

# Western Decorative Arts

Medieval, Renaissance, and Historicizing Styles  
including Metalwork, Enamels, and Ceramics



National Gallery of Art, Washington

# WESTERN DECORATIVE ARTS, PART I

Medieval, Renaissance, and Historicizing Styles  
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The Collections of the National Gallery of Art  
Systematic Catalogue

# Western Decorative Arts, Part I

Medieval, Renaissance, and Historicizing Styles  
including Metalwork, Enamels, and Ceramics

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Alison Luchs  
Philippe Verdier  
Timothy H. Wilson

with contributions by

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National Gallery of Art, Washington  
Cambridge University Press

## Dedicated to the memory of Philippe Verdier (1912–1993)

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## Foreword

The ambitious project of publishing the National Gallery of Art's entire collection in a systematic catalogue was inaugurated in 1986 with *Early Netherlandish Painting*. In the planned series, this is the first volume devoted to sculpture and the decorative arts. Through these publications the National Gallery aspires to make its great and diverse permanent collection more accessible and understandable to scholars and to general readers alike.

Most of the works catalogued in this volume came from a family of benefactors of principal importance in the creation of the National Gallery of Art, the Wideners. It seems particularly appropriate now, with our fiftieth anniversary just behind us, to recall the kind of generosity that brought this institution into being. This volume begins to show the importance of the Widener gifts of decorative arts, in precise and thorough exposition. Later volumes will complete that story with a detailed discussion of Widener gifts of furniture, textiles, and rock crystals. The present volume includes such superlative examples of the Wideners' taste and generosity as the resplendent chalice of Abbot Suger, from France's royal abbey of St. Denis, the birthplace of the gothic style; a monumental pair of Florentine Renaissance stained-glass windows; and major groups of ceramics and enamels from Renaissance Italy and France. All these objects once graced the Widener mansion, Lynnewood Hall, near Philadelphia. Other works catalogued here were collected by Samuel H. Kress and the foundation directed by his brother Rush Kress, who were also founding benefactors of the National Gallery of Art.

The fields of sculpture and decorative arts treated here range over many more areas than the National Gallery could match with specialized staff curators. Alison Luchs, associate curator of sculpture and decorative arts, has written on the medieval metalwork and Renaissance decorative arts. In addition, we are fortunate to have entries contributed by such internationally respected specialists as Philippe Verdier, curator emeritus of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, for the Suger chalice and the Renaissance Limoges enamels; Timothy Wilson of the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford, for the ceramics; and Rudolf Distelberger of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, for the jewels. The crucial support of the National Gallery's conservation staff is exemplified throughout, especially in the appendices by Shelley G. Sturman and Daphne S. Barbour of the Gallery, and Pamela B. Vandiver of the Smithsonian's conservation and analytical laboratory. The observations and discoveries of these scholars, and of the colleagues all over the world who assisted them, have amplified our knowledge of these objects. The entries and essays published here celebrate the many historic masterpieces or, on occasion, perform the salutary task of identifying modern works emulating earlier styles.

Since the opening of the National Gallery's East Building in 1978 greatly expanded our installation possibilities, we have been pleased to bring fine sculpture and decorative arts to a wider public through our special exhibitions program. With this volume we proudly turn the spotlight on some well-known and also some hidden treasures of our own. We hope this volume may speak to readers as varied in experience and interests as the collection itself.

Earl A. Powell III  
*Director*

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For the section on jewels, special thanks are owed to the André family for allowing Rudolf Distelberger to study the models of the works by their ancestor Alfred André.

Throughout the course of the preparation of this volume, Alison Luchs, Rudolf Distelberger, and Philippe Verdier were fortunate to have suggestions from Cristina Piacenti Aschengreen, Anna Somers-Cocks, Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, Madeleine Marcheix, Maureen Russell Neil, and Claire Vincent, which greatly enhanced the content of many entries. Richard Randall gave an especially helpful critical reading to the early draft of Alison Luchs' manuscript. Colleagues who particularly helped with various medieval entries included R. J. Baarsen, Susan Boyd, Renate Eikelmann, Helen C. Evans, Amaury Lefébure, Charles Little, Martha McCrory, Ian Wardropper, and Martha Wolff. Edith Standen, who functioned as Joseph Widener's curator, provided valuable details of the history of that great collection. We are especially indebted to Gary Vikan, assistant director for curatorial affairs and curator of medieval art at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, who somehow found the time not only to read the manuscript for Alison Luchs' entries, but to offer many helpful suggestions for improvement.

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We want to thank Pamela B. Vandiver and the Conservation Analytical Laboratory (CAL), Smithsonian Institution, for the considerable scientific support, photography, and technical analysis conducted on the "Saint-Porchaire" ceramics. This research has added significant insight into the materials and ceramics technology of the period.

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Travel grants awarded by the Conservation Analytical Laboratory, Smithsonian Institution, made possible the study by our conservators of relevant ceramics in British and French collections. Research on "Saint-Porchaire" ceramics was aided by a Robert H. Smith Fellowship. Finally, thanks are due to the Getty Grant Program for generously supporting this publication.

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# Introduction

Of the more than two dozen projected volumes of the National Gallery of Art's systematic catalogue, this inaugural volume on the decorative arts collections encompasses a wider variety of objects than most. The reader is entitled to an idea of what can be found here, and what is yet to come.

The decorative arts in this volume constitute a less broadly familiar, but distinguished and intriguing portion of the National Gallery's collection. They include medieval metalwork, stained glass, French Renaissance enamels, European ceramics, jewels in the Renaissance style, and a few other late medieval and Renaissance decorative arts of diverse types and materials. Other major groups of decorative arts in the National Gallery will be published in subsequent volumes: Renaissance furniture, helmets, rock crystals, French eighteenth-century furniture and decorative arts, textiles and tapestries, and Asian decorative arts (primarily Chinese porcelains).

Among the fine examples of metalwork in the collection are a Limoges reliquary ch<sup>^</sup>asse and a Eucharistic dove with a uniquely preserved mural base, a Mosan lion aquamanile, a Catalan ciborium, a tiny masterpiece of late gothic enameled gold sculpture in a nineteenth-century mount (*Morse with the Trinity*), and the treasure of the medieval collection, the ancient sardonyx chalice for which Abbot Suger provided a bejeweled, golden setting in the twelfth century. The sixteenth-century Limoges enamels, which include both a portrait and a dish decorated with a mythological scene by L<sup>^</sup>onard Limousin, also reflect the talents of Jean I P<sup>^</sup>nicaud, Martial Courteys, Pierre Reymond, Jean de Court, and the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII. The group of Renaissance ceramics consists chiefly of Italian maiolica but also represents the rare types known as Medici porcelain and "Saint-Porchaire." The maiolica is a coherent, rather than wide-ranging, collection consisting almost entirely of plates and dishes dating from the first half of the sixteenth century. It includes works by such eminent painters as Nicola da Urbino, Francesco Xanto Avelli, and Francesco Durantino, and examples from the important workshops of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli of Gubbio and Guido Durantino of Urbino. Masterworks in other media, such as a pair of Florentine stained glass windows executed by Giovanni di Domenico and a pax with a carved shell cameo, are among the European holdings.

The section on jewels includes ground-breaking material on Alfred Andr<sup>^</sup>e, a Parisian master of the Renaissance revival style. A few other works now judged to be either historicizing or forgeries, instructive components of almost any ambitious collection, appear at the ends of the relevant sections.

The National Gallery of Art was initially conceived for the display of paintings, and early on broadened its focus to collecting sculpture and works of art on paper. The policy of the trustees remains that the decorative arts are not actively collected, to wit, "The Permanent Collection shall, with rare exceptions, include only paintings, sculpture, and the graphic arts representative of the schools of American and European art and their

sources. Such exceptions shall be made only when the Gallery acquires, by gift or bequest, a collection which includes other objects in addition to paintings, sculpture, and the graphic arts.”<sup>1</sup>

A few examples of metalwork and enamels came as part of the Kress family and foundation’s mighty contribution to the development of the National Gallery’s painting and sculpture collection. More than eighty percent of the objects in this volume, however, reflect the taste of two generations of one family of benefactors: the Wideners of Philadelphia.

The founder of the Widener art collection was Peter Arrell Brown Widener (1834–1915). The son of a brickmaker, he began his working life as a butcher, profiting from government meat contracts during the Civil War. He built up his fortune in trolley car franchises, public utilities, and investments, becoming a philanthropist on a major scale. Also active in Philadelphia politics, he served as city treasurer beginning in 1873.<sup>2</sup> As his fortune grew, Widener began amassing works of art. He eventually developed a collection of paintings, sculpture, and decorative arts that came to adorn the rooms of the mansion, Lynnewood Hall, built for him by Horace Trumbauer in the suburb of Elkins Park (1898–1900). After his wife died in 1896, he donated their Philadelphia townhouse to the city as the H. Josephine Widener Branch of the Free Library of Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup>

P. A. B. Widener’s approach to acquiring works of art, comparable to that of such major contemporary collectors as J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), Henry Clay Frick (1849–1919), Benjamin Altman (1840–1913), William (1820–1894) and Henry Walters (1848–1931), William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951), and William A. Clark (1839–1925),<sup>4</sup> was far broader than the almost exclusive focus on painting (and later sculpture) of Andrew W. Mellon (1855–1937), who founded the National Gallery of Art. W. G. Constable describes Widener as an “enthusiastic, ruthless and omnivorous collector.”<sup>5</sup> Vans loaded with furniture and decorative objects of all sorts from Duveen Brothers, the famous New York (and international) art dealer, would arrive regularly at Lynnewood Hall in the first years after it was built. Peter Widener would make his selections and send the truck back to Duveen’s with the rejects.<sup>6</sup> In assembling “a medley of paintings, sculpture, Renaissance jewels, rock crystals, Chinese porcelains, faience ware, medals, small bronzes, enamels, tapestries, Medici chairs, Savonarola stools, Louis XV and XVI commodes and fauteuils” he evidently chose as his models such European forerunners as the Rothschild collections in London and Paris, and perhaps also the Wallace collection in London, which was French in inspiration. The Jacquemart-André collection, formed in Paris a little earlier, is an interesting parallel.<sup>7</sup>

The single largest group in the present volume is Renaissance maiolica, of which the Wideners collected thirty-eight examples. In collecting maiolica, Widener participated in a long tradition. Renaissance *istoriato* maiolica has been treasured ever since it was made, and so has, for such a fragile art form, survived above ground in large quantities. Some of the great historic accumulations survive wholly or in part or are well documented: much

of the sixteenth-century collection of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany is still in the Bargello in Florence; some of the fine group of Urbino maiolica in the National Museum at Stockholm was once owned by Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689); the museum at Braunschweig named after Duke Anton Ulrich still has most of the pieces bought by him around 1700; and the fabulous collection made early in the eighteenth century by Sir Andrew Fountaine of Narford Hall in Norfolk, England, remained at Narford virtually intact until it was sold in 1884.<sup>8</sup> However, the modern history of maiolica collecting began around 1830/1840. From the mid-nineteenth century competition among French, English, and German museums and collectors for the most desirable examples became ever more intense, reflecting the Victorian fascination with the conjunction of “art” and “industry” that maiolica was felt to typify.<sup>9</sup> In the years around 1900 American collectors, particularly J. Pierpont Morgan, began to take a serious interest, as well.

The Widener maiolica collection has as its core twenty-nine dishes bought by P. A. B. Widener in 1910 from Duveen, who had bought them as part of the Paris collection of Maurice Kann. According to Edward Fowles, the maiolica was acquired by Duveen almost by accident: “A collection of Majolica dishes and a number of Meissen pieces were added to our purchases in order that we could offer a figure sufficiently large to tempt Edouard Kann to break up his uncle’s collection.”<sup>10</sup> Through the Maurice Kann collection, the Wideners became heirs to pieces from some of the most famous French collections of the nineteenth century, including Debruge Duménil and Préaux (both sold 1850), Rattier (sold 1859), Soltykoff (sold 1861), Seillière (sold 1890), and Spitzer (sold 1893), as well as the Alessandro Castellani collection, formed in Italy but sold in Paris in 1878. The collecting history of the Widener Renaissance ceramics thus has a distinctive Parisian flavor, and pieces from the great English Victorian sales, like the Bernal (1855) and Fountaine (1884), are noticeably absent. Although the Widener collection does not contain Valencian lusterware, Palissy ware, or Venetian glass, which were often collected alongside maiolica and enamels, the collection was rounded out with examples of what had become the rarest and most sought-after of Renaissance ceramics, the porcelain of the Medici factory and the amazing French products attributed to “Saint-Porchaire.”

In European terms, the Widener maiolica was already a somewhat old-fashioned assemblage when it was brought together, in that it contains no piece made before about 1490, and no slipwares. The fashion in Europe by 1910 was already shifting to earlier wares, and developing maiolica collections like the incomparable one formed by Alfred Pringsheim in Munich (sold in 1939) had a wide range of early Renaissance, that is, fifteenth-century, pieces as an essential component. Further, the maiolica bought from the Kann collection consists disproportionately of lusterwares, which were a great favorite of French and English collectors of the nineteenth century but have been less dominant in more recent taste. The fact that the maiolica collection consists solely of essentially two-dimensional objects – plates, plaques, and dishes – without any jars or jugs or large basins, gives the impression that it was chosen mainly for its decorative rather than art-historical

value.<sup>11</sup> Yet, by their sheer quality, and seen alongside the National Gallery's wonderful Italian Renaissance bronzes, the thirty-eight pieces in the collection eloquently reflect a vivid aspect of the seamless web of high Renaissance artistic production.

The Widener collection was unusual in America for its continuing development through two generations. P. A. B. Widener's older son, George Dunton Widener (1861–1912), was a collector in his own right. His younger son, Joseph Early Widener (1872–1943), began to collaborate in shaping his father's collection as soon as he was able, perhaps before 1900.<sup>12</sup> Joseph acted with determined discrimination to mold the collection into an assemblage of masterpieces in the various fields it covered. By the 1930s the Widener home at Lynnewood Hall constituted "a museum in itself."<sup>13</sup>

It is all but impossible to sort out which Widener was responsible for any individual acquisition in the last years of Peter's life. After 1912, when Peter became incapacitated as the result of infirmities of age and grief over the loss of his beloved older son, George, and grandson, Harry Elkins Widener, in the *Titanic* disaster, Joseph had the principal responsibility for acquisitions.<sup>14</sup> Peter may well have taken the decisive part in founding the maiolica collection. At least five of the Renaissance Limoges enamels also came into Widener possession during his active years (1901–1909). He may in addition have selected the gilded and enameled crucifix (1908), the ivory diptych (1912), and some of the jewels (1911/1912), and less probably the enameled gold morse with the Trinity (1913). But most of the medieval decorative arts entered the collection through the decisions of Joseph, who took particular pride in the Suger chalice (1922). Exquisite as it is for its material and workmanship, Edith Standen remembers it as the only piece in the collection bought (by Joseph) for its historical importance, "...one of the few cases in which he expressed an admiration that was not based on aesthetic grounds."<sup>15</sup>

Joseph, with his more "precise and austere" taste,<sup>16</sup> carefully refined the collection over the years. Beginning during his father's lifetime to trim quantity and elevate quality, he oversaw the design of the rooms at Lynnewood Hall, where each object had a place in a carefully devised context. Except for such broad distinctions as separating medieval and Renaissance art from the French eighteenth-century collections, these arrangements owed more to his personal taste than to any strict historical or technical categories. The Raphael room, whose focal point was the *Small Cowper Madonna* by that master, also housed the stained glass windows and most of the medieval metalwork, including the Suger chalice, along with Florentine marble busts and the Mazarin tapestry. The ivory diptych and the three large Limoges dishes had places in the Van Dyck room, the three rare "Saint-Porchaire" ceramics and the Medici ewer in the Rembrandt room. The maiolica was divided between hall cases and the First Gallery, with a few examples in the library. The enameled gold *Morse with the Trinity*, the jeweled pendants, and the rock crystals glittered from niches in the corners of a skylit, white stone gallery where the great Bellini-Titian *Feast of the Gods* faced a sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry.<sup>17</sup> Proud of his decorative arts,

Joseph Widener was "as much concerned about their display as he was about the hanging of his paintings; the smallest detail was of importance, and any changes would have been noticed immediately."<sup>18</sup>

At his father's death Joseph received not possession but responsibility for disposition of the collection.<sup>19</sup> In the 1930s, when the house and its contents stood as "a monument to the energy of a father and the taste of a son," Joseph met with Andrew Mellon to talk about the planned National Gallery.<sup>20</sup> P. A. B. Widener's will had provided that the works might go eventually to a public collection in Philadelphia, New York, or Washington. Joseph Widener and David Finley, the first director of the National Gallery of Art, persuaded the trustees to accept not only the paintings and sculpture but also the decorative arts. Special rooms on the ground floor, designed to exhibit the latter in a manner approximating as closely as possible their display at Lynnewood Hall, were worked into plans for the new building being designed by John Russell Pope and his firm.<sup>21</sup> John Walker poignantly described the dismantling of the rooms at the Elkins Park mansion, under the eyes of the aged Joseph Widener, when the treasures were transported to Washington for the opening in 1941.<sup>22</sup>

Today the decorative arts, received then with relatively little fanfare,<sup>23</sup> are a pride and joy of the National Gallery. They are increasingly recognized both as masterly creations in their own right and as vivid and characteristic products of the artistic life of the same cultures that brought forth the better known paintings and sculpture in the collection. In the middle ages, small-scale sculpture and decorative arts (along with manuscript illumination) were virtually the only art forms independent of architectural settings. In the nineteenth century such works attracted interest, especially in England, as historical models that could foster higher quality in the modern "industrial arts." Today they find an audience with an appreciation for craftsmanship, a growing awareness of the purposes all the arts served in pre-modern societies, and an admiration for the skill, imagination, and beauty that could raise functional objects to the condition of art. A.L. and T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. On the origins of the National Gallery of Art, conceived by Andrew Mellon as a painting gallery like the National Gallery in London, see John Walker, *Self-Portrait with Donors* (Boston and Toronto, 1974), 247, and John Walker, *The National Gallery of Art, Washington* (New York, 1976; 2d printing 1984), 34–35. Only late in the planning stages did Mellon decide that sculpture, especially that of the Italian Renaissance, must be included. The strength of the Wideners' painting and sculpture holdings persuaded the trustees to meet their condition of accepting the decorative arts as well.

2. "The Widener House [The Perfect Collection]," *Fortune* 6, no. 3 (September 1932), 66–67; William George Constable, *Art Collecting in the United States of America.*

*An Outline of a History* (London, 1964), 113–114. For capsule biographies of P. A. B. Widener and his family see *Widener-Dunton-Elkins-Broomall and Allied Families. European and American Descents*, compiled and privately printed under the direction of Thomas H. Bateman of Philadelphia for George Dunton Widener, by the American Historical Co., Inc. (New York, 1953), 1–7.

3. *Fortune* 1932, 66. On Lynnewood Hall see James T. Maher, *The Twilight of Splendor: Chronicles of the Age of American Palaces* (Boston, 1975), 49–50. The Widener town house at 1200 N. Broad Street, built in 1887, was destroyed by fire in 1980. See Richard J. Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved*, 2d ed. Philadelphia, 1981, 301, 359, and unnumbered illustration.

4. For Morgan, see *J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector*, ed. Linda Horvitz Roth [exh. cat., Wadsworth Atheneum] (Hartford, 1987); for Clark, see *The William A. Clark Collection, An exhibition marking the 50th Anniversary of the Installation of the Clark Collection at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.* (Washington, 1978); additional information about Clark can be found at the Montana Historical Society in Helena. For William and Henry Walters, see *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1 (1938), 8–12, and the introductory essay in William R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth-Century Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1982). For Altman, see the preface in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection* (New York, 1928). Information about the Frick Collection in New York can be found in the volumes of *The Frick Collection* (New York, 1968–); volume 1 of this series includes an essay on Henry Clay Frick as an art collector. Publications about William Randolph Hearst as an art collector are scarce; his biography by William A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst* (New York, 1961), is a source of information about his life, while the following give an insight to the breadth of his collections: *Art Objects & Furnishings from the William Randolph Hearst Collection* (New York, 1941) and Burton B. Fredericksen, *Handbook of the Paintings in the Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument* (California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1977). Additional American collectors are described in Aline B. Saarinen, *The Proud Possessors* (New York, 1958).

5. Constable 1964, 115. See also Walker 1974, xii, on the collectors mentioned.

6. Constable 1964, 116; *Fortune* 1932, 67.

7. On the Jacquemart-André collection see S. de Ricci, "Musée Jacquemart-André," *Les Arts* (February 1914), 1–32; and *Treasures of Musée Jacquemart-André* [exh. cat., Wildenstein & Co.] (New York, 1956), 5–7.

8. For the Bargello collection, see Giovanni Conti, "La maiolica nel Museo del Bargello: Genesi e fortuna di una raccolta," *Faenza* 55 (1969), 58–79, and Marco Spallanzani, "Maioliche di Urbino nelle collezioni di Cosimo I, del Cardinale Ferdinando e di Francesco I de' Medici," *Faenza* 65 (1979), 111–126; for Stockholm, Helena Dahlbäck Lutteman, *Majolika från Urbino* (Stockholm, 1981); for Anton Ulrich, Lessmann 1979; and for the Fountaine collection, Andrew Moore, *Norfolk and the Grand Tour* [exh. cat., Norfolk Museums Service] (Norwich, 1985). For the collecting history of maiolica more generally, see Norman 1976, 19–31; Giovanni Conti, "Appunti sulla fortuna dell'antica maiolica italiana," *Antichità viva* anno 8, no. 5 (1969), 39–51.

9. Timothy Wilson, "The origins of the maiolica collections of the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Faenza* 71 (1985), 68–80.

10. Edward Fowles, *Memoirs of Duveen Brothers* (London, 1976), 50.

11. Eleven jars, jugs, and vases acquired by Joseph Widener and described in Widener 1935, 67–68, were not included in the collection passed to the National Gallery

of Art. Edith Standen, who served as Joseph Widener's secretary for art—in effect, his curator—from 1929 to 1942, has been kind enough to write as follows: "Mr. Joseph Widener never mentioned any of his [maiolica] pieces in my hearing... He did mention to visitors the rarity of his St. Porchaire ware and he did not care for the Meissen figurines, which, he used to say, had been collected by his wife; they did not go to Washington. The Medici jug/ewer was also a favourite, but not as frequently pointed out as the St. Denis chalice. All the ceramics, however, were as carefully arranged as the other decorative arts, and as his main care was the appearance of each room in Lynnewood Hall, he must have valued them highly." The fact that two nearly identical pieces from the same set [1942.9.331 and 332] were purchased individually in successive years reinforces the view that the creators of the collection were more concerned with decorative value than with art-historical significance.

12. Constable 1964, 114–115; Walker 1976, 38; Edith Standen, letter of 20 May 1985, in NGA curatorial files. Miss Standen is now consultant to the department of European sculpture and decorative arts at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

13. Walker 1974, xii, 105; Walker 1976, 35.

14. Standen letter (see n. 11), *Fortune* 1932, 67; Constable 1964, 117.

15. Constable 1964, 116–117.

16. Constable 1964, 115.

17. For locations see Widener 1935; *Fortune* 1932, with a photograph of the Raphael room; and Edith Standen, letter of 23 June 1992 to Alison Luchs, in NGA curatorial files.

18. Edith Standen, letter of 23 June 1992.

19. Constable 1964, 115; Walker 1976, 34.

20. *Fortune* 1932, 64; Walker 1976, 34–35. According to Joseph Widener, his father had in fact wanted to build a National Gallery of Art. P. A. B. Widener had even gone so far as to commission a model for such a gallery, which Miss Standen remembers seeing in the basement at Lynnewood Hall, from his architect Horace Trumbauer (information from the NGA Archives "National Gallery of Art Oral History Project. Interview with Edith Standen," 1 December 1989, conducted by A.C. Viebranz, 12, 20–21).

21. Walker, 34. Otto Eggers, Pope's successor after his death, designed the rooms for the Widener decorative arts. Standen 1989, 19, recalls the effort to recreate the Lynnewood Hall arrangement as far as possible.

22. Walker 1976, 34–35, 38. The Widener works in this volume were not actually accessioned until 1942.

23. Walker 1974, 247; Frank Jewett Mather, in "The Widener Collection in Washington," *Magazine of Art* 35 (October 1942), 195–203, devoted pages to the paintings and sculpture but declared, "The great richness of the Widener collection in what are called the applied arts lies apart from my theme." Only paintings were mentioned in any detail by Helen Comstock, "Widener Collection for the Washington National Gallery," *The Connoisseur* 107 (April 1941), 169–170.

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## Note to the Reader

Readers of this catalogue may find it useful to know of certain editorial decisions regarding content, style, and terminology.

Technical studies by the staff of the National Gallery of Art department of conservation contributed greatly to understanding of the objects in this catalogue. The technical notes for each entry will reflect types of examinations made. The conservators who performed and reported on analyses are named in the introductory acknowledgments, and sometimes are also mentioned in individual entries when distinctions among several reports were critical for an understanding of the evidence. Appendices by Shelley Sturman, Daphne Barbour, and Pamela Vandiver deal with the composition of medieval enamel colors studied, and with the facture of "Saint-Porchaire" ceramics.

The entries were written and tests conducted over a period beginning in 1983. In the case of entries completed in the earlier years, it was not always possible to redo scientific tests with new equipment acquired in the intervening period. The manuscript for the section on Renaissance ceramics was delivered early in 1989. Publications that came to the author's attention subsequently have been referred to where relevant, but in general only in the notes and bibliographies. The most important of these are Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi's catalogue of the Umbrian ceramics at Faenza, the late Jörg Rasmussen's catalogue of maiolica in the Lehman Collection, Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti's catalogue of the Fanfani Bequest to the Faenza Museum, the volume of papers by various scholars published under the author's editorship by the British Museum in 1991, and Barbara Schnitzer's thesis on "Saint-Porchaire" pottery.

Labels have been removed from the pottery in the National Gallery collection for the pieces to be photographed, and have been retained in the Gallery records. In this catalogue, labels have normally only been recorded when they contribute significantly to the collecting history of the object, or are unexplained and seem as though they might contribute information in the future.

Most of the pieces that previously belonged to Maurice Kann in Paris, whose collection was bought by Duveen Brothers in 1908 and sold to P. A. B. Widener in 1910, have two sequences of numbered labels that were probably applied at Duveen's in Paris; the higher of these series runs irregularly from 177 to 207, and the lower from 2 to 33. Where these labels survive they are recorded here as Kann labels. Thanks to Gretchen Wold of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, it has been possible to trace in the Edward Fowles Bequest at The Metropolitan Museum the Duveen stock book to which the higher sequence of these numbers refers; it is entitled "Maurice Kann Stock Book II." Correlation of this stock book with the maiolica now in the National Gallery of Art shows that there were a number of pieces that were purchased by Duveen's from Maurice Kann but not acquired by P. A. B. Widener. The pieces now in the National Gallery are all annotated in the stock book as having been sent to New York (where Duveen's also had a branch) in

October 1909. Enquiries at The Metropolitan Museum and at the Duveen archive at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library, Williamstown, Massachusetts, have failed to trace any inventory to which the lower series of numbers (which generally underlie the higher and therefore presumably antedate them) refers.

Within each section, with the exception of Renaissance ceramics, works are arranged chronologically by date of execution. The Renaissance ceramics entries have been arranged in an order that attempts to present this limited collection in a way that reflects some of the stylistic developments in Renaissance maiolica, with ornamental designs preceding *istoriato*. The complicated overlap between Urbino *istoriato* and Gubbio luster has made necessary a perhaps regrettable amount of cross-referencing; the alternative would have been repetition. Within the individual groups, work has generally been arranged in chronological order; thus a work (1942.9.349) believed to be an early work by Xanto is put at the beginning of the Xanto section, rather than at the end as merely "attributed to Xanto." Although this is not the practice adopted in the paintings volumes of the systematic catalogue, it seems to make better sense of the ceramics. With the exception of the jewels, works determined to be imitations of earlier styles are catalogued at the end of sections to which they would belong if authentic.

Before 1983, sculpture in the National Gallery of Art received accession numbers beginning with A-, while works of decorative arts received numbers beginning with C-. These old numbers are given in parentheses following the new ones assigned, in keeping with more recent museum practices, based on the year when each work was accessioned. A concordance of old and new numbers appears at the end of the volume.

Dimensions are given in centimeters, height preceding width preceding depth, followed by the dimensions in inches in parentheses. They represent the maximum measurement in the stated direction. Inch measurements have been rounded off to the nearest one-eighth inch, with exceptions being made (to one-sixteenth inch) for objects whose largest overall dimension is less than five inches.

Because most of the objects considered are three dimensional, "left" and "right" usually refer to the object's own left and right, sometimes designated as the "proper left" or "proper right." For relatively flat objects such as maiolica plates or Limoges enamels, however, authors have used left and right to refer to the viewer's left and right when discussing the overall object, but refer to the proper left and proper right of the figures depicted.

Comparative illustrations are provided in entries in which their presence can support a potentially controversial point, or in which the most relevant comparative illustrations are not easily accessible in other publications. Overall views of National Gallery objects are unnumbered; details of these objects and illustrations of works from other collections have been assigned figure numbers.

The following attribution terms are used to indicate the relationship to a named artist, locale, or period.

*Studio of, Workshop of:* Produced in the named artist's workshop or studio, by students or assistants, possibly with some participation by the named artist. It is important that the creative concept is by the named artist and that the work was meant to leave the studio as his.

The use of the term "workshop of," in the context of Renaissance ceramics, differs slightly. While it indicates that the object was produced in the named artist's workshop, it does not necessarily imply that the creative concept was his or that the work was meant to leave the workshop as the named artist's production. "Urbino district" is used as a deliberately imprecise phrase, to include Pesaro and Castel Durante.

*Follower of:* An unknown artist working specifically in the style of the named artist, who may or may not have been trained by the named artist.

*Attributed to, Probably, possibly, or attribution or date followed by a question mark:* Indicates varying degrees of doubt or the necessity of emphasizing doubt.

*Style of:* Indicates a stylistic relationship only, possibly vague, in which there need not be implied chronological continuity of association or the time limit may be greatly expanded.

*After:* A copy of any date.

*Imitator of:* Someone working in the style of an artist with the intention to deceive.

*School:* Indicates a geographical distinction only and is used where it is impossible to designate a specific artist or his studio or following.

The following conventions for dates are used:

1500	executed in 1500
c. 1500	executed sometime around 1500
1500–1525	begun in 1500, completed in 1525
1500/1525	executed sometime between 1500 and 1525
c. 1500/1525	executed sometime around the period 1500 to 1525

Biblical citations are from the Revised Standard Version.

In the provenance section parentheses indicate a dealer, auction house, or agent. A semicolon indicates that the work passed directly from one owner to the next, while a period indicates either that we have not been able to establish a direct link or that there is a break in the known history of ownership. In the list of references we have tried to be inclusive of scholarly discussions, but have not attempted to cover all publications. Sales and exhibition catalogues cited in the provenance and exhibition sections are not repeated in the list of references. A list of standard abbreviations used throughout the volume follows. Other abbreviated titles are cited in full in the reference or exhibition sections of the entry, or in the bibliography following the artist's biography.

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# Abbreviations for Periodicals

AB	The Art Bulletin
ArtN	Art News
BCMA	The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art
BdA	Bollettino d'Arte
BMFA	Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
BurlM	The Burlington Magazine
Conn	The Connoisseur
GBA	Gazette des Beaux-Arts
IntSt	International Studio
JbBerlin	Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen
JbWien	Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien
JMMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal
JWalt	Journal of the Walters Art Gallery
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
MagArt	Magazine of Art
MunchJb	Munchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst
RArt	Revue de l'Art
RLouvre	La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France
StHist	Studies in the History of Art
ZfK	Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte

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# Abbreviations for Publications

- Ardant 1860                      Ardant, Maurice. "Emailleurs limousins: Les Courteys." *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 10 (1860): 82–160.
- Ardant 1861                      Ardant, Maurice. "Emailleurs limousins: Jehan Court dit Vigier, Susanne Court, Jean de Court." *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 11 (1861): 5–21.
- Ardant 1862                      Ardant, Maurice. "Emailleurs limousins: Les Reymond." *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 12 (1862): 117–158.
- Ballardini 1933–1938            Ballardini, Gaetano. *Corpus della maiolica italiana*. 2 vols. Rome, 1933–1938.
- Bartsch 1803–1821              Bartsch, Adam von. *Le peintre-graveur*. 21 vols. Vienna, 1803–1821.
- Biganti 1987                      Biganti, Tiziana. "Documenti. La produzione di ceramica a lustro a Gubbio e a Deruta tra la fine del secolo XV e l'inizio del secolo XVI. Primi risultati di una ricerca documentaria." *Faenza* 73 (1987): 209–235.
- Bonnaffé 1891                    Bonnaffé, Edmond. "Faiences de Saint-Porchaire dites de Henri II." In *La collection Spitzer: Antiquité, moyen-âge, renaissance*. 6 vols. Paris, 1890–1892. Vol. 2.
- Bourdery 1895                    Bourdery, Louis. "Léonard Limosin et son oeuvre." *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 44 (1895): cixiii-cixxiv.
- Bourdery and Lachenaud,      Bourdery, Louis, and Emile Lachenaud. *L'oeuvre des peintres émailleurs de Limosin* 1897                    *Limoges: Léonard Limosin peintre de portraits*. Paris, 1897.
- Burlington Fine Arts            *Catalogue of a Collection of European Enamels from the Earliest Date to the Club* 1897                    *End of the XVIIth Century*. Burlington Fine Arts Club. London, 1897.
- Christensen 1952                Christensen, Erwin O. *Objects of Medieval Art from the Widener Collection*. National Gallery of Art. Washington, 1952.
- Conti 1971                        Conti, Giovanni. *Catalogo delle maioliche*. Museo Nazionale di Firenze, Palazzo del Bargello. Florence, 1971.
- Curnow 1992                      Curnow, Celia. *Italian Maiolica in the National Museums of Scotland*. National Museums of Scotland Information Series, no. 5. Edinburgh, 1992.
- Delange and Delange            Delange, Henri, and Carle Delange. *Recueil de toutes les pièces connues 1861                    jusqu'à ce jour de la faïence française dite de Henri II et Diane de Poitiers*. Paris, 1861. (The plates in this edition are unnumbered, but in the present catalogue numbers have been assigned to the plates as listed in the Delange text, to facilitate reference.)
- Les Fastes* 1981                *Les Fastes du Gothique: Le siècle de Charles V* [exh. cat., Galeries nationales du Grand Palais]. Paris, 1981.
- Fiocco and Gherardi 1982      Fiocco, Carola, and Gabriella Gherardi. "La maiolica rinascimentale a lustro in Umbria." In *Maioliche umbre decorate a lustro* [exh. cat., Chiostrì di San Nicolò, Spoleto]. Florence, 1982, 59–73.
- Fiocco and Gherardi            Fiocco, Carola, and Gabriella Gherardi. *Ceramiche umbre dal medioevo allo 1988–1989                    storicismo*. Catalogo generale del Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche in Faenza, Vol. 5, Pt. 2. Faenza, 1988–1989.

- Fortnum 1873 Fortnum, C. D. E. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maiolica . . . in the South Kensington Museum*. London, 1873.
- Fortnum 1896 Fortnum, C. D. E. *Maiolica*. Oxford, 1896.
- Fourest 1969 Fourest, Henry-Pierre. "Faïences de Saint-Porchaire." *Cahiers de la céramique* 45 (1969): 12–25.
- Gauthier 1972 Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine. *Emaux du moyen âge occidental*. Fribourg, 1972.
- Giacomotti 1974 Giacomotti, Jeanne. *Catalogue des majoliques des musées nationaux*. Paris, 1974.
- Girodet 1878 Girodet, E. "Nouveaux documents sur les Courtoys, peintres émailleurs de Limoges." *Bulletin Monumental* 44 (1878): 358–370.
- Hausmann 1972 Hausmann, Tjark. *Majolika: Spanische und italienische Keramik vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. Kataloge des Kunstgewerbemuseums Berlin. Vol. 6. Berlin, 1972.
- Hess 1988 Hess, Catherine. *Italian Maiolica: Catalogue of the Collections*. J. Paul Getty Museum. Malibu, 1988.
- The Illustrated Bartsch* 1982 *The Illustrated Bartsch* 29. *Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century*. Ed. Suzanne Boorsch. New York, 1982.
- Jestaz 1975 Jestaz, Bertrand. "Poteries de Saint-Porchaire." *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 25 (1975): 384–396.
- Join-Dieterle 1984 Join-Dieterle, Catherine. *Musée du Petit Palais: Catalogue des céramiques, I. Hispano-mauresques, majoliques italiennes, Iznik, des collections Dutuit, Ocampo et Pierre Marie*. Paris, 1984.
- Kube 1976 Kube, Alfred Nicolaevich. *State Hermitage Collection: Italian Majolica XV–XVIII Centuries*. Moscow, 1976.
- Laborde 1857 Laborde, Léon de. *Notice des émaux, bijoux et objets divers exposés dans les galeries du Musée du Louvre*. Vol. 1. Paris, 1857.
- Lessmann 1979 Lessmann, Johanna. *Italienische Majolika: Katalog der Sammlung*. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum. Braunschweig, 1979.
- Limoges Enamels* 1962 Gauthier, M., and M. Marcheix. *Limoges Enamels*. Photographs by Werner Forman. London, 1962.
- Mallet 1987 Mallet, J. V. G. "In Botega di Maestro Guido Durantino in Urbino!" *BurlM* 129 (1987): 284–298.
- Marquet de Vasselot 1912 Marquet de Vasselot, Jean-Joseph. "L'orfèvrerie et l'émaillerie au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle." In André Michel. *Histoire de l'art*. 8 vols. Paris, 1905–1929, Vol. 5, part 1 (1912), 448–462.
- Marquet de Vasselot 1921 *Les émaux limousins de la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle et de la première partie du XVII<sup>e</sup>: Etude sur Nardon Pénicaud et ses contemporains*. Paris, 1921.

- Molinier 1892 Molinier, Emile. "Les faïences italiennes, hispano-moresques et orientales." In *La collection Spitzer: Antiquité, moyen-âge, renaissance*. 6 vols. Paris, 1890–1892. Vol. 4.
- Negroni 1986 Negroni, Franco. "Nicolo Pellipario: Ceramista fantasma." *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*. Vol. 14. Urbino, 1986, 13–20.
- NGA 1982–1983 Shinn, Deborah. *Sixteenth-Century Italian Maiolica: Selections from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection and the National Gallery of Art's Widener Collection* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art]. Washington, 1982–1983.
- Norman 1976 Norman, A. V. B. *Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Ceramics, I. Pottery, Maiolica, Faience, Stoneware*. London, 1976.
- Rackham 1940 Rackham, Bernard. *Catalogue of Italian Maiolica*. 2 vols. Victoria and Albert Museum. London, 1940. Reissued with emendations and additional bibliography by J. V. G. Mallet. London, 1977.
- Rasmussen 1984 Rasmussen, Jörg. *Italienische Majolika*. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg. Hamburg, 1984.
- Rasmussen 1989 Rasmussen, Jörg. *The Robert Lehman Collection, 10. Italian Majolica*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1989.
- Ravanelli Guidotti 1985 Ravanelli Guidotti, Carmen. *Ceramiche occidentali del Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna*. Bologna, 1985.
- Rhein und Maas* 1972 *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur 800–1400* [exh. cat., Kunsthalle Cologne, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels]. 2 vols. Cologne and Brussels, 1972.
- Seymour 1949 Seymour, Charles, Jr. *Masterpieces of Sculpture from the National Gallery of Art*. New York, 1949.
- Sommerard 1883 Sommerard, Edmond du. *Catalogue et description des objets d'art de l'antiquité, du moyen âge et de la renaissance exposés au musée*. Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny. Paris, 1883.
- South Kensington 1862 *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Medieval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods on Loan at the South Kensington Museum, June, 1862*. Ed. John Charles Robinson. London, 1862. Rev. ed. 1863.
- Spitzer 1890–1892 *La collection Spitzer: Antiquité, moyen-âge, renaissance*. 6 vols. Paris, 1890–1892.
- Thieme-Becker Thieme, Ulrich, and Felix Becker. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. 1907–1950. Reprint. 37 vols. Leipzig, 1970–1971.
- Vanzolini 1879 Vanzolini, Giuliano. *Istorie delle fabbriche di majoliche metaurensi*. 2 vols. Pesaro, 1879.
- Vasari-Milanesi 1878–1885 Vasari, Giorgio. *Le opere*. Ed. G. Milanesi. Florence, 1878–1885.

- Verdier 1967 Verdier, Philippe. *Catalogue of the Painted Enamels of the Renaissance*. The Walters Art Gallery. Baltimore, 1967.
- Verdier and Focarino 1977 Verdier, Philippe, assisted by Joseph Focarino. "Limoges Painted Enamels." In *The Frick Collection*. Vol. 8. *Enamels, Rugs and Silver*. New York, 1977, 1–243.
- Walker 1976 Walker, John. *National Gallery of Art, Washington*. New York [1976].
- Wallen 1968 Wallen, Burr. "A Majolica Panel in the Widener Collection." *National Gallery of Art: Report and Studies in the History of Art*, 2. Washington, 1968.
- Watson 1986 Watson, Wendy. *Italian Renaissance Maiolica from the William A. Clark Collection* [exh. cat., Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington; Mount Holyoke College Art Museum]. London, 1986.
- Widener 1935 *Inventory of the Objets d'Art at Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, The Estate of the Late P. A. B. Widener*. Philadelphia, 1935.
- Widener 1942 National Gallery of Art. *Works of Art from the Widener Collection*. Foreword by David Finley and John Walker. Washington, 1942.
- C. Wilson 1983 Wilson, Carolyn C. *Renaissance Small Bronze Sculpture and Associated Decorative Arts at the National Gallery of Art*. Washington, 1983.
- T. Wilson 1987 Wilson, Timothy. *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance* [exh. cat., British Museum]. London, 1987.
- T. Wilson 1989 Wilson, Timothy. *Maiolica: Italian Renaissance Ceramics in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford, 1989.
- T. Wilson 1991 *Italian Renaissance Pottery*. Ed. Timothy Wilson. London, 1991.





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MEDIEVAL METALWORK  
AND ENAMELS





## Chalice of the Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis

1942.9.277 (C-1)

Alexandrian cup

Second to first century B.C., mounted 1137–1140 A.D.

Sardonyx cup with heavily gilded silver mounting, adorned with filigrees set with stones, pearls, glass insets, and opaque white glass pearls, h. 18.4 (7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ), diam. at top 12.4 (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ ), diam. at base 11.7 (4 $\frac{5}{8}$ )

Widener Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The domed foot of the sardonyx cup is no longer visible in the modern restoration. It is hidden by the cirlet studded with pearls above the knob. Between 1633 and 1706 a lower curl and a loop were added to the curling upper parts of the handles. The faceted stones of the knob are late medieval replacements. Only a few of the original stones meticulously itemized in the 1634 inventory remain today. The modern replacements are mainly glass insets, red or purple, and a number of pearls are imitations in white glass. The lower part of the foot is different from what it was until the French Revolution. It has been straightened out into a narrower and more conical shape. The flat bottom edge has been remade, with the addition of a beaded string and a cable. All the stones and the settings have been changed.

### PROVENANCE

Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, France, 1137/1140–1791. Cabinet National des Médailles et Antiques, Paris, 30 September 1791–16 February 1804 (see text below); Charles Towneley, London, 1804–1805; Towneley family, London,

1805–1920 (?); (Harry Harding), London, 1920. (Goldschmidt Galleries), New York, 1921; purchased by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, 20 March 1922. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

### EXHIBITIONS

Cleveland Museum of Art, 1967, *Treasures from Medieval France*, 70–71, color pl. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1978. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis in the Time of Abbot Suger (1125–1151)*, 1981, 108–111. Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis*, 1991, 172–176, no. 28.

The chalice is one of the nine liturgical vessels that Suger (1081–1151), abbot of Saint-Denis, added to the treasure of his abbey church. In the *Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis* (Report on Administration), written three or four years before he died, Suger mentions that he bought “a precious chalice made of a block of sardonyx, a gem partly sard and partly onyx, in which the red sard’s hue, vying with the blackness of the onyx, is variegated in such a manner that the properties of both seem to compete in trespassing on each other.”<sup>1</sup>

The sardonyx cup, which Suger had mounted as a chalice, is probably an Alexandrian work of the Ptolemaic period, second to first century B.C. It is very delicately fluted outside, while left smooth inside (fig. 1). It can be compared with a Ptolemaic bowl of breccia stone in the Gulbenkian collection, Lisbon; Alexandrian vessels in glass;<sup>2</sup> and a sardonyx cup with Byzantine mounts and a chalcedony chalice, both in the Museo degli Argenti, Pitti Palace, Florence.<sup>3</sup> Ancient gemstones were mounted as chalices from early Christian times through the thirteenth century; about a dozen and a half such cups are recorded in literary sources covering seven centuries of Western history. Four survive in various European cities;<sup>4</sup> two others come from Saint-Denis: Suger’s chalice in the National Gallery and an earlier Saint-Denis chalice called the “Ptolemies Cup,”<sup>5</sup> in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Fifteen Byzantine chalices in sardonyx, agate, or onyx, looted by the crusaders in Constantinople in 1204, are housed in the treasury of San Marco, Venice.<sup>6</sup>

Suger did not disclose the provenance of his sardonyx cup. It may have been brought to Saint-Denis by dealers who flocked there in such number that, as Suger wrote, “the supply exceeded the demand;”<sup>7</sup> or it may have been a pawn redeemed by a wealthy

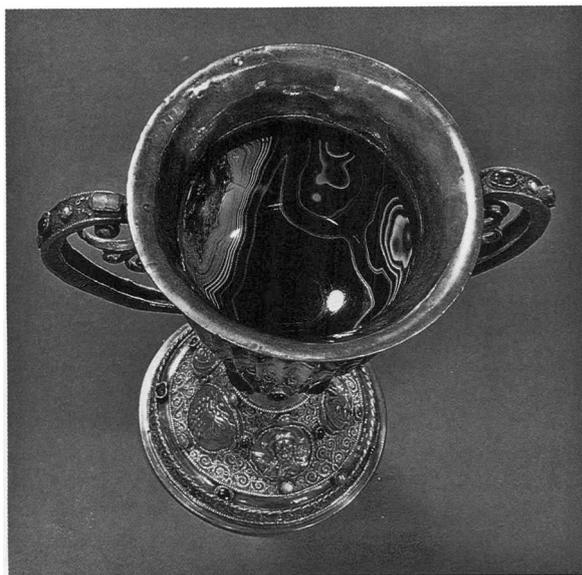


Fig. 1 1942.9.277, top

Fig. 2 Daniel Rabel,  
Watercolor of Suger's  
Chalice, 1633, Paris,  
Cabinet des Estampes



Fig. 3 1942.9.277, detail  
of center band circlet



lender of the Jewish community that had settled in Saint-Denis and Paris.<sup>8</sup> Suger had it mounted in such a way that its foot remained visible, as can be seen in a watercolor executed at Saint-Denis in 1633 (fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> The foot is now hidden by the cirlet to which are attached the handles above the knob (fig. 3).

Suger reserved the chalice for the celebration of the mass at the altar of the three martyrs, Saints Dionysus, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, which had been dedicated on 11 June 1144 in the sanctuary of the new chevet. Dionysus and his companions were the patron saints of the abbey and the protectors of the French kingdom. Dionysus was believed to have been converted by Saint Paul in Athens before being dispatched from Rome in order to evangelize Gaul. To him were also attributed the theological works of a neoplatonist who actually lived in the fifth and sixth centuries, Denys the Areopagite. The martyrs' altar was incorporated in 1144 into a mausoleum sheltering their relics and dominated by their triple *châsse*.<sup>10</sup> At this altar the second of the four daily high masses was celebrated.<sup>11</sup> On the octave of Saint-Denis' feast, which fell on October 9, and at the principal feasts of the liturgical year, the mass was concelebrated in Greek with a display of five chalices on the main altar. This Greek mass was like that of Saint Peter's in Rome, transliterated into Latin.<sup>12</sup>

Along with the chalice, Suger offered to the martyrs' altar a rock-crystal bottle mounted as a vessel for the sacrificial wine and a sardonyx pitcher mounted as a ewer for pouring water. These two vessels, which unlike the chalice bear inscriptions composed by Suger, are on display with the regalia of the French monarchy in the Galerie d'Apollon of the Musée du Louvre. The rock-crystal bottle without its mounting had been a gift of Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine, to King Louis VII on the occasion of their marriage, to which Suger was a witness, in 1137. The king presented it to Suger and Suger to the Saint-Denis martyrs.<sup>13</sup> The bottle, a Fatimid rock crystal mounted in silver gilt, jewels, and gems, appears twenty-four times in the hands of the Apocalyptic Elders carved above the Last Judgment portal of the Saint-Denis facade.<sup>14</sup> The Elders hold the bottles in guise of the "golden cups" of Revelation 8:4. Since the western end of the church and its facade were dedicated on 9 June 1140, it is possible to establish that the mounting was executed between the king's marriage and the church dedication. Since the chalice and the ewer, a Sassanian or Byzantine gemstone,<sup>15</sup> are adorned with the same patterns of double filigrees as Eleanor's bottle, it follows that their mountings were also executed between 1137 and 1140.

Fig. 4 Daniel Rabel, Watercolor of the "Chalice of Saint Denys," 1633, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes



Fig. 5 1942.9.277, detail of handle



The silver gilt rim, bristling with filigrees and precious stones, reserved no smooth place for drinking the consecrated wine. It was sipped through liturgical straws, used by the consecrating priest, the deacon, and the subdeacon.<sup>16</sup> None of the Saint-Denis examples has been preserved. Suger does not mention a paten either. The paten, which came into use after his abbacy, had vanished before the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>17</sup>

After the Benedictines of the Saint Maur congregation took possession of Saint-Denis in 1633, Suger's chalice became associated with an early Christian serpentine dish encrusted with golden fish (or dolphins?), which had been enframed in a ninth-century raised rim set with jewels and gems.<sup>18</sup> During the Middle Ages the serpentine paten had been used as a cover for the Ptolemies Cup.<sup>19</sup> The Ptolemies Cup, an Alexandrian agate vessel carved with scenes of the cult of Bacchus, was presented to Saint Denis by his lay abbot, Emperor Charles the Bald (d. 877). It was then mounted as a chalice. Its foot was refashioned in the twelfth century and engraved with an inscription presumably composed by Suger.

The shape of Suger's chalice reflects two traditions, Byzantine and Western. The handles were structured and designed after those of the "Chalice of Saint Denys," believed at Saint-Denis to have been used by Saint Denys himself (fig. 4).<sup>20</sup> The cup of the Saint Denys chalice was a Fatimid rock crystal mounted in Sicily or in a Mediterranean region under Byzantine influence. It was auctioned by order of the French Directoire in 1798 and no longer exists, but it is described in the inventories of the abbey and its appearance is documented in a watercolor of 1633.<sup>21</sup> Its long handles, studded with precious stones, clamped its rim to a circlet above the knob. By comparison, the handles of chalices of strict Western provenance are shorter, S shaped, closer to the cup, and join its middle part to the rim.<sup>22</sup> The foot of the Saint Denys chalice leveled off in a countercurve similar to that of Suger's chalice, before a modern restoration stiffened the latter into a conical support. A perpendicular line drawn upward from the circumference of the foot of Suger's chalice would today reach the point on each side where the handles are soldered to the cup, whereas it would have been tangential to the interior curl of the handles as designed in the watercolor of 1633. The proportions of Suger's chalice in its pristine state were more harmonious, imparting an impression of greater stability and better balance. The area under the foot of the sardonyx cup followed the Western tradition, as did the corresponding part of the Saint Denys chalice. An engraving of Suger's



Fig. 6 1942.9.277, detail of medallion with Christ blessing



Fig. 7 1942.9.277, detail of medallions of symbols of the Eucharist

chalice in 1706,<sup>23</sup> in comparison with the 1633 watercolor, shows that between the two dates a supplementary curl and loop were added to the simple curls ending the handles (fig. 5). That happened after the Benedictines of the Saint Maur congregation took possession of the abbey in 1633. One of the lower ends remained intact. The other has been not very felicitously repaired.

Five silver gilt embossed figures were enframed in medallions on the foot of the chalice (fig. 6). A single original one has survived: a bust of Christ Blessing between the Greek letters alpha and omega, copying Byzantine epigraphy. Christ, whose halo is stamped with a cross, presents the features and the overbearing expression of the Pantocrator. The composition must have been modeled after a Byzantine cameo;<sup>24</sup> or possibly the source was a coin stamped in Constantinople, such as those which, as early as the reign of Justinian II (first reign 685–695) afforded the iconographical type of a stern-looking, bearded Christ.<sup>25</sup> The association of Christ with the Judge who in Revelation 22:13 declares: “I am Alpha

and Omega, the beginning and the end,” cannot otherwise be Byzantine, because the majority of the Greek Fathers did not receive Saint John’s Apocalypse among the canonical books of the Bible. In Byzantine art the bust of Christ is not encompassed by alpha and omega, but designated by letters beginning and ending Jesus Christ in Greek.

Four medallions stamped with symbols of the Eucharist chased in low relief (figs. 7, 8), twice a sheaf of wheat and twice a bunch of grapes, are modern replacements. The watercolor of 1633 shows, on the side opposite the bust of Christ, two bearded figures between whom there is a female figure making the time-honored gesture of “acclamation” with her *left* hand. There is no clue for the fifth figure, since no document describes the five medallions.

The four figures that previously surrounded Christ have been erroneously interpreted as the four Evangelists attending the Majesty of Christ.<sup>26</sup> The correct interpretation is suggested by a chalice executed in the insular, Irish abstract style between 769 and 788 for Tassilo III, duke of Bavaria, now in the



Fig. 8 1942.9.277, detail of medallions of symbols of the Eucharist

Kremsmunster abbey, Austria. Around its cup in niello are the figures of Christ and the Evangelists; around the foot, also in niello, are busts of the Virgin and four other saints.<sup>27</sup> The Virgin makes the same gesture of “acclamation” with her right hand as does the corresponding figure on the foot of Suger’s chalice. The left-handed gesture is a misunderstanding by the author of the watercolor. The three other figures enframed in medallions cannot be other than Saint Denys and his companion martyrs, Rusticus and Eleutherius. Suger, who presented the chalice to their altar, professed a particular devotion to the Virgin. In her honor he had instituted a votive mass every Saturday.<sup>28</sup> The main altar in the crypt was dedicated to her. It was located under the martyrs’ altar set in the sanctuary.<sup>29</sup> The easternmost radiating chapel in the ambulatory was consecrated to the Virgin, whose altar was erected between stained-glass windows painted with the Tree of Jesse and the life of the Virgin and the infancy of Christ.<sup>30</sup>

The stones and jewels set in the silver gilt scrollwork of the rim, the knob, the foot, and on the handles of the chalice are punctiliously enumerated in the inventories of 1504 and 1634.<sup>31</sup> Twelve jewels alternated with twelve pairs of pearls on the foot, perhaps in reference to the twelve apostles. The symbolic connotation does not apply to the rim, on which twelve pairs of pearls alternate with only ten jewels, because it was not feasible to set jewels where the handles had to be soldered to the cup. Here, two pairs of pearls face each other (fig. 9). A certain number of pearls and jewels were already missing in 1634. Consequently, the experts appraised the chalice at twelve hundred livres compared to fifteen hundred in 1504. Very few original jewels survive today, and they have been reset at different places. The replacements are mainly glass insets, red or purple. Imitations in opaque white glass were often substituted for pearls, as they have been here.

The alternation of jewels and pairs of pearls, already standard practice in the eleventh century, had been so thoroughly adopted at Saint-Denis that it was imitated in stone carving along the bands framing the reliefs of the Labors of the Months on the jambs of the southern portal of the church facade.

The double filigrees, that is, filigrees made of double-notched wire, adorning Suger’s chalice and its two accompanying liturgical vessels raise a problem. Double filigrees made of granulated double wires are sporadically found in goldwork of the Franks, the Germans, and the Vikings, as an evolution of antique granulation.<sup>32</sup> They appear in Islamic art and exceptionally in Byzantine art.<sup>33</sup> They never were treated, however, as the Saint-Denis ribbons, flattened against their background. When they came into general use in the West around 1180, their structure and pattern had completely changed.<sup>34</sup> It may be surmised that at Saint-Denis they echoed the double strings of pearls sewn on the silk and gold fabrics woven by Arab craftsmen in the Tiraz, the royal workshop of Roger II of Sicily (1130–1154), with whom Suger entertained close relations.<sup>35</sup> Precious hangings, among them some presumably from the Palermo workshop, were displayed on special occasions in the abbey church.<sup>36</sup>

In 1783, for the last time in the history of Saint-Denis during the *ancien régime*, Suger’s chalice is mentioned as being stored in the treasury adjacent to the southern aisle of the church nave.<sup>37</sup> In fulfillment of the law ordering the nationalization of the monastic orders, on 30 September 1791 the chalice was taken away from Saint-Denis and deposited at the Cabinet National des Médailles et Antiques, as

Fig. 9 1942.9.277, view from below



Fig. 10 1942.9.277, detail of foot

worthy – no doubt on account of its sardonyx cup – of preservation as “a monument of the arts and sciences.”<sup>38</sup> On the night of 16–17 February 1804 it was stolen from the Cabinet National. Forced into a plaster bust of Laocoön, it was smuggled, presumably by way of Holland, to England, which was then at war with France. It was acquired by a collector of ancient art, Charles Towneley (1737–1805).<sup>39</sup> Instead of passing with the Towneley marbles to the British Museum, Suger’s chalice remained in the family until about 1880 or even 1920, when Harry Harding, an English dealer, bought it at public auction for eight hundred pounds. He sold it shortly afterward to the firm of J. and S. Goldschmidt. Joseph Widener purchased it from their galleries at 673 Fifth Avenue, New York, on 20 March 1922.

Marc Rosenberg, who had seen the chalice in England in 1921, wrote an article on his discovery, which remained unpublished until 1926.<sup>40</sup> In 1923 Seymour de Ricci announced in a communication to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres that in May he had examined Suger’s chalice at Lynnewood Hall, Joseph Widener’s estate at Elkins Park, near Philadelphia.<sup>41</sup> Wareham Harding, Harry Harding’s brother, in a conversation on 14 December 1932 with Edith Standen, then curator of the collection at Elkins Park and a present curator emeritus of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, related that he had seen an old photograph of the chalice showing that the foot was different from that of the chalice at the time it was sold by Jacob Goldschmidt to Joseph Widener.<sup>42</sup> It is obvious that the flat bottom edge was remade and soldered to the conical support, a beaded string and a cable having been added (figs. 9, 10). P.V.

#### NOTES

1. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Oeuvres complètes de Suger recueillies, annotées et publiées d’après les manuscrits pour la Société de l’Histoire de France* (Paris, 1867), Latin text, 207–208. My translation differs slightly from that given by Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and Its Art Treasures* (1946; 2d ed., Princeton 1979), 79.

2. *Egyptian Sculpture from the Gulbenkian Collection* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art] (Washington, 1949), no. 26, repro. 68; *Art in Glass* [exh. cat., Toledo Museum of Art] (Toledo, 1969), 20, no. 23.1071.

3. Antonio Morassi, *Il tesoro dei Medici: Oreficerie, argenterie, pietre dure* (Milan, 1963), pl. 15.

4. A sardonyx chalice of 1114 in Regensburg Cathedral, remounted as a cup in 1658; an agate Byzantine cup mounted by a Polish goldsmith toward the end of the twelfth century, in Gniezno Cathedral; an Ottonian agate chalice transformed into a reliquary, presented by Frederick II in 1236 to the tomb of Saint Elisabeth in Bamberg (now in the Stockholms Stadsmuseet); the chal-

- ice of Urraca, daughter of the Spanish King Fernando I (d. 1065), given to San Isidoro of León and still kept there.
5. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Planches et notices*, 54–56, pls. 36–38.
  6. André Grabar, "Calici bizantini e patene bizantini," in H. R. Hahnloser, *Il tesoro di San Marco* (Florence, 1971), section 2, "Il tesoro e il museo," nos. 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62.
  7. Guibert 1910, 28, 35, pl. 3.
  8. Panofsky 1946 and 1979, 55.
  9. Aryeh Grabois, "L'abbaye de Saint-Denis et les Juifs sous l'abbatiat de Suger," *Annales: Economies sociétés civilisations* 24 (1969), 1187–1195.
  10. Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac, "Le 'tombeau de corps saints' à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," *Cahiers archéologiques* 23 (1974), 81–95; Philippe Verdier, "Peut-on restituer l'aspect du tombeau des corps saints à Saint-Denis?," *Clio et son regard: Mélanges d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie offerts à Jacques Stiennon* (Liège, 1982), 653–661. The complex altar and shrine of the martyrs was pulled down in 1624 and rebuilt at the extreme end of the chevet, with black marble and gilded bronze. The relics of Dionysus, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, saved during the French Revolution, were enshrined in reliquaries offered by Louis XVIII. The reliquaries can be seen today suspended above the place occupied, until the French Revolution, by the saints' new altar.
  11. Doublet 1625, 361.
  12. Henri Omont, "La messe grecque de Saint-Denis au moyen âge," *Etudes d'histoire du moyen âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris, 1896), 177–185; Michel Huglo, "Les chants de la missa graeca de Saint-Denis," in *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. Jack Westrup (Oxford, 1966), 74–83.
  13. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Planches et notices*, 63–64, pls. 47–48.
  14. Sumner McKnight Crosby and Pamela Z. Blum, "Le portail central de la façade occidentale de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin Monumental* 131 (1973), 209–266.
  15. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Planches et notices*, 41–42, pl. 22.
  16. Germain Millet, *Le trésor sacré ou inventaire des saintes reliques... de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1638), 109; *Les raretés qui se voyent dans l'église royale de S. Denis; avec des remarques curieuses* (Paris, 1749), 5; Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Documents divers*, 155, 465.
  17. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Documents divers*, 177.
  18. Félibien 1706, pl. 3, letter R, 541, letter R. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Planches et notices*, 56–57, pls. 39–40. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "L'orfèvrerie cloisonnée à l'époque carolingienne," *Cahiers archéologiques* 29 (1980–1981), 5–26.
  19. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1973, 163–164.
  20. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Planches et notices*, 51–52, pl. 34.
  21. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1973, 161. Watercolor in *Recueil de Peiresc*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Aa 53, fol. 95; Guibert 1910, 27–28, 32, pl. 7.
  22. Braun 1932, figs. 6–9, 11–12, 17–19; Victor E. Elbern, *Der Eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1964), figs. 12, 17, 20, 32, 34, 36–37, 86, 108; Wiltrud Mersmann, "Der Henkelkelch von Cividale," *Alte und moderne Kunst* 24 (1979), 15–20, figs. 4, 8, 12.
  23. Félibien 1706, pl. 3, letter R, 541, letter R. Reproduced in Verdier 1989, 18, fig. 19.
  24. Wentzel 1967, 75; Hans Wentzel "Die Byzantinischen Kameen in Kassel," *Mouseion. Studien aus Kunst und Geschichte für Otto H. Förster* (Cologne, 1960), 88–96, figs. 80, 81.
  25. André Grabar, *L'iconoclasme Byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), 16–17, figs. 12–14.
  26. William Wixom, *Treasures from Medieval France* [exh cat., Cleveland Museum of Art] (Ohio, 1981), 108.
  27. Marc Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst auf technischer Grundlage: Niello bis zum Jahre 1000 nach Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1924–1925), (reprint, 6 vols. in 1 [Osnabrück, 1972], 5:79–88, figs. 69–82). Pankraz Stoltenmayer, *Der Kelch des Herzogs Tassilo* (Rosenheim, 1976), 9, figs. 51, 53a and b, 55, 57, 59, 61.
  28. Lecoy de la Marche 1867, 237, 327.
  29. Panofsky 1946 and 1979, 119.
  30. Louis Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint-Denis*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1976), 71–92.
  31. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1973, 164–165.
  32. Rosenberg 1972, vol. 2 (*Abteilung: Granulation*), 97–103, figs. 161, 165, 171. We have the technical testimony of Theophilus (ca. 1100) on the derivation of filigree from granulation: "Beat some gold out thin and draw from it thick, medium or fine wires, and file them so that beading appears on them" (Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, trans. C. R. Dodwell [London, 1961], III, lii, 101).
  33. The gold lid of a rock crystal decanter offered to Suger by Roger II, king of Sicily (1102–1154): Ernest Babelon, *Histoire de la gravure sur gemmes en France depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine* (Paris, 1902), 44–45; Panofsky 1946 and 1979, 79; Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Planches et notices*, 44–45. The mountings of an incense boat made of a scalloped agate, from Saint-Denis and now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; and of an Islamic turquoise glass bowl in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice: Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Planches et notices*, 59–60, pl. 44; Hahnloser 1971, 2: no. 117, pl. 89.
  34. The double filigrees of the new type coming to the fore in the 1170s run friezelike and tend to become detached from the ground. Silver pellets dot their curling ends. When their use became generalized throughout western Europe, they were called "opus Venetum" or "Veneticum ad filum." H. R. Hahnloser, "Scola et artes cristellariorum de Veniciis 1284–1319; opus Venetum ad filum," in *Venezia e l'Europa, atti del VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte 1955* (Venice, 1956), 157–165; Etienne Coche de la Ferté, *Le camée Rothschild: Un chef d'oeuvre du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.C.* (Paris, 1957), 51–54.

35. Angelo Lipinsky, "Sizilianische Goldschmiedekunst im Zeitalter der Normannen und Staufer," *Das Münster* 10 (March/April 1957), 73–79, figs. 1–3.
36. Lecoy de la Marche 1867, 40, 208, 245–246, 292; Panofsky 1946 and 1979, 81.
37. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1977, *Documents divers*, 181.
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39. Marion du Mersan, *Histoire du cabinet des médailles, antiques et pierres gravées* (Paris, 1838), 177; Guibert 1910, 41–43; Ernest Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), clxvii–clxix, 133–135.
40. Rosenberg 1926, 209–217, figs. 5, 6, Rosenberg 1928, 4: 311–312.
41. Ricci 1923, 335–339.
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## Crucifix

1942.9.282 (C-6)

Probably Rhenish or Mosan, c. 1150/1175

Gilded copper alloy with champlevé enamel, one jasper stone, and glass

Cross: 28.9 x 20.8 (11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>), h. with base: 37 (14<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub>);  
corpus: 15.25 x 15.8 (6 x 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

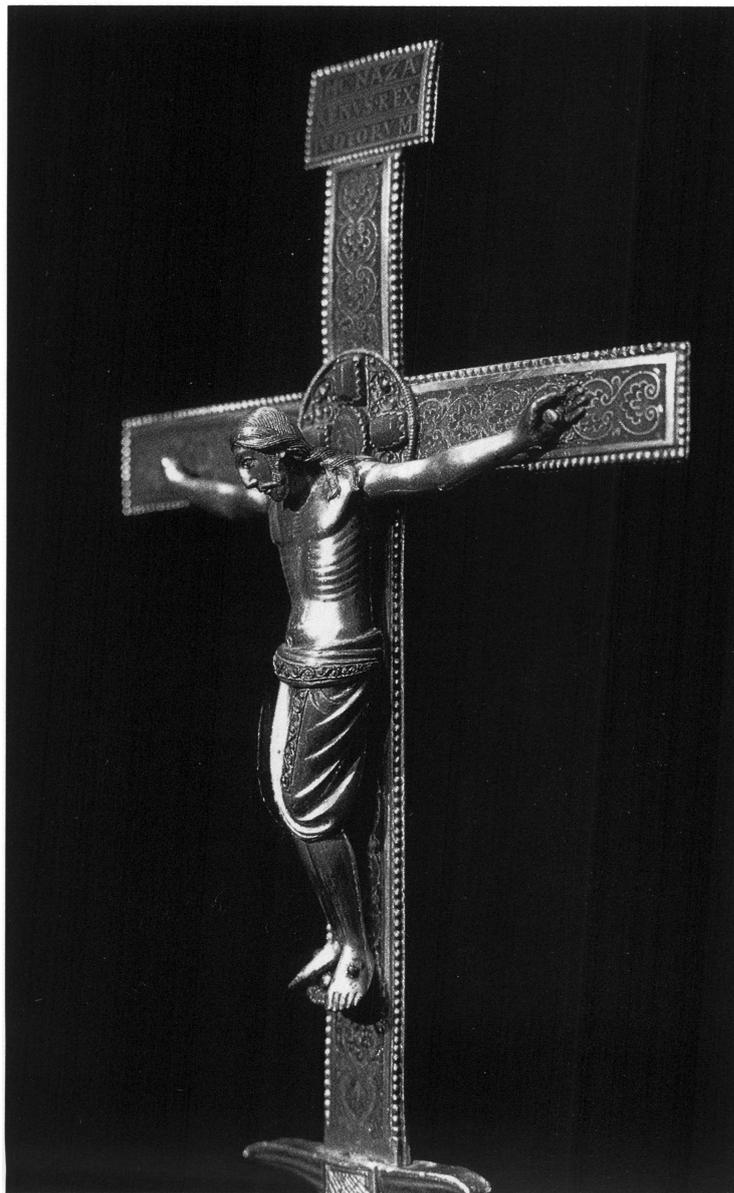
Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

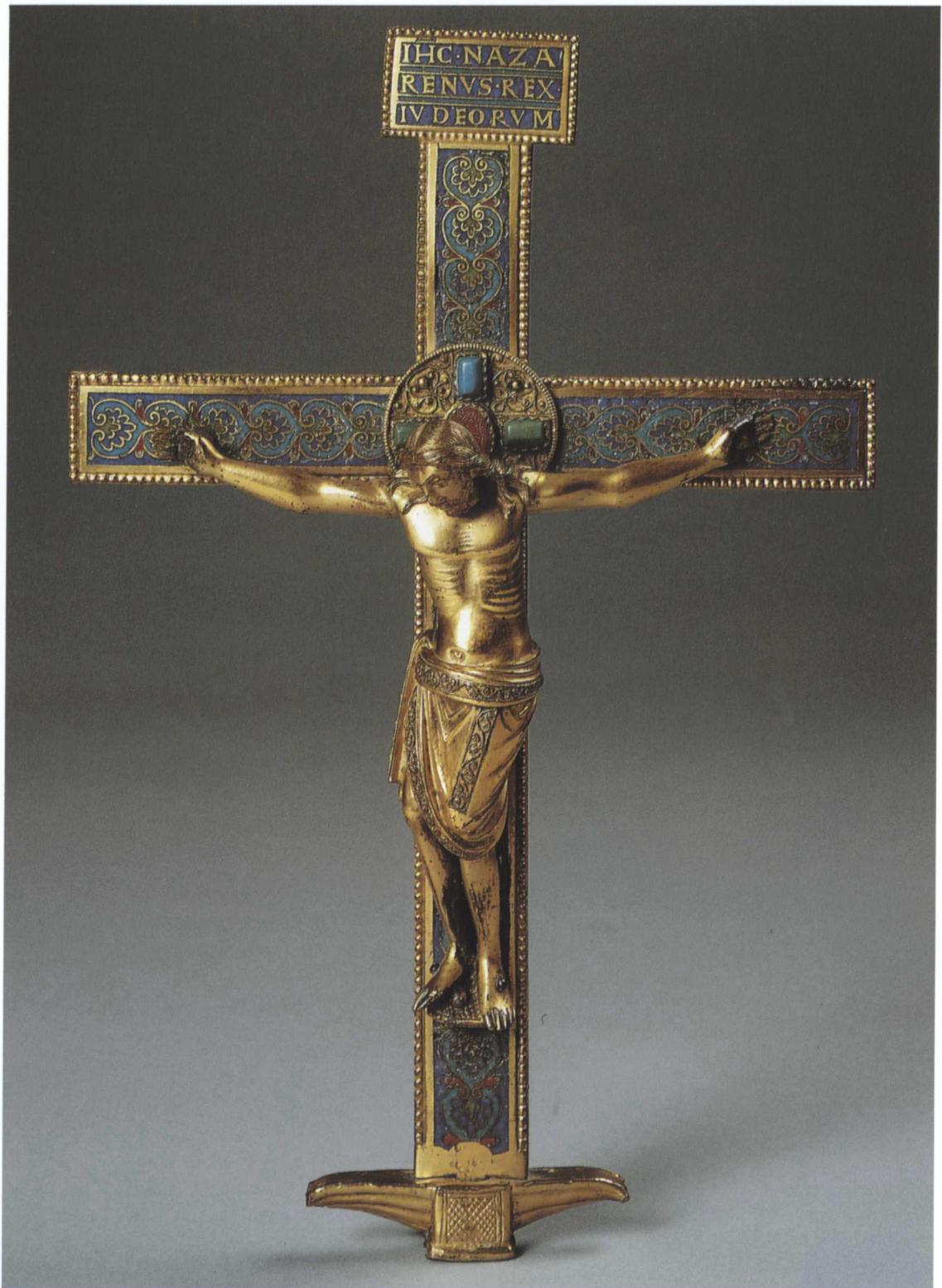
On plaque at top of cross, in reserved letters surrounded by enamel: *IHC. NAZA/ RENVV. REX./ IVDEORVM*

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The corpus is in good condition except for worn gilding on the legs (especially inside the proper right leg, where a casting flaw is repaired with a metal patch), and for the hands. The sections of the hands attached to the cross are battered and blackened (fig. 1), the latter possibly due to galvanic corrosion between the nails and hands. The fingers, separated from the palms, are so flat as to raise a question as to whether they belong to the present corpus. The palm section of the right hand bears file or saw marks on the back (fig. 2), suggesting it was cut free of the fingers to remove the corpus from the cross. X-ray fluores-



1942.9.282, left side [photo: author]



Probably Rhenish or Mosan, *Crucifix*, 1942.9.282

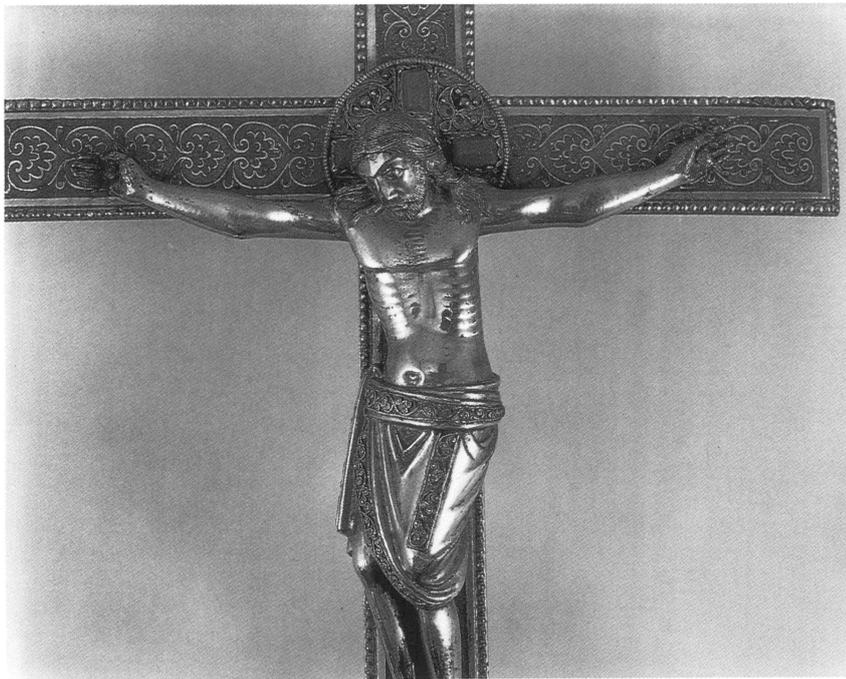


Fig. 1 1942.9.282, detail



Fig. 2 1942.9.282, corpus, back view, with panel removed

cence analysis (see note 2) indicates that the present, detached fingers of that hand differ in composition from the corpus.

Scratches in the gilding on the back of the cross (fig. 3), where the hands are attached, correspond to the damaged and fragmented condition of the hands of the corpus, suggesting the crucifix was once crudely dismantled. The gilding on the back of the cross is otherwise in good condition. The enamel on the front is damaged in several places, especially on the upper stem and at the points of attachment of the corpus' hands and feet. The quality and condition of the enamel work on the cross varies. On the stem of the cross, in the area covered by Christ's torso and legs, it is cruder in workmanship, and less polished than on the more visible arms. Dots of white enamel are found between many of the palmettes instead of the red that appears in the exposed portions. These features may represent relatively indifferent workmanship in an area meant to be covered.

The engraved gem at the center of the halo is a jasper.<sup>1</sup>

X-ray fluorescence analysis indicates that the corpus is composed of a gilded alloy of copper and zinc, with traces of tin and silver.<sup>2</sup> Exceptions are the fingers, which contain traces of lead and iron, absent in the corpus, and lack the zinc, silver, and tin that compose the corpus. The presence of mercury indicates fire-gilding. The only elements detected in an unenameled area at the bottom of the cross were copper, gold, and mercury. A repair on the upper edge of the proper left arm of the cross, near the end, contains copper and zinc with traces of tin and silver, and is thus close in composition to the corpus. The enamel on the cross shows elemental distributions consistent with medieval production. All the colors contain antimony and lead.<sup>3</sup> For additional details of metal and enamel compositions see the table in the Appendix.

#### PROVENANCE

Rodolphe Kann, Paris, before 1907; (Duveen Brothers, London or New York), 1908; purchased 2 October 1908 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, as Rhinish, twelfth century. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

Both principal elements of this crucifix, the cross and the corpus, resemble well-known medieval works. Yet they are sufficiently different from their closest medieval cognates to have raised questions about authenticity.<sup>4</sup> The relationship of the corpus to the cross is also problematic.

The corpus is one of many descendants of a particularly beautiful version attributed to Renier of Huy, dated c. 1110/1120 and preserved in the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne.<sup>5</sup> Verdier, who regarded the Washington corpus as a Mosan masterwork, connected it with another, smaller example of the Renier type in the Chicago Art Institute, on an enameled cross with a similar design of interlocking palmettes and a similar inscription at the top.<sup>6</sup>

Fig. 3 1942.9.282, back of cross and halo

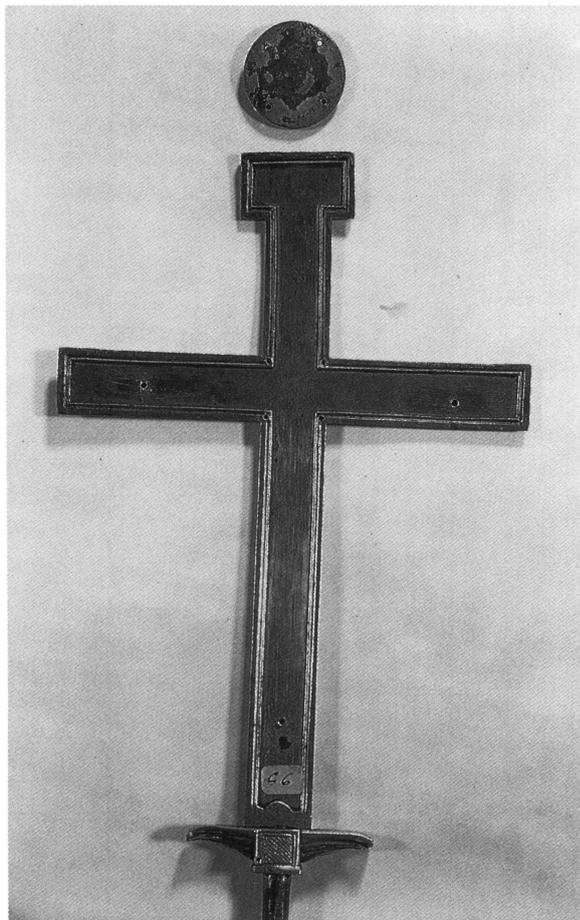
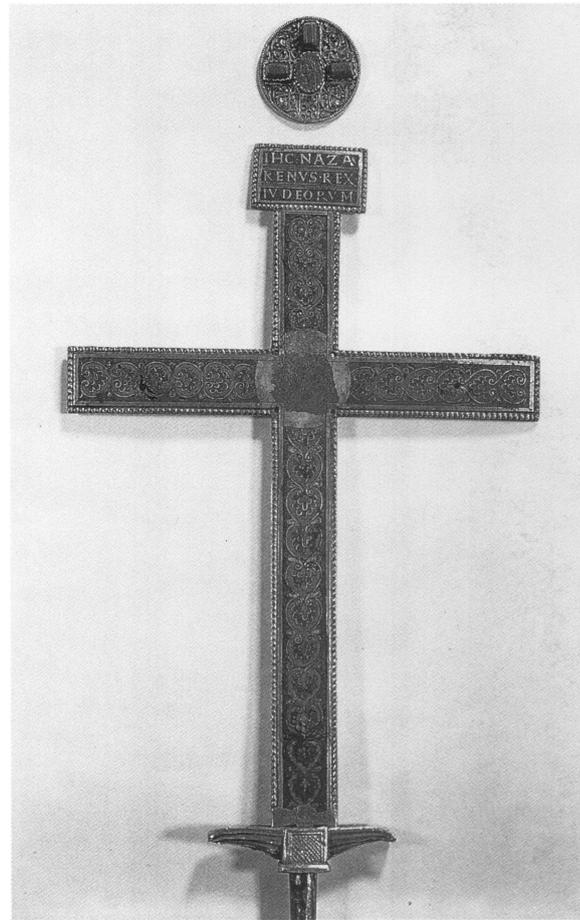


Fig. 4 1942.9.282, cross, with figure and halo detached



Differences in style and enamel technique, however, suggest that the relationship between the Chicago and Washington crucifixes is not close enough for either to shed much light on the other.<sup>7</sup>

The Washington corpus shows its descent from the Renier type in many features. These include its general proportions; the pose, with head inclining and body twisting slightly to the right; the open eyes with engraved pupils; the long hair with tresses woven into a wreath around the head; and the upright attitude with slightly bent knees, conveying stoically accepted sorrow rather than intense agony. The back of the Washington corpus (fig. 2) corresponds to that of the Cologne corpus in its careful finish, with hair chased in fine detail.<sup>8</sup> The arrangement of the knee-length loincloth, set low on the hips and bound with a broad *cingulum* (belt), is characteristic of the Renier type. Christ's head, with its broad nose and converging brows, also resembles other figures in Mosan metalwork, such as the Evangelists of the Stavelot portable altar (c. 1150/1160) at the *Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels.<sup>9</sup>

But the differences that set the National Gallery corpus apart from others of the Renier type are also striking. The face has a bland expression and a peculiar vertical ridge in the center of the forehead. The deep chest, smooth surfaces, and powerful arms, the strongly modeled, regular ribs and regular hair, and especially the heavy concentration of weight in the midsection are all unusual. The ornamental *cingulum* and hem border, both bearing applied filigree ornament unparalleled in any known corpus, create a heavy and oddly proportioned look. Even the most similar corpus from the group, no. 6260 in the *Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels, c. 1150/1175,<sup>10</sup> is more fragile in proportions, pathetic in expression, and worn in condition than the Washington example.

The cross (fig. 4) presents a separate problem. The ornamental motif of interlocking heart-shaped palmettes has numerous parallels in Rhenish crosses and other Rhenish works.<sup>11</sup> Overall ornament of similar type, combining bands of enamel in repeating patterns, beaded metal borders, and applied filigree interspersed with gems (including an-

cient engraved ones), can be found on a number of Rhenish and Mosan works of the 1170s and 1180s, especially reliquary shrines. Some of these display the heart-palmette motif, and others have fine bronze strips forming internal scalloped patterns as in the enamel on the Washington cross.<sup>12</sup> But the enamel technique is unusual on the Washington cross; a loose flow of red enamel patches between the hearts is only partly circumscribed by the metal strips.

The style of the inscription atop the Washington cross corresponds to that on secure Rhenish and Mosan works.<sup>13</sup> A cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, assigned to Cologne, 1150/1175,<sup>14</sup> is inscribed IHC NAZ/ ARENVS REX/ IVDEORVM, with IHC abbreviated in a manner identical to that of the Washington cross, with the line above the H placed in the border outside the inscription. The London cross, engraved with vine scrolls, also has raised moldings around the edges resembling those on the back of the Washington cross.

The halo in the center of the Washington cross seems to be original; its size and shape match a space left free of enamel for its attachment. The forms of its filigree ornament echo the heart-palmette motif of the enamels, and are similar (though not identical) in workmanship to the filigree on the *cingulum*. The three oblong ornaments on the halo are glass, but the oval stone in the center, a red jasper, is to all evidence an ancient Roman intaglio (fig. 4).<sup>15</sup> It represents two birds perched facing each other on a wine cup or *kantharos* on the left, under a sheltering tree on the right.

The hiltlike base of the cross bears a simple cross-hatched pattern resembling that on the suppedaneum (foot-support), suggesting these portions are coeval. The shaft would have permitted the cross to be inserted into a staff for processional use.<sup>16</sup>

The condition of the figure's hands raises crucial questions (see technical notes). Inconsistencies of form and composition between fingers and corpus could indicate that the fingers are repaired, or that the present corpus replaces a lost original (as Christensen suggested) that was crudely removed at an unknown date. The repair on the proper left arm of the cross is similar in metal composition to the corpus, raising the suspicion that the corpus and repair could date from the same relatively late period. Yet the backs of the hands of the corpus seem to fit closely over the battered finger fragments on the cross. The cross and corpus resemble no forgeries or historicizing works discovered thus far.<sup>17</sup> Without further evidence for either possibility, the authenticity of both may be cautiously maintained. A.L.

#### NOTES

1. Russell Feather, gemologist at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, identified the gem stone on 18 September 1985.

2. Reports of 13 June 1985, 21 October 1986, and 22 January 1987 in NGA conservation laboratory files.

3. See reports cited in note 2, and discussion of 1942.9.278, the Limoges châsse.

4. The corpus was judged post-medieval by Christensen 1952, 10 (replacement for "a lost Romanesque original"); William Wixom (verbal opinion, 19 December 1958); Harvey Stahl and Dietrich Kötzsche (verbal opinion, 12 May 1971; Christ and halo probably from the second half of the nineteenth century; enamels "perhaps good"); and Anton von Euw (letters to the author 22 June 1983 and 22 October 1984, the latter after seeing the work in its case. Von Euw suggested that both the cross and corpus were late nineteenth-century creations made in Brussels or Cologne).

5. Verdier 1975, 25, first noted this relationship. For the Renier corpus (measuring 15.3 x 16.2 cm, thus nearly identical to the National Gallery corpus) and a catalogue of its descendants see especially Peter Bloch, "Bronzekruzifixe in der Nachfolge des Reiner von Huy," in *Rhein und Maas*, [exh. cat., Kunsthalle], 2 vols. (Cologne, 1972), 2:251–262; full-page repro., 252. Bloch observed that photos of the Washington corpus gave no reason to doubt its authenticity, but reserved final judgement until seeing the original (letters to the author of 6 July 1983 and 25 October 1984).

6. Verdier 1961, 123, characterized the Washington corpus and an enameled crucifix in The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, as "les plus nobles images du Christ en croix qui aient survécu des ateliers mosans du troisième quart du XIIe siècle." See also Verdier 1975, 25–26, and Hürkey 1983, 11, 56, 160, who also call the corpus Mosan, third quarter of the twelfth century. For the Chicago corpus (no. 1943.70), 9.5 cm high, see Bloch in *Rhein und Maas* 1972, 2:253, 258, n. 7.

7. The angular, faceted limbs, frail torso, and ruggedly expressive face of the Chicago Christ contrast with the relatively smooth Washington figure, with its powerful chest and arms and its bland expression. The enamel pattern of heart-shaped palmettes on the Washington cross resembles that on the one in Chicago, but the Washington example is worked elaborately in red, blue, apple green, and turquoise, with tendrils so sharp-edged that they resemble cloisonné work, while the Chicago cross has blunter tendrils raised against a monochrome slate blue background.

8. The Washington corpus shares with several others the feature of an opening in the back, probably related to the casting process. In this case the opening is covered by a removable panel that fits perfectly, which suggests that the corpus might also have been intended as a reliquary. For corpuses with openings in the back see Bloch in *Rhein und Maas* 1972, 2:nos. 1, 2, 8, 10, 13, 15, 19. No. 7938–62 at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Bloch no. 8) also has a closing panel, which, however, slides into place rather than fitting vertically from above.

9. *Rhein und Maas* 1972, 1:252, no. G-13.

10. Bloch in *Rhein und Maas* 1972, 2:253, 256, no. 2. It resembles the Washington corpus in dimensions (15 x 16 cm) and in the use of ornament (though incised rather than applied) on the *cingulum*, a similar distribution of three locks of hair on each shoulder, and pronounced articulation of the ribs.

11. Heart palmettes appear on the portions of the Abbess Theophanu reliquary cross that were executed by a Cologne goldsmith c. 1125-1150 (Hermann Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer* [Düsseldorf, 1957], pls. 154, 155), and on the Albert Cross (Cologne, c. 1170; engraved; *Rhein und Maas* 1972, 1:276, H 15).

As Verdier pointed out (Verdier 1975, 26, n. 6), the motif in cloisonné enamel appears on pilasters of the châsse of Saint Heribert at the church of the same name in Cologne (Cologne, c. 1170). The technique of the Saint Heribert enamels is different, however, with broad, flat, modulated color areas rather than internal linear definition through bronze strips.

12. For an example in Mosan metalwork see the Pentecost retable in Paris, especially the haloes, in Suzanne Collon-Gevaert *et al.*, *Art Mosan au XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Brussels, 1961), 190, no. 23. A number of the finest Rhenish examples of related goldsmith work of the second half of the twelfth century, from churches in Cologne, are illustrated in vol. 2 of *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik in Köln* [exh. cat., Schnütgen-Museum, Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle] (Cologne, 1985). They include the above-mentioned shrine of Saint Heribert, 314-323, no. E-91, and a book cover from the Schnütgen-Museum, Cologne, c. 1170, 400-402, no. F-43; see also 296-302, no. E-79; 350-351, no. E-114; 302-303, no. E-80; and the detail of the shrine of Saint Benignus from Saint Servatius, Siegburg, c. 1190, in *Rhein und Maas* 1972, 2:227.

