known archaeologist who excavated at the ancient Assyrian cities of Nimrud and Nineveh. His intimate knowledge of the characteristics of recently excavated glass undoubtedly informed contemporary glassmaking and influenced the movement to rediscover and reproduce ancient glass in the decades to come. Salviati's astute entrepreneurial spirit eventually brought Italian glass to the forefront as it swept across London, Paris, and New York, winning acclaim and awards at World's Fairs and Expositions.

Approximately twenty years after the deaths of Antonio Salviati and Sir Austen Henry Layard, the production of glass inspired by ancient models continued to have an avid following. The trend toward antiquarianism remained strong during the revival, and the popularity of these pieces demonstrates the affinity of customers for ancient glass. In 1911, Henry Walters purchased a collection of more than thirty pieces of glass from Salviati & Co., including vessel glass in various forms and styles such as bottles, pitchers, flasks, and chalices. Many of these objects still have their original paper labels affixed on either the exterior wall or at the base of the vessel.

These labels confirm the collection's direct acquisition from Salviati & Co. (fig. 2). Many of these labels read "Salviati & Co." and are hand-numbered to correspond to a museum receipt dated October 1911, while a second group of objects, considered reproductions of known vessels in museums, are labeled "Erede Dott. A. Salviati & Co." and indicate the location of the original vessel from which it was copied.<sup>2</sup> This unusual documentation provides an interesting snapshot of the types of glass sold by Salviati during the early twentieth century and, given the clear labeling of the objects, makes it extremely unlikely they were manufactured with the intent of passing them off as ancient artifacts.

By the time Henry Walters purchased his glass from Salviati and Co. in 1911, Maurizio Camerino, a former Salviati employee, owned the business. Camerino's partnership with Silvio Salviati, Antonio's son, resulted in the previously mentioned side-venture called Erede Dott. A. Salviati & Co.<sup>3</sup> The Walters collection combines glass from both of these companies, although it was purchased from Salviati & Co. It was not uncommon for showrooms to carry glass made by other Venetian glassmakers; therefore, it is difficult to identify the manufacturers of these pieces prior to their sale.<sup>4</sup>

Glassmakers from this revival period appear to have had an appreciation for the deteriorated surfaces that were found on archeological glass. Glass rapidly deteriorates while buried underground and exposed to high levels of moisture. Changes in the surface layers occur as alkali, such as sodium and potassium, are leached out, leaving behind a more fragile and silica-rich glass often covered in layers of burial dirt. Four objects from the Walters collection exemplify the types of ancient-inspired objects being manufactured during the later part of this glass revival (fig. 1). These pieces represent fusions of styles and techniques from various periods and regional styles in the history of ancient glassmaking, ranging from the technique of core-formed glass through Roman-style blown glass. Three of the four ancient-inspired Walters pieces (acc. nos. 47.316, 47.326, 47.340) have rough, gritty surfaces that range from white to gray to brown and appear to replicate burial encrustations and deterioration. This intentional surface treatment was applied to the glass in the final steps of production after the work's formation and decoration. It was likely applied while the glass was hot, allowing it to fuse with the glass and creating an extremely durable coating.<sup>5</sup>

A fourth object, a blue ewer (acc. no. 47.339), is also an amalgam of ancient techniques. Red, yellow, and green



Fig. 2: Original paper label affixed to ewer (47.339)

ribbons of glass were applied to the body of the vessel and combed up and down with a pointed tool to create a pattern. The glass was then blown and additional trails of yellow glass were fused to the rim and base, standing proud of the surface. While the style of the vessel is characteristic of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century production, the surface is entirely different from what is seen on other vessels in the collection. Traces of a thin, white flakey material are visible in the crevices between lines of trailed glass and also on top of the raised ridges of combed decoration on the exterior (fig. 3). The interior is largely covered with this white material, which adheres tenuously to the surface. It is water-soluble and reveals no signs of application such as brush marks. Was this a natural product of the glass's deterioration? Traces of a similar white material can be found on a "Phoenician" jar in the collection of Stanford University; a halo around this material indicates that much more was present at some point in its history.<sup>6</sup>