13. Compare details of the upper section of the Stavelot portable altar (Joseph de Borchgrave d'Altena and Ghislaine Derveaux-Van Ussel, *Orfèvreries Mosanes*, Liège, n.d., pls. XIII-XVI).

14. M221.1956; photograph in NGA curatorial files.

15. Martin Henig suggested the gem dates to the second century A.D. (letter to Richard Randall, 28 June 1983, in NGA curatorial files). In that letter and one to the author, 14 October 1985, he cited gems engraved with related motifs in Adolf Furtwängler, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1896), no. 7915; Marianne Maaskant-

Kleibrink, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague. The Greek, Etruscan and Roman Collections* (The Hague, 1978), nos. 916, 729-730; Martin Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1978), nos. 398 and 399, and especially Henig and Whiting 1987, no. 317.

For the use of ancient carved gems in medieval goldsmith works see William Heckscher, "Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Medieval Settings," *JWCI* 1 (1937-1938), 204-220, and Hans Wentzel, "Mittelalterliche Gemmen: Versuch einer Grundlegung," in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 8 (1941), 45-98. For an ancient gem used in Christ's halo see the antependium from Basle Cathedral, c. 1010-1020, in Jean-Pierre Caillet, *L'antiquité classique, le haut moyen âge et Byzance au Musée de Cluny* (Paris, 1985), cat. 163. I owe this reference to Antje Krug.

16. Compare the Albert Cross, whose casing may, however, come from a different object, in exh. cat. Cologne 1985, 2:296, no. E-78, with illustration.

17. See, for instance, the ones in the exhibition *Goldschmiedearbeiten des Historismus in Köln*, ed. Werner Schäfke [exh. cat., Kölnisches Stadtmuseum] (Cologne, 1980), or the modern corpus affixed to the Albert Cross (see note 16).

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## Reliquary Châsse

1942.9.278 (C-2)

French (Limoges)

c. 1175/1180

Champlevé enamel on gilded copper with oak core

19.1 x 26.7 x 11.5 (7½ x 10½ x 4½)

Widener Collection

### MARKS

Stickers on interior (back): "ON LOAN FROM T. Gambier Parry Esq. April 19th 1862"; (proper right, bottom edge): "60."

### TECHNICAL NOTES

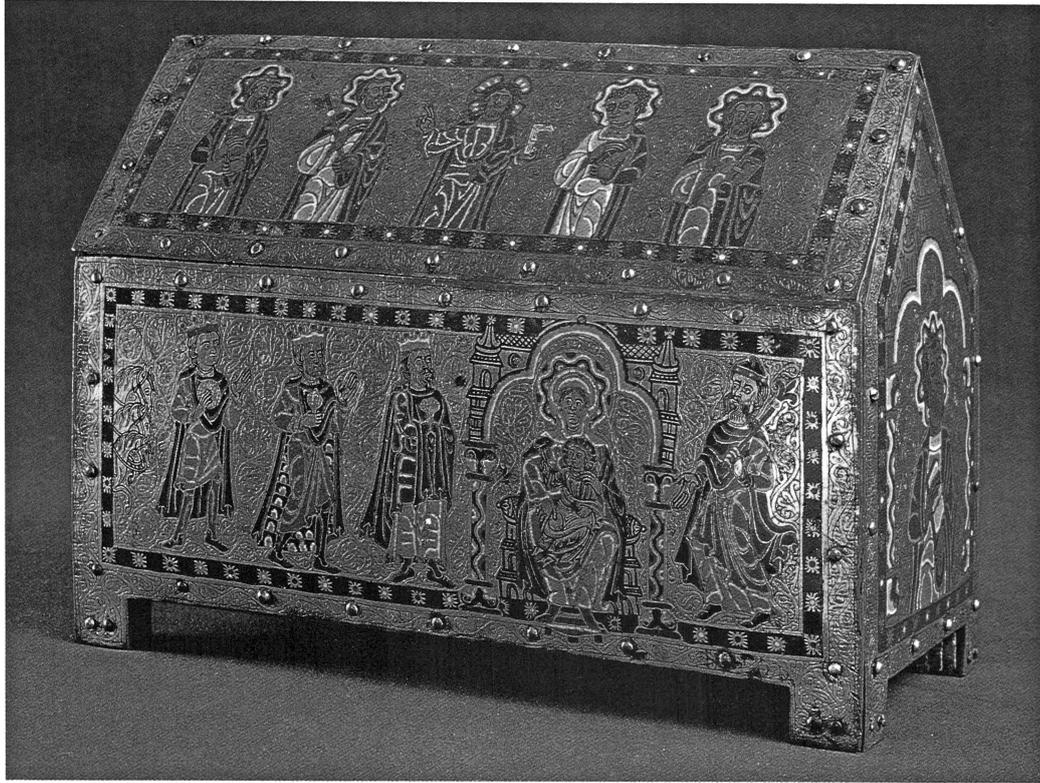
Some rubbing to the panels shows at the front (upper edges; on the proper right, at the join with the front; on the proper left (on the saint's face and at the join with the back), and on the back roof piece (edges and proper left, where separation suggests an effort at prying the box open). Several of the pins that hold the châsse together are missing. A dent and damage to the enamel border are found on the proper right end, with some enamel loss; a small chip is missing from the enamel border on the

proper right of the Magi panel, and the roof piece appears to have been pried up slightly at the proper right corner. The object is otherwise in excellent condition.

Of the seven pieces of oak that usually form the core of a Limoges châsse, the bottom section is missing (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It must once have contained the small door with a lock that provided access to the interior.<sup>2</sup> The wood panels, roughly 10 mm thick, are set, in typical fashion, with the grain running horizontally or vertically according to the orientation of the panel. The proper right end panel, of newer-looking wood, appears to be a replacement.

On the bottom edges of the wood are worn patches of red pigment over a white layer. On the inner surfaces are blobs of fresher-looking red pigment without any layer underneath. X-ray fluorescence analysis indicated that the worn pigments are mercury sulfide (vermilion), which was typically applied over fine plaster as a protective film for the wood of châsses.<sup>3</sup> The fresher blobs apparently contain barium sulphate (barytes), not used as an artist's pigment before the late eighteenth century. Its presence would indicate a restoration of the protective layer, perhaps on the same occasion when a wood panel was replaced.





1942.9.278, three-quarter front view



1942.9.278, back

X-ray fluorescence analysis also indicated that the metal plates are of a gilded, copper-rich alloy. The presence of mercury indicates fire-gilding. All the enamel colors contained elemental distributions consistent with medieval production. Each color contains lead, which lowers the melting point of glass, and antimony, which generates a dense white color and hence acts as an opacifier to what would be translucent glazes.<sup>4</sup> Additional details on the composition of each color appear in a table in the Appendix.

#### PROVENANCE

Thomas Gambier Parry, Highnam Court, Gloucestershire, by 1862;<sup>5</sup> Hubert Parry, 1888–1918; Ernest Gambier-Parry [*sic*], 1918–1920; sold July 1920 to (Durlacher Brothers, London [?]);<sup>6</sup> sold 1922 to Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

#### EXHIBITIONS

South Kensington 1862, 73, no. 1072.

Châsses like this one served as miniature “tombs” for the relics of saints.<sup>7</sup> The gabled shape, resembling both a sarcophagus and a house or church, together with the rich decoration has suggested a dual identity as tomb and paradisaical dwelling in the Heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup>

The front panel is decorated with the Adoration of the Magi. On the roof above it (fig. 2) a central figure of the blessing Christ is flanked by two saints to either side, all at three-quarter length. Except for Peter with his key on Christ’s right, the saints carry only books and have no identifying attributes. The beardless saint with curly hair to Christ’s left re-

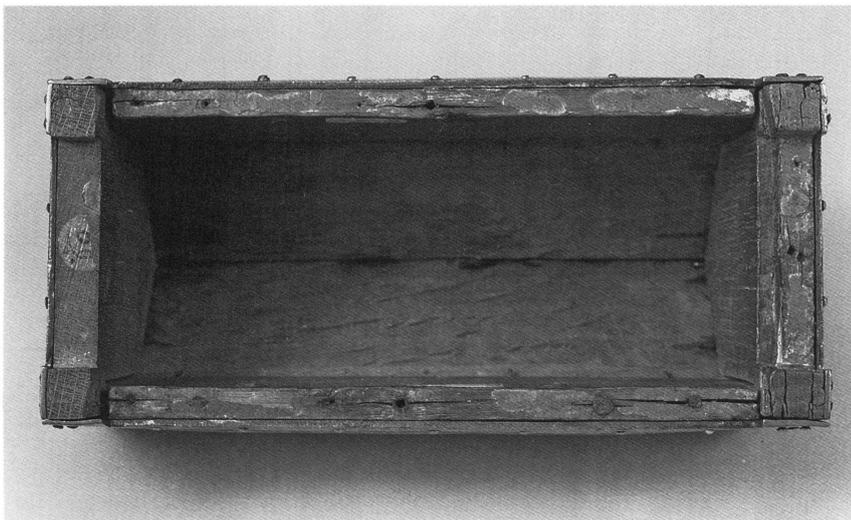


Fig. 1 1942.9.278, bottom

sembles John the Evangelist, as he appears in the corresponding position in Limoges crucifixion panels.<sup>9</sup> On the back are seven roundels, three on the body and four on the roof (fig. 3), containing hybrid creatures with bird bodies, capped human heads, and long foliate tails.<sup>10</sup> At each end appears a half-length figure of an unidentified saint under a triconch arch topped with turrets (figs. 4, 5).

This châsse belongs to a class of object produced in abundance by Limoges enamel workshops, with some seven hundred examples surviving.<sup>11</sup> The National Gallery example is among the oldest and finest members of a sub-group, numbering upward of fifty-eight, produced primarily in the last third of the twelfth century, with ornament *à fond vermiculé*—that is, with gilded copper backgrounds incised in a pattern of densely interwoven vine scrolls and tendrils.<sup>12</sup>

Gauthier, who dated the Washington châsse c. 1175/1180, associated it with examples whose enamel styles reflect a “double mode” on a single object: a narrative mode (Adoration of the Magi) and a cult mode (Christ and Saints) appropriate to dogmatic images and visions.<sup>13</sup> Related works include the châsse now at the church of Sainte-Anne, Vaucluse, Apt,<sup>14</sup> and others at Nantouillet, Gimel, Darmstadt, and Saint Petersburg.<sup>15</sup>

Strong similarities in figure style and organization of the Washington and Apt châsses suggest they originated in the same workshop.<sup>16</sup> Particularly close are the bearded Apostles on the ends, under turreted triconch arches supported by spiral columns. The rosette borders, the half-length blessing Christ and saints on the roof and front body, and the division of the rear surfaces into four and three roundels are also related. The superior grace and energy of the Washington figures, however, suggest execution by a different artist.

Important connections with the châsse of Saint Valérie from the Waddesdon bequest at the British Museum, datable c. 1170,<sup>17</sup> are evident. The London work corresponds with the Washington châsse in its rosette borders, wavy halos, animated figure style, and in the presence of human-headed, bird-bodied hybrids in medallions on the back. While the hybrids on the British Museum châsse are executed primarily in reserved metal, as opposed to the more fully enameled creatures in the Washington medallions, they could easily have been designed by a single master. These creatures tend to appear on the rear surfaces of châsses, areas that are often treated as subordinate and lack the enrichment of *vermiculé* ornament.<sup>18</sup>

The *Adoration of the Magi*, depicted on some twenty-six surviving Limoges châsses,<sup>19</sup> was a popular theme in late twelfth-century Europe in general

Fig. 2 1942.9.278,  
roof, front



Fig. 3 1942.9.278,  
roof, back



and Limoges in particular. The earliest surviving manuscript of a liturgical drama of the Magi, datable to the eleventh century, is from Saint-Martial at Limoges.<sup>20</sup> This suggests a local interest predating the general European devotion that increased in the later twelfth century after the Kings' relics were discovered near Milan in 1158 and removed in 1164 to be enshrined in Cologne Cathedral.<sup>21</sup> Gauthier notes that the roles of the three Kings were played in 1173, in a ceremony honoring the King of France, by three young princes of the Plantagenet line.<sup>22</sup> The taste and patronage of the Plantagenets seems to have encouraged the spread through Europe of the style seen on this *châsse*.

The lack of identifying attributes for most of the saints is typical of Limoges *châsses*. Examples like this one, with portraits of Christ and the Apostles as general guardians of the relics within, rather than depictions of events from the life of a specific saint, may have been produced in advance as containers appropriate to any relic.<sup>23</sup> It is possible, however, that the Washington *châsse* once contained minor relics of the Magi.<sup>24</sup> Another possibility is that since Saint Peter is singled out by an attribute and by his honored place to Christ's right, the *châsse* was made

for a relic of his. In that case it may have come from the destroyed church of Saint-Pierre at Apt, the probable former home of the most similar *châsse* (see note 14).

The Magi panel's designer explored some remarkable spatial effects. The three horses cut off on the left imply continuity with a wider spatial world. Yet the Virgin's throne overlaps the upper border, as her feet and garments do the lower one. This endows her with a monumental scale and integrity at the expense of the system set up to define the spatial limits of the composition. This ambiguity, without parallel on the Apt and Waddesdon *châsses*, and diluted on the Saint Petersburg example, emphasizes the distinction between the "narrative" and "cult" modes that coexist on the Washington *châsse*. A.L.

#### NOTES

1. Gauthier 1966, 940–941, and 1987, 7–9. The author is grateful to Mme Gauthier and to Geneviève François for helpful correspondence concerning this and other works in enamel. Mme Gauthier, assisted by Mlle François, is directing a team of scholars in the research and

Fig. 4 1942.9.278,  
proper left end

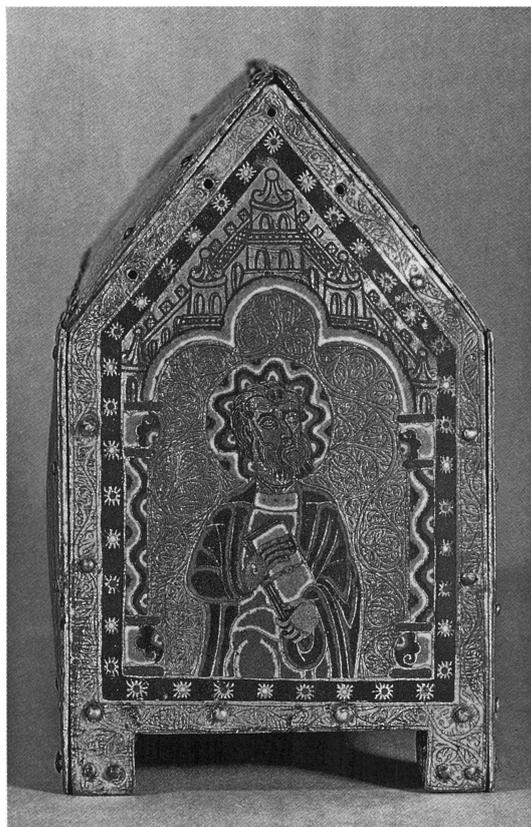
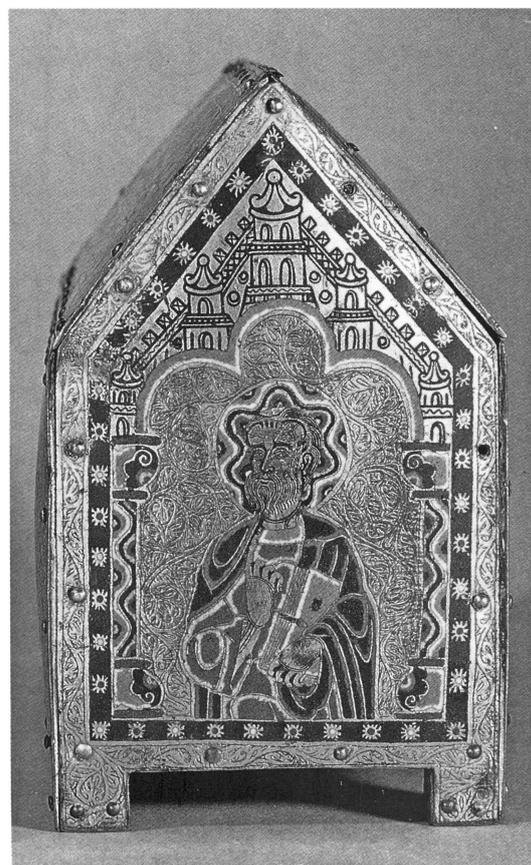


Fig. 5 1942.9.278,  
proper right end



publication of the *Corpus des Émaux méridionaux*, which aims to catalogue the thousands of surviving enamels made in Limoges and related centers in southern Europe from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Five volumes are planned; the first is Gauthier 1987. See also Marie-Madeleine Gauthier and Geneviève François, *Medieval Enamels from the Keir Collection*, ed. and trans. Neil Stratford [exh. cat., The British Museum] (London, 1981), 9–10.

2. See the diagram in Gauthier 1987, 9; Gauthier 1987, 144, for the closely related Apt châsse (discussed below), which opens at the bottom; pl. 202 for illustrations of a châsse with such an opening.

3. Undated report [early 1985] by Gary W. Carriveau in NGA conservation laboratory files. See also Gauthier 1966, 940.

4. Report of 14 August 1986, in NGA conservation laboratory files. On medieval enamel techniques in general see Pamela England, "A Technical Investigation of Medieval Enamels," in Hanns Swarzenski and Nancy Netzer, *Catalogue of Medieval Objects in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Enamels and Glass* (Boston, 1986), xix–xxvi.

5. On the artist and collector Thomas Gambier Parry (1816–1888) see "A Great Victorian," *BurlM* 109 (1967), 111–112, and Blunt 1967, 115–116. Blunt indicates that the châsse is listed in an inventory, but it is not certain from his language whether this was dated 1860 or 1875.

6. Blunt 1967, 115–116, for the provenance after Gambier Parry's death; the date of purchase by Widener is recorded in NGA files. Consultation of the Gambier Parry papers, which Blunt examined at Highnam (then belonging to Thomas Fenton) in 1967, may eventually provide clues to the earlier ownership.

7. See Fernand Cabrol and Henri LeClercq, eds. *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–1953), 3(1913), 1109.

8. On the dual meaning see Gauthier 1966, 943–944; Gauthier 1972, 95; and Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, "Dossiers," *L'information d'histoire de l'art* 9 (1964), 78.

9. Gauthier 1987, 146.

10. On the hybrid creatures with swanlike necks and rinceaux tails prevalent in enamel works, reflecting "Plantagenet taste," see Gauthier 1964, 151; Gauthier 1972, 88, and Gauthier 1987, 146. She associates them with the Apocalyptic theme of Christ in Majesty with the Apostles, as on the lid of the Washington châsse.

11. Gauthier 1972, 96.

12. Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, "Les décors vermiculés dans les émaux champlevés limousins et méridionaux," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 1:3 (1958), 369.

13. Gauthier 1966, 947; Gauthier 1967, 152, 156; Gauthier 1972, 98–99.

14. On the Apt châsse, dated by Gauthier c. 1170–1190, possibly from the destroyed church of Saint-Pierre, see Gauthier, "Dossiers" 1964, 78–80; Gauthier 1987, 144–145, no. 147.

15. See Gauthier 1987: Nantouillet, 165–168, no. 177; Gimel, 94–97, no. 90; Darmstadt, 99–100, no. 92, and Saint Petersburg, 100–102, no. 94.

16. This was first noted by Marquet de Vasselot 1906, 11–13.
17. Hugh Tait, *The Waddesdon Bequest* (London, 1981), 16 and pl. IA, IB. Gauthier 1987, 97–99, cat. 91 (with a dating of 1170/1172).
18. Marquet de Vasselot 1906, 10. Gauthier 1966, 940, noted that patterns of wear on the gilt surfaces of a Kofler-Truniger châsse (now in the Keir Collection, Great Britain) showed how it was grasped to be raised and presented to the faithful, with the religious images toward the congregation and the decorative back presumably visible only to the priest. For an illustration of the back see Gauthier 1987, pl. L [letter L]:22.
19. Souchal 1963, 59–60, n. 1; Gauthier 1966, 942.
20. See Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century. A Study in the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, ed. Harry Bober, trans. Marthiel Matthews (Princeton, 1978), 143.
21. Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman, 2 vols. (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1971), 1:106, 110, and Adolf Weis, "Drei Könige," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, 8 vols. (Rome, 1968–1976), 1:539–543. For Joseph behind the Virgin's throne, as in this case, see Mâle 1978, 69.
22. Gauthier 1972, 94, without indicating location of the ceremony; Gauthier 1964, 139–155 on the "goût Plantagenet."
23. Rupin 1890, 329. On supply and demand in the Limoges enamel industry see the essay by Pierluigi Leone de Castris in *Medioevo e produzione artistica di serie: smalti di Limoges e avori gotici in Campania*, eds. Paola Giusti and Pierluigi Leone de Castris [exh. cat., Museo Duca di Martina, Naples] (Florence, 1981), 13–30.
24. Gauthier 1987, 145.
- 1906 Marquet de Vasselot, Jean J. *Les émaux limousins à fond vermiculé* Paris, 1906: 11–13, pl. 2.
- 1935 Widener 1935: 29, no. 345, as Limoges, twelfth century.
- 1936 Hildburgh, Walter H. *Medieval Spanish Enamels*. London, 1936: 107, n. 4, and 120.
- 1942 Widener 1942: 9.
- 1952 Christensen 1952: 10–15, 30, repro.
- 1963 Souchal, Geneviève. "Les émaux de Grandmont au XIIe siècle." *Bulletin Monumental* 121 (1963): 48, fig. 6, 59–60, n. 1.
- 1964 Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine. "Le goût Plantagenet et les arts mineurs dans la France du sud-ouest." *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*. Bonn 1964. Berlin, 1967: 152.
- 1966 Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine. "Une châsse limousine du dernier quart du XIIe siècle: thèmes iconographiques, composition et essai de chronologie." *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, eds. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou, 2 vols. Poitiers, 1966, 2: 942–945, 947–948, 951, no. C-55.
- 1967 Blunt, Anthony. "The History of Thomas Gambier Parry's Collection." *BurlM* 109 (1967): 115–116.
- 1967 Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine. "A Limoges Champlevé Book-Cover in the Gambier-Parry Collection." *BurlM* 109 (1967): 151–152, 156, fig. 61.
- 1969 Ostoia, Vera K. *The Middle Ages. Treasures from The Cloisters and The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Art Institute of Chicago] Los Angeles, 1969: 119.
- 1972 Gauthier 1972: 98–99.
- 1976 Walker 1976: color repro. opp. 36.
- 1987 Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine. *Emaux méridionaux. Catalogue international de l'oeuvre de Limoges*. 1. *L'Epoque romane, 1100–1190. Innovations méridionaux*. Paris, 1987: 145–146, no. 148, pl. 130, figs. 458–459 [color repro.], pl. 139, figs. 510 and 511, and pl. 140, fig. 512.

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- 1890 Rupin, Ernest. *L'oeuvre de Limoges*. Paris, 1890: 424.
- 1906 Michel, André, ed. *Histoire de l'art*, 8 vols. in 17. Paris, 1905–1929, 2:2, 944 (section on enamels by Jean J. Marquet de Vasselot).

## Aquamanile in the Form of a Lion

1942.9.281 (C-5)

Northern French or Mosan

c. 1200

Bronze, with traces of gilding, 13.8 x 17.5 x 7.0

(5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)

Widener Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

A hinged lid atop the lion's head opens to allow filling with water, which would have been poured out at the mouth.

The object, of a dark brown bronze alloy, is generally in good condition. The gilding is worn, especially on smooth surfaces such as the haunches. It adheres best in grooved, patterned areas. There is a dent in the left hind haunch.

X-ray fluorescence analysis of the surface indicates that the alloy is approximately 95 percent copper, 2 percent tin, and 1 percent lead, with traces of silver, iron, and antimony.<sup>1</sup> This alloy is consistent with medieval production. The presence of mercury in a gilded area indicates the use of fire gilding. The gray repair on the left hind haunch appears to be a lead-tin solder.

### PROVENANCE

Sigismond Bardac, Paris, before 1913. (Arnold Seligmann), 1913[?]-1916; purchased 22 April 1916 by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, as French, twelfth century. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

### EXHIBITIONS

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940, *Arts of the Middle Ages: A Loan Exhibition*, no. 283 (ed. Georg Swarzenski); Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1987-1988, *Artful Deception: The Craft of the Forger*, 1987-1988 (no cat., see note 10).

Aquamanilia are pitchers in the form of humans or animals, used for liturgical or secular hand-washing.<sup>2</sup> By the twelfth century they were already numerous, and production continued into the late Middle Ages. Islamic bronze vessels, brought to Western attention during the Crusades, often inspired their form and certainly stimulated their production in Europe.<sup>3</sup>



1942.9.281, proper right side



Northern French or Mosan, *Aquamanile in the Form of a Lion*, 1942.9.281

Fig. 1 1942.9.281, detail



Fig. 2 Mosan(?), mid-twelfth century, Ewer in the Form of a Griffin, London, Victoria and Albert Museum



Of the various human and animal forms used in several hundred aquamanilia that survive from the Middle Ages, the lion, with its connotations of power and strength, appears most frequently<sup>4</sup> This one, with its sturdy, compact body, bared teeth (fig 1), and mane of finely grooved curls, is particularly impressive

While lion aquamanilia were a specialty of Hildesheim and the lower Saxon region of Germany,<sup>5</sup> this example is most similar to bronzes generally ascribed to Lorraine or the Meuse Valley around 1200 It can be associated with a group of bronze candlesticks representing Samson and the lion, particularly two in Paris, one in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs and the other formerly in the Frey collection<sup>6</sup>

The mane descending in a ridge along the animal's back occurs in a well-known Mosan work of somewhat earlier date, a ewer in the form of a griffin or dragon at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig 2)<sup>7</sup> While the lion is more sculptural, lacking the ewer's broad, smooth surfaces and enamel decoration, the two creatures resemble each other as well in the treatment of eyes and mouth, the protruding tongue, rather canine face, the full, round chest, and uplifted head

Lions of a similar type, although more plastically modeled, appear on one foot of the Trivulzio candlestick in the Duomo of Milan, as symbols of Saint Mark the Evangelist That candlestick is usually regarded as a Mosan work of around 1200, close in style to Nicholas of Verdun<sup>8</sup>

The Widener aquamanile differs from others of its type chiefly in its unusually small size<sup>9</sup> and its lack of a handle The size makes the handle dispensable, since the whole object could easily be grasped in one hand The channeled sides, hatched with rows of tiny horizontal lines between ribs, would afford a secure grip Designed to let water drip from its tongue after pouring, the lion must have offered amusement as well as utility

A nearly identical aquamanile in The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore is a forgery derived from the National Gallery example<sup>10</sup> Since it is done to size, the forger clearly had access to the Washington work, but it is not certain when or where A L

#### NOTES

1 Report 17 March 1987, in NGA conservation laboratory files

2 Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Munich, 1932), 540-541, 547-548

3 See Vera K Ostoia, *The Middle Ages Treasures from the Cloisters and The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [exh cat, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Art

Institute of Chicago] (Los Angeles, 1969), 120, 257, no. 54. Important bronze casting centers existed in the Meuse valley and lower Lorraine, Hildesheim and northern Germany, England, and Scandinavia. See also Falke and Meyer 1935, 38–39, 43; Erica Cruikshank Dodd, "On the Origin of Medieval Dinanderie: The Equestrian Statue in Islam," *AB* 51 (1969), 220–232; Peter Bloch, introduction to Franco Maria Ricci, *Acquamanili: oggetti medievali per uso sacro e profano* (Milan, 1982), 7–16.

4. George Szabo, "Medieval Bronzes in Prodigious Variety," *Apollo* 89 (May 1969), 359, estimated five hundred aquamanilia have survived; Bloch 1982, 9, counted about 380. On lion aquamanilia see Falke and Meyer 1935, 57; Bloch 1982, 9–12, and especially William Wixom, "A Lion Aquamanile," *BCMA* 61 (1974), 260–268, 270.

5. On Hildesheim lions and Western works that influenced them see Georg Swarzenski, "Samson Killing the Lion: A Medieval Bronze Group," *BMFA* 38 (1940), 67–74.

6. Falke and Meyer 1935, 62; 106, no. 254, figs. 218a, b, and no. 260, fig. 224 (as from one Mosan workshop, perhaps at Dinant). The basis for Falke and Meyer's Mosan-Lotharingian group (1935, 57) includes a lion aquamanile with an old provenance at its present location, the church of Saint Servatius, Maastricht; and the Samson/lion groups on the frieze of the Shrine of the Three Kings by Nicholas of Verdun at Cologne Cathedral. Falke and Meyer assigned the Washington lion to France or Lower Lorraine, c. 1200 (1935, 110, no. 374).

7. No. 1471–1870. See Falke and Meyer 1935, 39, 106 no. 266, figs. 230a, b (as Lorraine, school of Verdun, second

half of twelfth century); *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte—Kunst—Kultur* [exh. cat., Altes Schloss und Kunstgebäude], 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1977), 1:499, no. 652; 2: color repro. 460, as Mosan, mid-twelfth century.

8. Mia Cinotti, *Il Duomo di Milano*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1973) 2:259–261, 297, nn. 118–138; for a detail, Otto Homburger, *Der Trivulzio-Kandelaber* (Zurich, 1949), fig. 6.

9. See Falke and Meyer 1935, 109–116. Almost every lion aquamanile catalogued is at least 20 cm in height and 20 cm in length, with some being over 30 cm long.

10. Acc. no. 53.26; similarity noted by Christensen 1952, 30. The Baltimore and Washington lions were displayed side by side in the 1987–1988 exhibition, *Artful Deception: The Craft of the Forger*, The Walters Art Gallery (see exhibitions).

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1913 Leman, Henri. *Collection Sigismond Bardac. Faïences italiennes du XV siècle, objets de haute curiosité, Moyen Age et Renaissance*. Paris, 1913: no. 33.

1935 Falke, Otto von, and Erich Meyer. *Bronzegegeräte des Mittelalters. I. Romanische Leuchter und Gefässe. Giessgefässe der Gotik*. Berlin, 1935: 62, 110, no. 374, repro. 352.

1935 Widener 1935: 31.

1942 Widener 1942: 9.

1949 Seymour, Charles, Jr. *Masterpieces of Sculpture from the National Gallery of Art*. New York, 1949: 11, 171, repro. 28, 30.

1952 Christensen 1952: 20–22, 30.

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## Aquamanile in the Form of a Horseman

1942.9.280 (C-4)

Probably English or Scandinavian

Thirteenth century

Bronze, 28.5 x 35.5 x 15.3 (11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 14 x 6)

Widener Collection

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

The whole surface, including the handle, is battered and nicked. The rider's left arm is missing, with a socket remaining where it was apparently once attached, possibly with a dowel. His head is partly detached from the neck. Longer reins, whose ends are broken off along the sides of the horse's neck, were apparently once connected to a bridle. The tail and part of the hobblelike band on the right hind leg are also broken off. The left front and hind legs are replacements.<sup>1</sup> A roughly square patch is on the horse's upper belly, with solder visible along two edges.

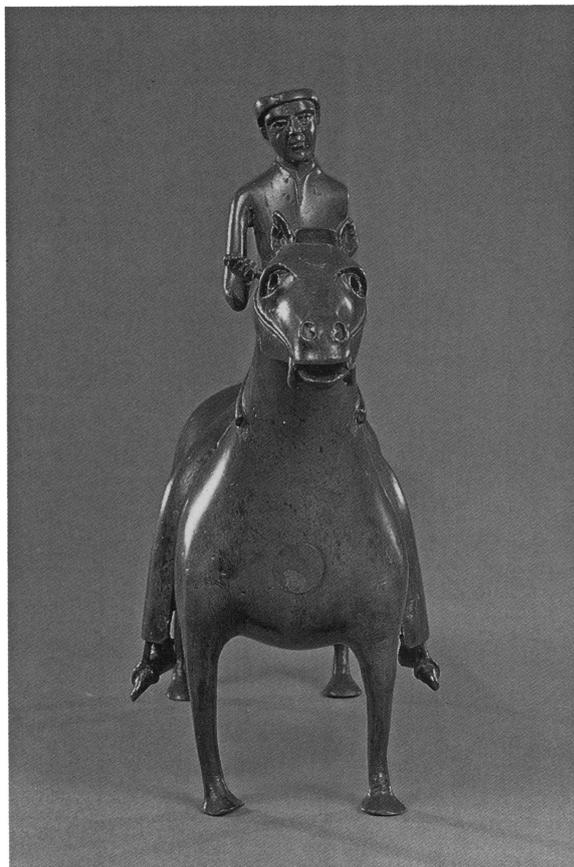
X-ray fluorescence analysis indicates virtually identical composition for the body of the horse and the handle: a leaded tin bronze of about 80 percent copper, 10 to 11 percent tin, and about 10 percent lead, with small amounts of silver, antimony, and iron.<sup>2</sup> This alloy is consistent with medieval production. The gray patch visible around a small puncture on the horse's left haunch and repairs at the man's neck appear to be made of lead-tin solders of differing compositions; the discrepancies may indicate repairs at different periods.

The bronze that plugs the circular hole on the horse's chest has a composition consistent with production at the same time as the rest of the object. Such plugs, typical of hollow-cast aquamanilia, were part of the casting process, and do not necessarily indicate later closing up of a former pour-spout. The present form indicates liquid was poured in through the top of the rider's head and out through the horse's mouth.





1942.9.280, proper left side



1942.9.280, front

#### PROVENANCE

Sigismond Bardac, Paris, before 1913. (Arnold Seligmann), 1913[?]-1916, by whom sold 22 April 1916 to Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, as Flemish, thirteenth century. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the estate.

#### EXHIBITIONS

Buffalo, The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright Art Gallery, 1937, *Master Bronzes Selected from Museums and Collections in America*, no. 113 (ed. Gordon Bailey Washburn). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940, *Arts of the Middle Ages: A Loan Exhibition*, no. 290, pl. XXXIII (ed. Georg Swarzenski).

On aquamanilia see the entry on 1942.9.281, *Aquamanile in the Form of a Lion*. This one takes the form of a rider, probably a hunter, who may have held a falcon on his missing left arm or hand.<sup>3</sup> The costume supports its identification as a thirteenth-century falconer.<sup>4</sup>

Of the many horse-and-rider aquamanilia surviving from the Middle Ages, none resembles the National Gallery's example closely enough to serve as a key to its origin and date. This aquamanile is unusual for its large size and other features: the low-slung proportions of the horse and the rider's slender elegance; the man's long surcoat spreading into a broad triangular panel that covers his leg completely on either side; and the polygonal form and perpendicular attachment of the handle.<sup>5</sup> Also exceptional are the hobblelike bands, so far unexplained, on the horse's hind legs (the left one restored in the style of the surviving right leg; see note 1).

Wide-ranging attributions testify to the difficulty of tracing local origins for this class of functional, portable object. Findspots are often unrecorded, and relationships with artworks of known origin tenuous. Falke and Meyer, who made the most thorough study of the genre, considered this one northern French or Mosan, and dated it to the twelfth century, comparing it in particular with an example in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.<sup>6</sup> They noted, however, that aquamanilia of the National Gallery type must have influenced a group of less sophisticated "hunter aquamanilia" found in Scandinavia, Hungary, and southern Russia.<sup>7</sup> Georg Swarzenski, in 1940, was the first to call the Washington aquamanile English or Scandinavian (?), thirteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Two other rider aquamanilia bear some significant similarities to this example. One in the Victoria and Albert Museum, found in Somerset, was first published as English, c. 1180, but is now called thirteenth-century Scandinavian (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> The other,



Fig. 1 English or Scandinavian(?), thirteenth century, *Horseman Aquamanile*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 2 Scandinavian or Hungarian(?), thirteenth century, *Horseman Aquamanile*, Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum

in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, was recently published as possibly Scandinavian or Hungarian, thirteenth century (fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> These share with the Washington example the smooth surface treatment; a horse with a long, low body; abstract and rudimentary equestrian gear; and riders with thin arms dressed in garments with long side flaps. But neither shows the present example's elegant carriage, gracefully slender proportions, the unifying and stabilizing effect of his spreading garment, or his wide-eyed, faintly classical facial features, paralleled in the horse's long neck and sharply defined eyes, nose, and lower jaw.

Some support for an English, mid-thirteenth-century origin comes from manuscript illuminations such as those of the Life of Saint Thomas Becket, dated about 1230–1240 and assigned to Saint Alban's or Westminster.<sup>11</sup> Despite some major stylistic differences, similarities appear in certain profiles; in the spreading fall of the riders' mantles; in the forms of the shoes, stirrups, and grip of the reins; in the contours of the horses' noses and mouths, and even in the prominent genitalia of the horse (also indicated on the Victoria and Albert aquamanile found in Somerset).

The National Gallery rider displays a calm dignity unusual in objects of this kind. While some evidence exists for English production, the absence of any closely similar work leaves open the question of its precise origin. A L

#### NOTES

1 The left front leg, more silvery in color than the body, is joined to it with a pin and solder, its alloy, different from that of the body, is brass, composed of 89 percent copper, 9 percent zinc, and small amounts of iron, silver, antimony, and tin (report cited in note 2). The right front foot, grayish in color, thin, and curved inward, also appears to be a replacement.

2 Report of 2 March 1987, in NGA conservation laboratory files.

3 Falke 1928, 248, Falke 1929, 427, Falke and Meyer 1935, 50.

4 Noted by Georg Szabo in letters to the author, 15 March 1983 and 17 October 1986. For a falconer aquamanile in the Cloisters see Vera K. Ostoya, *The Middle Ages Treasures from the Cloisters and The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Art Institute of Chicago] (Los Angeles, 1969), 127 and 257, no. 57 (with contributions from Szabo's research). The Cloisters aquamanile, catalogued as Lorraine-Mosan,

first half of thirteenth century, resembles the Washington example in costume but not style. For a survey of the falconer theme see Christian Antoine de Chamerlat, *Falconry and Art* (Courbevoie [Paris] and London, 1987).

5. Falke 1928, 246, and Falke and Meyer 1935, 44, noted the exceptional size. Falke suggested the handle was a restoration or later addition (1935, 44, 107, no. 288). Its color, condition, and composition, however, are consistent with those of the horse's body (see technical notes).

6. Falke and Meyer 1935, 44, and 107, no. 286, ill. 253a, b. The Paris aquamanile, from the Martin-le-Roy collection, differs from the Washington example by virtue of its much more detailed surface decoration, costume, and accouterments and in its rider's squat proportions.

7. Falke 1929, 427; Falke and Meyer 1935, 50.

8. See exh. cat. Boston 1940, no. 290 (exhibitions), and Swarzenski 1940, 8–12, 23. He did not cite any specific comparison, but may have drawn his conclusion through comparisons with examples illustrated in the publications cited in notes 7 and 9 here. His view was essentially accepted by Seymour (1949, 171–172, as probably English).

9. M 70-1949. See Philip Nelson, "An English Equestrian Aquamanile," *The Antiquaries Journal* 12 (1932), 446–448. Falke and Meyer 1935, no. 323, catalogued it as probably English, thirteenth century.

10. F-1479. See Dietrich Kötzsche in exh. cat. Münster-Saarbrücken-Hannover 1983, 78–81, no. 45. Following Falke's earlier association (1929, 427) of the Berlin aquamanile with the one here catalogued, Kötzsche noted several similarities but observed that the Washington object's place of origin is uncertain.

11. Sotheby's, London, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* . . . , 24 June 1986, no. 40, esp. fol. 1v, repro. on 41; Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I. 1190–1250* (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, IV) (London, Oxford, and New York, 1982), 107–108, no. 61, pls. 206–208.

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1913 Leman, Henri. *Collection Sigismond Bardac. Faiences Italiennes du XV Siècle, objets de haute curiosité, Moyen Age et Renaissance*. Paris, 1913: no. 31.

1928 Falke, Otto von. "Reiteraquamanilien I." *Pantheon* 1 (1928): 248.

1929 Falke, Otto von. "Reiteraquamanilien III Teil. Die Jägergruppe." *Pantheon* 4 (1929): 426–430, esp. 427, 430, fig. 9.

1935 Falke, Otto von, and Erich Meyer. *Bronzegegeräte des Mittelalters. I. Romanische Leuchter und Gefässe. Giessgefässe der Gotik*. Berlin, 1935: 44, 107, no. 288, fig. 255.

1935 Widener 1935: 30.

1937 Davis, Robert Tyler. "An Odyssey of Bronze Statuettes." *ArtN* 35 (6 February 1937): 9–13, 25, repro. 12.

1940 Swarzenski, Georg. "Arts of the Middle Ages." *ArtN* 38 (17 February 1940): 8–12, 23, repro. 11.

1942 Widener 1942: 9.

1949 Seymour, Charles, Jr. *Masterpieces of Sculpture from the National Gallery of Art*. New York, 1949: 4, 11, 171–172, repro. 32, 33.

1952 Christensen 1952: 22–24, 30.

1965 National Gallery of Art. *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings and Sculpture*. Washington, 1965: 154.

1968 National Gallery of Art. *European Paintings and Sculpture, Illustrations*. Washington, 1968: repro 136.

1983 *Ex aere solido: Bronzen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Exhibition organized by the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, Saarland-Museum, Saarbrücken, and Kestner-Museum, Hannover. Berlin, 1983: 81, no. 45 (essay by Dietrich Kötzsche).

## Book Cover with Christ in Majesty

1961.9.182 (C-528)

French (Limoges)

c. 1210

Champlevé enamel on copper, with traces of gilding,  
mounted on wooden backing

metal plate: 21.3 x 11.2 (8 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ); wood backing:  
22.6 x 12.4 (8 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ )

Samuel H. Kress Collection

### MARKS

A red-bordered sticker on the back with "6486" may record an inventory number from the Trivulzio collection, Milan. On a paper covering most of the wooden back is a lengthy description in Italian and Latin, concerned chiefly with the iconography, presumably the work of a Trivulzio curator or cataloguer.<sup>1</sup>

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The object is in worn condition, with losses to the enamel at all four corners, below the ox on the lower right, beneath the right arm of Christ, and at the top center. The lower corners of the metal plaque are broken off, but the corners of the wood backing show no corresponding damage, indicating that the wood postdates the damage. The wood is chipped at the edges and has holes, possibly wormholes, in many places. A triangular metal plate, surmounted by a ring for suspension, is affixed to the back. Of the nails that once held the metal plaque to the wood backing, only the corner ones remain.

Traces of gilding survive, notably around the figures' necks, in the lines surrounding the inner rainbow, the stool, and the cruciform rosettes, and in dots within the mandorla. The right arm of Christ is a replacement, with considerable damage to the enamel around it. X-ray fluorescence analysis, however, indicates that the alloy is similar to the rest of the body.<sup>2</sup> This alloy is fairly pure copper, with traces of lead, silver, antimony, tin, iron, calcium, and chlorine (the last three elements probably present in corrosion products), consistent with medieval production. Gold and mercury in gilded areas indicate the use of fire gilding. Additional data on the composition of each enamel color appear in a table in the Appendix.

### PROVENANCE

Reportedly Trivulzio collection, Milan; (Count Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi, Florence); sold by 1937 or 1939 to Samuel H. Kress, New York;<sup>3</sup> Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, 27 February 1950.<sup>4</sup>

This is one of about two hundred Limoges enamel book cover decorations produced between c. 1170 and 1220, recorded in the *Corpus des émaux méridionaux*.<sup>5</sup> It would originally have been set within a rectangular hollow, with chamfered edges, in the center of a wooden panel lined with thin sheets of

copper or silver. Decorative enameled borders would have been nailed in place around the central plaque.<sup>6</sup>

The iconography—Christ in Majesty, enthroned on the rainbow and flanked by the four beasts symbolic of the Evangelists (based on Rev. 4:2–7)—is one of two subjects found on these Limoges book covers.<sup>7</sup> The other, the Crucifixion, occurs far more frequently, appearing on about two-thirds of the examples. Enough pairs exist (recognizable as such, even when separated, by their identical borders) to suggest that the two subjects often formed the front and back covers of liturgical books; but the numerical predominance of the Crucifixion may indicate that this subject could also serve as the upper cover of books which had figural enamel decoration only for that cover. Since no Limoges book cover remains attached to its original manuscript, suggestions about the type of liturgical codices they typically enclosed must remain conjectural.<sup>8</sup>

The earliest examples of these book covers, c. 1170–1190, have enameled figures on a gilded ground following Byzantine cloisonné models.<sup>9</sup> Workshops around 1190 introduced gilded figures against colorful enameled grounds. The use, as in the present example, of a central figure cast separately and entirely in relief (as opposed to a figure in reserve with only the head in relief) was another innovation in the 1190s. Gauthier places the Washington example in the *Corpus*' "group ten" of covers and plaques belonging to book bindings, along with twenty-six other examples datable to the period c. 1195–1220.<sup>10</sup> The range and placement of colors here is characteristic (although no one scheme recurs without variation): an outer background of lapis lazuli blue; a lighter, grayer blue within the mandorla, and sky blue with white, accented with red dots, for the inner rainbow, scalloped edges of the mandorla, and Christ's halo. Yellow and green with traces of red are used for the outer rainbow, the cruciform rosettes, and the creatures' haloes, with red for the cross in Christ's halo. Turquoise appears only in the footstool and in the books held by the creatures.<sup>11</sup>

The Christ figure in the National Gallery example reflects a decline in the quality of modeling and line engraving after 1200, presumably occasioned by mass production to meet heavy demand.<sup>12</sup> This can be observed by comparing this figure with no. 2441–1856 in the Victoria and Albert Museum, or the Gambier-Parry example in the Courtauld Institute,



French (Limoges), Book Cover with Christ in Majesty, 1961.9.182

London.<sup>13</sup> The garments on those Christ figures have more abundant, supple, and curvilinear folds, more effectively suggesting volume and movement. The conception of Christ's face is nobler than in the figure on the Washington plaque, with its compressed features, close-set eyes, and flattened skull.

On the other hand, the evangelist symbols at the corners in the Washington example are drawn with more graceful movements and elegant proportions than are those in many other examples, and they fit better into their corner settings, with their wings and bodies relating harmoniously to the curves of the mandorla. This plaque may have been produced



1961.9.182, reverse (inscription glued to back)

in a workshop employing specialized craftsmen for different parts.<sup>14</sup> The maker of the engraved enamel plaque in this case appears more skillful than the sculptor of the appliqué Christ.

Christ's right arm, with a pointing index finger—in contrast to the traditional two-fingered blessing gesture—is exceptional for Limoges figures of this type. Moreover, the style of the sleeve, with tubular zigzag folds, contrasts with that of the rest of the drapery. These features, along with its separate attachment and the damaged condition of the surrounding surface, indicate the arm is a repair, even though its metallic composition matches that of the

rest of the figure. It is difficult to account for this apparent contradiction; conceivably the area in question was damaged and later restored with a fragment of the original metal, or with metal taken from another work of similar origin. A.L.

#### NOTES

1. See illustration; a transcription and translation are in NGA curatorial files.

2. Reports of 6 January and 4 February 1987, in NGA conservation laboratory files.

3. A letter from A. M. Hind to John Walker, 12 June 1951, states that Hind first heard (from Alfred Frankfurter, editor of *The Art News*) of the Trivulzio nielli, with which this enamel was acquired, as being in Kress' possession in 1937. In a letter to the author, 25 June 1984, Marie-Madeleine Gauthier mentioned a sale of the Trivulzio collection in London, 6 June 1939; no catalogue, however, has been located.

4. Deposition by Herbert L. Spencer, executive director, Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 21 August 1956, on file in the secretary-general counsel's office, National Gallery of Art, no. 0-154.

5. For the *Corpus des émaux méridionaux* see entry on 1942.9.278, the Limoges châsse, note 1. For book covers, to be catalogued in volume 2 of the *Corpus*, see also Philippe Coudraud in Marie-Madeleine Gauthier and Geneviève François, *Medieval Enamels: Masterpieces from the Keir Collection*, ed. and trans. Neil Stratford [exh. cat., The British Museum] (London, 1981), 16-17, no. 9, and Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, "A Limoges Champlevé Book-cover in the Gambier-Parry Collection," *BurlM* 109 (1967), 152-157.

6. See for example Victoria and Albert Museum no. 2441-1856 and others illustrated in *Medioevo e produzione artistica di serie: smalti di Limoges e avori gotici in Campania*, eds. Paola Giusti and Pierluigi Leone de Castris [exh. cat., Museo Duca di Martina, Naples] (Florence, 1981), 64, no. 1, 4; and Gauthier 1972, 110, 112-114, 335, 337-338, nos. 58-59, 64-65. For the construction see Gauthier 1967, 155.

7. Gauthier 1967, 155, n. 11, cites forty-six examples of Limoges book covers or plaques with Christ in Majesty. For additional illustrations see W. Frederick Stohlman, "Assembling Marks on Limoges Champlevé Enamels as a Basis for Classification," *AB* 16 (1934), 14-18. For the iconography see Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 5 vols. in 4 (Gütersloh, 1966-1976), 3: 233-249, esp. 245-249.

8. Gauthier 1967, 152; Marie-Madeleine Gauthier 1972, 110, 112, 114.

9. Gauthier 1967, 156; Gauthier, "Les reliures en émail de Limoges conservées en France. Recensement raisonné," *Humanisme actif. Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), 1:277.

10. The twenty-six objects in group ten of the *Corpus*, following a list generously provided by Mme Gauthier, of 26 June 1984, are:

A) Central plaque with Christ in Majesty: London, Courtauld Institute (Gambier Parry 68); London, British Museum no. 1850, 7-15, 2; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 34.7870; Rouen, Musée des Antiquités, inv. 495; Amsterdam, former Manheimer collection, before 1941 [confiscation Munich, no. 1625/8]; Paris, Musée du Louvre, cat. 91; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, KGW 17.88 (lost in World War II); Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts.

B) Central plaque with Crucifixion: Chantilly, Musée Condé; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (Bodleian collection); Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. OA 941; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, KGW 17.83 (lost in World War II); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mss. Smith Lesouef 1; Paris, sale 27 May 1937, no. 50; Paris, formerly Salavin collection; Walter Stahlberg collection, unlocated.

C) Complete cover with Christ in Majesty: Neuilly, formerly Martin-le-Roy collection, no. 31.

D) Complete cover with Crucifixion: Lucerne, Kofler collection (K650A; now Keir collection); Paris, Drouot sale 26 April 1978, no. 43; Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. 88, inv. OA 6173; Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit collection; Toledo Museum of Art; Manchester, John Ryland's Library, no. 1; Pavia, Museo Civico, B287.

E) Pair of covers, with Crucifixion and Christ in Majesty: Novgorod, Saint Sophia Museum, 53A and B.

11. For color plates of comparable examples see Gauthier 1967, fig. 58, and exh. cat. London 1981, pl. 9.

12. Gauthier 1968, 278, 281.

13. Gauthier 1967, figs. 58, 63; for a larger illustration of the Victoria and Albert example see note 6.

14. W. Frederick Stohlman argued that many Limoges objects were produced in an assembly-line fashion by more than one craftsman. See his "Quantity Production of Limoges Champlevé Enamels," *AB* 17 (1935), 390-394. For recent discussion of this theory see Giusti and Leone de Castris (as in note 6), 26-27.

#### REFERENCES

None.

## Pyx in the Form of a Dove

1942.9.284 (C-8)

French (Limoges)

c. 1220/1230

Gilded copper with enamel, 18.2 x 22.6 x 19.05  
(7 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ); diam. of base: 16.8 (6 $\frac{5}{8}$ );  
diam. of disk: 8.2 (3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ); h. of wall around base:  
2.4 (1 $\frac{5}{16}$ ); h. of turrets: c. 4.1 (1 $\frac{5}{8}$ )

Widener Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Generally well preserved, this pyx is composed of metal sections soldered and riveted together. The body of the bird is hollow-cast in two parts. A vertical seam, faintly visible on the breast (fig. 1), is more prominent where a dent between the legs, near the proper left leg, has forced the two halves slightly apart. This dent appears to have occurred before the feet and legs were mounted on the enameled disk and paten at the base. The gilding is worn away on the hatch top, the breast, the top of the head, the joints of the feet, and especially on the paten and the turreted wall around it.

The feather pattern on the unenameled surfaces of the bird's body (figs. 1, 2) corresponds in engraving style and quality to the serrated lines on the paten (fig. 3) and on the turreted wall around it. This consistency, along with the similarity of the metal composition (see below), indicates that all these portions are coeval.

Two holes pierce the paten, one at the front of the dove and one at the rear, about 6 cm from the enameled disk at the center. The surface around these holes is heavily scratched and worn, probably because chains used to suspend the pyx passed through the holes.<sup>1</sup>

Small losses in the rear compartments of both wings have been repaired with hard blue-green and white pigmented material. A photograph published in 1901<sup>2</sup> shows what appears to be a bare spot on the proper left wing, suggesting the repairs postdate that year.

X-ray fluorescence analysis indicates that all metal parts of the object have similar compositions: gilded copper, with small amounts of antimony, silver and iron, and occasional traces of lead.<sup>3</sup> The presence of mercury indicates fire-gilding. The eyes are translucent blue glass, composed primarily of lead and zinc, with very small amounts of cobalt and manganese. The enamel on the bird is chiefly lead and tin, with small amounts of manganese and zinc, and no cobalt.

### PROVENANCE

Prince Pëtr Soltykoff, Paris (sale Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 8 April 1861 and following days: 22, no. 74; see note 15); Ayers, Paris, 1861-?4; Alessandro Castellani, Rome (sale, H. Hoffmann and Charles Mannheim, Rome, 17 March-10 April 1884, part 2, 233, no. 618); Count Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, by 1890;<sup>5</sup> John Edward Taylor, London (sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 1-4 and 9-10 July



1942.9.284, proper left side



1942.9.284, proper right side



Fig. 1 1942.9.284, detail of breast

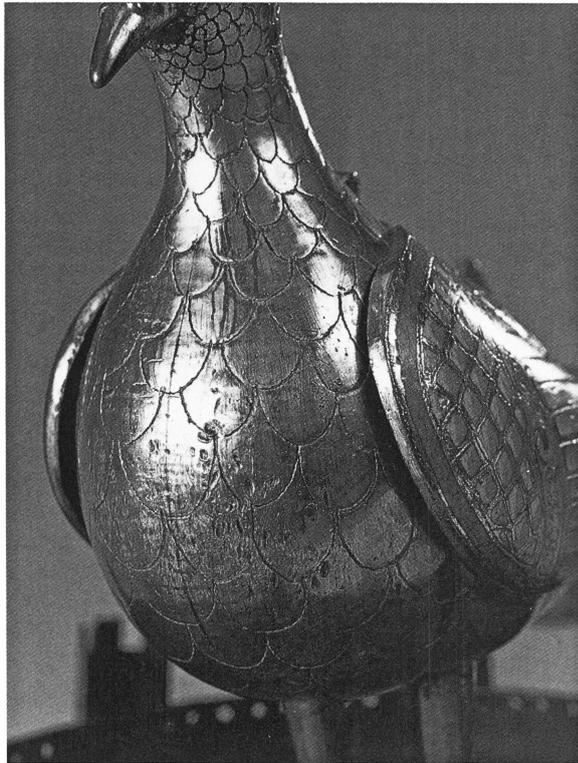


Fig. 2 1942.9.284, with lid open, showing blessing hand of God



1912, 21, no. 65, repro.); (Duveen Brothers, New York or Paris, c. 1912–1914); purchased 1914 by P. A. B. or Joseph Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

#### EXHIBITIONS

London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1897, *Catalogue of a Collection of European Enamels*, 13–14, no. 52, pl. 9; Paris, Exposition Universelle, 1900, *Catalogue officiel illustré de l'art français des origines à 1800*, 294, no. 2554.

This is one of more than forty-two eucharistic doves catalogued in the *Corpus des émaux méridionaux*, including six of doubtful authenticity and a dozen whose present whereabouts are unknown.<sup>6</sup> A date of 1220/1230 has been proposed for the Washington dove, which stands out for its high quality and unusually complete condition.

Joseph Braun traced the history of dove-shaped eucharistic containers and their manner of use.<sup>7</sup> The earliest reliable record of a metal dove containing the eucharist—suspended over an altar, as this one must have been—comes from France, in a document possibly as old as the eighth century (note 13, below). Such doves may have been used earlier, particularly in the Byzantine east.<sup>8</sup>

This type of dove, of gilded copper with enameled wings and tail, was produced in Limoges in considerable quantities in the thirteenth century, for sale throughout Europe along with other wares of the Limoges enamel industry.<sup>9</sup> Although no medieval discussion of the vessels' symbolism is preserved, their form certainly alludes to the Holy Spirit and perhaps reflects subtle doctrinal considerations concerning the relationship between the Spirit and the Host. Efforts to clarify the doctrine of the Eucharist, culminating when Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) promulgated the doctrine of Transubstantiation at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, must have contributed to their popularity in the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> The constitutions of William of Blois, Bishop of Worcester, declared in 1229 that not only gold and silver but also vessels *de opere lemovitico* were appropriate to contain the Eucharist.<sup>11</sup>

Like many Limoges doves, the Washington example stands on an enameled disk, which is still affixed to a base in the form of a paten.<sup>12</sup> What distinguishes the Washington dove from others is the encircling, turreted wall around the paten, suggesting a fortress or a crown. Eucharistic doves in association with crowns, perhaps symbolic of the Heavenly Jerusalem, may have existed as early as the eighth century.<sup>13</sup> Only one other dove now has such an enclosure attached, no. R.B.K. 17205 at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>14</sup> In that case the enclo-



Fig. 3 1942.9.284, detail of paten

sure is square with eight towers. The Amsterdam dove comes from the Soltykoff collection, a provenance the Washington dove shares.<sup>15</sup> The Amsterdam enclosure, which is probably modern,<sup>16</sup> appears from the style of its engraving to be modeled on the one on the dove now in Washington.

The subdued coloring of the Washington dove, with its bands and scales of pale blue fading into white and only an occasional patch of blue-green (on the right wing) or tiny trace of red (as an underlayer—possibly used as a flux—on the front compartments of the wings, and in small dots and bands on the tail) puts it among the more austere examples. Most show a considerably wider range of colors, including larger areas of red, yellow, green, and turquoise.<sup>17</sup> The dove in the Milan Cathedral treasury<sup>18</sup> and another one at the Musée de Cluny, Paris

(no. Cl. 1957), are closer to the National Gallery example in the predominance of serene blue and white on the wings.

The inner surface of the lid in the Washington dove's back is engraved with the blessing hand of God (fig. 2), a feature also found in the examples in Copenhagen and in the Kestner Museum, Hannover.<sup>19</sup> The lower end of the leaf-shaped handle fits through a hole in the body to secure the lid.

The Washington dove has naturalistically "crinkly" feet, in contrast to the more usual simplified treatment. Also distinctive is the differing organization of the enamel decoration of the wings, with four compartments on the right but three on the left. The bands crossing the wings vertically are engraved with tiny maltese crosses, a feature apparently unique to the Washington dove. A.L.

#### NOTES

1. A hypothetical reconstruction drawing by Helen B. Ingalls, Mellon Fellow in object conservation 1984–1986, is in the NGA conservation laboratory files with her report of 28 February 1985. Wear patterns suggest several chains were knotted at their ends just above the holes in the paten, then passed down through the holes, under the paten, up the sides of the enclosure and through the holes in it, whence they were drawn up to a suspension point.

2. Molinier and Marcou 1901, 89.

3. Report of 16 March 1985, in NGA conservation laboratory files.

4. Gauthier 1973, 187, without dates or first name.

5. Rupin 1890, 228. Braun 1924, 2:610 and 615.

6. Gauthier 1973, 174; to be published in vol. 3 of *Emaux méridionaux. Catalogue international de l'oeuvre de Limoges* (see 1942.9.278, note 1). The date of this one was suggested by Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, letter to the author, 19 July 1984. Mme Gauthier kindly granted access to the *Corpus* files for research on this object.

7. Braun 1924, 2:608–616; Joseph Braun, *Das Christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Munich, 1932), 290 and 319–323. See also *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages* [exh. cat., Busch-Reisinger Museum] (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 86–91 (entry by Heidi Roehrig Kaufmann).

8. See Braun 1932, 290, 319–320, and *Eucharistic Vessels* 1975, 86. For hanging lamps in the shape of doves, similar in form, used in Christian Egypt as early as the fourth century, and their spread into Europe, see Stefan Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* [exh. cat., The Brooklyn Museum], 2 vols. (Brooklyn, 1978), 2: 315, no. 277.

A Byzantine dove of the sixth to seventh century, from northern Syria, believed to be a eucharistic dove for suspension, was acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1986. See Margaret Frazer, "Silver Liturgical Objects from Attarouthi in Syria," *Fourteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers* (Houston, 1988), 13–14; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Annual Report 1989/1990*, 28, repro. A fuller publication

was in preparation at press time. Thanks are due to Charles Little, Helen Evans, and Susan Boyd for information on this.

9. Braun 1932, 321–323.

10. Gauthier 1972, 117–118; Gauthier 1973, 182; *Eucharistic Vessels* 1975, 86–91.

11. Braun 1932, 295.

12. Compare cat. 1845, no. 1 at the Musée de Picardie, Amiens (Gauthier 1973, fig. 5); no. 443 at the Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen (Gauthier 1973, fig. 6); no. 44.3 at The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, illustrated in Ursula E. McCracken, *Liturgical Objects in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1967), no. 12.

13. Julius von Schlosser, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Kunst* (Vienna, 1892; reprint Hildesheim and New York, 1974), 195, no. 609a: an obituary volume at Auxerre contains a reference (giving day but not year) to the death of "Frodo levita et canonicus, qui pro salute animae suae fecit huic ecclesiae columbam argenti auro mundo deauratam cum corona et catenis argenteis desuper altare pendentem ad corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi conservandum." Schlosser notes that the volume in question contained records from the eighth to the tenth centuries. Braun 1932, 290, gives the same reference (from a different compiler) and extends the possible date as far as the eleventh century.

Gauthier 1973, 177, suggested that such a mural crown would symbolize the Heavenly Jerusalem and that, with precious fabric suspended from the tiny holes, it could also have formed a small pavilion alluding to the biblical tabernaculum. See Rupin 1890, 232, for suspended fabric, which, however, seems to have hung down from a crown above the dove.

14. See Gauthier 1973, 187 (without illustration); a photograph is in the NGA curatorial files.

15. Gauthier 1973, 187, n. 14. Both the Washington and Amsterdam doves were in the Soltykoff sale in 1861 (see provenance), with the numbers 74 and 75 respectively. No. 74, one of five Limoges doves listed there, reads, "Autre Colombe de même travail et époque, reposant sur une enceinte tourellée et crenelée, Haut. 18 cent. Diam. 19 cent." No. 75 is similarly described, with the base noted as "de forme carrée." The descriptions are terse and unillustrated, but the measurements of no. 74 correspond to the Washington example, and the Washington and the Amsterdam doves are the only known examples with crowns. A crown without its dove survives at Saint Nicholas, Bari (Gauthier 1973, 177, 179, fig. 9).

The dove in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, which has also been identified with Soltykoff sale no. 74

(Paul Williamson, *Medieval Sculpture and Works of Art: The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection* [London, 1987], 148), retains a jeweled plate with suspension rings, but no crown.

16. Gauthier 1973, 187.

17. Braun 1924, 2:610. For color illustrations see for instance K. Rossacher, *Der Schatz der Erzstiftes Salzburg. Ein Jahrtausend deutscher Goldschmiedekunst* (Salzburg, 1966), no. 5, color pl. 2; Sotheby's, London, *Medieval Works of Art*, sale cat. 1 December 1983, 8–9, no. 128 (from the Robert von Hirsch collection); Hanns Swarzenski and Nancy Netzer, *Catalogue of Medieval Objects in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1986), 17, no. 26; Williamson 1987 (as in note 15), 148–151.

18. See Rossana Bossaglia and Mia Cinotti, *Tesoro e Museo del Duomo*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1978), 1:58, no. 13, color repro.

19. Braun 1924, 611, noted this feature also in the Copenhagen and Hannover doves, "among others." For the Copenhagen example see Gauthier 1973, fig. 6.

#### REFERENCES

1890 Rupin, Ernest. *L'oeuvre de Limoges*. Paris, 1890: 228, fig. 292.

1900 Exposition Universelle de 1900. *Catalogue officiel illustré de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art français des origines à 1800*. Paris, 1900: 294, no. 2554.

1901 Molinier, Emile, and Franz Marcou. *Exposition rétrospective de l'art français des origines à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris, 1901: 89, repro.

c. 1912 Duveen Brothers. *A Pyx (Colombe Eucharistique) in Copper-Gilt and Champlevé Enamel*. Paris, n.d. (c. 1912–1914).

1924 Braun, Joseph. *Der Christliche Altar*. 2 vols. Munich, 1924, 2:610 and 615.

1935 Widener 1935: 32.

1942 Widener 1942: 9.

1952 Christensen 1952: 16, 18, 30–31, repro.

1973 Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine. "Colombe limousine prise aux rêts d'un 'antiquaire' bénédictin à Saint-Germain-des Près, vers 1726." *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift für Hanns Swarzenski*. Berlin, 1973: 171–190, esp. 177–178, fig. 8 and 186–187, n. 14.

1976 Walker, John. *National Gallery of Art, Washington*. New York, 1976: color repro. opp. 36.

1983 Campbell, Marian. *An Introduction to Medieval Enamels*. London, 1983: 30, fig. 23.

1988 Luchs, Alison. "Research on the Collections." *Bulletin of the Circle of the National Gallery of Art* 3 (Fall 1988), 12–14, repro.

# Ciborium

1942.9.279 (C-3)

Spanish (Catalan)

c. 1330/1350

Gilded copper and champlevé enamel, h. 36.1 (14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>);

diam. of bowl: 12.1 (4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>); diam. of base: 17.7 (7)

Widener Collection

## INSCRIPTIONS

Gothic uncials in reserve in enameled sections of foot: names of the Three Kings, each divided so that letters flank the relevant figure: **BALTASAR, MELCHIOR, CASPAR**

BA	LT	MEL	CH	C	A
AS	AR	IOR		SP	
				AR	

On scroll carried by angel of the Annunciation on lid: **AVE MARIA.**

Scratched into the bottom of the foot: 26 and some illegible arabic numerals. Their relatively fresh look suggests these do not predate the nineteenth century.

## TECHNICAL NOTES

Two enamel colors were used for the backgrounds of the images on the lid and foot, with a bright turquoise alternating with a duller gray-green. Signs of devitrification in the duller color, which may once have been cobalt blue, were under continuing study at press time.<sup>1</sup> On the bowl, cobalt blue enamel outside the medallions fades to green. In a slightly damaged area at the top of one medallion, cobalt appears to underlie the green. Elsewhere the cobalt is on the surface.

The enamel is slightly damaged at the bottom of the cross in the Crucifixion and behind the angel of the Annunciation. There is some wear to the gilding in the Nativity scene; much gilding is worn off the base, as well as the knob, stem, and the base of the finial.

A *capsa*—a small container for the Host—may once have existed inside the bowl, as suggested by a bare copper area within a neat circle in the center, with scratches around it (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> The hole in the center perhaps once accommodated a screw that held the bowl or the lost *capsa* in place.

X-ray fluorescence analysis indicates that all the metallic components of the ciborium, including the cross inserted loosely at the top, are of a very similar composition (characterized by fairly pure copper with traces of iron, lead, silver, and manganese) except for the pin, whose high purity, without traces of silver, suggests it is a modern copper replacement for a lost pin that originally secured the lid.<sup>3</sup> The presence of mercury indicates fire-gilding. Two tiny holes (one now plugged) in the lid at the bottom of the Crucifixion scene may once have held a chain attached to the original pin.<sup>4</sup>

## PROVENANCE

Reportedly Poblet Abbey, Catalonia, Spain. Purchased from an unknown source by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, as French (Limoges), fourteenth century. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

The Washington ciborium<sup>5</sup> is among the finest of about a dozen such intact Eucharistic containers, and fragments of many others, that are now regarded as Spanish works of the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Illustrating it as an exemplar of the group, Gauthier noted that most of these objects were long regarded as Limoges works, but that they are more likely Limoges-influenced products of the Catalan and Roussillon regions, where most are preserved.<sup>7</sup> The selection of themes, organization of images, and the sharply ridged contours of the ciborium elements are peculiar to this group.

The scenes on this example, with figures in reserve metal under triconch arches against enameled grounds, are, counterclockwise on the lid: the Annunciation, Visitation, Resurrection, Nativity (fig. 2), Annunciation to the Shepherds, and Crucifixion (see below for discussion of the order); on the base, Balthazar, Melchior, Caspar, the Madonna and Child (fig. 3), Joseph, and a youthful Christ enthroned. Six medallions on the bottom of the bowl contain angels at three-quarter length, against alternating red and turquoise backgrounds.<sup>8</sup> The sketchy, engraved line drawings, in a succinct and lively style with expressively gesticulating figures, lend considerable charm to the tiny images.

A ciborium in a New York private collection (figs. 4, 5) is virtually identical to the National Gallery example in the iconography of its lid. The same six scenes appear in the same order, each under a trilobe arch. The composition within each scene is also remarkably similar, though the drawing is generally more refined and detailed on the Washington example. Costumes differ slightly, and there are no inscriptions on the New York work. A third ciborium with the same iconography on its lid and similar compositions was once in the Dzalynski-Czartoryski collection, in the Château de Goluchow, Poland.<sup>9</sup> These resemblances could reflect a workshop relationship for all three, reliance on common models, or contemporary copying of one by the makers of the others.



Spanish (Catalan), *Ciborium*, 1942.9.279

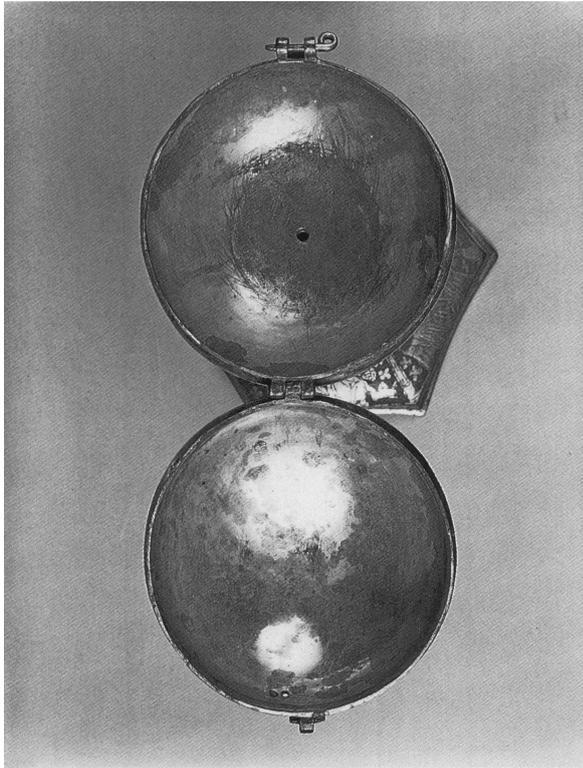


Fig. 1 1942.9.279, detail with lid open



Fig. 2 1942.9.279, detail of lid, *Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds*



Fig. 3 1942.9.279, detail of foot

Fig. 4 Roussillon or Catalonia, *Ciborium*, New York, private collection



Fig. 5 detail of Fig. 4

The ciborium at the National Gallery differs from others in the consistent hexagonal outline of all its elements (except for the bowl); others have at least one round component besides the bowl. One ciborium with considerable resemblance to this one, at the Musée de Cluny, Paris (Cl. 19963), has four scenes from the life of Christ on the lid, and all its structural elements are hexagonal except the finial.<sup>10</sup>

Comparisons with the engraved images on related ciboria support the conclusion that the one in Washington is among the finest surviving objects of its kind. The most similarly concise and animated style appears in the drawings of angels and prophets on a circular ciborium foot in the Museos de Arte, Barcelona (no. 5331).<sup>11</sup>

The Washington ciborium is unusual in having retained the cross atop its finial. The organization of the scenes on the lid in relation to the cross and fittings seems deliberately meant to establish an orientation for the object. The Resurrection, which interrupts the chronological order, and the Crucifixion are aligned with the faces of the cross. The pin securing the lid below the Crucifixion indicates that this scene was at the front. The crucified Christ on the lid could also be seen as lining up with the Enthroned Christ on the foot. Intentional correspondences between other images on the upper and lower portions are also possible (Nativity above, Madonna and Child below).

Poblet, reportedly the former home of this ciborium, is a Cistercian abbey in the archdiocese of Tarragona in northeastern Spain. Founded in the twelfth century, the abbey became the burial place of Spanish kings.<sup>12</sup> If this ciborium was at Poblet, it probably left in 1835, when the monks departed and the abbey was sacked during the First Carlist War.<sup>13</sup> A.L.

#### NOTES

1. Berrie and Sturman 1992. The high potassium and low lead content of this color apparently made it particularly susceptible to decomposition under conditions of elevated relative humidity and temperature.
2. The *capsa* survives, lidless, in a ciborium in The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (no. 44.112).
3. Report of 20 March 1985, in NGA conservation laboratory files.
4. Compare the example once in the Dzalynski-Czartoryski collection in Poland; Emile Molinier, *Collections du Château de Goluchow. Objets d'art du moyen âge et de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1903), 44, no. 164, pl. VIII.
5. On the etymology of the word and development of the ciborium as a container for the Eucharist see Joseph Braun, *Das Christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und seiner Entwicklung* (Munich, 1932), 280, and esp. 307. See also *Eucharistic Vessels* 1975 (entry by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann), 65–68.

6. These are to be published in volume 5 of *Emaux méridionaux. Catalogue international de l'oeuvre de Limoges*. For the *Corpus des Emaux méridionaux* see 1942.9.278, the *Limoges Châsse*, note 1.

7. Gauthier 1972, 192, and for fourteenth-century Spanish enamel production in general, 232–244. The *Corpus* records ten ciboria or fragments in Barcelona, three in Madrid, and two in Vich, Spain. Early examples in France are at the cathedral of Lyon and the church at Prunet, Pyrénées-Orientales (the latter in the Roussillon region, which was long disputed between France and Spain). For these and others see Ernest Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890), 239–244. I am grateful to Mme Gauthier for granting access to the files of the *Corpus* for research on this object.

8. These angels, in medallions intertwined with rinceaux, perpetuate an ornamental motif popular in Limoges work of the second half of the thirteenth century. See for example Marie-Madeleine Gauthier and Geneviève François, *Medieval Enamels: Masterpieces from the Keir Collection*, ed. and trans. Neil Stratford [exh. cat., The British Museum] (London, 1981), 24–25, nos. 25 and 28, figs. 5 and 6.

9. Molinier 1903 (as in note 4) 44, no. 164, pl. 8.

10. Ebitz in *Eucharistic Vessels* 1975, 84–85, suggested that hexagonal forms indicated a later stage in the type's development; it seems equally possible that the round and hexagonal types were produced simultaneously.

11. Photograph in *Corpus* files.

12. Its royal associations are perhaps reflected in the individual portraits of the Three Kings on the foot of this ciborium, the only foot thus far discovered with this iconography. That theme, however, occurs too frequently in medieval enamel work to permit insistence on such a connection.

13. See Joaquin Guitert y Fontseré, *Real Monasterio de Poblet*, 3d ed. (Barcelona, 1929), 338–341; Jaime Finestres y de Monsalvo, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Poblet*, 5 vols. (Barcelona, 1947–1955). In 1982 William J. Williams of the NGA Education Department corrected the reference to the "Cathedral" of Poblet in the 1935 Widener catalogue.

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## Costume ornaments with profile portraits

1961.9.186–1961.9.194 (C-532–540)

Northern Italian

c. 1380/1400

Repoussé silver, gilded, and translucent enamel, attached to a strip of velvet

1961.9.186 disk, diam. 3.9 (1<sup>17</sup>/<sub>32</sub>), enamel, diam. 1.1 (7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

1961.9.187 disk, diam. 3.9 (1<sup>17</sup>/<sub>32</sub>), enamel, diam. 1.1 (7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

1961.9.188 disk, diam. 3.8 (1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>), enamel, diam. 1.3 x 1.3 (1/2 x 1/2)

1961.9.189 disk, diam. 3.8 (1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>), enamel, diam. 1.3 x 1.3 (1/2 x 1/2)

1961.9.190 disk, diam. 4.1 (1<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>), enamel, diam. 1.4 x 1.4 (1/2 x 1/2)

1961.9.191 disk, diam. 3.9 (1<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub>), enamel, diam. 1.1 (7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>)

1961.9.192 disk, diam. 3.9 (1<sup>17</sup>/<sub>32</sub>), enamel, diam. 1.3 x 1.3 (1/2 x 1/2)

1961.9.193 disk, diam. 3.9 (1<sup>17</sup>/<sub>32</sub>), enamel, diam. 1.3 x 1.3 (1/2 x 1/2)

1961.9.194 disk, diam. 4.0 (1<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub>), enamel, diam. 1.3 x 1.3 (1/2 x 1/2)

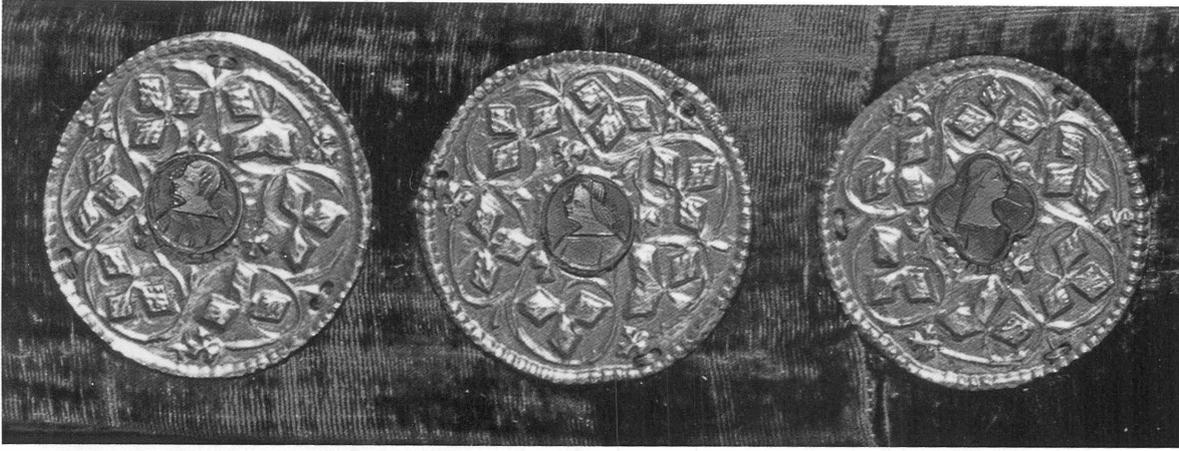
velvet strip 5.1 x 4.1 (2 x 1<sup>6</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Samuel H. Kress Collection

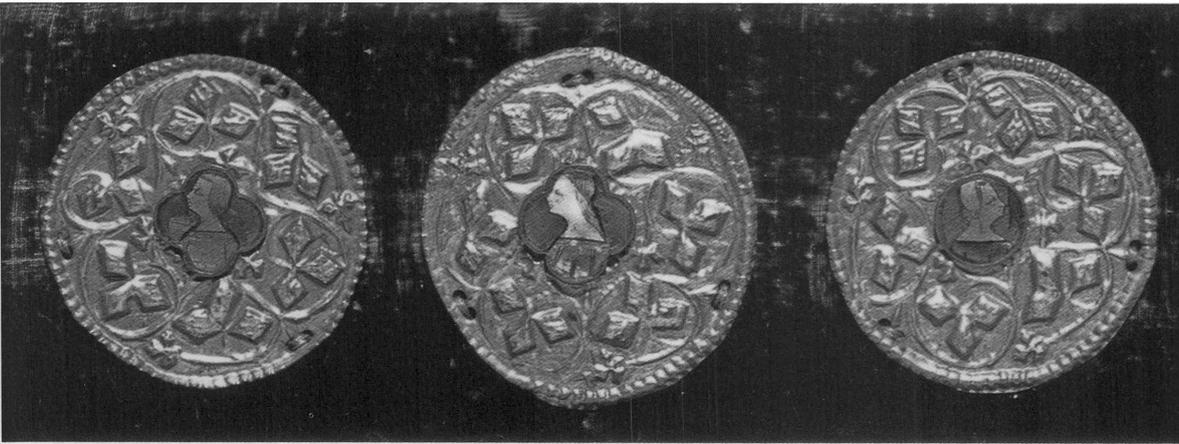
#### TECHNICAL NOTES

The ornaments are attached to a pieced strip of worn, dark red velvet with a satin backing, of uncertain date. Eight are enameled in blue, while one (1961.9.190) has a figure with blonde hair and skin of a pale flesh color. The bottom lobe of 1961.9.194 is damaged, the enamel of the figure's chest lost.

X-ray fluorescence analysis of the metal disks indicated they are made of mercury-gilded (fire-gilded) silver.<sup>1</sup> An area where enamel is lost, the central portion of disk 1961.9.194, shows only silver. The light and dark blue



Northern Italian, *Costume Ornaments with Profile Portraits*, 1961.9.186, 1961.9.187, 1961.9.188



*Costume Ornaments with Profile Portraits*, 1961.9.189, 1961.9.190, 1961.9.191



*Costume Ornaments with Profile Portraits*, 1961.9.192, 1961.9.193, 1961.9.194

enameled areas contain silver (perhaps from the base) and small amounts of copper, zinc, and lead. The green areas contain the same elements, with a greater concentration of copper, which is probably responsible for the coloration in both the blue and green areas. For additional details see Appendix on enamels.

#### PROVENANCE

Reportedly Trivulzio collection, Milan; (Count Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi), Florence; purchased by 1937 or 1939 by Samuel H. Kress, New York,<sup>2</sup> as Sieneese, c. 1500; Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, 27 February 1950.<sup>3</sup>

These nine ornamental disks come from the same workshop, and perhaps the same garment, as another set of nine that was in the Marc Rosenberg collection, Berlin, in 1929, and thirty-six from the J. Pierpont Morgan collection, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>4</sup> The dimensions and style of each group correspond closely.<sup>5</sup> Like the National Gallery examples, the others contain (or contained) a translucent enamel ornament of round or quatrefoil shape, bearing a profile bust portrait. Each disk is pierced at the edges with three pairs of holes for attachment to a fabric or leather support.

Translucent or *basse-taille* enamel, probably invented in Italy in the 1280s, achieved particular popularity throughout Europe in the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Only gold and silver could serve as a base for the shades of blue, green, and violet enamel through which a design engraved in the metal was visible. Small appliqués in circular, quatrefoil, lozenge, and other forms were widely produced for ecclesiastical objects such as chalices, monstrances, and reliquaries. The present objects provide evidence of a type meant for secular use.

Crudely drawn as they are, the tiny, engraved bust-length figures in the enamels vary in age and sex. Hairstyles and necklines suggest that at least four are female (1961.9.188, 190, 193, and 194). Most of the heads have high crowns, sloping foreheads, and receding chins, although the lower half of the face projects slightly. Necks crane forward, and the whole effect is more comical than elegant. Occasional costume details, such as the white *cuffie* over the hair and one woman's hairnet, have parallels in Italian art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>7</sup> Certain character types, especially the man with relatively short straight hair, the man (?) with a *cuffia*, and the figure of uncertain gender with a cap and long full hair, facing left, recur repeatedly in the National Gallery and Rosenberg groups.

Production in northern Italy in the late fourteenth century is likely. The facial types resemble drawings in a group of important secular manuscripts produced in Lombardy between about 1380

and 1400, the *Tacuinum Sanitatis*.<sup>8</sup> The repoussé ornament of the foil disks, curving vine rinceaux with trios of diamond-shaped leaves, has parallels in border decorations in Milanese manuscript illumination of about 1380 to 1400, especially from the workshop of Giovannino de' Grassi.<sup>9</sup> Small profile busts engraved in silver in lines filled in with niello, like those on the present disks, also appear on unenameled secular ornaments usually assigned to northern Italy, fifteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

These disks probably once adorned a belt.<sup>11</sup> While no surviving belt has identical ornaments, a Burgundian ducal inventory of 1379 mentions belts adorned with dozens of jeweled "assiettes."<sup>12</sup> A belt in the British Museum, identified as Venetian, late fifteenth century, may give an idea of the form of the belt that bore these disks. It is velvet with enameled hexafoil ornaments attached and bust profile portraits of a young man and woman in niello facing each other across a shield of arms on the buckle.<sup>13</sup> A complete wool belt in the Cleveland Museum of Art also has ornaments that include tiny enameled profile heads in quatrefoils, attached to wrought silver borders.<sup>14</sup>

Belts and hats ornamented with knobs or disks of precious metal appear on both male and female figures in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century painting.<sup>15</sup> Sets of ornamental disks could also adorn hats and horse caparisons.<sup>16</sup> The thin, delicate structure, light weight, and fragile type of enamel, however, suggest the present disks were designed to be sewn onto fabric for costumes.<sup>17</sup> The question remains whether all the disks were meant for the same garment, as Falke and Fingerlin assumed, or whether a workshop produced such ornaments in quantity, often repeating a design, for use in various ways in any desired number. A.L.

#### NOTES

1. Report, 19 March 1987, in NGA conservation laboratory files.

2. See 1961.9.182, note 3.

3. Deposition by Herbert L. Spencer, executive director, Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 21 August 1956, on file in the secretary-general counsel's office, National Gallery of Art, Kress no. 0-150/1-9.

4. Otto von Falke, *Sammlung Marc Rosenberg*, sale, Hermann Ball/Paul Graupe, Berlin, 1929, 32, no. 144, pl. 14, as mountings for a wedding belt, Bolognese, early fifteenth century. Ilse Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Munich and Berlin, 1971), 315, no. 23. Falke noted that other disks "from the same belt" were in the A. Figdor collection, Vienna, and the J. P. Morgan collection, New York. The present locations of the Figdor and Rosenberg groups are unknown. The Morgan group of thirty-six was donated to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1917 (acc. nos. 17.190.926-961).

5. The Berlin disks each measured "about four centimeters" in diameter (Falke 1929, 32). The Metropolitan Museum examples measure approximately 1½ in. (3.8 cm) each.

6. See Gauthier 1972, 28–30, 205–277, and Marian Campbell, *An Introduction to Medieval Enamels* (London, 1983), 7, 33–41.

7. For the *cuffia*, worn by men since the thirteenth century, see Rosita Levi Pisetzkzy, *Storia del costume in Italia*, 5 vols. (Milan, 1964–1969), 2: pl. 32 (a mid-fourteenth-century manuscript in the Ambrosiana, Milan). For the woman's hairnet see an onlooker in Giotto's *Visitation* in the Arena Chapel, Padua (Levi Pisetzkzy 1964–1969, pl. 78). See also works cited in note 11.

8. Fingerlin 1971, 150, 315; compare Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia* (Milan, 1912), 354, pl. 20. On the *Tacuinum*, of which major manuscripts in Vienna, Rome, and Paris are probably Lombard, c. 1385–1400, see Brucia Witthoft, "The *Tacuinum Sanitatis*: A Lombard Panorama," *Gesta* 17 (1978), 49–60. For additional illustrations see Luisa Cogliati Arano, *Tacuinum Sanitatis* (Milan, 1972), for example 104, pl. 23.

9. Toesca 1912, 283, 311. See also Millard Meiss and Edith W. Kirsch, *The Visconti Hours* (New York, 1972), BR 104v and LF 54.

10. Fingerlin 1971, 206, 254, note 712. See a mid-fifteenth-century northern Italian silver and niello ring illustrated in Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400–1500* (London, 1981), fig. 104; also Charles Oman, *Catalogue of Rings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1930), 104, no. 650, inv. no. 882–1871, pl. 22, and the Italian belt buckles illustrated in Fingerlin 1971, figs. 510, 432.

11. Fingerlin 1971, 150, 315. Falke 1929, 32, called them mountings for a wedding belt; Herald 1981, 28, refers to the ceremonial girdling of brides with a beautiful belt ("a feature of every trousseau") in memory of the *cestus* given by Vulcan to Venus.

12. Fingerlin 1971, 271–272.

13. See Fingerlin 1971, 187, 206, no. 174, fig. 432. Herald 1981, 180 (fig. 112) suggests it was a betrothal gift.

14. Fingerlin 1971, 92–94, no. 66, 334–338, acc. no. 51.30, as north Italian, last quarter of the fifteenth century. Gauthier 1972, 296–297, no. 240, assigned it to Venice or Lombardy, last third of the fourteenth century.

15. On men's and women's belts in Italy and their production see Levi Pisetzkzy 1964–1969, 2: 77, 133–135 (fourteenth century) and 279, 378 (fifteenth century). See also her pl. 78; Herald 1981, figs. 62, 64, 90, and the northern European examples illustrated in Fingerlin 1971, figs. 408, 413, 415. Jeweled disks adorn the young king's hat as well as his belt in Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco in the Medici Riccardi palace chapel, 1459 (Levi Pisetzkzy 1964–1969, 2: pl. 207).

16. In the Gozzoli painting cited in note 15 there are gold disks on horse trappings, as also in Gentile da Fabriano's 1423 Uffizi altarpiece, Herald 1981, fig. 62.

17. Horse ornaments are usually of sturdier material—copper or bronze—and designed to be mounted on leather by means of rivets, nails, or suspension rings. The author is grateful to Stuart W. Pyhr and Barbara Drake Boehm of The Metropolitan Museum of Art for information on this (letters of 29 December 1987 and 8 January 1988, NGA curatorial files).

#### REFERENCES

None.

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## Morse with the Trinity

1942.9.287 (C-11)

Paris, c. 1400/1410 (Trinity and Angels); western European, 1884/1897 (setting)

Gold, enamel, and pearls, diam. 12.6 (5); God the Father, h. 5.9 (2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub>); Christ, h. 3.15 (1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>); each angel, h. .7 (1/4) or less

Widener Collection

#### MARKS

Sticker on the back: J. E. Taylor Collection [C-11] 234.

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

The enamel work is in excellent condition. There are a few small losses on the body of Christ (torso, arms, and legs) and on the oak leaf wreath of the setting. Glue residue on the dove's tail suggests that the bird was once glued in place.

The figure of God the Father is secured within the surrounding ring of blue clouds by three small pins projecting from his back and passing through small, flat, unenameled gold tabs that extend from the back of the cloud ring toward the center. His hands, made separately, are attached by rolled metal sheets (evidently continuations of his cuffs) that pass through the figure and are visible at the back (fig. 1). The cross is attached to the figure of God the Father by two studs, one at the center and one at the feet of Christ, both covered at the back with a substance that may be stick shellac or rosin. Silver bolts through the hands and feet hold the corpus to the cross.

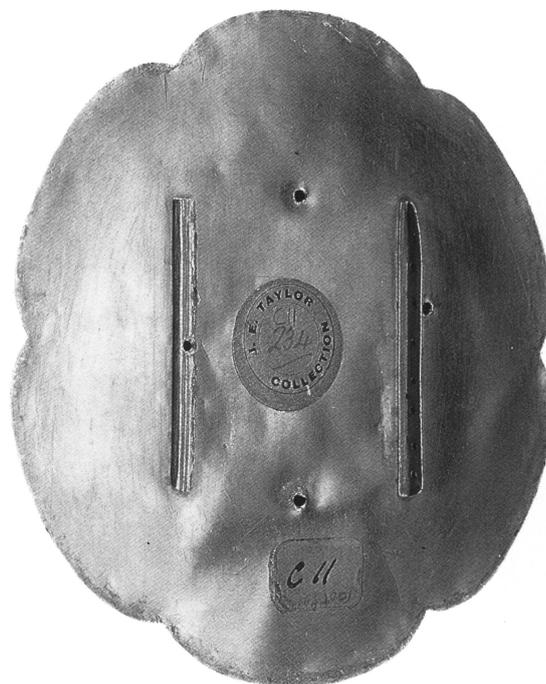
The Trinity/Angels group is secured in its late nineteenth-century setting (see note 3) by a fitted, hammered back, soldered onto the front section of the setting and reinforced by pins that pass through the oak-leaf wreath into the back. A thin, fine rim around the outer circumference of the setting is bent back to secure the flat



Fig. 1 1942.9.287, with  
back plate removed



Fig. 2 1942.9.287,  
back plate



outer plate (fig. 2) that covers this hammered back. Soldered to the back of this plate are two parallel gold strips, apparently the remains of a catch (or devised to resemble such remains). At the front the enamel group is secured by several individual thorns in the encircling crown, which are bent forward to serve as hooks.

The (later) enamel work on the leaves and branches differs markedly from that of the Trinity/Angels group. The wreath's green and brown enamel is thinner, more mottled, less intense in color, and less evenly applied. The relatively smooth texture of the gold in patches where the enamel has flaked off does not match the *pointillé* (pounced) surface of areas that have lost enamel in the central group (as in the Corpus).

X-ray fluorescence analysis indicated the composition of the gold alloys varies.<sup>1</sup> The cross contains more silver than other gold areas, and also tin, copper, and lead. The flat back of the setting contains minor quantities of silver and traces of copper, while the front contains only traces of both. The same analysis indicated there are no demonstrably modern colorants or additives present in any of the enamel, even on the nineteenth-century oak leaves. For additional details on the enamel compositions see the table in the Appendix on enamels.

#### PROVENANCE

Said to have belonged to Rodrigo Borgia, Pope Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503);<sup>2</sup> Francisco Doctor, Madrid, 1884 (Trinity/Angels);<sup>3</sup> John Edward Taylor, London, before 1897–1912 (enamels in morse setting, as per sticker) (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 1–4 and 9–10 July 1912, no. 234); (Duveen Brothers, New York or London, 1912), purchased 6 March 1913 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

#### EXHIBITIONS

London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1897, *Catalogue of a Collection of European Enamels from the Earliest Date to the End of the XVII Century*, no. 242b.

The tiny, delicately modeled Trinity of enameled gold was mounted in the late nineteenth century as a morse, a brooch for fastening an ecclesiastical mantle such as a cope. Equally impressive for its ornamental elegance, graceful composition, and expressive power, this Trinity ringed with angels is one of the finest surviving works in the technique of *émail en ronde bosse* (small-scale precious metal sculpture, usually gold, covered with enamel), an art form at its height in France around 1400.<sup>4</sup> A date in the first years of the fifteenth century is supported by stylistic similarities to the reliquary of the Holy Thorn in the British Museum (figs. 3, 4), probably made for Jean, Duke of Berry, and to the Goldenes Rössl at Altötting, presented to Charles VI as a new year's gift from his queen in 1404.<sup>5</sup>

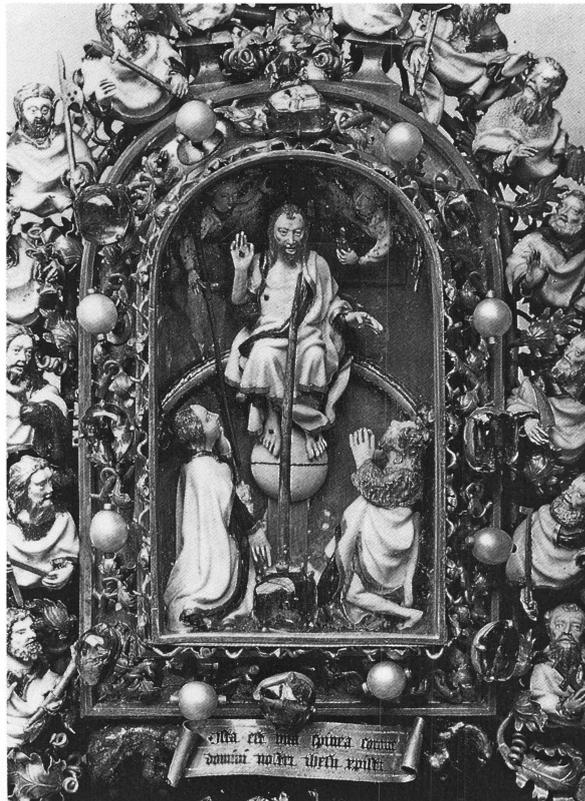
A nineteenth-century date for the setting of the Washington Trinity was proposed by Hackenbroch in 1986.<sup>6</sup> Her suspicions were confirmed by information recently provided by Timothy Wilson (note 3 and fig. 6). The prolific historicizing goldsmith Alfred André (see page 282) may well have made the setting; he was active in Madrid in 1885 and the central enamels are first documented in Madrid in 1884.

How the exquisite central enamels might have been set at the time of their origin is an open question. A reference in the inventory of Duke Philip the

Fig. 3 Paris, c. 1405/  
1410, *The Holy Thorn  
Reliquary*, London, The  
British Museum, detail



Fig. 4 Paris, c. 1405/  
1410, *The Holy Thorn  
Reliquary*, London, The  
British Museum, detail



Bold of Burgundy offers one possible answer. Among the precious objects recorded in Philippe's ducal chapel in 1404 was a *tableau d'or* adorned with jewels, whose central ornament was "a Trinity enamelled in white with four little angels around it."<sup>7</sup> Although colors other than white, such as the deep red lining of God the Father's robe, are not mentioned, the terse description could easily fit the central group of the Widener morse. Perhaps at some point when the gold and gems adorning the *tableau* were needed for other purposes, the enamel group might have been removed but preserved.<sup>8</sup>

Similarities between the Trinity group and the Holy Thorn reliquary linked to Jean, Duke of Berry, suggest production in the same workshop.<sup>9</sup> The head of God the Father closely resembles certain apostle figures on the Thorn reliquary, especially Saint Peter on the upper right. God the Father on the reliquary holds his orb with slender fingers that recall God the Father's delicate grasp of the cross in the Trinity. The Christ in judgment on the reliquary, with his exquisite raised right hand, freely flowing hair, and the curl in the center of his high forehead, also resembles the Washington God the Father. The tiny pinched-waisted nudes rising in prayer at the base of the reliquary are similar to the praying angels around the Trinity group. Yet certain features suggest that more than one goldsmith was involved in producing the two works: the more schematic anatomy of the London Christ compared with the crucified figure on the morse; the more generalized face of the London God the Father compared with the highly individualized Father in the Trinity; the preference for green in the reliquary as opposed to the deep garnet red so prominent in the Trinity, and general differences in the fall of the drapery.

The aged head of God the Father (fig. 5), with his deep-set, hooded eyes, furrowed cheeks, and streaming hair above the majestically flowing folds of his robe, recalls Burgundian sculpture of the late fourteenth century, especially from the circle of Claus Sluter.<sup>10</sup> The style suggests that the goldsmith who made the Trinity was of German or Netherlandish origin, like Sluter and so many others employed by the Burgundian court.<sup>11</sup> It is likely, however, that the goldsmith was working in Paris: Philip the Bold, who may have owned the Trinity and Angels, purchased most of his precious goldsmith work in Paris, and some six hundred goldsmiths are recorded as active in the capital during the reign of Charles VI (1380–1422).<sup>12</sup> It is believed that the Holy Thorn reliquary, the work most similar to the National Gallery morse, was produced in Paris,<sup>13</sup> a theory supported by recent recognition of the lost Ingolstadt *Saint Michael*, known from a painting to have re-



Fig. 5 1942.9.287, detail of central group removed



Fig. 6 1942.9.287, photo showing condition in 1884 [reproduced by kind permission of the Committee for the Ashmolean Library, Oxford]

sembled the Holy Thorn reliquary in important features, as a documented work purchased by Philip the Bold in Paris in 1397.<sup>14</sup> The loss of the original setting of the Trinity/Angels group would offer one explanation for the absence on the morse of any of the goldsmith marks required by law beginning in 1378 for such works made in Paris.<sup>15</sup> A.L.

#### NOTES

1. Report, 17 April 1987, in NGA conservation laboratory files.

2. This improbable provenance is first mentioned in exh. cat. London 1897, 74, no. 242b.

3. Timothy Wilson wrote to the author on 4 July 1990 with documentation newly discovered in the Ashmolean library (Fortnum papers, box marked South Kensington; copies in NGA curatorial files). The central enamels – the Trinity and ring of angels – were offered for sale by Francisco Doctor of Madrid, in a letter of 6 May 1884 addressed to “Monsieur le Directeur du Musée de Peinture et Beaux-Arts à Londres.” The photograph accompanying his letter (fig. 6) shows these enamels resting on a fabric background, without any setting. Doctor’s letter and photograph were forwarded to Charles Drury Edward Fortnum, the great collector, connoisseur, and author of catalogues for the South Kensington Museum, who at that time acted as a periodic adviser to the museum. The museum declined because of the price, “something above 20,000 francs (£800),” according to Fortnum’s letter of 9 June 1884. Thereafter the enamels were evidently sold, provided with their present setting, and acquired for the Taylor collection before 1897.

The author is grateful to Timothy Wilson for this information and to the Ashmolean Museum for permission to cite the letter and publish the photograph.

4. See Müller and Steingraber 1954, with a catalogue of thirty-eight objects; Hugh Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum. I. The Jewels* (London, 1986), 26 and nos. 1 and 2. Eikermann 1984; Ulrich Middeldorf, “On the Origins of Email sur Ronde Bosse,” *GBA* 55 (1960), 233–244, reprinted in his *Raccolta di Scritti*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1979–1981), 2: 257–274; Gauthier 1972, especially 297–303.

5. For the Holy Thorn reliquary see Müller and Steingraber 1954, 38, 66–67, 74; Peter Lasko, “The Thorn Reliquary: The Art of the Parisian Goldsmiths of about 1400,” *Apollo* 76 (June 1962), 258–264 (dating the reliquary c. 1410); Hugh Tait, *The Waddesdon Bequest* (London, 1981), 19–23, fig. 7, pl. 2; especially Tait 1986, 26–46, with a dating c. 1405–1410. For the Goldenes Rössl see Kohlhasssen 1932, 388; Müller 1966, 20; Gauthier 1972, 298–300.

6. Hackenbroch 1986, 169–170, proposing a date of c. 1865–1870, based on the resemblance between the hexafoil setting and the similar shape of a morse setting attributed to Reinhold Vasters. On Vasters see also *Fake! The Art of Deception*, ed. Mark Jones [exh. cat., The British Museum] (London, 1990), 200–204 (entry by Anthony North).

Early jewels with settings of similar hexafoil form that might have served as models include the hat badge in a portrait of c. 1525–1530 by Paris Bordone in the Art Gallery of Ontario. See *Paris Bordone* [exh. cat., Palazzo dei Trecento] (Treviso, 1984), 59, no. 4.

7. For a description of *tableaux d'or* see De Winter 1976, 1:186. For the document see Monseigneur Chrétien C.-A. Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et Le Hainaut avant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1886), 2: 829, 1404. Chapelle de Philippe le Hardi: "Item, ung autre tableau d'or en façon de porte, a une Trinité esmaillée de blanc ou milieu, quatre petits angelos environ, garni de quatorze balais, deux saphirs et de trente et quatre perles, pesant III m VII o."

8. On recycling of materials from jeweled objects see R. W. Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work in Medieval France: A History* (London, 1978), 86–87.

9. Müller and Steingraber 1954, 38: a "school relationship beyond doubt."

10. Seymour 1949, 12, 173; on Sluter see Kathleen Morand, *Claus Sluter, Artist at the Court of Burgundy* (Austin, 1991). A further link with Burgundy is the iconography. The Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon, where Sluter executed his most important work, was dedicated to the Trinity (and the Virgin) when it was founded in 1383 by Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy, and a number of Trinity images are associated with it. Although the Trinity theme was by no means exclusive to Burgundy, it had strong associations with that duchy and its ruling house. See Verdier 1975; De Winter 1976, 1:179; Müller and Steingraber 1954, 38, and *Les Fastes* 1981, 377, no. 327, color pl. 43.

11. De Winter 1976, 1:81–82, 161–162, points out that most of the goldsmiths active on such objects were northerners. See also Lightbown 1978, 85, and Philippe Henwood, "Les orfèvres parisiens pendant le règne de Charles VI (1380–1422)," *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 15 (1979; published 1982), 85–180, for many names of northern goldsmiths.

12. De Winter 1976, 81–83, 161–162; Henwood 1982, 85–180.

13. Müller and Steingraber 1954, 32–33, 36, 66–67.

14. Eva Kovacs, "L'orfèvrerie parisienne et ses sources," *RArt* 28 (1975), 28–30. Philippe gave the Saint Michael to his nephew, King Charles VI. The document, recording the purchase of the Saint Michael and other jewels at the beginning of 1397 from "Andriet d'Espéron et Guillemin Sanguin, marchands demeurant à Paris," is published in Ernst Petit, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur* (Paris, 1888), 555–556. See also Eva Kovacs, *The Calvary of King Matthias Corvinus in the Treasury of Esztergom Cathedral* (Budapest, 1983), 44–45.

15. On the law regarding goldsmiths' marks see Henwood 1982, 89.

In a seminar at The British Museum in November 1987 and at a symposium in conjunction with *Fake!*, an exhibition at the British Museum in 1990, Hugh Tait (deputy keeper, medieval and later antiquities) gave presentations on the problem of *émail en ronde bosse*. On these occasions, at which the author was not present, he expressed "grave reservations" about the authenticity of the

Washington morse, particularly the central *Trinity* group, partly because of the construction and enameling techniques. See now Tait 1992. Thanks are due to Mr. Tait for personal communication on the subject. The author remains convinced of the authenticity and superb quality of the Trinity and Angels.

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1976 De Winter, Patrick M. "The Patronage of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (1364–1404)." Ph.D. diss., 5 vols., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1976, 1:179.

1984 Eikelmann, Renate. "Franko-Flämische Emailplastik des Spätmittelalters." Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1984: 53–54, 380–384 (no. 25), 609, 684–686, 814–815, repro. 167.

1986 Hackenbroch, Yvonne. "Reinhold Vasters, Goldsmith." *JMMA* 19/20 (1986): 169–170, 180, fig. 8.

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## Saint Agnes

1942.9.283 (C-7)

Probably Italian or French, after Nicolas de Douai and Jacques de Nivelles, based on a design by Jacques d'Anchin

cast c. 1897/1908

Gilded copper, 22.1 x 6.9 x 6 (8<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 2<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Widener Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The bronze is in generally good condition except for wear to the gilding and some cracks in the figure's back, apparently casting flaws. A metal strip about 1 cm wide, pierced by two holes, is soldered across the open bottom, apparently as a means for attaching the sculpture to a base.

X-ray fluorescence analysis indicated that the alloy consists of unusually pure copper with a very small amount of tin, probably less than 5 percent.<sup>1</sup> Traces of silver (possibly in the gilding) and iron but no lead or zinc were detected. The presence of mercury indicates that the object is fire gilded.

### PROVENANCE

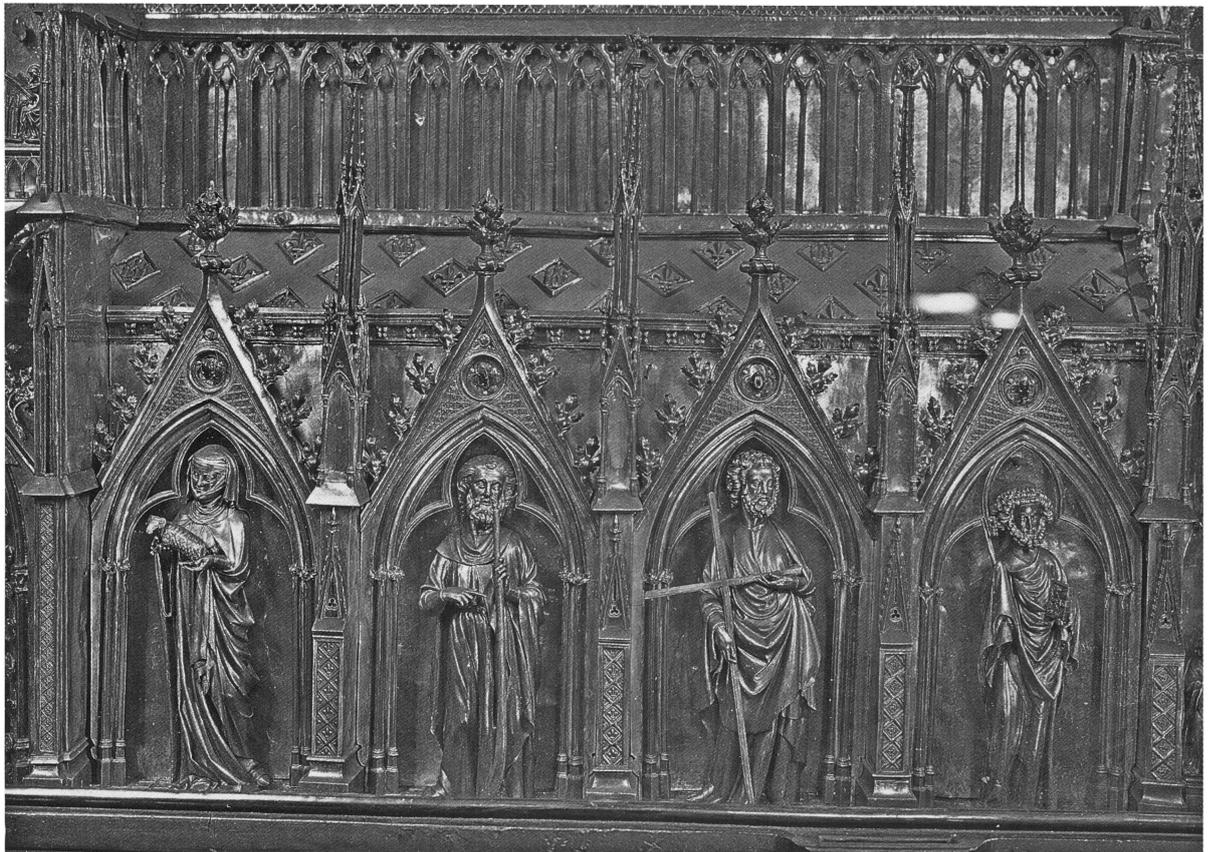
(Bourgeois Frères, Cologne, before 1922);<sup>2</sup> purchased 1922 by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, as French, c. 1290. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener after purchase by funds of the Estate.

### EXHIBITIONS

The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, 1937, *Master Bronzes Selected from Museums and Collections in America*, no. 114 (ed. Gordon Bailey Washburn, entry by Marvin C. Ross).

The *Saint Agnes* belongs to a fairly large group of gilded copper statuettes cast around 1900, after thirteenth-century originals that adorned a silver reliquary ch<sup>^</sup>asse containing the relics of Saint Gertrude in the collegiate church of Saint Gertrude at Nivelles, Belgium (fig. 1). The ch<sup>^</sup>asse, a miniature gothic church, is documented as the work of Nicolas de Douai and Jacques de Nivelles, following a

**Fig. 1** Nicolas de Douai, Jacques de Nivelles, and Jacques d'Anchin, 1272/1298, *Shrine of Saint Gertrude*, Nivelles, Collegiate Church of St. Gertrude, detail (destroyed) [photo: Copyright A. C. L. Bruxelles]





design ("pourtraiture") by the goldsmith monk Jacques d'Anchin.<sup>3</sup> Commissioned in 1272 and completed in 1298, it was made of silver alloyed with copper and measured 180 cm long, 54 cm wide, and 80 cm high.<sup>4</sup> Bombing at Nivelles on 14 May 1940 reduced the ch<sup>^</sup>asse to ruins, but a number of fragments survived, and are now preserved in the treasury of the collegiate church of Saint Gertrude at Nivelles.<sup>5</sup>

In 1897 a complete plaster cast of the Nivelles ch<sup>^</sup>asse was produced by the Section Artistique de la Commission royale belge des Echanges internationaux.<sup>6</sup> Since the late nineteenth century the Section Artistique and its successor body, the Service des Moulages des Mus<sup>^</sup>ees royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, have produced plaster casts of Belgian sculpture for sale and exchange with foreign museums.<sup>7</sup> The casts could thus have been used anywhere after 1897 to produce the numerous gilded replicas of the Nivelles statuettes, which had already found their way into collections by 1908<sup>8</sup> and were offered to museums as late as 1970.<sup>9</sup> Twenty had been traced by 1909, at least nine of them recently acquired in Italy.<sup>10</sup> Those that subsequently appeared on the market probably included certain of the examples reported in 1909 as well as additional ones.<sup>11</sup> Although many of the copies seem to have been associated with Italy, Falke connected them with the workshop that produced the so-called "Marcy forgeries," probably located in Paris.<sup>12</sup>

The present example was catalogued in 1935 as a work of about 1290 from Tournai, related to the Nivelles shrine, and exhibited as such in 1937. That these casts should have deceived connoisseurs is not surprising for, as Migeon observed, the copies are "of admirable style, remarkable chasing and excellent gilding."<sup>13</sup> Some of them now, as in the case of the *Saint Agnes*, have the added interest of evoking the original appearance of a now-lost medieval masterwork. A.L.

#### NOTES

1. Barbara Miller, conservation scientist, report in conversation 31 August 1983.

2. The name "Bourgeois" appears on a Widener file card in the NGA curatorial files as the dealer from whom the bronze was purchased in 1922 (with reference to a letter from Wilhelm R. Valentiner of 2 May 1922, which has not been located). An early photograph in the NGA file is stamped "Bourgeois & Co., C<sup>^</sup>oln a. Rh." The collection of a pair of Bourgeois brothers, dealers in Cologne, was sold in 1904 after both had died (Stephan in 1899, Gaspard in 1904). See *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosit<sup>^</sup>e, composant la collection Bourgeois fr<sup>^</sup>eres, et dont la vente aura lieu <sup>^</sup>a Cologne... du... 19 au... 27*

*octobre 1904*, J. M. Heberle, Cologne; the objects catalogued do not include the *Saint Agnes*. Perhaps a relative later sold the sculpture to Widener.

3. See Claudine Donnay-Rocmans, "La ch<sup>^</sup>asse de Sainte Gertrude <sup>^</sup>a Nivelles," *GBA* 58 (1961), 185-202; Mireille Madou, *Die Heilige Gertrudis van Nijvel (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen. Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgi<sup>^</sup>e. Klasse der Schone Kunsten 37: no. 29)*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1975), 1:34-44, 114, 266-267, no. 143; Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Goldschmiede des Mittelalters; Quellen zur Struktur ihrer Werkstatt," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins f<sup>^</sup>ur Kunstwissenschaft* 32 (1978), 46-86, especially 73-78.

4. Donnay-Rocmans 1961, 185.

5. Donnay-Rocmans 1961, 185; *Rhein und Maas* 1972, 356, no. M-12; Robert Didier, letter 3 June 1983, in NGA curatorial files. *L'Europe gothique, XII<sup>^</sup>-XIV<sup>^</sup> si<sup>^</sup>cles, douzi<sup>^</sup>eme exposition du Conseil de l'Europe* [exh. cat., Mus<sup>^</sup>ee du Louvre] (Paris, 1968), 166, no. 413. The surviving fragments do not include the *Saint Agnes*.

6. Henry Rousseau, "Rapport sur les travaux de la Section Artistique de la Commission royale belge des Echanges internationaux pendant l'ann<sup>^</sup>ee 1897," *Bulletin des Commissions royales d'Art et d'Arch<sup>^</sup>eologie* 37 (1898), 169 (transcribed by Robert Didier, letter to the author, 17 July 1983, in NGA curatorial files). Donnay-Rocmans 1961, 185, reported seeing a plaster cast of the shrine in the treasury of the collegiate church at Nivelles, and the Mus<sup>^</sup>ees royaux d'Art et d'Histoire today possess what may be the 1897 plaster (Didier, letters to the author, 4 and 17 July 1983).

7. Didier, letter, 17 July 1983. M. Didier, chef de section, Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique, Brussels, provided valuable assistance for the preparation of this entry.

8. Gaston Migeon, "Sur fausses statuettes d'orf<sup>^</sup>evrie en cuivre dor<sup>^</sup>e," *Verhandlungen der elften Versammlung des Verbandes von Museums-Beamten zur Abwehr von F<sup>^</sup>alschungen und unlauterem Gesch<sup>^</sup>ftsgebaren*, 28 and 29 September 1908 (Frankfurt, 1908), 16-18.

9. *Rhein und Maas* 1972, 356; *Ex aere solido. Bronzen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* [exh. cat., Westf<sup>^</sup>alisches Landesmuseum, M<sup>^</sup>unster; Saarland-Museum, Saarbr<sup>^</sup>ucken; Kestner-Museum, Hannover] (Berlin, 1983), 294. Public collections possessing Nivelles copies, in addition to the National Gallery, include the Mus<sup>^</sup>ee Ducal, Bouillon (one); Vleeshuis, Antwerp (one); Burrell Collection, Glasgow (two, also purchased 1922; see Richard Marks, *Burrell. A Portrait of a Collector* [Glasgow, 1983], 136); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (two); Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (one, acquired 1947; Joan A. Holladay, letter, 16 July 1985, in NGA curatorial files). See also three discussions by Otto von Falke, "Marcyf<sup>^</sup>alschungen," *Mitteilungen des Museen-Verbandes* (5 January 1923), 18-20, no. 495; "Kupfernachbildung der Silberfiguren am Schrein von Nivelles," *Mitteilungen des Museen-Verbandes* (12 August 1925), 16-17, no. 526; and "F<sup>^</sup>alsche Bronzefigur der heiligen Gertrude," *Mitteilungen des Museen-Verbandes* (15 June 1928), 15-16, no. 589; R. Schmidt, "Gef<sup>^</sup>alschte Bronzestatuetten," *Mitteilungen des Museen-Verbandes* (March 1939), 20-24, no. 799.

10. Migeon 1908, 18, purchased one (a *Saint Peter*) in Florence in April 1908. He reported that the collection of Dr. Pozzi in Paris contained eight more of the statuettes, all acquired on various trips to Italy. Otto von Falke, "Weiteres zur Sammlung Hommel," *Mitteilungen des Museen-Verbandes* (August 1909), 16–17, no. 252, noted that eleven copper-gilt Nivelles copies in the collection of Dr. Hommel, evidently from the same workshop as those discovered by Migeon, had figured in an auction in Zurich during that month.

11. See for instance *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Works of Art, Chiefly Italian... formed by M. Max Lyon of 83 Avenue du Bois de Boulogne, Paris, sold at Christie, Manson and Woods, London, on Monday, May 18, 1914 and the two following days and Monday, May 25, 1914 and the two following days* (London, 1914), nos. 55–58, where eight Nivelles copies were described as French, fourteenth century. These figures came from the collection of "the late Johann Dollinger who resided at Como."

12. See Schmidt 1939, 24, on the possible Italian origins; Falke 1923, and Falke, "Die Marcy-Fälschungen," [sic], *Belvedere. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Kunstsammler* 1 (1922), 8–13, especially 12. On the forger Louis Marcy (Luigi Parmeggiani, 1860–after 1932) see entry by Marian Campbell in *Fake! The Art of Deception*, ed. Mark Jones [exh. cat., The British Museum] (London, 1990), 184–187.

13. Migeon 1908, 17.

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1942 Widener 1942: 9.

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## Inkwell in the Form of a Grotesque Head

1942.9.276 (C-12)

Probably French (imitator of Roman,  
second/third century A.D.)

c. 1850

Copper alloy, with glass insert, 12.1 x 9.5 x 10.5  
(4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>)

Widener Collection

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

The object is generally in excellent condition. A small hinged lid on the top of the head opens to reveal a glass inkwell about 2 cm deep. Traces of greenish corrosion are found around the mouth, and a smooth patch of red corrosion on the proper left side of the neck. Overall the object has a dark, brassy color.

X-ray fluorescence analysis indicated that the object is cast from a high-lead (10 percent) copper alloy containing both tin (7 percent) and zinc (10 percent) in comparable concentrations.<sup>1</sup> Trace constituents are antimony, nickel, silver, and arsenic. The lips and the band along the edge of the cap, evidently specially patinated to redden them, are relatively rich in copper. The eyeballs and sockets with their thick deposit of gray, rustlike corrosion are significantly rich in iron, suggesting that iron-containing decoration was applied after casting. A fill in a casting flaw on the right temple, which is richer in lead and tin than other parts, is consistent with a lead-tin solder. That the alloys used are consistent with pre-modern metallurgical techniques does not preclude modern manufacture.

#### PROVENANCE

Julien Gréau, Paris, by 1885; Leopold Goldschmidt, Paris, after 1885–before 1905;<sup>2</sup> (Lowengard), Paris, by 1905;<sup>3</sup> purchased by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, 23

August 1905. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

#### EXHIBITIONS

Reportedly in the "Retrospective Exhibition, Paris, 1878."<sup>4</sup>

This object was catalogued in the Widener collection as a fifteenth-century French "reliquary in the form of an Arab's head."<sup>5</sup> In 1885 it had been called an ancient vase in the form of an Arab's head, without a more specific date or attribution.<sup>6</sup> But it appears to be a nineteenth-century production, closely modeled on Roman bronze vessels in the form of grotesque or exotic heads.

The type of vessel imitated is a *balsamarium*, a container that probably held perfume or perfumed oil, associated with ancient bathing and athletic activities.<sup>7</sup> A modern origin for this vessel is indicated by its well-preserved condition; by the absence of handles or the loops that once held them, which are characteristic of the ancient prototypes; and by the fact that it was designed to function as an inkwell with a glass insert.

The National Gallery's inkwell was evidently modeled on a *balsamarium* like one in the Dutuit collection at the Petit Palais, Paris (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> The Paris example is 12.5 cm high, almost identical in size to the Washington vessel, with a similar face with broken aquiline nose, prominent ears, pointed beard, a mole or wart on the forehead, a furled brow and curling lips, and a lid in the top of the skull. The



Probably French (imitator of Roman, second/third century A.D.), *Inkwell in the Form of a Grotesque Head*, 1942.9.276

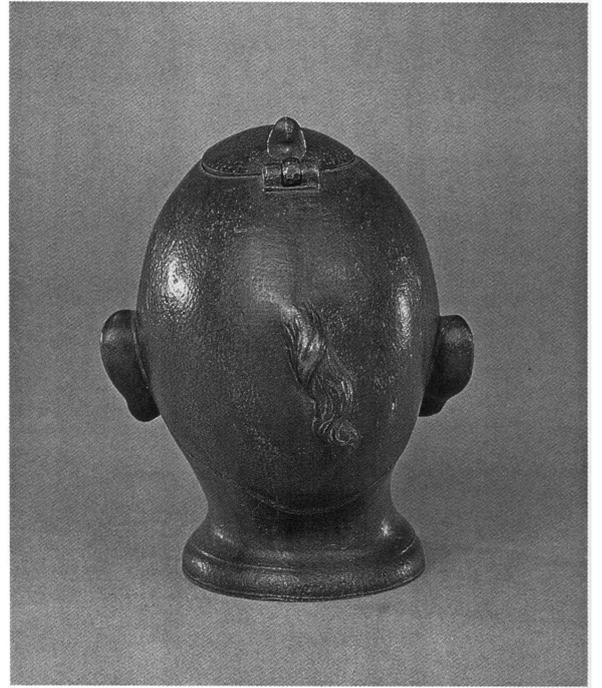
reddish band along the edge of the cap in the Washington work apparently imitates, by a simpler method, the inlaid copper band in a similar position on an object like the one in Paris. The broken nose, close-fitting stippled cap, and pigtail at the back of the head are attributes of a wrestler.<sup>9</sup> Another *balsamarium* in the form of a scowling head with round cap, pigtail, and aquiline nose, in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne,<sup>10</sup> is similar to the Paris and Washington objects, although more summary in the modeling of the face. Measuring 9.5 cm high, it

resembles the National Gallery head also in having a ringed foot at the base of the neck, a feature lacking in the Paris head. The Washington object could be based on a third, as yet undiscovered model, or on a combination of features from several.

The admiration for the antique that would have prompted the re-creation or forging of an ancient domestic utensil existed at various times,<sup>11</sup> but a date in the mid-nineteenth century rather than the Renaissance is supported both by this object's functional design and by its affinity with the style and



1942.9.276, side



1942.9.276, back



1942.9.276, bottom



1942.9.276, top



Fig. 1 Roman, second or third century A.D., *Balsamarium in the form of a Grotesque Head*, Ville de Paris, Musée du Petit Palais [photo: Bulloz, Paris]

expression of a figure like the bronze *Satan* by Jean-Jacques Feuchère, modeled in 1833 and cast in 1850.<sup>12</sup> The National Gallery's desk accessory, with its carefully modeled, scowling face, may reflect similar aspects of romantic taste, in particular the fascination with the sinister and the exotically alien. The figure may have been understood by early owners as an Arab because its smooth skull with a pigtail at the back resembles a coiffure found in certain nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings, including Delacroix's works related to his North African trip in 1832.<sup>13</sup> A.L.

#### NOTES

1. Report, 28 August 1986, in NGA conservation department files.
2. Widener 1935, 34.
3. "Lowengard" may refer to the Parisian firm headed by Jules Lowengard [d. 1908], Joseph Duveen's brother-in-law. See Edward Fowles, *Memories of Duveen Brothers* (London, 1976), 48, 203.
4. According to Widener 1935, 34; no relevant catalogue has been identified. There may be confusion with the similar work from the Dutuit collection, discussed below, which was in the 1878 exposition.

5. Widener 1935, 34. It is not certain whether Widener acquired it in 1905 as an ancient work or a fifteenth-century one.

6. Gréau 1885, 84, 86, no. 387; the section on "Les Bronzes antiques" was prepared by W. Froehner, who later catalogued the Dutuit collection, into which a number of the Gréau objects passed (see note 7).

7. See Judith Petit, *Musée du Petit Palais, Paris. Bronzes antiques de la collection Dutuit* (Paris, 1980), 157–162, nos. 82–84; Peter Goessler, "Antike Büstengefässchen aus Metall," *Antike Plastik. Walther Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), 75–78; Kazimierz Majewski, "Brazowe balsamaria antropomorficzne..." *Archeologia* 14 (1963), 95–126; and Jean Charles Balty, "Balsamaire anthropomorphes du monde romain," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz* 20 (1973), 261–264.

8. Petit 1980, 157–158, no. 82 (second or third century A.D.); See also her no. 55.

9. Petit 1980, 158.

10. Goessler 1928, 84–85, fig. 13; Majewski 1963, no. 18, repro. 11, and especially Peter La Baume, *Römisches Kunstgewerbe* (Würzburg, 1964), 221, 223, fig. 204. This example, found in Cologne, also has a small goatee and warts.

11. For example, a bronze head of a boy in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, with a stippled cap and pigtail, resembles this head but suggests a Renaissance derivation from similar ancient sources. The Moscow bronze, 21.5 cm high and not designed as a vessel, was formerly considered ancient but is now attributed to the Italian sculptor Antico (c. 1460–1528). See *Western European Sculpture from Soviet Museums, 15th and 16th Centuries* (Leningrad, 1988), 78–80, pls. 40, 41.

12. See *The Romantics to Rodin. French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture from North American Collections*, eds. Peter Fusco and Horst W. Janson [exh. cat., The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Detroit Institute of Arts, and Indianapolis Museum of Arts] (Los Angeles, 1980), 266–267, no. 137, cover.

13. For figures with bald or close-cropped heads and pigtails at the back, some with similar short beards, see for instance L.-A.-A. Belly, *Pilgrims Going to Mecca* (1861, Musée du Louvre, Paris), and Delacroix's *Moorish Conversation-Piece* (1832, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Philippe Jullian, *The Orientalists. European Painters of Eastern Scenes* (Oxford, 1977), 101–102, 119, repro. See also *The Orientalists. Delacroix to Matisse*, ed. Mary Anne Stevens [exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London; National Gallery of Art, Washington] (London, 1984), 42–43, 126–127, nos. 14, 15, pls. 12, 13.

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- 1935 Widener 1935: 34, no. 355.
- 1942 Widener 1942: 10.

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LATE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE  
DECORATIVE ARTS



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## GIOVANNI DI DOMENICO “DE VRETI”

active c. 1500

Ser Giovanni di Domenico *de vreti* (“of the glass windows”) was a priest and glass craftsman. In February 1503 he could claim payment for five windows in the church and convent of Cestello (Santa Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi) in Florence. No more is known of him at present.

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### The Virgin Annunciate

1942.9.311 (C-36)

Executed by Giovanni di Domenico

1498/1503

Stained glass, 199.4 x 78.8 (78½ x 31)

Widener Collection

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### The Angel of the Annunciation

1942.9.312 (C-37)

Executed by Giovanni di Domenico

1498/1503

Stained glass, 199.4 x 78.8 (78½ x 31)

Widener Collection

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

The windows are in good condition. Their first recorded restoration was in 1629, when they were cleaned, the leading renewed, and “pieces of the fields that were missing” were restored.<sup>1</sup> Their most recent cleaning, by the National Gallery’s object conservators, took place in 1982. The windows had suffered several losses of the shading painted on pale or nearly clear glass areas such as the angel’s face and hands, his white tunic, the dove’s wings, and the Virgin’s hands and neck. To mitigate the otherwise jarring transparency of these areas, the backs of the windows were treated with reversible pigment and synthetic resin. No losses were evident in the Virgin’s face, which is shaded with a delicate *sfumato* effect that differs from the heavier painting on surviving shaded areas of the angel’s face (see note 1).

There is a fine crack in the Virgin’s halo. A record of 7 December 1942 in the NGA files indicates two broken panes were to be repaired by Mr. Boertlein (not otherwise identified) on the following day, mostly with the use of original glass.<sup>2</sup>

The backs of some border pieces with floral and fruit designs bear painted arabic numerals, in no apparent order

(fig. 1). They may reflect a practice recorded later in Vasari’s instructions to stained-glass artists to mark each piece of glass with a number “in order to find it easily”; this could be rubbed off after assembly.<sup>3</sup> The numbers on the Washington windows, however, are applied in a durable, strongly adhering pigment, possibly fired on. They may be related to a restoration or, more probably to the original process of assembling the border.

#### PROVENANCE

Church and convent of Cestello (later Santa Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi), Florence, c. 1503–after 1630; Rodolphe Kann, Paris, before 1907;<sup>4</sup> (Duveen), 1907–1916; purchased 3 April 1916 by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, as Florentine, fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

These windows have recently been singled out as “the most important Italian stained glass windows in America.”<sup>6</sup> Their provenance from the church of Santa Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi in Florence, first published in the Kann collection catalogue in 1907, is confirmed by both documents and stylistic evidence. A record of February 1503 in the archive from that church in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, indicates that a priest called Ser Giovanni di Domenico



Executed by Giovanni di Domenico, *The Angel of the Annunciation*, 1942.9.312



Executed by Giovanni di Domenico, *The Virgin Annunciate*, 1942.9.311

*de vreti* ("of the stained glass windows") was due payment for "two windows made in the choir with figures." It indicates that Giovanni was to be paid at the same time for a window for the Riccialbani chapel in the church. The Riccialbani window (fig. 2), still *in situ* and bearing a simple coat-of-arms of that family in a roundel, has borders whose fruit-cluster and floral designs perfectly match those of the National Gallery windows.

The choir chapel for which the windows were made was begun in 1498 as part of a renovation campaign on the thirteenth-century church then belonging to the Cistercian order and known as Cestello (the church was later renamed Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi at the request of the Carmelite nuns to whom it passed in 1628). When the 1498 choir chapel was renovated in the seventeenth century, the windows were reused elsewhere in the convent.<sup>8</sup>

Paired Annunciation windows sometimes appear in Florentine gothic churches as portions of large, multi-light window complexes.<sup>9</sup> Their isolated presence as the principal ornament of a choir chapel was a rarity, though such a use was perhaps inspired by a pair of frescoed Annunciation roundels by Ghirlandaio on the back wall of the *cappella maggiore* at Cestello's mother abbey of Settimo near Florence.<sup>10</sup> However, there is a fascinating possibility that a precedent may have existed in Brunelleschi's choir chapel at San Lorenzo in Florence. A painting in a Florentine private collection, attributed to Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio (1483–1562), shows a group of saints (including Laurence) standing in a space closely resembling the crossing of San Lorenzo.<sup>11</sup> Behind them, in the upper wall of the choir chapel, are a pair of round-arched, figured windows that appear to represent an angel and Virgin Annunciate, with a coat-of-arms below each. No other record exists of such historiated windows at San Lorenzo, and while late sixteenth-century drawings confirm that the church did have a pair of round-arched windows in the choir chapel before its early seventeenth-century renovation, these show no ornament besides Medici arms in the centers.<sup>12</sup> The windows in the painting could simply be the work of the artist's imagination or could even be inspired by the Cestello windows.<sup>13</sup> But the careful detail with which the windows are painted suggests the image could also represent the real state of San Lorenzo in the first half of the sixteenth century.

In any case, the painting and a surviving building completed in 1482, Santo Spirito, with its paired, round-arched windows (with stained glass arms of the commune of Florence) at the high altar end, suggest how the National Gallery's windows might

have looked in their original setting. They were probably placed side by side in the upper story of the end (eastern) wall of the choir chapel, at some height above the monks' choir stalls. The angle of Mary's lectern, with the foreshortened bottom visible, implies a view from below. With the morning sun shining through them, the windows must have made an exhilarating impression on visitors at the far end of the nave.

The documents identify Giovanni di Domenico as a priest.<sup>14</sup> He may have belonged to the Gesuati order, famous for its stained glass workshop on the edge of Florence, though such an affiliation is undocumented.<sup>15</sup> Though he executed the Annunciation windows, Giovanni was not necessarily their designer. No other surviving figural windows can be connected with him, either through documents or stylistic similarities. In Italy the craftsmen who made stained glass windows frequently worked from designs by other artists, sometimes famous painters or sculptors.<sup>16</sup>

The figural style, full of references to works by major Florentine painters of the late quattrocento, makes the designer's identity a tantalizing question.<sup>17</sup> The pose of his Virgin has been associated with Botticelli's *Annunciation* altarpiece, now in the Uffizi, which stood after 1489 in the church for which the windows were destined.<sup>18</sup> The arrangement and coloring of Mary's garments, especially the curving green lining of her mantle, may be influenced by Ghirlandaio's Virgin Annunciate in the Tornabuoni chapel at Santa Maria Novella (c. 1486–1490).<sup>19</sup> The angel's profile and the backward fall of its thick, blond curls recall the same Annunciation.

Several features suggest particular appreciation for the art of Filippino Lippi. Mary's flowing, blond tresses, and her headdress bound with a kerchief into multiple knots, may emulate works of Filippino Lippi in the Strozzi chapel in Santa Maria Novella, including a window he designed at a date closely contemporary with the Washington windows.<sup>20</sup> The angel's crisp profile and high rounded forehead recall not only Ghirlandaio but also certain delicate Filippino types, such as the Virgin in the Badia *Vision of Saint Bernard* (c. 1485). Nevertheless, the Washington window figures, with their robust proportions and blunt, awkwardly drawn hands, argue against an attribution to an artist whose style could be translated into stained glass as faithfully as Filippino's was in the Strozzi chapel window.<sup>21</sup>

The border motif of fruit and flower clusters, set off against a field of red glass and framed by rows of white pearling, is related to a type previously used in several windows in the Duomo in Florence, de-

Fig. 1 1942.9.312, detail of back, border

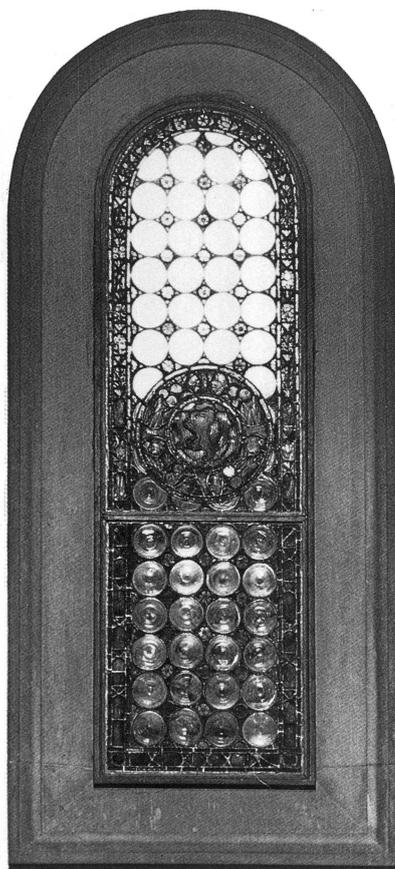


Fig. 2 Executed by Giovanni di Domenico, Window in former Riccialbani chapel, Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, Florence [photo: Bigi, Florence]

signed by Ghiberti in the 1430s and 1440s. This type of border was taken up c. 1490 in the Tornabuoni chapel windows in Santa Maria Novella, based on designs by Ghirlandaio or his workshop.<sup>22</sup> In Giovanni di Domenico's refined treatment, with a variety of individual fruit and flower forms carefully defined, the borders form a two-dimensional counterpart to the decorative borders of glazed terracotta reliefs by the Della Robbia.

The evidence suggests that the windows' designer paid close attention to work going on at Santa Maria Novella in the 1490s, but does not permit us to identify him with any major painter. His palette suggests an artist very much at home with the medium. It includes a selection of blues ranging from small turquoise areas in the costumes and smoky blue in the angel's sleeve to the delicate pale shade in the borders, the deep, resonant tones of Mary's mantle, and the violet of her kerchief.

While the hatched shading provides an interesting large-scale example of late quattrocento drawing technique,<sup>23</sup> other features point to an artist concerned primarily with the two-dimensional effect of his work. These include apparent spatial inconsistencies created by implicitly overlapping planes of color. For instance, Mary presumably stands behind the orange lectern and in front of the pink niche, but the yellow pilaster base of the niche overlaps her mantle on the left. This spatial contradiction makes sense as an effort to continue the flow of bright yellow from the border of the angel's garment to Mary's window. The yellow cornices in the architectural setting in each window give an immediate impression of continuity, yet the two spaces are drawn to indicate different depths, with the cornice running along a distant back wall in the angel's space but placed relatively close to the foreground in Mary's. These features suggest that the artist gave priority to the two-dimensional color effect of his design, and that he thought primarily as a glass designer rather than as an illusionistic painter. His windows seem well planned as a large-scale, radiant, and colorful image of the Annunciation, visually unified and easily legible at a distance. All this supports an identification of the designer with the executing craftsman, Giovanni di Domenico *de vreti*.<sup>24</sup> A.L.

#### NOTES

1. Luchs 1975, 83, doc. 1. The restored pieces have not been identified. Differences in color and painting technique have raised suspicions about the cornice atop the base of the Virgin's lectern. The rendering of her face and neck in five separate pieces shaded in varying methods, compared with a single piece for the corresponding area on the angel, raises questions about possible repairs to the

Virgin window. At press time the backs of the windows were not accessible for the examination that might resolve these issues.

It has been suggested that the Virgin's face is modern (Giuseppe Marchini, letter, 26 October 1959, in NGA curatorial files; undated note in file quoting "Dr. Finkl"). While the face is on an unusually flat piece of glass, and differs in shading technique from her hands and from the angel, the drawing style of details matches the angel well. Mary's pale visage could represent an original, iconographically motivated distinction, giving her face a brightness that responds to the depicted light in the left window, whose rays would fall directly on her face.

2. The memo does not indicate which window was broken, how the damage occurred, or the location of the panes except to mention that the less severely damaged area included "a floral design," and thus must have involved a border piece.

3. See Giorgio Vasari, *Vasari on Technique*, ed. G. Baldwin Brown, trans. Louisa S. Macle hose (1907; reprint New York, 1960), 268–269; I owe this reference to Shelley G. Sturman.

4. Kann catalogue 1907, 1:15, no. 22.

5. Date on a Widener collection card, now in NGA curatorial files. For an undated photograph of the windows installed in the Raphael Room at Lynnewood Hall, see David Alan Brown, *Berenson and the Connoisseurship of Italian Painting* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art] (Washington, 1979), 20, fig. 33.

6. Jane Hayward and Madeline H. Caviness in *Stained Glass* 1987, 12.

7. See Luchs 1975, especially 89, doc. 5: "Giovanni de vreti di contro [Ser Giovanni di domenicho de vreti prete] de avere addi XIII di febraio 1502 [=1503] lb. dugento quaranta quatro ss. x e quali gli facciamo buoni per 2 finestre fatte in choro a figure e 2 in refettorio e una in chiesa nella chappella de riccalbani..." Florence, Archivio di Stato, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse, C.XVIII 502, no. 357, fol. 205. The words "a figure" were inadvertently omitted in Luchs 1975. See Luchs 1990, 20, for a color illustration of the Riccialbani chapel window.

8. See Luchs 1977 (28–30) on the choir chapel, which was altered beyond recognition in 1628, and Luchs 1975, 81–89, for the removal of the windows and their reinstallation in a new chapter house between 1628 and 1630. The date and circumstances of their removal from this location are unknown. Since the windows next appeared in a French collection, they may have been removed during Napoleon's Italian campaign, when several altarpieces from the church were taken to France. See Everett P. Fahy, Jr., "Les cadres d'origine de retables florentins du Louvre," *RLouvre* 26, no. 1 (1976), 6–14.

9. Earlier pairs of Annunciation windows in Florence, always occurring as part of larger complexes, include the upper fields of the Trecento windows from the Velluti chapel (now in the Bardi chapel) in Santa Croce (Giuseppe Marchini, "Le Vetrate," in *Primo Rinascimento in Santa Croce* [Florence, 1968], 64; Walter and Elisabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, 6 vols. [Frankfurt, 1940–1954], 1:566); also the sacristy windows in Santa Maria Novella,

c. 1380–1385, discussed in Paatz 1940–1954, 3:715, 807, n. 271, reproduced in Umberto Baldini, ed. *Santa Maria Novella. La Basilica, il Convento e i Chiostru Monumentali* (Florence, 1981), 285; two late quattrocento windows in the nave of Santa Croce, discussed in Marchini 1968, 78 and Hildegard van Straelen, *Studien zu florentiner Glasmalerei des Trecento und Quattrocento [Lebensräume der Kunst 5]* (Wattenscheid, 1938), 98–99. For other examples of the theme in windows in Tuscany see van Straelen 1938, 28.

10. Luchs 1975, 85. This placement could be a Renaissance adaptation of the medieval practice of placing Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate on opposite sides of the triumphal arch in front of a church's presbytery. See, for instance, the late twelfth-century mosaic at the Cathedral at Monreale, or Giotto's fresco in the Arena chapel at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

11. Carlo L. Ragghianti, *Filippo Brunelleschi: un uomo un universo* (Florence, 1977), 353, fig. 458; the painting was then in Florence in a collection identified only as "F.d.S." The painting was first published by Mina Gregori in *Mostra dei Tesori Segreti delle Case Fiorentine* [exh. cat., Comitato Femminile della Croce Rossa Italiana and Circolo Borghese e della Stampa] (Florence, 1960), 21, no. 35, pl. 30, with the collection identified as "T.d.S."

12. An anonymous sketch showing the interior of San Lorenzo, including the choir chapel, in the second half of the sixteenth century, is Uffizi drawing no. 2946A, illustrated in Anna Forlani Tempesti et al., *Disegni di Fabbriche Brunelleschiane* [exh. cat., Gallerie degli Uffizi] (Florence, 1977), 58–59, no. 21, pl. 23; for a rare engraving in the Albertina showing the interior and choir chapel in 1598, before renovation, with each window containing a tondo with Medici arms, see Charles de Tolnay, *Brunelleschi e Michelangelo* [exh. cat., Casa Buonarroti] (Florence, 1977), fig. 29.

13. The artist credited with the painting, Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, made an altarpiece for the Pepi chapel at Cestello around 1512; thus he could easily have been familiar with the National Gallery windows. See Luchs 1977, 99–101.

14. Stained glass craftsmen in Renaissance Italy often belonged to the clergy. See van Straelen 1938, 64; Giuseppe Marchini, *Italian Stained Glass Windows* (New York, 1957), 11. On the title "Ser" for a priest see Lauro Martines, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1968), 29.

15. On the Gesuati see Paolo Bensi, "Gli arnesi dell'arte. I Gesuati di San Giusto alle mura e la pittura del Rinascimento a Firenze," *Studi di storia delle arti* 3 (1980), 33–47.

16. See Arthur Lane, "Florentine Painted Glass and the Practice of Design," *BurlM* 91 (1949), 43–48; the abundant documentation in van Straelen 1938; and Marchini 1957, 10–11.

17. Marchini 1965–1966, 1:431, commented on the "vivi ricordi botticelliani, ghirlandaieschi, perugineschi" of these windows. The attribution to Lorenzo di Credi in Kann 1907, 1:15, has only general relevance.

18. Luchs 1975, 85–86; Luciano Berti, ed. *Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale* (Florence, 1979), 178, no. 260.

19. For the Tornabuoni chapel dates see Jan Lauts, *Domenico Ghirlandajo* (Vienna, 1943), 29, 35. For a color illustration see Father Stefano Orlandi, O.P., revised by Father Isnardo, Father Grossi O.P., *Santa Maria Novella e i suoi chiostru monumentali, Guida storico artistico* (Florence, 1974).

20. See J. Russell Sale, *The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella* (New York, 1979), 129 and 146, n. 108. Although the window there may have been installed as late as 1503, Sale suggests it was designed and perhaps executed in 1497–1498. Filippino not only designed the window but probably painted on the glass and may even have selected the colors. However, Gesuati friars did the actual glasswork.

For the headdress type, frequent in Filippino's women, see for instance the young mother on the right in the *Raising of Drusiana* in the Strozzi chapel, c. 1498–1502; Sale 1979, 440, fig. 16.

21. For color illustrations of Filippino's Strozzi window see Giuseppe Marchini, "Un restauro," *Antichità Viva* 12, no. 5 (1973), 3–6, and Baldini 1981, 280–281.

22. See Marchini 1957, 48–50, 248, 250, figs. 44–45 and 64–67; Enrica Neri Lusanna and Mina Bacci, "Le vetrate," in Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Materia e ragionamenti* [exh. cat., Museo dell' Accademia and Museo di San Marco] (Florence, 1979), 235–257.

23. On related drawing practices, see Jean K. Cadogan, "Reconsidering Some Aspects of Ghirlandajo's Drawings," *AB* 65 (1983), 274–290.

24. Susan Atherly, Jeffrey Ruda, and especially Meredith Lillich contributed valuable observations to the preparation of this entry.

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## Pax: The Annunciation

1942.9.286 (C-10)

German or Netherlandish, c. 1500 (shell cameo); probably Italian, c. 1500/1520 (setting), with later repairs and additions

Shell, gilded silver, copper, and enamel

Shell: c. 8 x 6.4 (3 1/8 x 2 1/2); setting: 21.6 x 14.6 (8 1/2 x 5 3/4)  
Widener Collection

#### INSCRIPTIONS

On scroll held by angel: AVE GRACIA PLENA DO...NVS;  
On base of setting: AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DNS  
TECV.

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

The translucent enameled flowers in the frame just above and below the shell have suffered some damage, and the whole object shows evidence of at least one restoration. The shell (fig. 1) may be a helmet shell, such as *cassis madagascarensis*.<sup>1</sup> It is repaired with wax at the upper edges of the arch. Several cracks between Mary and the angel are also repaired, and there is a translucent fill about 1.6 cm long between the figures. Traces of gilding or gold paint remain in the lettering, in the rays extending

toward Mary, and around God the Father and the Angel. The surface of the shell is speckled with tiny black spots. There are traces of a dark color that may be on the back (visible through the shell), perhaps the same darkening agent applied to the reverses of other Renaissance shell cameos to make the relief portions stand out.<sup>2</sup>

The repoussé silver border varies from section to section in style and alloy composition, suggesting repairs, perhaps on several occasions.<sup>3</sup> The center-left piece, with a content of only about 8 percent silver, looks to be a summarily engraved facsimile of other sections of the border. The piece below it also appears different from the others and shows yet another alloy. The degree of subtler compositional variation among the remaining sections prevents any confident division into groups. The four tiny holes in the left section are thus far inexplicable.

The border of rings around the shell is a gilded copper alloy with impurities of zinc, lead, antimony, and tin in significant amounts. The back of the pax is almost pure gilded copper, containing only small amounts of tin and antimony, thus differing from the alloys on the front. The pure alloy and relatively crude style suggest that the back is modern. The pax reportedly has a wooden core.<sup>4</sup>



German or Netherlandish, setting probably Italian, *Pax*:  
*The Annunciation*, 1942.9.286

**PROVENANCE**

Emile Molinier, Paris (?), "said to have come from a church in Florence";<sup>5</sup> Purchased by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, by 1918?<sup>6</sup>, as Italian, fifteenth century. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

A pax is a tablet containing a religious image, presented for the faithful to give it the Kiss of Peace before taking communion at mass.<sup>7</sup> The style of this one's frame and the reported provenance from a church in Florence are the probable reasons the pax

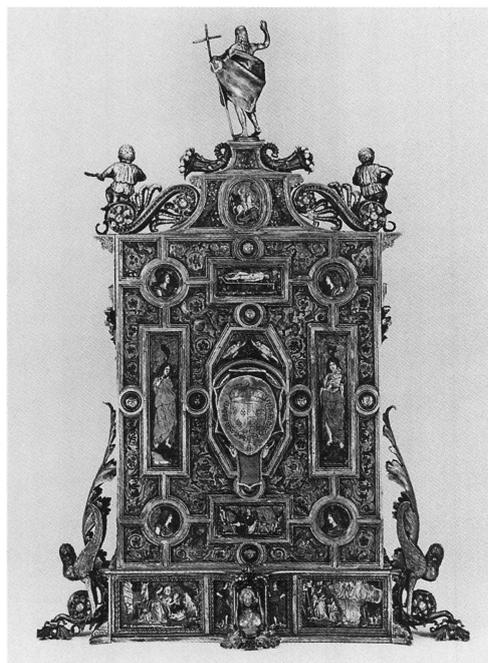
was considered fifteenth-century Italian when it entered the Widener collection. In 1983, based on the style of the carved cameo, the attribution was changed to Franco-Flemish, with an acknowledgment that the frame might be Italian.<sup>8</sup>

Shell cameos of this type were carved primarily in France and Germany, and occasionally in Italy, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Although no other known cameo is similar enough to establish the precise origin of this one (fig. 1),<sup>10</sup> the style and costumes have their closest counterparts in German and Netherlandish art of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>11</sup> The ico-

**Fig. 1** 1942.9.286,  
detail of shell, before  
treatment



**Fig. 2** Italian, c. 1500,  
*Silver and Enamel Pax*,  
back, Paris, Musée  
du Louvre [photo:  
RMN, Paris]



nography of the tiny descending Christ Child occurs most often in German and Netherlandish Annunciation imagery.<sup>12</sup>

The enameled frame, however, is probably Italian. In general form the front resembles a late fifteenth-century Florentine pax in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.<sup>13</sup> The translucent enamel floral scrolls can be compared with Italian enamels produced around 1500 to 1520, such as those on the back of a pax in the Louvre (fig. 2).<sup>14</sup> The forms of the letters on the plinth correspond to mid-fifteenth-century Italian epigraphic style, which might nevertheless have been used some-



1942.9.286, back

what later.<sup>15</sup> The arabesque motifs delicately painted in gold on the blue enamel band, which resemble mid-to-late sixteenth-century patterns,<sup>16</sup> appear to be a later addition. While the gilded bosses in the outer border are nearly identical in form to those on a portable altar by the Augsburg goldsmith Matthias Wallbaum, around 1600, at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan,<sup>17</sup> this seems more likely to be a sign of Italian goldsmith influence on Wallbaum than of a German origin for the pax setting. Production in early sixteenth-century Italy, with a later restoration involving the silver inner border, the back, and possibly the painted arabesques, seems most likely. The shell's awkward placement in the frame, with a border of gilded copper rings, indicates that the two elements may have been united relatively late in the history of each.<sup>18</sup> The setting would presumably once have housed another precious object or relic related to the cult of the Virgin.

While a few German liturgical objects have centerpieces carved of a single piece of mother-of-pearl,<sup>19</sup> Renaissance shell cameos whose settings are known generally appeared on two types of objects: elaborate goblets and flasks for secular or liturgical use, and equally elaborate altarpieces.<sup>20</sup> In each case, multiple cameos were used. The arched shapes of some of the shell cameos on the Brandenburg altar of about 1525 invite speculation that the National Gallery's Annunciation cameo was also originally conceived for such a setting. A.L.

## NOTES

1. Richard Houbrick of the Division of Mollusks, National Museum of Natural History, who examined the shell on 5 November 1985, noted that the carving had not left enough surface to permit a certain identification, but that what remained was consistent with a shell of this kind, found in the Red Sea and along the east coast of Africa. He observed that such shells often came to Europe as ballast in the holds of Dutch and Portuguese trading ships.

2. On this substance, possibly pitch, see Martha A. McCrory, "Renaissance Shell Cameos from the Carrand Collection of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello," *BurlM* 130 (1988), 412–413. See also Rudolf Berliner, "Französische Muschelschnitte, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Säkularisation in Bayern," *MunchJb* neue folge 1 (1924), 38–39.

3. Barbara A. Miller, conservation scientist, reported (21 January 1983), based on X-ray fluorescence analysis, that the three sections of silver inlay along the right side, the section on the upper left, and the left section at the bottom are of the same composition, while the other pieces are silver-copper alloys of widely varying compositions. The plinth with the inscription is mercury-gilded, making it impossible to compare its silver alloy with those of the other sections.

4. Widener 1935, 33.

5. Widener 1935, 33.

6. A note in the Widener card file at the NGA reads "in 1918 (?) inventory."

7. For paxes, used from the thirteenth through the seventeenth centuries, see Josef Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Munich, 1932), 557–572 and pls. 116–120.

8. C. Wilson 1983, 213.

9. See especially McCrory 1988, 412–426. On uses of French and German cameos in Renaissance metalwork see also Berliner 1924, 26–49; Jörg Rasmussen, "Untersuchungen zum Halleschen Heiltum des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg. I," *MunchJb*, 3d. ser. 27 (1976), 59–118, esp. 94–95; John F. Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540–1620* (London, 1976), 91, 97–99, 361, 362–363, 372, pls. 255, 270, 369; Hugh Tait, *The Waddesdon Bequest* (London, 1981), 90–91. For examples identified as Italian see for instance Ernest Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1897), 221–222, nos. 388–389, pl. 46 (plate volume).

10. The style of the Angel of the Annunciation in a late-fifteenth-century shell cameo from France, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (acc. no. 46.457, *BMFA* 55 [1957], 90), argues against a French origin for the Washington cameo.

11. Noting similarities between the angel and a corresponding figure in a drypoint of the Annunciation by the late fifteenth-century Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet Robert A. Koch suggested that the Washington cameo is German, probably from the middle or upper Rhenish region (letters, 8 November 1985 and 14 July 1986, in NGA curatorial files). See J. P. Filedt Kok, ed., *The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master, ca. 1470–*

*1500* (Amsterdam and Princeton, 1985), 99–100, no. 8. Many related details, though not a similar style, appear in the Annunciation on an altarpiece in the Klosterkirche at Alpirsbach in southwestern Germany, attributed to the workshop of Jörg Syrlin the Younger, first quarter of the sixteenth century. See Johannes Taubert, *Farbige Skulpturen* (Munich, 1978), 80, fig. 92.

The angel's costume, a tunic slit at the sides and fastened by a brooch at thigh level, is more characteristic of Netherlandish art. Compare the Magi in Netherlandish altarpieces of the second half of the fifteenth century, such as the ones by Memling in the Prado, Madrid, c. 1470 and the Hospital of Saint John, Bruges, 1479 (Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 6.1, *Hans Memling and Gerard David*, trans. Heinz Norden [Leyden, 1971], 45, pls. 1, 2, 5), or the southern Netherlandish wood sculpture of King Melchior, around 1490, in the Schnutgen-Museum, Cologne (Theodor Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany and Spain, 1400–1500* [Baltimore, 1966], 150, pl. 113B).

12. See David Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *AB* 18 (1936), 480–526, especially 505, n. 73, 507, and appendix, 523–526.

13. See Marco Collareta and Antonella Capitanio, *Oreficaria Sacra Italiana Museo Nazionale del Bargello* (Florence, 1990), 164–167, no. 46, color pl. 73.

14. Inv. no. MR 553, catalogued as Italian, c. 1500, Luigi Serra, "La mostra dell'antica oreficaria italiana alla triennale di Milano," *BdA* 30 (1936), 89. Other related mounts appear on a silver basin attributed to Valerio Belli, c. 1520 in the Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich. See Hayward 1976, 83, 360, pl. 245.

15. James Mosley of the Saint Bride Printing Library, London, pointed out features that connect the letter forms with Italian inscriptions in stone toward the middle of the fifteenth century. He added that this "does not preclude a much later date (though nearer to 1500 than 1600, I should think), nor a German craftsman familiar with Italian models" (letter, 19 December 1986, in NGA curatorial files).

16. Compare the outer borders around a mid-sixteenth-century painted glass panel in the Museo Civico, Turin, in Silvana Pettenati, *I vetri dorati graffiti e i vetri dipinti* (Turin, 1978), 38–39, no. 48, pls. 52–53. See also the enamel work on the pax cited in note 13 or the very similar details of arabesques in an ornamental drawing from the workshop of Jacob Mores of Hamburg, second half of the sixteenth century, in Hayward 1976, 316, repro. 232.

17. Inv. no. 188. Regina Lowe, *Die Augsburger Goldschmiedewerkstatt des Matthias Walbaum* (Munich, 1975), 26–28, for a detail see Oleg Zastrow, *L'oreficaria in Lombardia* (Milan, 1978), pl. 215.

18. Only one other surviving example of a shell set as a pax has been found, apparently a sixteenth-century French cameo in a later Italian setting, now in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan. See *Museo Poldi Pezzoli Orologio-Oreficerie* (Milan, 1981), 296, no. 224, pl. 252. Both cameo and setting are very different from the present work.

19. On mother-of-pearl, carved into religious images and mounted in reliquaries, paxes, and house altars in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Germany, see Gustav E. Pazaurek, *Perlmutter* (Berlin, 1937), especially 27–28; William Wixom, "Four Late Gothic Additions to the Medieval Treasury," *BCMA* 56 (1969), 321–323, 330, n. 3. Heinrich Kohlhaussen, *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters und der Dürerzeit, 1240 bis 1540*, (Berlin, 1968), 241, repro. 378.

20. For vessels see Hayward 1976, Tait 1981, Kohlhaussen 1968, 372, fig. 543; 373, fig. 544; 374, fig. 545; 357–359 and 388. For altars see especially the discussion of the one from the treasury of Cardinal Albrecht von

Brandenburg, c. 1525 (fragments surviving in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich; Rasmussen 1976, 94–95 and, for detailed illustration, Philipp Maria Halm and Rudolf Berliner, *Das Hallesche Heiltum* (Berlin, 1931), 66, repro. 2 and pl. 180. See also Hugh Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum. III. The Curiosities* (London, 1991), 109–142.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 33, no. 353.
- 1942 Widener 1942: 10.
- 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 213.

## Pax with a miniature of the Nativity

1961.9.196 (C-542)

Possibly Florentine, c. 1480 (pax frame); western European, c. 1850/1875 (miniature)

Gilded silver, copper, brass, enamel, with pearls and glass beads, containing a miniature painted on parchment (?); glass cover, cloth inner lining

Overall measurements: 23.6 x 13.1 x 6.7 (9¼ x 5⅛ x 2⅝)  
Samuel H. Kress Collection

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

The blue enamel on the frame has suffered some damage, with losses on the lower proper left. The construction, with long pins passing through tubular hinges on the interior to hold the front and back together, corresponds in general to that of at least one known fifteenth-century goldsmith work, the Holy Thorn reliquary at the British Museum, London.<sup>1</sup> Tiny holes at regular intervals around the interior of the central opening (fig. 1) suggest that pins or nails were once inserted to secure something there. A

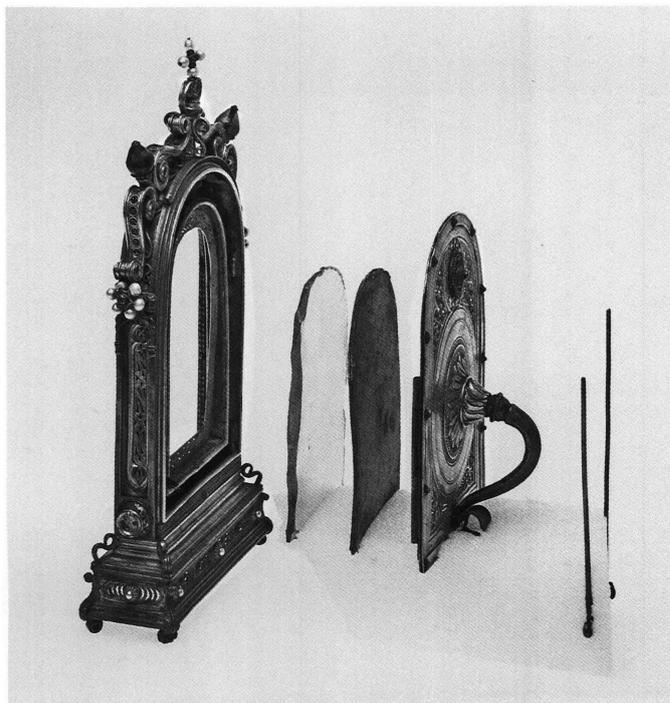


Fig. 1 1961.9.196, disassembled, back view

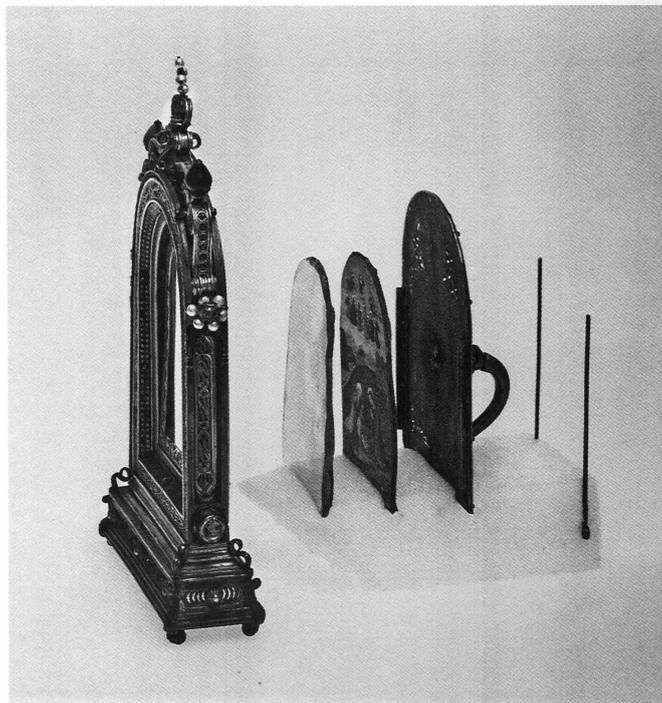


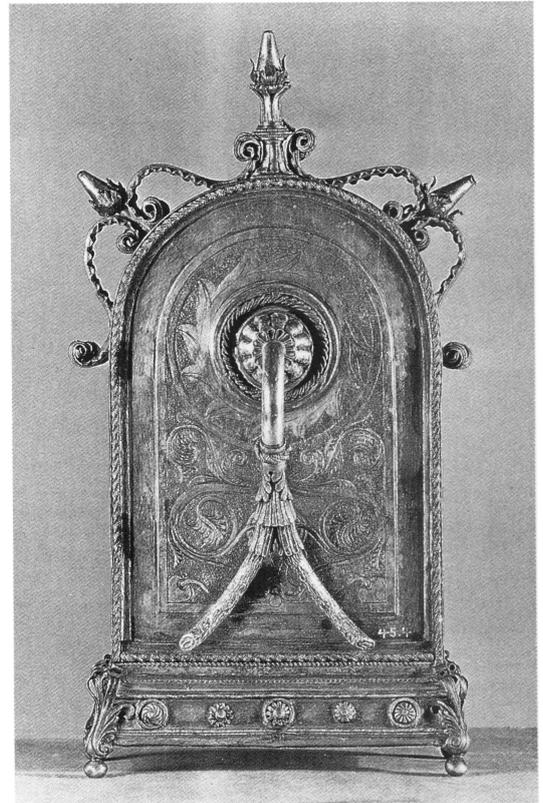
Fig. 2 1961.9.196, disassembled, front view



Possibly Florentine and western European, *Pax with a Miniature of the Nativity*, 1961.9.196



**Fig. 3** Florentine, 1477/1491, *Pax containing a niello*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



**Fig. 4** back view of Fig. 3



**Fig. 5** Florentine, 1477/1491, *Pax containing a niello*, Paris, Musée du Louvre



**Fig. 6** back view of Fig. 5

tiny copper wire passes through one. The interior of the frame is lined with worn red cloth of indeterminate age.

The pigments in the miniature are unusually coarsely ground for the 1480–1500 period suggested by the style. The very smooth support appears to be parchment that has been glued onto cardboard.<sup>2</sup>

X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy indicated that the surface of the metal pax frame is silver and gold, with traces of copper; that the back is fire-gilded brass riveted onto copper; and that the plinth and handle are silver with traces of copper and lead. One of the long interior pins holding the front and back together (figs. 1, 2) is brass and the other is iron. The blue and gold enameled areas contain silver, gold, copper, iron, and possibly zinc, while the green enamel on one knob contains silver, copper, gold, lead, and traces of iron. No demonstrably modern colorants are present in either the enamel or the miniature.<sup>3</sup> X-ray fluorescence of the latter, and X-ray diffraction analysis of minute samples, indicated the presence of lead-tin yellow, not normally found after 1750, in Joseph's cloak; and malachite, replaced in Europe by artificial green pigments c. 1800, in the greens. Traces of arsenic in

a green area may indicate the presence of the yellow pigment orpiment, known since classical times. A blue area contains smalt, found (infrequently) in paintings from c. 1500–1800, and rarely thereafter. Minute traces of zinc in a gold halo, a light green area, and a gray wall could indicate the use of zinc white (introduced only in 1834) or simply impurities.<sup>4</sup>

#### PROVENANCE

Reportedly Trivulzio collection, Milan; (Contini-Bonacossi, Florence), by whom sold to Samuel H. Kress, New York, by 1937 or 1939,<sup>5</sup> as Venetian, c. 1400; Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, 27 February 1950.<sup>6</sup>

The use of a glass-covered miniature as the central devotional image in a pax is rare but not unparalleled in the Italian Renaissance.<sup>7</sup> Comparisons with the most similar Renaissance objects suggest, however, that in this case the miniature is a nineteenth century creation, and that the date of the pax frame is also open to question.

Fig. 7 1961.9.196,  
detail, miniature



The form of the frame is closely related to a pair of Florentine gilded silver paxes, probably produced between 1477 and 1491, bearing the arms of the Neroni and Pandolfini families. One is now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (figs. 3, 4), the other in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (figs. 5, 6).<sup>8</sup> Each contains a niello plaque, an art form which, along with enamel, is more typical for the central image in a Florentine pax. Like these paxes, which differ somewhat in style from each other, the Washington pax has an arched frame set on a plinth, decorated with classicizing moldings, openwork, a vasiform finial, and volutes at the top. The projecting bulbs and the finial form resemble those of the Walters pax, while the volute forms and the openwork on the plinth and back recall the Louvre example. The maker of the Washington example was evidently familiar with both.

However, the Washington version has an overwrought character that smacks of gothic revival. The maker multiplied the volutes at the top and crammed them into a smaller space; elaborated tracerylike openwork at the sides of the frame and even on the sides of the volutes; added extra side ornaments including pearl clusters and truncated conical knobs at the bottom, the latter with an oddly asymmetrical color scheme (one blue, one green). The back of the Washington pax especially suggests a less logical revision of the Paris example (figs. 1, 6): the design with a small upper circle and a large lower one on that pax accommodates a forked handle with its inception at the top; on the Washington pax a handle with a single curve engages the pax at center and bottom, reducing the functional upper circle to a meaningless ornament. There are additional minor oddities, such as use of glass rather than metal for the ornamental bulbs; or the arrangement of thick gold stars in two stiffly regular rows on the blue enamel band on the front, compared with the looser rhythm and delicate application of stars spangling comparable enamel on a good Tuscan quattrocento example; or the inexplicable shift to a simplified form for the lower rivet on either side of this band.<sup>9</sup> All these features arouse suspicion. Yet no demonstrably modern materials or techniques have been detected in the frame, whose degree of wear suggests considerable age. The pin holes around the interior of the opening (see technical notes) give evidence that the miniature now contained in the pax replaces some earlier object once secured there, an unlikely situation for a new frame produced in the nineteenth century. Thus the age of the frame remains in doubt.

The miniature in the center of the pax (fig. 7), under a thick piece of glass, presents its own anomalies. Its arch format is perfectly in order for Italian

Renaissance miniatures,<sup>10</sup> and the Madonna type and the child lying on the end of her robe are characteristic of the late fifteenth century, to be found in paintings from the circles of the Florentine painters Ghirlandaio and Lorenzo di Credi, for instance.<sup>11</sup> The buildings in the middle ground and the road winding back on the left correspond to late fifteenth-century Florentine landscapes reflecting Netherlandish influence, particularly that of a Memling Madonna in the Uffizi, Florence, with a winding river and a mill with a round wheel.<sup>12</sup> Yet here the middle ground building seems out of scale and uncertain in its spatial placement. Moreover, the foreground setting is unusual in that Florentine artists, from Giotto to Botticelli, have rarely depicted the Byzantine cave of the Nativity without including also a shed representing a stable.<sup>13</sup> A cave-hill that completely cuts off the foreground from the background, with a cliff on one side jutting abruptly into it, is also peculiar.

The stone wall sections in the foreground are descendants of the "diaphragm arch," a barrier touching the edges of an image to mediate between the viewer, the frame, and distant space.<sup>14</sup> Here the device seems poorly understood; the low wall fragments are usually part of more extensive ruins whose vertical elements parallel one side of a painting.

The ring of angels dancing on the clouds above the Holy Family has counterparts in Florentine paintings, such as the Botticelli *Mystic Nativity* of 1500 in the National Gallery, London.<sup>15</sup> The stiff little angels in their double-belted tunics are actually closer to the earlier Siennese angelic dancers in a painting at the Musée Condé in Chantilly, attributed to Giovanni di Paolo, c. 1436.<sup>16</sup> These resemblances make all the more disconcerting the absence of wings on the angels with their backs to the viewer in the Washington miniature. These numerous odd details, together with the coarsely ground pigments (see technical notes) and the loose, impressionistic painting style of the landscape, point to a post-Renaissance origin.

The pax may thus consist of a Florentine late quattrocento setting, although a somewhat peculiar one, containing a nineteenth-century replacement for its original sacred image. The miniaturist who provided this replacement had a knowledge of old pigments and a grasp of late fifteenth-century style comparable to that of the able English imitator of Renaissance miniatures, Caleb W. Wing (d. 1875).<sup>17</sup> While there is not enough evidence to attribute it to him, the similarities to his work suggest a dating around 1850/1875 for the miniature. The close reliance on Florentine style would not preclude production elsewhere in Europe. A.L.

## NOTES

1. Hugh Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum. I. The Jewels* (London, 1986), 32, fig. 12–14, 34, with photographs in a dismantled state.
2. Verbal report of Shelley Fletcher, NGA paper conservator, 2 April 1985; reaffirmed following microscopic examination of a sample, 9 June 1992.
3. Report of 10 May 1985, in NGA conservation laboratory files.
4. Reports of 10 May 1985 and 29 October 1985, in NGA conservation laboratory files; discussion with the author after further examination by Barbara Berrie, 12 January 1989; and report of Suzanne Q. Lomax, 13 January 1989. The dates are discussed in Hermann Kuhn, "Terminal Dates for Paintings Derived from Pigment Analysis," in *Application of Science in Examination of Works of Art*, ed. William J. Young (Proceedings of the Seminar June 15–19, 1970, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.), 199–205. On smalt, whose production has continued up to the present, see Bruno Mühlethaler and Jean Thissen, "Smalt," *Studies in Conservation* 14 (1969), 47–61. I owe these references to Barbara Berrie.
5. See entry on 1961.9.182, Limoges enamel book cover, provenance.
6. Deposition by Herbert L. Spencer, executive director, Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 21 August 1956, on file in the secretary-general counsel's office, National Gallery of Art, Kress no. 0–153.
7. For paxes see entry 1942.9.286. The church of San Michele a San Salvi lent a fifteenth-century enameled copper pax with a miniature of Christ in the tomb to the *Mostra del Tesoro di Firenze Sacra* [exh. cat., Convento di San Marco] (Florence, 1933), 88, not illustrated. At Amalfi Cathedral is an early sixteenth-century enameled copper pax with a miniature of the Annunciation on parchment, *Imago Mariae. Tesori d'arte della Civiltà cristiana* [exh. cat., Palazzo Venezia] (Rome, 1988), 122, no. 73. See also four paxes with miniatures, catalogued as Italian, sixteenth century, in *Catalogue des Objets d'art antiques, du Moyen-Age et de la Renaissance dependant de la succession Alessandro Castellani*, Hotel Drouot, Paris, 12–16 May 1884, nos. 498–501.
8. Ulrich Middeldorf in *Decorative Arts of the Italian Renaissance, 1400–1600* [exh. cat., The Detroit Institute of Arts] (Detroit, 1958), 154, nos. 406–407, repro. 164–165, and Philippe Verdier, "Nielles de la Renaissance italienne à la Walters Art Gallery," *Arte in Europa. Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Edoardo Arslan*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1966), 1:465–469, and 2: repro. 298–301. Middeldorf posited different hands for the Walters (no. 45.4) and Louvre (OA 2630) paxes, Verdier slightly different dates.
9. Marco Collareta and Antonella Capitanio, *Oreficeria Sacra Italiana. Museo Nazionale del Bargello* (Florence, 1990), cat. 43, 152–157, color plate LXXII, possibly Sieneese; ornamental rivets set in the blue enamel are comparatively paltry in design on the Washington pax. For relevant features in another late quattrocento Florentine pax see Collareta and Capitanio 1990, cat. 46,

164–167, color pl. LXXIII (blue enamel bands with gilded ornament, and a similar cross with pearls at corners atop the finial).

10. Compare the Hours of Lorenzo de' Medici, Florentine, 1485, illustrated in Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Italian Renaissance Illuminations* (New York, 1977), 44, pl. 3.

11. See a Madonna attributed to Sebastiano Mainardi (Harrach Collection, Vienna) in Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, 19 vols. (The Hague, 1923–1938), 13:197, fig. 128, with comparable veil and fold patterns in her mantle; some similar correspondences in the Lorenzo di Credi *Adoration of the Child*, in the National Gallery, London, Van Marle 13:285, fig. 191.

12. See Millard Meiss, "A New Monumental Painting by Filippino Lippi," *AB* 55 (1973), 485, fig. 10.

13. There are exceptions, such as the Nativity in front of a cave in a manuscript illumination in a book of hours of 1446–1448, attributed to Zanobi Strozzi, in The Walters Art Gallery, Walters ms. W. 767, fol. 15, illustrated in Dorothy Miner, "Since De Ricci—Western Illuminated Manuscripts Acquired since 1934. A Report in Two Parts. Part II," *JWalt* 31–32 (1968–1969), 92, 98 (noting the unusual absence of a shed); I owe this reference to Jonathan Alexander.

14. This motif appeared in various forms in Netherlandish manuscript illuminations and paintings after it was developed by the Boucicaut Master in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. See Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean, Duc de Berry. The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968), 13–14. It occurs frequently in the foreground of Nativity or Adoration of the Magi compositions; see for instance Dirk Bouts, "Pearl of Brabant" altarpiece, c. 1470, Munich, Alte Pinakothek; Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 14 vols. in 16 (Leiden, 1967–1976), 3:21, 62, pl. 38, fig. 24; the Nativity by the Master of James IV of Scotland in the Breviary from Namur, c. 1488–1489, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, and the Adoration of the Magi by Gerard Horenbout, in the Hours of Bona Sforza, 1519–1520, British Museum, London, both illustrated in Thomas Kren, ed., *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts. Treasures from the British Library* [exh. cat., J. Paul Getty Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library, British Library] (New York, 1983), 67 (8g) and 119 (15h). For a Florentine example attributed to Monte di Giovanni in the missal of Sant'Egidio, 1474, see Annarosa Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440–1525. Un primo censimento* (Scandicci, 1985), 2:529, pl. 872.

15. Ronald W. Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli*, 2 vols. (London, 1978), 1:89 (pl. IX), 134–138, 2:99–101.

16. *Five Angels Dancing*, inv. 9; see Elisabeth de Boisard et al., *Chantilly, musée condé. Peintures de l'Ecole italienne* (Paris, 1988), 90–91, no. 39.

17. On Wing see Janet Backhouse in *Fake! The Art of Deception*, ed. Mark Jones [exh. cat., the British Museum] (London, 1990), no. 202, 190–192.

## REFERENCES

None.

## Diptych with Scenes from the Life of Christ

1942.9.285 (C-9)

Western European

c. 1800/1839; wooden case between 1850 and 1912  
Ivory; wood case with bone and wood intarsia, 25.5 x 19 x  
4.5 (10 x 7½ x 1¾) closed; 37.5 (14⅞) w. open; ivory  
panels: left 20.8 x 14.2 (8⅜ x 5⅙); right 20.6 x 14.3  
(8⅛ x 5⅝)

### INSCRIPTIONS

In *Annunciation to the Shepherds* scene, on a scroll held  
by an angel: + *PUER NATUS*

In *Adoration of the Magi* scene, an illegible inscription on  
a scroll held by an angel

In *Crucifixion*, atop cross: *INRI*

In *Descent from the Cross*, atop cross: *INR*

In *Three Women at the Tomb*, on a scroll held by an angel:  
+ *Non est. hic. sursesst [?]*

### TECHNICAL NOTES

While the diptych panels are ivory, bone was used along  
with wood for the inlaid case.<sup>1</sup> The ivory panels are in  
remarkably good condition. Traces of gilding noted by Du  
Sommerard in 1846 have survived (or been renewed), espe-  
cially on the haloes. Metal nails pierce the hands and feet  
of Christ in the *Crucifixion*. The background, of wood  
coated with parchment, is polychromed, with blue deco-  
rated with gold stars, rays or swirling patterns behind the

narrative scenes, and brownish yellow behind the archi-  
tectural borders and figures on the sides.