Venetian glass, including modern Salvati & Co. glass, has been known to deteriorate due to unstable glass compositions. Glass exists as a balanced network of materials including silica, alkali, and calcium that can actively break down if not combined in the proper ratio. When this occurs, sodium or potassium alkali migrate out of the glass and collect on the surface, creating a hazy, almost soapy appearance. This first stage of deterioration leads to more serious stages



Fig. 3: Detail of flakey white material on the ewer (47.339)

of deterioration that are characterized by weeping, crizzling, and structural cracks. The blue ewer does not show signs of such deterioration.<sup>7</sup>

Samples of the white material were taken and analyzed with the hope of revealing information about its origin. The samples were first analyzed using x-ray powder diffraction (XRD). XRD can be used to characterize crystalline structures by measuring patterns that occur when a crystal is bombarded with x-rays. The analysis matched the measurements associated with a material known as malladrite.<sup>8</sup>

Malladrite, a sodium fluorosilicate ( $\text{Na}_2\text{SiF}_6$ ), is water-soluble, white, and has been found on Italian volcanoes, including Mount Vesuvius.<sup>9</sup> Because silica, sodium, and fluorine<sup>10</sup> have historically been used in glass production, we needed to determine whether the elements present in the white material were also present in the glass, indicating that it was a deterioration product of the glass.

Two glass samples were taken from the underside of the base near the ewer's pontil mark and analyzed using scanning electron microscopy (SEM). SEM allows for high-magnification imaging of samples coupled with the identification of elements using energy dispersive spectroscopy (EDS).<sup>11</sup> SEM imaging clearly shows the presence of hexagonal and pyramidal crystals characteristic of malladrite on the surface of the glass samples (fig. 4).<sup>12</sup> Elemental mapping for fluorine show no fluorine in the glass matrix; fluorine is present only in the



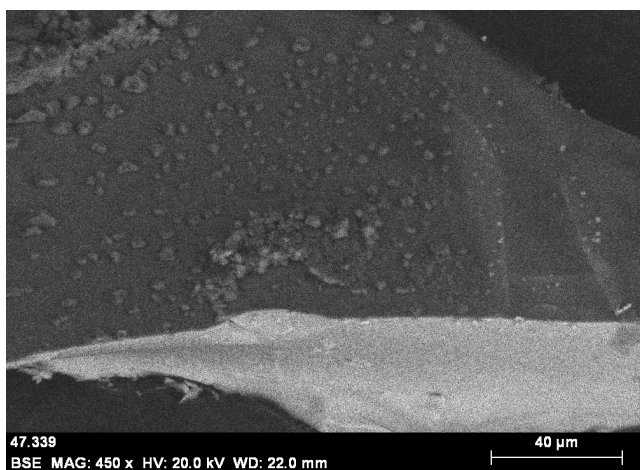


Fig. 4: SEM image of glass fragment showing malladrite crystals on the surface

crystals on the surface (fig. 5). This indicates that the crystals are not a product of glass deterioration, but instead a part of a material that was purposefully applied to the surface. The crystal structure also indicates that the malladrite was applied in liquid form and allowed to dry on the surface, where it precipitated into the characteristic malladrite crystal shapes.

Surface coatings used in the Venetian glass revival have only begun to be explored. This technical examination and analysis are the beginning steps in educating collectors, curators, and conservators regarding the types of surface effects that were intentionally created to imitate natural deterioration. The uncertainty surrounding the coating on this ewer in the Walters Art Museum collection underscores the need for more research before original coatings are unintentionally removed.

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## NOTES

The authors would like to thank Catherine Matsen, Candice McMillan, Jennifer Mass, and Philip Piccoli for their scientific expertise and help with analysis, as well as Sheldon Barr, Terry Drayman-Weisser, Julie Lauffenburger, Meg Craft, and Susan Roberts-Manganelli.