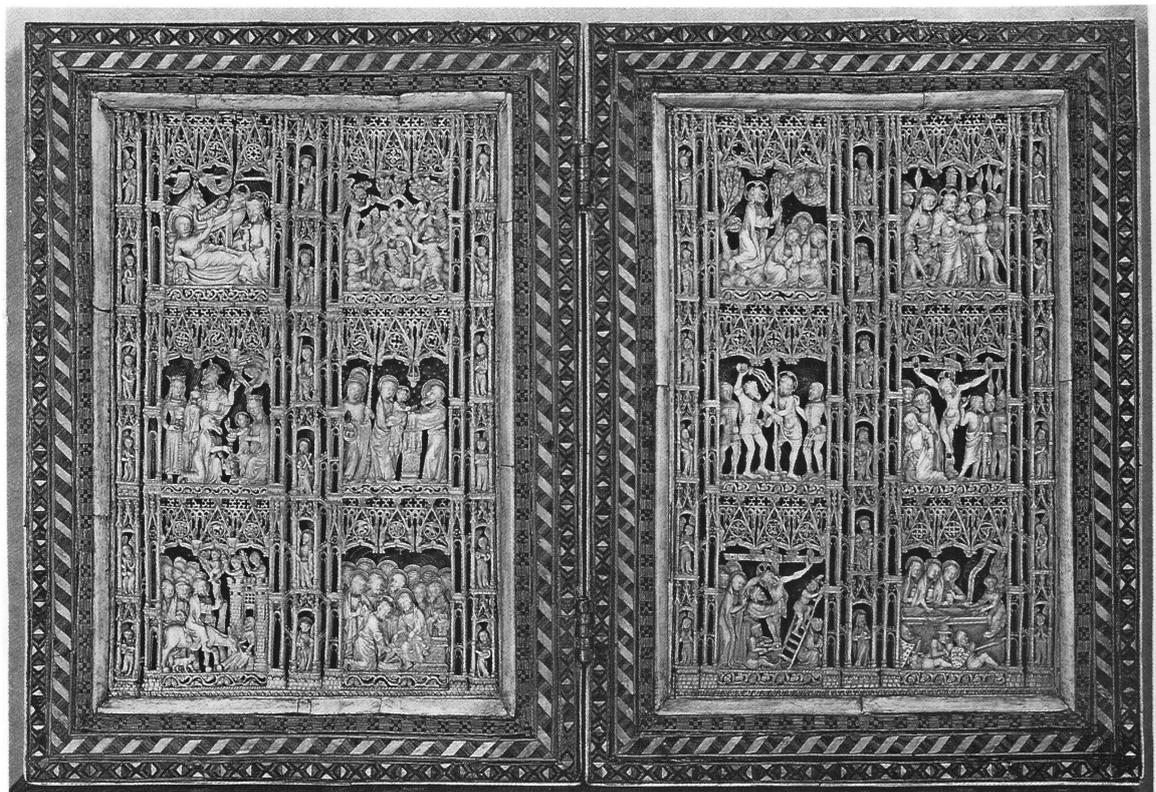
A strip of ivory 9.8 cm long has come off the top border  
on the left. Ivory bands on the edges are loose in many  
places. The intarsia is warping on the exterior at the bot-  
tom of the recessed inner panel on the front. Some check-  
erboard portions of the intarsia are inlaid, others painted.

### PROVENANCE

Alexandre Du Sommerard [1779–1842], Paris, before  
1839;<sup>2</sup> government of France, 14 July 1843–before 1847;<sup>3</sup>  
Debruge Duménil family, Paris, before 1850; (sold at Hôtel  
des Ventes Mobilières, Paris, 23 January–12 March 1850,  
no. 159), to "M. Isaac;"<sup>4</sup> George Field, Ashurst Park, before  
1857–1893;<sup>5</sup> John Edward Taylor, after 1893–1912 (sale,  
Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 1–3 and 9–10 July  
1912), no. 81 (the first reference to the inlaid case);  
(Duveen, 1912); purchased by Peter A. B. or Joseph Wide-  
ner, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, 11 November 1912, as  
Milanese, fifteenth century. Inheritance from the Estate  
of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appoint-  
ment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

Manchester, (no institution named), 1857, *Art Treasures of  
the United Kingdom from the Art Treasures Exhibition,  
Manchester, 1857*, 22, plate V; South Kensington 1862, 16,  
no. 196.



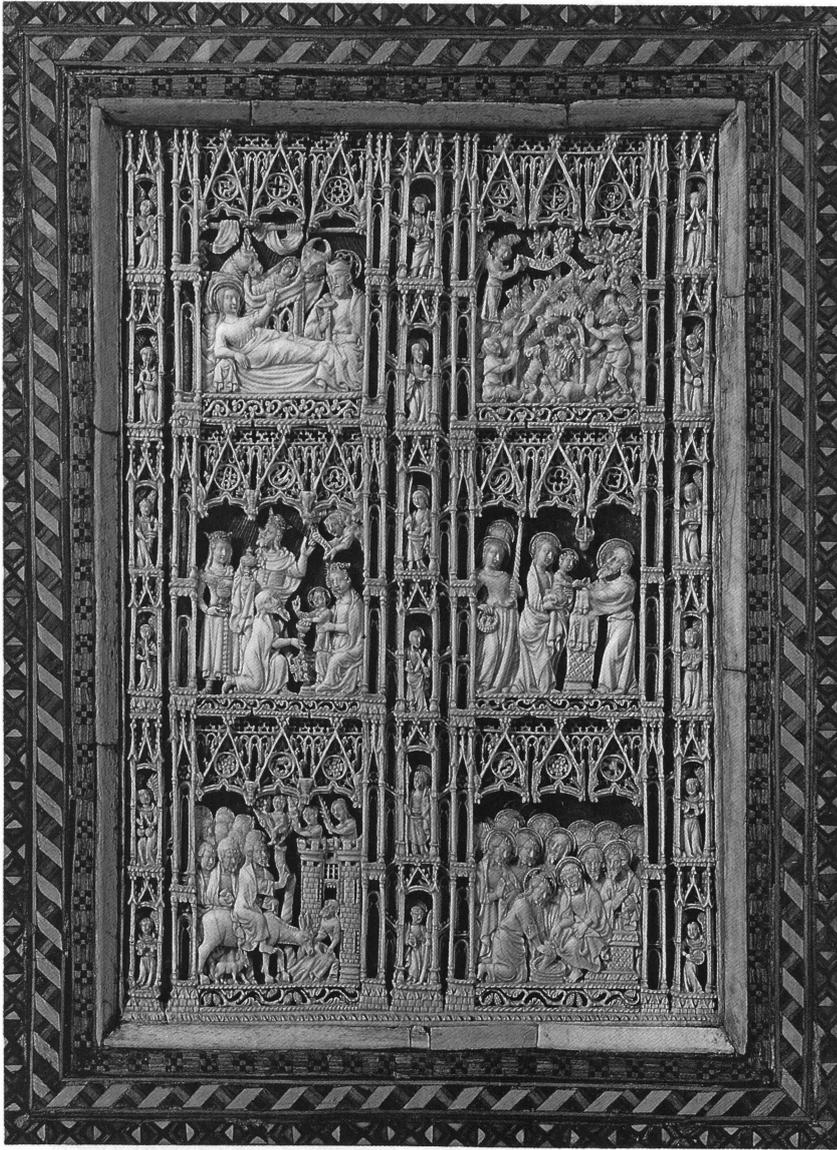


Fig. 1 1942.9.285,  
left wing

The left wing of the diptych (fig. 1) represents the Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds (upper register), the Adoration of the Magi and Presentation in the Temple (middle register), and the Entry into Jerusalem and Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet (lower register). The right wing (fig. 2) shows the Agony in the Garden and the Betrayal of Christ (upper register), the Flagellation and Crucifixion (middle register), and the Deposition and Women at the Tomb (lower register). The scenes are framed by delicate architectural tracery in a flamboyant gothic style enriched with gargoyles, symbolic animals, and statues of apostles and angels in niches.

This diptych is the creation of a skillful nineteenth-century imitator of late gothic ivory carving. In 1969 Jaap Leeuwenberg attributed the National Gallery's diptych and numerous other

ivories to the workshop of the "Master of the Agrafe Forgeries," so named for the small brooch in the form of a rosette or cross that frequently closes the cloaks of his figures. He called the Washington diptych "one of the very best works" from this source.<sup>6</sup> The master, whose workshop may have produced at least 110 ivories, was apparently active in the early nineteenth century both as a restorer of medieval ivories and a maker of new ones in gothic style.<sup>7</sup> His nationality is uncertain, but since his earliest known works, made before 1806, were acquired by museums in Paris and Lyon, he may have been French.<sup>8</sup> Whether a willful forger, a historicizing revivalist, or both, he catered to a taste around 1800 for elaborate details of gothic architecture, furnishings, and costumes, achieved at the expense of expressive conviction.

Features which, taken together, rule out a medieval artist include a preference for elaborately pierced ivories, a technique rarely employed in the Middle Ages;<sup>9</sup> the frequent use of carved haloes as opposed to the almost exclusive use of painted ones in medieval ivories;<sup>10</sup> and iconographic oddities, such as the ladder leaning against the frame instead of the cross in the Washington Descent from the Cross scene, with a figure kneeling beneath the ladder and turning his back to the cross.<sup>11</sup> Also unusual is the final scene on the lower right, the Women at the Tomb (fig. 3). It includes the angel and the three soldiers, but the resurrected Christ, who would normally appear either in this scene or one immediately following, is conspicuously absent. Peculiar costumes, such as the rather feminine cut and odd length of the young king's gown in the Adoration of the Magi (left wing, middle register), compound the evidence for modern manufacture.

While the ivories in Leeuwenberg's large "Agrafe Master" group, with their varying styles, may actually come from more than one workshop,<sup>12</sup> the arguments concerning a nineteenth-century origin for the Washington diptych are convincing. The objects that most resemble this diptych all display not only stylistic peculiarities but also iconographic anomalies that render them impossible as medieval objects.<sup>13</sup>

Certain details of drapery treatment, hair styles, facial types, and poses set the Washington diptych apart from the other objects in the "Agrafe Master" group, including those most similar to it. None of the comparable ivories, for instance, shares such features of the Washington diptych as the relatively squat figure proportions; Mary consistently wearing a high-collared cloak but no head veil; hair carved in stubby knobs and ridges, and stiff forked beards, sometimes in pairs of spiraling cones. These could

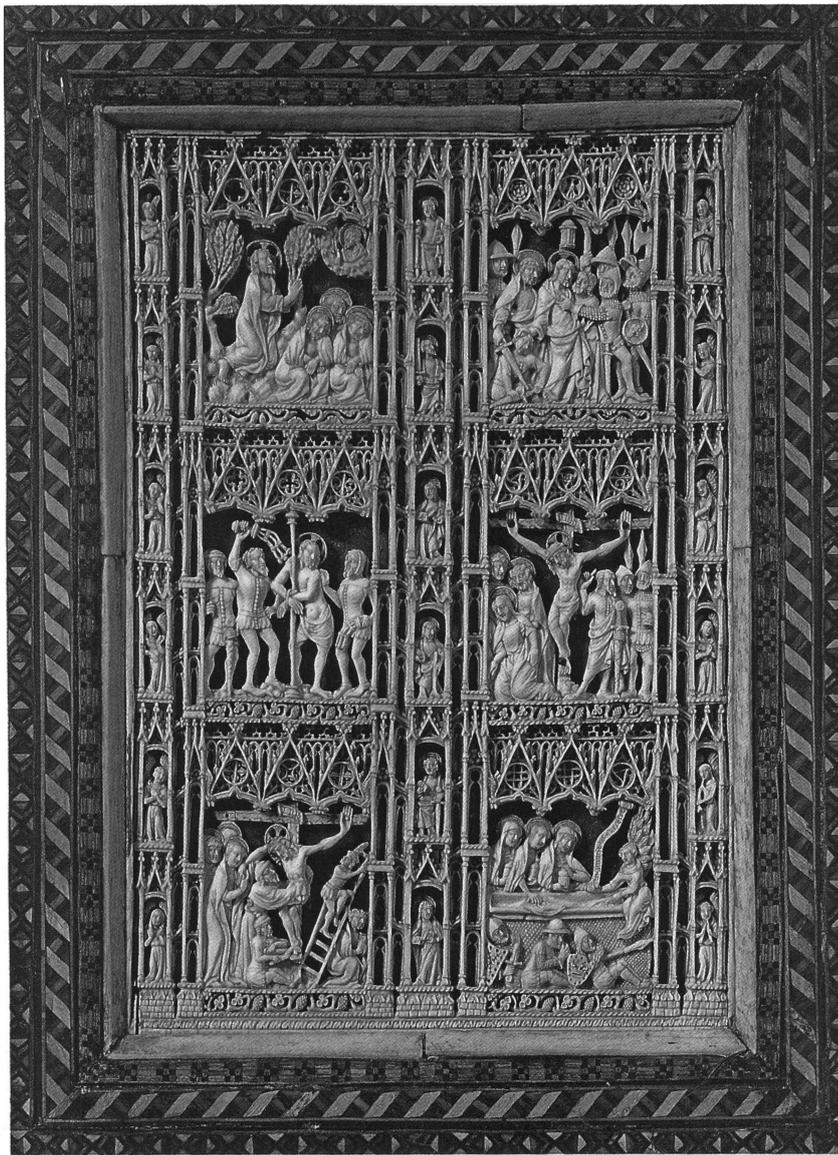


Fig. 2 1942.9.285,  
right wing

indicate a particular personality within the shop,<sup>14</sup> or a stylistic source different from the other works.

Several medieval sources may have been combined in the Washington diptych. Some stylistic and iconographic features suggest an English model.<sup>15</sup> The early attribution of the National Gallery's diptych to Italy was perhaps based on similarities, in the organization of scenes within an architectural frame, to ivory altarpieces recognized as northern Italian, early fifteenth century.<sup>16</sup> A costume and figure type often used by the carver, with men in a tightly fitted doublet with cinched waist, padded chest, a prominent row of buttons from neck to hem, and a low girdle, can be found in the art of various European countries from the 1360s onward. The costumes sometimes give the impression that the artist was inspired by illuminations from the

circle of the Master of the Parement de Narbonne, the "Passion Master," or Jacquemart de Hesdin.<sup>17</sup> In a general sense, the Washington diptych may take its iconographic point of departure from manuscripts like these or ivories like the Parisian one of c. 1360–1380, set into the jeweled bookbinding of Saint Denis.<sup>18</sup> A.L.

#### NOTES

1. Report of 22 July 1992, in NGA conservation laboratory files.
2. Du Sommerard 1838–1846, 5:III.
3. Edmond Du Sommerard in Du Sommerard 1838–1846, 5:vii, and Labarte 1847, 457–458, no. 159.
4. Labarte 1847, 457–458, and *Catalogue des objets d'art qui composent la collection Debruge Duménil* (Paris, 1849), no. 159. In his introduction, page 12, Labarte notes that M. Debruge Duménil died in 1838, but that his heirs continued to collect. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin provided the Debruge Duménil information (letter to the author, 2 September 1987) and the notation of "M. Isaac" as buyer, from the Louvre's copy of the sale catalogue.
5. Exh. cat. Manchester 1857, 22, pl. V; Taylor sale catalogue 1912, no. 81.
6. Leeuwenberg 1969, 124. As early as 1924 Koechlin (1:324, n. 5, and 2:322, no. 861) expressed doubts about the Taylor diptych, as it was then known. The figures in the Washington ivory have no "agrafes," but correspond to the group in other ways noted. For a recent discussion of forged gothic ivories see entries by Neil Stratford in *Fake!*

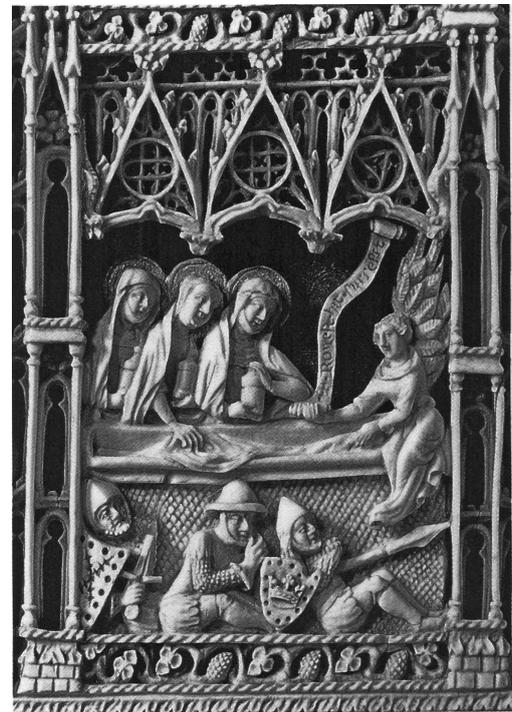


Fig. 3 1942.9.285, detail of *The Three Women at the Tomb*

*The Art of Deception*, ed. Mark Jones [exh. cat., The British Museum] (London, 1990), nos. 190–193.

7. Leeuwenberg 1969, 126, 129, 139.

8. Leeuwenberg 1969, 126, 144.

9. Leeuwenberg 1969, 143.

10. Leeuwenberg 1969, 123.

11. In a "Last Supper" panel in the Cloisters, New York, that shares many features with the Washington diptych, the Magdalen appears at Christ's feet while John the Evangelist leans on his breast, conflating the Last Supper with the Feast in the House of Simon; Leeuwenberg 1969, 123, fig. 26.

12. See Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Les ivoires gothiques: à propos d'un article récent," *Bulletin Monumental* 128 (1970), 127–133. For the most part Gaborit-Chopin accepts Leeuwenberg's conclusions, but she notes a few exceptions (not including the NGA diptych) and questions the size of the group attributed to the "Agrafe Master."

13. Besides the Cloisters Last Supper (note 11), and a group of associated panels depicting the life of Christ (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 366–1871, Leeuwenberg 1969, fig. 25), these include Christ between Saints Peter and Paul (Victoria and Albert, 213–1965; Leeuwenberg 1969, fig. 22); Saint Catherine enthroned between Saints Peter and Paul (The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 71.278; Leeuwenberg 1969, fig. 17); eight panels from a casket with scenes from the life of Christ (The Walters Art Gallery, 71.222–229; Leeuwenberg 1969, fig. 27); the diptych of the Passion and Death of the Virgin in Lyons (Musée des Beaux-Arts; Koechlin 1924, 1:324, n. 5 and 2:323; Leeuwenberg 1969, fig. 16a and b); and a group of Three Women at the Tomb (British Museum, London, MLA 1918, 5–4, 4; exh. cat. London 1990, no. 190).

14. Leeuwenberg 1969, 122–123, noted that "in some ways [the Washington piece] is stylistically different from the works already described here."

15. Koechlin 1924, 2:323; the relevance of such models as English medieval alabaster altarpieces, sometimes strikingly similar in organization of scenes within architectural frameworks, deserves exploration (as noted by Stratford in exh. cat. London 1990, 182, no. 190). See the Compiègne and Yssac la Tourette altarpieces, and the Crucifixion panel belonging to the Dean of Gloucester, in *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster Work Held in the Rooms of the Society of*

*Antiquaries*, 26 May–30 June 1910 (London, 1913), pl. 8, fig. 18–19, pl. 10, no. 6, and 52.

16. Compare nos. 76–1861 and A11–1928 in Margaret Longhurst, *Catalogue of the Carvings in Ivory* [Victoria and Albert Museum], 2 vols. (London, 1929), 2:62–64, pls. 54, 55. Labarte catalogued the Washington diptych as Italian in 1847; it was attributed to a Milanese workshop by 1912. Compare also works of the Embriachi, active as bone carvers in Florence but especially in Venice and at the Certosa di Pavia, c. 1400; their works are often set in frames or cases inlaid with wood and bone intarsia, known as Certosina, like that supplied between 1850 and 1912 for the Washington case. See Federico Zeri, Mauro Natale, and Alessandra Mottola Moffino, *Dipinti toscani e oggetti d'arte dalla collezione Vittorio Cini* (Vicenza, 1984), 53–57.

17. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London, 1967), 2: 1–28, 90–94, 106–112, and 184–197.

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RENAISSANCE ENAMELS



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## Limoges painted enamels

The collection of Limoges painted enamels in the National Gallery does not compare in size with that of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, or the Taft Museum in Cincinnati, but its seven items represent a fairly good cross section of the evolution of painted enamels in Limoges from the late gothic period through the Renaissance and the mannerist style. They illustrate the chief uses of Limoges enamels in France during the sixteenth century: as images of devotion, for display on the table or in the sideboard, on jewelry caskets, and for portraiture.

Evidence about the patrons who sought these works is scarce. A rare documented commission of enameled ware is that given by Linhard Tucher of Nuremberg to Pierre Reymond in 1558. The set Tucher ordered, which was mounted in gilded silver by the Nuremberg goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer, is now shared between the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and the Residenz in Munich. The reputation of Leonard Limousin as an enameler is mainly based on his portraits. Pierre Reymond, whose known works are dated between 1544 and 1559, is the only other craftsman known to have executed a few portraits in painted enamel.

The National Gallery's examples were executed in colored enamels—a practice followed exclusively until the fourth decade of the sixteenth century—or in *grisaille*, a process that ran parallel to the former technique but did not eliminate it.

Limoges is mostly renowned for its *champlevé* medieval enamels, made there for two centuries. The storming of the city in 1370, during the Hundred Years' War, ruined the workshops. The art of enameling was revived in Limoges in the form of painting on copper during the reign of Louis XI (1461–1483). The king issued edicts restricting the rank of guild master to privileged families through the right of descent. From then on the business of enameling was limited to a small number of Limoges families: the Pénicauds, Limousins, Reymonds, and Courts, to cite names represented by enamels in the National Gallery.

The Limoges enamblers of the Renaissance were first and foremost craftsmen concentrating on their *praxis*, or execution. Indifferent to the invention of subject matter, they took their ideas from graphic sources: prints or illustrated books. Originality of invention was, however, shown by Nardon Pénicaud, Jean II Pénicaud, and Léonard Limousin, the last of whom was also an engraver and, exceptionally, a painter.

The materials of Limoges painted enamels are copper and enamel. The copper plate, originally a rather thick sheet, soon after 1530 became thin and slightly domed up along the edges. The concave reverse of the plate was brushed over in the earlier examples with a counterenamel made of the sediments from successive washings of powdered enamels in water, and in later examples with translucent colorless enamel. The counterenamel was fired at the same time the priming was laid on the obverse of the plate. It served to counteract the tension and shrinkage resulting from the successive firings of the enamels and cooling processes and to prevent oxidation of the plate.

The colored enamels were obtained by adding metallic oxides to a clear frit or flux composed of silica, soda, potash, lead oxide, and borax. Two methods of establishing the design are represented in the National Gallery Limoges enamels. The first consisted of firing a ground of white enamel on which the contours, delineated in blue or russet lines, were fixed by a second firing. In the network of lines thus established, powdered colored enamels were laid successively, each color having to be fired at a different temperature. In the second method, the network of lines was partly drawn on the copper itself, precaution having been taken to apply white enamel first where blue and green enamel would have to be laid, in order to prevent discoloration from contact of copper oxides with the metal.

The imitation of engravings and of their cross-hatchings, and the increasing taste for grisaille enamels led to the perfection of the technique of *enlevages*, which had been adopted for rendering flesh tones in colored enamels. In this grisaille technique a layer of wet powdered white enamel was applied to a previously fired priming of black enamel. The white enamel was scraped with a spatula or brush handle, baring the black enamel underneath, thus establishing the structural outlines. Modeling was done by stippling with a needle. Black hatching could be added with the brush after the white enamel layer had been fired.

During the period 1490 to 1525, when enamellers were sometimes also jewelers, "jewels" studded the ground or accented details of enamels. These jewels were drops of translucent enamel which had been dropped onto tiny silver foils. One generation later, when a reaction against the sober taste for grisaille brought back the fashion for brilliant polychromy, transparent red and green enamels glowed with light reflected from silver foils underneath. The enamellers of the polychrome style inserted islets of brilliant light into painted enamels, harking back to the *basse-taille* translucent enamels on silver of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. P.V.

*For further information on the techniques of manufacture of the National Gallery's enamels, see the Appendix on enamels. – Ed.*

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## MASTER OF THE TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII

Active late fifteenth–early sixteenth century

The master by this name was active toward the close of the fifteenth century and during the first fifteen years of the sixteenth. His pseudonym comes from a work of exceptional standing: a triptych made of nine plaques in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the wings of which portray Louis XII, king of France (ruled 1498–1515) and Anne de Bretagne, whom he married in 1499.<sup>1</sup> About twenty-six enamels may be attributed to the master and his workshop. Their style reflects that of painters of the Loire school: the Master of Moulins and the illuminator Jean Bourdichon. Italianisms noticeable in the architectural backgrounds were inspired by the reconstruction of the castle of Moulins in 1497 and by miniatures of Jean Bourdichon. P.V.

### NOTES

1. Marquet de Vasselot 1921, 294–296, no. 127.

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## Triptych

1942.9.288 (C-13)

Early sixteenth century

Enamel on copper, central panel: *Pietà with Saint John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene*, 20.3 x 19.05 (8 x 7½), wings: left, *Saint Peter*, right, *Saint Paul*, each 19.05 x 7.3 (7½ x 2⅞)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

On Saint Peter's mantle: *Ave Maria grat...*

On left wing, under shell vault: *... nus Dei*

On right wing, under shell vault: *Q: tolli*

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The design, drawn in black or dark russet lines on the previously fired ground of white enamel, established the areas to be covered with layers of translucent enamel: blue, green, and purple. A mixture of white, blue, and red was applied for the flesh tones, producing a lilac tone after firing. Highlights were obtained by additions of thicker or thinner white, and anatomical modeling by scratching away and reworking. Under the white areas (the Virgin's wimple; Saint John's cloth), black enamel was laid and then scratched away with a needle (*enlevage*) to let thin black lines reappear. *Enlevages* could also bare the lilac ground of the flesh tone, as between the legs of Christ. Red, to render blood, was fired last, and, finally, gold stippling and hatching was fixed at a lower temperature in order to pick up details and accent the modeling.<sup>1</sup> The three enameled plaques are set in a mercury-gilded brass frame, ornamented with alternating nails and sprays of

foliage. The modern copper mounts are enclosed in a modern wooden case painted with foliage ornaments on a gilt background. All three panels have been restored, primarily in the lower portions. Localized deterioration (crizzling) exists in the mulberry drapery of the center panel. (For more information, see Appendix on enamels.)

### PROVENANCE

Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, after purchase by funds of the Estate.<sup>2</sup>

The central section represents an image of devotion, the *pietà*, according to its late medieval iconography. The Virgin sits under the Cross, contemplating the corpse of Christ, already stiffened by *rigor mortis*, lying across her knees. His hair hangs down beneath a crown of green thorns. Blood spilled from his open chest has dried across his belly and between his thighs. It smears his right arm and has dripped from his forehead to his shoulders.

On the left, Saint John supports Christ's head. Mary Magdalene bends over Christ and lifts his left hand in both of hers. Her gold hair flows over her back. Her ointment jar lies on the ground amid tufts of herbs and tiny white flowers.

In the right background a turreted building, half medieval and half Renaissance, may allude to the Temple of Jerusalem. The walled city, dominated by



a steeple, looms behind, under a blue sky studded with tiny gold clouds. The hillock on which the cross is erected is enameled in green.

On the left wing, under a niche, stands Saint Peter clad in a rich embroidered and belted alb, showing the pontifical stole crossed over his chest and a white amice around his neck. On the wide border of his mantle, still faintly visible in gilded letters, is the beginning of the prayer to the Virgin: "Ave Maria grat[ia plena]." Peter holds a big key in his right hand; the left is held up, palm out.

On the right wing, under a niche, stands Saint Paul, more simply clad in purple robe and blue mantle, his right hand resting on his emblematic sword, his left hand pointing toward Christ, the sacrificial victim of the New Testament.

The niches have green and gold tiled floors. They are lined with hangings decorated with a diaper pattern of sunbursts within circlets. Their shell vaults are overhung with crocketed ogee arches, and towers ending in a cornice and a crest. The sunburst motif also dots the green background. Under the left shell begins the invocation "[Ag]nus Dei" followed under the right shell by "Q[ui] tolli[t peccata mundi]," O Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world, referring to Christ lying dead on his mother's lap.<sup>3</sup>

The *Pietà* is copied after earlier enamels by the so-called Monvaerni, an anonymous master; one of these is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon; another in the Kunstgewerbe-Museum, Berlin; and a third formerly in the collection of Prince Czartoryski in Poland.<sup>4</sup> The *pietàs* enameled by the Monvaerni master derive in turn from sculptures in Limoges and the Limousin.

In 1967 this author had retained the attribution of the triptych in the National Gallery to a member of the Pénicaut family, changing the first name from Nardon to Jean.<sup>5</sup> That is corrected here. Roger Pinkham, former keeper of the department of ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, also expressed the opinion that the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII is a more secure attribution.<sup>6</sup>

Other similar *pietàs* by the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII occupy the central parts of triptychs in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Walters Art Gallery.<sup>7</sup> The New York and Baltimore triptychs show a rolling French landscape instead of Jerusalem. In them the halos of Christ and the

saints are enriched with "jewels:" small beads of translucent enamel dropped on silver foil.<sup>8</sup> In the central part of the National Gallery triptych, such "jewels" point up only the white flowers of the background.

Saints Paul and Peter appear under similar niches, but with different gestures and against a "jeweled" background, in the wings of a triptych from the workshop of the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII now in the Musée de la Ville de Paris.<sup>9</sup> P.V.

#### NOTES

1. Peter E. Michaels, "Technical Observations on Early Painted Enamels of Limoges," *JWalt* 27-28 (1964-1965), 29-32, figs. 9-11. The use of bold cross-hatching for modeling is found in illuminations by Jean Bourdichon.

2. Widener Collection records in NGA curatorial files.

3. The words *Ecce Agnus Dei* are incised on a bronze plaquette, frequently used in paxes by Hans Multscher showing the *pietà* as an image of devotion. Manfred Tripps, *Hans Multscher. Seine Ulmer Schaffenszeit 1427-67* (Weissenhorn, 1969), 269, fig. 252. Anthony Geber, "Name Inscriptions: Solution or Problem?" *StHist* 22 (1989), 247-252. In the Monvaerni *Pietà* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (4868-1901) Saint John the Evangelist is replaced by Saint John the Baptist presenting a bishop, but the composition remains the same.

4. Marquet de Vasselot 1921, 228-230, nos. 33-35.

5. Verdier 1967, 60.

6. Pinkham to William P. Campbell, then curator of American painting at the National Gallery of Art, 7 August 1973, in NGA curatorial files.

7. Metropolitan Museum no. 49.7110, Walters Art Gallery no. 44.91. Verdier 1967, 56-60, color pl. 31, fig. 2; Marquet de Vasselot 1921, no. 136, 305-306; M. Jourdain, "An Exhibition by the British Antique Dealers' Association," *BurlM* 52 (April 1928), 177-178, pl. 2A.

8. On the use of "jewels" see Michaels 1964-1965, 26, n. 4. William H. Monroe, "Painted Renaissance Enamels from Limoges," *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* 71, no. 6 (1977), 10-13.

9. Marquet de Vasselot 1921, no. 139, 308-309, pl. 55. An enameler of the workshop called by Marquet de Vasselot "l'atelier aux grands fronts" also copied a Monvaerni *Pietà* and enframed it between Saint Peter and Saint Paul. See Marquet de Vasselot 1921, 138, 281-282, no. 112, pl. 40.

#### REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 35; Raphael Room, as by Leonard (Nardon) Pénicaut.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 215, no. 4., as by Jean I Pénicaut.

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## JEAN I PENICAUD

c. 1480–after 1541

Jean I Pénicaud was the younger brother of Nardon Pénicaud, the founder of a Limoges dynasty of enamellers, who made his will in 1541. Eight enamels signed by him are known. He introduced German and Netherlandish prints at Limoges as models for enameled plaques. He was the last in Limoges not to surrender totally to the new Italianizing fashion diffused from Fontainebleau in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. His technique remains the same as that of the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII, without the subtleties of the latter in the preparation of flesh tones. He was also the last master to keep as counterenamels fired opaque enamel powders, although a transparent flux for counter-enameling was used in the Pénicaud workshop.<sup>1</sup> P.V.

### NOTES

1. The innovation of using a transparent flux on the reverse side of Limoges enamels appears on a series of more than sixty plates of the *Aeneid*, enameled in the early 1530s, after woodcut illustrations of Virgil's *Opera*, edited by Sebastian Brant in Strasbourg (1502). See Verdier 1967,

76; Marie-Madeleine Gauthier and Madeleine Marcheix, *Limoges Enamels* (London, 1962), 23.

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## Plaque with the Last Supper

1942.9.289 (C-14)  
c. 1530  
Enamel painted on copper, 29.7 x 25 (11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

At right: *I.P.*

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Alfred André had the enameled plaque cold restored when it was in his collection.<sup>1</sup> The restoration covered an area from the left shoulder of the man with a high cap to the sleeve of the apostle standing behind the table on the extreme right. There are repairs above the heads of the four Apostles behind the table on the left, and also above the head of Christ. Blistering enamel was readhered in the center of the niche. A triangular area at the lower left corner is heavily restored. (For further information, see Appendix on enamels.)

### PROVENANCE

Alfred André [1839–1919], Paris. (Charles Lowengard), Paris, purchased 15 May 1908 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.<sup>2</sup>

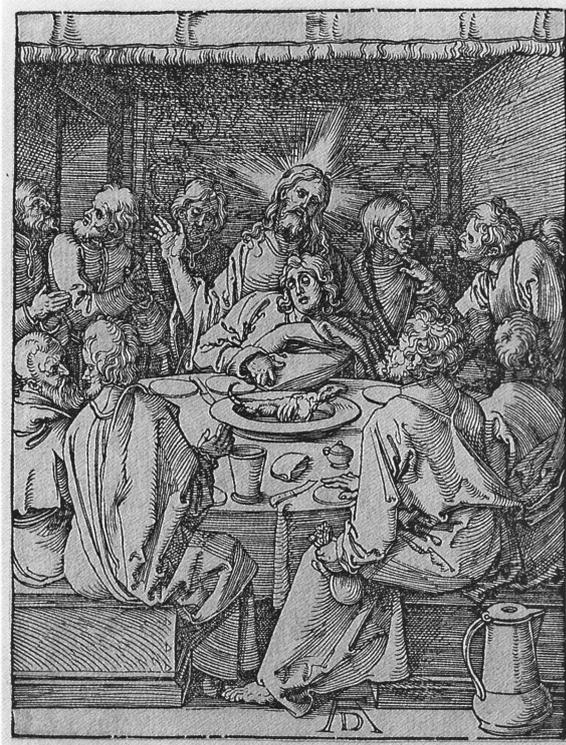
The table for the Last Supper is set in a hall in the style of the Italian Renaissance, a sort of sanctuary. In the center is a niche vaulted with a half shell, designed as a gothic half-rose window with spokes. The decoration of the paneled walls—with thorny interlaces, winged angel heads, profile heads, and winged putti intermingled in scrollwork, two sea gods (half man and half monster) challenging each other, and acanthus scrolls topped with eagles—derives from the repertory of grotesques that invaded Italian architecture after the discovery of the frescoes of Nero's Golden House in Rome. It mingled Northern Art with the fanciful world painted in the margins of manuscripts of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the left panel are faint traces of Moses above a column. The floor is covered with tiles, glazed and stamped with geometric and floral designs. The initials I. P., for Jean I Pénicaud, on the right, are tied with a knot.

Christ, his right hand raised, sits at the center of the table. As in the Gospel of John (13:24–25), John the Evangelist reclines on Christ's breast. The Apostles, divided into two groups—one of eight behind the table and one of four in front—are engaged in



Jean I Pénicaut, *Plaque with the Last Supper*, 1942.9.289

**Fig. 1** Albrecht Dürer,  
*The Last Supper*,  
probably c. 1509/1510,  
woodcut, Washington,  
National Gallery of Art,  
1943.3.3640



passionate discussion. Judas, the third figure from the left in the foreground, is identified by the money purse, his attribute as the purser of the Apostles. At the center of the table lies the Paschal Lamb of the Jews. This substitution for bread and wine, as well as the dramatic atmosphere of the scene, derive from the model (fig. 1) followed by Jean I Pénicaud: a woodcut in Dürer's series, the *Small Passion* (probably c. 1509/1510).<sup>3</sup> Dürer reacted against his source of inspiration, Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*. Leonardo had emphasized the emotion aroused by Christ's declaration that one of his disciples was about to betray Him. Dürer bent his composition within the circular scheme traditional in pre-Renaissance Italian painting and Netherlandish art. He chose the moment when Christ invites Judas to share bread with him, and thus denounces him. In the woodcut Christ, looking at Judas, has already lifted his right hand toward the dish. Jean I Pénicaud did not faithfully follow Dürer, or else he knowingly

altered his model. Judas looks to his left as though somebody else were the object of Christ's warning. The enamelist added a thirteenth character: the host, recognizable by his high cap, borrowed from a depiction of the Supper at Emmaus.<sup>4</sup>

The colors of the architectural setting are mainly transparent blue and green; those of the costumes, purple, dark and light blue, and brown; the tablecloth is rendered in opaque white enamel.

The wide influence of Dürer's *Small Passion* on Limoges painted enamel can be assessed by citing a few series of enameled plaques depicting the Passion of Christ after Dürer: in the Wallace Collection, London; the Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, Oporto; the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; and those in the Musée du Louvre, from the sixteenth-century castle at Ecouen.<sup>5</sup> The inspiration of Dürer's *Last Supper* is obvious in the engravings executed around 1544 by Léonard Limousin, which served as models for his plaques of the Passion enameled after them.<sup>6</sup> In 1532 Limousin had enameled as his first signed series eighteen plaques after Dürer's *Small Passion*. P.V.

#### NOTES

1. Marquet de Vasselot 1912, 452; Marquet de Vasselot 1921, 186, n. 3, no. 153, 320.
2. Widener Collection records in NGA curatorial files.
3. Willi Kurth, ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1963), 30–31, no. 230.
4. The man with a high cap appears on a plaque of the Supper at Emmaus attributed to the workshop of Jean I Pénicaud in the Museo d'Arte Antica, Turin. Luigi Mallé, *Smalti-Avori* (Turin, 1969), 104–105, pl. 50.
5. Verdier 1967, 175–176, 203–212.
6. André Demartial, "Léonard Limousin, émailleur et graveur," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 62 (1912), 18–28; Marvin Ross, "Léonard Limousin, Enameller and Engraver," *Print Collector's Quarterly* 25 (October 1938), 361–364; Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau. Etchings and Engravings* (London, 1969), fig. L.L.4.

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1935 Widener 1935: 35–36; Raphael Room.  
1983 C. Wilson 1983: 214, no. 3.

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## LEONARD LIMOUSIN

c. 1506–1575/1577

Léonard Limousin was the first of the Limoges enamellers to copy engravings of Raphael's followers and to diffuse compositions by the early Italian mannerists. Jean de Langeac, the bishop of Limoges (1533–1541) and counselor and ambassador-at-large of Francis I, introduced him to the court of Fontainebleau. His work there, after cartoons by Il Rosso, has disappeared. Henry II named him official "esmaileur peintre," painter and enameler, in 1548. *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas* (1551) is the only surviving painting by Limousin.

The considerable production of Limousin's workshop (more than one thousand pieces) includes twelve large plaques of the Apostles after drawings by Primaticcio for the castle at Anet (today in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chartres), various articles for the table and display dresser, mirror frames, caskets, a hunting horn of 1536 in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, a tricktrack board of 1537 in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and about 132 portraits (published by Bourdery and Lachenaud in their catalogue raisonné of 1897), a production in which Limousin may have been assisted by his brother Martin (d. 1575). The earliest of these portraits were incorporated into the wainscoting of the Gallery at Fontainebleau. No trace of them remains. Others were integrated into the decoration of the hôtel of Catherine de' Medici in Paris, according to an inventory drawn up after her death in 1589. Limousin's enameled art objects were highly valued, as evidenced by their being treasured in the "Cabinet des Bagues" at the top of the *donjon* at the palace at Fontainebleau, where they were intermingled with cameos, intaglios, and the goldwork of Benvenuto Cellini and Matteo del Nassaro.

The name of Léonard Limousin is written Limosin in Limoges dialect, a spelling often kept in modern studies referring to him. In conformity with French usage, Limousin is used in this catalogue. P.V.

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## Portrait of a Huguenot

1942.9.292 (C-17)  
1540  
Enamel painted on copper, 11 x 9.5 (4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

At lower left: .LL. 1540.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Above the sitter's proper right shoulder a vertical crack in the enamel has been filled and inpainted, as have several small losses along the upper edges. (For further information, see Appendix on enamels.)

### PROVENANCE

Frédéric Spitzer, by 1890 (sale, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 485); Maurice Kann, Paris. (Duveen Brothers), New York and London; purchased 13 November 1909 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Trocadéro, 1889, *Exposition rétrospective de l'art français*, no. 1082.



The unknown sitter is represented in bust, turning slightly to his right. He wears the costume of a French Protestant minister: flat, square black hat and black doublet. His hair is cut short and his moustache and double-pointed beard are shot with red. The background is lapis blue on underlying white enamel. The counterenamel is a colorless flux. The frame is modern, in the style of the sixteenth century, made of brass and black enamel with gilt scrolls.

A few French and German or Swiss reformers were painted by Léonard Limousin: Calvin (1535), Théodore de Bèze, Melancton, and Ambroise Blaurer (1556), and an unknown Huguenot.<sup>2</sup> A portrait in the Frick Collection, New York, has been

tentatively identified by the author as that of Guillaume Farel (1489–1565).<sup>3</sup> P.V.

#### NOTES

1. Widener collection records in NGA curatorial files.
2. Bourdery and Lachenaud *Limousin* 1897, 14–15, 25–28, 247–248, 272–274, nos. 5, 6, 10, 98, 116.
3. Verdier and Focarino 1977, 112–114.

#### REFERENCES

- 1890–1892 Spitzer 1890–1892, 2 (1891): 40, no. 68. Text on painted enamels by Claudius Popelin.
- 1893 *L'art* (1893): 176, repro.
- 1897 Bourdery and Lachenaud *Limousin* 1897: 245–246, no. 97A.
- 1935 Widener 1935: 37–38; Rembrandt Room.
- 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 213–214, no. 2.

## Round dish with the wedding feast of Cupid and Psyche

1942.9.293 (C-18)  
c. 1562  
Enamel painted in grisaille on copper, diam. 42.6 (16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
Widener Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

This is a variation of the grisaille enamel technique. The design has been built up using successive applications of black and white enamel, with some pale pink and gray possibly added in the white flesh areas. Design elements have been added in gold over the fired enamel. There are numerous edge losses; on the inner rim of the dish where there are losses, it is possible to see the cross-hatching of the substrate copper to prepare it for accepting the enamel. The enamel on the reverse is badly abraded. Four oval medallions on the outer rim of the reverse, painted in black over a white background, appear to have been restored.

### PROVENANCE

Debruge Duménil collection, Paris, by 1847;<sup>1</sup> Prince Petr Soltykoff, Paris (sale, Paris, 1861, no. 472); Frédéric Spitzer, Paris<sup>2</sup> (sale, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 443); Maurice Kann, Paris. (Duveen Brothers), New York and London; purchased 18 November 1909 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.<sup>3</sup> Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

The wedding banquet of Cupid and Psyche is described in the sixth book of the *Metamorphoses* of Lucius Apuleius (born c. 125 A.D.): "Jupiter commanded Mercury to bring up Psyche into the palace of heaven. And then he took a pot of immortality and said: 'Hold, Psyche, and drink to the end that thou mayest be immortal, and that Cupid may never depart from thee, but be thine everlasting husband.' By and by the great banquet and marriage feast was sumptuously prepared. Cupid sat down in the uppermost seat with his dear spouse between his arms. Juno likewise with Jupiter and all the other gods in order. . . the Hours decked up the house with roses and other sweet flowers."<sup>4</sup>

On the enamel not all the twelve Olympian gods are sitting at the table set on clouds above Mount Olympus. Jupiter at the center holds the thunderbolt. At his left Juno points to Psyche. Jupiter turns toward Venus on his right. Vulcan is probably the god sitting near Venus. Psyche sits on a cloud on the right; at her knee is Cupid. Hercules sits on her right; between them appears Ganymede, Jupiter's "rustic boy." The Graces are grouped to the left; the

one turning her back to the spectator points to Psyche. Flying over the table, three winged Hours scatter flowers.

Limousin here copied with variations plate thirty-one in a series of thirty-two engravings by the Master of the Die and Agostino Veneziano, after drawings by Michiel Coxie (1499–1592), the "Raphael of the North," illustrating Apuleius' story of Psyche.<sup>5</sup>

A gilded rinceau is painted in the cavetto of the obverse. The border is decorated with four oval medallions in cartouches of strapwork. Two are painted in gold camaïeu with mythological scenes and two in grisaille with single figures standing against a gold background. Poseidon attended by sea divinities appears in the top medallion; the bottom medallion shows a scene in the erotic vein of Léon Davent, an engraver of the Fontainebleau school.<sup>6</sup>

At the center of the reverse, the bust of a woman stands out against a black background dotted with gold. She wears a dress pinned with a brooch on her left shoulder, and a gilded ribbon flies from her coiled hair. The angles of the enframing square are filled with winged putti heads. On the top of the strapwork perches a grotesque bird: Jupiter's eagle, holding the thunderbolt. To the left and right two ithyphallic satyrs are braced and two flaming urns are poised. At the bottom a female mask hangs



1942.9.293, reverse



above a swag of fruit. Similar swags are suspended above it to either side.

The rim is decorated with four medallions, the subjects of which are executed in sepia on white enamel. Taken from engravings or cameos, they represent scenes of mythology and pagan cult.<sup>7</sup> Between them are masks painted in grisaille; two masks of turbaned women, as on the obverse, and two of satyrs.

When the National Gallery dish was in the Debruge Duménil collection, Labarte attributed it correctly to Léonard Limousin.<sup>8</sup> It was subsequently attributed to Jean III Pénicaut,<sup>9</sup> together with a similar dish today in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (no. 1885-32). It obviously lacks the milky impastos and the chiaroscuro effects of the enamels attributed to the elusive Jean III Pénicaut, son of Jean II Pénicaut, twice consul in Limoges (1571 and 1578). On the other hand, the National Gallery dish does not exhibit the bravura of the pieces signed by Léonard Limousin, as distinct from the production of his workshop. The attribution is clinched, however, by the reverse of a dish signed by Léonard Limousin, dated 1562, in the Musée de Cluny, Paris.<sup>10</sup> It is exactly the same as those of the National Gallery dish and of a dish in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, given to Léonard Limousin, which also illustrates the wedding banquet of Cupid and Psyche, with slight variations.<sup>11</sup>

The illustration of Psyche's story was one of the first efforts undertaken by Léonard Limousin. He executed a series in grisaille in 1535 and duplicated it during the period 1542 to 1545.<sup>12</sup> He returned to the subject of the wedding banquet of Cupid and Psyche in 1555 with a magnificent dish made for Constable of France Anne de Montmorency with the banqueters in the guise of Olympian gods: Henry II (Jupiter) pays attention to Catherine de' Medici (Juno), but Diane de Poitiers (Venus), naked but for a black toque, tenderly leans against him. Anne de Montmorency (Hercules) sits next to Psyche. Psyche and two of the Graces are the only figures not disguised. The Hours, as on the National Gallery enamel, scatter flowers at the top.<sup>13</sup> P.V.

#### NOTES

1. Labarte 1847, no. 699.
2. Spitzer 1890-1892, 2: 28, no. 27, repro. émaux, pl. 6.
3. Widener Collection records in NGA curatorial files.
4. *The Golden Ass, Being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius*, trans. W. Adlington (London and New York, 1935), 282.
5. Adam von Bartsch, *Le Peintre-Graveur*, 21 vols. (Leipzig, 1866-1876), 15: 223, no. 69 (31); *The Illustrated Bartsch* 1982, 225. Reference to Michiel Coxie was made by Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence, 1878-1885), 7: 581.
6. Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau. Etchings and Engravings* (London, 1969), 21-25, pl. LD, 81, 82.
7. The technique used for painting these four cameo-like medallions against a white enameled background anticipates one which Jean and Henri Toutin made general in the seventeenth century.
8. Labarte 1847, no. 699.
9. The caption of the reproduction of Léonard Limousin's dish in Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration*, 4 vols. (Paris, n.d.), 2: fig. 265, attributes it to Jean III Pénicaut.
10. Sommerard 1883, no. 4610.
11. Verdier 1967, 178-180. Variations are also noticeable on copies executed in other workshops, for instance the oval plaque in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (no. Lim. 124), probably by Jean III Pénicaut.
12. Laborde 1857, 175, 178, 194-196, 198-199. Burlington Fine Arts Club 1897, 47-48, nos. 165-172, pls. 25-26.
13. Bourdery and Lachenaud *Limousin* 1897, 205-214, no. 85, frontispiece. Bertrand Jestaz in *L'école de Fontainebleau* (Paris, 1972), 446, no. 635.

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- 1890-1892 Spitzer 1890-1892, 2 (1891): 28, no. 27, repro. émaux, pl. 6. Text on painted enamels by Claudius Popelin.
- 1935 Widener 1935: 38, Van Dyck Room, as by Jean Courteois.
- 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 212, no. 24.

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## PIERRE REYMOND

c. 1513–d. after 1584

The earliest works of Pierre Reymond are dated 1534. He was twice consul in Limoges, in 1560 and 1567. He signed himself Raymon, Rexmon, Rexmond, or Reymon, spellings in which x and y are interchangeable, as in Limousin script. The initials P. R. usually indicate workshop pieces. The workshop was particularly active in producing tableware and caskets.

Pierre Reymond's compositions are indebted to a wide spectrum of German, Dutch, and Italian engravings, as well as to woodcuts in French illustrated books and patterns of scrollwork and grotesques by artists of the school of Fontainebleau. The figures on Reymond's enamels, outlined in rigid black contours, suggest that his models were transferred to the copper plate by way of pricked tracings. p.v.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ardant 1862: 117–158.

Thieme-Becker, 28: 213–214.

Verdier 1967: xxiii–xxiv.

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## Plaque with Ganymede

1961.9.183 (C-529)

Mid-sixteenth century

Enamel painted on copper, 7.6 x 9.3 (3 x 3<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Samuel H. Kress Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The design is rendered in the grisaille technique. The enamel is in good condition except for losses in both

upper corners and along the bottom edge. The prepared copper plate is exposed in some loss areas. (For further information, see Appendix on enamels.)

### PROVENANCE

Trivulzio collection, Milan. (Count Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi), Florence. Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, by 1937.<sup>1</sup>

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## Plaque with Ixion

1961.9.184 (C-530)

Mid-sixteenth century

Enamel painted on copper, 7.6 x 9.3 (3 x 3<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Samuel H. Kress Collection

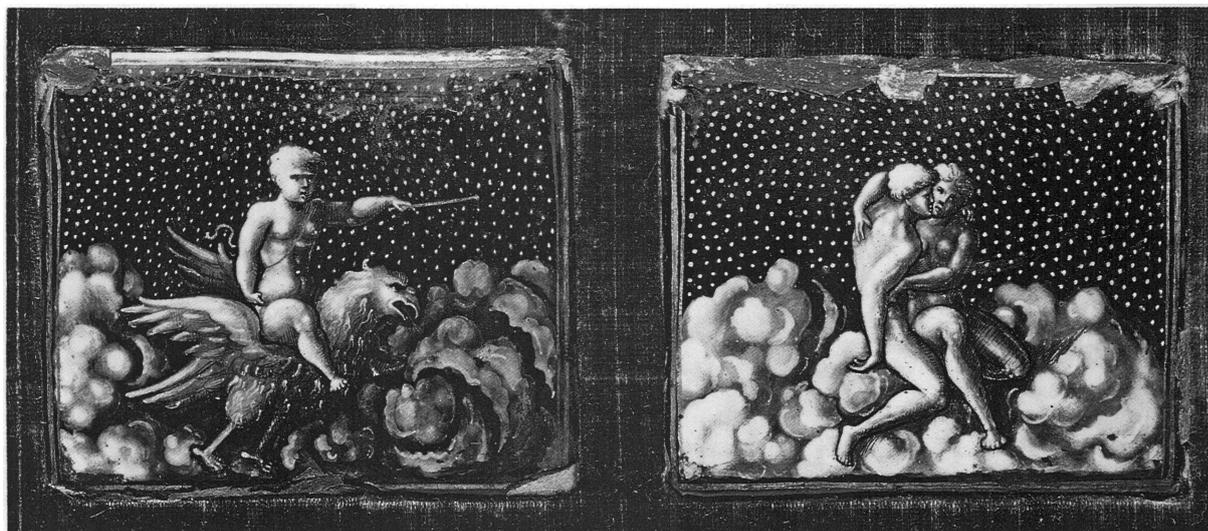
### TECHNICAL NOTES

The design is rendered in the grisaille technique. There are enamel losses across the entire upper border. The prepared copper plate is exposed in some loss areas. (For further information, see Appendix on enamels.)

### PROVENANCE

Trivulzio collection, Milan. (Count Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi), Florence. Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, by 1937.<sup>2</sup>

On one plaque the boy Ganymede, wielding a whip, rides above clouds on Jupiter in the form of an eagle. As Ovid relates: "The King of the Gods once burned with love for Phrygian Ganymede; he did not deign to take the form of any bird save only that which



Pierre Reymond, *Plaque with Ganymede* and *Plaque with Ixion*, 1961.9.183–184

could bear his thunderbolt. Without delay he cleft the air on his spread wings and stole away the Phrygian boy."<sup>3</sup>

Ganymede's whip not only adds piquancy to the theme; it points toward the scene represented on the second plaque. The motif of Ganymede riding the eagle may have been suggested by a large composition after Raphael engraved by the Master of the Die, which depicts Jupiter falling in love with Ganymede.<sup>4</sup> A similar motif is found in the upper center of the print.

The second plaque shows Ixion, king of the Lapiths, who tried to seduce Juno but instead embraced a cloud form made by Jupiter in the image of Juno. From the union the Centaurs were begotten.<sup>5</sup> The model for the enamel was an engraving by Giulio Bonasone<sup>6</sup> in *Amorosi dilette degli dei* (The Amorous Pastimes of the Gods).

Both plaques are by Pierre Reymond. They show his delicate chiaroscuro and black lines reinforced by *enlevages*, with particularities such as pointing up the pupils of the eyes, tips of the noses, underlips, and toes with dots of white enamel. The plaques

probably belonged to a casket ornamented with other mythological scenes, perhaps also selected from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. P.V.

#### NOTES

1. Arthur M. Hind to John Walker, 12 June 1951, in NGA curatorial files.
2. See note 1.
3. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by Frank Justus Miller, 2 vols. (London, 1939), 2: book 10, verses 155–160.
4. Bartsch 1803–1821, 15: 113–114, no. 25. Antonio Tempesta engraved a close-up view of Ganymede riding the eagle, no. 94 in a suite illustrating Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (published in 1606).
5. Ovid 1939, 2: book 12, verses 211, 504.
6. *The Illustrated Bartsch* 1982, 10, no. 146. The Italian verses accompanying no. 146 read: "Non bianca nube ma Giunon mi sembra" (It seems to me that it is Juno, not a white cloud). Another composition by Bonasone was accompanied by verses beginning, "Con l'acceso desir credia Issione" (Burning with desire Ixion imagined), as do those on a print of the same subject attributed to Caraglio, after a composition by Perino del Vaga; Bartsch 1803–1821, 15: 55, 84, no. 146, Appendix 1.

#### REFERENCES

None.

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## JEAN DE COURT (MASTER I.C.) WORKSHOP

active 1553–1585

There is only one enamel signed and dated (1555) by Jean de Court. It is a portrait of Marguerite de France, daughter of François I and wife of Emmanuel Philibert de Savoy, in the guise of Minerva, now in the Wallace Collection, London. Features from this portrait are found again in the oval plaque of Minerva in the Musée du Louvre, which is signed I.D.C.

In an ode to the poet Jean Dorat (1583), the Limousin poet Jacques Blanchon praised:

*la surartiste excellence de l'estimable de Court que tout l'univers appelle l'admirable esprit d'Apelle veu en la royale court*

*the artistic superiority of the famous de Court whom the universe calls Apelles' admirable reincarnation, seen at the royal court*

Jacques Blanchon refers to Jean de Court in his capacity as painter, but in the following stanza he refers to two enamellers: Vigier (Jean II Court, *dit* Vigier, the son of the goldsmith Jean Court I), and Pierre Courteys. The Courts and the Courteys (or Courtoys) were related families. It is likely that the enameller Jean de Court, who signed his works I.D.C. and initialed workshop pieces I.C. (occasionally C.I.), was the same person as Jean de Court, who, having been painter to prince de la Roche-sur-Yon in 1553, became painter in 1562 to Mary Stuart, the consort of King François II. In 1572 Jean de Court succeeded François Clouet as painter to Charles IX. Like Léonard Limousin, he may have lived at the French court while directing an enameling workshop in Limoges. P.V.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ardant 1861: 19–21.

Thieme-Becker, 7: 583–584.

Verdier 1967: xxv–xxvi.

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## Oval dish

with the birth of Adonis

1942.9.290 (C-15)

c. 1560

Enamel painted on copper, 46.9 x 38.1 (18½ x 15)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

On reverse, on a tablet: *NUL NE SY FROTE.*

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The design is painted in black, brown, turquoise, blue, and white, with added gold on the surface. Foils do not appear to have been used. There are chips and some restoration at the edge. The gold decoration is worn, especially

on the inner rim of the bowl on the proper left. On the reverse there are abraded spots in the black enamel around the portrait bust.

### PROVENANCE

Prince Petr Soltykoff, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 8 April–1 May 1861, no. 484). Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, by 1890 (sale, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 497, pl. 13). Maurice Kann, Paris. (Duveen Brothers), New York and London, purchased 13 November 1909 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.



Workshop of Jean de Court, *Oval Dish with the birth of Adonis*, 1942.9.290



1942.9.290, reverse



Fig. 1 Print after a lost painting by Francesco Salviati, engraved by an artist close to Nicolas Beatrizet, published by Lafréry, Rome, 1544. Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, C123245

The subject is described in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Myrrha, daughter of Cinyras, king of Cyprus, developed an incestuous love for her father. Helped by her nurse, she managed to sleep with him and conceived the beautiful boy to be named Adonis. She fled to the Sabean land and obtained from the gods the privilege of not offending the living or the dead by being changed into a myrrh tree. "Roots burst forth from her toes, her blood changed to sap, her arms to long branches, her fingers to twigs. Then the tree cracked open and it gave forth its living burden, a wailing baby boy."<sup>2</sup> Here, one of the Naiads receives the baby Adonis, while others bring water and linen and prepare the cradle. In the landscape are a sleeping dog, ducks, and a swan in a stream, two horses, and a hamlet.

A black background dotted with gold replaces the sky. The foliage of the myrrh tree is vivid green. The garments of the Naiads are enameled in translucent blue, lavender, purple, and sepia. The white fabrics and the flesh tones are modeled in grisaille and opaque white, the contours redrawn by *enlevages*. The model followed by the enameler was a print after a lost painting of Francesco Salviati (1510–1563), engraved by an artist close to Nicolas Beatrizet and published by Lafréry in Rome in 1544 (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

The cavetto is decorated with gold arabesques against black enamel, the border with an interlaced floral pattern ending in grotesque creatures challenging each other with clubs and shields on both sides of protecting vases.

The reverse depicts a woman in profile in blue classical costume against black enamel dotted with gold. Her dress is pinned on the left shoulder and a blue ribbon hangs from her hair, in which a high comb is set. As in the portraits engraved by Nicolas Beatrizet, she is surrounded by a rich oval frame of strapwork executed in grisaille with gilded ornaments. At the top recline two putti. The right one pulls a rope, raising the curtain above a shield with two lances. At the bottom two sphinxes or female centaurs support the frame. On the sides masks adorn a double hollow shield. From a mask at the bottom hangs a tablet inscribed with the device *NUL NE SY FROTE*, "Nobody meddle with me," a warning recalling the French proverb, "Qui s'y frotte s'y pique," or "Gather thistles, expect prickles." The device presumably was that of Antoine, Grand Bastarde de Bourgogne (1423–1514).<sup>4</sup> The dish presumably belonged to one of his descendants. A gilded wreath decorates the rim.

It is difficult to assess the authorship of the *Birth of Adonis* dish. It is likely a product of the atelier of Jean de Court, painter at the court of Fontainebleau

Fig. 2 *The Birth of Adonis*, grisaille plate, London, Victoria and Albert Museum



and head of an atelier of enamellers in Limoges. Most of the atelier enamels are signed I.C., some I.D.C., or occasionally C.I. If the lady represented on the reverse of the National Gallery dish is an allegorical portrait, it would suggest a design furnished by Jean de Court, portrait painter at the court. Most of the enamels marked I.C. are characterized by swarthy flesh tones and an abuse of foils, imparting a gaudy aspect to the enamels. Both characteristics are absent here. The dish does not exhibit the same quality of draftsmanship as enamels signed between 1555 and 1558 by another Jean Court, surnamed Vigier because as a judge (vicarius) he represented the viscount of Limosin in Limoges. But it is far superior to a plate enameled in grisaille with the same subject (fig. 2) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which is signed I.C. and was copied after a different model.<sup>5</sup> P.V.

#### NOTES

1. Widener Collection records in NGA curatorial files.  
2. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller (London, 1939), vol. 2, book 10, verses 298–519.

3. E. W. Bredt, ed., *Der Götter Verwandlungen*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1920), 3:125. Iris Hofmeister Cheney, "Francesco Salviati 1510–1563," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1963; University Microfilms (Ann Arbor, 1980), fig. 93. The print has been labeled as the work of the school of Marcantonio Raimondi (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 28, ed. Suzanne Boorsch and John Spike [New York, 1985], 56, no. 12), as after Nicolas Beatrizet (Nagler, in *Künstler Lexikon*, [Munich, 1835–1852], 1:344), and as by an engraver close to Beatrizet (Voss, in *Die Graphischen Künste*, 35: 62). Salviati designed the figure of Myrrha after that of Daphne changed to a laurel in an engraving by Jacopo Caraglio, after a composition of Perino del Vaga. Wolfgang Stechow, *Apollo und Daphne* (1932; reprint, Darmstadt, 1965), 28, n. 1; Henri Zerner, in *L'école de Fontainebleau*, Editions des Musées Nationaux (Paris, 1972), 255, no. 295. Surprisingly, in the enamel Myrrha wears Diana's crescent. On a ceiling painted by Girolamo Mocetto, or Girolamo da Santacroce(?), in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, Myrrha, and Adonis are juxtaposed with Diana; Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (Princeton, 1953), 130.

4. The device appears on the reverse of a medal of Antoine by Giovanni di Salvatore Filangieri in the Kress collection of the National Gallery of Art (1957.14.818b). Among Antoine's descendants were Adolphe, admiral of Flanders, and his grandsons Antoine and Charles-Guillaume, whose father, Antoine II, had inherited the coat-of-arms. A. de Laborde, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1909), 2:375.

5. A woodcut of "Mirrhe en arbre" by Bernard Salomon for Publius Ovidius, *la Metamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, published by Jean de Tournes in Lyons, 1557, unpaginated.

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1890–1892 Spitzer 1890–1892, 2 (1891): no. 81. Text on painted enamels by Claudius Popelin.

1935 Widener 1935: 36; Van Dyck Room, as by Couly Nouailly, about 1530.

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## MARTIAL COURTEYS

active 1544–c. 1581

The enameler who signed with the initials M.C. was the second son of Pierre Courteys. His works are dated between 1544 and about 1581. His father bequeathed to him his house in the Magnine district, where enamblers lived close together in Limoges. There is no doubt that Martial converted to Protestantism, but there is no proof that his father became a Huguenot as well. However, Martial's elder brother, Pierre II, and his younger brother, Pierre III, had to leave Limoges. They became, respectively, the first goldsmith and "valet de chambre ordinaire" to Henry IV, king of Navarre, and the second painter and enameler to Henry IV's sister, Catherine de Bourbon. Both Henry IV and Catherine de Bourbon were Protestants.

Not many enamels by Martial Courteys are known. He excelled equally in colored and grisaille enamels, with a particular talent for combining elements from various engravings as sources. Martial Courteys remained throughout his life in Limoges, where he died c. 1592. P.V.

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Ardant 1860: 159–160.

Girodet 1878: 358–370.

Verdier 1967: xiv, xxiv.

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## Oval dish

with the Whore of Babylon

1942.9.291 (C-16)

c. 1570

Enamel painted on copper, 40 x 53.3 (15¾ x 21)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

At lower center: M.C.

At lower left: APOCA XVII.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The foreground is of a russet purplish color. The apple green body of the beast, festering with pustules, is shadowed in yellow; its right rear leg stirs ripples of lapis lazuli blue in the pool, which represents the apocalyptic abyss. The blue sky, a turquoise color thinly applied on the white enamel underneath, darkens to lapis blue at the top, under the clouds and a gold sunburst. The other colors are translucent reds on foils, a semiopaque blue, mulberry brown, and purple. The mane of the beast and details of the garments are modeled in opaque white enamel, scratched lines revealing the black preparation underneath. The bent bodies of the cardinal and of the bishop show through their dresses. The bishop's chasuble

is painted with a transparent flux on which embroideries are traced in gold. The technique is a mixture of polychrome enameling with foil and grisaille enameling with *enlevage*. The dish has been restored. There is a crack on the reverse.

### PROVENANCE

Hollingworth Magniac, Esq., Colworth, by 1862. (Sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 2 and 4 July 1892, no. 248); Charles Borradaile, Paris. (Duveen Brothers), New York and London; purchased 8 November 1901 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.<sup>1</sup>

### EXHIBITIONS

South Kensington 1862, no. 1851. London, South Kensington Museum, 1874, *Special Loan Exhibition of Enamels on Metal*, 1874, no. 732. Burlington Fine Arts Club 1897, no. 143, pls. 21–22. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, 1937, *The Art of the Renaissance Craftsman*, no. 13, frontispiece.



Martial Courteys, *Oval Dish with the Whore of Babylon*,  
1942.9.291

The large, oval, sunken center of the dish represents the Whore of Babylon, drunk with the blood of the martyrs, supporting her golden cup "full of the abomination and filthiness of her fornication," sitting upon a beast with seven heads and ten horns (Revelation 17:3–4, 6, 9–10). Kneeling before her, their hands proffered in concern, are the powers of the world, aware of the impending destruction of their city, Babylon, which appears against the skyline. The subject represented is captioned on the lower left in gold letters: APOCA XVII, seventeenth chapter of *Apocalypse* (Revelation). On the left of the patch of grass trampled by the beast are traced in gold the initials of the enameler: M.C.

The harlot, holding a covered cup of a Nuremberg type, and the beast derive from the fourteenth woodcut of Dürer's *Apocalypse*, which was issued in German and Latin in 1498.<sup>2</sup> Dürer's standing figures in the retinue of the beast are replaced on the dish by kneeling ones: an emperor of the Holy Roman Empire with his closed imperial crown, a king who probably is the Very Christian French King, a pope wearing the tiara with a triple tier, a cardinal with his red hat, a mitred bishop, and two tonsured monks. The Lutherans of Germany had taken the lead in identifying the Whore of Babylon with the Church of Rome.<sup>3</sup> Martial Courteys, a Huguenot belonging to the reformed church of France,

must have enameled this sumptuous dish and its two known replicas<sup>4</sup> for a display of enameled tableware commissioned by members of the Protestant aristocracy, who held high positions in the royal army and the parliaments of France.

The cavetto is decorated with a gold rinceau against black enamel, the border with two grotesque squatting sachems, four Indian feathery masks<sup>5</sup> and four others with hanging draperies, four couples of nude men and women reclining against yoke-shaped ornaments, two cartouches with bucranes, and four winged putto heads under canopies and between birds. Tiny lobsters and scorpions hang from the inner border.<sup>6</sup>

The back is covered with a magnificent pattern of strapwork enframing four nude female herms radiating from the center of the dish. They wear Indian feathered caps and hold branches of laurel. On the strapwork goats browse and stags confront satyrs' masks. Flat-billed birds are perched on the goats' backs. On the main axis cartouches dominate Indian masks between flaming urns. Turbaned masks are set under the four female herms.

The spirited decoration of the border on the obverse and of the entire reverse integrates, within strapwork and cartouches inspired by prints of the Fontainebleau school, grotesques engraved by Androuet du Cerceau, Etienne Delaune, and Cornelis Bos, and patterns used for decorating books.<sup>7</sup> The borders of the two other dishes enameled by Martial Courteys representing the Whore of Babylon are the same. A similiar border adorns the rim of a dish

representing Apollo and the Muses, signed with Martial Courteys' initials, in the Wallace Collection, London.<sup>8</sup> p.v.

#### NOTES

1. Widener collection records in NGA curatorial files. These records indicate that Magniac bought the dish from two unidentified ladies in Bedfordshire about 1835.

2. Willi Kurth, ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1963), 20–21, pl. 119.

3. The Beast wearing the tiara of the popes appears in Luther's Bible, edited by Hans Lufft in Wittenberg in 1534 [Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 6 vols. [Paris, 1955–1959], 2[1957]: 677–678]. Melchior Schwarzenberg was the author of its 133 woodcuts, title page, 122 illustrations, and ten large initials. See Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (1903–1911; reprint, London, 1980), 2:404. It must not be forgotten that the equation of the Church of Rome with Babylon and the Beast was first made by Bishop Domenico de' Domenichi in the plan for reform of the church which he presented to Pope Pius II (1458–1464).

4. One in the British Museum (signed on the reverse covrtois), and the other in the Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden. C. H. Read, *The Waddesdon Bequest* (London, 1902), no. 31, pl. 9; *Das Grüne Gewölbe zu Dresden* (Berlin, 1876–1877), pl. 20; *The Green Vault: An Introduction*, trans. Harmut Angermüller (Dresden, 1977), color pls. 24–25.

5. Indian headdresses were brought to Europe soon after the discovery of America. They are mentioned as early as 1523 in Margaret of Austria's inventory. They appeared in France carved on the tomb of Cardinal d'Amboise in the Lady Chapel of Rouen Cathedral. André Chastel, "Masques mexicains de la Renaissance," *Art de France* 1 (Paris, 1961), 299, repro.

6. A lobster is painted in grisaille on the back of a plate representing the month of June, enameled by Martial Courteys, in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (48.2.11-6). A scorpion was in the coat-of-arms of Louis Gonzague, duke of Nevers; Bourdery and Lachenaud, 1897, 297, no. 121.

7. Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau. Etchings and Engravings* (London, 1969); J. Lieure, *La gravure dans le livre et l'ornementation* (Paris, 1927); A. Robert Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, 11 vols. (Paris, 1835–1871), vol. 9, 16–129; David DuBon, "A Spectacular Limoges Painted Enamel," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 76 (Summer 1980), 2–17.

8. A. L. Baldry, *The Wallace Collection at Hertford House* (London, 1904), 279, repro.

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1892 Robinson, Sir Charles. *Catalogue of the Renowned Collection, Chiefly Formed by Hollingworth Magniac, Esquire of Colworth*. Christie, Manson & Woods. London, 2–8, 11–15 July 1892: no. 248.

1935 Widener 1935: 36–37, Van Dyck Room.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 203–204, no. 31.



1942.9.291, reverse

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# Technical Appendix I: The Enamels

Enameling, the process of fusing a vitreous coating with a metallic substrate, has been used to embellish metal objects throughout history. The first known example of enamel on gold jewelry is of Mycenaean origin, dated approximately 1450 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Like other crafts that rely on natural resources for their manufacture, enamels appeared and disappeared throughout the course of history, as economic or technical considerations dictated. In the early medieval period, enamels were used on jewelry as a form of poor-man's garnet. As garnet supplies declined, enamel slowly replaced the stones. By the eighth century, during Charlemagne's reign, enamels and garnets were used concurrently on objects of great value; no longer was enamel a poor-man's alternative.<sup>2</sup> Enamels became a primary means of decorating metal objects in the ninth century.

There are two etymological roots of the word enamel: the old French, *esmail*, which means enamel, and the old German, *smelzen*, which means to smelt.<sup>3</sup> These neatly sum up the enamel manufacturing process: *esmail* refers specifically to the vitreous surface coating, the enamel itself, and *smelzen* refers to the process of fusing the enamel to the metal base with heat.

## Manufacture

Enamel, like glass, is a compound of flint or sand (quartz), an alkali salt of soda or potassium, and often lead.<sup>4</sup> Early glassmaking, particularly that of the Romans, Egyptians, and Syrians, employed sand containing shell remnants, which provided silica and lime (calcium oxide) and soda (sodium carbonate). Soda, which was used as a flux to lower the viscosity of the mixture, was also obtained from the ashes of marine plants found on Mediterranean shores. At the end of the tenth century ingredients for glassmaking changed, with potash (potassium carbonate), derived from woodland sources, being substituted for soda. This change coincided with the move of many glassmaking centers into northwestern Europe, Germany, and Bohemia, away from the coast.<sup>5</sup> The shift in centers of production was probably triggered by the need for glass to meet the demand for stained-glass windows in the north.

After the tenth century glass made with potassium became characteristic of central Europe, and soda glass became characteristic of coastal workshops.<sup>6</sup> The differences between soda and potash were not realized until the eighteenth century, however, so the change presumably reflected the shift in glassmaking centers rather than an intentional alteration.<sup>7</sup> Today, glass often contains soda, the more stable of the two alkali salts.<sup>8</sup>

Lest one conclude that glass composition can be neatly dated on the basis of materials, it is important to recognize that medieval glassmakers are known to have melted glass *tesserae* from Roman mosaics to produce enamel.<sup>9</sup> Theophilus makes specific reference to this practice:

In the ancient edifices of the Pagans, different kinds of glass are found in the mosaic work, namely white, black, green, yellow, sapphire, red and purple; it is not clear, but opaque like marble, and they are like square stones; from which coloured gems are made in gold, silver and brass work.<sup>10</sup>

To make enamel, the sand, alkali, and lead are melted together to form an almost colorless glass lightly tinted blue or green by iron impurities in the different glass constituents. Metallic oxides are added to the molten glass mixture as colorants. Only 2 to 3 percent colorant is necessary to produce sufficient intensity of color. The mixture is allowed to cool and is then ground to a fine powder (frit). To minimize the risk of contamination, the mixture is ground in water, rinsed several times, and stored in water inside a covered container.<sup>11</sup> This prepared compound is subsequently applied to a metal support as a damp paste and heated until the enamel becomes glassy and is fused to the metal base.<sup>12</sup> Firing is carefully controlled in a muffle furnace to prevent exposure to direct heat, allowing gradual and even heating of the surface. Uneven heating is undesirable as it may impede fusion at the enamel-metal interface and may cause numerous flaws in the enamel. When cool, the surface of the enamel is polished in order to enhance the brilliance of the colors. Vasari describes the process:

An earthenware receptacle made on purpose, is prepared; it must be perforated all over and have a mouth-piece in front, then the muffle, which is a little earthenware cover that will prevent the charcoal falling from above, is introduced into this receptacle, and

above the muffle the space is filled up to the top with oak charcoal kindled in the ordinary way. In the empty space which is left under the aforementioned cover the enamelled object is placed on a very thin iron tray to feel the heat gradually and is kept there long enough to admit of the enamels melting when they flow all over almost like water, which done, it is allowed to cool and then with a "frassinella," that is a stone for sharpening iron tools, and with sand such as is used for drinking glasses moistened with clear water, it is rubbed till it becomes perfectly level. When the process of removing all superfluity is finished, the object is placed in the fire to be melted a second time in order that the whole surface become lustrous.<sup>13</sup>

When several colors are applied to the same area, or when colors are applied over each other, pastes with different melting temperatures are employed. Those color mixtures with the highest melting temperatures are fired first. Additives such as lead or tartar can be combined with the paste mixture to lower the overall melting point of a particular color.

### Technique

Enamels are applied to metals in many ways. This discussion will include only those methods employed on National Gallery pieces. Enamels adhere most readily to pure gold, silver, and copper. Even a



Fig. 1. *Reliquary Châsse*, 1942.9.278, detail; example of mercury gilding over bronze as evidenced by the exposed bronze where the gilding has been abraded

small amount of copper within a gold alloy is sufficient to cause firescale to form on the surface when the metal is heated. This can prevent the fusing of the vitreous paste in those areas. Pure metals such as tin, zinc, or aluminum cannot be used, as their melting temperatures are too low. Almost all of the National Gallery pieces decorated with enamel are mercury-gilded bronze. The need for a pure gold surface as a substrate immediately beneath the enamel layer may account for this.

Mercury gilding, or fire gilding, is the traditional method for applying a gold surface over another metal. By reserving the gold for the surface layer only, a less expensive metal or alloy (such as bronze in the case of most of the Washington examples) can be employed for the substrate. If the thin layer of mercury gilding is abraded or worn, the underlying metal substrate becomes visible (fig. 1). Although the origins of mercury gilding are debated, it appears to have been used extensively from the fourth century A.D. until the mid-nineteenth century, when it was displaced by electroplating. Authors including Pliny and Cellini have described the process. An amalgam is made either by grinding gold dust in a mortar with mercury or by dissolving fragments of gold in boiling mercury. This amalgam of mercury and gold is then carefully spread or painted over the base metal surfaces that are to be gilded. Next, the metal is heated to evaporate the mercury, leaving a continuous and strongly adhering film of gold on the surface. Detectable traces of mercury remain in the gilding layers when this technique is employed, even after prolonged firing or burial. This phenomenon accounts for the frequent occurrence of mercury in analyses that include the gold layer<sup>14</sup> (see Tables).

Certainly the oldest technique used to apply enamel is cloisonné. Thin strips of gold are shaped to form the contours of a design. The strips are soldered to a gold base along their narrow edges, forming side walls of separate compartments, or *cloisons*. Different enamel color mixtures can then be applied inside the various compartments without the risk of the colors fusing together. Gold serves as an ideal medium for this process, as it is pliable, with-



Fig. 2. Cloisonné enamel from the cross of the Crucifix, 1942.9.282



Fig. 3. Champlevé enamel on the *Reliquary Châsse*, 1942.9.278



Fig. 4. Pierre Reymond, *Plaque with Ganymede*, 1961.9.183, detail; red copper oxide visible through white enamel layer

stands great heat, and does not corrode. Theophilus describes cloisonné enamel thus:

cut bands of exceedingly thin gold, in which you will bend and fashion whatever work you may wish to make in enamel, whether circles, or knots...and you will arrange the small pieces delicately and carefully, each in its place, and will fasten them with moistened flour over the coals. When you have filled one portion, you will solder it with the greatest care that the slender and fine gold may not be disjoined nor liquefy and do thus twice or three times, until the separate pieces adhere a little.<sup>15</sup>

This technique can be seen on the crucifix (fig. 2).

In the twelfth century, a greater demand for enameled objects brought a change from the traditional gold cloisonné to the less labor-intensive copper champlevé enamel.<sup>16</sup> In this technique, the design is carved out of the metal, leaving raised contours, and the colored paste is then placed in the depressions.<sup>17</sup> A thicker metallic base is required for this type of enamel work than for cloisonné. Thus the base is generally a less expensive metal, such as copper or bronze. The Limoges *Reliquary Châsse* (fig. 3), *Pyx in the Form of a Dove* (1942.9.284), and the *Poblet Ciborium* (1942.9.279) bear champlevé enamel. On the *Châsse* the champlevé enamel defines and colors the figures, whereas on the *Ciborium* just the opposite occurs: the champlevé colors the background.

At the interface between copper and enamel, a red copper oxide layer forms as a result of fusion between the two materials.<sup>18</sup> Because this red layer would often be visible through translucent enamels, opaque enamels tend to be favored with this technique. Occasionally, however, the red oxide can be seen even below opaque enamel, as on the *Plaque with Ganymede* by Pierre Reymond (fig. 4).

*Basse-taille* is a variant of champlevé which exploits the availability of translucent enamel colors. In *basse-taille* a design is again engraved into the base metal. This time, however, the depth of the cuts is deliberately varied to create a three-dimensional image. A translucent enamel paste is applied over the purposefully graded surface to create varying intensities of color. Darkness of color corresponds directly to the depth of the engraving and the translucence of the enamel. In the shallowest grooves, translucent enamels expose the shimmering silver or gold metal underlayer. A crude example of this kind of enamel application is found on the figures of the nine costume ornaments with profile portraits (fig. 5).

In the mid-fifteenth century, craftsmen in Limoges began to produce painted enamels. In this technique, metal divisions are not required to separate one enamel color from the next.<sup>19</sup> Enamel paste,



Fig. 5. One of nine costume ornaments with profile portraits, 1961.9.194, detail, shading in hair; example of *basse-taille* showing gradated effect obtained by varying the depths of the grooves cut into the metal



Fig. 6. Léonard Limousin, *Portrait of a Huguenot*, 1942.9.292, detail; white ground visible below blue enamel of background. Note discrete bubbles in both layers indicating two separate firings



Fig. 7. *Triptych*, 1942.9.288, detail; black underdrawing visible below colored enamel layer. Note artist's error in application of blue instead of brown background enamel to the steeple

sometimes combined with a binder of gum tragacanth, gum arabic, or honey, is simply brushed onto a concave plate (generally copper) which has been roughened to enhance adhesion. The vitreous paste is first applied to the reverse as a counterenamel, in order to equilibrate the coefficient of expansion on both sides of the metal plate, minimizing buckling. A buckled or warped plate may result in improper fusion of the enamel. If the counterenamel will not be visible on the finished object, paste remnants are often used. If the counterenamel is visible, however, the same precision of detail achieved on the decorative enameled sections is habitually found on the reverse. The counterenamels on the Washington pieces that have been examined appear to have compositions similar to those of the enamels on the obverse, but they lack the purposefully added colorants.

At the same time as the counterenamel is applied, an opaque enamel paste is applied as a ground on the obverse. The opaque ground serves as an underlayer, enhancing the brilliance of the translucent polychrome enamel which is added later (fig. 6). Black or red contours are often drawn into the ground before it is fired, delineating the desired design. Underdrawings of this kind are clearly visible on the painted enamel by Jean I Pénicaud, *Plaque with the Last Supper* (1942.9.289), and on the *Triptych* by the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII (fig. 7). After the ground has been fired, the translucent colored pastes are applied evenly over the surface, and the object is fired again.<sup>20</sup> The paste can be applied with a brush, as on the beard of Léonard Limousin's *Portrait of a Huguenot* (fig. 8), and narrative scenes can be easily rendered. Biringuccio advises how to rid the powdered enamel of the water in which it is stored:

Now in order to use these, they are finely ground and washed with several waters. Each kind of color is put by itself in a little glazed saucer with some clear water. Then some of the desired color is taken with a copper or iron knife which is somewhat flattened at the point and one proceeds to put it over the work, covering the spaces somewhat thickly and pressing it with a little cotton or unglazed paper so as to dry up the water. After this work has been done and all that you wish to enamel has been covered, it is put in a fire of charcoal.<sup>21</sup>

When painted enamel is applied to a three-dimensional object or to one in high relief, such as the Christ figure on the *Morse with the Trinity* (fig. 9), it is called encrusted enamel or *émail en ronde bosse*.

Grisaille, a more sophisticated adaptation of the polychrome painted enamel technique, became popular about 1530 and was favored over multicolored enamels for several decades. The technique, a subtle



Fig. 8. Léonard Limousin, *Portrait of a Huguenot*, 1942.9.292, detail; brushstrokes visible in beard over black enamel of robe



Fig. 9. *Morse with the Trinity*, 1942.9.287, detail; example of encrusted enamel or *émail en ronde bosse*

imitation of engravings and etchings, employs an initial fired layer of blue or black enamel. Over this an opaque white enamel layer is applied on which the design is traced. Contours of the design are delineated by *enlevage*, the technique of scraping the white ground to expose the black underlayer in a manner similar to that used in cameo production. Design flaws are corrected after firing by painting over the white ground. A second way of rendering a design in grisaille is to build up the design by successive applications of gray, black, or white enamel of different thicknesses, so that the image appears in relief. The plaques *Ixion* (1961.9.184) and *Ganymede* (fig. 10) exemplify a slight variation on this technique. The plaques have a clear counterenamel on the reverse, and the same clear enamel serves as ground, over which a black enamel was fired. The design elements were built up in layers of transparent and opaque white and gray enamel as previously described. Some contours and cross-hatching were painted over the enamel in black. Finally, gold ground in a binding medium was applied over the fired enamel.

When polychrome enamel became popular again in the 1550s, it borrowed the *enlevage* technique from grisaille to delineate flesh tones. The folds on the loincloth and shroud of Christ in the *Triptych* by the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII are given dimensionality using such a method (fig. 11). By the second third of the sixteenth century, the black underlayer was no longer employed, but silver or gold foil were sometimes inserted between coats of enamel to render variations in tonality.<sup>22</sup> Silver foil is clearly visible beneath the translucent enamels on Jean I Pénicaud's *Plaque with the Last Supper* (fig. 12), and its presence is corroborated using x-ray fluorescence analysis (see Tables).

## Additives

### Lead (Pb)

Perhaps the most frequently used and most versatile of all the additives for glassmaking is lead; it occurs in almost all the National Gallery enamels (see Tables). Lead has been used in glazes and glasses since as early as 1700 B.C., when it was mentioned as a glaze constituent on clay tablets.<sup>23</sup> In the twelfth century Theophilus recorded a method for making lead glass in which the metal was first calcified, then mixed with sand and alkali:

Take the best and bright lead and put it into a new pot and burn it on the fire until it become [sic] a powder. Then take it from the fire that it may cool. Afterwards take sand and mix it with this powder, so however that two parts may be lead and the third sand, place it in an



**Fig. 10.** Pierre Reymond, *Plaque with Ganymede*, 1961.9.183, detail; example of grisaille showing design layers built up in successive application of gray, black, and white enamel



**Fig. 11.** *Triptych*, 1942.9.288, detail; example of *enlevage*, the technique of scraping through the white enamel layer to expose the black underlayer



**Fig. 12.** Jean I Pénicaud, *Plaque with the Last Supper*, 1942.9.289, detail; silver foil clearly visible below the transparent colored enamels

earthen vessel... and place this vessel in the furnace and continually stir it until the glass is made.<sup>24</sup>

Lead is added to glass or enamel to lower the melting point, to make the mixture more fluid, to control the expansion coefficient, to impart color, or to enhance the material's opacity and brilliance.<sup>25</sup> Lead has also been found to make glass mixtures more stable, as the lead ions lessen the wetting of the glass surface and hence increase water resistance.<sup>26</sup> With the exception of yellow or white enamels, in which lead may have served as a colorant, the lead in many of the Washington enamels probably serves to lower the melting point and make the enamel mixture more fluid.

### Antimony (Sb) and Tin (Sn)

To render the color opaque, opacifiers must be added to the enamel powder. Lead tin oxide and tin oxide are used as yellow or white opacifiers respectively. Likewise lead antimonate and calcium antimonate function as opacifiers.<sup>27</sup> Antimony was probably employed as an opacifier in glass earlier than was tin. It was abandoned in the fourth century A.D., and tin (the more effective opacifier of the two) appeared in its place. The use of antimony as an opacifier was not resumed again until the late Middle Ages.<sup>28</sup>

Antimony can also function as a decolorizer, eliminating undesirable color due to iron impurities. Specifically, if the temperature during firing rises significantly, glass mixtures containing antimony will change from opaque white to clear.<sup>29</sup> Although traces of antimony have been found in Western glass dating from the second millennium B.C., the element was probably not deliberately added as a decolorizer until the seventh century B.C. During the first century A.D. the use of manganese as a decolorant was widespread, and by the fourth century it superseded the use of antimony.<sup>30</sup>

According to the analyses of National Gallery objects, antimony and tin may be present as trace elements in the copper or bronze substrate or they may exist as deliberately added opacifiers or decolorants (see Tables).

### Calcium (Ca)

Lime (calcium oxide, CaO) is added to modern glass mixtures to increase their durability. Lime's presence in ancient glasses is probably fortuitous, as it was a component of the sand used as a basic ingredient in the glass matrix. It is absent from ancient recipes except for that of Pliny, which mentions the use of shells: "Similarly, lustrous stones of many

kinds came to be burnt with the melt [glass], and then again, shells and quarry sand."<sup>31</sup>

Laboratory analyses have shown that 6 to 10 percent lime in glass inhibits crizzling, the tiny web-like cracks that result when moisture leaches components from the glass mixture, causing the glass to appear cloudy.<sup>32</sup> The mulberry-colored drapery of the Virgin in the *Triptych* clearly exhibits such deterioration (fig. 13).



Fig. 13. *Triptych*, 1942.9.288, detail of drapery; localized deterioration of mulberry-colored enamel

## Colorants

Enamel colors range from the early, simple palette of opaque blue, red, and white to the rich spectrum of transparent colors found in the later painted enamels, which includes blue, green, red, orange, yellow-brown, purple, black, and white. Examination of the National Gallery objects was carried out using x-ray fluorescence spectrometry to identify the metal ions responsible for the various colors in the glass matrix.<sup>33</sup> The results are presented in the accompanying tables. Copper, iron, and lead appear in almost every analysis. These elements occur both as deliberately added constituents, as contaminants of the glass, and as components of the substrate.

### Copper (Cu)

Copper can yield a broad range of colors, depending on the firing conditions and other elements present. Copper blues, derived from cupric oxide (CuO), are the earliest colors known. Less than 1 percent to slightly more than 2 percent copper is sufficient to impart a blue color to the glass.<sup>34</sup> The *Pyx in the*

*Form of a Dove* (1942.9.284), the nine costume ornaments with profile portraits (1961.9.186–194), the *Morse with the Trinity* (1942.9.287), the *Plaque with the Last Supper* (1942.9.289), and the *Triptych* (1942.9.288) all contain shades of blue that are colored solely using copper. Turquoise blues from the *Book Cover with Christ in Majesty* (1961.9.182) and the *Reliquary Châsse* (1942.9.278) appear to be a combination of cobalt and copper.

If a sufficient quantity of lead is present, the cupric oxide ion (Cu[II] ion) is oxidized to produce green instead of blue.<sup>35</sup> Copper is the likely colorant for all greens analyzed except the olive green of the *Triptych* (1942.9.288).

If reducing conditions are strictly maintained during firing, and cuprous oxide (Cu<sub>2</sub>O) is present, opaque red and orange are produced. Reds can contain up to 12 percent cuprous oxide.<sup>36</sup> Examples of copper reds are on the *Crucifix* (1942.9.282), *Plaque with the Last Supper* (1942.9.289), and the *Triptych* (1942.9.288).

Because of the difficulty of preventing the red cuprous oxide from oxidizing during firing, red enamel was often applied as a ground frit and heated in place.<sup>37</sup> The red color is actually produced by minute crystals of the copper of cuprous oxide, held in suspension within the glass. The *Ciborium* (1942.9.279) may afford an example; under magnification its red has a finely cracked appearance, significantly different from that of the other colors.

### Cobalt (Co)

Only about 0.1 percent cobalt is needed to produce the characteristic rich blue-colored enamel. Among the objects analyzed, cobalt was present almost exclusively in the blues. Its addition was deliberate, as cobalt does not occur in the raw materials of glass-making. Blues colored exclusively using cobalt appear on many of the Washington objects, for instance the *Crucifix* (1942.9.282). The medieval *Ciborium* (1942.9.279), the *Triptych* (1942.9.288), and the *Plaque with the Last Supper* (1942.9.289) incorporate two different blues: the deep blue, similar in color to lapis lazuli, referred to as “blue” in the tables, is colored by cobalt; the turquoise blue is colored primarily by copper and has no added cobalt. From these examples we can see that although it is a very strong colorant, cobalt was intentionally omitted from certain formulas in order to obtain different specific shades of blue on the same object.

## Iron (Fe)

Unlike cobalt, which yields a rich blue with as little as 0.1 percent colorant added, as much as 10 percent iron is required to saturate the enamel color. Iron's presence is not always intentional, as it is a common impurity in sand. As noted in the Tables, it was found in almost every analysis.

The combination of ferrous ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ ) and ferric ( $\text{Fe}_3\text{O}_4$ ) oxides in varying percentages yields select colors. A greater concentration of ferrous ions, which absorb light in the red region, generally produces blue. Of the blue enamels examined, only the painted enamel by Pénicaud (1942.9.289) and the *Triptych* (1942.9.288) contain iron as the probable colorant. In both cases, however, iron appears in conjunction with cobalt in the blues.

When ferric ions, those that absorb light in the violet region, dominate, yellows and oranges are the resulting colors. Iron yellows can be observed on the nine costume ornaments with profile portraits (1961.9.186–194) and on the *Plaque with the Last Supper* (1942.9.289). The combination of ferrous and ferric ions yields green, as in the olive green of the *Triptych* (1942.9.288).<sup>38</sup>

## Manganese (Mn)

Manganese is a common impurity in sand and a known constituent of beechwood ash. If more than approximately 0.5 percent manganese is present, it is presumed to be a deliberate addition. At these concentrations, the purple of the manganese counteracts the yellow of the iron by oxidizing the ferrous ions to ferric, and acts as a decolorizer. Under fully oxidizing conditions or a prolonged melt, manganese can impart a range of tones from purple to

purplish-brown through pinks, flesh, and even yellow tones, as reflected in the tables. Manganese was detected as a colorant in all the purples, browns, and blacks, as well as in most reds and blues. All of the mulberry and purple enamels analyzed were colored exclusively by manganese. In the two browns of the *Triptych* (1942.9.288) and the *Portrait of a Huguenot* (1942.9.292), manganese was mixed with iron to produce the color. Blacks, too, are colored by combinations of iron and manganese, occasionally enriched using cobalt.

## Lead, Tin, Antimony

Lead, tin, and antimony in various combinations produce yellow and white. On the Washington objects, for example on the *Reliquary Châsse* (1942.9.278), yellow or golden-orange exist as lead antimonate. Yellows can also exist as mixtures of lead, tin, and antimony. A possible example of lead-tin yellow is noted on the *Triptych* (1942.9.288). In this case, although four elements are present in significant quantities, the manganese and iron probably counteract each other to render the enamel clear, leaving the lead and tin to form yellow.

Calcium antimonate and tin oxide either act as opacifiers or produce opaque white. Most of the analyzed whites on the National Gallery objects appear to be colored by tin or by lead and tin, although calcium and antimony are present as minor constituents. The grays on both grisaille plaques (1961.9.184, 1961.9.183) are formed by adding lead and tin in higher concentrations to the black mixture identified on the pieces. S.S., D.B.

## Elemental analysis of enameled surfaces identified using XRF

**Key:** ○ – Probable colorant ● – All elements identified on the spectra, even those present as trace elements, unless otherwise noted, are included in the tables.

These analyses are qualitative in nature and actual percentages are not available.

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
1. <i>Pyx</i> (1942.9.284) Blue	●		●		●	○	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
2. <i>Crucifix</i> (1942.9.282) Blue	●		●	●	○	●	●	●	●	○	●	●	●		●

Blues continued

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
<b>3. Book Cover</b> (1961.9.182)															
Dark Blue			●	●	○	●				○		●			
Blue			●		○	●	●			○		●			
Light Blue			●	●	○	●	●	●		○		●		●	
Turquoise			●	●	○	○	●	●	●	●		●			●
<b>4. Costume Ornaments with Profile Portraits</b> (1961.9.186-194)															
Blue	●		●	●		○	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●
<b>5. Châsse</b> (1942.9.278)															
Dark Blue				●	○	●	●			●		●	●	●	
Blue					○	●	●			●		●	●		
Light Blue				●	○	●	●			●		●	●		
Turquoise					○	○	●			●		●	●		
<b>6. Morse with Trinity</b> (1942.9.287)															
Blue	●		●	●		○	●		●			●			
<b>7. Portrait of a Huguenot</b> (1942.9.292)															
Blue		●	●	●	○	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
<b>8. The Last Supper</b> (1942.9.289)															
Blue	●	●	●	●	○	●	○		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Turquoise	●		●	●		○	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
<b>9. Triptych</b> (1942.9.288)															
Blue	●	●	●	●	○	●	○		●	○	●	●	●	●	●
Turquoise	●		●	●		○	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
<b>10. Ciborium</b> (1942.9.279)															
Blue	●		●	●	○	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	
Turquoise			●	●		○	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	

Reds

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
2. <i>Crucifix</i> (1942.9.282) Red				●		○	●		●	●		●	●	●	
3. <i>Book Cover</i> (1961.9.182) Red			●			●	○			●		●			
5. <i>Châsse</i> (1942.9.278) Red	●		●	●		○	○			●		●	●	●	
6. <i>Morse with Trinity</i> (1942.9.287) Red	●		○	●		●	●		●			●			
8. <i>The Last Supper</i> (1942.9.289) Red	●	●	●	●		○	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
9. <i>Triptych</i> (1942.9.288) Red	●		●	●		○	●		●	○	●	●	●	●	
10. <i>Ciborium</i> (1942.9.279) Red	●		●	●		○	○	●	●	●		●	●	●	

Greens

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
3. <i>Book Cover</i> (1961.9.182) Green						○	●			●		●			●
4. <i>Costume Ornaments with Profile Portraits</i> (1961.9.186-194) Green	●		●	●		○	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●
5. <i>Châsse</i> (1942.9.278) Green				●		○	●			●		●	●	●	
6. <i>Morse with Trinity</i> (1942.9.287) Green	●		●			○			●			●			

Greens continued

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
8. <i>The Last Supper</i> (1942.9.289) Green	●	●	●	●		○	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
9. <i>Triptych</i> (1942.9.288) Green Olive	● ●		● ●	● ●		○ ●	○ ○		● ●	● ○	● ●	● ●	● ●	● ●	

Browns and Purples

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
4. <i>Costume Ornaments with Profile Portraits</i> (1961.9.186-194) Mulberry	●		●	●		●	●	●	●	○	●	●			●
7. <i>Portrait of a Huguenot</i> (1942.9.292) Brown		●	●	●		●	○		●	○	●	●	●	●	
8. <i>The Last Supper</i> (1942.9.289) Purple Mulberry	● ●	● ●	● ●	● ●		● ●	● ●		● ●	○ ○	● ●	● ●	● ●	●	
9. <i>Triptych</i> (1942.9.288) Brown Mulberry	● ●	●	● ●	● ●		● ●	○ ●		● ●	○ ○	● ●	● ●	● ●	● ●	

Yellows and Oranges

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
4. <i>Costume Ornaments with Profile Portraits</i> (1961.9.186-194) Golden-Orange	●		●	●		●	○	●	●	●	●	●	●		●
5. <i>Chasse</i> (1942.9.278) Yellow						●	●					○	○	●	

Yellows and Oranges continued

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
<b>8. <i>The Last Supper</i></b> (1942.9.289) Golden Orange	● ●	●	● ●	● ●		● ●	○ ○		● ●	○ ●	● ●	● ●	● ●	● ●	
<b>9. <i>Triptych</i></b> (1942.9.288) Yellow-Orange	●		●	●		●	○		●	○	●	○	●	○	

Whites

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
<b>6. <i>Morse with Trinity</i></b> (1942.9.287) White Flesh	●		● ●	●		● ●	●		●			○ ●		○ ○	
<b>7. <i>Portrait of a Huguenot</i></b> (1942.9.292) White Flesh		● ●	● ●	● ●		● ●	● ●		● ●	● ●	● ●	● ●		○ ○	
<b>8. <i>The Last Supper</i></b> (1942.9.289) White Flesh	● ●	●	● ●	● ●		● ●	● ○		● ●	● ●	● ●	● ●	● ●	○ ○	
<b>9. <i>Triptych</i></b> (1942.9.288) White Flesh	● ●		● ●	● ●		● ●	● ●		● ●	● ●	● ●	○ ○	● ●	○ ○	
<b>11. <i>Plaque with Ixion</i></b> (1961.9.184) White			●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	○	●	○	
<b>12. <i>Plaque with Ganymede</i></b> (1961.9.183) White			●	●		●	●		●	●	●	○	●	○	●

**Blacks**

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
<b>7. Portrait of a Huguenot</b> (1942.9.292) Black (with gray highlights)		●	●	●	○	●	○		●	○	●	●		●	
<b>10. Ciborium</b> (1942.9.279) Black	●		●	●	○	●	●	●	●	○		●	●	●	
<b>11. Plaque with Ixion</b> (1961.9.184) Black Gray	●		● ●	● ●		●	○ ○		● ●	○ ○	● ●	● ○	● ●	● ○	● ●
<b>12. Plaque with Ganymede</b> (1961.9.183) Black Gray	● ●		● ●	● ●		●	○ ○		● ●	○ ○	● ●	● ○	● ●	● ○	● ●

**Counterenamels**

	Ag	As	Au	Ca	Co	Cu	Fe	Hg	K	Mn	Ni	Pb	Sb	Sn	Zn
<b>7. Portrait of a Huguenot</b> (1942.9.292) Clear		●	●	●		●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
<b>8. The Last Supper</b> (1942.9.289) Transparent Green	●	●	●	●		○	○		●	●	●	●	●	●	
<b>11. Plaque with Ixion</b> (1961.9.184) Clear	●		●	●		●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	

## NOTES

1. Marian Campbell, *An Introduction to Medieval Enamels* (London, 1983), 8. The belief that enamel was developed in Egypt, perhaps because Egyptians interspersed glass with gems on jewelry or because faience is technologically akin to enamel, is unfounded.
2. David Buckton, "Necessity as the Mother of Invention in Early Medieval Enamel," *Transactions of the Third Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians* (London and Ontario, 1985), 4.
3. Campbell 1983, 6.
4. Herbert Maryon, *Metalwork and Enamelling* (New York, 1971), 169.
5. The difference between the two forms of alkali, soda and potash, was either unknown or unrecorded until 1683, when different crystals of the salts were noticed in sodium and wood ash. In 1702, the alkali in common salt was found to be different from that in potash. See W. E. S. Turner, "Studies in Ancient Glasses and Glassmaking Processes, Part 3. The Chronology of the Glassmaking Constituents," *Journal of the Society of Glass Technology* 40 (February 1956), 44.
6. Susan Frank, *Glass and Archaeology* (New York, 1982), 22.
7. Turner 1956, part 3, 39.
8. X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy, the analytical technique used for this study to identify the metallic ores giving color to the enamels, cannot detect the presence of elements on the periodic table lower than calcium, specifically the various alkali salts and silica.
9. Buckton 1985, 3, discusses compositional analyses of early medieval enamels from the British Museum, in which both compounds of antimony and soda-lime were found. The results suggest that these enamels were made from Roman tesserae.
10. Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, trans. R. Hendrie (London, 1847), book 2, 131–132.
11. Chris Walton, "Enamelling II," *Aurum* 17 (1984), 61. "Even when kept under water, the effects of oxidation on ground enamel will cause changes in the color and quality. With time, some of the basic constituent salts are leached out and these can give rise to effervescence on the surface of the fired enamel."
12. Firing temperature is dictated by the metallic substrate as well as by the enamel composition. Enamels used on fine silver melt between 1360° and 1420°F; those used on gold or copper can withstand temperatures between 1420° and 1510°F. See Margarete Seeler, *The Art of Enameling* (New York, 1983), 22.
13. *Vasari on Technique*, trans. Louisa S. Maclehorse, ed. G. Baldwin Brown (New York, 1960), 278–279. Brown notes that this technique is used by many modern enamelers, although Cellini was against it and recommended polishing by hand.
14. P. A. Lins and A. W. Oddy, "The Origins of Mercury Gilding," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 2 (1975), 370.
15. Theophilus 1847, book 3, 280–281.
16. Buckton 1985, 4, notes that very few gold coins were minted in the West as of A.D. 700, and that they had stopped altogether by 1000. Gold cloisonné enamel reappears with the return of gold coinage in 1252.
17. On some medieval Limoges enamels the champ-levé contour lines are punched with a pattern intended to resemble milled or twisted wire. See Lewis F. Day, *Enamelling* (London, 1907), 114.
18. J. D. Bateson and R. E. M. Hedges, "The Scientific Analysis of a Group of Roman-Age Enamelled Brooches," *Archaeometry* 17 (1975), 186. They note that a high level of zinc will impede the bond formation because oxides will develop at lower temperatures. See Pamela England, "A Technical Investigation of Medieval Enamels," *Medieval Objects in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Enamel and Glass* (Boston, 1986), xix.
19. Philippe Verdier, *Catalogue of the Painted Enamels of the Renaissance*, The Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1967), xi.
20. Peter E. Michaels, "Technical Observations on Early Painted Enamels of Limoges: Their Materials, Structure, Technique and Deterioration," *JWalt* 27–28 (1964–1965), 26, notes that he could find no evidence of separate firings for different colors and that the edges between colors fuse together evenly without cracking. This does not, however, mean that the colored enamels and their grounds were fired at the same time.
21. *The Pirotechnia of Vannocchio Biringuccio*, ed. Derek J. Price (New York, 1959), 366.
22. John Fleming and Hugh Honour, eds., *Dictionary of the Decorative Arts* (New York, 1986), 276.
23. Frank 1982, 83.
24. Theophilus 1847, book 2, 165.
25. Bateson and Hedges 1975, 181.
26. G. W. Morey and N. L. Bowen, "The Decomposition of Glass by Water at High Temperatures and Pressures," *Journal of the Society of Glass Technology* 42 (June 1927), 104.
27. Bateson and Hedges 1975, 183.
28. Edward V. Sayre, "The Intentional Use of Antimony and Manganese in Ancient Glasses," *International Congress on Glass* (Washington, D.C., 1962), technical papers part 2, 281. Sayre's results are debated. Roy Newton and Sandra Davison, *Conservation of Glass* (New York, 1989), 60, believe it unlikely that early glassmakers were knowledgeable enough to be able to add 1 percent of any ingredient with confidence. They claim that there is no evidence that antimony was known in Mesopotamia or that manganese was deliberately added to glass before 1540.
29. Newton and Davison 1989, 59.
30. Sayre 1962, 263.
31. Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. D. E. Eichholz, (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), book 36, 152–153.
32. Robert H. Brill, "Incipient Crizzling in Some Early Glasses," *Bulletin of the American Group—International Institute for Conservation* 12 (1972), 46.

33. When examining enamels using x-ray fluorescence, one must take into consideration that the x-rays penetrate through to varying depths, based on the nature of the surface. Hence sometimes the elements included in the tables reflect a combination of enamel and metal substrate. This method of analysis is chosen because it provides information on the elemental surface composition without requiring a sample of the enamel, but in using this technique the actual composition of the colorant must be inferred; in some cases, when a sample was available, the composition of the colorant was verified using x-ray diffraction. Three recent studies of enamel colorants use x-ray fluorescence as the analytical tool, despite its inherent limitations; see England 1986; Rika Smith, Janice Carlson, and Richard Newman, "An Investigation into the Deterioration of Painted Limoges Enameled Plaques c. 1470–1530," *Studies in Conservation* 32 (1987), 102–113; and Philip K. Hopke, "Two Medieval Enameled Objects Studied by X-Ray Fluorescence," *Archaeological Chemistry* 4 (1989), 233–247.

In order to analyze the National Gallery enamels, a Kevex 0705A spectrometer equipped with a BaCl<sub>2</sub> secondary target, 6 mm. collimator, 50kV anode voltage, and 1.3 mA anode current was used. We are grateful to Barbara Berrie, Lisha Glinsman, and Deborah Rendahl of the National Gallery of Art scientific research department for performing the analyses of the enamels.

34. W. E. S. Turner, "Studies in Ancient Glasses and Glassmaking Processes, part 4. The Chemical Composition of Ancient Glasses," *Journal of the Society of Glass Technology* 40 (April 1956), 162.

35. Bateson and Hedges 1975, 187.

36. Turner 1956, part 4, 162.

37. M. J. Hughes, "Enamels: Materials, Deterioration and Analysis," *From Pinheads to Hanging Bowls: The Identification, Deterioration, and Conservation of Applied Enamel and Glass Decoration on Archaeological Artefacts*, Occasional Papers, United Kingdom Institute for Conservation, no. 7 (London, 1987), 10.

38. Robert H. Brill, "Ancient Glass," *Scientific American* (November 1963), 126.

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RENAISSANCE CERAMICS



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## Unlustered ornamental maiolica

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### Deep bowl

with "Persian palmette" ornament; in the center, a profile bust of a young man wearing a wreath

1942.9.316 (C-41)

Probably Tuscany or Faenza

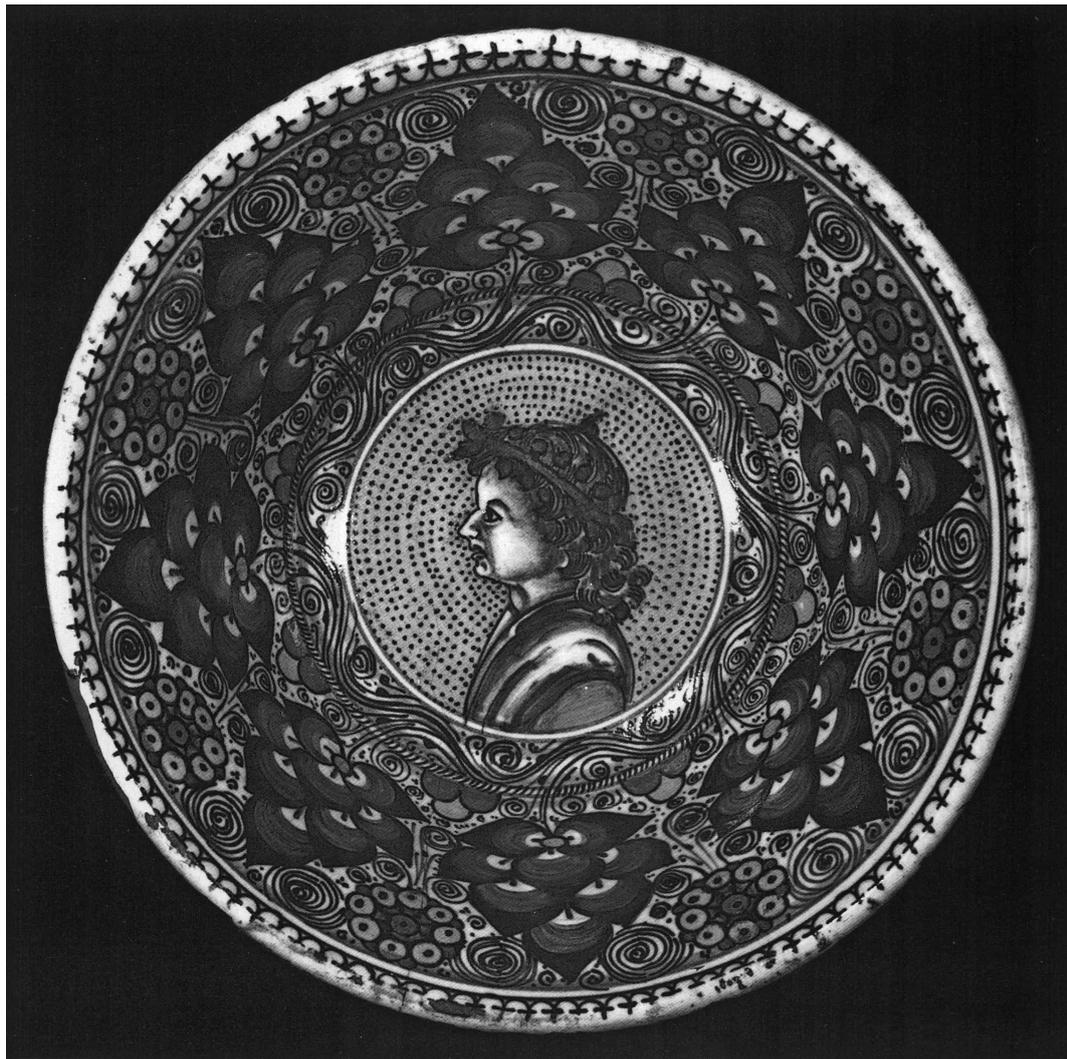
c. 1490/1500

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 15.5 (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ )

Widener Collection

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered entirely in a whitish tin glaze. The painting is in blue, yellow, orange-brownish red, and green. There are three small kiln spur marks on the rim. The edge is rubbed and there is a crack from six o'clock to the center.



PROVENANCE

Sigismond Bardac, Paris, by 1913. (Duveen Brothers); purchased January 1914 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

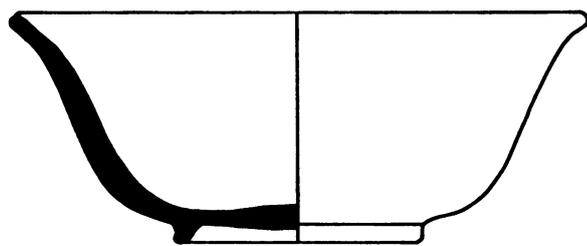
The bowl is painted in the center on a dotted yellow ground with a profile of a young man wearing a wreath over his long, curling hair. The sides are painted with the design known as a Persian palmette, stylized flowers, and tight scrolls. On the edge is a crown motif. On the exterior and within the foot ring are spiral blue lines applied on the wheel.

The shape and size of this bowl are unusual among surviving pieces, and the thought has been expressed by several specialists that the piece is a late nineteenth-century concoction. However, thermoluminescence analysis in the Oxford Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art in 1988 provided evidence that it is in fact of Renaissance date.<sup>1</sup> Modest pieces like this have tended not to survive above ground as well as the grander pieces, which were less regularly used and more carefully preserved.

The decoration, known as Persian palmette, which is ultimately of Eastern origin, became popular in Italian maiolica, particularly in Faenza, in the second half of the fifteenth century. Its immediate inspiration is not clear, but may have been in textile design.<sup>2</sup> Parallels to the decoration on the National Gallery bowl are found in maiolica attributed to Faenza and to the Florence region and dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. A comparable combination of simple Persian palmettes, tight scrolls, and rosettes is found on a jar of characteristically Tuscan form in the Cora collection at the Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche at Faenza, and on a dish formerly in the Bak collection.<sup>3</sup> Similar designs also occur on Faenza maiolica of the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> However, the central portrait roundel is unlike most Faenza work, and the glaze and coloring (particularly the yellow) seem more reminiscent of Tuscany than Faenza; a Tuscan workshop seems, on balance, the most likely origin for the bowl. The profile head in the center has points of similarity to that (more clearly in the ancient manner) on a large bowl in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.<sup>5</sup> It may well prove that maiolica of types attributed to Faenza was in fact made, often by potters from Faenza, in other parts of Italy, before and after 1500. Some fragments of Faenza-type maiolica found at Ferrara, for instance, could have been made in Ferrara, where potters from Faenza are recorded to have been working in the 1490s.<sup>6</sup> T.H.W.



1942.9.316, back



1942.9.316, profile drawing

NOTES

1. Oxford Research Laboratory report, ref. 481e88, 30 March 1988; the estimate was that the sample taken "was last fired between 350 and 540 years ago." The present writer admits to having been one of those who originally doubted the authenticity of the bowl.

2. See Paride Berardi, *L'antica maiolica di Pesaro* (Florence, 1984), 131–134. Nothing convincingly similar, however, is illustrated in Anne E. Wardwell, "The Stylistic Development of 14th- and 15th-Century Italian Silk Design," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 47 (1976–1977), 177–226. A number of broadly similar motifs are illustrated in Brigitte Klesse, *Seidenstoffe in der italienischen Malerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Schriften der Abegg-Stiftung, Bern, 1 (Bern, 1967), for instance nos. 159, 175, 177, 196; but none can be claimed as an actual source for the Persian palmette motif. See Melisanda Lama, "Temi ornamentali del quattrocento, II: Il motivo del melograno o della palmetta persiana," *Faenza* 29 (1941), 27–29; Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti, *Il pavimento della Cappella Vaselli in San Petronio a Bologna* (Casalecchio di Reno, 1988), 63–64, 70, 121–132. Especially interesting is Ravanelli Guidotti's indication (73–78) of comparable motifs in the illuminated decoration of the Bible of Borso d'Este.

3. Galeazzo Cora, *Storia della maiolica di Firenze e del contado, secoli XIV e XV* (Florence, 1973), 2: pls. 230a, 236b.

4. In a letter, 9 August 1989, in NGA curatorial files, J. V. G. Mallet expressed a preference for an attribution of this "strange and beautiful piece" to Faenza. The Persian palmette motif and tight scrolls are indeed common at Faenza; compare Ravanelli Guidotti 1988, 19, pl. 3a, 41, pl. 3b, 70, pls. 2c, 2d, 84, pl. 14e; there are many examples among the tiles of the Vaselli chapel in San Petronio, Bologna (Ravanelli Guidotti 1988, 121–132, 182, no. 275). The pavement is dated 1487, but may actually have been executed a few years later (Ravanelli Guidotti 1988, 33–36). Mallet also comments that the edge cresting on the National Gallery bowl is not common in Tuscany; but neither is it at Faenza. There is no reason to suppose that Faenza and Tuscany had a monopoly on the Persian palmette, although it is certainly uncommon at Pesaro (compare Berardi 1984).

5. Rasmussen 1984, no. 33. This comparison was suggested by Julia Poole on a visit to the National Gallery in 1989. J. V. G. Mallet, letter, 9 August 1989, has also ingeniously noted a certain similarity between the head and

those on a dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum attributed to Cafaggiolo; Galeazzo Cora and Angiolo Fanfani, *La maiolica di Cafaggiolo* (Florence, 1982), no. 10.

6. *Ceramica nelle civiche collezioni* [exh. cat., Chiesa di San Giovanni Battista, Ferrara] (Florence, 1972), nos. 287–306; Giuseppe Campori, "Notizie della maiolica e della porcellana di Ferrara," in Giuliano Vanzolini, ed., *Istorie delle fabbriche di majoliche metaurensi e delle attinenti ad esse* (Pesaro, 1879), 2: 114–119.

#### REFERENCES

1913 Leman, Henri. *Collection Sigismond Bardac; faïences italiennes du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle; objets de haute curiosité. Notices...* Paris, 1913: no. 18, repro., as Cafaggiolo, fifteenth century.

1935 Widener 1935: 54, as Cafaggiolo, c. 1500.

1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Cafaggiolo, c. 1500.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 116, no. 1, as Cafaggiolo, c. 1500.

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## Plate

with border of grotesques on an orange ground; in the center, Narcissus gazing at his reflection in a fountain

1942.9.315 (C-40)

Siena

c. 1510/1520

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 26.1 (10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)

Widener Collection

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a glossy white tin glaze, which has bubbled near the rim on the reverse. Painted in orange, blue, yellow, white, green, and purple. On the sides of the well are three kiln-support marks. There is minor wear and chipping and some overpaint, to the edge. A crack from four o'clock to the center has been slightly overpainted and filled at the edge.

#### PROVENANCE

Adrien-Joseph Rattier, Paris (sale, Paris, 21–24 March 1859, no. 17).<sup>1</sup> Octavius Coope, Brentwood, Essex (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 3–5 May 1910, no. 35);<sup>2</sup> (Duveen Brothers), for 3700 guineas; purchased February 1912 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

#### EXHIBITIONS

South Kensington 1862, no. 5164, repro., as Faenza c. 1510. NGA 1982–1983, no. 6, repro., as Siena, c. 1510.

The front of this beautiful piece is delicately painted in concentric zones around a central *istoriato* scene showing the elegantly dressed Narcissus, with long blond hair, staring into a fountain. The fountain, or rather water trough, is formed of a basin on a decorated hexagonal base, out of which rises a column with a Corinthian capital, surmounted by a figure of winged Cupid, blindfolded and holding a bow and arrow. The scene is set in a landscape with spindly trees. Outside this is a band of circular and oval beading; then a band of curling decoration in *bianco sopra bianco*; then a running band of knots. On the rim is a broad band of grotesque decoration, drawn chiefly in blue on an orange ground, incorporating winged masks, insect-winged female demi-figures, birds, wreaths, and scrollwork; around the edge is a band of beading. The edge is painted green. On the reverse, in orange and blue, there is concentric decoration of scalework and running knots around a central flower motif.

The myth of Narcissus, who fell in love with his own reflection in a spring, died pining for love, and was transformed into the flower that bears his name, was known to the Renaissance primarily through Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>3</sup> The fantastic foun-



tain with its hexagonal base and central column surmounted by a figure may be a faint echo of the font in the Siena Cathedral Baptistery by Jacopo della Quercia and others, but there may also be a memory of the hexagonal-based fountain in Pinturicchio's fresco of Susannah and the Elders in the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican.

The plate is close in style to and apparently by the same artist or artists as a series of plates and dishes with saints in their centers; four of these are

known: in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, with Saint Lucy; in the British Museum, with Saint Bartholomew; and two in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with Saint James the Greater and Saint Mary Magdalene.<sup>4</sup> All of these have a similar orange-ground grotesque border and all have on the reverse IP in large letters. Because another plate in the British Museum,<sup>5</sup> which has the subject of Mucius Scaevola and is apparently, in part, the work of the same artist, has different initials (FIO) on the

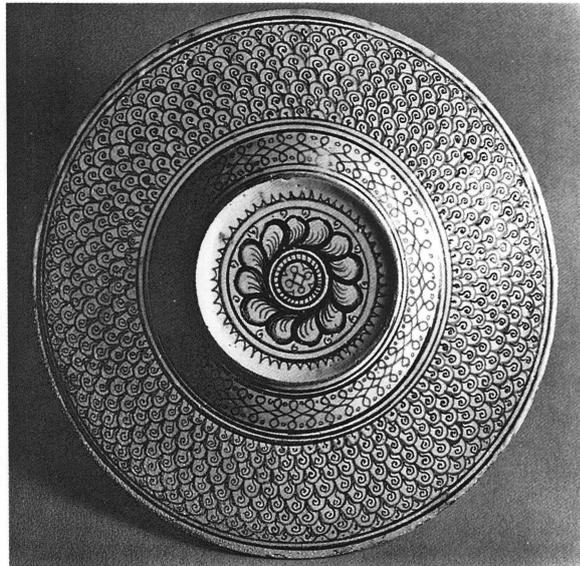
reverse, the initials IP are thought to be of the first owner rather than to refer to the artist. The central scenes appear to be by the same painter as yet another plate in the British Museum,<sup>6</sup> with a scene of Pan and two shepherds and the arms of Pandolfo Petrucci, ruler of Siena. Fortnum and Rackham considered these pieces, and by implication the plate in the National Gallery, to be by the painter of a plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum painted in blue with Saint Jerome, which is inscribed *fata î siena da m° benedetto*.<sup>7</sup> This seems probable, though not beyond dispute. The Siense origin and approximate date of the group are more or less established by the fact that the British Museum Pan and shepherds plate has a grotesque border identical in style and apparently by the same painter as at least some of the tiles of the pavement from the palace in Siena of Pandolfo Petrucci, who died in 1512; a few of these tiles bear the date 1509.<sup>8</sup> The figure style of the *istoriato* tiles and of the centers of some of the plates shows markedly Umbrian characteristics, and they may be from drawings by one of the artists brought to Siena by Petrucci to decorate his palace—Pinturicchio, Signorelli, or Girolamo Genga.<sup>9</sup>

The British Museum Pan and shepherds plate, the Petrucci palace tiles, the saints series, the Brit-

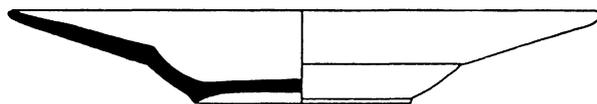
ish Museum Mucius Scaevola plate, and the National Gallery plate seem to make up a coherent group of Siense origin, with an apparent stylistic link to the signed Benedetto plate. Furthermore, the orange-ground grotesque border decoration is similar to that on Faenza pieces. For these reasons the whole group has generally been attributed to the workshop in Siena of Maestro Benedetto of Faenza. Benedetto, son of Giorgio, was the most prominent of a number of potters originating from Faenza who are recorded in Siense documents from around 1500.<sup>10</sup> He arrived in Siena about 1503 and died in 1522. Only one piece inscribed with his name is known—the Saint Jerome plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum; a fragment of a similar dish with part of a similar inscription (*ede*) was excavated in Siena in the 1930s.<sup>11</sup> The wording of the inscriptions suggests, but does not prove, that Benedetto was himself the painter.

The conclusion that the whole group of plates and the Petrucci palace pavement tiles were all made in the workshop of Maestro Benedetto is hazardous. There is reason to think that some pieces were the product of collaboration between artists: the border decorations on the British Museum Mucius Scaevola and Pan and shepherds plates seem not to be by the same painter, and neither border seems to be by the painter of the borders of the saints series and the National Gallery plate, though the centers seem all to be by the same hand. It may be that the painter of the central scenes was a freelance painter working for more than one workshop. Siena had a long and vigorous tradition of maiolica, and Siense scholars have argued forcefully against the suggestion that all this superb-quality Siense maiolica was the product of a single workshop run by a man from Faenza.<sup>12</sup>

The border decoration, with masks, scrollwork, and fantastic creatures, falls into the general category of “grotesques.”<sup>13</sup> The “grotesque” painting on maiolica in Siena in the early sixteenth century was of exceptional quality and originality. The word is derived from the *grotte* of Rome—rooms of the palaces of ancient Rome rediscovered underground in the Renaissance. The use of decoration based on ancient Roman wall painting was given impetus by the discovery around 1480 of the painted rooms of Nero’s palace in Rome, the *Domus Aurea*, which were eagerly copied by artists in Rome at the time. Probably the most influential of these artists was Pinturicchio, who incorporated “grotesque” motifs into his work in the 1490s, for instance in the paintings in the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican. In 1502 Pinturicchio was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini (later Pope Pius III) to decorate the Piccolomini Library in Siena Cathedral.



1942.9.315, back



1942.9.315, profile drawing

The contract stipulated that Pinturicchio was to decorate the vault with "fantasies, colors and compartments... in the manner and on the designs nowadays called grotesque, on various fields" (*con quelle fantasie colori e spartimenti... a la forgia e disegni che hoggi chiamano grottesche, con li campi variati*).<sup>14</sup> The decoration, completed by about 1507, incorporated black- and yellow-ground grotesques which were copied by the designers of the Petrucci palace pavement and influenced other Siense maiolica. However, the orange-ground grotesques on the National Gallery plate and on the saints series owe less to Pinturicchio than to contemporary maiolica at Faenza and to the local tradition in Siena. Some fragments in the Musée du Louvre, for instance, found at Faenza and no doubt made there, have orange-ground decoration and *bianco sopra bianco* ornament similar in style to the National Gallery plate.<sup>15</sup> Orange-ground decoration was already distinctively popular in Siena by 1488, when local craftsmen laid a beautiful maiolica pavement in the Bichi chapel in the church of S. Agostino.<sup>16</sup> A group of *albarelli* with comparable orange-ground decoration is also reliably attributed to Siena,<sup>17</sup> and orange-ground border decoration of essentially the same type occurs on a plate attributed to Siena and bearing the date 1524.<sup>18</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité composant la collection de feu M. Rattier* (Paris, 1859), no. 17, as Faenza.
2. *Catalogue of the choice collection of Old Italian Majolica... formed by Octavius E. Coope, Esq.* (London, 1910), no. 35, repro., as Siena.
3. Book 3, lines 339–510.
4. T. Wilson 1987, nos. 137, 136; Rackham 1940, nos. 375, 376.
5. T. Wilson 1987, no. 138. This piece was in the Rattier collection with the National Gallery plate, and the cataloguer in the 1859 Rattier sale considered them to be by the same hand.
6. T. Wilson 1987, no. 134.
7. Fortnum 1873, 134; Rackham 1940, no. 373, p. 127; T. Wilson 1987, no. 133.
8. Rackham 1940, no. 386; Rasmussen 1984, 126–127. The significance of the date 1513 on one of the tiles (at Sèvres; Giacomotti 1974, no. 399) is unclear: it may be a replacement, or an indication that work on the palace pavement continued over several years, or it may possibly be from a different pavement altogether.

9. See Martin Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Earlier Italian Schools*, 2d ed. (London, 1960), 475; Timothy Wilson, "Girolamo Genga: Designer for maiolica?" in Timothy Wilson, ed., *Italian Renaissance Pottery* (London, 1991), 157–165.

10. For the documentary evidence on Maestro Benedetto see Robert Langton Douglas, *A History of Siena* (London, 1902), 442–443; Gaetano Guasti, *Di Cafaggiolo e d'altre fabbriche di ceramiche in Toscana* (Florence, 1902), 326–328; Anna Migliori Luccarelli, "Orciolai a Siena," part 1, *Faenza* 69 (1983), 282–283.

11. Robert Langton Douglas, "A Note on Maestro Benedetto," *BurlM* 71 (1937), 89–90; the present whereabouts of these fragments is not known to the author.

12. The view that the production of Maestro Benedetto's workshop was more or less limited to blue and white decoration in the manner of the signed plate is put by Mario Luccarelli, "Contributo alla conoscenza della maiolica senese: La 'maniera di Maestro Benedetto,'" *Faenza* 70 (1984), 302–304; Mario Luccarelli, "La maiolica senese," in T. Wilson 1991, 120–125.

13. Nicole Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 31 (London and Leiden, 1969); Cristina Acidini Luchinat, "La grottesca," in *Storia dell'arte italiana* 11. *Forme e modelli* (Turin: Einaudi, 1979–1983), 159–200.

14. Vasari-Milanesi 1878–1885, 3: 519. See J. Schulz, "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity," *JWCI* 25 (1962), 35–55.

15. Giacomotti 1974, no. 236.

16. Johanna Lessmann and Mario Luccarelli, in Peter A. Riedl and Max Seidel, *Die Kirchen von Siena*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1985–), vol. 1, pt. 1, 72–74.

17. For example Rackham 1940, nos. 363–367, 370–371; Giacomotti 1974, nos. 402–407. Rasmussen 1984, 128, gives a list and classification of some of these *albarelli*. The attribution to Siena, and the authenticity of some of them—such as the one from the Imbert collection illustrated by Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 58, fig. 61—requires further study. Also worth comparing is a plate in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (45.217), though it does not reach the superb quality of the National Gallery plate.

18. Joseph Chompret, *Répertoire de la majolique italienne* (Paris, 1949), 2, fig. 897; Luccarelli in T. Wilson 1991, 121, fig. 12. This interesting piece is now in a private collection in Italy.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 53, as Siena (Maestro Benedetto), c. 1500.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Siena (Maestro Benedetto), c. 1500.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 117, no. 2, repro., as Siena c. 1510.

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## Plate

with border of grotesques on an orange ground and three shields of the arms of the Gritti of Venice; in the center, putti holding another shield of the same arms

1942.9.314 (C-39)

Probably Faenza or Venice

Probably c. 1510/1525

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 24.5 (9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Widener Collection

### LABELS

Kann 5, 202.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a pinkish white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, orange, yellow, pale green, and white. There are three kiln-spur marks on the edge of the central roundel. The glaze is cracked on the back. A crack from the edge between nine and ten o'clock to the center has been repaired and overpainted. There are some rim chips.

### PROVENANCE

Frédéric Spitzer, Paris (sale, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 1052, sold for 7000 francs).<sup>1</sup> Maurice Kann, Paris, by 1896; (Duveen Brothers), 1908 or 1909, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 5, as Faenza, c. 1520.

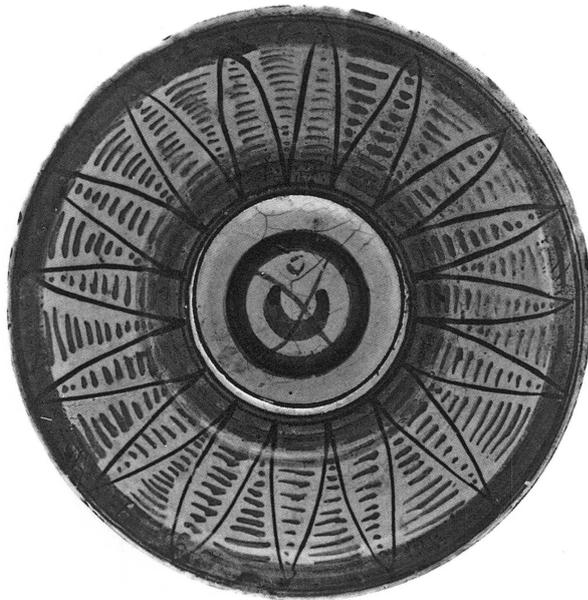
The plate is painted with, in the center, two seated winged putti holding up a beribboned shield of arms, *party per pale, in chief azure a cross pattée (or humetty) argent, in base argent*. Around this, on the low sides, are a band of *bianco sopra bianco* ornament and, outside this, a narrow band of beading on a blue ground. On the border is an elaborate symmetrical grotesque pattern incorporating winged masks and cherub heads, scrollwork, books, and dolphin scrolls, and three yellow-ground medallions with the shield of arms repeated. The edge is painted the same orange as the border. On the back, in blue and orange, is a pattern of radiating pointed arches in blue with hatching in orange; in the center are a circle and a crescent in blue, and within the circle a cross and a small circle in orange.

The general style of the plate, the orange-ground border decoration, and the blue and orange hatching on the back all suggest an attribution to Faenza in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The mark resembling the conventional sixteenth-century way

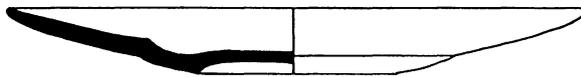
of drawing an inflatable ball (*pallone*), with a kind of crescent within the circle is found on pieces attributable to Faenza.<sup>3</sup> However, the plate has a “feel” to the glaze and decoration that has raised some doubts about such an attribution, and even about the piece’s authenticity.<sup>4</sup> The shield, ribbon work, putti, and elements of the border decoration are virtually identical to those on a plate with the arms of Medici impaling another and a blue ground of a type current in Faenza in the 1520s, which was formerly in the Basilewski collection<sup>5</sup> and is illustrated as plate 49 in the *Recueil de faïences italiennes* by Alfred Darcel and Henri Delange. This magnificent work in chromolithography, published in Paris in 1869, was a well-used source for later copyists and forgers of Renaissance maiolica; the resemblance of the National Gallery plate to one illustrated in the *Recueil* is therefore an additional cause for caution about this plate. However, if it is a nineteenth-century product, it is a quite exceptionally skillful imitation. Blue-ground grotesque decoration overtook orange-ground in popularity in Faenza by the early 1520s.

The arms are probably those of the Gritti family of Venice.<sup>6</sup> The principal member of the family in the early sixteenth century was Andrea Gritti, an outstanding military commander, who became Doge of Venice in 1523; the plate may possibly have been made for him, but other members of the family would have used the same arms. If the plate was made for a Venetian patrician, the question arises whether it was made in Venice. It has been argued that protectionist laws in Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth century banned the import of pottery made elsewhere (with the exception of Spanish lusterware, which was a product Italian potters could not emulate), so that there is some intrinsic improbability in a Venetian commissioning maiolica in Faenza.<sup>7</sup> There is some evidence, albeit rather shadowy, that Farentine potters were active in Venice around 1500,<sup>8</sup> and this plate might in that case have been made by one of them. An attribution to Faenza around 1520 seems, however, in view of the close parallels to definite Farentine work, most likely to be correct. A comparable plate once in the Schiff collection and now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is dated 1520.<sup>9</sup> The same figures occur on a plate dated 1521 found in excavations in Faenza and illustrated by Federigo Argnani in 1889.<sup>10</sup> T.H.W.





1942.9.314, back



1942.9.314, profile drawing

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité ... composant l'importante et précieuse collection Spitzer*, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 1052, pl. 32, as Faenza (Casa Pirola), c. 1520.

2. For the orange-ground decoration compare, for instance, the fragments dug up in Faenza and now in the Musée du Louvre; Giacomotti 1974, no. 236. For the putti supporting the shield, compare Giacomotti 1974, no. 297. The style has something in common with that of the so-called "Caricature Painter" (see Giuseppe Liverani, "Per il 'Pittore delle Caricature,'" *Faenza* 72 [1976], 57–60), but the plate is not by the same painter.

3. For approximately this form of the mark on maiolica attributed to Faenza, see Federigo Argnani, *Il rinascimento delle ceramiche maioliche in Faenza* (Faenza, 1898), pl. 40, no. xxxi; or the large plate dated 1527 in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Rackham 1940, no. 297, the reverse of which is illustrated by Ballardini 1933–1938, 1:

fig. 326; or the plate in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (Hess 1988, no. 18). It is a variant of the mark that used to be called, for no good reason, the "Casa Pirola" mark and interpreted as a "fire wheel," but which has recently been recognized as more likely to represent (if anything) a ball (A. V. B. Norman, "A Note on the so-called Casa Pirola mark," *BurlM* 111 [1969], 447–448; J. V. G. Mallet, "Alcune maioliche faentine in raccolte inglesi," *Faenza* 60 [1974], 22.

4. A note in NGA curatorial files records Dr. Georg Swarzenski's thought in 1943 that this piece could be "suspect." Independently, in a letter, 28 April 1980, in NGA curatorial files, J. V. G. Mallet commented from a photograph that the plate "might just conceivably prove on inspection to be a very good fake;" on seeing it in 1987, however, he considered it genuine and probably Faentine.

5. This plate is one of two similar ones now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, nos.  $\Phi$  349 (a) and (b).

6. The cross in the Gritti arms is properly *humetty* (cut off short of the edges of the shield), not *pattée*.

7. Angelica Alverà Bortolotto, *Storia della ceramica a Venezia dagli albori alla fine della Repubblica* (Florence, 1981), 18–19.

8. Timothy Wilson, "Maiolica in Renaissance Venice," *Apollo* 125 (1987), 184–185.

9. Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 90, figs. 86, 273. The author has not had the opportunity to study this piece in detail. Another piece in somewhat similar style is in the Wernher collection at Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, England. Since this catalogue entry was written, Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti has attributed two somewhat comparable plates to Siena; See Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti, *Maioliche Italiano: Collezione Chigi Saracini del Monte dei Paschi di Siena* [exh. cat., Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche in Faenza] (Faenza, 1992), nos. 2 and 3.

10. Federigo Argnani, *Le ceramiche e maioliche faentine* (Faenza, 1889), pl. XV, no. iii, compare plate X, no. 5.

#### REFERENCES

1892 Molinier 1892: no. 17, pl. 6, as Faenza (Casa Pirola), c. 1520.

1896 Fortnum 1896: "Marks," 96, no. 307 (mentioned and attributed to Faenza).

1935 Widener 1935: 53, as Siena (Maestro Benedetto?), c. 1510.

1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Siena (Maestro Benedetto?), c. 1510.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 117, no. 3, as Faenza, c. 1520.

## Circular plaque with fruited wreath enclosing a shield of arms

1942.9.342 (C-67)

Probably Faenza

1532

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 30.2 (12),  
average thickness 2 (3/4)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

Flanking the shield: 1532.

### LABELS

Kann 30, 203; printed label of 1890 Seillière sale: 81.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The plaque, which has warped in the kiln, is of buff-brown earthenware, covered on the front and much of the sides with a white tin glaze, which has run somewhat. On the reverse is a series of curving parallel grooves, ap-

parently where the plaque was removed from the wheel. The painting is in blue, green, ocher, yellow, and white. On the rim are patches of repair and overpaint, especially between five and seven o'clock, and between nine and ten o'clock. Since the piece was made, two holes for suspension have been drilled at twelve o'clock; two more at six o'clock have been filled and repainted at the front.

### PROVENANCE

Edmé-Unité Jacquot-Préaux, Paris (sale, Paris, 9-11 January 1850, no. 185)<sup>1</sup>. Adrien-Joseph Rattier, Paris (sale, Paris, 21-24 March 1859, no. 51)<sup>2</sup>. Baron Achille Seillière, Château de Mello (Oise) (sale, Paris, 5-10 May 1890, no. 81)<sup>3</sup>. Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.



The plaque is painted with a beribboned shield of arms, apparently *per bend argent and vert, on a bend gules two greyhounds courant argent; on a chief azure three fleurs de lis or*,<sup>4</sup> but the bend, which is orange-ocher, may be intended as *or* (gold) instead of *gules* (red). Scratched out of the blue background to the shield is the date 1532. Around the edge is a broad tied wreath with leaves and fruit.

The arms have been identified by Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti<sup>5</sup> as a version of those of the Cattoli family; the Cattoli had a branch in Faenza, and although the blazon of the arms does not correspond exactly to the records of the arms given in Crollalanza,<sup>6</sup> or to the drawings reproduced by Ravanelli Guidotti from the town archives, the identification may well be correct. This makes the attribution to Faenza, which is plausible if not conclusively demonstrable by stylistic analogy, seem likely.

The garlanded shield of arms is reminiscent of the sculptural armorial roundels made by the Della Robbia workshop in Florence.<sup>7</sup> This type of roundel (characterized by Ravanelli Guidotti as a *disco di censo* used to mark the ownership of buildings) has its closest parallels in Tuscan work.<sup>8</sup> T.H.W.



1942.9.342, profile drawing

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue de la précieuse collection d'objets d'art, d'antiquités & curiosités... composant la collection de Monsieur Préaux*, Paris, 9–11 January 1850, no. 185 ("Plaque ronde portant un blason dans une couronne de feuillages et de fruits avec date de 1532" – almost certainly this piece).

2. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité composant la collection de feu M. Rattier*, Paris, 21–24 March 1859, no. 51.

3. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité et de riche ameublement provenant de l'importante collection de feu M. le Baron Achille Seillière au Château de Mello*, Paris, 5–10 May 1890, no. 81, as Urbino.

4. The three lilies are separated by lightly incised vertical lines, suggesting that the artist may have actually intended a so-called *chief of Anjou*, in which the lilies are set within a label, rather than a *chief of France*, which is simply *azure three fleurs de lis or*. The *chief of Anjou* is very common in Italian heraldry, especially in central Italy, and usually denotes political adherence to the Guelph party.

5. Ravanelli Guidotti 1988.

6. G. B. di Crollalanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane estinte e fiorenti* (1886–1890; reprint, Bologna, 1977), 1: 265.

7. A corpus of Della Robbia sculpted roundels is illustrated by Allan Marquand, *Robbia Heraldry*, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology (Princeton, 1919), but nothing close to the National Gallery roundel is included.

8. Ravanelli Guidotti 1988, pls. 3, 4.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 64, as Faenza.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 14, as Faenza.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 118, no. 7, as Faenza.  
 1988 Ravanelli Guidotti, Carmen. "Maioliche faentine datate: un disco di censo con lo stemma Cattoli del 1532." *Faenza* 74 (1988): 213–218.

## Plate

with border of putti and trophies amid grotesques; in the center, a winged putto standing, armed, in a landscape

1942.9.313 (C-38)

Probably Urbino district or Venice

c. 1510/1520

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 23.2 (9¼)

Widener Collection

#### LABELS

Kann 4, 201; oval red-bordered label, in pen: 28; square label: *Page 323 – N° 23b* (compare 1942.9.341). The significance of these labels is unknown.

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a brilliant-white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, yellow, orange, pale green, purple, and white; the green has bubbled slightly. On the front, near the edge, are three kiln-support marks. There is overpaint on the rim at nine o'clock, ten o'clock, and three o'clock. The glaze on the back is cracked.



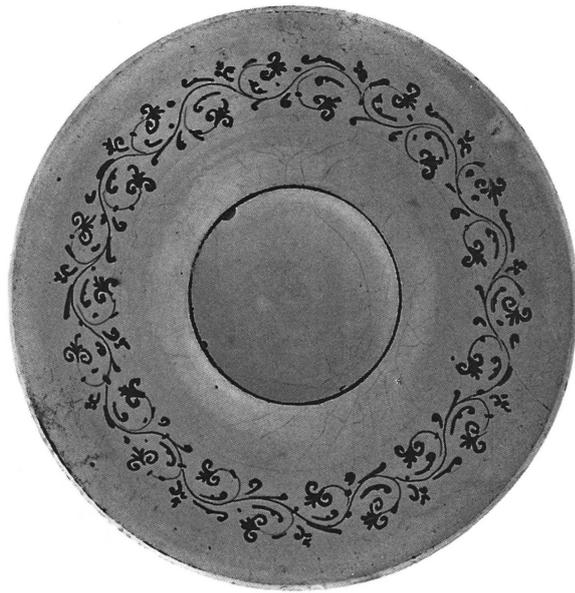
**PROVENANCE**

Frédéric Spitzer, Paris (sale, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 1046, sold for 11,000 francs).<sup>1</sup> Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of P. A. B.

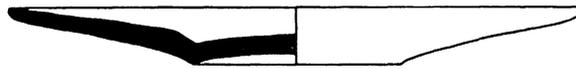
Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

**EXHIBITIONS**

NGA 1982–1983, no. 24, repro., as Castel Durante, c. 1520.



1942.9.313, back



1942.9.313, profile drawing

The front of the plate is painted in the well with a winged putto standing in a landscape; he holds a shield and a stick apparently serving as a toy spear or sword. Around this, on the shallow sides, is a narrow band of curling scrollwork in *bianco sopra bianco*. The border is painted with "grotesque" decoration on a thick blue ground, carefully executed around each of the ornaments and the scrollwork and arranged in a circular (rather than the more common symmetrical) pattern; the grotesques incorporate rollicking winged putti playing, a winged female demi-figure with leaf scrolls instead of arms and serpent tails instead of legs, a male torso, reptiles, a snail, books, musical instruments, cornucopias, trophies of arms, and curling scrollwork. The edge is painted green. On the reverse is a floral garland in blue.

This plate is one of a group of closely related small shallow plates of very high quality, charmingly painted by the same artist, with a playing putto in the center and a blue-ground "grotesque" border. Others of the group, so similar that they may have formed part of a single set, are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London,<sup>2</sup> the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,<sup>3</sup> and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.<sup>4</sup> All these are around twenty-

three centimeters in diameter, and all have a blue garland on the back.

In a pair of articles of 1928 and 1929,<sup>5</sup> Bernard Rackham connected this group and several other pieces with a bowl now in the Lehman collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which is marked *1508 adi 12 de setèb facta fu î Castel durât Zouâ maria vrò* (made on the twelfth of September 1508 in Castel Durante, Giovanni Maria potter).<sup>6</sup> This is probably a potter named Giovanni Maria di Mariano, who is mentioned in contemporary documents. On the probable but not certain assumption that all references to a potter of this name refer to the same man, the following is known of him: he is recorded on the Lehman collection bowl to have been active as a potter in Castel Durante in 1508 (though the inscription leaves it unclear whether he was the painter of the bowl or the workshop owner, or both); a document in the Urbino notarial archives was witnessed by him and Nicola di Gabriele (the potter Nicola da Urbino) in Urbino in October 1520;<sup>7</sup> in 1523 he was in Venice and wrote from there to the ducal court at Urbino;<sup>8</sup> in 1530 he was back in Urbino making an agreement with other prominent workshop owners to nip in the bud an attempt by journeyman painters (who included Francesco Xanto Avelli) to raise their rates of pay;<sup>9</sup> and in 1538 he signed a contract in Urbino to take on as an apprentice to the pottery trade a young man called Federico Brandani, who was later to become a distinguished sculptor and to marry Giovanni Maria's daughter.<sup>10</sup> The large group of works linked to Giovanni Maria by Rackham is not homogeneous, and subsequent scholars have rejected Rackham's supposition that they are the work of a single artist or workshop.<sup>11</sup> Although the subgroup of four plates does not seem to the present writer to be demonstrably by the painter of the Lehman collection bowl, the plates are in many ways very close to it. Even so, the known wanderings of Giovanni Maria, most of whose career seems to have been spent in Urbino, make it hazardous to attribute the group firmly to Castel Durante. Pesaro,<sup>12</sup> Faenza,<sup>13</sup> and Cafaggiolo<sup>14</sup> have been suggested as possible alternative places of origin for certain pieces of Rackham's "Giovanni Maria" class. Parallels can also be drawn in the shape, the glaze, and the garland on the reverse between the National Gallery and associated plates and plates like one in the British Museum with the arms of Meuting and Herwarth and *alla porcellana* (blue and white in more or less distant imitation of Chinese porcelain) decoration, which is of a type convincingly attributed to Venice. In view of the stay of Giovanni

Maria in Venice, the hypothesis that the National Gallery and similar plates were made in Venice, by Giovanni Maria or an artist with whom he was in contact, seems worth exploring.<sup>15</sup> In any case, the National Gallery plate belongs to a class that still awaits a definitive local attribution. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité ... composant l'importante et précieuse collection Spitzer*, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 1046, pl. 33, as Cafaggiolo.

2. Rackham 1940, no. 532.

3. T. Wilson 1989, no. 9; J. V. G. Mallet, "C. D. E. Fortnum and Italian Maiolica of the Renaissance," *Apollo* 108 (1978), 401, pl. 3. Also closely related is a plate in Lyons with a musician in the center; Jeanne Giacomotti, "Les majoliques de la collection Paul Gillet au Musée lyonnais des arts décoratifs," *Cahiers de la céramique* 25 (1962), 29. See also the pieces cited by Hess 1988, 94.

4. Hess 1988, no. 29. Probably by the same hand are two superb bowls, in the Robert Lehman collection at the Metropolitan Museum (Rasmussen 1989, no. 65) and in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, no. 529). A plate in the British Museum (T. Wilson 1987, no. 119) has a central scene of a putto riding a goose in similar style, but it is somewhat different in coloring and has a different design (crossed lozenges and sprays) on the back, setting it slightly apart from the group to which the National Gallery plate belongs. A magnificent vase in Braunschweig (Lessmann 1979, no. 16) is also close in style.

5. Bernard Rackham, "Die Majolikamaler Giovanni Maria von Castel Durante," *Pantheon* 2 (1928), 435–445, *Pantheon* 3 (1929), 88–92.

6. Rasmussen 1989, no. 62, with an important discussion.

7. Negroni 1986, 17, n. 28.

8. Paride Berardi, *L'antica maiolica di Pesaro* (Florence, 1984), 9.

9. Negroni 1986, 18, n. 33.

10. The contract was published by E. Scatassa in *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana* 11 (1908), 58–59. Brandani's training in a pottery workshop is interesting in view of the connection between a group of stucco reliefs by him in Urbino and a series of pieces of maiolica: both are apparently after designs by Taddeo Zuccaro; see John Gere, "Taddeo Zuccaro as a Designer for Maiolica," *BurlM* 105 (1963), 306–315. See also Negroni 1986, 17, n. 28. Scatassa's promised publication of "molte notizie e documenti" concerning Giovanni Maria seems never to have appeared.

11. Norman 1976, 58; Mallet 1978, 402; Berardi 1984, 145–146, 166. A link between the Giovanni Maria bowl and the four putto plates is provided by a plate in a private collection in Germany, sold from the Courtauld collection at Sotheby's, London, 18 March 1975, no. 13, which is one of the few pieces convincingly attributable to the painter of the Giovanni Maria bowl. It has on the reverse a garland comparable to the one on the plates. Rasmussen 1989, 103, also attributes the Courtauld plate to the painter of the Giovanni Maria bowl.

12. A Pesaro attribution was proposed by Berardi 1984, 145.

13. A connection of Giovanni Maria with Faenza seemed to Rackham proven by the occurrence on a dish (Rackham 1940, no. 536) of a mark, TB or BT in monogram, which his generation believed to be undoubtedly Faventine; see Rackham 1928; Rackham 1929; Rackham 1940, 170; Gaetano Ballardini, "Il monogramma B.T. nella maiolica faentina," *Faenza* 21 (1933), 35–39; Otto von Falke, "Der Majolikamaler TB von Faenza," *Pantheon* 13 (1934), 18–22. None of the marked BT pieces, however, are indisputably of Faventine origin, and at least one seems more plausibly attributed to the Urbino region (T. Wilson 1987, no. 66). See, however, Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti on the Saint Sebastian plaque in the Bargello in *Arti del medioevo e del Rinascimento; omaggio ai Carrand* [exh. cat., Bargello] (Florence, 1989), no. 91.

14. J. V. G. Mallet suggested Cafaggiolo (Molinier's attribution) as an outside possibility for the National Gallery plate in a letter, 28 April 1980, in NGA curatorial files. Even Siena might be considered. A final possibility is Deruta: for example a bowl in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, inv. no. KHM 5, is close to the type associated with Giovanni Maria but has on the back a 'petal-back' design characteristic of Deruta; Rackham 1940, no. 525, is a similar example; compare Joan Prentice von Erdberg, "Maiolica by Known Artists in the Collection of the Musée de Cluny," *BurlM* 92 (1950), 284.

15. Timothy Wilson, "Maiolica in Renaissance Venice," *Apollo* 125 (1987), pl. 10, p. 186, n. 18, or T. Wilson 1987, no. 176. Rasmussen 1984, no. 143, is another example of the type.

#### REFERENCES

- 1892 Molinier 1892: no. 8 bis, pl. 5, as Cafaggiolo.  
 1929 Rackham, Bernard. "Die Majolikamaler Giovanni Maria von Castel Durante," part 2. *Pantheon* 3 (1929): 90, as painted by Giovanni Maria.  
 1935 Widener 1935: 33, as Cafaggiolo, c. 1510.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Cafaggiolo, c. 1510.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 117, no. 4, as Castel Durante, c. 1520.  
 1988 Hess 1988: 94.  
 1989 Rasmussen 1989: 110.

## Broad-rimmed bowl

with border of urns and cherubs' heads; in the center, device of a bird standing on a bundle with the inscription VINCENZO

1942.9.344 (C-69)

Urbino district

1529

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 24.1 (9½)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

On a scroll in well of bowl: *VINCENZO*; on tablets in border: *AMA. DIO. SPQR. 1529*.

### LABELS

Kann 26, 196.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a grayish white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, gray, orange, yellow, white, and greenish black. On the front, near the rim, are three kiln-support marks, one of which has been overpainted. On the reverse a flaw in the firing has resulted in a substantial hole in the glaze. A crack from eight o'clock to the center has been repaired with some overpaint, and there are patches of overpaint on the rim around five, eight, and eleven o'clock. The outer and inner edges of the rim are worn.

### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 22, as Castel Durante or duchy of Urbino.

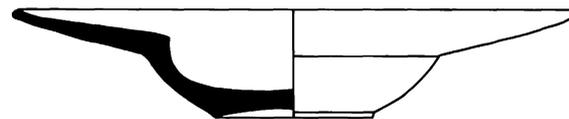
The deep well of the bowl is painted on an orange ground with a device or rebus consisting of a bird standing on a bundle; on a scroll is the name *VINCENZO*. The border is painted in a sculptural way on a blue ground, with a *grisaille* design that is broadly symmetrical both horizontally and vertically, consisting of winged cherub heads, vases of fruit, scrolls, and tablets inscribed *AMA, DIO, SPQR*, and the date 1529. The blue ground is carefully drawn around the decoration, without the scratching-out technique used in 1942.9.343.

Two other pieces of the same size, with *VINCENZO* and the same device, evidently from the same set as this plate, are recorded: one in the Museo Civico in Pesaro has a virtually identical center and a border with "trophies" of arms and

balusters, the name *LUCIA*, and the date 1529;<sup>1</sup> the other, in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, again has a nearly identical center, with a border decorated with "grotesque" monsters and cherub heads; it is undated.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the Pesaro piece has a name on the border suggests that *AMA DIO* on the National Gallery piece could be read, not separately as "Love God," but together as a name, Amadio; but this is perhaps not very likely.

*VINCENZO* is probably the name of the man for whom the set was made. The central device appears to show a blackbird, *merlo* in Italian, standing on a bundle of straw (or of cloth?). Del Vita, writing about the Pesaro piece, proposed to interpret the bird as a device indicating a merchant's cunning, because *merlo* is a colloquial expression for a sharp operator;<sup>3</sup> but a straight rebus on a surname seems at least as probable.

Lucia and, if it is indeed a name, Amadio may have been members of Vincenzo's family, or connected with the gift of the set. *SPQR*, the Classical Roman abbreviation for *SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS*, is found regularly on maiolica with more or less "grotesque" decoration and may have no significance beyond being felt to be an appropriate motto to accompany classicizing decoration. It is just possible, however, that it indicates that Vincenzo was a Roman. T.H.W.



1942.9.344, profile drawing

### NOTES

1. Maria Mancini Della Chiara, *Maioliche del Museo Civico di Pesaro, Catalogo* (Pesaro, 1979), no. 95, as Castel Durante; illustrated in color in Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 232, pl. xxx.

2. Rasmussen 1984, no. 118. I am grateful to have had the opportunity to consult the late Dr. Rasmussen's preliminary draft catalogue entry for the National Gallery bowl, which mentioned a piece illustrated in photographs, 1911, of the Alessandro Imbert collection in the library of Rainer Zietz in London, which looks virtually



identical to the Pesaro example; compare *Faïences italiennes de la collection Al. Imbert* [exh. cat., Union Centrale des Arts Decoratifs, Pavillon de Marsan] (Paris, 1911), 71, no. 368, catalogue by André Dubrujeaud. In view of the popularity of the Pesaro museum collection as a source for Pesaro copyists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the demonstrable spuriousness of a number of Imbert collection pieces, it seems unlikely that this piece was of Renaissance date.

3. Alessandro del Vita, "Le maioliche di Castel Durante nel Museo di Pesaro," *Dedalo* 11 (1930–1931), part 2, 376–377.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 64, as Castel Durante.
- 1942 Widener 1942: 14, no. C-69, as Castel Durante.
- 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 117, no. 5, as Duchy of Urbino.
- 1984 Rasmussen 1984: 165–166, as Castel Durante(?).

## Broad-rimmed bowl

with border of dolphins and "delphigriffs"; in the center, head of a young man

1942.9.343 (C-68)

Probably Urbino district

c. 1520/1530

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 24.7 (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)

Widener Collection

### LABELS

Kann 21, 191.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a somewhat pitted pinkish white glaze. The painting is in blue, gray, yellow, and white. Four neat kiln-support marks are near the edge on the front. There is a crack from two o'clock to the center, repaired and overpainted. The edge was originally painted yellow, but has been entirely overpainted white.

### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908; purchased February 1912 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

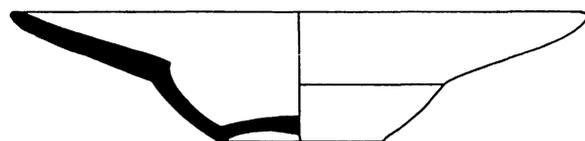
### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 23, color repro. 2, as Castel Durante or duchy of Urbino.

The thickly potted dish is delicately painted with a head of a young man in the well; on the sides of the well is painted in *bianco sopra bianco* a running floral tendril; on the rim, on a blue ground, is a symmetrical design with vases of fruit, dolphinlike creatures, a winged cherub head, trophies of shields and swords, and two large monsters, each with the head and wings of eagles and a forked fish tail. The ribbon work is scratched through the blue ground to the white beneath. The reverse is undecorated.

The National Gallery dish is undated but falls into a group of similarly painted pieces, including the following dated examples: a dish in the Dutuit collection in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, dated 1522;<sup>1</sup> a dish in the Musées Royaux, Brussels, one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, one in the University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, and one in the Wallace Collection, London, all dated 1526;<sup>2</sup> one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated 1527;<sup>3</sup> one in Bologna, dated 1528;<sup>4</sup> one in the British Museum, dated 1529;<sup>5</sup> and one formerly in the Pringsheim collection, dated 1530.<sup>6</sup> The British Museum piece has traces of luster, and several comparable pieces from the early 1530s, such as one in the Musée de la Renaissance at Ecoeu, dated 1533,<sup>7</sup> are lustered. The type is usually attrib-

uted to Castel Durante, but there seems little firm archaeological or other evidence to attribute the pieces to Castel Durante as opposed to Urbino (examples of the type are sometimes attributed to the hand of Nicola da Urbino, who is not known to have worked outside Urbino) or even, in view of the lustered examples, to Gubbio; the relationship of Maestro Giorgio of Gubbio and the craftsmen of Urbino and Castel Durante is an important problem awaiting further research. T.H.W.



1942.9.343, profile drawing

### NOTES

1. Join-Dieterle 1984, no. 43; Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 122, fig. 118; see the similarly painted orange-ground border decoration on a piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, no. 559), as by Nicola "Pellipario," that is, Nicola da Urbino; Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 123, fig. 119; a similar plate dated 1522 in the Ford collection, London, was published by Bernard Rackham, "The Ford Collection of Italian Maiolica," *Conn* 142 (1958), 148–151, no. 6, fig. 3.

2. Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 190, fig. 180; Rackham 1940, no. 568 (as by Nicola "Pellipario," that is, Nicola da Urbino); Bruce Cole, *Italian Maiolica from Midwestern Collections* [exh. cat., Indiana University Art Museum] (Bloomington, 1977), no. 1; Norman 1976, no. 42.

3. Rackham 1940, no. 569, as by Nicola; Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 214, fig. 198.

4. Ravanelli Guidotti 1985, no. 90; Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 227, pl. 28.

5. T. Wilson 1987, no. 120; Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 231, fig. 213. A nearly identical piece, also dated 1529, in an Italian private collection, is said to have been found under the pavement of a house in Frontino, not far from Urbania (Castel Durante). For a late (1537) example of the same sort of decoration, see Maria Mancini Della Chiara, *Maioliche del Museo Civico di Pesaro* (Pesaro, 1979), no. 83.

6. Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 241, fig. 218.

7. Giacomotti 1974, no. 756.

### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 64, as Castel Durante, c. 1530.  
1942 Widener 1942: 14, as Castel Durante, c. 1530.  
1983 C. Wilson 1983: 117, no. 6, repro., as duchy of Urbino.



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## Lustered maiolica: Deruta

Deruta is a small town in Umbria, a few miles south of Perugia, which has for centuries been dominated by the pottery industry. In the Renaissance it was one of a small group of centers that produced tin-glazed pottery on a very large scale and captured markets well beyond its own region. This specialization and almost industrial production was a characteristic phenomenon of the period: Castel Durante, Montelupo, and Castelli are other instances of such small “pottery towns” that boomed at this time.

The chief speciality of Deruta workshops was the application to pottery of the much-prized metallic luster. This was a technique first known to the Renaissance from the lusterwares of the Valencia region in eastern Spain, which were imported into Italy in considerable quantities in the fifteenth century and fetched noticeably higher prices than the work of Italian potters. Because the island of Majorca was one of the pivots of the western Mediterranean trade that brought Andalucian and, later, Valencian lusterwares to Italy, this pottery was usually known in Italy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as *maiolica* (Majorca ware). The Italian word *maiolica* was used, by extension, to describe Italian lusterwares and/or imitations of Valencian wares, and later broadened to its modern usage referring to all classes of tin-glazed pottery. Some uncertainty results from the fact that we cannot always be sure, when the word is found in sixteenth-century documents, exactly what is meant; the meaning seems to have varied in different parts of Italy.<sup>1</sup>

It was until recently thought likely that it was in Deruta shortly before 1500 that the luster technique was first mastered in Italy. Newly described documentary evidence, however, has suggested that lusterware may already have been produced in the nearby town of Gubbio in the 1480s;<sup>2</sup> there is little clear indication that the technique was practiced in Deruta this early. From around 1490, however, Deruta workshops, particularly those of the Masci family, were making lusterware in large quantities: in a tax return of 1498 the Masci claimed that their maiolica wares were “beautiful and unprecedented and sold throughout the whole world, and because of this the City of Perugia takes pride and increases in fame, and everyone wonders to see these *maiolica* works.”<sup>3</sup> The earliest pieces that are positively attributable to Deruta and bear dates are a series of pharmacy jars (one of them lustered) dated 1501 and 1502;<sup>4</sup> these may have been made in the Masci kilns, which the documents suggest dominated luster production in the years around 1500. In the sixteenth century Deruta potters produced vast quantities of tin-glazed pottery, lustered and unlustered, both functional and display pieces. Luster production seems to have tailed off after the middle of the century.

The National Gallery of Art has a fine collection of one of the most distinctive and celebrated of Deruta products, the large lustered dishes of the first half of the sixteenth century. These so-called *piatti da pompa*, which have survived in large numbers, usually have holes in the foot ring to enable them to be hung up, presumably for display, though it is curious how often the holes are not aligned with the top of the design. Similarly

designed but unlustered dishes were evidently made in the same workshops, but this type is not represented in the National Gallery collection. The favorite subjects are representations of young women and religious themes, and the style reflects a strong influence from local Umbrian artists, particularly Pinturicchio and Perugino. There was a great degree of standardization in Deruta pottery, and not only the same subjects but also the identical designs occur repeatedly, on both lustered and unlustered wares. This is particularly true of the female profiles: the commonest, like the Pinturicchio-derived profiles (1942.9.322, 1942.9.323), occur time and time again; rarely if ever do Deruta "portrait" dishes give the impression of being drawn from life.

Deruta potters were somewhat isolated from the dynamic artistic centers of the Renaissance and conservative in their design. The large lustered dishes are almost never dated or marked with workshop marks or artists' signatures until the work of Giacomo Mancini, called "El Frate," from the 1540s onward. The chronology of Deruta lusterware is consequently imprecise, and a consistent stylistic development is hard to make out; nor is there normally any evidence for attributions to particular workshops. Some rather hazardous conclusions can be drawn from pieces with apparently datable coats-of-arms. Three pieces with the arms of the Montefeltro dukes of Urbino can be dated before the death of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro in 1508, and a few dishes with the arms of popes provide fixed points.<sup>5</sup> In general it seems that red luster was used mainly in the first quarter of the century, and that sectional borders may not have been introduced until after about 1515. Most of the National Gallery pieces are here given a cautiously wide date bracket. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Biganti 1987, 211; see page 165, note 3. For an instance in which the word *maiolica* in the early sixteenth century, in Venice, seems already to have lost the association with luster, see Timothy Wilson, "Maiolica in Renaissance Venice," *Apollo* 125 (1987), 185. On the wider problems of the origins of luster production in Italy, see Giuseppe Liverani, "In tema di lustro metallico," *Faenza* 28 (1940), 87–98; Giuseppe Liverani, "Ancora sul lustro metallico a Faenza," *Faenza* 54 (1968), 3–8, with apparently convincing archaeological evidence for production of lusterware in Faenza around 1500. A two-handled *albarello* in the Musée du Louvre (Giacomotti 1974, no. 92), which is lustered and looks well before 1500 in date, has now been convincingly attributed to Deruta by Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 1: 54–55. The alternative theory that *maiolica* is an Italianization of the Spanish phrase *obra de Málequa*, "Malaga ware" or lusterware, is less

likely. Fifteenth-century Italian users of the phrase routinely write *maiolica*, a spelling that suggests they were thinking of the island of Majorca; but there may have been some confusion because of the similarity of the words. On the whole subject of the importation of Hispano-Moresque pottery into Italy see the references in Marco Spallanzani, "Un invio di maioliche ispano-moresche a Venezia negli anni 1401–1402," *Archeologia medievale* 5 (1978), 529–541, especially n. 4; T. Wilson 1987, 28.

2. Biganti 1987, 212, although the specific evidence is not there published.

3. Biganti 1987, 215; *Exercerunt et exercent artem figulorum ac vasariorum in dicto castro Diruti, ac maiolica et eorum laboreria pulcra et inaudita vendunt per univversum orbem et propter hoc civitas Perusina gloriatur et in fama crescit et omnes mirantur, intuentes laboreria maiolicata*.

4. T. Wilson 1987, nos. 38, 139, 150, and other examples there cited. See Biganti 1987, 218–219, where the not very convincing suggestion is made that the monogram, of “merchant’s mark” type, on these jars is that of the maker. The origin of the lustered plaque with Saint Sebastian, dated 1501, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, no. 437, as Deruta), which is the earliest known dated piece of Italian lusterware, is still an open question, in view of the positive evidence now published by Biganti that luster was being produced in Gubbio at this date. See also Fiocco and Gherardi 1988, 82–83, reasserting the Deruta origin of the Saint Sebastian.

5. Pieces with the Montefeltro arms: T. Wilson 1987, no. 204; Giacomotti 1974, no. 526; *Maioliche umbre decorate a lustro* [exh. cat., Chiostrì di San Nicolò, Spoleto] (Florence, 1982), 67, fig. 7. Arms of Julius II, pope from 1503 to 1513: T. Wilson 1987, no. 197; for pieces with the arms of the Medici Popes Leo X (1513–1521) and Clement VII (1523–1534) see 1942.9.319. The armorial and other evidence for the chronology of Deruta pottery is further discussed by Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 1: 73–75, 82–87.

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- Giacomotti 1974: 130–207.
- Antiche maioliche di Deruta*. Exh. cat., Palazzo Ancaiani, Spoleto. Florence, 1980.
- Fiocco and Gherardi 1982: 59–66.
- Fiocco, Carola, and Gabriella Gherardi. “Contributo allo studio della ceramica derutese.” *Faenza* 69 (1983): 90–93.
- Omaggio a Deruta*. Exh. cat., Monte San Savino. Perugia, 1986.
- Biganti 1987.
- Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, vol. 1. (This work, which supersedes all previous general accounts of Deruta Renaissance pottery, appeared when the present catalogue was virtually complete.)

## Large dish

with running plant border; in the center, horsemen fighting

1942.9.318 (C-43)

Deruta

c. 1500/1520

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 40.5 (16)

Widener Collection

#### LABELS

Kann 12, 181.

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front with a white tin glaze and on the back with a pock-marked semitranslucent yellowish brown glaze overlying spots of tin glaze. The painting is in blue, with luster varying in color from yellow to pinkish gold. In the foot ring are two holes for suspension, made before firing, placed so that the dish hangs slightly askew from them. On the reverse are six kiln scars, three near the edge and three on the curving sides of the well. A crack runs down the dish from one o'clock toward seven o'clock. There is some wear and chipping on the outer and inner edges of the rim.

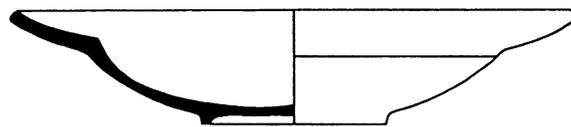
#### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.<sup>1</sup>

#### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 21, repro. 20, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.

The dish is painted with two horsemen in armor brandishing shields and swords, in a landscape with plants. On the rim is a continuous tendril with stylized plants and leaves. No source has been traced for the rather static design, though it looks as if it might be after an early Italian engraving or woodcut.<sup>2</sup> The running pattern on the rim can be compared to that on one of the earliest datable examples of such Deruta dishes, the one in the British Museum with the arms of Julius II, pope from 1503 to 1513.<sup>3</sup> T.H.W.



1942.9.318, profile drawing



NOTES

1. It is possible that this is the dish sold at the Soltykoff sale in Paris, 8 April–1 May 1861, no. 668, described as a Pesaro plate 40 cm. in diameter, painted with "deux cavaliers combattant vêtus à l'antique. Le bord est orné de feuillages"; this was bought by Carrand, but is not in the Carrand collection at the Bargello.

2. Compare the groups of soldiers on the 1501 *albarelllo* and the dish in the British Museum (T. Wilson

1987, nos. 38, 153), which give a similar impression of having an as yet undiscovered graphic source.

3. T. Wilson 1987, no. 197.

REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 55, as Deruta, c. 1520.

1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Deruta, c. 1520.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 124, no. 1, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.

## Large dish

with plant-pattern border; in the center, the arms of a Medici pope

1942.9.319 (C-44)

Deruta

1513 or later—probably not after 1534

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 41.6 (16 $\frac{3}{8}$ )

Widener Collection

### LABELS

Kann 31, 205.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front and edge with a white tin glaze and on the back with an even yellowish semi-translucent glaze overlying streaks of tin glaze. Concentric turning marks are visible on the back. The painting is in blue (which has bubbled slightly) and, to represent red in the arms, a streaky red-brown, with yellowish golden luster. In the foot ring are two holes for suspension, made

before firing, placed so that the dish hangs correctly from them. On the back, on the curving sides of the well, are two kiln scars. The dish has been cracked and repaired from eight o'clock toward the center and through the rim at two o'clock; bands of overpaint run over these repairs. There is extensive wear and chipping on the outer and inner edges of the rim.

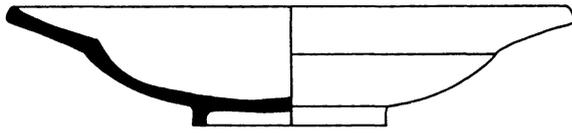
### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.<sup>1</sup>

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 19, as Deruta, 1513/1534.





1942.9.319, profile drawing

The dish is painted on the front with a shield of arms of the main branch of the Medici family of Florence, or, five torteaux and in chief a hurt charged with three fleurs de lis or, flanked by foliate scrolls terminating as winged monsters and surmounted by the crossed keys and tiara of the papacy; this composition is surrounded by a narrow wreath. On the rim is a pattern of stylized leaves and plants.

The right to use the royal lilies of France in a roundel as an augmentation to the Medici arms was granted by Louis XI of France to Piero de' Medici and his descendants in 1465. There is no heraldic criterion for ascertaining whether these are the arms of Leo X, pope from 1513 to 1521, or of Clement VII, 1523 to 1534, and stylistically either seems possible. The existence of numerous Deruta pieces decorated with the arms of the High Renaissance popes from Julius II onward, and of Roman families like the Orsini and the Colonna, suggests that the Deruta pottery industry in the first half of the sixteenth century had a flourishing market in Rome.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that dishes of this sort with the arms of popes but without personal devices of any sort were ever owned by the popes themselves, as opposed to being made for loyal supporters of the papacy, or being simply commemorative.<sup>3</sup> Other Deruta dishes with the arms of Medici popes include two lustered ones inscribed VIVA in the Musée National de la Renaissance at Ecouen, an unlustered one dated 1531, also at Ecouen, and a very similar but undated one in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. A two-handled vase in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with the same arms, is close in style to the National Gallery dish.<sup>4</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. It is possible that this is the plate from the Castellani collection, described in the sale catalogue (Paris, 27–29 May 1878, no. 145) as 42 cm. in diameter and as having “au centre, large écusson portant les armes du pape Léon X et deux cornes d’abondance. Au marli palmettes et ornements variés. (Pesaro.)”; however, the description of the border of the Castellani piece in *Catalogue of the Castellani Collection in the Loan Exhibition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1877), no. 2, “Maiolica &c,” no. 145, as “scale decoration and flowers” does not seem to correspond to the National Gallery piece. The Castellani piece is more probably the one illustrated in Emile Molinier, *Collection Charles Mannheim, Objets d’art* (Paris, 1898), no. 64.

2. For some notes on the markets for Deruta potters in the Renaissance see Ugolino Nicolini in *Antiche maioliche di Deruta* [exh. cat., Palazzo Ancaiani, Spoleto] (Florence, 1980), 28–30. Pieces with the arms of the Orsini and the Colonna are listed by Rasmussen 1984, 145; Fiocco and Gherardi 1982, 62, n. 8.

3. There is a greater likelihood that pieces with personal devices and mottoes, as well as shields of arms, may actually have been made for the men whose arms they bear; see Timothy Wilson, “Some Medici Devices on Pottery,” *Faenza* 70 (1984), 438.

4. The Ecouen ones are in Giacomotti 1974, nos. 564, 570, 488; the Los Angeles County Museum example is illustrated in the catalogue of the De Zoete sale, Sotheby’s, London, 6 April 1935, no. 224. The Victoria and Albert Museum jar is Rackham 1940, no. 488. A series of smaller lustered dishes attributed to Deruta with the arms of Medici and the word CLEMENS, but without the papal tiara, are at Sèvres, the Petit Palais in Paris, Columbus (Ohio), and the Kunstgewerbemuseum in West Berlin (references in Join-Dieterle 1984, 88); six more are in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. One was sold at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 4 April 1977, no. 38; another, sold at Sotheby’s, London, 14 June 1988, no. 15, is now in the British Museum; another was formerly in the Pringsheim collection, and is illustrated in the unpublished draft third volume of the Pringsheim catalogue in the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 180/1. It cannot be regarded as certain that this series was made before the death of Pope Clement VII, though its date cannot be earlier than 1523. A large dish in the Musée Ariana, Geneva, with the arms of Pope Pius IV (1559–1565), is illustrated by Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, I: 75, fig. 35.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 55, as Deruta c. 1520.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 124, no. 38, as Deruta 1513/1534.  
 1989 Rasmussen 1989: 64.

## Large dish

with border of floral scrollwork with cornucopias and a crown; in the center, a griffin holding a shield of arms amid roses

1942.9.321 (C-46)

Probably Deruta

c. 1500/1525

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 41.6 (16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Widener Collection

### LABELS

Kann 33, 207. Affixed to the back of the dish was a handwritten label, apparently of nineteenth-century date: *N° 5. Plat de Gubbio. Armoiries de Guido Baldo duc d'Urbino.*<sup>1</sup>

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front and edge with a white tin glaze, on the back with a semitranslucent grayish glaze. Concentric turning marks are visible on the reverse. The painting is in a somewhat bubbled grayish blue, carefully filled in with a not entirely successful brownish luster. In the foot ring are two holes for suspension, made before firing, placed so that the dish hangs correctly from them. There are kiln scars on the back and on the edge. There is some wear and chipping to the outer and inner edge of the rim.

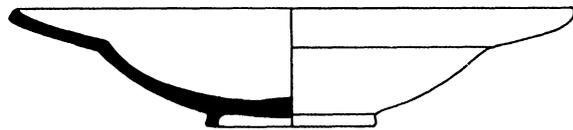
### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 20, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.

The front of the dish is painted with a griffin rampant holding up a shield *quarterly blue and white*. Flanking this is a symmetrical design of twisting cornucopias tied together at the base, curling scrollwork, and flowers; at the top, above the griffin's head, is a coronet.



1942.9.321, profile drawing

The blue in the shield could be intended to represent *sable* (black) or *azure* (blue), and the arms cannot be identified with any certainty. Sir George Hill's manuscript *Ordinary of Italian arms* in the British Library records the following families as having used *quarterly azure and argent*: Carnassali of Aquila, Galaenzi of Venice, Manfredi of Ferrara, and Sestiere of Genoa. *Quarterly sable and argent* is recorded for Collalto of Venice.<sup>2</sup>

A small group of lustered dishes, presumably products of the same workshop, are painted with armorial designs and decoration spreading boldly from the well onto the rim, and have a similarly smudged effect to the luster. Other examples are in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and the Musée du Louvre.<sup>3</sup> Particularly close and perhaps by the same painter is a dish in the Robert Lehman collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in which two griffins, virtually identical to the one on the National Gallery dish, hold up a shield of arms identified by Rasmussen as those of Ercole Baglioni, bishop of Orvieto from 1511, who died in 1520.<sup>4</sup> This appears to establish a date range for the group. T.H.W.

### NOTES

1. A nineteenth-century collector or dealer might have attributed the dish to Gubbio, but it is difficult to imagine why the arms should ever have been thought to be those of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino; it is possible that the label has been transferred from another piece.

2. British Library Add. mss. 46809–46820.

3. Joan Prentice von Erdberg and Marvin C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Italian Majolica in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1952), no. 18; Giacomotti 1974, no. 565. Another example, in a private collection, has the royal arms of France.

4. Rasmussen 1989, no. 40. The heraldic dating confirms the instinct of J. V. G. Mallet, who wrote to Timothy Wilson, August 1989: "I should have thought it possible to argue earliness from the vigour of drawing and technical imperfection"; he suggested a date bracket 1500/1530.

### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 55, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Deruta, c. 1520.



## Large dish

with segmental border of plant sprays and scale pattern; in the center, an emblematic female figure holding a crowned toad and cornucopia

1942.9.317 (C-42)

Deruta

c. 1510/1540

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 40.3 (15 $\frac{7}{8}$ )

Widener Collection

### LABELS

Kann II, 180.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front with a white tin glaze and on the back with a semitranslucent yellowish brown glaze overlying blobs of tin glaze. The painting is in blue, with luster varying in color from yellow to brown, with patches and streaks of red; the luster is greenish where it overlies the blue. The dish has warped slightly in the kiln. In the foot ring are two holes for suspension, made before firing, placed so that the dish hangs correctly from them.



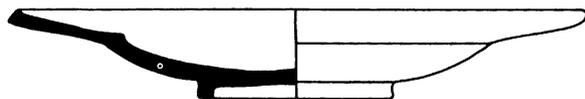
There are kiln scars on the back and on the edge. The glaze on the front is somewhat cracked. On the rim at eight o'clock a piece has broken away and been repaired, with some overpaint. There is some wear and chipping on the outer and inner edges of the rim.

#### PROVENANCE

Probably Alessandro Castellani, Rome (sale, Paris, 27–29 May 1878, no. 146, as Pesaro).<sup>1</sup> Probably A. Andrews, London (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 14–17 April 1888, no. 391); (Seligmann, Paris). Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

#### EXHIBITIONS

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1877.<sup>2</sup> London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1887.<sup>3</sup> NGA 1982–1983, no. 13, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.



1942.9.317, profile drawing

The dish is painted on the front with a woman in long robes walking through a stylized landscape with a walled town; she holds in her left hand a cornucopia, and in her right a frog or toad with a coronet over it; on the right is a stylized plant. The central scene is surrounded by a simple garland.

On the rim are panels of scale pattern and foliate sprays. Around the edge is a band of luster. The meaning of the crowned frog/toad device has not been discovered. It may be an emblem with moral or satirical significance, or a personal device or rebus. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue des faïences italiennes... Composant l'importante collection de M. Alessandro Castellani* (Paris, 1878), no. 146, as Pesaro.