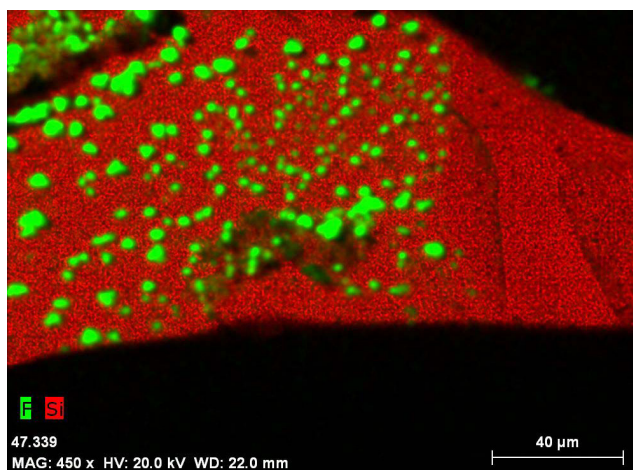


Fig. 5: SEM backscattered electron image overlaid with false-color elemental maps showing the distribution of silica (Si, in red) and fluorine (F, in green)

1. C. Osborne, *Venetian Glass of the 1890s: Salviati at Stanford University* (London, 2002), 14
2. After Antonio Salviati's death, the glassmaking firms bearing his name changed names numerous times with new owners and several mergers. Erede dott. A. Salviati & C. operated between 1903 and 1920. C. Gable, *Murano Magic: Complete Guide to Venetian Glass, Its History and Artists* (Atglen, Pa., 2004), 49–52.
3. S. Barr, *Venetian Glass* (New York, 1998), 44.
4. Osborne, *Salviati at Stanford*, 20–21.
5. The *scavo* glass noted by Osborne in Stanford's glass catalog is the only other published reference to surface coatings found by the authors. These coatings are a fine, dark particulate that have been described as "sooted." This surface material appears more homogenous than on the Walters' objects and is not fused with the glass surface. They are much more delicately adhered. Osborne, *Salviati at Stanford*, 58–59.
6. This object was examined by Angela Elliott in May 2007. "Phoenician" Jar (acc. no. 11137), Venice and Murano Company, in the collection of Stanford University. Osborne, *Salviati at Stanford*, 47.
7. A thorough description of glass deterioration can be found in S. Koob, *Conservation and Care of Glass Objects* (London, 2006), 117–127
8. XRD parameters: 50 kV, 40 mA, 0.3 mm collimator, 15 min exposure, omega: 2 degrees, theta: spin. Analysis was performed by Candace McMillen at the Smithsonian's Museum Conservation Institute.
9. J. Anthony, R. Bideaux, K. Bladh, and M. Nichols, eds., *Handbook of Mineralogy* (Chantilly, Va., 2001–2005), [www.handbookofmineralogy.org/](http://www.handbookofmineralogy.org/) (vol. 2 [Silica, Silicates], s.v. Malladrite).
10. Cryolite, a sodium hexafluoroaluminate, has been documented in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century recipe books as an

opacifying agent for glass. C. Moretti, "Raw Materials Cited in the XIX Century Recipe Manuscripts," in *The Colours of Murano in the XIX Century* (Venice, 1999), 37

11. A small sample of glass was mounted for SEM-EDS analysis on a carbon stub with double-sided carbon tape adhesive. The sample was examined using the Topcon ABT-60 scanning electron microscope in environmental backscattered electron mode at an accelerating voltage of 20kV, stage height of 20mm, and sample tilt of 20°. The EDS data was collected with the Bruker AXS X-flash detector 4010 and analyzed with Quantax 200/Esprit 1.8.2 software. SEM-EDS analysis was carried out at the Winterthur Museum Scientific Research and Analysis Laboratory by Associate Scientist Catherine Matsen
12. J. Anthony et al., *Handbook of Mineralogy*, <http://www.handbookofmineralogy.org/>.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Angela Elliott: figs. 1–3; Catherine Matsen: figs. 4, 5

## OUR MR. ANDERSON

### ELISSA O'LOUGHLIN

At the opening of the Walters Art Gallery on 3 February 1909 a well-ordered scene greeted the first visitors.<sup>1</sup> None of the previous two years of chaotic effort was evident; in fact, Henry Walters was not even present to receive the accolades of those first to see the grand sight. The building was supremely beautiful, especially the court with its skylight-filtered natural light falling upon cases filled with hundreds of objects. At the center, Rodin's sculpture *The Thinker*<sup>2</sup> was flanked to the east by an ancient Italian well head filled with greenery, and to the west by a massive French iron gate. Henry Walters knew, however, that the opening day was just the first day of many hundreds of days to be spent in caring for and perfecting the gallery he built as a monument to his father, William. He would spend the next twenty years amassing the collection and personally refining the displays in each gallery. He designed casework, made schematics for the placement of paintings, and even designed bronze arch-shaped hangers to display his watches. The purchases made on his frequent trips abroad and those offered by a select group of dealers were acquired with the eye to perfecting his vision of the art of the world. The placement and juxtaposition of

the paintings, sculpture, and decorative art objects would be an ongoing effort for Walters as new objects were delivered. Crates arrived weekly from the warehouse in New York, where part of the collection was stored, and new purchases regularly arrived through the Baltimore Customs House from Paris, London, Istanbul, Cairo, and Rome.<sup>3</sup> Stockpiles of objects were held in two warehouses in Baltimore, awaiting installation. Numerous artworks located in the former gallery (a part of the family home at 5 West Mount Vernon Place) were also brought over and placed in the new building. Thousands of objects arrived via motor vans, on train cars, on horse-drawn wagons. Some objects even arrived in Henry Walters' own pocket.<sup>4</sup>

The parade of incoming art objects seemed unending, and in order to run the Gallery, Mr. Walters relied heavily upon a small group of skilled men. He secured the services of his close friend and Baltimore art dealer Faris Pitt as his on-site curator. The building, although rendered in an archaizing, Italiante style, was quite modern in many respects. The banks of electric lights, the coal-fired boilers, the skylights, the draperies, the roof, and the windows all needed the careful attention of skilled workers familiar with the latest advances in building mechanics. Of all the talents needed to keep the gallery functioning, however, the job of superintendent was the most critical. Walters needed a man capable of overseeing all of the varied work, able to act as a confidential secretary, and trustworthy enough to keep control over the vast inventory of art objects. Beside these tasks, he would be responsible for managing the staff and for the security of the collection. His man needed to possess the requisite level of social refinement in order to interact with Gallery visitors and with the Walters family and intimates. Above all, Gallery business was to be conducted in a discreet manner that met with Mr. Walters' exacting orders.

A reticent man, Henry Walters needed a superintendent who would act with accuracy and alacrity, and who would ensure, above all, Mr. Walters' privacy. The man who emerged in this critical role was James C. Anderson (fig. 1), who had begun work at the Gallery as an engineer while the building was still under construction. Born in 1871, Anderson was the son of Clifford Anderson, whose business, as listed in the Census of 1900, was insurance.<sup>5</sup> The family of seven lived at 331 North Carrollton Avenue, and at that time, the twenty-nine-year-old Anderson's profession was listed as "railroad clerk." The skills he acquired as a clerk, such as fine