2. *Catalogue of the Castellani Collection in the Loan Exhibition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1877), no. 2, "Maiolica &c," no. 146.

3. *Catalogue of Specimens of Hispano-Moresque and Majolica Pottery exhibited in 1887* (London, 1887), no. 321, lent by Mr. Andrews. The iconographical subject has not been noted on any other piece: although the Burlington Fine Arts Club catalogue describes the piece belonging to Mr. Andrews as having four compartments (as opposed to three on the National Gallery piece) of scale work and floral ornament, it is likely that Mr. Andrews' dish is the one now in the National Gallery of Art, and that the dish described in the Castellani exhibition and sale is also the same one. "Seligman" is given as the purchaser in the marked copy of the Andrews sale in the archives of Christie's, almost certainly referring to the Paris dealer Jacques Seligmann (for whom see Germain Seligman, *Merchants of Art 1880–1960* [New York, 1961]).

#### REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 54, as Deruta with Gubbio luster, c. 1520.

1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Deruta with Gubbio luster, c. 1520.

## Large dish

with scale border; in the center, an imperial Roman figure and the letter N crowned

1942.9.320 (C-45)

Deruta

c. 1510/1540

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 42.6 (16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)

Widener Collection

#### INSCRIPTIONS

In front of the figure's face: crowned N.

#### LABELS

Kann 8, 177.

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front and partially on the edge with a white tin glaze, on the back with a pock-marked semitranslucent creamy brown glaze overlying streaks of tin glaze. The painting is in blue, with luster varying from yellowish gold to patchy pink. In the foot ring are two holes, made before firing, placed so that the dish hangs correctly from them. There are several kiln scars on the back, beneath the rim and the curving sides of the well. Slight cracks run from the edge at six o'clock and ten o'clock. There is wear and chipping on the outer and inner edges of the rim, with extensive overpaint on the outer edge. The glaze on the front is somewhat scratched.



Deruta, *Large dish with scale border; in the center, an imperial Roman figure and the letter N crowned,* 1942.9.320

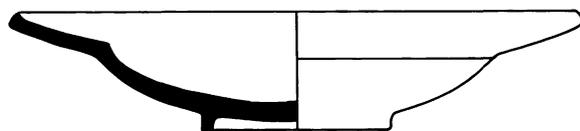
PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.<sup>1</sup>

EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 16, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.

The dish is painted on the front with a half-length profile of a man in a Roman toga and a wreath with a fluttering ribbon; in front of him is a large letter N surmounted by a coronet; the background is ornamented with flowers and tendrils. Around this runs a narrow wreath. On the rim is scale pattern. The heroically stern figure is a conventional representation of a Roman emperor, of a type—based ultimately on Roman coins and other ancient models—that was popular with Renaissance artists. In the early sixteenth century emperors were often portrayed in sets of twelve, as in the series of medallion engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi.<sup>2</sup> Nearly identical imperial profiles occur on Deruta plates in the Musée du Louvre, the Museo Comunale at Deruta, and the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.<sup>3</sup> The crowned N may be an indication that the head is intended as a portrait of the emperor Nero; it bears some resemblance to a portrait of Nero by the German engraver Daniel Hopfer (active 1493–1536), though that can hardly have been the painter's model.<sup>4</sup> However, when compared to the Marcantonio series, the head is closer to some of the other emperors than to Nero. The large letters frequently found (but usually uncrowned) in the background of Deruta "portrait" dishes presumably normally refer to the "sitter," but are difficult to explain precisely. A Roman emperor figure on a dish in the Sackler collection has a letter C; another, at Ecoenen, has an A.<sup>5</sup> N appears particularly often; it occurs un-



1942.9.320, profile drawing

crowned on Deruta dishes with other subjects, for instance one formerly in the Strauss collection portraying an Oriental in a turban, and one in the British Museum with a female profile. A plate in the Gillet collection at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyons, has a figure of a man with a crowned N, but he is not in Roman dress. A fragment described as portraying a Roman emperor with the letter N was sold from the Gavet collection in 1897.<sup>6</sup> T.H.W.

NOTES

1. This dish may well be the one "with the Emperor Nero, initial and crown, surrounded by scale ornaments, in metallic luster, 16¾ in. diameter" sold from the collection of Auguste Ricard de Montferrand of Saint Petersburg at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 14–16 November 1859, no. 237.

2. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 372–374, nos. 501–512.

3. Giacomotti 1974, no. 579; Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, I: fig. 50; Joan Prentice von Erdberg and Marvin C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Italian Majolica in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1952), no. 17. Compare also the pieces listed by Hausmann 1972, 212, and one sold at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 3 October 1988, no. 69. Two Deruta dishes unequivocally labeled as representing Nero, but less classicizing in portrayal, are a. in Berlin (Hausmann 1972, no. 158) and b. formerly in the Woodward collection (Tancred Borenius, *Catalogue of a Collection of Pottery Belonging to W. H. Woodward* [privately printed, 1928], no. 34). Three more examples of similar imperial profiles, two lustered and one unlustered, are in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Φ 359, Φ 1763, Φ 2140.

4. Bartsch 1803–1821, VIII: 491, no. 76.

5. NGA 1982, no. 17; sale, Christie's, London, 2 July 1979, no. 9, repro.; Giacomotti 1974, no. 556.

6. The Strauss dish was sold at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 21 June 1976, no. 33; the British Museum plate has the registration number 1885, 5–8, 37; the Lyons dish is illustrated by Jeanne Giacomotti, "Les majoliques de la collection Paul Gillet au Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs," *Cahiers de la céramique* 25 (1962), 44, fig. 29. The Gavet fragment was sold in Paris, 31 May–9 June 1897, no. 466, described as Deruta.

REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 55, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 124, no. 4, repro. 125, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.

## Large dish

with border of floral scrollwork and cornucopias; in the center, profile bust of "Faustina"

1942.9.322 (C-47)

Deruta

c. 1510/1535

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 41.2 (16¼)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

On a scroll in front of the woman's face: *F/AUSTI/NA·PULIT/A·EB/ELLA*; on tablets in the border: *TIMOR* and *DOMIN*<sup>1</sup>

### LABELS

Kann 13.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front and edge with a white tin glaze, on the reverse with a speckled and slightly pockmarked yellowish brown glaze, which has crawled off the body in small patches. On the reverse, low ridges radiate from the foot ring toward the edge. The painting is in blue with golden-yellow luster. In the foot ring are two holes for suspension, made before firing, placed in such a way that the dish hangs from them slightly askew. There are three kiln scars on the reverse, one near the edge, two on the curving sides of the well. There are patches of damage, filled and inpainted, on the woman's head cloth, the front of her dress, and the rim at four o'clock. The glaze is scuffed, and there is some wear and chipping on the outer and inner edges of the rim.



Fig. 1 Pinturicchio, detail of *Visitation of the Virgin*, fresco, Rome, Vatican, Borgia Apartments (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

### PROVENANCE

Alessandro Castellani, Rome (sale, Paris, 27–29 May 1878, no. 169). Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1877.<sup>1</sup> NGA 1982–1983, no. 14, color repro. on cover, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.

The dish is painted on the front with a half-length profile of a young woman wearing a loosely draped gown; on the front of her dress are a scale pattern and rings of dots simulating textile patterns. The figure is flanked by two cornucopias, which run from the well over to the rim. On the rim are linked sprays of foliate scrollwork with stylized plants and fruit.

The profile is a standardized one, probably derived—like many other designs on Deruta wares—from Pinturicchio; it is, though simplified, perhaps derived ultimately from a figure in the foreground of Pinturicchio's fresco of the Visitation in the Borgia apartments in the Vatican (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> (For the influence of Pinturicchio on Deruta maiolica, see 1942.9.323.) The same profile was used over and over again on Deruta lustered and unlustered dishes of this sort. One in the Musée du Louvre has a nearly identical inscription, *FAUSTINA BELLA PULITA*.<sup>3</sup>

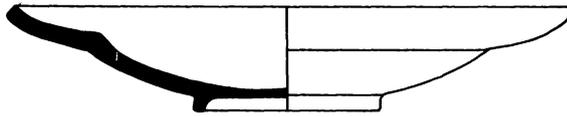
Deruta portrait dishes of this kind have a great variety of moralizing inscriptions and slogans praising the sitter; both types of inscription are combined on this example. There is little tangible evidence for the idea that these dishes were commissioned by young men as gifts for their girlfriends, and it is not even clear that the names on the dishes refer to real girls; it is notable, for instance, that the overwhelmingly common (but prosaic?) name *Maria* virtually never occurs on Renaissance portrait dishes. T.H.W.

### NOTES

1. *Catalogue of the Castellani Collection in the Loan Exhibition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1877), no. 2, "Maiolica &c," no. 169.

2. Alessandro Marabottini Marabotti, "Fonti iconografiche e stilistiche della decorazione nella maiolica rinascimentale," in *Maioliche ombre decorate a lustro* [exh. cat., Chiostrì di San Nicolò, Spoleto] (Florence 1982), 30.





1942.9.322, profile drawing

This seems a closer parallel than Perugino's figure from the Collegio del Cambio, Perugia, illustrated by Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 1: fig. 49.

3. Four examples of the profile are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, nos. 475, 476, 477, 478); one is in the British Museum (T. Wilson 1987, no. 226); one is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (exh. cat. Florence 1982, 94, no. 5); two were in the Adda collection (Bernard Rackham, *Islamic Pottery and Italian*

*Maiolica. Illustrated Catalogue of a Private Collection* [London, 1959], nos. 354 and 354A); another is in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 1: fig. 48); and several others are cited by Rackham 1940, no. 475; Giacomotti 1974, no. 582 (the other Faustina plate); Join-Dieterle 1984, 76. Four examples are in the Museo Civico, Pesaro; Maria Mancini Della Chiara, *Maioliche del Museo Civico di Pesaro. Catalogo* (Pesaro, 1979), nos. 165, 167, 170, 172.

#### REFERENCES

- 1877 Beckwith, Arthur. *Majolica and Fayence*. New York, 1877: 88–89, fig. 32, as Pesaro or Gubbio.  
 1935 Widener 1935: 56, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 124, no. 2, repro. 125, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.  
 1989 Rasmussen 1989: 60.

## Large dish

with segmental border of plant sprays and scale pattern; in the center, profile bust of a woman in a winged headdress

1942.9.323 (C-48)

Deruta

c. 1515/1540

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 41.3 (16¼)

Widener Collection

#### INSCRIPTIONS

On scroll: *CHI B/ IENGU/ I/ DASUABARCHA/ SEP/ REE/ P°RT°*  
*(He who steers his ship well is always in harbor)*

#### LABELS

Kann 32; circular pink label for the Manchester exhibition in 1857: *MUSEUM ART TREA[SURES] EXHIBITION LORD HASTINGS 112*; handwritten nineteenth-century label: *Majolica-ware—glaze a "lustre métallique"—fabric of the commencement of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.*

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front and edge with a white tin glaze and on the back with a pockmarked semitranslucent yellowish brown glaze overlying streaks of tin glaze. The painting is in blue, with golden brown luster. The dish has warped slightly in the kiln. In the foot ring are two holes, made before firing, placed so that the dish hangs slightly askew from them. There are kiln scars on the back and edge. The glaze on the front has crawled in patches near the edge. There are small areas of overpaint, notably near the woman's mouth.

#### PROVENANCE

Baron Hastings, Melton Constable, Norfolk, by 1857 (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 20–21 March 1888, probably no. 100).<sup>1</sup> Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

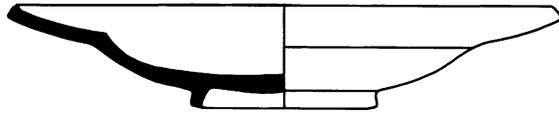
#### EXHIBITIONS

Manchester, Art Treasures Palace, 1857, *Exhibition of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, no cat. NGA 1982–1983, no. 15, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.

The dish is painted on the front with a profile of a woman wearing a headband incorporating wings and a mask; in front of her is a scroll with the inscription; to the left and right are stylized flowers. The central scene is surrounded by a narrow wreath tied at eight points. On the rim are panels of scale pattern and foliate sprays separated by formalized plant ornament. Around the edge is a band of luster.

The profile is somewhat in the style of Pinturicchio, and particularly seems to echo the horned head of a woman in his fresco of Saint Anthony and Saint Paul the hermit in the Borgia apartments in





1942.9.323, profile drawing

the Vatican.<sup>2</sup> More or less identical profiles, with the same headdress, occur on a number of other Deruta dishes, both lustered and unlustered, with a variety of backgrounds, inscriptions, and border ornament.<sup>3</sup> Deruta maiolica workshops evidently had available a stock of drawings from works by local artists, particularly Perugino and Pinturicchio, and the Renaissance practice (like the modern practice in some Italian maiolica workshops) was probably to make use of pricked drawings or other mechanical aids to transfer outlines onto dishes. It would be rash to assume that the workshops had access to drawings by Pinturicchio or Perugino themselves, but as the Vatican frescoes were not available in engraved copies and can hardly have been easily accessible to Deruta potters in person, some circulation of drawings from the studios of local painters seems likely. A persistent story in the modern literature that Pinturicchio was married to the daughter of a Deruta potter has not been substantiated from contemporary documents.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription is one of the commonest of the popular moralizing slogans found on Deruta dishes; it is usually found on portraits of women, but also accompanies (on a plate once in the Damiron collection) a figure of a classical soldier derived from the Leonidas in Perugino's fresco in the Collegio del Cambio in Perugia.<sup>5</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue of Majolica... the property of the Right Hon. Lord Hastings* (London, 1888), no. 100, is probably this piece. The name of the purchaser is given in the marked copy of the Hastings sale catalogue in the archives of Christie's as "Stett".

2. The comparison is made and the fresco reproduced by Alessandro Marabottini Marabotti, "Fonti iconografiche e stilistiche della decorazione nella maiolica rinascimentale," in *Maioliche umbre decorate a lustro* [exh. cat., Chiostrì di San Nicolò, Spoleto] (Florence, 1982), 30-31.

3. Other examples include: a lustered dish in the Musée du Louvre and an unlustered one at Ecouen (Giacomotti 1974, nos. 586, 516); a lustered one in Ravenna (Francesco Zurli and Anna Maria Iannucci, *Ceramiche dalle collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna* [Bologna, 1982], 65, no. 6); one formerly in the Murray collection, sale, Cassirer and Helbing, Berlin, 6-7 November 1929, no. 44, cat. by Robert Schmidt; one formerly in the Adda collection (Bernard Rackham, *Islamic Pottery and Italian Maiolica* [London, 1959], no. 354B); one formerly in the Spitzer collection (Molinier 1892, no. 192 bis); one in the Gillet collection at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Lyons (*112 pièces de la collection de faïences Paul Gillet* [Lyons, 1956], no. 39); an unlustered one formerly in the Pringsheim collection (Otto von Falke, *Die Majoliksammlung Alfred Pringsheim in München* [Leiden, 1914-1923], 1: no. 124); and another sold at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 29 November 1982, no. 337. It seems unlikely that all these differing versions of a standard profile were made in a single workshop, so designs were perhaps passed around between workshops.

4. Marabottini Marabotti 1982, 36, remarks vaguely, "si dice che il pittore avesse sposato la figlia di un vasaio derutese"; but according to documents printed by G. B. Vermiglioli, *Di Bernardino Pinturicchio... Memorie* (Perugia, 1837), appendice di documenti, LXV-LXX, Pinturicchio was survived at his death by a widow called Grania, daughter of Niccolò of Bologna or of Modena; see Timothy Wilson, "Girolamo Genga, designer for maiolica?" in *Italian Renaissance Pottery*, ed. Timothy Wilson (London, 1991), 157.

5. The Damiron dish was sold at Sotheby's, London, 16 June 1938, no. 30. Other instances of the slogan are two in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, nos. 450, 481); one in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Fiocco and Gherardi 1988-1989, 1: fig. 48); one in the Petit Palais, Paris (Join-Dieterle 1984, no. 14); one in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Lyons (*112 pièces... Paul Gillet* 1956, no. 59); one formerly in the collection of R. W. M. Walker, sold Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 25-26 July 1945, no. 75; and one formerly in the Piot collection (*Collection Eugène Piot; objets d'art de la renaissance, tableaux* [Paris, 1890], no. 338).

REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 56, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Deruta, c. 1520.

## Large dish

with segmental border of half plant sprays and scale pattern; in the center, profile bust of a woman

1942.9.324 (C-49)

Deruta

c. 1515/1540

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 41 (16 $\frac{1}{8}$ )

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

On a scroll in front of the woman's face: *CONFERMA/FE* (or possibly *TE* or *LE*).

### LABELS

Kann 10, 179; square, nineteenth-century printed label: 337, from an unidentified collection or sale.

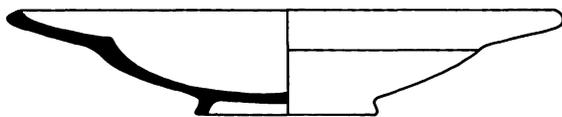
### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front and edge with a white tin glaze and on the back with a semitranslucent brownish glaze. The painting is in blue, with uneven yellowish brown luster. The dish has warped slightly in the kiln. In the foot ring are two holes for suspension, made before firing, placed so that the dish hangs correctly from them. There are kiln scars on the back and edge. A crack runs from eight o'clock toward the center. There is wear and chipping on the outer and inner edges of the rim, and some scratching of the glaze.



#### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.



1942.9.324, profile drawing

The dish is painted on the front with a profile of a woman in an elaborate headdress (her hair arranged in a roll and covered with a kerchief) with stylized flowers and a scroll. The lettering of the second word of the inscription on the scroll is not clear and four readings have been suggested: CONFERMA FE (confirm your faith), CON FERMA FE (with firm faith), CONFERMA TE (prove yourself), and CONFERMA LE. Although the last might seem the obvious reading of the problematic letter, it would require the supposition that the painter wished the viewer to take account of the backward curl of the scroll and read the inscription through the ribbon as if it were transparent; this would be highly unusual for such Deruta dishes with mottoes (compare the other examples in the National Gallery).<sup>1</sup> No solution seems totally unproblematic, but in view of the occurrence of virtually the same motto on at least one other Deruta dish,<sup>2</sup> FE, abbreviated for FEDE, seems the most probable reading. Around the center runs a simple narrow wreath. On the rim are panels

of scale pattern and leaf ornament separated by panels of formalized plant ornament. Near the edge is a band of luster.

The woman's profile on this dish is less standardized than that on 1942.9.322 and 1942.9.323. The face is more carefully modeled with shading than is usual on Deruta pieces.<sup>3</sup> The elaborate headdress can be paralleled on some other Deruta portrait plates.<sup>4</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. It is difficult to find a convincing meaning for CONFERMA LE (or LE CONFERMA). Douglas Lewis has proposed two possibilities, albeit obscure: either "It confirms her" or "Confirm it to her," interpreting "it" as the patron's love, which the work of art that he offers her confirms.

2. The slogan in full, CONFERMA FEDE, occurs on a dish in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut; see Jörg Rasmussen in *J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector*, ed. by Linda Horvitz Roth [exh. cat., Wadsworth Atheneum] (Hartford, 1987), no. 7. CON FERMA FEDE, "with firm faith," proposed by J. V. G. Mallet, seems a possible interpretation. This seems plausible, even though on neither the Wadsworth Atheneum nor the National Gallery piece is there any indication of a word break between CON and FERMA.

3. Recent thermoluminescence analysis has confirmed the piece to be of Renaissance date; Oxford Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art report 481e89, 30 March 1988, estimating the piece to have been "last fired between 330 and 510 years ago."

4. For instance one in the Musée du Louvre; Giacomotti 1974, no. 587; another in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, inv. 1666.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 56–57, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Deruta, c. 1520.

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## Large dish

with scale border; in the center, the Madonna and Child

1942.9.325 (C-50)

Deruta

c. 1500/1535

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 45.5 (18)

Widener Collection

#### INSCRIPTIONS

On scroll: .AVE/SANTI/SSI<sup>A</sup>AA/RIA.MATE/RDEI.REG/INA.CELI  
(Hail most holy Mary, Mother of God, Queen of Heaven)

#### LABELS

Kann 9, 178.

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front and part of the edge with a white tin glaze, on the reverse with a greenish glaze. Concentric turning marks are visible on the underside. The painting is in blue with a brilliantly iridescent golden luster. In the foot ring two holes for suspension, placed so that the dish hangs askew from them, have been made after the dish was fired and glazed; a third, placed centrally, has been drilled subsequently. There is a hole in the glaze (a firing flaw) on the child's left leg. A piece has been broken from the rim at seven o'clock and repaired with some overpaint. There are small patches of overpaint on the central scene, on the edge at one o'clock, and on the inner edge of the rim, and extensive overpaint on the reverse.



#### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

#### EXHIBITIONS

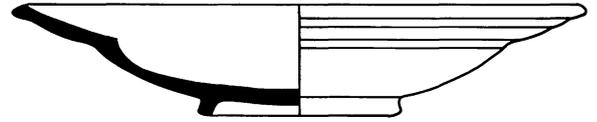
NGA 1982–1983, no. 18, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.

The dish is painted in the center with the seated Madonna and the infant Jesus standing on her knee, making a gesture of benediction; the navel of the naked Jesus has a curious resemblance to an eye, probably unintentional. On either side are stylized flowers and a curling scroll with the inscription. Around the central scene is a wreath, and on the rim a scale pattern; near the edge is a band of luster.

The same group of Virgin and Child occurs on several other pieces of Deruta maiolica.<sup>1</sup> No specific source for the group is known, but it is of a general type that can be paralleled in Umbrian painting around 1500.<sup>2</sup> Religious subjects were particularly common on Deruta maiolica, and to a somewhat lesser extent at Gubbio. The reason for this was probably in part the influence of the major pilgrimage center of Assisi nearby, which provided an important market for Deruta products from the fourteenth century onward.<sup>3</sup> The phrase on the scroll, while echoing the Biblical words of the Angel of the Annunciation to the Virgin ("Ave Maria gratia plena"), reflects the Roman Catholic vision of her as Queen of Heaven. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. These include a dish in the Bargello (with a background of stars); Giovanni Conti, *Museo nazionale di Firenze, Palazzo del Bargello: Catalogo delle maioliche* (Florence, 1971), no. 96; one in the Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, Curnow 1992, no. 29; an unpublished plate in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, no. Ф1494; a plaque formerly in the Murray and Damiron collections, sold at Sotheby's, London, 27 April 1954, no. 131; and an



1942.9.325, profile drawing

unlustered dish in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Lyons, formerly in the Tollin collection and reproduced in *169 pièces de la collection Paul Gillet* (Lyons, 1943), no. 135. See also Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi, *Ceramiche di Deruta, Secoli xv–xvi*, Lo specchio del Bargello 21 (Florence, 1990), 35, where another example, sold in Rome in 1910, is cited. A plaque with the same iconography, but probably not made in Deruta, is in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham University, England.

2. Compare, in general, a version of the subject by Pinturicchio in the Denver Art Museum; Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Schools xv–xvi Century* (London, 1968), 101, fig. 245. Shapley suggests that the composition originated with Verrocchio. The motif of the Christ Child standing on his mother's lap and grasping a fold of her robe is perhaps derived from a composition used several times by Perugino; see the pictures in Fano, Senigallia, and the Vatican: Walter Bombe, *Perugino*, *Klassiker der Kunst* 25 (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1914), pls. 67, 74, 75. The Madonna and Child fresco by Alfani in the church of San Francesco in Deruta (of which Carola Fiocco and Giulio Busti kindly sent me photographs) has the Child on the Madonna's knee and reaching out, but is otherwise iconographically unrelated.

3. See, for instance, Ugolino Nicolini in *Antiche maioliche di Deruta* [exh. cat., Palazzo Ancaiani, Spoleto] (Florence, 1980), 28–30.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 57, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Deruta, c. 1520.  
1983 C. Wilson 1983: 125, no. 1, as Deruta, first third of sixteenth century.  
1992 Curnow, Celia. *Italian Maiolica in the National Museums of Scotland*. National Museums of Scotland Information Series, no. 5. Edinburgh, 1992: 39.

## Plate

with border of rounded hills within pointed arches with flowers between them;  
in the center, a wading bird between stylized plants

1942.9.327 (C-52)

Deruta or possibly Gubbio

c. 1490/1525

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 23.1 (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ )  
Widener Collection

### LABELS

Kann 19, 189; an old circular label, in pen: 15; a serrated circular label, in pen: D17; a nineteenth-century rectangular printed label: 50.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

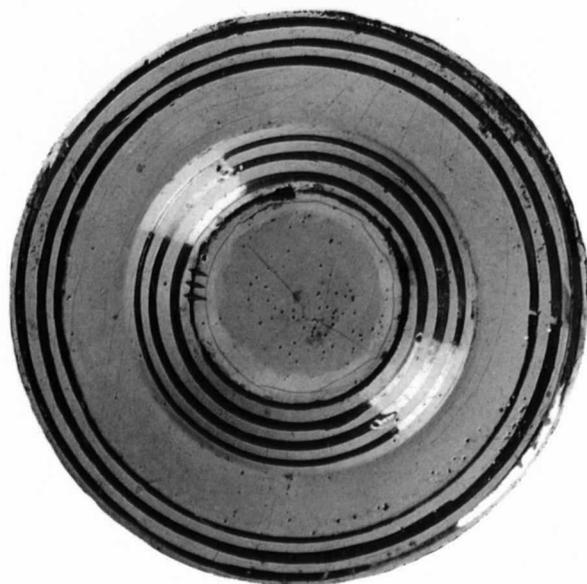
Earthenware, covered front and back, except beneath the foot ring, with a whitish tin glaze. The painting is out-

lined in blue but mainly executed in red and golden-brown lusters. There are three kiln-support marks on the sides of the well. The glaze is scratched and cracked, and the outer and inner edges of the rim are chipped and worn. Substantial chips in the rim between three and five o'clock have been filled and overpainted.

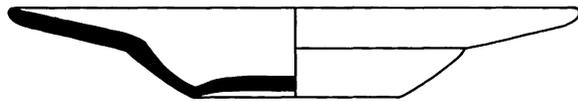
### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.





1942.9.327, back



1942.9.327, profile drawing

The plate is painted in the center with a wading bird between stylized plants; in the sky are lustered rays. On the sides of the well are painted a double row of scale pattern and a row of dots. On the rim are concentric pointed arches containing motifs similar to heraldic mounts, with rudimentary plants on top; between the arches are simple flowers. Around the edge is a thin band of red luster and a thicker band of golden-brown luster. The reverse is painted in brownish luster with three concentric lines near the edge and three near the well.

This plate is of a type painted in golden and red luster, which has been generally thought to be among the early work of Maestro Giorgio in Gubbio, partly because several previous writers have supposed that red luster was not used in Deruta potteries. This has now been shown by the study of fragments of locally made pottery found in Deruta to be incorrect,<sup>1</sup> but it seems to be true that it was not used there as regularly as in Gubbio. A plate painted with Saint Francis, of similar design but

described as with golden luster only, was found in Deruta and published in 1924.<sup>2</sup> On this basis, an attribution of this plate and 1942.9.328 to Deruta looks probable; but in the absence of positive evidence on what the luster production of Maestro Giorgio before 1515 was like, the question should be regarded as open, pending more archaeological evidence. (For the problem of the early work of Maestro Giorgio, see page 164.) It is highly probable that his production included pieces with characteristics similar to Deruta work; for instance, the first major dated set with the mark of Maestro Giorgio, pieces of which are dated 1517 and 1518, included a piece, formerly in the Schlossmuseum, Berlin, but destroyed in World War II, with a running leaf border of markedly Derutese character.<sup>3</sup> Little documentary evidence of the relationship between the two centers has been published, although a "Paolo da Deruta" seems to have been working for Maestro Giorgio in 1516.<sup>4</sup>

Fortnum, describing a comparable piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, suggested that the mount motif might have something to do with the arms of the great Chigi banking family of Rome, which incorporated a mount.<sup>5</sup> This suggestion, however, seems farfetched. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Bernard Rackham, *Victoria and Albert Museum: Guide to Italian Maiolica* (London, 1933), 50; Rackham 1940, nos. 498–507. De-Mauri [E. Sarasino], *Le maioliche di Deruta* (Milan, 1924), 19, maintained that red luster was not in use in Deruta and that Deruta potters sent pieces to Gubbio to have red luster applied, but this is certainly incorrect; see Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi, "Contributo alla conoscenza della maiolica derutese," *Faenza* 69 (1983), 90–93.

2. De-Mauri 1924, pl. 30b. He describes the piece as lustered gold only; compare Giacomotti 1974, no. 554.

3. Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 69, figs. 66, 252; for the set, see T. Wilson 1987, no. 160.

4. Fiocco and Gherardi 1982, 68. See also Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 411–414.

5. Fortnum 1873, 254.

#### REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 57–58, as Gubbio, under Deruta influence, c. 1510.

1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Gubbio, under Deruta influence, c. 1510.

## Plate

with running plant border and geometric panels on well; in the center, profile bust of a man in armor

1942.9.328 (C-53)

Deruta or possibly Gubbio

Probably c. 1490/1520

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 23.6 (9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)

Widener Collection

### LABELS

A nineteenth century hand-written label: *Armoiries II*. Since there are no arms on this plate, the label seems likely to have been transferred from a different piece. Spitzer sale labels.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a pinkish white tin glaze. The painting is in blue and slightly bubbled green, with golden-brown and red luster. The sides of the well on the front are stained orange-red by diffusion of the luster. On the reverse near the edge are depressions made by the potter's fingers. One small kiln-support mark is visible on the front near the edge. There is wear and chipping to the inner and outer edges of the rim.

### PROVENANCE

Frédéric Spitzer, Paris (sale, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 1192, sold for 5950 francs).<sup>1</sup> Maurice Kann, Paris; (Du-



veen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

The plate is painted in the center with the profile of a helmeted warrior, with stylized plants in front of and behind him; on the shallow slope of the sides are alternating panels of diagonal latticework and diamond-and-scroll ornament. On the rim is a running band of stylized plant ornament, and around the edge is a lustered line. The reverse is painted in luster with three rings near the edge, four where the rim meets the sides, four around the foot, and a ring and a central disc in the center of the foot.

This plate has been thought to be a nineteenth-century product<sup>2</sup> but, though somewhat unusual in design, seems likely to be of the same origin as 1942.9.327, which it resembles in feel and technique. A large plate in very similar style in the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna, no. E8635 (KHM 2), is recorded as being from the Este collection, in which case it cannot be nineteenth century. T.H.W.

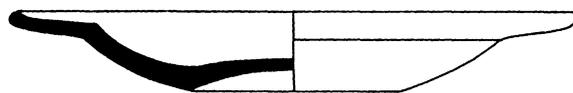
#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité ... composant l'importante et précieuse collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1893), no. 1192, pl. 34, as Gubbio, end of fifteenth century.

2. Notes, in NGA curatorial files, of the opinions of Georg Swarzenski, 1943 ("not quite convincing"), and J. V. G. Mallet (commenting on a photograph), letter, 28 April 1980 ("If this piece is right it may just possibly be an example from Cafaggiolo about 1510").



1942.9.328, back



1942.9.328, profile drawing

#### REFERENCES

1892 Molinier 1892: no. 155, repro., as Gubbio, end of fifteenth century.

1935 Widener 1935: 58, as Gubbio, under Deruta influence, c. 1510.

1942 Widener 1942: 13, as Gubbio, under Deruta influence, c. 1510.

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# Lustered maiolica: Gubbio

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## MAESTRO GIORGIO ANDREOLI, GUBBIO

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Giorgio di Pietro, later known as Giorgio Andreoli, was probably born at Intra on Lake Maggiore around 1465/1470.<sup>1</sup> By 1489 he had moved to Gubbio with his brother Salimbene, and in that year they entered into some sort of partnership with a prominent Gubbio potter, Giacomo Paolucci. A recently published contract records an agreement between Giacomo and Giorgio in 1495 for the collaborative production of twenty-five hundred pieces of pottery; some or possibly all of these were to be of *maiolica*, that is tin-glazed pottery enriched with luster.<sup>2</sup> It was this technique of applying red and gold metallic luster to the surface of pottery in a third firing that was the basis of Giorgio's continuing success. How, when, and where in Italy this technique was mastered is unknown; the secret had long been known to Islamic and Hispano-Moresque potters, and is likely to have been somehow transmitted to Italy from Spain. Recent research suggests the possibility that Gubbio was the earliest center in Italy where luster was successfully made. Giorgio's part in the early development of the technique in Italy awaits further research, but he was to become its most successful and famous exponent.<sup>3</sup>

In 1498 Giorgio obtained from Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, the privileges and immunities of citizenship of Gubbio. In 1519, when Giorgio's privileges were renewed in a brief from Pope Leo X, he was described as "an excellent master in the art of *maiolica*... whose work brings honor to the city, lord and people of Gubbio in all the nations to which the pottery of his workshop is exported, as well as great income in customs dues."<sup>4</sup>

Salimbene and for a time another brother named Giovanni also collaborated in the business, but Giorgio was clearly the controlling force. Salimbene died in 1523, but "Maestro Giorgio delle maioliche," as he was known, continued to run a successful business with his sons Vincenzo ("Maestro Cencio") and Ubaldo. In 1538 Vincenzo took a lease on the workshop of the recently deceased Nicola di Gabriele in Urbino, and he apparently remained resident in the city until about 1546: what he was doing there is not known, but he may possibly have been running a luster business.<sup>5</sup> No piece marked with Giorgio's name or initials is known after 1541.<sup>6</sup> He handed over control of the business to his sons in 1546 and died in 1555.

In the first half of the sixteenth century Gubbio and the nearby town of Deruta (see page 138) were the dominant producers of lustered pottery in Italy. Other centers, such as Cafaggiolo in Tuscany, produced some lusterware, but not apparently in quantity or over a long period. The application of luster was difficult and a valuable secret, and added con-

siderably to the value of pottery. Cipriano Piccolpasso of Castel Durante in the 1550s described the technique as follows: "I propose to go no further without discussing *maiolica*, from what I have heard from others (I have never made it myself or seen it made). I do know it is painted onto finished (*forniti*) pieces. I have seen this at Gubbio in the house of one Maestro Cencio of that place and this is how they paint it: they leave the places where the luster is to be applied without putting any sort of color on. . . . It is then fired to completion like other pieces; then the spaces are filled with *maiolica*. . . . The technique (*arte*) is unreliable, so that often only six pieces out of a hundred come out well; but the technique itself is a fine and clever one, and when the pieces are good they seem like gold."<sup>7</sup>

Maestro Giorgio's production in the central period of his luster activity (one of the strong areas of the National Gallery of Art collection) can be studied in detail because from 1518 he made a habit of marking pieces with his name or the initials *M<sup>o</sup> G<sup>o</sup>* and the date. There is no evidence as to whether Giorgio was himself a painter of maiolica. No unlustered piece is known with Giorgio's mark, but the workshop may well have produced unlustered *istoriato* in the 1520s.<sup>8</sup> No piece bearing Giorgio's mark can be dated before 1518, and the earliest piece that can be attributed to his workshop with any degree of certainty on stylistic grounds is dated 1515.<sup>9</sup> The recent documentary indications that Giorgio was making luster in Gubbio by the 1490s leave the problem of what his work before 1515 looked like.<sup>10</sup> It seems likely that examples exist among the body of work more often attributed to Deruta, but more archaeological or other evidence is needed before that work can be identified.<sup>11</sup>

Gubbio was in the Renaissance part of the duchy of Urbino, and through the 1520s and 1530s Maestro Giorgio's production had close links with the great art-pottery centers of Castel Durante and Urbino. In 1525 he employed Giovanni Luca, an *istoriato* painter from Castel Durante, and Federico of Urbino, who may also have been a painter (see page 182); in the 1530s Francesco Urbini, another *istoriato* painter, who was probably of Urbino origin, worked for him.<sup>12</sup> There were doubtless others. On the other hand, it is generally believed that some Urbino-decorated pieces were sent over to Gubbio to have luster added in Maestro Giorgio's workshop: a number of works by Francesco Xanto Avelli, for instance, are marked as painted *in Urbino* and have luster decoration that seems identical to that on marked Giorgio pieces.<sup>13</sup> However, in the present state of knowledge it is impossible to be sure that Giorgio did not by the early 1530s have an "out-station" in Urbino or nearby, where luster was added to locally painted pieces.<sup>14</sup> The exact nature of the relationship between Maestro Giorgio and the maiolica workshops of Urbino, Pesaro, and Castel Durante is another subject awaiting further research. T.H.W.

NOTES

1. Mazzatinti 1898, 58, notes that the surname Andreoli does not occur in documents before 1523 and suggests Giorgio may have adopted it from Sant'Andrea, the quarter of Gubbio where he lived. Biganti 1987, 220, notes that it was already the name of an aristocratic Gubbio family. Documents sometimes refer to him as "of Pavia," suggesting that he spent some time in that city before coming to Gubbio.

2. Biganti 1987, 209–214, 221–223. For the meaning of *maiolica*, see page 138. On a plate in Bologna dated 1532, the painting of which is often attributed to Nicola da Urbino, appear the initials of Maestro Giorgio and the words *fini de maiolica* (that is, lustered); Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti, *Ceramiche occidentali del Museo Civico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1985), no. 102; compare the documents discussed by Biganti 1987, 211. In a personal communication, J. V. G. Mallet told the author that he does not believe the Bologna dish is by Nicola: "It lacks the fluency of his line and the distinctive facial types." Rasmussen 1989, 160, also attributes it to another painter.

3. Biganti 1987, 212, suggests, without giving the evidence, that luster was being made by Paolucci in Gubbio as early as c. 1480, before Giorgio's arrival. However, the situation is complicated by an archival document in Pesaro published by Giulio Vanzolini, *Istorie delle fabbriche di majoliche metaurensi*, 2 vols. (Pesaro, 1879), 2:245–246; this is a petition by Maestro Giorgio dated 1551, in which Giorgio seems to claim that he was already skilled *ne l'essercitio delle Majoliche* when he was induced by Duke Guidobaldo and his governor Ottaviano Ubaldini (died 1498) to leave his *propria patria*, Pavia, to practice *quella nobil'arte dell majoliche* in Gubbio. See Giuseppe Liverani, "In tema di lustro metallico," *Faenza* 28 (1940), 93, with possible evidence for luster production in Pavia. See also Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 404–407.

4. Document published by Nicolini 1982, 23–24.

5. Negroni 1986, 19–20.

6. Kube 1976, no. 66, is apparently signed "M<sup>o</sup> Giorgio" and dated 1541, but the reading of the signature is uncertain. See Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2:433.

7. Author's translation from Cipriano Piccolpasso, *Li tre libri dell'arte del vasaio*, ed. Ronald Lightbown and Alan Caiger-Smith, 2 vols. (London, 1980), 2: 86. The word *forniti* is a crucial one, since if it means "supplied" the implication is that wares were brought in from outside for lustering; but if it means "finished" there is no such implication; see Fiocco and Gherardi 1982, n. 19. The weight

of opinion seems in favor of "finished," see J. V. G. Mallet in *BurlM* 129 (1987), 332; Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 452.

8. It was observed by Join-Dieterle 1984, 172, that an unlustered dish in the British Museum (T. Wilson 1987, no. 189) has a pattern on the reverse similar to that on the lustered piece in the Petit Palais painted in Maestro Giorgio's workshop in 1520, so it may well have been made in Gubbio. For the possibility that some of the "FR" pieces may also have been made there, see page 202.

9. Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 64, figs. 62, 244 (see Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 411), no. 67, figs. 64, 256; see Rackham 1940, 216.

10. There are documents which give some idea of the range of Maestro Giorgio's production in the years before 1515: Mazzatinti 1898, 59; Biganti 1987, 213, 221–222. The output of the workshop was only partially lusterwares. For the questionable evidence that Maestro Giorgio also produced ceramic sculpture in the manner of the Della Robbia workshop, see Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 409–411.

11. See Biganti 1987, 219, for the exiguous documentary evidence for the commercial relationship, or rivalry, between Deruta and Gubbio potters; and Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 412–414, for some tentative attributions of early sixteenth-century lusterwares to Gubbio.

12. J. V. G. Mallet, "Francesco Urbini in Gubbio and Deruta," *Faenza* 65 (1979), 279–296.

13. Although no piece is known with the signatures both of Xanto "in Urbino" and of Giorgio, there are pieces such as a 1533 plate in the British Museum (T. Wilson 1987, no. 76; Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 98, figs. 92, 281) signed by Xanto *in Urbino* and marked with the letter *N*, apparently the mark of a lusterer in Giorgio's workshop. *N* occurs on a few pieces with Maestro Giorgio's initials, for instance Kube 1976, no. 65, dated 1537; Sir Charles Robinson's idea (Fortnum 1873, 190) that it is a monogram (VIN) of Vincenzo is not impossible; see 1942.9.338. See also Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 429. J. V. G. Mallet has pointed out how, on pieces painted by Xanto and then lustered around 1531 to 1533, the lusterer appears to have made a deliberate attempt to obliterate with luster Xanto's signature and the words *in Urbino* ("Xanto: i suoi compagni e seguaci," in *Francesco Xanto Avelli da Rovigo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi 1980* [Rovigo, 1988], 68–69).

If pieces had to be sent to Gubbio to be lustered, it is curious that only one (Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 45, fig. 42, no. 101, figs. 95, 288) out of thirty-seven recorded sur-

viving pieces—and by no means the grandest—from the Pucci set of 1532–1533 was separated from the rest of the set, sent to Gubbio, lustered, and presumably returned to Urbino to rejoin the rest of the set for delivery to the client. Or did the client arrange the lustering after taking delivery of the set? See 1942.9.336 and 1942.9.345. Another set by Xanto which mixes lustered and unlustered pieces is the Jacopo Pesaro set; most of it is lustered but the imposing piece, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (52.192.3), is unlustered.

14. Giorgio certainly did not stay in Gubbio all the time. A document published by Giuseppe Albarelli, *Ceramisti pesaresi nei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato di Pesaro Sec. XV–XVII*, ed. Paolo M. Erthler, Biblioteca Servorum Romandiola 9 (Bologna, 1986), 819, no. 1392, shows that Maestro Giorgio was in Pesaro on 6 March 1518; see Rackham 1940, no. 642, for pieces bearing his “signature” and seemingly made within a few days of this date. When Giorgio in 1521 commissioned an altarpiece for the cathedral in Gubbio, it was an Urbino artist, Timoteo Viti, to whom he turned, according to *Urbino e le Marche prima e dopo Raffaello*, ed. Maria Grazia Dupré Dal Poggetto and Paolo Dal Poggetto [exh. cat., Palazzo Ducale and Church of San Domenico] (Urbino, 1983), 280–281, 321.

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 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 401–456.

## Small flat plate

with border of cornucopias, scrollwork, and lozenges in four sections  
in the center, a bust of Saint Paul with raised sword

1942.9.326 (C-51)

Attributed to the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli,  
Gubbio

Probably c. 1515/1525

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 22.3 (8¾)

Widener Collection

### LABELS

Kann 199.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back – except beneath the foot ring – with a slightly pitted off-white tin glaze of pinkish brown tone. The painting of the front is in blue with an uneven yellowish golden-brown luster (with streaks of red) and a deep red luster; the blue is thick and has bubbled in places. The glaze has pooled and crawled somewhat on the front. There are no visible kiln-support marks. The glaze is scratched and the luster worn, and the edge is extensively worn and chipped.



#### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

The plate is flat and has a pronounced foot ring. It is painted in the center with a bearded saint with sword and book, probably Saint Paul, with sky and clouds behind. The rim is divided into four by radiating bands of luster into which scrolling ornament has been scratched. Each of the quarters has cornucopias, scrollwork, and a diamond, reserved on a thick blue ground and lustered red and gold. On the reverse two concentric lines of dark brown luster are painted near the edge and three near the foot ring.

The style of drawing in pale blue and the heavy use of deep red luster connect this plate with a group of works attributable to the workshop of Maestro Giorgio in Gubbio around 1520; this group includes a bowl in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, dated 1520,<sup>1</sup> a similar one with the same date in the Wernher collection at Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, England<sup>2</sup> (both painted with figures of saints), and an undated plate with a coat-of-arms in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> The shape and the technique of scratching scrolls out of the luster rays are unusual, however, and the attribution of the piece is open to some doubt.

As discussed in the introduction to this section, Maestro Giorgio is now known to have been producing lusterware before 1500, but the first marked work is dated 1518. The somewhat tentative and not wholly successful use of luster on pieces like this and a fragment in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, dated 1517,<sup>4</sup> may represent a not yet perfect phase of his production.<sup>5</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 102, fig. 99; T. Wilson 1987, no. 162; T. Wilson 1989, no. 7.

2. Formerly in the Zschille collection; Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 101, fig. 98 (described by Ballardini as "Casteldurante, lustrato a Gubbio").

3. T. Wilson 1987, no. 161; a similar piece by the same hand, with the same arms painted on a bright blue



1942.9.326, back



1942.9.326, profile drawing

ground, was sold at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 2 July 1979, no. 144, and is now in a private collection in Germany.

4. Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 65, fig. 63.

5. A plate with Saint Francis in similar style in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, West Berlin, has a border of a type (in the author's opinion) characteristic of Gubbio products c. 1520–1525; Tjark Hausmann, *Majolika und Fayence: Vermächtnis Rolf Lahr*, Kataloge des Kunstgewerbemuseums, Berlin, vol. 11 (Berlin, 1986), no. 14, where it is classified as Castel Durante with Gubbio luster, c. 1530, but not illustrated. J. V. G. Mallet to Timothy Wilson, August 1989, compares the style to that of a plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Rackham 1940, no. 670, dated 1521 and 1522. He also notes that "the border is very sloppy for such a delicate St. Paul head."

#### REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 57, as Gubbio, c. 1510, possibly by Maestro Giorgio.

1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Gubbio, c. 1510.

## Shallow bowl with Hercules overcoming Antaeus

1942.9.330 (C-55)

Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio

1520

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 24.8 (9 $\frac{3}{4}$ )

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

In center of foot: *Mar° Giorgio/da ugbio f./1520* (Maestro Giorgio of Gubbio made it 1520). The reading of the *f* is uncertain.

### LABELS

Spitzer sale labels; later typed Kann 2 and — on an overlying label — 188, identifying the subject wrongly as the rape of Proserpine.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The bowl originally had a low splayed foot, which has been chipped away. It is of earthenware, covered front and back with an off-white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, green, yellow, orange-brown, and near-black, with golden-brown and deep red luster. Three kiln scars are visible on the back. A piece has been broken away at three o'clock

and replaced, with some overpaint. The edge is chipped and worn, and there is overpaint on the edge at one o'clock and four o'clock.

### PROVENANCE

"In the possession of Signor Marnelli," according to Fortnum in 1873. Alessandro Castellani, Rome (sale, Paris, 27–29 May 1878, no. 59)<sup>1</sup>; Victor Gay, Paris, for 15,000 francs.<sup>2</sup> Frédéric Spitzer, Paris (sale, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 1196,<sup>3</sup> sold for 18,500 francs). Maurice Kann, Paris. (Duveen Brothers), 1908; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1877.<sup>4</sup> Paris, Trocadéro, 1878, *Exposition Universelle Internationale*. NGA 1982–1983, no. 41, repro., as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli).

The shallow surface of the bowl is painted with Hercules, wearing a lionskin (picked out in deep red luster) and curiously nonmatching sandals, holding up and crushing Antaeus; the scene is set in front of a cave which takes up most of a rocky hill, in a landscape with trees and buildings. The reverse is painted in golden-brown luster with simulated spiral gadroons and, in the center of the foot, a radiating sun (formed in a way that also suggests an eye) and the inscription. The chipping away of the foot is quite commonly found on maiolica dishes of this shape, and was presumably deliberately done by an owner to enable the dish more easily to be set in a frame or hung on a wall.

In Greek mythology, Hercules traveled to Libya in the course of his twelve labors and encountered Antaeus, who had an unpleasant habit of killing strangers by wrestling with them. Antaeus was a son of the goddess Earth and gained new strength from his mother whenever he touched the ground; Hercules vanquished him by lifting him into the air and crushing the life out of him. The subject provided opportunities for dramatic virtuosity in representing the human figure in action and was popular with Renaissance artists; versions by Antonio Pollaiuolo and Andrea Mantegna were particularly influential.<sup>5</sup> The maiolica painter's source for the figures was an engraving attributed by Bartsch to Marcantonio Raimondi, the design of which may go back to a composition by Mantegna (fig. 1). Antaeus'



Fig. 1 Marcantonio Raimondi, *Hercules and Antaeus*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIV.221.289



Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, *Shallow bowl with Hercules overcoming Antaeus*, 1942.9.330

cave, before which the struggle takes place, is an addition of the painter's.<sup>6</sup>

This important dish is closely related to, and certainly by the same painter (or painters) as a plate showing the Judgment of Paris in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris; the Petit Palais plate is inscribed on the back, in blue, *M<sup>o</sup> giorgio 15 20 A di 2 de otobre/ B.D.S.R iugubio*. This inscription was painted in the second (glaze), not the third (luster) firing, so that the plate must have been painted as well as lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio.<sup>7</sup> The same is therefore probably true of the National Gallery dish, as well as of two related broad-rimmed bowls, also dated 1520, one with Adonis and Myrrha, the other with Peleus and Thetis, which were in the Schlossmuseum in Berlin until destroyed by bombing in World War II;<sup>8</sup> also by the same painter is a plate dated 1522 with the fall of Phaethon, in the Hermitage.<sup>9</sup> Although there is reason to believe that Maestro Giorgio's workshop may have applied luster to pieces made and painted in the Urbino/Castel Durante region in the 1530s, there is little evidence to support the supposition that this was happening as early as 1520. The painting of the Petit Palais dish has been attributed to Maestro Giorgio himself, but the appearance of his name seems more likely to be a workshop indication than the signature of the painter, and the most natural interpretation of the inscription is that BDSR are initials referring in some way to the painter.<sup>10</sup> Bernard Rackham considered the Petit Palais plate to be "obviously by the same hand" as a roundel in the Victoria and Albert Museum painted with the Three Graces and dated 1525, and as the works (including 1942.9.333 and 1942.9.334) associated with it and hence attributed to the "Painter of the Three Graces."<sup>11</sup> Although this view, recently restated with some modifications by Fiocco and Gherardi, is defensible, it hardly seems obvious: a direct comparison of the Hercules and Antaeus with the National Gallery's battle scene plate (1942.9.334) of 1525 (which is, in the view of this author, a work of the Painter of the Three Graces) shows major differences, perhaps too great to be interpreted as a single artist's stylistic development over five years. Catherine Join-Dieterle, in discussing the Petit Palais plate, perceiving a certain unevenness of quality in the details and pointing to the uneasiness with which the figures fit into the background, has proposed that it be regarded as a result of collaboration.<sup>12</sup> If collaboration between *istoriato* painters did take place in Maestro Giorgio's workshop, attribution becomes almost impossibly complicated. There is evidence of at least a degree of collaboration between painters in the workshop on a plate in the British Museum, on



1942.9.330, back



1942.9.330, profile drawing

which can still be made out the word *Azuro*, apparently an instruction from the master-painter to an apprentice to fill in the blue ground.<sup>13</sup>

Another artist, perhaps working in Maestro Giorgio's workshop around 1520, also painted Hercules subjects: an example with Hercules and the Hydra is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and a Hercules and the lion is in the British Museum.<sup>14</sup>

The lustered false gadrooning on the reverse is paralleled on a dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum which is dated 1518 on the front and 1519 in luster on the back.<sup>15</sup> The device of the sun's rays on the reverse also occurs on a lustered broad-rimmed bowl in the Wallace Collection, London, with a shield of arms and monsters and trophies of arms on the border; it is also dated 1520.<sup>16</sup> The sun on the Wallace Collection piece is more rudimentary and does not bear any resemblance to an eye; the apparent suggestion of an eye on the National Gallery dish may not have been intended. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue des faïences italiennes...composant l'importante collection de M. Alessandro Castellani* (Paris, 1878), no. 59, repro.

2. The piece was not included in the Gay sale, Paris, 1 June 1880 (*Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité...composant la collection de M. de L\*\*\**).

3. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité ... composant l'importante et précieuse collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1893), no. 1196, pl. 34.

4. *Catalogue of the Castellani Collection in the Loan Exhibition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1877), no. 2, "Maiolica &c." no. 59, repro. of mark.

5. For the iconography of Hercules and Antaeus, the influence of the classical sculpture group now in Florence, and the allegorical interpretations of the Hercules and Antaeus subject current in the Renaissance, see Amalia Mezzetti, "Un 'Ercole e Anteo' di Mantegna," *BdA* 43 (1958), 232-244; Ursula Hoff, "The Sources of 'Hercules and Antaeus' by Rubens," in *In Honour of Daryl Lindsay*, ed. Franz Philipp and June Stewart (Melbourne, 1964), 67-79; Leopold D. Ettlinger, "Hercules Florentinus," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 16 (1972), 119-142; Michael A. Jacobsen, "A Note on the Iconography of Hercules and Antaeus in Quattrocento Florence," *Source. Notes in the History of Art* 1 (1981), 16-20; Phyllis P. Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (London, 1986), 172-174.

6. The engraving is Bartsch 1803-1821, XIV: 221, no. 289. The attribution to Marcantonio is queried by Henri Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi* (Paris, 1888), 288-289. The plate is distinctly closer to it than to a group of earlier engravings of the same composition, one of which is signed by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia; for these see Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* (London, 1938-1948), 5: 36-37, no. 3; James Byam Shaw, "A Group of Mantegnesque Drawings and Their Relation to the Engravings of Mantegna's School," *Old Master Drawings* 44 (March 1937), 59-60; Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn L. Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, 1973), 238.

7. Join-Dieterle 1984, no. 54; Fiocco and Gherardi 1988-1989, 2: 445, pl. L.

8. Ballardini 1933-1938, 1: nos. 92, 93, figs. 89, 264, and 90, 263.

9. Kube 1976, no. 90.

10. J. V. G. Mallet, "Francesco Urbini in Gubbio and Deruta," *Faenza* 65 (1979), 279, ingeniously connects the use of Giorgio's signature as a workshop mark with a document of 1517 in which Giorgio's brothers, Salimbene and Girolamo, empowered him to act on their behalf. See Fiocco and Gherardi 1988-1989, 2: 406.

11. Rackham 1940, 223. The view that the 'painter of the Petit Palais Judgment of Paris and the Painter of the Three Graces are one and the same man is cogently defended by Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi, "Produzione istoriata della bottega di Maestro Giorgio da Gubbio un piatto del Maestro del Giudizio di Paride al Museo del Vino di Torgiano," *Faenza* 71 (1985), 297-300, Fiocco and Gherardi 1988-1989, 2: 422-424. See also Otto von Falke, "Der Majolikamaler Giorgio Andreoli von Gubbio," *Pantheon* 14 (1934), 328-333.

12. Join-Dieterle 1984, 167.

13. T. Wilson 1987, no. 160.

14. Timothy Wilson, "Pollaiuolo's Lost Hercules and the Lion recorded on maiolica?" *JWCI* 53 (1990), 299-301, to which should have been added reference to the Hercules and Cacus dish published by S. de Ricci, *A Catalogue of Early Italian Maiolica in the Collection of Mortimer L. Schiff* (New York, 1927), no. 105. This was pointed out to me by Francesco Cioci. For the taste for Hercules subjects, compare also Rackham 1940, no. 676.

15. Rackham 1940, no. 666.

16. Norman 1976, no. C65.

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- 1873 Fortnum 1873 196, no. 7  
1877 Beckwith, Arthur *Majolica and Fayence* New York, 1877 78, fig. 20, repro. front and back  
1878 Darcel, Alfred "Le moyen âge et la renaissance au Trocadero, XIV Les faïences italiennes," *GBA*, n. s., 18 (1878) 977  
1892 Molinier 1892 no. 160, pl. 19  
1896 Fortnum 1896 mark no. 91  
1933-1938 Ballardini 1933-1938, 1 no. 100, figs. 96, 274, as Castel Durante lustered by Maestro Giorgio  
1935 Widener 1935 59, as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli)  
1942 Widener 1942 13, as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli)  
1983 C. Wilson 1983 118, no. 1, repro., as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli)  
1988 Castelli, Patrizia *A rebours 1898-1988 Giuseppe Mazzatinti e l'archivio di Mastro Giorgio* Pisa and Gubbio, 1988 113-114, nos. 3 16, 3 18  
1988-1989 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988-1989, 2: 423, figs. 123, 124, 568  
1989 Rasmussen 1989 198

## Plate

with border of foliate scrollwork; in the center, shield of arms of Vigerio of Savona

1942.9.331 (C-56)

Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio

1524

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 36.2 (14¼)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

In center of back: 1524 .M° .G°

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The plate, which has warped in the kiln, is of earthenware, covered front and back—except beneath the foot ring—with a slightly speckled whitish tin glaze. The reverse has several concentric ridges at the edge and where the rim meets the curving sides of the well. The painting is in blue, bright green, and black, with red and golden-yellow luster. There are three kiln-support marks and a

hole caused by a defect in firing on the front on the curving sides of the well. There is slight wear, scratching, and chipping of the glaze, and a large chip in the foot ring.

### PROVENANCE

Debruge Duménil collection, Paris<sup>1</sup> (sale, Paris, 23 January–9 February and 4–12 March 1850, no. 1143).<sup>2</sup> Prince Petr Soltykoff, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 8 April–1 May 1861, no. 680).<sup>3</sup> (Roussel), Paris. J. E. Taylor, London (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 1–10 July 1912, no. 250).<sup>4</sup> (Duveen Brothers); purchased November 1912 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

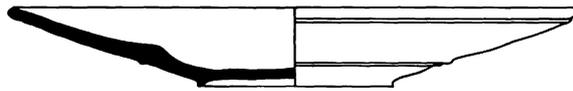
### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 31, repro.





1942.9.331, back



1942.9.331, profile drawing

The plate is painted in the center with a three-dimensionally scrolling, beribboned shield of arms *Per chevron azure and gules, the apex of the chevron extending to the top of the field; on a chief or an eagle displayed issuant sable*;<sup>5</sup> it is set in a rudimentary landscape. The sides of the well are gold lustered. The border is decorated with an approximately symmetrical design of foliate scrollwork, sprays, and berries, the scrolls tied top and bottom. The edge is gold lustered. The back is decorated with rapidly painted foliate sprays in luster varying from yellow to brown; the edge and foot ring are outlined in luster. In the center, in luster, is the mark 1524.M.G.<sup>6</sup>

The arms correspond to those recorded for Cardinal Marco Vigerio of Savona, bishop of Senigallia, who died in 1516, and the set of which this plate formed part may have been made for one of the same family; despite the lack of any mark of ecclesiastical rank on the plates, the local connection (Senigallia, like Gubbio, belonged to the duchy of Urbino) suggests that the set might have something to do with Marco's nephew, another Marco Vigerio, who succeeded his uncle as bishop of Senigallia in 1513 and remained such until 1550.<sup>6</sup>

Six pieces bearing these arms and the same mark and date are known, evidently belonging to a single

set. The surviving pieces are unusually ambitious: two, in the Cleveland Museum of Art and J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, are 38.5 and 39.9 centimeters in diameter respectively;<sup>7</sup> three – the two in the National Gallery of Art and one formerly in the collection of Baron Robert de Rothschild in Paris<sup>8</sup> – are between 36 and 37 centimeters; the sixth, now in the Hetjens-Museum, Düsseldorf, is 25.5 centimeters.<sup>9</sup> The six known pieces of the set seem likely all to be the work of a single painter, but each is designed with different combinations of grotesques, scrollwork, and trophies of arms.

Large armorial sets, whether *istoriato* or with decoration centered around the arms as in this case, seem to have become popular in the years after 1520 in Faenza, Urbino, and Gubbio.<sup>10</sup> The Vigerio set is the earliest such set known from the workshop of Maestro Giorgio; slightly later armorial sets from the same workshop are those made for Cardinal Antonio Ciocchi del Monte in 1526 to 1527, and for Niccolo Vitelli and his wife Gentilina Della Staffa of Città di Castello in 1527.<sup>11</sup> The "Fregoso" set of 1526, of which 1942.9.329 is one, and the undated Saracinelli set (see 1942.9.329) are other instances from the same period. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. The Debruge Duménil collection was formed by Louis-Fidel Debruge Duménil, who died in 1838, leaving the collection to his son and a daughter who was married to Jules Labarte; the pottery was mostly sold in 1850; see Labarte 1847, 12. The provenance given in the Taylor sale catalogue is "Seillière, Debruges, Soltykoff," but this is probably incorrect; no Seillière sale before 1847 is recorded by Lugt 1938–1964, and the piece does not appear in the Achille Seillière sale in Paris, 5–10 May 1890.

2. *Catalogue des objets d'art qui composent la collection Debruge Duménil dont la vente aux enchères aura lieu à Paris...*, 23 (Paris, 1850), no. 1143.

3. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité composant la célèbre collection du Prince Soltykoff* (Paris, 1861), no. 680.

4. *Catalogue of the renowned collection of Works of art...formed by the late John Edward Taylor*, Christie, Manson & Wood (London, 1912), no. 250, repro.

5. The chief on these arms, with the single-headed uncrowned eagle, is a version of what is known heraldically as a "chief of the Empire," usually denoting a feudal connection with the Holy Roman Empire or adherence to the Ghibelline faction. The arms in this form are attributed to Cardinal Vigerio by Giovanni Battista di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane* 3 vols. (1886–1890; reprint, Bologna, 1977), 3: 91.

6. For the younger Marco Vigerio, see Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* (Venice, 1719–1721), 3: 877. For the cardinal, see *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), s.v. "Vigerio."

7. For the Cleveland piece, formerly in the Spitzer and Beit collections, see Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 147, figs. 147, 295. For the Getty Museum piece, see Hess 1988, no. 23; it may well be the piece that was together with the National Gallery plate in the Debruge Duménil and Soltykoff collections (Labarte 1847, no. 1142; Soltykoff sale cat. 1861, no. 679).

8. For the Rothschild plate see Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 146, fig. 146. The other National Gallery piece is 1942.9.332.

9. Formerly in the museum at Trier; John Rothenstein, "Two pieces of Italian pottery," *BurlM* 85 (1944), 204, fig. A.

10. For example, the Guicciardini set of 1525 at Faenza and the Isabella d'Este and Calini sets, now generally put around the same date, in Urbino; see T. Wilson 1987, nos. 51, 53, and 202, for references to these sets. Venetian workshops were apparently producing armorial sets, with *alla porcellana* decoration, for German clients a few years earlier; see Rasmussen 1984, 213–217, for examples. An exceptional, much earlier, armorial service is the one ap-

parently made before 1490 with the arms of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and his wife Beatrix of Naples; Rackham 1940, nos. 150, 151; *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn* [exh. cat., Schloss Schallaburg] (Vienna, 1982): 296–298. For the broader context of the Renaissance fashion for maiolica table services, see Richard Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 1–32.

11. References to these two sets are given in 1942.9.329, note 5.

#### REFERENCES

1847 Labarte, Jules. *Description des objets d'art qui composent la collection Debruge Duménil précédé d'une introduction historique*. Paris, 1847: no. 1143.

1935 Widener 1935: 59.

1942 Widener 1942: 13.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 119, no. 5.

1988 Hess 1988: 72.

1988–1989 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 570.

## Plate

with border of foliate scrollwork with dolphin heads and cornucopias; in the center, shield of arms of Vigerio of Savona

1942.9.332 (C-57)

Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio

1524

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 36.5 (14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Widener Collection

#### INSCRIPTIONS

In center of back: 1524 .M° .G°

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a slightly speckled whitish tin glaze. There are concentric ridges on the back near the edge and where the rim meets the curving sides of the well. The painting is in blue, bright green, and black, with red and yellowish brown luster. On the front, in the well, are three kiln-spur marks. There is a substantial patch of damage in the center, affecting part of the body, the right wing of the eagle, and the central part of the shield; this has been repainted. The glaze on the front is somewhat worn, chipped, and scratched. There is some retouching on the reverse, not significantly affecting the mark or decoration.

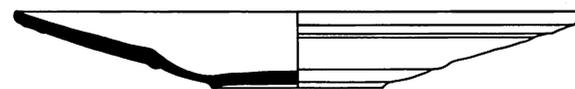
#### PROVENANCE

"Goldschmidt;" purchased July 1911 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

#### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 32.

This plate is essentially similar to the plate from the same set (1942.9.331), except that the border decoration consists of two roughly symmetrical pairs of foliate scrolls terminating in dolphin heads, with tendrils, beads, and cornucopias. T.H.W.



1942.9.332, profile drawing

#### NOTES

1. So stated in Widener collection records; the reference is presumably to the firm of J. and S. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt-am-Main.

#### REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 60.

1942 Widener 1942: 13.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 119, no. 6.

1988 Hess 1988: 72.

1988–1989 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 570.



Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, *Plate with border of foliate scrollwork with dolphin heads and cornucopias; in the center, shield of arms of Vigerio of Savona*, 1942.9.332

## Plate with the reconciliation of Cupid and Minerva

1942.9.333 (C-58)

Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio; painting attributed to the Painter of the Three Graces

1525

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 26 (10¼)  
Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

In center of reverse, flanking an "owner's mark" incorporating a double cross and a letter S: 1525 M<sup>o</sup>.G<sup>o</sup>.

### LABELS

{Duveen?} label: *The design is probably after Robetta.*

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The shallow plate, which has warped slightly in the kiln, is of earthenware, covered front and back with a white tin glaze which is slightly pockmarked on the front and heavily so on the back. The edge is molded into ridges front and back. The painting is in blue, green, near black, yel-

low, orange brown, and white (the drawing being in blue), with golden-brown and red luster. Only one kiln-spur mark is visible on the front (near the head of Cupid). The inner and outer edges of the rim are somewhat chipped.

### PROVENANCE

Probably Emile Gavet, Paris.<sup>2</sup> Richard Zschille, Leipzig (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 23 June 1899, no. 92, repro).<sup>3</sup> (Duveen Brothers); purchased by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Trocadéro, 1878, *Exposition Universelle Internationale*. NGA 1982–1983, no. 42, as possibly painted in Castel Durante, lustered by Maestro Giorgio.

The plate is painted with a winged Cupid holding out an olive branch to Minerva, who shows him her right breast with one hand and clasps him by the hand with the other, all in a landscape. The edge is lustered. The use of red luster is confined to Cupid's wings and Minerva's necklace. On the reverse, in lusters, are simple foliate scrolls, concentric rings, the maker's mark of Maestro Giorgio, date, and owner's mark.

The design is taken from an engraving (fig. 1)<sup>4</sup> after an original by Marcantonio Raimondi, which is itself probably derived from a design by Raphael. A verse on another version of the engraving explains the subject: "Da Pallade pudica/Ha d'oliva il fanciul la bella rama/Per mostrar che chi bram/Haver Minerva amica/Ed ineffetto è di virtu seguace/Gode un' interna pace" (The boy has from modest Pallas [Minerva] the beautiful olive branch, to show that he who yearns to have Minerva [wisdom] as his friend and effectively pursues virtue, enjoys an interior peace). The subject is thus the reconciliation of Cupid and Minerva, an allegory of the pursuit of wisdom. The maiolica painter may or may not have known this.

The painting on the plate, though less finished than the National Gallery's battle plate of the same year (1942.9.334), seems to be mainly, and probably entirely, by the same hand. His work is discussed in the following entry.

The plate forms part of a set, of which seven plates and broad-rimmed bowls are in the British Museum. Of the known pieces of the set, three (two dated 1524 and one undated) are painted with



Fig. 1 After Marcantonio Raimondi, *Cupid and Minerva*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIV.297.394



Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio; painting attributed to the Painter of the Three Graces, *Plate with the Reconciliation of Cupid and Minerva*, 1942.9.333

winged putti and ornamental borders, and incorporate the owner's mark – in blue – into the design on the front.<sup>5</sup> The other five, including the National Gallery plate, are painted with *istoriato* scenes derived from Marcantonio engravings, and have the "owner's mark" in luster on the reverse, with the date 1525.<sup>6</sup> All except the undated small bowl are marked with the M<sup>o</sup>. G<sup>o</sup>. mark of Maestro Giorgio's workshop.

Gaetano Ballardini, noting the similarity of painting style to that of the painter signing "FR" (whom he believed to be a Faenza artist) and to contemporary work marked as, or attributed to, Castel Durante, considered it likely that these and similar pieces were painted outside Gubbio and sent to Maestro Giorgio's workshop for lustering.<sup>7</sup> There is, however, no solid evidence that Maestro Giorgio was importing already painted work for lustering before the late 1520s; on the contrary, there is documentary evidence that he brought at least one painter from the Urbino region, Giovanni Luca of Castel Durante, to paint maiolica in Gubbio in 1525.<sup>8</sup> The fact that on the pieces of this set the owner's mark occurs on the front of some pieces in blue and on the back of others in luster is a strong – though not quite conclusive – indication that these pieces were painted and lustered in the same town, if not actually in the same workshop. It is likely that more than one artist was involved in decorating the pieces of the set.<sup>9</sup> T.H.W



1942.9.333, back



1942.9.333, profile drawing

#### NOTES

1. For these "owner's marks" see 1942.9.329. It is perhaps coincidence that the marks are relatively similar and both incorporate an S. Fortnum 1896, no. 94, says the mark on the present piece occurs on coins of Perugia, but I have not been able to confirm this.

2. Darcel 1878, 977, mentions as exhibited by Gavet at the 1878 Exposition Universelle "une assiette à larges bords representant un Amour offrant une palme à une femme" marked M<sup>o</sup> G<sup>o</sup> and dated 1525, which must be this piece; it does not appear in the catalogue of the Gavet collection, 1889, by Emile Molinier, or in the catalogue of the Gavet sale in Paris, 31 May–9 June 1897, so it had presumably been sold previously.

3. *Catalogue of the Italian majolica... of Herr Richard Zschille* (London, 1899), no. 92, repro., as Gubbio, workshop of Maestro Giorgio. The name of the purchaser at the Zschille sale is given in the marked catalogue in the archive of Christie's as "Müller."

4. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 297, no. 394. This print is a copy of Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 296, no. 393, datable around 1517/1520. For the Marcantonio original and discussion of the iconography, see Innis H. Shoemaker, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi* [exh. cat., Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, and Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill] (Lawrence, 1981), no. 42.

5. T. Wilson 1987, nos. 164, 165; British Museum no. MLA 1851, 12–1, 15. The dated pieces of the set are all illustrated by Ballardini 1933–1938, vol. 1.

6. The others are T. Wilson 1987, nos. 166, 167, 168; Ballardini 1933–1938, I: no. 169, figs. 161, 298.

7. Ballardini 1933–1938, I: under dates 1524–1525.

8. See 1942.9.334, n. 4.

9. The bowl illustrated by Ballardini 1933–1938, I: no. 169, figs. 161, 298, is not in my opinion by the Painter of the Three Graces, although Rackham 1940, no. 677, considered it to be. In *BurlM* 129 (1987), 332, J. V. G. Mallet proposed to distinguish three hands in the set (one of them perhaps the young Francesco Xanto Avelli) and made the bold suggestion that the border decoration on the 1524 pieces might be attributable to Francesco Urbini. See also J. V. G. Mallet, "A Maiolica Plate Signed 'F. R.,'" *Art Bulletin of Victoria* [Melbourne] (1976), 11–14.

#### REFERENCES

1878 Darcel, Alfred. "Le moyen âge et la renaissance au Trocadéro, XIV. Les faïences italiennes," *GBA*, 2d ser., 18 (1878): 977.

1899 Von Falke, Otto. *Sammlung Richard Zschille; Katalog der italienischen Majoliken*. Leipzig, 1899: no. 92, repro., as Gubbio, workshop of Maestro Giorgio.

1933–1938 Ballardini 1933–1938, I: no. 171, figs. 165, 297, as "(?)" lustered by Maestro Giorgio.

1935 Widener 1935: 60, as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli).

1942 Widener 1942: 13, as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli).

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 119, no. 2, as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli).

1988–1989 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 416, 420 (n. 10), 570.

## Flat plate with a battle scene

1942.9.334 (C-59)

Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio; painting  
by the Painter of the Three Graces

1525

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 30.3 (11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

In center of reverse: 1525 .M°.G°

### LABELS

(Duveen?) label in ink: *Designed by Mantegna.*

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, entirely covered with a somewhat pock-  
marked pinkish white tin glaze. The edge is molded into  
ridges front and back. The painting is in blue, green  
(slightly bubbled), yellow, near black, orange brown, and  
white (the drawing in blue), with golden-brown and pink-  
ish red lusters. There are three neat kiln-spur marks on  
the painted surface on the front. A crack runs from ten  
o'clock to the center, and there is some scratching and  
chipping of the edge, especially a large chip at two  
o'clock.

### PROVENANCE

(Duveen Brothers); purchased February 1912 by Peter A. B.  
Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the  
Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of  
appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.



Fig. 1 Marco Dente da Ravenna, *Battle Scene*, engraving,  
London, British Museum, B.XIV.316.420

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, repro., as possibly painted in Castel  
Durante, lustered in Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli).

The plate, which is almost completely flat on the  
front, is painted with a fantastic rocky landscape. In  
the foreground are three soldiers, one on horseback  
wearing a “Phrygian cap,” drawing or sheathing his  
sword, one in a similar cap with a spear, and a third  
in a plumed hat attempting to control a fleeing  
horse. The edge is lustered. The reverse is painted in  
lustres with foliate scrolls, a band of short diagonal  
dashes between concentric lines near the edge, and  
in the center 1525 .M°.G°.

The figures, horse, and some details of the land-  
scape are extracted from the left half of an engraving  
(fig. 1) of a battle scene, which is described by  
Bartsch as by Marco Dente da Ravenna after Ra-  
phael or Giulio Romano.<sup>1</sup>

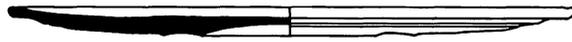
This fine plate, in this author's opinion, is by  
the same painter as a roundel in the Victoria and  
Albert Museum, dated 1525, with the Three Graces,  
after a Marcantonio engraving from the antique.<sup>2</sup> On  
the basis of this piece the painter is generally known  
as the Painter of the Three Graces. A distinguished  
group of pieces bearing the mark of Maestro Gior-  
gio's workshop and dated 1525 can be attributed to  
the same painter; they include: a large plate in the  
Victoria and Albert Museum with an Allegory of  
Envy; three plates in the British Museum and the  
National Gallery's Cupid and Minerva plate  
(1942.9.333), which are all four from the same set; a  
plate formerly in the Pierpont Morgan collection  
with putti playing; and probably a large plate in the  
Wallace Collection, London, with nymphs bathing,  
and a plate in Cleveland with the Three Graces.<sup>3</sup>

As discussed in 1942.9.333, it seems likely that  
most, if not all, the *istoriato* maiolica of the early  
and mid-1520s marked with Maestro Giorgio's “sig-  
nature” was not only lustered, but entirely made in  
his workshop in Gubbio. The style, however, is re-  
lated to contemporary work at Urbino and Castel  
Durante, suggesting that the painters were from  
that region, which—like Gubbio—was part of the  
duchy of Urbino. Evidence that Maestro Giorgio did  
indeed bring painters from the Urbino district to  
work for him in Gubbio is found in two documents  
which were published by Mazzatinti in 1898 but  
have not received due weight in the subsequent lit-  
erature.<sup>4</sup> They are both contracts made by Giorgio in





1942.9.334, back



1942.9.334, profile drawing

1525; one is with a painter called Giovanni Luca of Castel Durante, who undertook to come for at least a year into Giorgio's household in Gubbio and paint *istoriato* pottery for Giorgio to luster; the other is with one Federico of Urbino, who undertook to work in partnership with Giorgio; it is not, however, stated that he was a painter. No piece positively attributable to the Painter of the Three Graces is dated before 1525,<sup>5</sup> whereas the grandest pieces from Maestro Giorgio's workshop with the date 1525 all seem to be by him. It is a hypothesis for further research that this fine painter might have been none other than Giovanni Luca of Castel Durante. I am, however, unable to suggest any unlustered *istoriato* by the same hand working in Castel Durante.<sup>6</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 316, no. 420. The same painter used the same figures differently on a plate in the British Museum; T. Wilson 1987, no. 167. J. V. G. Mallet, in his comments on a draft of the present catalogue (August 1989), in NGA curatorial files, points out that this print was also a favorite source of Xanto's.

2. Rackham 1940, no. 673. I cannot agree with the grouping proposed by Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 424, where it is proposed to separate the National Gallery plate from the work of the Painter of the Three Graces.

3. Rackham 1940, no. 674; T. Wilson 1987, nos. 166, 167, 168; National Gallery plate, 1942.9.333; Seymour De

Ricci, *Exposition des objets d'art du moyen-âge et de la renaissance... à l'ancien hôtel de Sagan* (Paris, 1913), no. 64; Norman 1976, no. c66, where the attribution is questioned. William M. Milliken, "Majolica plate by Maestro Giorgio," *BCMA* 32 (1945), 23–25. Rackham 1940, 223, also attributes to the painter a plate in the Lehman collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art with Hercules and a centaur (Rasmussen 1989, no. 118). His further attributions, which include a plate in the British Museum (T. Wilson 1987, no. 163) and more plates in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, nos. 677–681), are more questionable.

4. Since the publication, "Documenti: Per Maestro Giorgio," pt. 3, *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana* 1 (1898), 80–81, is not everywhere easily accessible, Mazzatinti's transcripts are reprinted here. The first is dated 14 July 1525:

Actum in civitate Eugubii Q.S.A. in domo infrascripti Magistri Giorgii ut supraposita et confinante, presentibus domino... et Bernardino... de Marinis testibus. Magister Georgius Petri figulus de Andreolis de Eugubio ex una et Joannes Lucas... de Castrodurantis ex alia contraxerunt ad invicem societatem in arte vas figulorum de maiolica in qua venerunt ad infrascriptam conventionem; quod dictus Joannes Lucas pro se etc. promissit eius operam et industriam dare et se exercere in pictura vasorum durante tempora societatis predictae bene et fideliter et bona fide; et dominus Georgius promissit dicto Joanni Luce presenti etc. eidem dare et cuplere de laboreris seu vasis finitis vel pingendum in colorem et maiolicas et coquituras et omnia alia necessaria excepta pictura omnibus suis sumptibus, laboribus et expensis; et ipsum in eius domo tenere sine solucione apensionis, ac omnia eidem providere suis sumptibus de eius necessariis per viam. Quam societatem durare voluerunt pro uno anno proxime venturo ac deinde ad partium beneplacitum. In quo tempore idem Johannes Lucas promissit non discedere et de suo lucro eidem magistro Giorgio satisfacere de florenis... solutis pro eo tam in civitate Urbini quam hic. Eugubii et habeat duas partes ex tribus illius quod fuerit venditum, *vasa per eum depinta recte et storiata* [author's emphasis]. Et in fine temporis, vel quandocumque diviserint, dividantur tamen modo pecunie de dictis vasis recipiende et non ipsa vasa; et volens idem Joannes Lucas discedere et consensu eius, ratum teneatur stare... [?] pro suo dicta vasa vendantur. Que omnia etc. promisserunt etc. pena ducentorum decem. Quam penam etc. obligare etc. recipientes etc. iurantes etc.

The second, made the same day, reads:

Dicta die, loco et testibus. Magister Georgius predictus ex una et Federicus de Urbino contraxerunt ad invicem societatem, quod magister Georgius promissit dare tres partes ex quinque vasorum vendendorum et per eum factorum de terra suis coloribus et idem Federicus promissit suas operas dare ad faciendum dicta vasa bene et fideliter et hoc ad beneplacitum tempore utriusque partis. Que omnia etc.

Mazzatinti's assumption that Federico was a painter, in the paraphrase of these documents in "Mastro Giorgio," *Il Vasari* 4 (1931), 16, does not seem justified by the text. It is to be hoped that current work on the documents concerning Giorgio's business (Biganti 1987) will lead to the publication of a rechecked text of these documents and the publication of others.

5. Rackham's attribution to this painter of a plate in the British Museum (T. Wilson 1987, no. 163) dated 1524 is debatable. In 1987 I followed Ballardini's tentative attribution of this and another piece dated 1524 (T. Wilson 1987, no. 68) to "FR," but this is not a view in which I have much confidence; see Bernard Rackham, "Xanto and 'F.R.': an insoluble problem?" *Faenza* 43 (1957), 108. The Lehman collection dish of 1525, mentioned in note 3, seems to me to be by the painter of the two British Museum plates of 1524. Rackham 1940, 223, followed by Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi, "Produzione istoriata della bottega di Maestro Giorgio da Gubbio: Un piatto del Maestro del Giudizio di Paride al Museo del Vino di Torgiano," *Faenza* 71 (1985), 299, believed that the

Painter of the Three Graces was also the painter of the Petit Palais Judgment of Paris of 1520; see 1942.9.330. If this is correct, it would render less plausible the suggestion here made that Giovanni Luca might have been the painter. See also Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 421–430.

6. Although my grouping of "hands" differs from theirs, I share the view of Fiocco and Gherardi that the old tag "Casteldurante, lusted at Gubbio," should now be consigned to the scrap heap for wares of this type; see Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 414.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 60–61, as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli).  
1942 Widener 1942: 13, as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli).  
1983 C. Wilson 1983: 119, no. 4, color repro., as Gubbio (Maestro Giorgio Andreoli).  
1988–1989 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 423–425, figs. 128, 129; 570.

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## Broad-rimmed bowl

with palmette and cornucopia border; in the center, shield of arms of the Saracinelli of Orvieto

1942.9.329 (C-54)

Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio

c. 1525/1528

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 23.6 (9¼)

Widener Collection

#### LABELS

Kann 24, 194; typed label: *Arms of the family Pucci*.

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a white tin glaze of slightly pinkish tone. The painting is in blue, green, yellow, brown, and white, with golden and reddish luster. There are four kiln-spur marks on the front near the edge, and a kiln scar on the back. The inner and outer edges of the rim are chipped, and there is some scratching of the glaze.

#### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1909[1908], as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

#### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 33, as Gubbio (Salimbene di Pietro Andreoli?), c. 1525/1530.

The bowl is painted in the center with a shield of arms, *party per fess*; in chief azure a crescent argent, in base argent a moor's head sable wearing a headband argent; over the division a fess vert; the beribboned shield floats in a rudimentary landscape and against a luster-dotted sky. The rim has a blue ground laid down on the wheel and has a symmetrical pattern of palmettes, double cornucopias, roundels, and tendrils, scratched out of the background and filled in with green and lusters. The edge is gold lustered. On the reverse, painted in luster varying from brown to yellow, are rapidly painted foliate sprays and, in the center, a mark incorporating an S.

Four other plates of the same set are recorded, all of approximately the same diameter; of these, one belonging to the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and on deposit in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyons has a border design virtually identical to that of the National Gallery piece;<sup>1</sup> two others, in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, and in the Musée du Louvre, have a second, similarly conceived border;<sup>2</sup> the fourth, again belonging to the Musée du Louvre but on deposit at Sèvres, has a third design.<sup>3</sup>

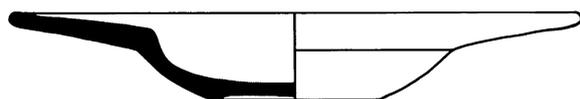
The arms are probably for the Saracinelli family of Orvieto.<sup>4</sup> The set has close similarities with a number of armorial sets marked and dated as made



Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, *Broad-rimmed bowl with palmette and cornucopia border; in the center, shield of arms of the Saracinelli of Orvieto*, 1942.9.329



1942.9.329, back



1942.9.329, profile drawing

in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio in 1526 and 1527 – the Fregoso, Ciocchi del Monte, and Vitelli/Della Staffa sets.<sup>5</sup> The mark on the reverse, where the other sets have the workshop mark and date, has been supposed to be a maker's mark of Salimbene, Giorgio's brother. There is documentary evidence, however, that Salimbene Andreoli died in 1523.<sup>6</sup> It seems more likely that marks such as this, which usually incorporate a cross and have the form of what English historians call "merchants' marks," refer to the client, not the maker, and are marks of ownership.<sup>7</sup> This is almost certainly true of the similar mark on the set from which the 1525 plate (1942.9.333) comes. The letter S incorporated in the mark here probably refers to the initial letter of Saracinelli, corroborating Giacomotti's identification of the arms.<sup>8</sup>

Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi have drawn attention to the parallel between the form of palmette ornament used in Maestro Giorgio's workshop, particularly around 1526–1528, and the sculptural ornament on the Basilica of Beato Ubaldo, near Gubbio. They note that the latest occurrence of this kind of ornament on Gubbio maiolica is on works dated 1535 and 1536.<sup>9</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Joseph Chompret, *Répertoire de la majolique italienne* (Paris, 1949), fig. 725.
2. Watson 1986, no. 36; Giacomotti 1974, no. 673.

3. Giacomotti 1974, no. 674. Her no. 675, which is larger and different in style, may belong to the same set even though it does not have the mark on the reverse.

4. Giacomotti 1974, no. 673; Watson 1986, 94, n. 3.

5. For the Fregoso set of 1526 see 1942.9.335. For the set with the arms of Cardinal Ciocchi del Monte, 1526–1527, see Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: nos. 199, 209, 210, figs. 194, 317; 195; pl. 26, fig. 330. For the set of 1527 with the arms of Niccolo Vitelli of Città di Castello and his wife Gentilina Della Staffa see Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 205, figs. 190, 336 (Spitzer collection, most recently sold Sotheby's, London, 6 June 1989, no. 5); no. 206, figs. 191, 337 (Glogowski collection, sold Sotheby's, London, 8 June 1932, no. 62, now in the Lehman collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Rasmussen 1989, no. 121); no. 207, figs. 192, 332 (British Museum; T. Wilson 1987, no. 169); no. 208, fig. 193, Sèvres (Giacomotti 1974, no. 671); another, exhibited at *Special Exhibition of Works of Art* [exh. cat., South Kensington Museum] (London, 1862), no. 5227 (cat. entry by John Charles Robinson), is recorded in a photograph in the department of ceramics, Victoria and Albert Museum; a sixth is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, no. 692).

6. Giuseppe Mazzatinti, "Documenti: Per Mastro Giorgio," pt. 2, *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana* 1 (1898), 61; Biganti 1987, 213.

7. For these marks, which have been little studied in Italy, see Giacomo C. Bascapè, *Sigillografia*, 3 vols. to date (Milan, 1969–), 1: 406. Numerous examples are illustrated and attributed to their users in Federigo Melis, *Aspetti della vita economica medievale. Studi nell' Archivio Datini di Prato*, vol. 1 (Siena, 1962), where they are called "marche' di operatori economici." What sounds like pottery marked both with a coat-of-arms and with a seal or owner's mark of some kind is stipulated in the 1521 contract described by Luigi De-Mauri [Ernesto Sarasino], *Le maioliche di Deruta* (Milan, 1924), 26, in which a confraternity in Deruta undertook to supply the rector of Saint Anthony in Perugia with bowls, "col segno del tab[ellionato] depinti con le armi in azzurro di esso Rettore." The theory of Biganti 1987, 218, that a mark of this type on a set of Deruta jars of 1501 and 1502 is the mark of the maker lacks substantiation. See also Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 416.

8. Fortnum 1896, no. 95, states that "almost precisely the same mark occurs on a plate, rather coarsely painted with a female bust holding a flower, and with a leaf and flower border... sold by auction some years since."

9. Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 417.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 58, described as having the Pucci arms and attributed to Gubbio (Salimbene di Pietro Andreoli?), c. 1520.
- 1942 Widener 1942: 13, same attribution.
- 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 120, no. 8, as Gubbio, Salimbene Andreoli, c. 1520/1523.
- 1986 Watson 1986: 94, as Gubbio, c. 1525/1530.
- 1988–1989 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 416–417, fig. 118.

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## Plate

with border of palmettes and scrollwork; in the center, a shield or arms and the initials A.F.

1942.9.335 (C-60)

Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio

1526

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 30.6 (12)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

Flanking shield of arms: .A. .F.; in center of reverse: 1526 MG

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The plate, which has warped slightly in the kiln, is of earthenware, covered front and back with a speckled off-white tin glaze of pinkish gray tone, with some pitting on the reverse. The painting is in blue, green, and brownish black, with golden and red luster. The reverse has a molded ridge at the edge. There are two kiln scars close together beneath the broad rim. The inner and outer edges of the rim are worn.

### PROVENANCE

Mikhail Petrovich Botkin, Saint Petersburg. (Jacques and Arnold Seligmann), Paris; purchased February 1912 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 34.

The plate is painted in the well with a beribboned scrolling shield of arms, flanked by the letters . A. and . F., and set in a rudimentary landscape; the shield is: *Party per pale: dexter, per fess, in chief azure three fleurs de lis or, within a bordure compony or and gules* (for Burgundy modern, the border correctly *argent and gules*), *in base bendy of six azure and or* (probably Burgundy ancient, but omitting the *bordure gules*) *impaling or a lion rampant gules* (probably for Limbourg, correctly *argent a lion rampant gules*); *sinister per fess nebuly sable and argent* (Fregoso of Genoa); *over the palar line an inescutcheon, or a lion rampant sable* (probably for Flanders). The paint in the upper sinister quarter is actually a very dark green but is intended for sable (black). The curving sides of the well are lustered gold with reddish streaks. The rim has had a blue ground applied on the wheel, out of which a roughly symmetrical pattern of palmette motifs and scrolling tendrils has been scratched, then colored pale

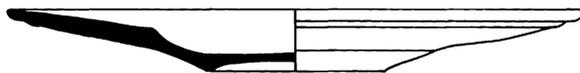
green or luster. The edge is gold lustered. On the reverse there are concentric rings of reddish brown luster close together around the edge of the plate and the sides of the well; in the center 1526 MG is written in simple characters.