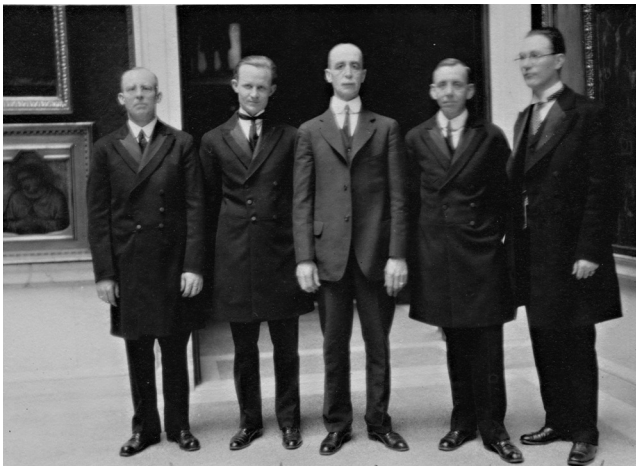


Fig. 1. The Walters Art Gallery Staff, ca. 1920. James C. Anderson is at center in business attire. Left to right garbed in frock coats, are Joe Burness, Jack Thompson, Harry Miller and Mr. Buckley (engineer). Portfolio Series, Oversize Box 1, Folder 1, Walters Art Museum Archives

penmanship, were to serve him well at the Gallery. Anderson succeeded Frank J. Banks, who left in 1912, as superintendent of the Gallery. He assumed the duty of making entries in what are now called the “Anderson Journals,” two ledger-style books begun by Banks in 1908 (figs. 2, 3).<sup>6</sup>

Anderson proved to be an extraordinarily reliable documentarian and correspondent. He wrote to Walters in New York on a daily basis, and communicated through international cables and night letters in order to accomplish the business of the Gallery. Walters relied on Anderson to receive incoming shipments and to unpack, inspect, and record each item into the Journals. A series of letters exchanged between the two men from 1908 through 1931 elucidate everyday life at the Gallery. The correspondence files and the journals are a remarkable record of the collection’s evolution, and they provide vital information for a wide range of scholarly research. They offer a glimpse into the character of the two men, their business demeanor, the personal concern for each other, and what happened when things did not proceed in the proscribed manner. The eventualities of broken objects, theft, onslaughts by the press, and uninvited visitors were all handled, or not handled as the records sometimes show.

By 1910, Anderson was married and he and his wife, Maud, listed their address as 5 W. Mt. Vernon Place. His profession had changed to that of machinist, and he was thirty-nine years old.<sup>7</sup> Ten years later the census address changed to 600 North Charles Street, and his listed profession was “Superintendent, Art Gallery.” Besides Maud, his

two step-grandsons also lived at the Gallery, in a basement apartment in the Walters home at 5 West Mount Vernon Place.<sup>8</sup> The obvious convenience of having Anderson on site enabled Walters to come to the Gallery on short notice and enhanced the security of the collection. The imposing bronze doors on Charles Street were opened only on public days; visitors otherwise had to make their way into the alley to an unobtrusive side door and ring a bell in order to make their presence known.<sup>9</sup>

As the years passed, progress in the Gallery developed a rhythm. The processing of incoming shipments, the placement of objects in the Gallery became a regular occurrence. Anderson kept the Journals and must certainly have struggled with the transcription of foreign place names and of art historical terms unfamiliar to him. Imagine, as well, Mr. Anderson’s surprise at seeing a “shrunk head” purchased from the august firm of Tiffany & Co.<sup>10</sup> The Gallery was open to benefit the Association of the Poor, and occasional visitors, either curious members of the social elite or serious scholars, were admitted by special card presented to Anderson at the odd little door. Occasionally, events transpired that give us insight into the relationship between the two men; Walters the benevolent autocrat and Anderson his loyal and devoted major domo.

One letter, sent to Anderson in response to a visit by a Mr. White is revealing of Mr. Walters’ need to control admittance to the Gallery.

Dear Sir:

In regard to Mr. White, who called at the Gallery and presented a card. If anyone presents a card from me and should want to leave the Gallery for lunch and return again on the same day, you would be justified in letting them do it. You would not be justified in letting them come back on another day on the one card: they would have to get another card of admission [from me].<sup>11</sup>

The letter was copied to Faris Pitt, and this action intimates just how hands-on Walters was about the daily business of the Gallery. In March 1920, after the visit of the famed art historian Seymour Ricci, he instructs Anderson:

If you know the picture that Mr. Seymour de Ricci criticized as not being by Rembrandt, I wish you

would remove it from the wall and hang in its place the little Rembrandt head that is in the Library.<sup>12</sup>