These arms are a slightly inaccurate rendering of the arms of Philip the Good (d. 1467) and Charles the Bold (d. 1477), the last Valois dukes of Burgundy, dimidiating Fregoso of Genoa. They also occur on a plate in the Musée du Louvre, with the same date and similar but differently arranged border ornament. Giacomotti suggests a link with Federico Fregoso, bishop of Gubbio from 1508, abbot of Saint Bénigne in Dijon and later a cardinal; he is a character in both Castiglione's *Cortegiano* and Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*.<sup>1</sup> However, in the absence of any badge of ecclesiastical rank accompanying the arms, and in view of the initials AF, the connection with Federico Fregoso seems unlikely. Confirmation that the arms are those of a member of this branch of the Fregoso family is provided by a shield with the same quarterings in the church of San Girolamo in the town of Sant'Agata Feltria.<sup>2</sup> The fief (and later the title of count) of Sant'Agata was held successively by Agostino Fregoso, his elder son Ottaviano (brother of Federico), and from 1524 by Ottaviano's young son Aurelio. In view of the initials AF and the date, the probability is that the Musée du Louvre and National Gallery plates were made for Aurelio Fregoso. No firm evidence has been found why this branch of the Fregoso family should have adopted this version of the Burgundian arms in the dexter partition of their shield, but arms so closely associated (through Charles V) with the Holy Roman Empire are unlikely to have been adopted without some authority. It seems likely that the quarterings were granted to or adopted by Agostino Fregoso, who was at the court of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, from 1474 to 1475 and was knighted by him after the Battle of Neuss in 1475.<sup>3</sup> The dimidiation of the Burgundian shield, with the inescutcheon added, is a heraldic curiosity.<sup>4</sup> The omission of the *bordure* around the "Burgundy ancient" quartering is apparently not simply an error of the maiolica painter's, since it also occurs on the shield in San Girolamo.<sup>5</sup> Aurelio Fregoso married Lucrezia Vitelli, daughter of Niccolò Vitelli of Città di Castello and his wife Gentilina Della Staffa; it is probably no coincidence that a set with the arms of





1942.9.335, back



1942.9.335, profile drawing

Niccolò and Gentilina very similar in style to the present set was made in Maestro Giorgio's workshop in 1527.<sup>6</sup> Aurelio's uncle Federico, as bishop of Gubbio, may have had something to do with commissioning the present set.

Heraldic sets of this type were a significant part of the production of the Maestro Giorgio workshop in the mid-1520s (see 1942.9.329). At around the same time at least one workshop in Faenza was producing similarly conceived armorial pieces with ornamental blue borders but without luster, such as, for instance, the set made in 1525 for the historian Francesco Guicciardini and his wife.<sup>7</sup> In contrast to the Guicciardini set, however, no *istoriato* pieces from any of the Gubbio armorial sets are recorded. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Giacomotti 1974, no. 672. For Federico Fregoso see Ciaconius [Alphonse Chacon], *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1675–1677), 3: 660–664; Pompeo Litta, *Celebri famiglie italiane* (Milan and Turin, 1819–1923), s.v. "Fregoso," pl. 6. Ciaconius gives as his arms simply the arms of Fregoso. No seal of his arms as abbot of Saint-Bénigne is recorded in Auguste Coulon, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Bourgogne* (Paris, 1912).

2. The shield in San Girolamo is illustrated in F. Dall'Ara, *Sant'Agata Feltria* (Arezzo, 1980), 20. I am

warmly indebted for this information to Dr. Sandro Sebastianelli of Pergola. Dr. Sebastianelli's generously compiled notes on the Fregoso family genealogy and heraldry are in NGA curatorial files. The shield in San Girolamo is also illustrated in Nando Cecini, *Note d'arte e di storia su S. Agata Feltria* [Banca Popolare del Montefeltro e del Metauro, 1977], 62.

3. For Agostino Fregoso at the Burgundian court, see Richard J. Walsh, "The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries: Some Italian Influences at the Court of Charles the Bold," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 25 (1976), 177–178. No documentation has been found for a grant of the quarterings, but an interesting parallel is the grant in 1473 to the *condottiere* Bartolomeo Colleoni by Charles the Bold of the right to include the arms of Burgundy in his arms; see Bortolo Belotti, *La vita di Bartolomeo Colleoni* (Bergamo, n.d.), 464, 609, doc. 31; and for various forms of the resulting arms, the portrait in Pietro Spino, *Historia della vita... [di] Bartolomeo Coglioni* (Venice, 1569). I am very grateful for advice on Agostino Fregoso to Dr. Cecil Clough of the University of Liverpool, to whom I owe these references, and to Richard Walsh for further comments.

4. I am indebted for advice on these arms to Canon Marilier of Dijon and to John Goodall; their learned comments are in NGA curatorial files. For the arms of Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, and the Burgundian succession, see Jirí Louda and Michael Maclagan, *Lines of Succession* (London, 1981), tables 74, 75.

5. Dr. Sebastianelli has suggested that the arms on the plate do not refer to Burgundy but are a modified impalement of Montefeltro and Fregoso (with the woman's arms placed in the dexter, that is, the senior half in tribute to the exalted status of the Montefeltro) in direct reference to the marriage in 1476 of Agostino and Gentile Feltria, illegitimate daughter of Federigo da Montefeltro; that the quartering here described as "Burgundy ancient" actually represents the Montefeltro quartering; and that the fleurs de lis in the first quarter are varied from the Montefeltro eagle as being more appropriate to a lady. In view of the established Burgundian connection and the nearly exact correspondence to the Burgundian quarterings, this seems unlikely. It is, however, true that the omission of the bordure round "Burgundy ancient" produces a quartering (*bendy of six azure and or*) similar to one of the Montefeltro quarterings. Is it possible that the quartering was varied deliberately, with reference to Agostino's marriage alliance with the Montefeltro?

6. For the Vitelli/Della Staffa set see 1942.9.329, note 5.

7. T. Wilson 1987, nos. 45, 202.

#### REFERENCES

- 1911 *La Collection Botkine*. Saint Petersburg, 1911: pl. 40.  
 1935 Widener 1935: 61.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 13.  
 1974 Giacomotti 1974: 208.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 120, no. 7.  
 1988–1989 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 571.

## Shallow bowl

on low foot with the muse Clío riding on a swan through a watery landscape

1942.9.340 (C-65)

Probably painted and lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio

c. 1535/1540

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 26.1 (10¼)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

On table at right: *CLIO*

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a pinkish white glaze, slightly pitted on the back. The painting is in blue, green, yellow, orange brown, gray, near black, and white, with golden-brown and red luster. The dish has been broken and restored with very extensive overpaint front and back, especially down the tree trunk on the left, along the lower center, and at the edge at three o'clock. The rim is almost entirely repainted. The luster is worn. No kiln-

support marks are visible; they are probably covered by restorations.

### PROVENANCE

A photograph of c. 1862 in the photographic archive of the Victoria and Albert Museum, neg. 3600, shows that the dish was at that time in the collection of Alexander Barker. "Mr. Natorp," 1887. Sir Francis Beaufort Palmer, London, by 1910.<sup>1</sup> ("Goldschmidt");<sup>2</sup> purchased February 1913 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1887, *Catalogue of Specimens of Hispano-Moresque and Majolica Pottery*, no. 292. London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1910, *Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures Including Examples of the Works of the Brothers Le Nain and Other Works of Art*, 48. NGA 1982–1983, no. 40, as Gubbio, c. 1530/1540.



The surface is painted with a figure in a simple landscape representing Clio, muse of history, standing on a swan; on a table on the right is the word *CLIO*. The reverse is decorated with simple scrolls in yellowish brown luster and four wavy lines radiating from the foot to the edge.

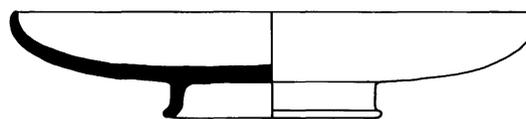
The subject is taken from one of the so-called *Tarocchi*, a series of fifty early Italian engravings (fig. 1). This series consists of representations of the Conditions of Man, Apollo and the Muses (of which Clio is one), the Liberal Arts, the Cosmic Principles, and the Firmaments of the Universe. It has sometimes been thought to be a card game like the tarot cards of the period, but this remains unproven. Two versions of the series exist, known as the E-series and the S-series; the maiolica plate is based on the E-series Clio. It is relatively unusual to find an early engraving (probably dating from the 1460s) still used by a maiolica painter as late as the 1530s, when engravings by Marcantonio and his school were widely available and much more heavily used.<sup>3</sup> The landscape is the maiolica painter's own.

The style of this rather mediocre painter is reminiscent of that of Francesco Urbini. It is known from a marked piece dated 1534 (on loan to the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam) that Francesco Urbini was painting pieces somewhat in this style in Gubbio, probably around 1531 to 1536.<sup>4</sup> In view of the stylistic similarities between the two painters, it seems likely that the painter of the National Gallery dish was also working in Gubbio, in or for the workshop of Maestro Giorgio.<sup>5</sup> T.H.W.

Fig. 1 Master of the E-Series *Tarocchi*, *Clio*, c. 1465, engraving, Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1969.6.10



1942.9.340, back



1942.9.340, profile drawing

#### NOTES

1. The dish corresponds exactly to the description of the one exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibitions in 1887 and 1910 by "Mr. Natorp" and Sir Francis Beaufort Palmer respectively, and is almost certainly the same piece.

2. Widener collection records in NGA curatorial files. The reference is presumably to the prominent art dealers J. and S. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt-am-Main.

3. Bartsch 1803-1821, XII: 134, no. 36A; Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 7 vols. (London, 1938-1948), 1: 236, and 4: pl. 338; Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn L. Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, 1973), III, no. 33, and 81-89, where the series is concluded to be the work of an engraver probably working in Ferrara, c. 1465-1470. Another, much earlier, piece of maiolica based on these engravings is in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington; Watson 1986, no. 1; others are listed by Hind 1938-1948, 1: 232.

4. J. V. G. Mallet, "Francesco Urbini in Gubbio and Deruta," *Faenza* 65 (1979), 279-296, pl. 95.

5. The attribution of the painting as well as the luster to Gubbio was suggested by Douglas Lewis when he was relabeling the National Gallery displays in 1982.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 63, as Urbino, with Gubbio luster, c. 1540.  
 1938-1948 Hind, Arthur M. *Early Italian Engraving*. 7 vols. London, 1938-1948: 1: 232.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 12, as Urbino, with Gubbio luster, c. 1540.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 119, no. 3, as Gubbio, c. 1525/1535.  
 1986 Watson 1986: 34.

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## *Istoriato* maiolica: Urbino district

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### NICOLA DA URBINO

For over a hundred years study of the work of the superlative maiolica artist who signed himself “Nicola da Urbino” was vitiated by a quite unwarranted assumption that he was the same man as Nicolò Pellipario of Castel Durante, the documented father of Guido Durantino. Recent archival research has demolished this theory and demonstrated beyond much doubt that his real name was Nicola di Gabriele Sbraghe (or Sbraga) and that his work was done mainly if not entirely in Urbino.<sup>1</sup>

The first mention of Nicola di Gabriele Sbraghe in hitherto published documents is in Urbino in 1520, when “Magister Nicola Gabrielis figulus” was witness to a will in the San Paolo district, the main potters’ quarter of Urbino. Thereafter he reappears in a series of documents in the notarial archives of Urbino, always described as a potter and evidently fairly successful. Among those who appear alongside him in these documents are Guido di Nicolò of Castel Durante (the potter Guido Durantino, see page 218) and Giovanni Maria Mariani, who is probably identifiable with the Giovanni Maria discussed in the entry for 1942.9.313. In 1530 Nicola and a group of other Urbino workshop owners combined to oppose an attempt to raise wage rates made by a group of craftsmen that included Francesco Xanto Aveli (see page 199). Nicola died around the winter of 1537/1538, whereupon his widow Girolama leased his workshop and equipment to Vincenzo, son of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli of Gubbio.<sup>2</sup>

The documents reveal little about the artistic side of Nicola di Gabriele’s business or how large his workshop was, but he is the only *figulus* (potter) of the name prominent in Urbino documents in the 1520s and 1530s, and there is no serious doubt about the identification. Study of his work is based on five works bearing his name written out or in monogram; all of these are entirely covered with narrative (*istoriato*) painting. They are:

1. A dish, 1521, in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, with a king enthroned and *NICOL* in monogram.<sup>3</sup>

2. A fragment of a dish in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, with *NICOLA* in monogram followed by *da Urbino*.<sup>4</sup>

3. A large dish in the Bargello, Florence, with the martyrdom of Saint Cecilia and, on the reverse, *NICHOL[A]* in monogram and the information that the dish was “made in the workshop of Guido of Castel Durante in Urbino 1528” (*la qualle e fata in botega di guido da castello durante. In Urbino 1528*).<sup>5</sup> Exactly why Nicola, apparently a workshop owner himself, should have painted this imposing piece in the workshop of a rival (or associate) is unclear.

4. A large dish in the church of Santo Stefano, Novellara, with the finding of the cup in Benjamin’s sack, arms that are probably those of the Manzoli family of Bologna, and, on the reverse, the signature “I Nicola painted it” (*Ioni Chola pinsitt*).<sup>6</sup>

5. A plate in the British Museum with the Athenians sacrificing to the goddess Diana and, on the reverse, *Nicola da .V.*<sup>7</sup>

The inscriptions on the Bargello and Novellara dishes show that Nicola was himself a painter of *istoriato*, and from these marked works a coherent picture of his artistic development has been built up. His greatest achievements are three substantial sets, which are unsigned but generally agreed to be by one hand. The earliest of these, which is among the earliest identified *istoriato* maiolica made in Urbino, consists of seventeen pieces which have remained together and are now in the Museo Correr in Venice.<sup>8</sup> Its similarity in style to the Saint Petersburg piece dated 1521 suggests a date for the Correr set in the early 1520s. A little later than this is what must have been one of the most prestigious commissions of the 1520s, an armorial set made for the great collector Isabella d'Este, marchioness of Mantua, of which twenty-two *istoriato* plates and dishes are known, scattered in museums and a few private collections all over the world.<sup>9</sup> A third set, very similar in style but slightly less exquisitely executed, was made about the same time for a member of the Calini family of Brescia.<sup>10</sup> By the early to mid-1530s, when Nicola appears to have undertaken another commission for an important client – Isabella's son Federico Gonzaga, duke of Mantua<sup>11</sup> – much of the elegance has gone out of his work; it seems likely that these later works are the result of collaboration with assistants.

At its best, Nicola's work has a lyrical charm unequalled by any other maiolica painter. His figures, often suggested by woodcuts in the ever-popular Venetian illustrated paraphrases of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, move among idyllic landscapes scattered with pure Renaissance architecture reminiscent of Bramante.<sup>12</sup> Even his handwriting, as evidenced by the monograms and inscriptions on some of his work, has an elegance no other maiolica painter matched. His position as the central figure in the development of Urbino *istoriato* maiolica seems secure. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. The suggestion that "Nicola da Urbino" was Nicolò Pellipario occurs in John Charles Robinson, *Catalogue of the Soulages Collection* (London, 1856), 195, though Robinson cautiously adds, "Of the first Nicola... nothing positive can be asserted." The misconception was diffused by Fortnum 1873, 323–329, although as early as 1864 Alfred Darcel, *Musée de la Renaissance: Notice des faïences peintes italiennes, hispano-moresques et françaises* (Paris, 181–182, had suggested the name of Nicola di Gabriele (already known from a document published by Pungileoni). The equation of Nicola da Urbino with Pellipario was shown by Wallen 1968, 101, to be without foundation, and definitively refuted by Paride Berardi, *L'antica maiolica di Pesaro* (Florence, 1984), 17, n. 9, and Negroni 1986, 13–15, who published documents showing that Ni-

colò Pellipario was dead by 1510 and that he was probably not a potter.

2. Documents in Negroni 1986.

3. Kube 1976, no. 58.

4. Giacomotti 1974, no. 829; T. Wilson 1987, no. 59.

5. Conti 1971, no. 16; Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 228, pl. 29, fig. 338.

6. Francesco Liverani, "Un piatto di Nicola e altro," *Faenza* 71 (1985), 392–393; T. Wilson 1987, no. 62.

7. T. Wilson 1987, no. 63.

8. Henry Wallis, *XVII Plates by Nicola Fontana da Urbino at the Correr Museum Venice: A Study in Early XVI<sup>th</sup> cent' maiolica* (London, 1905); *Una città e il suo museo, Bollettino dei civici musei veneziani d'arte e di storia* 30, n.s. 1–4 (1986), 73–79; better illustrations in Giuseppe Papagni, *La maiolica del Rinascimento in Casteldurante*,

*Urbino e Pesaro* (Fano, n.d.). See Timothy Wilson, "Giro-lamo Genga: Designer for Maiolica?" in *Italian Renaissance Pottery*, ed. Timothy Wilson (London, 1991), 157, for a tentative argument that the Correr series may be dated c. 1522.

9. To the twenty-one plates and dishes listed by Rasmussen 1984, 160 (see Mallet 1981, 165), should now be added a plate with the Abduction of Ganymede found in a fragmentary condition in a house near Viadana (between Mantua and Parma), described by Ravanelli Guidotti in T. Wilson 1991, 13–23. Mariarosa Palvarini Gobio Casali, *La ceramica a Mantova* (Ferrara, 1987), 180–192, n. 27, 29, cites two documents, either or both of which could be connected with the Isabella d'Este service. The first is a letter to Isabella from her aunt Elisabetta, widow of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, 1 August 1523, in which "questo Mastro da la maiolica" is noted as having returned from Mantua to Urbino; the second, dated 15 November 1524, is from Isabella's daughter Eleanora, wife of Francesco Maria Della Rovere, duke of Urbino, sending her "a service of earthenware pottery" which she has commissioned, "since the masters of this country of ours have a certain reputation for good work" (*Ho facto fare una credenza de vasi di terra . . . per havere li maestri de questo nostro paese qualche nome di lavorar bene*). She adds the hope that Isabella will be able to make use of the set at her country house at Porto as *cosa da villa*, an untranslatable but evocative phrase suggestive of the relaxed festive atmosphere away from court business, in the spirit of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, which someone like Isabella might have thought apt for *istoriato* maiolica with subjects chiefly from Ovid. See further Ravanelli Guidotti 1991, and Rasmussen 1989, 110–114.

10. T. Wilson 1987, no. 53, lists the surviving pieces.

11. J. V. G. Mallet in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau [exh. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum] (London, 1981), nos. 194, 195; Norman 1976, no. C92; T. Wilson 1987, no. 64.

12. Bernard Rackham, "Nicola Pellipario and Bramante," *BurlM* 86 (1945), 144–149. Bramante was born in Castel Durante, close to Urbino.

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T. Wilson 1987: 44–51.

Mallet 1987: 284–286.

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## Panel with the Adoration of the Magi

1942.9.341 (C-66)

Painted by Nicola da Urbino, Urbino

c. 1525

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), 22.2 x 16.8 (8¾ x 6⅝);  
thickness 1.5 (5/8)

Widener Collection

### LABELS

Kann 6, 204. Oval Spitzer collection sale label; another, apparently older, handwritten label (similar to the one on 1942.9.313, which is another Spitzer collection piece) with: *Page 321. N° 21.B.*

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered on the front and sides and patchily on the back with a whitish, somewhat pockmarked tin glaze. The painting is in blue, green, brown, orange, yellow, gray, black, and white. A break through the Madonna's dress and the kneeling Magus has been repaired and carefully overpainted, and there is some overpaint, flaking slightly, on the edge, particularly around the lower left-hand corner.

### PROVENANCE

Frédéric Spitzer, Paris (sale, Paris, 17 April–16 June 1893, no. 1169).<sup>1</sup> Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908,



as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

#### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 45, color repro. 7, as Nicolo da Urbino, c. 1525.

The panel is painted in a rich palette with the Holy Family and the three Magi. The Madonna is seated, with the baby Jesus on her lap making a gesture of benediction; she holds a casket containing the gift of the first of the Magi, who kneels before them. Behind her is Joseph, with the ox and ass, beneath a classicizing ruin representing the stable. The Magi, one old, one middle aged, and the third, who is black, younger, have dismounted from their horses; their attendants are in groups in the background. In the sky is the star that has led them to Jesus. The scene has a black border painted around the edge.

The style of the plaque was fully discussed by Wallen in 1968 in the National Gallery's *Report and Studies in the History of Art*. His conclusion—that the plaque was entirely painted by Nicola at about the date of the monogrammed fragment in the Musée du Louvre, that is, probably about 1525—is convincing.<sup>2</sup> It was in this article that the long-standing belief that the artist who signed "Nicola da Urbino" was Nicolò Pellipario, father of Guido Durantino, was first shown to be without foundation.

Although Urbino artists often painted plates with *istoriato* scenes entirely covering the surface from about 1515/1520 onward, panels, which might seem the logical extension of fully *istoriato* painting, never became really popular in maiolica workshops. Many of those that survive, like this one, are religious in subject matter, and may have been made to adorn churches and private chapels. Another panel, in the British Museum, perhaps by Nicola a few years later than the National Gallery panel, is painted with the Holy Family with the infant Saint John.<sup>3</sup>

The story of the three wise men (*Magi* in the Latin Vulgate version of the Bible) from the East who were led by a star to visit Jesus in Bethlehem and bring him gifts—gold, frankincense, and myrrh—is told in Matthew 2:1–12, but not in the other three Gospels. In the main iconographic tradition of medieval Christianity the Magi were often presented as kings and as representing three ages of man, one young, one middle aged, and one old; it was also common to represent one of them as black. No particular iconographical model for the National Gallery plaque has been traced; the composition may well be Nicola's own. It may be compared, however, with a painting attributed to Perugino in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that Nicola took a suggestion from a woodcut in a devotional book.<sup>5</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité ... composant l'importante et précieuse collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1893), no. 1169, pl. 33, as Castel Durante, c. 1540, sold for 1,800 francs.

2. Wallen 1968.

3. T. Wilson 1987, no. 61; a comparable plaque with some luster was sold from the Sir Stephen Courtauld collection at Sotheby's, London, 18 March 1975, no. 22, and again at Sotheby's, 17–18 October 1988, no. 259.

4. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance; Central and North Italian Schools* (London, 1968), pl. 1095. Compare Johanna Lessmann, "Istoriato-painting on panels in the workshop of Nicola da Urbino," *Italian Renaissance Pottery*, ed. Timothy Wilson (London, 1991), 25–31; Johanna Lessmann, "Xanto's Panels," *BurlM* 132 (1990), 346–350.

5. Victor Masséna (Prince d'Essling), *Les livres à figures vénitiens*, 6 vols. (Florence and Paris, 1907–1914) 1: 1, 455, illustrates a woodcut of somewhat similar composition from a book of hours of the Virgin printed in Venice in 1517.

#### REFERENCES

1892 Molinier 1892: no. 134, as Castel Durante, c. 1540.

1935 Widener 1935: 63, as Faenza, c. 1520.

1942 Widener 1942: 14, as Faenza, c. 1520.

1968 Wallen 1968: fig. 1, as Nicolò da Urbino.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 120, no. 1, as Nicolò da Urbino.

## Plate

with Venus in her chariot and Cupid, riding through a night sky

1942.9.336 (C-61)

Attributed to Nicola da Urbino or a close associate;  
probably lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio  
Andreoli, Gubbio

c. 1530/1535

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 25.8 (10 $\frac{1}{8}$ )

Widener Collection

### LABELS

(Duveen?) label attributes the plate to Maestro Giorgio, about 1530, and adds *Probably designed by Raphael himself* (Berenson).<sup>1</sup>

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with an off-white tin glaze with a few pockmarks. The painting is in blue, blue black, green, yellow, orange brown, and white, with red and gold luster. There are five kiln-spur marks on the front near the rim. The edge has some chipping.

### PROVENANCE

(Duveen Brothers); purchased February 1912 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 46, as Urbino, lustered at Gubbio, painted by Nicola da Urbino or a follower.

The plate is painted on an unusual blue-black ground, presumably representing the night sky, with Venus in her chariot drawn over the clouds by a pair of swans; in front of her, on a flaming urn, is a winged Cupid with his bow; behind her, tied to the chariot, is a naked boy; in the sky flies a winged Cupid with flames issuing from his hands. The luster is spongiy applied to the clouds, and in rays issuing from the clouds and the figures. The edge is painted yellow and lustered. On the reverse, the foot, the junction between rim and well, and the edge are painted yellow, and the whole surface has casually drawn scrollwork in red and golden luster.

The subject is the planetary goddess Venus riding through the sky. It has been observed by Konrad Oberhuber that the portrayal of Venus in her chariot is based on the upper figures in the famous engraving of subjects from Virgil by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, known as the "Quos Ego (fig. 1)."<sup>2</sup> The representation is in a long medieval tradition, but it differs from Renaissance engraved cycles of the planets in that the birds pulling the chariot look more like swans than Venus' usual doves.<sup>3</sup> The bound Cupid at the back of Venus' chariot is also an unusual detail: it is apparently derived from a quite different iconographical tradition, the illustrations to Petrarch's *Trionfi*, in which, for example, Chastity usually has a bound Cupid at her chariot to denote the defeat of Love by Chastity. The amorous flames associated with the Cupids on the plate are also probably derived from the iconography of the *Trionfi*.<sup>4</sup>

The painting of this plate is close to the style of Nicola around 1530 to 1535, and probably mainly or wholly by him. Comparable portrayals of classical deities riding through the clouds are two pieces—one in the Wallace Collection, London, and one in the Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche, Faenza—from the set made for Federico Gonzaga and his wife (who were married in 1531), which are generally attributed to Nicola.<sup>5</sup>

As already indicated (see pages 163–164), the old view, that it was common practice in the 1520s and 1530s for maiolica made and painted and twice fired in Urbino to be sent to Gubbio to have luster added in Maestro Giorgio's workshop, appears to be in need of revision. Numerous pieces, both *istoriato* and ornamental, are painted in the style associated with Urbino and Castel Durante, but have luster enrichment marked as from, or in the manner of Maestro Giorgio's workshop in Gubbio. The balance

Fig. 1 Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *Quos Ego*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIV.264.352



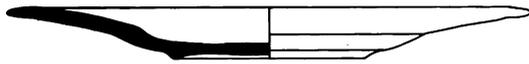


of evidence is that the great majority of these, particularly before 1530, were painted by Urbino-district painters working, for long or short periods, in Gubbio and in association with Giorgio, like Giovanni Luca (see 1942.9.333, 1942.9.334), or Francesco Urbini (see 1942.9.340). From 1538 Maestro Giorgio's son Vincenzo was working in Urbino and may have been lustering locally painted *istoriato* (see 1942.9.339); the fact that we have no documentary evidence of Vincenzo's presence in Urbino be-

fore 1538 does not prove that this was not also being done before 1538. No piece is known to this author which can be positively proven to have been painted in Urbino and then sent to Gubbio for lustering. Among pieces for which a plausible case for this can be made are several signed by Francesco Xanto "in Urbino" with luster in the manner of Maestro Giorgio's workshop (see 1942.9.337), and pieces attributable to Nicola da Urbino or painters working closely in his style (Nicola is not known to have worked



1942.9.336, back



1942.9.336, profile drawing

anywhere except Urbino). Examples of this latter category include a plate apparently by Nicola with what looks like his handwriting on the back, dated 1531 in luster (but not marked with Giorgio's initials), which was sold from the Sir Stephen Courtauld collection in 1975,<sup>6</sup> and the famous plate in Bologna marked as "finished with maiolica" by Maestro Giorgio in 1532.<sup>7</sup> The National Gallery plate is in the same category. However, it may be that future archival or other research will produce an explanation other than the hypothesis that fragile pottery was laboriously carried back and forth between Urbino and Gubbio: it would surely have been at least as easy to move the artisans as to move the pots. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Since Bernard Berenson was closely associated with the firm of Duveen by 1912, when the piece was sold by Duveen to P. A. B. Widener, this label presumably reflects a rather rash remark of his.

2. Bartsch 1803-1821, XIV, 264, no. 352. Professor Oberhuber's letter, 17 May 1988, is in NGA curatorial files.

3. Compare the various series of planets illustrated in Friedrich Lippmann, *The Seven Planets*, International Chalcographical Society (London, 1895). A fresco by Cossa in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara has swans pulling Venus' chariot.

4. The iconographical tradition of illustrations to the *Trionfi* is dealt with by Victor Masséna (Prince d'Essling) and Eugène Müntz, *Petrarque: Ses études d'art et son influence sur les artistes* (Paris, 1902), 127-199. For the bound victim and the association of Cupid with flames, compare the paintings by a follower of Mantegna in the Kress collection at the Denver Art Museum; Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection; Italian Schools XV-XVI Century* (London, 1968), 27-28, figs. 61-62.

5. For the Wallace Collection piece, Norman 1976, no. c92; for the Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche piece, J. V. G. Mallet in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau [exh. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum] (London, 1981), 198, no. 195; compare Giuseppe Liverani, "Un piatto di Nicola Pellipario al Museo," *Faenza* 41 (1955), 12-13; J. V. G. Mallet, "Mantua and Urbino: Gonzaga Patronage of Maiolica," *Apollo* 113 (1981), 167-168. Mallet's judgment on the National Gallery piece, on his visit in 1987, was "possibly by Nicola or partly by him;" the late Jörg Rasmussen, however, attributed the piece directly to Nicola (note in NGA curatorial files). Several other plates, in a style suggesting they were painted by or in a milieu not far from Nicola in the 1530s, are also painted with planetary deities riding through the sky: a Diana (LUNA) at Sèvres (Giacomotti 1974, no. 830); an Apollo (SOLE) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, no. 573); and a Venus sold at Sotheby's, London, 6 June 1989, no. 9. Of the group, the National Gallery plate is the only one that is lustered.

6. Ballardini 1933-1938, 2: no. 7, figs. 6, 215; color repro. in Courtauld sale catalogue, Sotheby's, London, 18 March 1975, no. 25.

7. See page 165; note 2. A similar view is taken by Fiocco and Gherardi 1988-1989, 2: 424-427, though the present author is sceptical of the attribution to Nicola's own hand of some of the lustered works listed on 431, n. 10.

#### REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 61, as Gubbio, c. 1530, probably executed by Maestro Giorgio, possibly after a design of the Raphael school.

1942 Widener 1942: 13, as Gubbio, c. 1530.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 120, no. 2, as Urbino, lustered at Gubbio, painted by Nicolò da Urbino or a follower.

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## FRANCESCO XANTO AVELLI

Francesco Xanto Avelli, who came originally from Rovigo in the Veneto but worked for many years in Urbino, is the great eccentric among the Urbino school of *istoriato* maiolica painters. Between 1530 and 1542 he signed, dated, and wrote ambitious explanatory tags on numerous pieces, enabling us to follow the development of his work over that period, especially the first five years of it, in detail. He also had literary aspirations: in the 1530s he wrote a sonnet sequence in praise of Francesco Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino, which survives in an elegant fair copy among the Urbino manuscripts in the Vatican Library. Yet although one can learn a good deal about his interests and his reading, and although more has been written about him than about any other maiolica painter, little is known about his life.

The first concrete information so far discovered about Xanto dates from 1530, when he appears in Urbino mentioned in a notarial document relating to an attempt by a group of pottery workers (*interlaboratores artis figuli*), who had formed a kind of trade union attempting to raise their wage rates.<sup>1</sup> The first of Xanto's definite signed works is a plate in Milan dated 1530 commemorating the coming of the new year 1531; it is signed *.f.X.A.R.* and marked *î Urbino*.<sup>2</sup> About the same time he married a woman called Finalissa in Urbino.<sup>3</sup> Over the next five years he produced a large quantity of work, signed in various forms, dated, and marked as made in Urbino. This consistency in signing pieces was quite unprecedented, and may be in some way connected with his being blacklisted by leading workshop owners after the 1530 labor dispute. After 1535 he seems to have become somewhat less prolific, signed more cursorily or not at all, and had associates and followers more regularly working with him and basing their style on his. In 1542 he initialed a piece marked as made in the workshop of Francesco de Silvano in Urbino and is recorded to have taken on two assistants.<sup>4</sup> No later documentary record of him is known, and no work bearing a later date is convincingly attributed to him.

The compositional method developed by Xanto is bizarre. Only rarely did he take over a subject as a whole from an engraved source or book illustration; he usually devised his own compositions (some of them strikingly obscure mythological subjects or allegories of contemporary politics) by combining figures taken from Raphael-school engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi, Agostino Veneziano, Gian Jacopo Caraglio, and others; on occasion he pressed these figures into use by reversing them, turning them upside down, changing their sex, or even turning them into half-animal figures. He liked incorporating athletic poses from the erotic engravings after Giulio Romano by Marcantonio Raimondi, known as the *Modi*. 1942.9.337 and 1942.9.345 are good examples of his way of building up a picture. Having developed compositions in this way, he used some of them time and time again and passed them on to his followers.<sup>5</sup>

Xanto is equally esoteric in his choice of explanatory inscriptions on the reverse of his plates, most of which more or less closely follow the rhythm of verse. Many of the inscriptions are derived from Petrarch's *Trionfi*, and it is clear from countless echoes in his sonnets that Xanto knew Petrarch's poetry well.<sup>6</sup> Frequently, Xanto adds a literary "reference" for the subject, as in the case of the reference to Ovid on 1942.9.345. Characteristically, however, this Ovid reference is not to the Latin but to the popular illustrated paraphrase by Giovanni Bonsignore; there is no evidence that Xanto read Latin. Although he was certainly well read by the modest standards of maiolica painters and showed in his sonnets some ability as a versifier in the Petrarchan tradition, he was not as erudite as he might have wished readers of his inscriptions to believe.

The identification of Xanto's earlier work has been the subject of intensive scholarly debate. There are no unambiguously signed works dated earlier than 1530. Controversy centers on the following groups of works (in reverse chronological order):

1. A group of works with inscriptions ending in words such as *nota*, *fabula*, or *historia*, together with a diagonal stroke resembling a letter y or Greek  $\phi$ ; some of the works of this group are signed by Xanto, and they can be dated around 1528 to 1530. A dish in the Museo di Arte Medioevale e Moderna in Arezzo from this group has the lustered workshop signature of Maestro Giorgio of Gubbio and the date 1528.<sup>7</sup>

2. Three pieces (in the Bargello, Florence; the British Museum; and the Iparművészeti Műzeum [Museum of Applied Arts], Budapest) marked on the reverse *F.L.R.* or *f.L.R.*; the Budapest piece has the lustered workshop signature of Maestro Giorgio and the date 1529.<sup>8</sup>

3. Six recorded pieces with the signature *FR* on the front; none of these is dated, but they must have been made around the mid-1520s.<sup>9</sup>

4. Unsigned pieces stylistically related to the "FR" group. 1942.9.349 is one of this group, which perhaps also includes some pieces lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio in 1524.<sup>10</sup>

Most specialists now agree in attributing the first two groups to Xanto, and the weight of opinion is that the "FR" (Francesco Rovigese?) pieces are also by him.<sup>11</sup> There is no tangible evidence as to where they were made. Rackham and Ballardini, in an influential article in 1933, argued that "FR" (whom they did not believe to be Xanto) was a Faventine artist. Mallet has pointed to the parallels between the style of "FR" and Urbino work of the period and proposed that Xanto was already in the duchy of Urbino.<sup>12</sup> The lustered pieces dated 1528 and 1529, particularly the piece in Arezzo apparently inscribed by Xanto in luster, suggest he was in Gubbio in those years. Francesco Cioci's interpretation of the obscure autobiographical references in Xanto's sonnets has led him to argue that Xanto only came to the city of Urbino, after extensive travels, in 1530.<sup>13</sup> It is to be hoped that further archival discoveries may in due course resolve the issue. T.H.W.

NOTES

1. Luigi Pungileoni, *Notizie delle pitture in majolica fatte in Urbino*, reprinted in Giuliano Vanzolini, *Istorie delle fabbriche di majoliche metaurensi*, 2 vols. in 1 (Pesaro, 1879), 1: 337 (first published in *Giornale arcadico* 37 [1828], 333–357); Negroni 1986, 18. Neither Pungileoni nor Negroni transcribes the document in full, and it is unclear whether one or two documents are involved.

2. Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 254, pl. 34, fig. 355; Cioci 1987, 81.

3. Negroni 1986, 18.

4. Mallet 1984, pls. 111, 112; Liverani 1962.

5. J. V. G. Mallet, "Xanto: I suoi compagni e seguaci," in *Francesco Xanto* 1988, 67–108.

6. Cioci 1987; Holcroft 1988.

7. Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 217, pl. 27, fig. 339; Cioci 1987 illustrates the piece in color. I am grateful to Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi for their opinion that, closely examined, the subject inscription as well as the workshop mark on the Arezzo plate are, contrary to first appearances, in luster. Since the handwriting appears to be Xanto's, it seems very likely that he painted the Arezzo plate in Maestro Giorgio's workshop. See also the lustered plate dated 1529, apparently also by Xanto, published by Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti, *La donazione Angiolo Fanfani: Ceramiche dal medioevo al XX secolo* (Faenza, 1990), no. 123.

8. Conti 1971, no. 41; T. Wilson 1987, no. 70; Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 235, figs. 205, 345.

9. Rackham and Ballardini 1933; Mallet 1976. See 1942.9.349, especially note 2.

10. T. Wilson 1987, nos. 68, 163; Mallet 1976, 13–14.

11. The "L" of "FLR" is unexplained. Negroni 1986, 18, states on the basis of his documentary research that Xanto's family name was Santi or Santini; see Cioci 1987, 191. The curious form "Xanto" may possibly have been adopted by the artist with reference to the Greek word *xanthos* (fair haired). Such names seem to have been a minor fashion among artists of the period from the Padua region; the sculptors Riccio (curly haired) and Ulocrino (apparently meaning thick haired) are two other exam-

ples, unless they are actually one and the same person; B. Jestaz, "Riccio et Ulocrino," in *Italian Plaquettes*, ed. Alison Luchs, *StHist* 22 (1989), 191–205.

12. Mallet 1976, 17–18.

13. Cioci 1987, 63, 109. I do not find Dr. Cioci's interpretation conclusive. In the Rovigo conference proceedings cited below, Ferrara, Faenza, Venice, and Castel Durante were suggested as places where Xanto might have worked during the 1520s. Gubbio would seem at least as likely as any of these towns, in view of the lustered pieces, but it is a question better suited to documentary research than to stylistic analysis. See Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 427–429; T. Wilson 1990, 322, 325.

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Wilson, Timothy. "Xanto and Ariosto." *BurlM* 132 (1990), 321–327.

## Shallow bowl on low foot with the Conversion of Saul

1942.9.349 (C-74)

Painting attributed to Francesco Xanto Avelli, place of production uncertain

c. 1525

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 26.6 (10½)

Widener Collection

### LABELS

Kann 23, 193; blue-edged octagonal label, hand written: 5702, 5702, or G702, from the same sequence as the label on 1942.9.348.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a white tin glaze, which is pockmarked on the reverse. The painting is in blue, green, yellow, orange, purple, turquoise, brown, and white; the green has bubbled. There are four kiln-support marks carefully placed on the edge. The rim is chipped.

### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

The surface of this shallow dish is painted with the Conversion of Saul in a landscape, with two other horsemen. The edge is painted yellow. The coloring is unusually vigorous, with ambitious shading effects: the swirling cloak of the horseman on the left is painted in blue and green and shaded in yellow; that of the horseman on the right is drawn in blue and shaded in yellow. Saul is represented a few moments after being thrown from his horse, blinded by a light source in the sky, in which no image of God is shown. J. V. G. Mallet has pointed out that the fallen figure is adapted and reversed from the river god in the engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael of the Judgment of Paris (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> No close iconographical prototype for the other figures or for the overall composition has been found, although the horses are reminiscent of those in the Marcantonio-school engraving illustrated on page 180.

This fine plate is one of a group of pieces, evidently dating from the 1520s, which are associated with the work of the painter who signs FR on six known pieces: three of these are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, one in the British Museum, one in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, and



Fig. 1 Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *Judgment of Paris*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIV.197.245



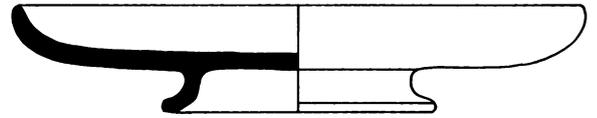
the sixth was sold at Sotheby's, London, on 10 May 1962, no. 34.<sup>2</sup> It appears likely, as Mallet has argued, that they represent the early work of Xanto. In style, some of the FR pieces seem related to pieces produced in the 1520s in the duchy of Urbino (Urbino, Castel Durante, and Gubbio), but there is no firm evidence as to where they were made. See page 200.<sup>3</sup>

The drawing and, particularly, the coloring of the National Gallery dish seem compatible with the later signed work of Xanto. The print source for the figure of Saul is one that was used on other works linked with "FR;"<sup>4</sup> different figures from the same engraving were subsequently used by Xanto on work of which the attribution is not in doubt.<sup>5</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 197, no. 245. I am also grateful for comments on the sources of the figure to Diane De Grazia and David Brown of the National Gallery of Art. Professor Eugene Carroll, letter, 19 May 1988, in NGA curatorial files, has pointed out that the pose of the horses can be traced back to Leonardo da Vinci, comparing the rearing horses in the background of his unfinished *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi. The two horsemen on the present plate may also be adaptations from an engraving, but I have not succeeded in finding any source.

2. See pages 200, 201 note II. There is an extensive literature on the FR/FLR/Xanto problem: Rackham and Ballardini 1933 (see Biography), 393–407; Rackham 1940, 260; Joan Prentice von Erdberg, "Early Work by Francesco Xanto Avelli da Rovigo in the Walters Art Gallery," *JWalt* 13–14 (1951), 31–37, 75; Bernard Rackham, "Xanto and 'F. R.': An Insoluble Problem?," *Faenza* 43 (1957), 99–113; Mallet 1971 (see Biography), 170–183; Mallet 1976 (see Biography), 518; G. Hugh Tait, "The Roman Lion-Hunt Dish: An Early Work by Xanto?," *British Museum Society Bulletin* 21 (1976), 3–6; Cioci 1987 (see Biography); T. Wilson 1987, 52–56; J. V. G. Mallet, review of T. Wilson 1987, *BurlM* 129 (1987), 332; Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 427–429; Rasmussen 1989, 126–131. To the works cited by Rackham and Ballardini as works of FR may probably be added a dish with Diana and Actaeon in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 41.49.3; *Treasures from the*



1942.9.349, profile drawing

*Metropolitan Museum of Art* [exh. cat., National Pinakothiki, Alexander Soutzos Museum] (Athens, 1979), no. 29; a fragment in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin; Hausmann 1972, no. 129; and a dish with Daedalus and Icarus in the George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto, G83.1.333, sold at Sotheby's, London, 11 March 1980, no. 19.

3. Mallet 1976 (see Biography), 17–18. Rackham and Ballardini's view that the FR works were made at Faenza cannot completely be disregarded. The fact that two of the pieces in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, nos. 796, 799, particularly the former) are painted on a blue (*berettino*) ground, which is common at Faenza but unparalleled in *istoriato* definitely from the Urbino region, supports their view; but fragments of apparently locally made *berettino* maiolica have also been found in the Urbino/Urbania (Castel Durante) region. The relationship between Faenza *istoriato* and the Urbino region in this period is one of the central problems in the history of maiolica. At least one maiolica painter from Faenza, Michele di Bernardino Sagardelli, was working as a colleague of Xanto in Urbino in 1530 (Negroni 1986, 18). There is also some reason to believe Xanto may have spent time in Ferrara in the 1520s (T. Wilson 1990 [see Biography], 325).

4. T. Wilson 1987, nos. 68, 163.

5. The Judgment of Paris plate was shown at the exhibition in the Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Faenza, 22 September–30 October 1988, and illustrated in *Ai confini della maiolica ed oltre* [exh. cat. Palazzo delle Esposizioni] (Faenza, 1988), 163. The figures on this plate, now in a private collection, directly copy the group of protagonists on the engraving; the river god is not included.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 66, as Urbino, c. 1540.  
1942 Widener 1942: 14, as Urbino, c. 1540.

## Broad-rimmed bowl

with Neptune raping Theophane; arms of Pucci with an *ombrellino*

1942.9.345 (C-70)

Painted by Francesco Xanto Avelli, Urbino

1532

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 26.3 (10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

On reverse: *Rape î castrô Nettû/ Basali nimpha./ Nel .vi. Li: de Ovidio Met:/ frâ: Xanto .A./ da Rovigo, î/ Urbino.* (Neptune in the form of a wether rapes the nymph Basalis. In book 6 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Francesco Xanto Avelli of Rovigo in Urbino).

### LABELS

Kann 18, 187.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, brown, yellow, orange, green, purple, turquoise, black, and white; the green and purple have bubbled slightly. On the rim near the edge are four kiln-support marks. The plate has been broken into several pieces and repaired with broad areas of overpaint, especially in bands across the center from ten to four o'clock and from seven to one o'clock, and on the rim from nine clockwise to one o'clock and between three and four o'clock. The plate was already noted as damaged when described by Frati in 1852.

### PROVENANCE

Count Ferdinando Pasolini dall'Onda, Faenza, in 1852.<sup>1</sup> Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 50, repro.

The plate is painted with a scene in a landscape showing, on the right, Neptune transformed into a ram to rape Theophane; in the foreground winged Cupid in distress, and sheep; on the left a shepherd (?) leaning on a staff. In the center is a scroll-edged shield of arms of the Pucci family of Florence, *argent a moor's head proper wearing a headband argent charged with four hammers sable*; behind the shield, on a pointed staff fantastically suspended by a ribbon from a thin tree branch, is an *ombrellino* (canopy) drawn in orange, brown, and yellow. On the reverse, in dark blue, is the inscription. The inscription was formerly partly covered with overpaint and wrongly rewritten; the overpaint was removed in 1987.

The reference is to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, book 6, lines 115 to 117, *Neptune...tu...aries Bisaltida fallis* (you, Neptune, as a ram deceive the daughter of Bisaltes). This is the only brief reference in the text of Ovid to the story of Neptune's raping Theophane, daughter of Bisaltes, who became the mother of the ram that produced the famous Golden Fleece. Xanto was perhaps using the most popular of all source books for *istoriato* maiolica, the Italian paraphrase of the *Metamorphoses* written by Giovanni Bonsignore in the 1370s and first printed in Venice in 1497.<sup>2</sup> In this version the story is expanded from the brief reference in the Latin: *Dipinse anchora come Neptuno se converti in castrone e ando ala gregia fra gli altri castroni e una donna chiamata Basali giugando con lui gli cavalco adosso. Alhora Neptuno cussi mutato si la porto via* (She [Arachne] portrayed [in a woven picture] how Neptune changed himself into a wether and went among the flock with the other wethers; and a woman called Basalis playing with him rode on his back. Thereupon Neptune changed back and carried her off.) Xanto's typically fanciful portrayal of Neptune, half-changed into a ram, raping the girl has only a vague link with the story as told in the Italian Ovid; however, the other commonly cited ancient telling of the story, in Hyginus' *Fabulae*, was not printed until 1535, and Xanto is unlikely to have known it.

In Xanto's characteristic manner, the figures are assembled from a number of engravings and set in a landscape of his own invention. The figure on the left is based on, but reversed from, a figure in the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* by Marcantonio Raimondi after a design by Baccio Bandinelli (fig. 1);<sup>3</sup> Cupid is from Marcantonio's *Dance of Cupids* (fig. 2);<sup>4</sup> Neptune is ingeniously adapted from a figure in an engraving of the abduction of Helen attributed to Marcantonio (or a similar version by Marco Dente da Ravenna), the scrolling hat of the man being wittily transformed to make Neptune's horn (see fig. 3, page 212).<sup>5</sup> The figure of Theophane is less directly derived from a print source, but the body resembles that of Hesperia in Xanto's *Aesacus and Hesperia* on a plate in the Musée du Louvre,<sup>6</sup> which is an adaptation of a figure in an engraving by Caraglio after Rosso Fiorentino;<sup>7</sup> Theophane is probably also an adaptation by Xanto of the Caraglio figure.

The service painted by Xanto for a member of the Pucci family (then as now one of the great families of Florence) seems to have been the largest of all the armorial *istoriato* sets of the generation of Nicola da Urbino and Xanto. Not until the 1540s and the in-

Fig. 1 Marcantonio Raimondi, after Bandinelli, *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIV.89.104



Fig. 2 Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *Dance of Cupids*, engraving, Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1941.1.61



volvement of Battista Franco with maiolica design for the Urbino ducal court do we have a record of a set larger than this one.<sup>8</sup> The patron has not been identified with any certainty. The arms of the Pucci family have behind them what appears to be the papal emblem called an *ombrellino*.<sup>9</sup> The identification of the arms first proposed in 1916,<sup>10</sup> as those of "Piero Maria Pucci of Florence (born 1467), who became gonfalonier of the Pope in 1520," has not been confirmed by subsequent researchers. Litta does not record that Piero Maria Pucci held any such post,<sup>11</sup> nor have parallels of this date been cited hitherto for the use of the *ombrellino* placed behind a shield of arms in this way.

The original size of the Pucci set is a matter of guesswork, but the thirty-six pieces listed below have been noted, in addition to the National Gallery plate.<sup>12</sup> The subject matter, in most cases identified by a literary reference on the reverse, includes sixteen citations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, six scenes from Virgil's *Aeneid*, two from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, two citations of Valerius Maximus, and one each of Pliny the Elder, Justin, and Petrarch. The iconography of the six smaller plates, which lack explanatory inscriptions, is obscure. No thematic pattern to the chosen subjects (a few of which Xanto had used before and several of which he would use

again) is clearly discernible in surviving pieces.<sup>13</sup>

1532

Aeneas in Libya, present location unknown; sold from the Strauss collection in 1976.<sup>14</sup>

The punishment of Rome, Musée du Louvre, Paris.<sup>15</sup>

The Virgin of Sestos and the eagle, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.<sup>16</sup>

Hercules and Lichas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.<sup>17</sup>

The Maenads turned into trees, Polesden Lacey, Surrey, England; National Trust.<sup>18</sup>

Polyphemus and Galatea, present location unknown.<sup>19</sup>

Ulysses and Circe, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.<sup>20</sup>

Apollo and Daphne, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection.<sup>21</sup>

The daughters of Anius changed into doves, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman collection.<sup>22</sup>

Pyramus and Thisbe, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>23</sup>

Hercules and Cacus, present location unknown.<sup>24</sup>

Tydeus and Polynices, George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto.<sup>25</sup>

The children of Clymene, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman collection.<sup>26</sup>

Aesacus and Hesperia, sold in 1988.<sup>27</sup>

Perseus, Pegasus, and Medusa, in a private collection in Italy in 1963.<sup>28</sup>

The wife of Amphiaraus killed by her son, private collection, Italy.<sup>29</sup>

Hero and Leander, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.<sup>30</sup>

Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius, private collection, Italy.<sup>31</sup>

The drowning of Palinurus, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.<sup>32</sup>

Aeneas looking at paintings of the Trojan War, Knightshayes Court, Devon, England; National Trust.<sup>33</sup>

Aeneas at the tomb of Polydorus, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman collection. This piece is lustered.<sup>34</sup>

Metabus and Camilla, in a private collection in Italy in 1964.<sup>35</sup>

The sinking of the fleet of Seleucus, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.<sup>36</sup>

Orlando finding the arms of Ruggiero, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.<sup>37</sup>

Astolfo and his horn, British Museum, London.<sup>38</sup>

Alexander and the old soldier, present location unknown.<sup>39</sup>

Alexander and Calanus, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.<sup>40</sup> Subject uncertain ("Apollo and Daphne"?), present location unknown.<sup>41</sup>



Painted by Francesco Xanto Avelli, Urbino, *Broad-rimmed bowl with Neptune raping Theophane; arms of Pucci with an ombrellino*, 1942.9.345

Two figures (one with ass' ears) and Cupid, Cleveland Museum of Art.<sup>42</sup>

Two figures (one with ram's horns) and Cupid, Cleveland Museum of Art.<sup>43</sup>

Two figures making music, and Cupid, present location unknown.<sup>44</sup>

Old man and a female figure with pipes, Fanfani bequest, Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche, Faenza.<sup>45</sup>

Subject uncertain ("Narcissus"?), Röhsska Konstlöjdmuseet, Göteborg, Sweden.<sup>46</sup>

Salt with grotesque ornament, British Museum, London.<sup>47</sup>

1533

Antigone changed into a stork, Museo di Arte Medievale e Moderna, Arezzo.<sup>48</sup>

The daughters of Cinyras, present location unknown.<sup>49</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. The piece has not been identified, however, in the catalogue of the sale at which much of the Pasolini collection was dispersed: *Catalogue d'une belle collection de majoliques italiennes...*, Paris, 13–15 December 1853.

2. *Ovidio Methamorphoseos vulgare* (Venice, 1497), fols. 94r, 95r. For this book see Bodo Guthmüller, *Ovidio metamorphoseos vulgare* (Boppard am Rhein, 1981). In commenting on a draft of the present catalogue (letter, August 1989, in NGA curatorial files), J. V. G. Mallet points up Xanto's iconographical unorthodoxy by contrasting Xanto's odd conception of the scene with the composition (based on Europa and the bull) of a somewhat later plate in Pesaro; M. Mancini Della Chiara, *Maioliche del Museo Civico di Pesaro; catalogo* (Pesaro, 1979), no. 216.

3. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 89, no. 104.

4. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 177, no. 217.

5. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 170, no. 209, or 171, no. 210.

6. Giacomotti 1974, no. 864.

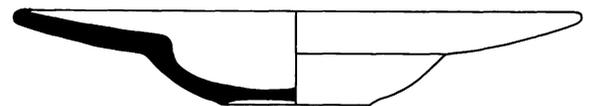
7. Bartsch 1803–1821, XV: 86, no. 48; Eugene A. Carroll, *Rosso Fiorentino; Drawings, Prints, and Decorative Arts* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art] (Washington, 1987), no. 13.

8. Timothy Clifford and J. V. G. Mallet, "Battista Franco as a Designer for Maiolica," *BurlM* 118 (1976), 387–410. The large Hannibal series, studied by Rudolf E. A. Drey, "Istoriato Maiolica with Scenes from the Second Punic War," in *Italian Renaissance Pottery*, ed. Timothy Wilson, (London, 1991), 51–61, may also date from the 1540s.

9. Donald L. Galbreath, *Papal Heraldry*, 2d ed. (London, 1972), 27–37; Bruno B. Heim, *Heraldry in the Catholic Church* (Gerrards Cross, 1981), 55–59. The *ombrellino* or *gonfalone*—usually translated "pavilion" in English—is normally *gyronny gules and or with a border counter-changed, the staff or*. It is most often found together with the crossed keys as an emblem of the papacy, but its significance at this date used alone behind a personal shield of arms is unclear. Monsignor Charles Burns of the Vatican archives, to whom I am grateful for advice on these problematic arms, has suggested that the use of the



1942.9.345, back



1942.9.345, profile drawing

*ombrellino* without the crossed keys may refer to the Pucci family association with the office of *gonfaloniere* of Florence. An enquiry made by the writer some years ago to the head of the Pucci family as to whether the family archives might hold a clue to the recipient of the service elicited no response. John Goodall has searched in vain in the standard heraldic literature for indications of what significance would have been attached in the early sixteenth century to the *ombrellino* used in this way. Examples of the Venetian version used above a shield of arms are cited by C. F. Menestrier, *Origine des ornemens des armoires* (Paris, 1680), 128.

10. Albert Van de Put and Bernard Rackham, *Catalogue of the Collection of Pottery and Porcelain in the Possession of Mr. Otto Beit* (London, 1916), 105. Julia Triolo has noted that there are four hammers on the headband on the National Gallery plate, as opposed to the more usual three.

11. Pompeo Litta, *Celebri Famiglie Italiane* (Milan and Turin, 1819–1923), s.v. "Pucci," pl. 2. Even with the help of Ronald Lightbown and Michael Holmes, learned colleagues in the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum (where Van de Put was himself librarian), the author has been unable to find what Van de Put's source was.

12. The author is indebted to J. V. G. Mallet and the late Jörg Rasmussen for information on Pucci set pieces, and to Julia Triolo for a number of precisions of subjects. In view of the detailed illustrated listings of the set by Triolo (Triolo 1988) and Rasmussen (Rasmussen 1989, 132–140, 252–257), the references given here have been kept to a minimum. Triolo catalogue numbers have been added to the present notes.

13. Julia Triolo has recently suggested that the set has a structure built around the three literary categories of

epic, lyric, and history, as represented respectively by the three large plates surviving (the first three in the preceding list), but the argument does not seem convincing. The paper was delivered at a colloquium at the British Museum in September 1987, and was published in T. Wilson 1991, 36–45.

14. Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 21 June 1976, no. 46; Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 42, fig. 39. Formerly Pringsheim collection. This plate is 49 cm in diameter, larger than any other piece of the set. Triolo 1.

15. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 43, figs. 49, 246; Giacomotti 1974, no. 849. Triolo 9.

16. No. 32.100.378. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 44, figs. 40, 247; Susan Woodford, "The Woman of Sestos: A Plinian Theme in the Renaissance," *JWCI* 28 (1965), 343–348. Triolo 27.

17. No. 04.9.7. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 47, figs. 44, 248. Triolo 19.

18. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 48, fig. 45; Mallet 1971 (see Biography), figs. 7, 14. Formerly Bernal and Henry Harris collections. Triolo 22.

19. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 49, figs. 46, 249. Formerly Tuscan Grand-Ducal collection (Giovanni Conti, "La maiolica nel Museo del Bargello: Genesi e fortuna di una raccolta," *Faenza* 55 [1969], 71, no. 352), Pasolini, and Pringsheim collections. Triolo 25.

20. No. C11–1953. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 50, figs. 47, 281. Formerly Pasolini, Fountaine, Bourgeois, and Pringsheim collections. Triolo 26.

21. No. 1975.1.1137. Pringsheim sale, Sotheby's, London, 7–8 June, 19–20 July 1939, no. 185; Rasmussen 1989, no. 79. Triolo 11.

22. No. 1975.1.1134. Pringsheim sale, Sotheby's, London, 7–8 June, 19–20 July 1939, no. 184; Rasmussen 1989, no. 77. Triolo 24.

23. No. 1975.809. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 54, figs. 51, 253. Triolo 13.

24. Pringsheim sale, Sotheby's, London, 7–8 June, 19–20 July 1939, no. 189, repro. Formerly Préaux, Rattier, Fau, and A. Andrews collections. Triolo 18.

25. No. G83.1.384. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, 5 June 1979, no. 354. Formerly T. M. Whitehead, de Clemente, and Bak collections. Triolo 20.

26. No. 1975.1.1135. Pringsheim sale, Sotheby's, London, 7–8 June, 19–20 July 1939, no. 295; Rasmussen 1989, no. 78. Triolo 12.

27. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 10 May 1962, no. 13; 19 October 1976, no. 24; 16 October 1988, no. 256. Triolo 23.

28. Filippo Rossi, "Un'opera inedita di Francesco Xanto Avelli," *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1963), 169–171. Although the arms on this plate lack the *ombrellino*, it seems to belong to the set. Jörg Rasmussen once plausibly suggested to the author that the plate has been damaged and incorrectly restored. Triolo 14.

29. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 57, fig. 54; Giuliana Gardelli, *Maioliche rinascimentali dello stato di Urbino da collezioni private* [exh. cat., Palazzo Ducale] (Urbino, 1987), no. 26. Formerly Bernal, Fountaine, Coope, and W. H. Bennett collections. Triolo 21.

30. No. 50.9.14. E. H. Scott sale, Sotheby's, London, 25 June 1931, no. 35, repro. Triolo 10.

31. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 58, fig. 53; Gardelli 1987, no. 25. Formerly Tuscan Grand-Ducal, Pasolini, Fountaine, Coope, and Earl of Harewood collections. Triolo 3.

32. No. 50.9.28. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 59, fig. 56. Triolo 5.

33. Berney sale, Sotheby's, London, 18 June 1946, no. 20. Triolo 2.

34. No. 1975.1.1131. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 45, fig. 42; Rasmussen 1989, no. 80. Triolo 4.

35. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 46, fig. 43; M. Bellini and G. Conti, *Maioliche italiane del rinascimento* (Milan, 1964), pl. 143. Formerly T. M. Whitehead and Beit collections. Triolo 6.

36. Watson 1986, no. 52. Triolo 30.

37. No. C10–1953. Berney sale, Sotheby's, London, 18 June 1946, no. 22. Triolo 8.

38. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 53, figs. 50, 252; T. Wilson 1987, no. 222. Triolo 7.

39. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 51, figs. 48, 250. Formerly D'Azeglio collection. Triolo 29.

40. Kube 1976, no. 74. Triolo 28.

41. Pringsheim sale, Sotheby's, London, 7–8 June, 19–20 July 1939, no. 284; illustrated as no. 355 in the unpublished draft third volume of the Pringsheim collection catalogue in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Triolo 36.

42. No. 42.625. Formerly John L. Severance collection. Triolo 34.

43. No. 42.626. Formerly John L. Severance collection. Triolo 35.

44. Bernard Rackham, *Islamic Pottery and Italian Maiolica* (London, 1959), no. 422. Formerly Pasolini, Fountaine, Pringsheim, and Adda collections. Triolo 33.

45. Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti, *La donazione Angiolo Fanfani. Ceramiche dal medioevo al XX secolo* (Faenza, 1990), no. 25. Triolo 31.

46. No. RKM 65–47. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 56, fig. 55; Tancred Borenius, *Catalogue of a Collection of Italian Maiolica Belonging to Henry Harris* (London, 1930), no. 36. Triolo 32.

47. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 60, fig. 57; T. Wilson 1987, no. 74. Triolo 37.

48. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 92, figs. 95, 280. Triolo 15.

49. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 10 May 1962, no. 12; 19 October 1976, no. 25. Triolo 16.

#### REFERENCES

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1935 Widener 1935: 65.

1942 Widener 1942: 14.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 121, no. 3.

1988 Triolo, Julia. "Francesco Xanto Avelli's Pucci Service (1532–1533): A Catalogue." *Faenza* 74 (1988), part 1: 41, no. 17; part 2: 254–255, pl. 43.

1989 Rasmussen 1989: 255–256, fig. 80.9. The discussions of the Pucci set by Rasmussen 1989 and by Triolo 1988, 32–44, 228–284, appeared after the present catalogue entry was written. Most of the pieces in the service are illustrated by both Rasmussen and Triolo. Triolo's article includes full iconographical discussion of each piece.

## Plate

with Hero leaping to her death from her tower and the drowned Leander; in the center, a shield of arms

1942.9.337 (C-62)

Attributed to Francesco Xanto Aveli and a collaborator, probably in Urbino; probably lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, or by Vincenzo Andreoli, Urbino

1538

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 26.7 (10½)  
Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

On foot: *Leandro in mare/ etera ale finestra* (Leander in the sea and Hero at the window); (in luster) 1538

### LABELS

Kann 19, 189; octagonal label for an unidentified sale, exhibition, or collection: 2147; in an old photograph, what appears to be "2070," also unidentified, is painted on the underside.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a speckled off-white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, green, gray, black, brown, and white, with red and golden-brown luster. There are five kiln-spur marks on the front near the edge. The outer edge of the rim is severely chipped, and there is some chipping on the inner edge.

### PROVENANCE

Louis-Fidel Debruge Duménil, Paris (sale, Paris, 23 January–12 March 1850, no. 1146).<sup>1</sup> Prince Petr Soltykoff, Paris (sale, Paris, 8 April–1 May 1861, no. 698).<sup>2</sup> (Roussel), Paris. Perhaps Baron Achille Seillière, Paris.<sup>3</sup> Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 53, as Urbino (Xanto), lustered at Gubbio.

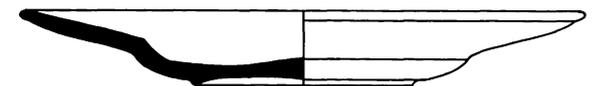
The plate is painted with a watery landscape and on the right a round tower with a square window at the top, out of which the grief-stricken Hero flings herself; in the foreground the dead Leander lies in apparently shallow water below the tower walls; on the left a winged putto holds up a torch; on the right a male figure holds up his arms in woe. In the center is a shield of arms, egg shaped and pointed at the bottom, set in scrollwork, *azure six teasels* (or lobsters, torches, or pinecones?) or, in chief a label of Anjou. The edge is painted yellow and lustered. On

the reverse there are yellow lines painted around the edge, the junction between the rim and the well, and the foot; within the foot, in blue, is the inscription and, in luster, the date 1538. Beneath the inscription is what looks like a reversed C, apparently simply a space-filling squiggle rather than intended as a letter. The whole of the reverse is covered with roughly painted scrolls in brownish luster with spots of red luster.

The plate represents the classical story of Hero and Leander. Hero was a priestess of Venus at Sestos. Leander, her lover, used to swim the Hellespont to come to her, guided by a torch which she would hold up from a high tower. One stormy night Leander was drowned, and Hero in despair threw herself from the tower to her death. Unlike many favorite maiolica subjects, the story of Hero and Leander is not in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, although the characters feature in his *Heroides* 18 and 19. The idea for illustrating the story, however, was probably taken by Xanto not from Ovid but from a commentary on Petrarch. The inscription is taken from Xanto's favorite literary source for inscriptions, Petrarch's



1942.9.337, back



1942.9.337, profile drawing



Fig. 1 Unknown engraver, *Cassandra*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIII.351.1



Fig. 2 School of Marcantonio Raimondi, *Battle with the Cutlass*, engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Pulitzer Bequest, 1917, 17.50.19-124



Fig. 3 Marco Dente da Ravenna, after Raphael, *The Abduction of Helen*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIV.171.210



Fig. 4 Marcantonio Raimondi, *Charity*, engraving, Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1943.3.7341



*Trionfi* (3, 21): *Leandro in mare ed Hero a la fenestra*. Another version of the subject by Xanto on a plate in the Musée du Louvre has the same line followed by *.Nel.ii.cap:damore dil.I.triûpho d.M.F.P. coîmentato* (in the second chapter about love of the first *Triumph* of Messer Francesco Petrarca, in the edition with the commentary). Holcroft has recently demonstrated that Xanto must have been using the commentary on the *Trionfi* by Bernardo Illicini, first published in 1475, in which the story of Hero and Leander is discussed.<sup>4</sup>

The scene is composed of a combination of figures adapted from engravings. The figure of Hero is derived (reversed and turned through a right angle) from an engraving of a Maenad, which is dated 1507 and bears the otherwise unknown monogram "FAY" (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> Leander is from a fallen figure in the engraving known as the *Battle with a Cutlass* of the school of Marcantonio Raimondi (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> (It is characteristic of Xanto's method that these two figures were also economically pressed into service elsewhere to represent Thisbe and Pyramus, for instance on a plate with that subject in Bologna.)<sup>7</sup> The figure on the right making a stylized gesture of distress is adapted and reversed from a figure in an engraving of the abduction of Helen, by Marcantonio, or the near-identical version by Marco Dente da Ravenna (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> The Cupid holding a torch is from one of the children accompanying Charity in an engraving by Marcantonio (fig. 4).<sup>9</sup>

The general style, composition, and use of print sources on this plate are difficult to distinguish from the signed work of Xanto, but the somewhat tentative handwriting on the reverse is not his. A plate from the same armorial set, with the favorite Xanto subject of Metabus and Camilla, which was in the Debruge Duménil collection together with the National Gallery plate, is now in the Wernher collection at Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, England (figs. 5, 6).<sup>10</sup> It has luster ornament and the date 1538 on the reverse, but no inscription; the painting seems to be largely, if not entirely, by Xanto's hand. A third lustered plate from the same armorial set, with the subject of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum; it has the same handwriting as the National Gallery plate, but no date (fig. 7).<sup>11</sup>

The conception and design of these three plates seems to be by Xanto himself, but the painting does not seem to be entirely by him. The Victoria and Albert Museum plate in particular, though attributed by Rackham without qualification to Xanto, is unconvincing as his unaided work. The most probable explanation is that the set was carried out under the supervision of Xanto, who provided the designs and did much of the painting (especially of

Fig. 5 *Metabus and Camilla*, Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, Wernher Collection (photo: John Shorthouse)



Fig. 6 Back of fig. 5 (photo: John Shorthouse)



Fig. 7 *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 8 Back of fig. 7



the figures) himself, but left some of the painting and the writing of the inscriptions to one or more associates or assistants. It may well be that the person who wrote the inscriptions on the London and Washington plates also helped with the painting. The artistic personality of the assistant is not discernible from his part in these pieces, but the same handwriting (recognizable in particular by the distinctive way of forming the letter t) occurs on the back of a lustered dish in the Dutuit collection at the Petit Palais in Paris:<sup>12</sup> the style of this dish, which Join-Dieterle dates about 1540, is a rather ordinary Urbino *istoriato* style without any particular dependence on Xanto. While it seems likely that the Dutuit dish represents the later independent style of a painter who in 1538 was working under Xanto's supervision, it cannot be completely ruled out that the inscriptions on all these works were written by someone else, who need not have been an *istoriato* painter at all.<sup>13</sup> The unidentified coat-of-arms is not clearly drawn on any of the plates of the set, so that the principal charge is hard to decipher.

Xanto treated the Hero and Leander subject often. There is an example of 1532 from the Pucci set in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art;<sup>14</sup> another of the same date in the Musée du Louvre (discussed above in this entry);<sup>15</sup> a lustered plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum dated 1535;<sup>16</sup> and a plate in the Galleria Estense, Modena, dated 1537.<sup>17</sup> The basic composition is the same in each case, with variants. A plate signed "X" and dated 1542 was recorded by Fortnum as in the Barker collection.<sup>18</sup> Another treatment of the same subject, dated 1534, now at Polesden Lacey, is attributed by Mallet to the painter "L" (probably with some help from Xanto, particularly with the profiles of the adult figures);<sup>19</sup> one dated 1546, by Sforza di Marcantonio, a follower of Xanto, was sold at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, on 25 May 1962, no. 110; another, improbably described in the catalogue as signed X and dated 1549, was in the Jakob Goldschmidt sale, Sotheby's, London, 5 July 1957, no. 58; and an un-inscribed version by another follower of Xanto was in the Hannaford sale, Sotheby's, Rome, 17 October 1969, no. 89.

The luster is in the manner of numerous pieces marked as made in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio in Gubbio. The common and perhaps correct explanation for the luster on pieces like this is that painted and twice-fired pieces were carted from Urbino to Gubbio to have luster applied there. However, no piece is known to the writer with Xanto's signature *in urbino* and the lustered mark of Maestro Giorgio *in ugubio* (in Gubbio).<sup>20</sup> Alternative theories can be produced for the luster on Xanto's work: one is that Maestro Giorgio had an outstation

in Urbino where locally painted *istoriato* was lustered. In this connection, it is interesting that Giorgio's son Vincenzo Andreoli took over the Urbino workshop of the deceased Nicola di Gabriele in 1538; however, there are works by Xanto marked *in urbino* and with Gubbio-type luster before this date. This question, which seems to await the outcome of further archival or other research, is discussed on page 200 and at 1942.9.336. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue des objets d'art qui composent la collection Debruge Duménil dont la vente aux enchères aura lieu à Paris...* (Paris, 1850), no. 1146.

2. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité composant la célèbre collection du Prince Soltykoff* (Paris, 1861), no. 698, as by Xanto.

3. Alfred Darcel, "Le moyen âge et la renaissance au Trocadéro, XIV: Les faïences italiennes," *GBA*, 2d ser., 18 (1878), 974, mentions a lustered plate with Hero and Leander having been exhibited in the 1878 exhibition, and another plate with "Pyrrhus sauvé," attributed to Xanto, in the collection of "MM. Seillière." These are probably the National Gallery plate and the Metabus and Camilla plate at Luton Hoo. The owner was perhaps Baron Achille Seillière, but neither piece was included in his sale in Paris, 5–10 May 1890.

4. Alison Holcroft, "Francesco Xanto Avelli and Petrarch," *JWCI* 51 (1988), 225–234. Illicini's version of the story is in Petrarch, *Trionfi*, with *expositio* of Bernardo Illicini (Bologna, 1475), fol. 26r. The Musée du Louvre plate is Giacomotti 1974, no. 862. Giacomotti suggests that the composition is derived from a woodcut in an edition of the *Heroides* in Italian, published in Milan (Zanotto de Castellionio) in 1515. The author has not had the opportunity to see a copy of this book.

5. Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 7 vols. (London, 1938–1948), 5: 244–245; 7: pl. 828; Bartsch 1803–1821, XIII: 351, no. 1. The subject is identified in *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 25 (New York, 1984): 434, as Cassandra.

6. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 171, no. 211; or possibly the reversed version of the print by Agostino Veneziano, Bartsch, XIV: 172, no. 212.

7. Ravanelli Guidotti 1985, no. 96; compare the similar Pyramus and Thisbe composition by Xanto in Berlin, dated 1539; Hausmann 1972, no. 197.

8. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 170, no. 209; or 171, no. 210.

9. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 294, no. 386.

10. The plate now at Luton Hoo was illustrated by Jules Labarte in the *Album* to his *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1864–1866), 2: pl. 125. Labarte interpreted the three lustered squiggles beneath the date on the reverse as "F X" for Xanto, but this does not seem a plausible reading. Labarte mentions that Debruge Duménil had bought the Metabus and Camilla plate in Italy for fifty francs, and it seems probable that the National Gallery plate was acquired at the same time.

11. Rackham 1940, no. 729, not illustrated; discussed by J. V. G. Mallet, letters, 29 January, 18 February 1988, in

NGA curatorial files. It has beneath the inscription a curving pen stroke read by Mallet as "a mark that could be either a 'G' or an 'S,'" but which could equally well be no more than a space-filling flourish, as the one on the National Gallery plate seems more likely to be.

12. Join-Dieterle 1984, no. 75. Another plate in Xanto's manner, bearing an inscription in what looks like the same handwriting, was sold at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 3 July 1989, no. 368. The subject is Brutus and Portia and the lustered date on the back appears to be 1529 (though the style would suggest a date a decade or so later).

13. J. V. G. Mallet discussed the National Gallery plate in letters, 29 January and 18 February 1988, in NGA curatorial files. After considering the possibilities that the plate might be at least in part by the not very skillful imitator of Xanto who signed "L" on a series of plates with the dates 1533 and 1535, and that another of Xanto's collaborators, Giulio da Urbino, may have had a hand in the painting, he concludes that the painting is more likely the work of "a new Xanto follower," not previously recognized. Compare J. V. G. Mallet, "Xanto: i suoi compagni e seguaci," *Francesco Xanto* 1988 (see Biography), 67–108. Subsequently, in commenting on a draft of the present catalogue (August 1989) Mallet noted that "the kind of detail that looks non-Xanto to me is the stonework of the tower (very crudely done), though the outlining of the figures looks up to Xanto's standard."

14. No. 50.9.14; formerly in the E. H. Scott collection, sale cat., Sotheby's, London, 25 June 1931, no. 35, repro.

15. Giacomotti 1974, no. 862.

16. Rackham 1940, no. 728.

17. Francesco Liverani, *Le maioliche della Galleria Estense di Modena* (Modena, 1979), no. 9; idem, "Una maiolica dell'Avelli e le sue fonti iconografiche," *Faenza* 66 (1980), 297–299.

18. Fortnum 1896, mark no. 206.

19. Mallet 1971 (see Biography), figs. 9, 16; Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 159, figs. 151, 329.

20. The author knows of no work he believes to have been painted by Xanto with the words *in ugubio* added. A group of works attributable to Xanto and dated 1528 or 1529 have the workshop mark of Maestro Giorgio, with the words *da ugubio* (from Gubbio): Ballardini 1933–1938, 1: no. 218, figs. 203, 340; no. 219, figs. 206, 342; no. 220, figs. 207, 343; no. 228, pl. 29, fig. 338; no. 235, figs. 205, 345, signed ".f.L.R." The author owes to Hugo Morley-Fletcher the observation that pieces marked *da ugubio*, as opposed to *in ugubio* need not necessarily have been lustered at Gubbio.

#### REFERENCES

1847 Labarte, J. *Description des objets d'art qui composent la collection Debruge Duménil*. Paris 1847: no. 1146, implicitly as by Xanto.

1935 Widener 1935: 62, as Urbino, painted by Xanto, lustered in Gubbio by Maestro Giorgio.

1942 Widener 1942: 13, as Urbino (Xanto).

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 123, no. 1, as by Xanto, lustered at Gubbio.

1988–1989 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 580.

# Shallow bowl

on low foot with the death of Laocoön and his two sons

1942.9.338 (C-63)

Attributed to Francesco Xanto Avelli, Urbino, possibly with assistants; lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, or possibly in Urbino

1539

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 27 (10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)  
Widener Collection

## INSCRIPTIONS

On foot: 1539/da duo grâ serpe/Laocaonte ucciso -

## LABELS

Kann 16, 185; unnumbered extract in French from a nineteenth-century sale catalogue, attributing the painting to "Xantho."

## TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a somewhat pockmarked off-white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, green, gray, yellow, orange, brown, black, and white, with

reddish and orange-gold luster. There are two neat kiln-support marks on the front near the edge. The edge is severely chipped and the luster somewhat worn. There are minor patches of overpaint.

## PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

## EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 54, as Urbino, by Francesco Xanto Avelli or a follower, lustered in Gubbio.

The dish is painted with a scene showing Laocoön and his two sons struggling on an altar, entwined and attacked by two snakes; on the left is a woman making a histrionic gesture of grief. The scene is set in a landscape with rocks, water, and trees. The edge is painted yellow and lustered. The reverse is painted with yellow lines round the edge, foot, and inscription, and decorated with foliate/floral scrolls in red and golden-brown (fading to yellow) lusters. Within the foot, in blue, is the inscription.

The principal figures are based on an engraving by Marco Dente da Ravenna (fig. 1), which shows the Trojan Laocoön and his two sons, on a seashore near a temple to Minerva, being killed by a pair of serpents.<sup>1</sup> The engraving bears the inscription *PROUT IN II AENEIDOS P V MARONIS*, a reference to book 2, lines 199 to 227 of Virgil's *Aeneid*. In this passage, Aeneas recounts to Dido how the Greeks finally captured the city of Troy by pretending to abandon the siege and leaving behind a great wooden horse, secretly full of soldiers. Laocoön, priest of Neptune, warned the Trojans to be distrustful with the famous words *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* (I fear the Greeks, even when they bring gifts) and cast a spear into the side of the horse.

Shortly afterward he and his two sons met a horrible fate when they were attacked by two monstrous serpents from the sea, sent by Minerva. Thereupon, the Trojans hauled the horse inside the walls and the Greeks were able to sack the city.

The composition is derived from one of the most famous surviving sculptures of the ancient world, the marble Laocoön now in the Vatican. This was discovered in an underground chamber on the Esquiline Hill in Rome in 1506, and gained immediate

Fig. 1 Marco Dente da Ravenna, *Laocoön*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIV.195.243



Fig. 2 Marcantonio Raimondi, *Woman with Two Sponges*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIV.284.373





Attributed to Francesco Xanto Avelli, Urbino, possibly with assistants; lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, or possibly in Urbino, *Shallow bowl on low foot with the death of Laocoön and his two sons*, 1942.9.338

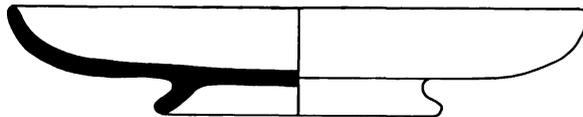
celebrity because it was identified as being the marble group described by Pliny the Elder as “a work to be preferred to all that the arts of painting and sculpture have produced.” (Whether it is the sculpture described by Pliny or a somewhat later copy of the first century A.D. is still a matter of debate.)<sup>2</sup> The Marco Dente da Ravenna engraving is a free adaptation of the sculpture, set on a seashore with altars, temples, and ships at sea. The lamenting woman on the left of the plate is derived, in Xanto’s characteristic manner, from another engraving, by

Marcantonio Raimondi, known as the *Woman with Two Sponges* (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup>

A number of maiolica dishes were based on the same engraving. A lustered dish in the Robert Lehman collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, signed by Xanto and dated 1532, sets the group in an arched room.<sup>4</sup> An unsigned and undated version in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, attributable to Xanto about 1530, sets the group in a crowd of figures.<sup>5</sup> Another, attributed to Xanto, was lost from the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig



1942.9.338, back



1942.9.338, profile drawing

in World War II;<sup>6</sup> both it and a plate by Xanto or an associate, now in the George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art in Toronto,<sup>7</sup> set the central group in a landscape with buildings and among several other figures. Another lustered plate destroyed in Berlin in World War II, by another Xanto associate, had the same combination of central Laocoön group and lamenting figure at the side as the National Gallery dish.<sup>8</sup> The dominance of this Marco Dente da Ravenna print as a source for Laocoön representations on Urbino maiolica is probably due to Xanto's influence. Treatments of the Laocoön subject stylistically unconnected with Xanto use different models: compare one in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan and another in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg.<sup>9</sup>

The attribution of this plate to Xanto has been questioned in the literature, but the handwriting seems to be his (as evidenced, for instance, by three initialled plates of the same period in the Petit Palais, Paris),<sup>10</sup> and most of the painting seems to be Xanto's own work. There is evidence, however, that Xanto collaborated with assistants in this late period of his career, and it may be that this plate is not his unaided work (see 1942.9.337). The problem of the luster on pieces painted by Xanto is also discussed in 1942.9.337. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 195, no. 243; see Richard Förster, "Laocoön im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance," *JbBerlin* 27 (1906), 164.

2. For the Laocoön in the Renaissance, see Förster 1906; Margaret Bieber, *Laocoön: The Influence of the Group Since Its Rediscovery*, 2d ed. (Detroit, 1967); Matthias Winner, "Zum Nachleben des Laokoon in der Renaissance," *JbBerlin* 16 (1974), 83–121; Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London, 1981), 243–247; Hanno-Walter Kruft, "Metamorphosen des Laokoon," *Pantheon* 42 (1984), 3–11; Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (London, 1986), 152–155. A different engraving signed by Marco da Ravenna (Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 268, no. 353), is a much more accurate rendering of the actual sculpture as it was when found.

3. Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 284, no. 373.

4. Ballardini 1933–1938, 2: no. 66, figs. 63, 259; Rasmussen 1989, no. 82.

5. Olga Mikhailova, "Novye proizvedeniia, pripisyvaemye Franchesko Ksanto Avelli, v Ermitazhe i ix sviaz s sovremennoi im graviuroi" [New works attributed to Francesco Xanto Avelli in the Hermitage and their connection with contemporary engravings], in *Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 52 (Leningrad, 1987), 5, figs. 4, 5. The inventory number is Ф 373.

6. Lessmann 1979, 564, no. v. A version of the subject by Xanto not based on the sculpture survives, in a fragmentary state, in Braunschweig; Lessmann 1979, no. 140.

7. No. G83.1.390; probably the same piece as that described by J. C. Robinson, *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art... at the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1862), no. 5241.

8. Förster 1906, 165, fig. 12. Förster mentions another maiolica version of the same print, also formerly in Berlin (κ 1985) and destroyed in World War II. No photograph of this piece exists in the photographic archive in the Schlossmuseum, Berlin.

9. Grazia Biscontini Ugolini, "Nicolò Pellipario al Castello Sforzesco e una nuova attribuzione," *Rassegna di studi e notizie (Comune di Milano)* 2 (1974), 170–176, fig. 9; Kube 1976, no. 70; also a dish illustrated by Förster 1906, 163, fig. 10, and attributed by him to Faenza, which has a quite different rendering of the Laocoön subject.

10. Join-Dieterle 1984, nos. 71, 72 (both 1538), 73 (1541), with good illustrations of the handwriting. In commenting (August 1989) on a draft of the present catalogue, J. V. G. Mallet expressed the view that Xanto "spread himself very thin" in the execution of the painting on this dish.

#### REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 62, as Urbino (Francesco Xanto Avelli?), with Gubbio luster.

1942 Widener 1942: 13, as Urbino (Francesco Xanto Avelli?), with Gubbio luster.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 121, no. 4, as Urbino (Francesco Xanto Avelli?), with Gubbio luster.

1988–1989 Fiocco and Gherardi 1988–1989, 2: 580.

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## GUIDO DURANTINO OF URBINO

Guido Durantino (meaning Guido of Castel Durante), who came to call himself Guido Fontana, is, together with his son Orazio, the central figure in the history of Urbino sixteenth-century maiolica. Guido may or may not himself have been a painter, but he ran a workshop which produced high-quality *istoriato* from the 1520s for the best part of half a century, and which dominates our view of the achievement of Urbino maiolica in the High Renaissance.

The first documentary record of Guido di Nicolò Schippe dates from 1516, when he witnessed a document for his uncle Simone. His father, Nicolò "pelliparius" (the skinner), had died in Castel Durante before 1511; Guido probably moved to Urbino, where his uncle Simone had a leather business, around 1515. By 1519, when he married an Urbino woman, he was described as "Guido, potter of Castel Durante and resident in Urbino, son of the late Nicolò the skinner." Over the following years Guido appears regularly in Urbino documents (including some pertaining to business dealings with Nicola di Gabriele Sbraghe, see p. 191); he was obviously a successful businessman, and became *priore* of an Urbino confraternity in the 1540s. In 1523 he and other Urbino potters took on a contract to supply five thousand paving tiles for Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino. In 1530 he was a signatory to an agreement among leading workshop owners to resist a claim for increased wages from a group of craftsmen that included Francesco Xanto Avelli. In 1535 he was prominent enough to win the prestigious contract for a maiolica service for Anne de Montmorency. By 1553 he had adopted the surname Fontana, by which he and his family were afterward known. His eldest son Orazio worked with him and signed a number of *istoriato* pieces between 1541 and 1544. In 1565, after a period working for the duke of Savoy in Turin, Orazio set up in business in Urbino separately from his father. Orazio died in 1571, but Guido was still alive in 1576, when he made a new will.

A recent study by Mallet has gathered together in exemplary fashion what is known of Guido and classified the main painters who worked for him to show that "so far as production of *istoriato* wares is concerned Guido Durantino's workshop employed in succession several of the very best painters available." The reader is referred to Mallet's fully documented study for more complete information. T.H.W.

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Lessmann 1979: 190.  
Negroni 1986.  
Mallet 1987.

## Broad-rimmed bowl

with the sacrifice of the Greeks at Aulis and the omen of the serpent devouring nine birds, interpreted by the priest Calchas; arms of Anne de Montmorency

1942.9.346 (C-71)

Workshop of Guido Durantino, Urbino

1535

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 25.6 (10 $\frac{1}{8}$ )

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

In center of reverse: *Sachrifitio d Gre/ci e/ de lo augurio/d Calcant/In botega d m<sup>o</sup> Guido/durantino In Urbino* (The sacrifice of the Greeks and the prophecy of Calchas. In the workshop of Master Guido Durantino in Urbino)

### LABELS

Kann 22, 192;<sup>1</sup> Seillière sale label: 65; handwritten label 30.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a white tin glaze, with occasional pockmarks. The painting is in blue, yellow, orange, green, brown, gray, black, brick red, and white. On the underside, around the rim, is a ridged molding. On the rim on the front, near the edge, are three kiln-support marks. The rim has been completely overpainted.

### PROVENANCE

Presumably made for Anne de Montmorency [d. 1567]. Perhaps in the collection of Pierre Crozat the Younger [1661–1740]; his nephew, Louis-François Crozat, marquis du Châtel [1691–1750] (sale, Paris, 14 December 1750).<sup>2</sup> (Probably De Monville sale, Paris, 7–10 March 1837, no. 23).<sup>3</sup> Baron Achille Seillière, Château de Mello (Oise) (sale, Paris, 5–10 May 1890, no. 65).<sup>4</sup> Maurice Kann, Paris, by 1896, (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 47, repro.

The painted scene is centered on an ox burning on a sculptured altar, set among trees in a landscape by the sea; on the sea is a ship. To the left of the altar kneel four soldiers, to the right stand four older priests. In a tree is coiled a large serpent, about to devour a nest of baby birds. Hanging from the tree is a shield of arms surmounted by a jeweled circlet, or a cross *couped gules between sixteen alerions azure*. The rim is painted yellow. The reverse is outlined with yellow lines around the foot, where the rim meets the well, and twice around the edge. In the center, in blue, is the inscription.

The story represented is the episode at Aulis when the Greek army was getting ready to sail for the siege of Troy, as related by Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, book 12, lines 1 to 23. The Greeks were preparing a sacrifice to Jupiter when they saw a serpent crawling up a tree and devouring eight nestlings and their mother; the priest Calchas interpreted this omen as meaning that the Greeks would capture Troy, but that it would take nine years.

The composition was suggested by a relatively primitive woodcut in the 1497 Venetian paraphrase of Ovid (fig. 1),<sup>5</sup> or a similar woodcut in one of the several later editions based on the 1497 one.

The arms are a slightly inaccurate rendering (the cross should not be couped) of those of Anne de Montmorency (1493–1567), Grand Maître and later Constable of France. Montmorency (who took his Christian name from his godmother Anne de Bretagne, queen of France) was the greatest private art patron of the French Renaissance and built the châteaux at Ecoeu and Chantilly. He was heavily involved in French intervention in Italy and in 1535 had been for some years the dominant influence on the foreign policy of François I.<sup>6</sup>

The plate is one of nineteen apparent recorded pieces with the same arms and presumably from the same set, of which three are candlesticks, one is a flask, and fifteen are plates or dishes. All the definite *istoriato* pieces are painted with scenes from classical mythology, appropriate for a soldier and statesman, and in contrast to a set made in the same year and in the same workshop for another Frenchman, Cardinal Antoine Duprat, chancellor of France until his death in July 1535; the five recorded surviving pieces of the Duprat set, reflecting his status as a cardinal of the Church, have Old Testament subjects.<sup>7</sup> While the two commissions must be linked, no documentation has come to light to indicate whether the two sets were diplomatic gifts to two of the most influential men at the French court, personal gifts, or commissioned by Montmorency and Duprat for their own use.

There seems no way of telling how extensive the Montmorency set originally was. The plates/dishes are either 25 to 26 centimeters or about 30 centimeters in diameter. No large (over 40-centimeter) plates, such as are in the Este-Gonzaga and Calini sets by Nicola da Urbino, or the Pucci set by Xanto, have been recorded for the Montmorency set.