In another terse letter, Walters gives instructions for the visit by the French Legation in November 1921:

If . . . the French Delegation is coming to the Gallery either in the daytime or evening . . . you must get things in reasonable order and after dark, light every electric light in every gallery and every room before the party arrives and leave them all lit until the party has left. I may or may not be there. You will, of course, let these gentlemen have the free run of every place, including the library, and if in the daytime I would like you to open the window in the library containing the stained glass.<sup>13</sup>

Clearly Walters was concerned that the French Delegation see the Gallery at its best, and the detailed instructions to Anderson suggest his deep regret at not being able to attend to them personally. In fact, Walters was rarely at the Gallery. Although he often was in Baltimore, his duties on the board of various local entities, such as the Mercantile Bank and Trust, kept him from spending as much time as he wanted in administering the Gallery. After the death of Faris Pitt in 1922, Walters relied more heavily on Anderson for curatorial duties, and in fact, Anderson became the “face” of the Walters for many. In his Journal, he recorded visits to the Gallery by Mr. Walters on only twenty-three occasions between 1917 and 1931. He found himself responsible for important visitors (a duty previously executed by Pitt) such as Bernard Berenson, Belle da Costa Greene, Osvald Siren, Jules Seligmann, and Adolph Goldschmidt and other cultural and diplomatic luminaries.

Late in life Henry Walters continued his oversight of the Gallery from the New York home he shared with the former Mrs. Sadie Jones, whom he married in 1922. His visits grew less frequent, and the Gallery was reported to be a place rarely visited, and virtually unknown to the average citizen of Baltimore.<sup>14</sup> He kept up the usual correspondence with Anderson, and as late as 22 October 1931 he issued his annual orders for the heavy canvas covers to be removed from the skylights over the court.<sup>15</sup> On Henry Walters’ death in December of that year, Mr. Anderson’s life at the Gallery would continue in a new vein, as that of a living resource for the history of the collection.

Mr. Anderson continued in the employ of Mrs. Walters to help in dealing with the business of the estate. The City of Baltimore had engaged the services of the C. Morgan Marshall Company to create an inventory of the contents of the Gallery and of the house at 5 West Mount Vernon Place. To accomplish this enormous task, Anderson acted as guide to the objects and consulted his records, most importantly the two Journals, in order to locate and identify objects. He was the only person who knew where things were, and he was privy to the fact that hundreds of unopened cases of artworks lay in the basement of the Gallery. The inventory resulted in locating all but a few dozen objects, an astounding feat of documentation accomplished by Anderson’s singular effort in record keeping.

When the Gallery opened as a public institution in 1934, the Trustees decided to leave it in the same condition in which Henry Walters left it and directed that it be staffed by those individuals already employed. An advisory panel was named to make selections of the curatorial staff, and by 1935 Anderson was actively working with the first curators and the registrar in locating and cataloguing the collection. The curators all consulted the Journals to link objects to dealers and to confirm purchase dates, and they transcribed pertinent information onto the first formal cataloguing documents. In addition, they discovered a small but invaluable cache of records kept by Walters in his library; these were also used as a source for provenance and purchase information.

As the curators continued their work, Anderson persevered as the superintendent of the Gallery, and tended to the day-to-day chores with which he was so familiar. His contributions were soon eclipsed by the Gallery’s coming of age and the prediction that its contents would be “second only in importance to those in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.” As progress in the study of the collection continued, and the contents of two hundred and forty-three unopened crates were revealed, the Walters Art Gallery became the great public institution that it is today. Mr. Anderson remained on the staff until he died in 1941. His death is recorded in the minutes of the meeting of the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery:

The Administrator regrets to report [that] James C. Anderson, Superintendent, died suddenly Tuesday March 4th at the dinner table. He was about the Gallery that day attending to his simple duties, seemingly in usual health and spirits.<sup>16</sup>



1927.	
Mar. 2 <sup>o</sup>	<p>Recd from Arnold Seligman, Pay<sup>r</sup> Co., 2 Cases.</p> <p>A faintly polychromed marble high relief representing "Madonna + Child" by Agostino di Duccio. Italian work of art of the XV<sup>th</sup> Century.</p> <p>Carved ivory Bishop's Crosier. French work of art of the XIII Century.</p> <p>A Limoges enamel portrait representing "Anne Boleyn" one of the wives of Henry VIII. French work of art of the XVI C<sup>ty</sup>.</p>
Mar 22	<p>Recd from Yamaniaka, Palm Beach, 2 cases + 1 box.</p> <p>G. H. 3872 Chinese stone statuette of Buddha, seated on pedestal with feet resting on lotus flowers.</p> <p>G. L. 3208 Kuttai-fat Jade incense burner, globular body, supported on a tripod with handles of ogre heads with loose rings. Has cover of dog-foot handles.</p> <p>G. L. 4630 Shiuach-green Jade vase with cover. Flat, oval body with decorations of dragons and fiery scrolls carved in high relief.</p>
Mar 24	<p>Recd from Yamaniaka, Palm Beach.</p> <p>G. L. 4665 Sung bronze incense burner of man riding on horse back.</p>
Mar. 30	<p>Brought to Gallery by J. Simon, representative of Yamaniaka, 4 Boxes.</p> <p>G. L. 3578 Chinese pottery mortuary animal of ox, Wei Dynasty.</p> <p>G. L. 4711 Imperial yellow Jade pagoda, with two roofs of hexagonal shape with the bottom part disguised after an ancient sacrificial vessel supported on a tripod.</p>
Apr 13	<p>Brought to Gallery by Mrs. Harding.</p>

Fig. 2. Anderson Journal 2, dated 2 March 1927, shows Anderson's copperplate or "fine" hand. The vertical notation at upper left gives the date that the cases were opened—24 February 1932, during the inventory of the collection done by C. Morgan Marshall after Walters' death.



— From Library - 13 West 51<sup>st</sup> St Nov. 6, 1908

- 1 ✓ Egyptian bronze female figure
- 2 ✓ Egyptian seated
- 3 ✓ Egyptian " Bull Egyptian
- 4 ✓ Egyptian " seated figure
- 5 ✓ Egypt " Cat
- 6 ✓ Egyptian " standing figure
- 7 ✓ Egyptian " " Crown
- 8 ✓ " " " " no pedestal
- 9 ✓ " " " " Oblong Plaque
- 10 ✓ Greek " mirror?
- 11 ✓ Roman " small male bust
- 12 ✓ Greek " Weights - Venetian - 16<sup>th</sup> Century - 11 lbs
- 13 ✓ Bronze standing figure 2 ft
- 14 ✓ Terra Cotta Bust XVIII Centy
- 15 ✓ Bronze enamel plaque - Byzantine
- 16 ✓ " figure female draped
- 17 ✓ " gilt Warrior
- 18 ✓ " female hooded party
- 19 ✓ " Crouching Venus
- 20 ✓ " Standing Cupid - Greek
- 21 ✓ " " draped female, Cornucopia
- 22 ✓ " old Japanese Priest
- 23 ✓ " Bust Philosopher
- 24 ✓ " standing figure with scroll
- 25 ✓ Brass Egyptian Beak Monument - Style
- 26 ✓ Bronze Standing figure with Disk -
- 27 ✓ " Vase 2 " handles - Pindar -
- 28 ✓ " Water Carrier -
- 29 ✓ " Bust Covered female no pedestal - Roman
- 30 ✓ " " Female " "
- 31 ✓ " Venus at Bath " Ital. 16<sup>th</sup> Centy.
- 32 ✓ " Youth standing - Greek -
- 32 ✓ " " with lance
- 33 ✓ " Man with pig on back - Barge

Fig. 3. Anderson Journal 1, page 1. This page records the first objects brought to the new Gallery from the house at 13 West Fifty-first St, N.Y. on November 6, 1908. It provides a tantalizing glimpse of what Henry Walters' private library contained.



In 2006 as a part of the Strategic Planning initiative, the Trustees authorized the Walters Art Museum Archives Initiative. This action provided funds and personnel to plan and implement the creation of the first institutional archives. In the intervening years the initiative has assembled, identified, and inventoried close to five hundred cubic feet of records, including the documentary legacy of Mr. Anderson. This task was enabled by the dogged care and safekeeping of the records by William R. Johnston, curator emeritus, who over the course of his career guarded the records as if they were his own and used them to an edifying and absorbing result in the 1999 publication *William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors*. How else would we now know these details of our past, if the records had not been in the hands of two such indispensable men?

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## NOTES

I am grateful to DeLisa Swiger-Walmsley for genealogical research.

1. "The house is now clean all over, candles have been put on all places called for; have four pedestals placed in the Old Ceiling room, in fact I think I have carried all your instructions to the letter, and we will have a dress rehearsal on Tuesday and will be properly equipped for the opening." James Anderson to Henry Walters, 29 January 1909, Walters/Anderson correspondence. Walters Art Museum Archives.
2. The sculpture, "La Penseur," was deaccessioned by the Walters in July 1949 and is currently in the collection of the University of Kentucky. See Barryte, pp. 101–108 herein.
3. The Parker Building, located at Fourth Avenue and Nineteenth Street in Manhattan, held the bulk of the objects, including the Massarenti Collection. Shipping was handled by Meyer and Day, Adams Express, and sometimes items were transported in Mr. Walters' private railroad car. On 11 January 1908 the Parker building was destroyed by fire, and early reports stated that Mr. Walters' collection there had been totally destroyed.
4. Anderson Journal 1, p. 46, entry for 9 April 1911. Walters Art Museum Archives
5. George R. Curtis, enumerator, Enumeration District 268, Sheet 5. Record Group 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census, 1900. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Md.
6. Anderson Journal 1 contains entries from 6 November 1908 through December 1923. Journal 2 begins in January 1924 and ends 24 April 1933. Both journals contain added inscriptions and accession numbers written over the years by a number of museum staff. Transcriptions of both journals are available in electronic format upon request to the Archivist.
7. Robert B. Flemming, enumerator, Enumeration District 159, Sheet 13A. Record Group 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census, 1910. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Md.
8. Enumeration District 163, Sheet 20, Record Group 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census, 1920. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Md.
9. The door was located on Peabody Mews (then called Peabody Alley), where the 1974 building joins the 1908 building, next to the present loading dock.
10. Apparently the young Harry, as he was known, wanted more information on the head, and Tiffany responded with a note that reads in part "Dear Sir, [we send] the enclosed paper containing interesting facts concerning the Indian head. These are furnished by the former owner." Vertical File by Subject, Folder: Tiffany & Co. Letter to Henry Walters, 22 August 1898. Walters Art Museum Archives.
11. Henry Walters to James Anderson, 6 March 1915, Walters/Anderson correspondence. Walters Art Museum Archives.
12. Henry Walters to James Anderson, 4 March 1920, Walters/Anderson correspondence. Walters Art Museum Archives.
13. Henry Walters to James Anderson, 18 November 1921, Walters/Anderson correspondence. Walters Art Museum Archives.
14. See S. Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson: Collector and Connoisseur* (Baltimore, 2010), 139–40
15. The canvases were placed on the skylights to protect the collection from the heat and light of the Baltimore summer. They were put in place and removed every year upon the written instruction of Mr. Walters. Henry Walters to James Anderson, 22 October 1931, Walters/Anderson correspondence. Walters Art Museum Archives.
16. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 10 March 1941. Records of the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery. Walters Art Museum Archives.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Walters Art Museum Archives: figs. 1–3

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Jean-Léon Gérôme (French, 1824–1904), *The Tulip Folly*, 1882, detail.  
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, gift of Mrs. Cyril W. Keene, 1983 (37.2612)