Workshop of Guido Durantino, *Broad-rimmed bowl with the sacrifice of the Greeks at Aulis and the omen of the serpent devouring nine birds, interpreted by the priest Calchas*; arms of Anne de Montmorency, 1942.9.346



Fig. 1 Ovidio *Metamorphoseos vulgare* (Venice, 1497), folio lxxxix (r), Washington, Library of Congress, Incunab. 1497.096

All the inscribed plates and dishes have the same handwriting on the back, which also occurs on the Duprat set and on other pieces from the same workshop.<sup>8</sup> However, inscriptions on *istoriato* plates were not necessarily always written by the painter; they may have been added by an assistant or an inscription specialist.<sup>9</sup> There are considerable stylistic differences among the various pieces. J. V. G. Mallet has considered the possibility that one man painted the whole set but “had an artistic personality so weak and suggestible as to reflect the styles of everyone round him,”<sup>10</sup> but this author prefers the view proposed by Join-Dieterle, that more than one painter worked on the set.<sup>11</sup> In either case, the National Gallery plate is one of the more successful examples in a set which is not as a whole of the highest artistic quality despite its exalted and discriminating patron.

The following list of the other recorded pieces of the set is derived from the list published by Mallet in 1987,<sup>12</sup> where references are given.

1. Flask, Neptune and other figures, Museo Civico, Turin.
2. Candlestick, Alpheus and Arethusa, painted with “16”, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
3. Candlestick, Vulcan forging the arrows of Cupid, painted with “11,” The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection.
4. Candlestick, the birth of Castor and Pollux, painted with “23”, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection.

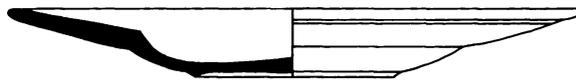
5. Plate, Hippolytus and Phaedra, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
  6. Plate, Apollo and Daphne, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.
  7. Plate, Vulcan forging the arms of Mars, present location unknown; formerly Spitzer and Bak collections.
  8. Plate, Hercules and the Hydra, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
  9. Plate, Hercules, Cacus, and Cerberus, present location unknown; formerly Fountaine, Woodward, and Pringsheim collections.
  10. Plate, Atalanta and Hippomemes, present location unknown; formerly Fountaine, Coope, Bennett, and Courtauld collections.
  11. Dish, Jupiter and Semele, British Museum, London.
  12. Dish, the daughters of Minyas, Sir John Soane’s Museum, London.
  13. Plate, the story of Pelias (but inscribed with the wrong subject: *fabula di Baccho e sue Notrice*), Musée de la Céramique, Rouen.
  14. Plate, wars and troubles of the Trojans, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
  15. Plate or dish, the triumph of Galatea, present location unknown; formerly De Monville collection (probably a piece of this set).
  16. Dish, Cadmus and the Serpent, present location unknown; formerly Imbert collection.
  17. Plate, the fall of the Titans, present location unknown; formerly De Monville and Seillière collections.
  18. Plate, the story of Hermaphrodite, present location unknown; formerly Seillière collection.<sup>13</sup>
- T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. They incorrectly describe the subject as the Sacrifice to the Golden Serpent (by which is presumably meant the Brazen Serpent episode from Numbers, 21: 4–9).
2. *Description sommaire des statues, figures, bustes, vases... provenans du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat* (Paris, 14 December 1750 and following days), 43–45: “Faiences faites en Italie au commencement du seizième siècle par Guido Durantino de la ville d’Urbino.... Quelques unes de celles qu’on voit ici ont été faites pour les seigneurs de l’illustre maison de Montmorency.” There is no specific indication of the pieces that were from the Montmorency set, but nos. 209–212 were eighteen *assiettes*, which may have included most or all of the plates listed above.
3. *Catalogue d’objets d’art et de curiosité de la renaissance... composant la collection de M. De Monville* (Paris, 7–10 March 1837), no. 23, probably this piece (*plat rond à sujet: le serpent d’aerain; avec écusson aux armes de Montmorency*).



1942.9.346, back



1942.9.346, profile drawing

4. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité et de riche ameublement provenant de l'importante collection de feu M. le Baron Achille Seillièrre au Château de Mello* (Paris, 5–10 May 1890), no. 65.

5. *Ovidio methamorphoseos vulgare* (Venice, 1497), fol. 99r. For this book, see Bodo Guthmüller, *Ovidio methamorphoseos vulgare* (Boppard am Rhein 1981); and for its use on maiolica, T. Wilson 1987, 113.

6. A lucid account of Montmorency's political position around 1535 is given by Francis Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency, Grand Maître et Connétable de France à la cour, aux armées et au conseil du roi François I* (Paris,

1885). No political motivation for the presentation of a gift from Urbino to Montmorency and Duprat suggests itself from a reading of Decrue. Rasmussen 1989, 157, notes that 1535 was the year in which Montmorency received his Paris house from the king.

7. The pieces with the Duprat arms are listed by Mallet 1987, 297, nos. 21–25.

8. Compare the letter written by "Ioanfrancesco, alias El Poeta" in 1530, cited by J. V. G. Mallet, "Mantua and Urbino: Gonzaga Patronage of maiolica," *Apollo* 113 (1981), 167; the writer of the letter notes that the large dishes of *istoriato* maiolica have fallen out of fashion in Urbino.

9. See 1942.9.337. Some pieces from the workshop of Guido di Merlino in the 1540s bear inscriptions in two distinct handwritings.

10. Mallet 1987, 290.

11. Join-Dieterle 1984, 206.

12. Mallet 1987, 296–297, nos. 2–20; see also Newman 1987, 56–61. Rasmussen 1989, 154–158, 258–260, illustrates fifteen pieces from the set.

13. Another piece, sold from the Baron collection in 1846 (*Catalogue de la belle collection d'objets d'art et de haute curiosité composant le cabinet de M. Baron*, Paris, 19–24 January 1846, no. 337), was described as *une autre [assiette] aux armes de Montmorency. Le voyage d'Eliezzer*; the Old Testament subject of this piece, if correctly identified, would set it apart from other surviving pieces of the Montmorency set. Unless the piece is located, it will be impossible to determine whether it was indeed part of the set.

#### REFERENCES

- 1896 Fortnum 1896: 202.  
 1935 Widener 1935: 65.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 14.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 122, no. 5, repro.  
 1987 Mallet 1987: 297, no. 15.  
 1987 Newman, Michael. "Le service de majolique d'Anne de Montmorency Connétable de France." *L'estampille* (Dijon) 204 (June 1987): 61, no. 13.  
 1988 Bojani, Gian Carlo. *Ceramiche nelle Marche*. Bergamo, 1988: 130, repro.  
 1989 Rasmussen 1989: 157, 259, fig. 91.9.

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## FRANCESCO DURANTINO

Francesco Durantino, perhaps the most prolific *istoriato* maiolica painter of the mid-sixteenth century, stands out relatively clearly from the anonymous crowd of Urbino-school maiolica craftsmen. His work can be identified with some confidence on the basis of a group of signed works, and thanks to recent archival discoveries something is also known of his career.<sup>1</sup> The following signed or marked works are known:

1. Plate, the battle between Jupiter and the Giants, marked as made "in the workshop of Maestro Guido di Merlino by the hand of Francesco Durantino 1543," Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.<sup>2</sup>

2. Plate, with unexplained subject, on the reverse: ".F.D. 1543," Glasgow City Museum.<sup>3</sup>

3. Plate, a Punic War battle, marked as made "in the workshop of Maestro Guido di Merlino by the hand of Francesco Durantino 1544," Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, (figs. 1, 2).<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 1 Francesco Durantino, Maiolica plate, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, KG513

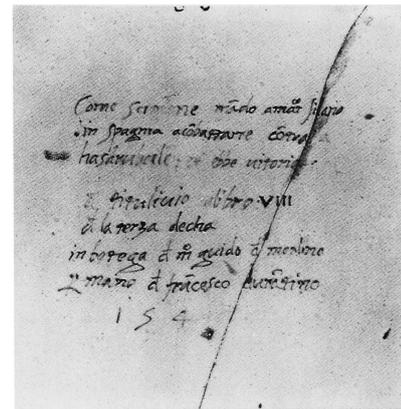


Fig. 2 Detail of back of Fig. 1

4. Dish, Coriolanus outside Rome, signed "Francesco Durantino 1544," British Museum.<sup>5</sup>

5. Fragment, Pyrrhus killing Polyxena, signed with a monogram of FRANCESCO and URBO and dated 1546, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.<sup>6</sup>

6. Wine cooler, marked as made by "Francesco Durantino potter at Monte Bagnolo di Perugia 1553," Art Institute of Chicago.<sup>7</sup>

"Francesco da Castel Durante," who is doubtless the same man, is named in a notarial document dated 1543<sup>8</sup> as a party, with two other Urbino potters, to a contract of collaboration with Guido di Merlino, who had long been one of the leading pottery owners in Urbino.<sup>9</sup> The Vienna and Schwerin pieces, painted by Francesco in Guido's workshop, are in all probability products of this collaboration, and it may be that most of Francesco's work in this period was done for Guido. Numerous pieces are attributable to Francesco about this time, many of them dated 1544 or 1545: the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig alone has ten pieces by him with these dates.<sup>10</sup>

The Chicago wine cooler establishes that Francesco was working in 1553 at Monte Bagnolo on the outskirts of Perugia. Two earlier pieces marked as made at Monte Bagnolo, a dish in the British Museum dated 1547 and a wine cooler in the Bargello in Florence dated 1549, are attributable on stylistic grounds to the same hand.<sup>11</sup> Recently, an important series of documents relating to the Monte Bagnolo enterprise was discovered in the archives of Perugia by Dr. Giocondo Ricciarelli, who unfortunately died before he was able to publish them. These documents record that Francesco took over a lease on a kiln at Monte Bagnolo from the landowner Matheus Lang in 1547, and continued working there until about 1554. The documents give many details of the running of the business; it is hoped that they will be published soon.<sup>12</sup>

Francesco's style is already recognizable in the Urbino period up to 1547 and becomes more so in the Monte Bagnolo phase from 1547 to 1553. His work is characterized by a distinctive way of drawing faces, with cast-up eyes and half-open mouths, and by accentuated musculature of torsos. His style has affinities with Giulio Romano, whose work he seems to have known.<sup>13</sup> In the later, more slapdash works, one gets the impression of an artist working at great speed. His handwriting is readily recognizable, the letters *d* and *t* being particularly distinctive. He sometimes takes suggestions from engravings and book illustrations, but his use of them is never slavish and most of his compositions and figures seem to be his own invention.<sup>14</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Much of the earlier confusion about Francesco was cleared up by Lessmann 1979, 183, 175. He is not the same man as the Francesco di Piero of Castel Durante who had a workshop in Venice and is mentioned by Cipriano Piccolpasso, *Li tre libri dell' arte del vasaio*, ed. Ronald Lightbown and Alan Caiger-Smith (London, 1980), 2: 64; for Francesco di Piero see Corrado Leonardi, "Il pavimento in maiolica della cappella dei conti Oliva," *Studi Montefeltrani. Atti dei convegni, II: Il convento di Montefiorentino* (San Leo, 1982), 159–160; Corrado Leonardi, "Francesco Xanto Avelli nell' ambiente urbinato," *Francesco Xanto Avelli di Rovigo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi 1980* (Rovigo, 1988), 36–39, 45–51. Many pieces by the Francesco dealt with in the present catalogue are illustrated in color by Angelica Alverà Bortolotto, *Maiolica a Venezia nel Rinascimento* (Bergamo, 1988), although I know of no good evidence that this Francesco Durantino ever worked in Venice.

2. Inv. no. Ke 6699; *Faenza* 29 (1941), pl.23a; Alverà Bortolotto 1988: 52, color repro. The subject is taken from Bartsch 1803–1821, XV: 45, no. 16, after Perino del Vaga.

3. Simon Olding, *Italian Maiolica* (Glasgow, 1982), no. 47.

4. Inv. no. KG 513; diam. 49 cm. The coat of arms is unidentified. I am grateful to Dr. Strutz, director of the Staatliches Museum, for information on this piece, which is illustrated in color by Alverà Bortolotto 1988, 53.

5. T. Wilson 1987, no. 83; the reverse is illustrated in *Faenza* 71 (1985), pl. 28b.

6. Helena Dahlbäck Lutteman, *Majolika från Urbino* (Stockholm, 1981), 95–96, no. 5.

7. Vivian Scheidemantel, "An Italian Majolica Wine Cooler," *Museum Studies* (Art Institute of Chicago) 3 (1968), 42–62. Another signed piece was described by Giuseppe Raffaelli in Giuliano Vanzolini, *Istorie delle fabbriche di majoliche metaurensi*, 2 vols. (Pesaro, 1879), 1:139, as "un bel vaso di casa Patrizi in Roma con fatto di storia sacra e l'epigrafo: Mro Francesco Durantino;" it has not surfaced since.

8. The contract (Archivio di Stato, Urbino, Fondo Archivio Notarile, casella 22, Atti del Notaio Guido Santinelli, no. 513, carta 332v) was published by Ercole Scatassa in *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana* 4 (1901), 202–204. The signatories, all described as "figuli de Urbino," were "magister Lucas condam Bartholomei," formerly of Castel Durante, "magister Fidelis magistri Johannis" (see note 12), "Franciscus condam Berardini de

dicta Terra Durantis incola," and "Guido Merlini." Scatassa's reading of Francesco's patronymic as "Martini" is corrected to "Berardini" in Dr. Ricciarelli's retranscript of the document, of which he kindly sent me a copy. I am unable to confirm the patronymic given to Francesco in the Perugia documents, but had it on Dr. Ricciarelli's authority that it is the same man.

9. For Guido di Merlino (not "da Merlino"), see Lessmann 1979, 175. I hope to publish in another place fuller notes on works attributable to Guido di Merlino's workshop, which was probably the next in importance in Urbino to Guido Durantino's in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. At least four painters can be distinguished on works bearing the name of the workshop: (a) Francesco Durantino: dishes dated 1543 and 1544 in Vienna and Schwerin, respectively; (b) a painter responsible for a series of large plates bearing two handwritings on the reverse of each: these are in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in Weimar, in Braunschweig (all three dated 1542), and the piece formerly in the Pringsheim collection, last sold at Christie's, London, 20 May 1991, no. 68; (c) pieces in Kassel and at Sèvres, the latter dated 1542; work by this painter is frequently, but probably wrongly, attributed to Pesaro; (d) later works, at Knightshayes Court, Devon, England, and in the Musée du Louvre, the latter dated 1551. The only other marked piece known to me, undated, with a battle before Troy, is in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, inv. no. Ke 8040. Proof that Guido di Merlino owned a workshop in Urbino by 1530, and probably already in 1523, is given by the documents described by Negroni 1986, 18, and Mallet 1987, 287. In 1536 he employed the Faenza painter Cesare Cari (Luigi Pungileoni, in Vanzolini 1879, 1:336, n. 26).

10. Lessmann 1979, nos. 161–172; no. 162, dated 1544, is particularly close to the National Gallery of Art plate. Works by Francesco are too numerous to list in full here. I cannot accept the attribution to him in Rackham 1940, nos. 855, 856, 857, 862, or 863; no. 859 seems to have Francesco's and another person's handwriting on the reverse; see J. V. G. Mallet, "Pottery and Porcelain at Erdig," *Apollo* 108 (1978), 42. If Rackham 1940, no. 731, which is lustered and dated 1541, is correctly attributed to Francesco, it is the earliest identified dated work of his, together with an unlustered plate with Cephalus and Procne and the same date in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, inv. no. KHL 10. In "Considerazioni su un pavimento di stile durantino a Perugia," in *Italian Renaissance Pottery*, ed. Timothy Wil-

son (London, 1991), 96–100, Carola Fiocco and Gabriella Gherardi tentatively attributed to Francesco a tile pavement from the Rocca Paolina in Perugia. Mallet has suggested (personal communication) that among his early works are the two pieces (in Frankfurt-am-Main and the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington) signed with the Greek letters phi and delta, Watson 1986, 122–123. I do not think this likely. A most ingenious suggestion by Hugo Morley-Fletcher (personal communication) is that phi-delta equals Fidelity, so that the painter might have been Fedele Fulmine of Urbino; see note 12.

11. T. Wilson 1987, no. 94; Conti 1971, no. 35. Wine coolers similar to the Bargello one and probably made at Monte Bagnolo are of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, nos. 864 and 865) and in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, inv. KHL 46.

12. I owe my acquaintance with the late Dr. Ricciarelli to the late Padre Professore Ugolino Nicolini. I am much saddened that Dr. Ricciarelli's death prevented our publishing the joint article on Francesco that we had planned, but I am grateful to his granddaughter, Signora Francesca Cassano, for permission to refer here to the account of his findings which Dr. Ricciarelli sent to me in 1984. The documents are in the Archivio di Stato in Perugia in a *Fondo* entitled *Processus* and form part of a dossier concerning a 1550 case, "Mathei Langhi de Perusio et Mariocci Francisci de Villa Cordiliani contra plures." Between October 1545 and September 1547 the Monte Bagnolo kiln was leased to Fedele Fulmine of Urbino (Fedele had also appeared alongside Francesco in the 1543 contract with Guido di Merlino discussed above; for a work by him see *Catalogue of Works of Antient and Medieval Art Exhibited at the House of the Society of Arts* [London, 1850], no. 537). Between 1547 and 1556 the documents record business dealings between Lang and Francesco, with Lang advancing capital to the potter and receiving finished wares in return. Pottery production seems to have ceased by 1554, although dealings between the two continued up to September 1556.

13. Scheidemantel 1968, 45–46.

14. An example of a scene based on an illustrated Ovid is a dish dated 1547 in Oxford (T. Wilson 1989, no. 17). For Francesco's use of Livy illustrations, see T. Wilson 1987, nos. 83, 217; Rasmussen 1984, no. 127, is another work by him based on the same source.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lessmann 1979, 183.

## Plate

with Bacchus seducing Erigone; at the top, a shield of arms

1942.9.348 (C-73)

Attributed to Francesco Durantino, Urbino

c. 1540/1545

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 26.7 (10½)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

In center of reverse: *d arigone ingan<sup>a</sup> / da baccô* (of Erigone deceived by Bacchus)

### LABELS

Kann 20, 190. A blue-edged octagonal label, handwritten: S698, 5698, or G698, from the same sequence as the label on 1942.9.349.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a whitish tin glaze with a few pockmarks. There is a low molding be-

neath the edge. The painting is in blue, brown, yellow, orange, green, black, and white; the green has bubbled somewhat. On the edge on the front are four neat kiln-support marks. The edge is chipped in places.

### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann (Paris); (Duveen Brothers), 1908 [1909], as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 48, as Urbino, c. 1540/1545, probably by Francesco Durantino.



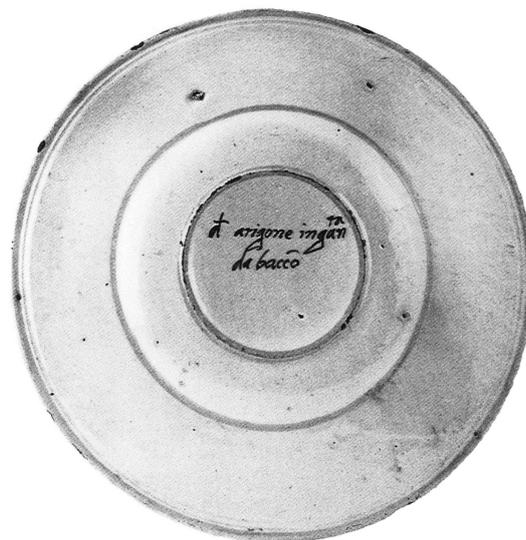
Fig. 1 Gian Jacopo Caraglio, after Perino del Vaga, *Bacchus and Erigone*, engraving, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum-Stichting, B.14.B.XV.74.1A



The plate shows a landscape with water; in the center is Bacchus holding a bunch of grapes and disporting with Erigone; on the left are two figures talking, and on the right a slumped figure perhaps representing Erigone abandoned. In the sky, hanging implausibly from an overhanging branch, is a shield of arms, *quarterly, 1 and 4 a river between two towers all proper, 2 and 3 barry of six gules and argent*. The edge is painted yellow. The reverse is outlined with yellow lines around the foot, where the rim meets the sides of the well, and at the edge. In the center is the inscription in blue.

The rare subject—the story of Bacchus and Erigone—is briefly mentioned in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, book 6, line 125, and explained at somewhat greater length in the 1497 Italian paraphrase: *come Baccho se converti in uva per la qual cagione Erigone prese quella uva e Baccho torno in propria forma e giacque con lei* (how Bacchus turned himself into a bunch of grapes, so that Erigone took the grapes and Bacchus changed back into his proper form and lay with her).<sup>1</sup> The composition of the central group is loosely based on an engraving by Gian Jacopo Caraglio after a design by Perino del Vaga (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Francesco’s work is not usually closely based on engraved prototypes.

The arms have not been identified.<sup>3</sup> A dish with the same arms and by the same painter, with the story of Hyacinth, is in Rouen.<sup>4</sup> Another, with Apollo and the children of Niobe, was in the collection of Maurice Kann’s brother Rodolphe Kann.<sup>5</sup> A pilgrim flask in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with the same arms, is painted with the story of Perseus; it appears to be by a different painter.<sup>6</sup> There was perhaps an entire service with Ovidian subjects, on which at least one painter besides Francesco worked. T.H.W.



1942.9.348, back



1942.9.348, profile drawing

#### NOTES

1. Ovidio *Metamorphoseos vulgare* (Venice, 1497), fol. 46r
2. Bartsch 1803–1821, XV:74, no. 14, from the “Loves of the Gods” series. Professor Eugene Carroll has suggested (letter, 19 May 1988, in NGA curatorial files) that the forlorn figure on the right may be a composite of two figures in an engraving of “The Funeral of Hector” by Fantuzzi after Rosso Fiorentino (Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV:348, no. 26), but the resemblance is not conclusive.
3. John Goodall has made a systematic search for these arms both in Italian and South German sources (much maiolica of this type was made for German families), but without success. The towers are an unusual quartering.
4. Maurice Allinne, *Musée des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure: Catalogue des faiences anciennes* (Rouen, 1928), no. 57.
5. *Catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann Collection, objets d’art. I: Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Paris, 1907), no. 10. The catalogue mentions a “device” on the reverse and attributes the piece to Xanto. It was subsequently in the Imbert collection; André Dubrujeaud, *Union centrale des arts décoratifs: Faiences italiennes de la collection Al. Imbert* [exh. cat., Union Centrale des Arts Decoratifs] (Paris, 1911), no. 475.
6. Rackham 1940, no. 830; Rackham classes the flask with the products of the Fontana workshop, but adds “attribution uncertain.”

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 66, as Urbino, c. 1540.  
 1942 Widener 1942: 14, as Urbino, c. 1540.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 122, no. 7, as Urbino c. 1540, by Francesco Durantino(?)

## Broad-rimmed bowl with Leda and the swan

1942.9.347 (C-72)

Probably Urbino or Urbino district

c. 1540/1545

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 19.9 (77/8)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

Beneath the foot: *giove trasformato/in Cino* (Jupiter transformed into a swan)

### LABELS

Kann 27, 197.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, green, yellow, orange, brown, gray, black, and white. On the front near the rim are six neat kiln-support marks. There is extensive chipping on the outer edge and some wear on the inner edge of the rim.

### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 49, as Urbino, c. 1540, probably by Francesco Durantino.

The bowl is painted on the front with a scene in a landscape: on the right, Jupiter in the form of a swan making love to Leda; at left, a winged and an un-winged putto embracing; in the sky, Jupiter in clouds. The edge is painted yellow. The reverse is outlined with yellow lines around the foot, where the rim meets the sides, and at the edge. Within the foot, in blue, is the inscription.

The painting is close in style to the work of Francesco Durantino and his associates in the workshop of Guido di Merlino in Urbino from about 1540 to 1545, but does not seem to be by Francesco himself.

The classical story of how Jupiter transformed himself into a swan to make love to Leda, mentioned by Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, book 6, line 109, was well known in the Renaissance and the subject of famous paintings by Leonardo and Michelangelo. The maiolica painter's source for the figures was probably an engraving attributed to Agostino Veneziano, perhaps from a design by Giulio Romano (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The two Cupids embracing on the left<sup>2</sup> are an emotional commentary on the scene, of a type developed by Xanto;<sup>3</sup> they may also be a reference to Castor and Pollux, the children of Leda by Jupiter, who were often included in "Leda and the Swan" scenes, as they were by Leonardo and Michelangelo. It is not clear whether the painter intended any significance in making one putto winged and the other un-winged. T.H.W.

Fig. 1 Attributed to Agostino Veneziano, perhaps after a design by Giulio Romano, *Leda and the Swan*, engraving, London, British Museum, B.XIV.187.232





NOTES

1. Bartsch 1803–1821, 14: 187, no. 232

2. The putti are probably not Eros and Anteros (as suggested by Shinn), who are normally shown in dispute rather than embracing; see Guy de Tervarent, "Eros and Anteros, or reciprocal love in ancient and Renaissance art," *JWCI* 28 (1965), 205–208; Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York, 1962), 126–127; idem, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic* (London, 1969), 130–135, with further references.

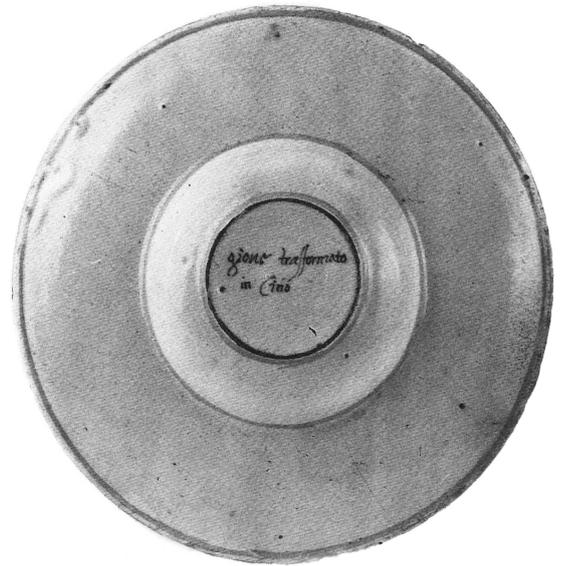
3. Compare the putti lamenting the death of Hero on the Xanto plate in the Musée du Louvre; Giacomotti 1974, no. 862; and the putto mourning the suicide of Cleopatra in the engraving by Agostino Veneziano, Bartsch 1803–1821, XIV: 161, no. 198, a figure often used by Xanto.

REFERENCES

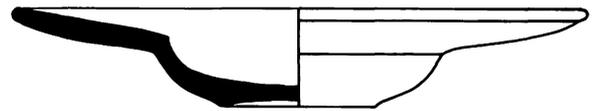
1935 Widener 1935: 65, as Urbino, c. 1540.

1942 Widener 1942: 14, as Urbino, c. 1540.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 122, no. 6, as Urbino c. 1540, by Francesco Durantino(?)



1942.9.347, back



1942.9.347, profile drawing

Plate  
with Hercules, Omphale, and Cupid

1942.9.350 (C-75)

Probably Urbino or Urbino district

c. 1540/1550

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 25.6 (10 1/8)

Widener Collection

LABELS

Kann 25, 195.

TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, green, yellow, orange, brown, black, and white; the green has bubbled slightly in the kiln. There are four kiln-support marks on the front on the rim near the edge.

PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris; (Duveen Brothers), 1908, as part of the Kann collection; purchased February 1910 by Peter A.

B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.



1942.9.350, profile drawing

The plate is painted with a landscape in which Hercules sits on his lion skin spinning with a distaff and spindle; opposite him sits Omphale, and, above, winged Cupid aims an arrow in her direction. The scene is outlined with a black line and the edge painted yellow. The reverse is undecorated.

According to classical legend, Hercules was enslaved to Omphale, Queen of Lydia. He fell in love



with her, and to please her played the female role by spinning thread. The presence of Cupid refers to her returning his love. In a confusion that seems to have started with Boccaccio, a similar story was told of another of the "loves" of Hercules, Iole, and the iconography of the two subjects in the Renaissance is generally indistinguishable.<sup>1</sup>

This piece has not been related to any marked piece, and no evidence is available for a firm attribution; it was probably made in Urbino, Castel Durante, or Pesaro. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. For the iconographic confusion see Jennifer Montagu, "'Hercules and Iole' and some other bronzes by Foggini," *Apollo* 87 (1968), 171-172. The painter (probably Xanto) of the 1528 dish in Arezzo discussed on p. 201, note 7, perpetrated a further confusion by captioning a representation of the same subject *De Hercule e Deianira*.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 66, as Urbino, c. 1540.
- 1942 Widener 1942: 14, as Urbino, c. 1540.
- 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 122, no. 8, as Urbino, c. 1540.

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## Plate

with Jupiter, Juno, and Io transformed into a cow

1942.9.339 (C-64)

Painted in the Urbino district or Gubbio, lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, or possibly in the workshop of Vincenzo Andreoli, Urbino

c. 1535/1540

Tin-glazed earthenware (maiolica), diam. 28.7 (11¼)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

In center of reverse: *W or M.*

### LABELS

Kann 14, 183 overlying.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Earthenware, covered front and back with a pockmarked off-white tin glaze. The painting is in blue, green, yellow, orange, brown, black, and white, with golden-brown and orange-red luster. There are four neat kiln-support marks on the rim near the edge. The edge is extensively chipped.

### PROVENANCE

Maurice Kann, Paris. (Duveen Brothers), 1908; purchased February 1910 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.



#### EXHIBITIONS

NGA 1982–1983, no. 55, as Urbino, with Gubbio luster, c. 1535/1540.

The plate is painted with Juno, left, pointing to Io, in the form of a cow; in the sky, in a cloud, is Jupiter. The scene is set in a landscape with rocks, trees, water, and houses. The edge is painted yellow and lustered. The reverse is casually painted with scrolls in red and yellow luster, and in the center, in luster, is *w* (or possibly *M*).

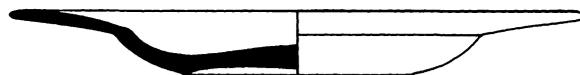
The story of Jupiter and Io is in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, book 1, lines 583–750. Io was a beautiful girl, daughter of the river god Inachus, who was raped by Jupiter under the cover of a cloud. Jupiter's wife Juno was jealous and came to see what had happened. To avoid discovery, Jupiter changed Io into a white cow. Juno, suspicious, asked for the cow as a gift, and Jupiter grudgingly gave her up, whereupon Juno gave her into the care of the hundred-eyed Argus to guard. The moment portrayed is apparently when Juno asks Jupiter for the cow. No iconographical model for the composition has been traced.

The painting is in an undistinguished Urbino-district style, and in the present state of research there seems no criterion for saying exactly where it was carried out. The luster is of the type applied in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio in Gubbio, and until recently would have been attributed to Gubbio. However, documents recently published show that in 1538 Vincenzo, son of Maestro Giorgio, leased the workshop in Urbino that had belonged to the recently deceased Nicola di Gabriele (Nicola da Urbino).<sup>1</sup> It is not known what kind of work Vincenzo, who remained in Urbino at least until 1546, carried on in this workshop, but it seems a possibility that he lustered *istoriato* of this type.

The letter on the back of this plate could conceivably be interpreted as *VN* in monogram, for Vincenzo. The same letter or monogram occurs on the reverse of a plate in the British Museum, painted in a style owing something to that of Nicola da Urbino, and not apparently by the painter of the National Gallery plate.<sup>2</sup> The lustered letter probably refers not to the painter, but to the man or workshop responsible for adding the luster. A lustered plate with



1942.9.339, back



1942.9.339, profile drawing

Apollo and Daphne in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman collection, may be by the same painter.<sup>3</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Negroni 1986, 19–20. Compare 1942.9.337 and Biography of Maestro Giorgio.

2. No. *MLA* 1855, 12–1, 99; the subject is Hercules, Nessus, and Deianira, after Caraglio. The mark is reproduced by Fortnum 1896, "Marks," no. 139.

3. Rasmussen 1989, no. 89. Rasmussen lists a number of pieces, including his no. 88 (dated 1533), he regards as stylistically related.

#### REFERENCES

1935 Widener 1935: 63, as Urbino, with Gubbio luster, c. 1540.

1942 Widener 1942: 13, as Urbino, with Gubbio luster, c. 1540.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 123, no. 9, as Urbino, with Gubbio luster, c. 1535/1540.

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## Medici porcelain

For medieval Europeans, Chinese porcelain was something rare, precious, and almost magical. Pieces that reached Europe (usually via the Islamic world) were often treasured sufficiently to be used as diplomatic gifts between sovereigns, and ornamented with lavish precious-metal mounts.<sup>1</sup> From about 1450 archival references indicate that a steadily increasing flow of Chinese porcelain, together with Islamic blue and white in imitation of it, was finding its way to Italy. The most spectacular and best-documented collection was that of the Medici in Florence, which was begun by Piero de' Medici ("the Gouty") and his son Lorenzo the Magnificent. In 1487 a gift from the sultan of Mamluk Egypt to Lorenzo included, together with a menagerie of exotic animals, "large vessels of porcelain, the like of which has never been seen, nor of better workmanship."<sup>2</sup> The Medici collection of Oriental porcelain grew steadily: an inventory of 1553 listed four-hundred-odd pieces of porcelain (most if not all of them Chinese); porcelain was also in regular use at the table of the sixteenth-century grand dukes.<sup>3</sup>

Although not rivaling goldsmith's work in value, Chinese porcelain was an exotic and admired material and more expensive than any Italian ceramic product.<sup>4</sup> It was also, with its hardness and translucency, a material whose intrinsic superiority to earthenware was so evident that attempts were repeatedly made to imitate it in sixteenth-century Italy. The earliest such recorded efforts were in Venice, the great glass-making center: documentary references in 1504, 1518, and 1519 indicate that craftsmen in Venice were producing what they claimed to be a form of imitation porcelain.<sup>5</sup> Other apparent attempts to make porcelain are fleetingly documented in Lodi, the duchy of Urbino, and Turin.<sup>6</sup> What should probably be reckoned the first successful imitation in Europe of Chinese porcelain, however, was achieved in Ferrara under the patronage of Alfonso II, duke of Ferrara. From about 1561. Alfonso had working for him two brothers from Urbino, Camillo and Battista Gatti, members of one of the leading Castel Durante families of maiolica makers. Camillo died in 1567, after a cannon he was examining accidentally exploded, but not before he had succeeded in producing what was considered a form of porcelain; in relating the accident, Bernardo Canigiani, Florentine ambassador at the court of Ferrara, described him as "Camillo of Urbino, potter and painter, but so to speak alchemist to His Excellency, and the modern rediscoverer of porcelain."<sup>7</sup> No surviving piece has yet been convincingly identified as an example of Ferrarese porcelain.

In the same years, experiments were going on at the court of Florence, perhaps begun by the Grand Duke Cosimo I, but mainly as a result of the enthusiasm of his son Francesco, who succeeded him as grand duke in 1574. Francesco had an intense interest in experimental technology; as Montaigne noted on a visit to Florence in 1580: "il est grand mechanique."<sup>8</sup> In the 1568 edition of his *Lives*, Vasari wrote of his own pupil Bernardo Buontalenti, who was working for Francesco: "Bernardo has demonstrated wonderful talent in every kind of thing. . . . [Francesco] has devised a way of melting and purifying

rock crystal, and has made from it narrative pieces and vessels of several colors; in all of which Bernardo is involved, as will shortly be seen in the production of porcelain vessels which have all the perfection of the most antique and perfect.”<sup>9</sup> By 1575 these experiments had succeeded, for the Venetian ambassador in Florence recorded: “Grand-Duke Francesco de’ Medici has found the way of making Indian porcelain, and in his experiments has succeeded in equalling its quality – its transparency, hardness, lightness, and delicacy; it has taken him ten years to discover the secret, but a Levantine showed him the way to success.”<sup>10</sup> The following year the Ferrarese ambassador in Florence wrote how Francesco had shown him several large vessels of porcelain “which gave him much pleasure, because he had not expected that this porcelain of his would succeed for large pieces.”<sup>11</sup> The documentary evidence shows that porcelain continued to be produced in Florence until Francesco’s death in 1587, and more sporadically (in Pisa as well as in Florence) under his successors Ferdinando I and Cosimo II. The last positive reference to production is in 1620. The seventy or so recorded pieces that have been identified as “Medici porcelain” are generally regarded as the earliest known examples of European porcelain.

The principal workshop for porcelain and Francesco’s other artistic, alchemical, and “scientific” experiments was a building called the Casino di San Marco, built for him by Buontalenti in 1574. In the Casino, goldsmiths, hardstone workers, glassmakers, and others worked alongside the porcelain makers, and the grand duke himself was intensively involved. The Venetian ambassador Andrea Gussoni described in 1576 how the grand duke “has a place called the Casino in which, like a miniature arsenal [the comparison is with the great naval *Arsenale* in Venice], various masters work in various rooms on various projects; it is here that he keeps his distilleries and all his experimental equipment. He goes here in the morning and stays till dinner-time, and after dinner comes back and remains here till the evening.”<sup>12</sup> Alongside the mysterious “Levantine,” a number of Italians expert in the techniques of maiolica were involved in the porcelain project. These included Flaminio Fontana of Urbino, grandson of Guido Durantino, who is documented in Florence between 1573 and 1578 and as having supervised porcelain firings there; Pier Maria of Faenza, documented from 1580 to 1593; and Niccolò Sisti, a versatile experimentalist and kiln expert who also made glass and maiolica, and who took charge of porcelain production after the death of grand duke Francesco. The experiments were at the limits of contemporary Italian kiln technology, and the failure rate was high (many surviving pieces show firing faults); such a project must have been expensive, and dependent on grand-ducal patronage.

Medici porcelain is a cultural amalgam of East and West. Recent technical studies of the body have suggested that the formula owed something to the Islamic world and something to the technology of Italian maiolica.<sup>13</sup> The principal source of the decoration is Chinese porcelain, although some details seem closer to Islamic blue and white; on the

other hand, there are a few pieces painted in a style derived from Renaissance maiolica, and others which clearly show the hand of a painter trained in maiolica. The shapes are sometimes echoes of Oriental shapes, but more often purely Italian – not so much derived from contemporary maiolica as reflecting the influence of the mannerist goldsmiths, hard-stone workers, and glassmakers of the Casino. It is likely that some pieces were designed by Buontalenti or the Dutch goldsmith Giacomo Bilivert (Jackes Bylivelt).

No convincing attempt has ever been made to classify Medici porcelain into chronological periods or stylistic groupings that can be associated with a particular artist. Most of the identified surviving pieces bear a mark consisting of a cupola and the letter F for Florence (or possibly for Francesco?); the cupola represents the dome of Florence Cathedral, although the resemblance in some cases to Brunelleschi's famous *cupolone* is alarmingly distant. No generic differences have been observed in shape or decoration between marked and unmarked pieces. A few pieces are actually dated or roughly datable on heraldic grounds, and a unique portrait relief of grand duke Francesco (in the Bargello) is dated 1586, but these do not provide grounds for a chronological sequence. No surviving piece can be positively dated after the death of Francesco in 1587.

Medici porcelain production died away without leaving any continuous tradition of porcelain manufacture: the next major attempts to make porcelain in Europe – by John Dwight in England and by Louis Poterat in France in the 1670s – were unconnected with, and probably ignorant of the Medici project.<sup>14</sup> Among collectors, the very existence of this “first European porcelain” was generally, if not universally, forgotten for over two hundred years. In 1859 a Florentine named Alessandro Foresi published an account of it and launched a collecting fever that brought some of the finest examples to Paris, London, and New York.<sup>15</sup> Medici porcelain was quintessentially characteristic of the collecting of J. Pierpont Morgan, and it was as part of his collection that the National Gallery flask came to America. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. David Whitehouse, “Chinese Porcelain in Medieval Europe,” *Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1972), 63–78; Marco Spallanzani, *Ceramiche orientali a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1978).

2. “Vasi grandi di porcellana mai più veduti simili, né meglio lavorati,” quoted by Spallanzani 1978, 57.

3. Spallanzani 1978, 64, 130.

4. Spallanzani 1978, 107–128.

5. For references, see Spallanzani 1978, 51, n. 61; Whitehouse 1972, 77–78; Giuseppe Campori, *Notizie storiche e artistiche della maiolica e della porcellana di Ferrara*, in Giuliano Vanzolini, *Istorie delle fabbriche di majoliche metaurensi*, 2 vols. in 1 (Pesaro, 1879), 2: 127–129. A document published by Urbani de Gheltof in 1877 purporting to describe the manufacture of porcelain in

Venice in 1470 has not been seen by any recent scholar and is of unproven authenticity; see Spallanzani 1976, 51, n. 61.

6. Campori in Vanzolini 1879, 2: 160, cites a Lodi potter's claim in 1526 that he could make porcelain; for Urbino and Turin see Ronald Lightbown, “L' esoticismo,” in *Storia dell'arte italiana* 10. *Conservazione, falso, restauro* (Turin: Einaudi, 1979–1983), 462.

7. Campori in Vanzolini 1879, 2:134–145; Lightbown 1981, 460–462. For Camillo Gatti see Mallet 1987, 292–294; compare Guasti 1902, 394–403.

8. Michel de Montaigne, *Journal de Voyage en Italie*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 12 vols. (Paris, 1924–1941), 8:45; see 8:165, 7:177.

9. Vasari-Milanesi 1878–1885, 7:615: “In questa opera...ha mostrato Bernardo bellissimo ingegno ed atto a

tutte le cose: servendosene quel signore a molte sue ingegnose fantasie di tirari per pesi d'argani, e di linee; oltre che ha con facilità trovato il modo di fondere il cristallo di montagna e purificarlo, e fattone istorie e vasi di più colori; che a tutto Bernardo s'intermette; come ancora si vedrà nel condurre in poco tempo vasi di porcellana, che hanno tutta la perfezione ch'è più antichi e perfetti." Vasari continues with the perplexing statement that the *maestro eccellentissimo* in porcelain is Giulio da Urbino at the court of the duke of Ferrara: the identity of this Giulio, whom Campori could not find documented at Ferrara, is a matter of speculation. There is no tangible evidence of cooperation between the Ferrarese and Florentine projects, although Camillo Gatti was described as "molto amico di Mon' di Firenze;" according to Davillier 1882, 35, this refers to Grand Duke Francesco, but according to Lightbown 1981, 461, and Marco Spallanzani (personal communication) it refers to Antonio Altoviti, archbishop of Florence.

10. Quoted by Liverani 1936, 28, n. 7: "Il Granduca Francesco de' Medici ha ritrovato il modo di fare la porcellana dell'India, e nelle sue prove è riuscito ad eguagliarne la qualità cioè la trasparenza, la cottura, la leggerezza e la delicatezza; che seppe da lui essergli occorsi più di dieci anni prima di scoprire il segreto, ma che un levantino gli aveva indicato il mezzo per riuscire."

11. Campori in Vanzolini 1879, 2:144-145.

12. Quoted from Detlef Heitkamp, "Mediceische Glaskunst," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 30 (1986), 68; for goldsmith's work and hardstones, see C. Willemijn Fock, "Francesco I e Ferdinando I mecenati di orefici e intagliatori di pietre dure," in *Le arti del principato mediceo* (Florence, 1980), 317-363; idem, "Der Goldschmied Jaques Bylivelt aus Delft und sein Wirken in der Mediceischen Hofwerkstatt in Florenz," *JbWien* 70 (1974), 89-178; Antonio Morassi, *Art Treasures of the Medici* (London, 1964). See Luciano Berti, *Il principe del studiolo* (Florence, 1967).

13. Kingery and Vandiver 1984, 450: "The inspiration of the high-silica body was surely Levantine, but the technology used was wholly Italian;" see also W. David Kingery and Pamela B. Vandiver, *Ceramic Masterpieces: Art, Structure, Technology* (New York, 1986), 135-147.

14. Two mysterious porcelain bowls in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated 1627 and 1638, have been plausibly thought to be the products of a porcelain-making project in Padua, but nothing tangible is known of their origin; Arthur Lane, *Italian Porcelain* (London, 1954), 6-7, pl. 4.

15. Alessandro Foresi, "Sulle porcellane medicee; lettera al Barone di Monville," *Il Piovano Arlotto* (1859; reprint, Florence, 1869). For the early bibliography on Medici porcelain, see Liverani 1936.

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## Flask

1942.9.354 (C-79)

Medici porcelain factory, Florence

c. 1575/1587, or slightly later

Imitation porcelain (a version of soft-paste porcelain),

h. (to rim) 12.7 (5)

Widener Collection

### INSCRIPTIONS

Beneath foot: a dome and .F

### MARKS

Formerly a Pierpont Morgan inventory number painted on underside: *PM 3134*.

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The flask is of imitation porcelain, of a type usually classified as soft paste, which is somewhat translucent and looks pinkish when light is shone through it. The flask is covered inside and out, except beneath the foot ring, with a transparent glaze of slightly "orange-peel" texture with numerous small bubbles in it. There is more severe bubbling within and around the foot ring and around the neck. The painting is in underglaze blue, with the design drawn in purplish blue black. There is some cracking of the glaze and some abrasion, with minor repairs, at the end of the spout.<sup>1</sup>

### PROVENANCE

"Casa Murata," Florence. (Pacini), Florence. (Stanislas Baron), Paris, by 1882. Alfred André, Paris. Léon André, Paris; J. Pierpont Morgan, London and New York, 1905.<sup>2</sup> After Morgan's death, 1913, to (Duveen Brothers); purchased November 1917 by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.<sup>3</sup> Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener after purchase by funds of the Estate.

### EXHIBITIONS

Possibly New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914, *Loan Exhibition of the Pierpont Morgan Collection*.<sup>4</sup> Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, 1980, *Palazzo Vecchio: committenza e collezionismo medicei*, 403.<sup>5</sup>

The flask is of swelling oval form, with a flanged neck. There are two applied scrolling handles and a single applied spout. The flask is painted with a pattern of tendrils and lotus flowers; around the neck is a band of circles and dots between parallel lines.

There has been a certain amount of controversy concerning the prototypes of patterns such as this on Medici porcelain. The lotus-flower design is derived from Ming blue-and-white porcelain, but the use of the motifs on Medici wares is difficult to

parallel exactly on Chinese pieces, and it has been suggested that the immediate prototype was blue-and-white ware from the Islamic world, itself based on Chinese originals. Ulrich Middeldorf described the decoration of the National Gallery piece as "stile turchesco."<sup>6</sup> Arthur Lane, a distinguished connoisseur of Islamic as well as European pottery, wrote of designs of this sort: "It has been suggested that these plant-forms are derived from those on Persian blue-and-white wares, but it is unlikely that any of these should have reached Florence at this date. In Egypt and Syria the art was in full decline. Turkey remains the most probable source."<sup>7</sup> Totally convincing models in Turkish blue-and-white, however, have yet to be cited. Le Corbeiller illustrates comparable ornament on Iznik wares,<sup>8</sup> but they are polychrome pieces, whereas the models for Medici porcelain seem more likely to have been blue and white. Michael Rogers, formerly of the Islamic section in the British Museum, however, has commented, in light of recent work on the still-obscure subject of Islamic blue and white, that Turkish wares are improbable as a major design source, and that Persian wares are unlikely to have reached Florence in the sixteenth century, but that "Egypt should not be ruled out since, contrary to Lane, the production of pottery at Fustat certainly survived the Ottoman conquest of 1517."<sup>9</sup> More recently, Julian Raby has suggested that Medici porcelain was influenced by Turkish blue and white of "wheat-sheaf" pattern.<sup>10</sup> Documentary evidence accumulated by Marco Spallanzani seems to show that substantial quantities of Chinese porcelain were being imported into Florence by the 1570s, although the possibility cannot be ruled out that the inventory clerks sometimes mistook Islamic blue and white for Chinese porcelain. Chinese porcelain was explicitly the technical inspiration for Medici porcelain, and Chinese porcelain itself from the grand-ducal collections remains the most likely source of inspiration for the decoration on the National Gallery flask. The ornamental repertoire of Medici porcelain as a whole still awaits a detailed study, but in general it would be fair to say that it evolved a decorative language that owed a good deal to China, a little to Islam, but most of all to the fantasy of the painters in Florence.<sup>11</sup>

Close parallels in decoration to the National Gallery flask are a jug in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples; a flask in the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris; and a pilgrim flask recently acquired by The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. These three





1942.9.354, view two



1942.9.354, detail of mark

pieces also have the mark (which occurs in numerous different forms, most of them with only a distant resemblance to the actual Brunelleschi dome of Florence) very similarly drawn.<sup>12</sup> None of these four pieces, or of the other related ones, has any intrinsic dating evidence.

Marco Spallanzani has recently pointed out that two pieces of Medici porcelain mentioned in the inventory of the Medici Granducal *spezieria* in 1732 correspond closely with the National Gallery flask: "due [vasetti ad uso di vettine] alti  $\frac{1}{5}$  con boccuccio e due manichi a staffa." Whether or not the National Gallery flask is one of the two mentioned, the description is valuable in suggesting that the correct description of the vessel is "oil flask."<sup>13</sup> T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. Professor David Kingery and Dr. Pamela Vandiver stated on examining this flask that it was thrown on the wheel, unlike most pieces, which they say are mold made.
2. The early provenance is as given by Davillier 1882. Despite the generous efforts of my friend Professor Marco Spallanzani in Florence libraries, no information on the "Casa Murata" has been traced. I am indebted to Linda Horvitz Roth for providing me with details of the 1905 sale invoice to Pierpont Morgan, which is in the archives of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
3. A note in NGA curatorial files states that the flask was found unrecognized among Pierpont Morgan's Chinese porcelain at Duveen's by Joseph Widener and acquired at low cost. Edith Standen, who was curator at Lynnewood Hall before the Widener collection was given to the National Gallery and has kindly responded to inquiries about the history of the collection, was unable to confirm this story. It must be regarded as improbable that Duveen's would have failed to recognize a marked piece of Medici porcelain, but it is true that Widener paid a surprisingly low price for the flask.
4. It is likely that the National Gallery flask is the "example of so-called Medici ware" from the Morgan collection exhibited at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1914 after Morgan's death, and mentioned in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Guide to the Loan Exhibition of the Pierpont Morgan Collection* (New York, 1914), 56.
5. Middeldorf in exh. cat. Florence 1980 describes it as an "esempio di rara perfezione."
6. Middeldorf in exh. cat. Florence 1980, 403.
7. Arthur Lane, *Italian Porcelain* (London, 1954), 56.
8. Le Corbeiller 1988.

9. I am grateful to Dr. Rogers for his comments (personal communication) on this subject; see J. Michael Rogers, *Islamic Art and Design* (London, 1983), 93–140.

10. Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *Iznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1989), 268. The similarities seem to me suggestive, rather than compelling. As Raby points out, the decoration on Medici porcelain was eclectic. For parallels drawn between the ornament on Medici porcelain and that on “Faenza white” maiolica, see Alessandro Alinari, “La porcellana dei Medici e i bianchi faentini,” *Ceramica Antica* anno 2, no. 2 (February 1992): 42–54.

11. The useful corpus of Chinese porcelain that traveled westward, illustrated in Regina Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul* (London, 1984), vol. 2, does not include anything very convincingly close to the National Gallery flask. For a detailed formal analysis of the lotus flower and its transmutations between East and West, see Jessica Rawson, *The Lotus and the Dragon* (London, 1984). More generally see John Carswell, *Blue and White; Chinese Porcelain and Its Impact on the Western World* [exh. cat., Smart Gallery, University of Chicago] (Chicago, 1985).

12. Cora and Fanfani 1986, 118–119, 148–149; Le Corbeiller 1988. Carolyn Wilson Newmark noted in NGA curatorial files that, of the twenty-four pieces of Medici porcelain exhibited together in the 1980 Florence exhibition, it was the Naples and Jacquemart-André pieces that most resembled the National Gallery flask in their deeper-than-usual blue. There are also comparably decorated pieces in the Victoria and Albert Museum; The Metropolitan Museum of Art; the Kunstgewerbemuseum,

Berlin; and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Cora and Fanfani 1986, 76–77, 106–107, 90–91, 114–115). I am glad to find that my grouping of these pieces corresponds almost exactly with that independently proposed by Le Corbeiller 1988, 125.

13. Spallanzani 1990, 318–320.

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1990 Spallanzani, Marco. “Medici porcelain in the collection of the last grand-duke.” *BurlM* 132 (1990), 319, fig. 14.

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## “Saint-Porchaire”

The National Gallery of Art is one of a handful of museums in the world that possess more than one example of one of the rarest and certainly the most mysterious of all types of Renaissance pottery.<sup>1</sup> Over seventy recorded examples exist, mainly in collections in France, Great Britain, and the United States, of what has at various times in the 150 years or so since it first caught the imagination of collectors been known as “Faïence de Henri II et de Diane de Poitiers,” “Faïence d’Oiron,” and “Faïence des Valois,” but is now generally known as “Saint-Porchaire.” The commonest forms are salts, cups, spouted and unspouted ewers, and candlesticks; the designs are more or less bizarre and fantastic, but the pieces form a coherent group.<sup>2</sup>

There is nothing in the history of pottery quite like “Saint-Porchaire,” and its manufacturing technique has given rise to a good deal of interest and discussion. We are fortunate in the present volume to be able to include as an Appendix a technical report on the three National Gallery pieces, prepared by Daphne Barbour, Shelley Sturman, and Pamela Vandiver, which is without precedent in its detail and sophistication. Suffice it to note here that the white body is a refractory kaolinitic clay with high alumina content; this is a type of clay that is found in relatively few places. For the assembly of complex objects like “Saint-Porchaire,” such clays have the important advantage of shrinking only a little as they dry. The darker clays used for the decorative inlays derive their color from a high iron content.<sup>3</sup> The analyses so far carried out and the present writer’s examination of various examples suggest that there may be certain technical differences between various examples. Some persistent factors, such as the distinctive tendency of the glaze to shrink and crackle in a crystalline pattern, suggest that the formula of clay and glaze was fairly constant.

The actual process of manufacture is, despite the detailed analysis in the Appendix, still unclear in some details and may not have been identical in all cases. As a starting point, a certain amount can be learned from damaged specimens in the Musée du Louvre and at Sèvres.<sup>4</sup> On the piece at Sèvres, a broken cup lid, it can be seen on the break that the decoration, which is executed in a darker clay inlaid into the white, is within a thin upper layer of clay not more than 1.5 millimeters thick. This “skin” was laid over the (mold-made) body of the lid, the surface of which was scratched as a key for it. The decoration was impressed into the “skin” before it was applied to the body. Many pieces, including the National Gallery candlestick and cup, show imperfectly meeting seams in the white clay where the stamped sections of skin join. The technical report in the present volume shows evidence of a comparable “skin” technique on all three of the National Gallery pieces. Two actual stamps or molds that survive in the Musée du Louvre (together with a fragmentary basin apparently decorated with one of them) are made of fired white clay, or possibly of plaster. Particularly puzzling is the *champlevé* technique by which the dark

Fig. 1 Floor tile, French, attributed to Brémontier-Massy, Normandy. London, British Museum



clay was “inlaid” into the “skin” or into the body. It has been suggested that the technique was a more delicate version of that sometimes used to make medieval inlaid tiles, by which, after a design had been stamped into a raw tile, the whole tile was covered with a runny slip of clay of a different color; paring away the upper surface when it was dry left a flat surface with a neat contrast of dark and white. It is extraordinary, however, that such a process could have produced the sharp and minutely detailed designs found on “Saint-Porchaire.” The idea that the inlays were sometimes pressed in paste form into stamped or incised designs, however, might seem even more difficult to believe, but is the conclusion of the authors of the Appendix here. The closest contemporaneous parallel to the “inlay” technique that can be cited is a type of tile made in sixteenth-century northern France in which impressed lines are filled with color (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> The commonly used term in French for the technique is *incrustation*, in English “inlay.”

The detailed analysis of the National Gallery examples shows that a phenomenal variety of techniques was used in the manufacture of “Saint-Porchaire,” including throwing, molding, hand modeling, stamping, and incising by hand. On top of the inlaid decoration, and frequently cutting across it, various kinds of separately molded architectural and sculptural ornament are applied, sometimes very complex. Although the individual stamps and modeled elements recur over and over again, the pieces as a whole are rarely if ever exact duplicates.

The sources of design in the more elaborate pieces of “Saint-Porchaire” are astonishingly diverse. The most ambitious of the ewers are related to French and Italian Renaissance metalwork and to design engravings for metalwork by such Italian artists as Rosso Fiorentino, Antonio Fantuzzi (who worked alongside Primaticcio at Fontainebleau between about 1537 and about 1550), or Enea Vico.<sup>6</sup> The applied decoration is derived from

contemporary sculpture and sculptural metalwork, and makes use, too, of architectural motifs ranging from Gothic arches to elaborate Late Renaissance window surrounds. The inlaid ornament is very close to contemporary gold-tooled bookbindings made for royal and other collectors in France, to design engravings by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau and others, and to pattern books such as Francesco Pellegrino's *La fleur de la science de pourtraicture et patrons de broderie façon arabique et ytalique*, published in Paris in 1530. The overall effect is a highly sophisticated mannerist blend of French and Italian motifs characteristic of the Fontainebleau school of French court art.<sup>7</sup>

W. B. Honey, former keeper of ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum, described "Saint-Porchaire" as "so soft and lacking in resonance as scarcely to deserve the name of pottery," and the unusual nature of the material and technique, together with the amazing eclecticism of design, has caused considerable unease over the years among ceramic historians.<sup>8</sup> Since the 1860s the idea has periodically surfaced that many examples are either "improved" out of all recognition, or out-and-out fakes.<sup>9</sup> The extreme form of this view, that there is no such thing as a genuine example and that all the pieces are nineteenth-century concoctions, is, in the present writer's opinion, refuted by the fact that the ewer now in the Royal Museum of Scotland was already in Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill, near London, early enough to be published in the 1774 edition of his *Description of Strawberry Hill*,<sup>10</sup> furthermore, a cup at Ecoeuin is said to have been sold from a French convent in 1793;<sup>11</sup> and three pieces, now in Paris and New York, can be traced back in all probability to the eighteenth century to the Fountaine collection in Norfolk.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, a "good" provenance is not an absolute guarantee of authenticity: a cup in The Metropolitan Museum of Art which apparently came from the Préaux collection, dispersed in 1850, has been suspected of being of nineteenth-century origin.<sup>13</sup> Even the candlestick in the National Gallery of Art, which was already a famous object in the 1840s, has not been exempt from suspicion.<sup>14</sup> Happily, the results of the present research vindicate it fully. There are, however, several late nineteenth century fakes in existence.

No piece of "Saint-Porchaire" is marked, with the exception of an unexplained monogram or symbol incised on a dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>15</sup> and none bears a date; nor has modern archaeology ever found any evidence of the kiln. By the mid-nineteenth century, when examples like the National Gallery candlestick were already startling collectors by the high prices they were fetching in Paris sales, various theories had already been propounded as to the origin of this ware. Walpole in 1774 had apparently believed his ewer to be Italian (his description of it as "a fine ewer of Fayence, designed by Giulio Romano" was not so very wide of the mark, in view of affinities with Giulio's designs for metalwork). Pottier, in 1839, established the ware as French and suggested that the place of manufacture might have been in the Thouars region, southwest of Tours.

Delange in 1847 and Tainturier in 1860, recognizing the strong Italianate and eclectic elements in the style, suggested as the maker respectively Girolamo Della Robbia, and a pupil of Cellini.<sup>16</sup> Fillon in 1864 proposed the theory that the pieces had been made under aristocratic patronage at Oiron, near Thouars. It was in 1887–1888 that Bonnaffé appeared to have solved the mystery with the assertion that the place of production was the village of Saint-Porchaire, near Bressuire, in Deux-Sèvres; “Saint-Porchaire” has been the generally accepted label ever since.

The evidence for the attribution to Saint-Porchaire may be summarized as follows:

1. The village is known to have had potteries active from the fifteenth century. As was noted by Bernard Palissy, “en toutes ces contrées les terres argilleuses sont fort blanches.”<sup>17</sup>

2. A small group of pieces (usually considered stylistically the earliest) have on them the arms of a branch of the great Montmorency family, the Montmorency-Lavals, who were lords of Bressuire.<sup>18</sup>

3. A single fragment of the ware, the only one with any vestige of “archaeological” context recorded, is said to have been found in the ruins of the château at Bressuire.<sup>19</sup>

4. Early writers on the ware already noted that a noticeable proportion of the then-known pieces came from collections in the Thouars region, a few miles from Saint-Porchaire.<sup>20</sup>

5. The decisive evidence is contained in a series of sixteenth-century inventories which describe what must beyond much reasonable doubt be examples of this kind of pottery. The earliest of these inventories was made in January 1542, after the death of François de la Trémoille, and listed property at his Château de Thouars: a room containing a variety of precious objects and works of art, included *deux coppes de terre de Saint-Porchayre* and a box, two feet long, *en laquelle a esté trouvé deux sallières de Saint-Porchayre*. In 1577, after the death of François' son Louis, another inventory records at Thouars *de la vesselle de terre d'Angleterre* (whatever that interesting description may refer to) *et d'aultre faicte à Saint-Porchayre*. An inventory made in 1568 after the death of Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, the head of the Montmorency family and the greatest of all the private art patrons of the French Renaissance, listed at his house in Paris *ung grand vase à bec d'asne de terre cuicte esmaillée de noyr façon de Sainct Porchère* and *une esguyère et ung gobellet couvert... quatre couppes couvertes... une grande sallière couverte taillée à petits personnages... quatre sallières, deux à panz taillés et les aultres deux plaines damasquinées*, all of them *de pareille terre et façon*. Connecting neatly with these references are the facts that one piece of the pottery with the arms of the Trémoille family is recorded, and that a candlestick and a spouted ewer in the Dutuit collection at the Musée du Petit Palais in Paris have respectively the arms and (perhaps) a monogram of Anne de Montmorency.<sup>21</sup> Yet another inventory, of a gentleman of the royal bedchamber in

1596, included *quatre escuelles* [bowls] *de terre de Saint-Porchère, et une sallière*.<sup>22</sup>

This conjunction of evidence and the generic correspondence of the inventory descriptions and shapes to the surviving pieces leave little doubt that pottery of this sort was known in the sixteenth century as *terre de Saint-Porchaire* or *façon de Saint-Porchaire*, and that wares of this type were made in that village. Such elaborate, labor-intensive, and almost unusably soft and fragile objects can hardly have been a commercial proposition, and it seems likely that the production was supported by aristocratic patronage, probably (but not necessarily exclusively) that of the Montmorency-Laval family. However, it may be regarded as improbable that such a sophisticated and courtly type of object as some of the later and more elaborate examples could have been produced in a provincial village, and that the highly eclectic range of design sources reflected by the ewers and candlesticks could have been available anywhere except through contact with the royal court. The slight ambiguity of the phrases *terre de Saint-Porchaire* and *façon de Saint Porchère* leaves open the possibility that some of these objects may actually have been produced by craftsmen from Saint-Porchaire, and/or with clay from Saint-Porchaire, in a more courtly or metropolitan context, for instance at Fontainebleau or in Paris.<sup>23</sup> There is also, confusingly, another place called Saint Porchaire near Saintes. The frequency of occurrence of the arms and devices of Henri II and the relative rarity of those of other individuals may be held to lend support to this view. In view of the documentary and armorial links to Constable Anne de Montmorency, it is a tempting – if speculative – hypothesis that the potter or potters were patronized by him; his interest in pottery is demonstrated by his patronage of Bernard Palissy and Masseot Abaquesne, and by the fact that he in 1535 received one of the earliest sets of Italian *istoriato* maiolica ever made for a non-Italian (one piece of which is 1942.9.346). On the other hand, such an eccentric and elaborate technique of decoration can hardly have been widely diffused, and the likelihood is that a single closely linked group of craftsmen, perhaps from a single family, were responsible for most of the production. Further archaeological, scientific, or documentary research may in due course discover whether the grander pieces were made in Saint-Porchaire, or in Paris, or somewhere with close links to the court. What seem to be the latest pieces are reminiscent of the work of Bernard Palissy.

The criteria for an exact dating of individual examples are sparse. The recurrence of the emblems and monograms associated with Henri II, who ruled from 1547 to 1559, suggests that the clients were associated with the royal court in his reign, although (in the absence of any identified published reference in royal accounts or inventories) they cannot be taken as proving that any piece actually belonged to the king or his family, or to Diane de Poitiers. One possible theory for the occurrence of royal emblems together with those of courtiers on individual pieces is that they could have been gifts from the royal family. At least two pieces, a salt in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York and a cup in the

possession of the Rothschild family, are decorated with a salamander, the personal device of François I, who died in 1547; assuming that they are genuine and “unimproved,” they are likely to have been made before 1547.<sup>24</sup> On the basis of stylistic parallels, Jestaz has suggested a date range between about 1510, when the Montmorency-Laval family took over the lordship of Bressuire, and 1570/1575.<sup>25</sup> The heraldic evidence suggests that production took place over a narrower period, and most of the surviving pieces seem to the present writer likely to date from between 1525 and 1570. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. The other museums boasting three or more examples are the Musée du Louvre and the Musée du Petit Palais in Paris, the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and The Cleveland Museum of Art.

2. There is a vast nineteenth-century literature on the subject, starting with the discussion by André Pottier in Nicolas Xavier Willemin, *Monuments français inédits pour servir à l'histoire des arts depuis le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au commencement du XVII<sup>e</sup>*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1839), 2: 65–67. This and the other contributions up to 1860 are reprinted in the magnificent chromolithographed corpus of known pieces published by Henri and Carle Delange in Paris in 1861, which remains the fundamental starting point for the study of “Saint-Porchaire.” The plates in various copies of Delange are not always arranged in the same order, and since they are unnumbered, some confusion exists about numbers; in the present catalogue, numbers have been assigned following the order of the 1861 text, pages 30–34, and assuming all the illustrations described in the text to be present. (It is unfortunate that the numbering of Delange plates adopted by Dr. Schnitzer differs from this; see the end of this note.) Among other contributions since 1861 are: John Charles Robinson in *Notices of the Principal Works of Art in the Collection of Hollingworth Magniac, Esq. of Colworth* (London, 1861), 73–78; idem, in *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art . . . on loan at the South Kensington Museum, June 1862* (London, 1863), 88–109; Benjamin Fillon, *L'art de terre chez les poitevins* (Niort, 1864); A. C. King, *Henri Deux Ware: Photographs of twenty examples of this ware chiefly in English collections with an introductory notice* (London [The Arundel Society], 1868); Edmond Bonnaffé, “Les faïences de Saint-Porchaire,” *GBA*, 2d ser., 37 (1888), 313–327; Bonnaffé 1891: 117–133; Edmond Bonnaffé, “Les faïences de Saint-Porchaire,” *GBA*, 3d ser., 13 (1895), 277–286; idem, “Le plat de Saint-Porchaire au Musée du Louvre,” *GBA*, 3d ser., 15 (1896), 505–508; Gaston Migeon,

“Bernard Palissy ou Saint-Porchaire,” *GBA* 3d ser., 15 (1896), 382–387; Henri Clouzot, “Le maître potier de Saint-Porchaire,” *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 16 (1904), 357–371; “Faïence de Saint-Porchaire,” *IntSt* 80 (November 1924), 150–155; Marie-Juliette Ballot, *Musée du Louvre: La céramique française; Bernard Palissy et les fabriques du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1924); *Répertoire de la faïence française*, ed. Joseph Chompret et al. (Paris, 1933–1935); Helen S. Foote, “Three Pieces of Henri II or Saint-Porchaire Ware,” *BCMA* 38 (1951), 132–142; Henri Garnier, “Contribution à l'étude des faïences de Saint-Porchaire,” *Art et Curiosité* (May–June 1953), 13–16; Louis-Marie Michon, “Les faïenceries fines de Saint-Porchaire,” *GBA*, 6th ser. 49 (1957), 257–266; Fourest 1969; Marcelle Brunet in *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, to date vols. 1–4, 7–8 (New York, 1968–1977), 7 (1974): 167–180; Jestaz 1975; Jessie McNab, “A St. Porchaire Salt in the Taft Museum,” *Apollo* 128 (1988), 402–405, 453; Schnitzer 1987. A copy of Dr. Schnitzer's thesis, which contains a still more ample bibliography, became available to me only after the present catalogue was written. I have limited changes to the present text arising from my reading of this work to a number of specific references to points where Dr. Schnitzer's discussions are fuller than mine, or her conclusions different. In 1988 Dr. Schnitzer was kind enough to read a draft of the present catalogue and suggest some improvements on points of detail. It is to be hoped that her projected book on “Saint-Porchaire” will appear soon. The articles by Jessie McNab and Elena Ivanova in *Ars Ceramica* 9 (1992), 53–57 and 58–64, appeared after the present catalogue had gone to press.

3. I am also indebted to Dr. Michael Tite and to Mavis Bimson of the British Museum Research Laboratory for the results of their analysis of the specimen in the British Museum.

4. Both pieces are illustrated by Fourest 1969, 20, figs. 6, 7; 22, fig. 9. The stamp associated with the Louvre dish and acquired with it (but without any archaeological provenance) is also illustrated by Fourest 1969, 23, fig. 10. It may be thought likely that the Louvre dish and fragment

were found in the ground, and that the find-spot was somewhere near the place of manufacture. If the pieces had been found near Saint-Porchaire, would not someone have said so, when the dish was acquired by the Musée du Louvre in 1896? I am indebted to Antoinette Hallé, Antoine D'Albis, and Pierre Ennès for help generously given in my examination of these pieces. The process of manufacture was described with characteristic acumen by Robinson 1863; see also Garnier 1953.

5. See *La Renaissance à Rouen* [exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts] (Rouen, 1980), 88, no. 111, for examples attributed to Brémontier-Massy (but not there illustrated). The designs on some of these tiles are impressed and filled with blue glaze.

6. For instance the Enea Vico engraving, Bartsch 1803–1821, XV: 353, no. 433, described as after the antique; or the Fantuzzi designs illustrated by Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau; Etchings and Engravings* (London, 1969), nos. AF52–54. See John Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540–1620* (London, 1976), 174–176. Hayward comments (184) that “Saint-Porchaire” is more closely related to contemporary French goldsmiths’ work than is Palissy ware; “not only do the shapes derive from silver but the all-over decoration of mauresques follows silver precedent.” The closeness of examples of “Saint-Porchaire” pottery to Enea Vico engravings is stressed by McNab 1988, 453, n. 2. See also Schnitzer 1987, 33–43.

7. The design relationships with metalwork, sculpture, engraved ornament, and bookbinding stamps are well discussed by Jestaz 1975. McNab 1988, 405, points to the parallels with the architectural designs of Philibert de l’Orme and suggests that de l’Orme may actually have designed the pottery. For particularly close parallels in the ornament on Paris gold-tooled bookbindings of c. 1520, see Jacques Guignard, “Premières reliures parisiennes a décor doré,” *Humanisme actif: Mélanges d’art de littérature offerts à Julien Cain*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), 2: 229–249. I owe this reference to Mirjam Foot. Particularly relevant is the decoration on the bindings of books from Anne de Montmorency’s library, for which see *Livres du Connétable. La bibliothèque d’Anne de Montmorency*, exh. cat., Musée national de la Renaissance, château d’Ecouen, and Musée Condé, château de Chantilly, 1991. For the antecedents of the strapwork and arabesque ornament, see Peter Ward-Jackson, “Some Main Streams and Tributaries in European Ornament from 1500 to 1750,” *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin* 3 (1967), 58–71, 90–103. I owe to Anthony Radcliffe the observation that there is no evidence of Italian metalworkers of the Riccio circle having

worked in France but that there is reason to believe Constance Anne de Montmorency may have brought examples of Italian metalwork to France: a basin by one of the Alberghetti family came out of his château at Chantilly at the time of the French Revolution; see Gaston Migeon, *Musée National du Louvre: Catalogue des bronzes et cuivres du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1904), no. 71. Schnitzer 1987, 56–58, adds the interesting idea that there may be some technical or design link to the stuccoists working at Fontainebleau.

8. William B. Honey, *European Ceramic Art: A Dictionary of Factories, Artists, Technical Terms et cetera* (London, 1952), 538.

9. On the question of authenticity and “improvements,” see Fillon 1864, 91; Bonnaffé 1891, 126; Michon 1957; Fourest 1969, 23. Alfred Darcel, “L’art ancien à l’exposition de 1878,” *GBA*, 2d ser., 18 (1878), 984, remarked sourly that the pieces “continuent à se faire payer des prix bien supérieures à leurs mérites, il faut bien l’avouer, lorsqu’elles surgissent sur le marché, et même lorsqu’elles sont l’oeuvre d’habiles faussaires.” As early as 1844 Brongniart, 176, mentioned “une imitation parfaite” made of porcelain by M. Regnier. Superlatively elegant copies (clearly marked) were made in quantity by Minton’s of Stoke on Trent from the 1850s; see page 261. Other imitations were made at Parthenay (not far from Saint-Porchaire itself) by Jouneau (Bonnaffé 1891, 126; Garnier 1953, 15), and in Gustavsberg, Sweden (an example dated 1864; Helena Dahlbäck Lutteman, *Svenskt porslän* [Västerås, 1980], 180), and pieces in the general style were made by Wedgwood and at Worcester; see Maureen Batkin, *Wedgwood Ceramics 1846–1959* (London, 1982), 61; R. W. Binns, *Catalogue of a Collection of Worcester Porcelain in the Museum of the Royal Porcelain Works* (Worcester, 1882), 166. Clouzot 1904, 371, mentions imitations by Pull of Paris and implies that imitations may have been made by the restorer Alfred André. A pseudo-Saint-Porchaire candlestick in the Victoria and Albert Museum (56-1870) was acquired in 1870 as the work of Monsieur Rondel, who is also known as a restorer of genuine pieces (Michon 1957, 262). Aileen Dawson has drawn my attention to a salt in “Saint-Porchaire” style signed “Michau” and dated 1912, sold at Sotheby’s, London, 5 December 1989, no. 17, and now in the British Museum. Leonard Amico informs me that examples were also made by Charles Avisseau of Tours (1796–1861), the maker of Palissy-style wares. For Avisseau and Pull see Leon Arnoux, “Report on Pottery,” in *Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition presented to both Houses of Parliament* (London, 1868), 2: 395; and for Pull, see Barbara Mundt,

*Historismus*, Kataloge des Kunstgewerbemuseums Berlin, vol. 7 (Berlin, 1973), "Firmen und Künstler," unpaginated, s.v. "Pull." The matter of copies and forgeries is also discussed by Schnitzer 1987, 205–208. The radical view that no "Saint-Porchaire" is genuinely sixteenth century was discussed by Aileen Dawson at a colloquium in the British Museum in June 1990. See also Paul Atterbury, "Too Good to Be True?" *Country Life* (14 June 1990), 254–255.

10. The Walpole ewer was sold at Sotheby's, London, 17 June 1975, no. 46; it is illustrated by Delange and Delange 1861, no. 36, and in Timothy H. Wilson, "Le sphinx de la curiosité," *Antique* (summer 1988), 67. The piece was described on page 9 in the 1774 edition of Walpole's *Description*. Confirmation that this is the same piece is, in my opinion, provided by the illustration of the chimneypiece in the "China Room" in the 1784 edition, where it is described on page 6. The salt now in the Taft Museum, Cincinnati, also seems to have a provenance going back to Walpole; see McNab 1988.

11. The cup now in the Musée de la Renaissance at Ecoen, inv. Cl. 1641 (Fourest 1969, fig. 8; Delange and Delange 1861, no. 7), is stated to have come from a sale in 1793 of the contents of the convent of Saint-François at La Flèche.

12. A candlestick and a spouted ewer in the Musée du Petit Palais, and a large bowl in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Delange and Delange 1861, nos. 20, 30, 10), were said by Andrew Fontaine (1808–1873) of Narford to have been acquired by his ancestor Sir Andrew Fontaine at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Delange and Delange 1861, 31). There seems no good reason to suppose he was lying and that they had been acquired during his lifetime. On the Fontaine collection see Andrew Moore, "The Fontaine Collection of Maiolica," *BurlM* 130 (1988), 435–447.

13. MMA 17.190.1746; Delange and Delange 1861, no. 41; Schnitzer 1987, 204, 207, no. 67. I wish to thank Jessie McNab for information on this piece. I am myself inclined to believe that it is essentially of Renaissance date.

14. Schnitzer 1987, 207, expresses doubts about the candlestick, but the technical report in the present volume supports its authenticity.

15. Delange and Delange 1861, no. 8; King 1868, no. 1.

16. Pottier in Willemin 1839, 2: 65–67; see also literature cited in note 2.

17. Bernard Palissy, *Pour trouver et connoître la terre nommée marne*, in *Les oeuvres de Bernard Palissy*, ed. Anatole France (Paris, 1880), 417. Bonnaffé, in his successive articles, produces ample evidence that the village had

potters working in it and cites several contemporary references naming potters working there. However, one much-quoted piece of evidence, Bonnaffé's statement that Charles Estienne noted the village for *beaux pots de terre*, is apparently based on a questionable reading of the text; see Charles Estienne, *La guide des chemins de France de 1553*, facsimile ed., 2 vols., ed. by Jean Bonnerat, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 265, 267 (Paris, 1936), 1:429, where the reading in the editions of 1552 is given as "b. Beurre. Pots de terre;" later editions that I have seen omit this reference altogether.

18. The pieces with the Montmorency-Laval arms are a cup in the Hermitage (Delange and Delange 1861, no. 1) and a similar one in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (17.190.1745), a flask in the Musée du Louvre (Jestaz 1975, figs. 1, 2), and a "pilgrim flask" (Delange and Delange 1861, no. 3), which was one of four pieces of "Saint-Porchaire" in the Basilewsky collection (Alfred Darcel and A. Basilewsky, *Collection Basilewsky; catalogue raisonné* [Paris, 1874], 168, no. 445); it is now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam; A. Westers, "Een Saint-Porchaire Veldflas," *Bulletin Museum Boymans* 8 (1957), 92–97. For the Laval-Montmorency family and their connections with both Anne de Montmorency and the Trémoille family see André Du Chesne, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Montmorency* (Paris, 1624), 577–579. For the chronological conclusions that can and cannot be drawn from the arms on the Laval-Montmorency pieces see Jestaz 1975, 386.

19. The piece was described by Bonnaffé 1895, 286.

20. Pottier in Willemin 1839, 2: 65–67; the most detailed nineteenth-century statement about the known provenances which I have found is in a short article by Bonnaffé, "Saint-Porchaire," *Le journal des arts (Chronique de l'Hôtel Drouot)* 58 (29 August 1896), 1, where he says that of twenty-six pieces of known origin, twenty-three came from the west and center of France, including one from Bressuire, five from Lude (Sarthe), five from Tours, and three from Airvault. It is, however, worth pointing out that few of the grandest or apparently latest examples are among those with such a demonstrable west-central French provenance.

21. The piece with the Trémoille arms is described by Bonnaffé 1888, 322. The Dutuit pieces (Delange and Delange 1861, nos. 20, 30) are two of the Fontaine collection pieces mentioned in note 12. See also Henri Clouzot, "Anne de Montmorency et les poteries de Saint-Porchaire," *La Renaissance de l'art français et des industries de luxe* 3 (1920), 77–81.

22. The inventories are quoted by Bonnaffé 1888; Bon-

naffé 1895; Léon Mirot, *L'hôtel et les collections du Connétable de Montmorency* (Paris, 1920), 166. I have not had the opportunity to check these citations in the original documents, and Bonnaffé's quotations, in particular, should be checked. I am grateful to Jenny Stratford for advice on the difficulties in interpreting inventories; Mrs. Stratford points out that in late medieval French inventories *façon de* usually means "in the manner of" but can sometimes mean "made in."

23. Louis Mark Emanuel Solon, *A History and Description of the Old French Faïence* (London, 1903), 22, notes that "a French writer of great authority on these questions announced not long ago the revelation of some startling documents establishing that it was actually produced in the vicinity of Paris." I do not know if the documents referred to were ever published or who the writer

in question was. I am pleased to note that the view taken here that the wares were not necessarily all made in the village was taken independently by M. Pierre Ennès of the Musée du Louvre at a lecture in London in 1989.

24. The Morgan salt is Delange and Delange 1861, no. 11; the Rothschild cup is comparable in form to Delange and Delange 1861, no. 29.

25. Jestaz 1975, 386, 395.

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Fourest 1969.

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Schnitzer, Barbara K. "The Sixteenth-Century French Ceramic Ware Called Saint Porchaire." Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 1987.

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## Salt

1942.9.353 (C-78)

French, probably Saint-Porchaire (Deux-Sèvres)

c. 1540/1560

Lead-glazed fine earthenware, h. 12 (4<sup>3/4</sup>)

Widener Collection

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

The basic body of the salt is formed of slabs of white clay, stamped and incised with designs in clays that show through the glaze as orange brownish and flecked red; there is applied decoration in pale brown and orange-brownish clays. The salt is covered entirely in a somewhat crackled transparent glaze, and the design is heightened in green and purple red. There are repairs to the feet and some shrinkage, chipping, and cracking where the underside of the base meets the edge: there is, however, nothing to support the statement in Bonnaffé 1891 that "la base de cette salière a été refait d'après une autre pièce de la série des faïences de Saint-Porchaire," repeated in the Widener collection records ("the base is remade from another example"); no evidence has been found that the salt is not essentially in its original condition.<sup>1</sup> There are minor repairs to the protruding ridge.

#### PROVENANCE

Charles Callixte, comte de Tusseau, Airvault, Deux-Sèvres, by 1861.<sup>2</sup> Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, by 1881 (sale, 1893, no. 664, sold for 10,200 francs).<sup>3</sup> ("Lowengard"); purchased February 1906 by Peter A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

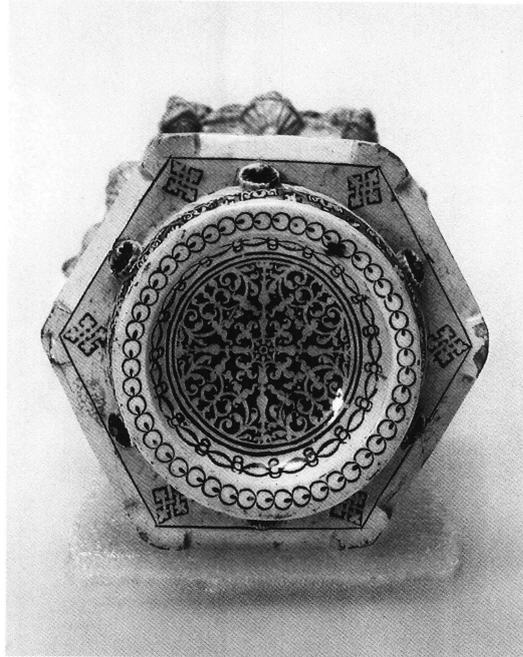
#### EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Trocadéro, 1889, *Exposition retrospective de l'art français*, no. 1162.

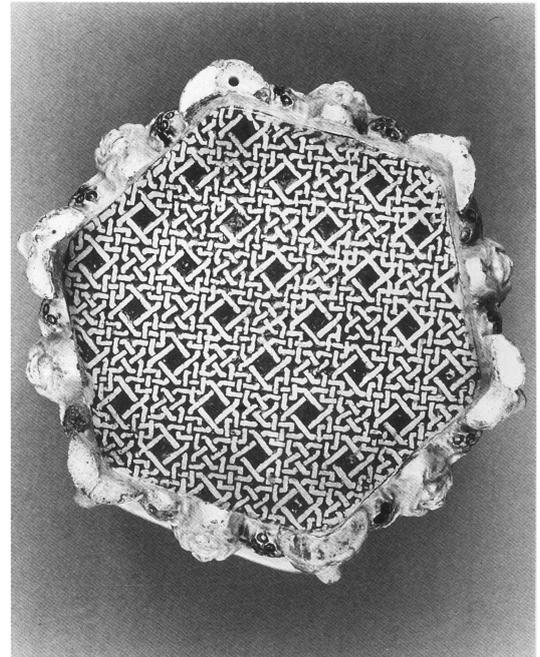
The salt is hexagonal and stands on six horizontally fluted semicylindrical feet; the feet are surmounted by half-length figures, alternating white and pale brown/ocher, which support fluted orange-brown baluster columns at the points of the hexagon. Between each foot are set grimacing bearded large-eared satyr masks wearing fluted bobble hats, flanked by swags. Each side of the salt has a recessed rectangular window, around which is a band of inlaid foliate scrolls in reserve in white on a red ground. Through the windows can be seen three molded back-to-back figures of cross-legged boys.

Above this main section, the salt spreads out into an angularly faceted ridge, the upper edge of which has an impressed quatrefoil in red at each corner. Above and inside this is applied a band of ropework in white clay, on which is set, in the center of each side, a scallop shell colored green. Above this is a swelling ridge with an elaborate repeating interlace pattern in white, brown, reddish-brown, and red. Above this the outer edge of the recess for the salt is diagonally fluted. The interior of the recess is elaborately ornamented with inlaid ornament in red: around the edge of the bowl is a band of small touching circles, each with a short dash where it touches the next one; within this is a "necklace" motif; in the center is a pattern of radiating balusters and floriated arabesque scrollwork in reserve in white on a red ground. (This central ornament is identical to that beneath the inverted finial on the National Gallery candlestick.) On the flat underside of the salt is a pattern of geometric interlace in reserve in white on a red ground.





1942.9.353, top



1942.9.353, base

The symbolic importance of salts on Renaissance tables is well known and vividly attested by the great gold salt made by Cellini for François I. now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. In the references in sixteenth-century inventories to *terre de Saint-Porchaire*, salts are the commonest form mentioned, and they are also more frequent than any other type among surviving examples: something like a quarter of known pieces of "Saint-Porchaire" are salts of greater or lesser complexity. One of these (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) has the salamander device of François I, so (assuming it to be authentic and unmodified) can be dated before François' death in 1547.<sup>4</sup> Several have the three intertwined crescents device associated with Henri II and Diane de Poitiers. Other published hexagonal salts comparable to the National Gallery piece are: two which were together with the National Gallery salt in the Tusseau collection, one of which is now in Brussels and the other in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg;<sup>5</sup> two in the Musée du Louvre from the Sauvageot collection,<sup>6</sup> and examples once in the

Vandermeersch collection, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and at Sèvres.<sup>7</sup> As Schnitzer points out, the idea is taken from salts in precious metal with rock crystal enclosing sculptural figures.<sup>8</sup>

As usual, the individual decorative elements on this salt are found in different combinations on other pieces. The pattern in the well recurs on the National Gallery candlestick, and the pattern beneath the foot is the same as that on the upper surface of the base of another candlestick, formerly in Rothschild family possession and recently sold in Paris. The grotesque masks, with their curious fluted hats and flapping ears, recur on the ewer in Cleveland.<sup>9</sup> The boys in the interior are similar to those on the National Gallery candlestick and many other pieces. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. It seems that Bonnaffé confused this salt with the one now in Brussels, which is stated by Delange and Delange 1861, no. 16, to have lost its original foot. Anne-Marie Mariën Dugardin kindly made a special exami-



1942.9.353, interior

nation of the Brussels salt for me, which confirmed that its foot is a replacement.

2. Madame Françoise Arquié was kind enough to discover for me that Charles Callixte, comte de Tusseau, of Airvault, died in 1864.

3. *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité ... composant l'importante et précieuse collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1893), no. 664, pl. 17. According to Bonnaffé 1895, 285, the buyer at the Spitzer sale was "Goldsmith."

4. Delange and Delange 1861, no. 11.

5. Delange and Delange 1861, nos. 16, 17.

6. Delange and Delange 1861, nos. 12, 24; M.-J. Ballot, *Musée du Louvre: La céramique française; Bernard Pallissy et les fabriques du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1924), pl. 24.

7. *Répertoire de la faïence française*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1933-1935), 5: pl. 2B; Delange and Delange 1861, nos. 26, 27.

8. Schnitzer 1987 (see "St.-Porchaire" bibliography), 35; see John F. Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540-1620* (London, 1976), pl. 668; or the London salt of 1577, illustrated by J. Starkie Gardner, *Old Silver-Work Chiefly English* [exh. cat., Saint James's Court] (London 1903), pl. XLIV.

9. For the Rothschild candlestick, see 1942.9.352, note 7. The ewer is Delange and Delange 1861, no. 32.

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1861 Delange and Delange 1861: 31, no. 18.

1864 Fillon, Benjamin. *L'art de terre chez les Poitevins*. Niort, 1864: 92, no. 26.

1868 King, A. C. *Henri Deux Ware; Photographs of twenty examples of this ware chiefly in English collections with an introductory notice*. London (The Arundel Society), 1868: 8, nos. 50, 51, or 52 (mentioned).

1881 Garnier, Edouard. "Collections de M. Spitzer: Céramique française." *GBA*, 2d ser., 24 (1881): 402 (one of five salts mentioned as in Spitzer's collection).

1888 Bonnaffé, Edmond. "Les faïences de Saint-Porchaire." *GBA* 37 (1888): 327.

1889 *Exposition rétrospective de l'art français au Trocadéro*. Lille, 1889: 186, no. 1162.

1891 Bonnaffé, 1891: 129, no. 5, repro.

1895 Bonnaffé, Edmond. "Les faïences de Saint-Porchaire." *GBA*, 3d ser., 13 (1895): 285.

1919 McCall, G. H. "Saint-Porchaire in America." *Arts and Decoration* 10 (April 1919): 316, repro.

1935 Widener 1935: 70, as c. 1560.

1942 Widener 1942: 14, as c. 1560.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 204, no. 34, as c. 1555.

1987 Schnitzer 1987 (see "St.-Porchaire" bibliography): 201, no. 21.

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## Cup on high foot with the royal arms of France crowned

1942.9.351 (C-76)

French, probably Saint-Porchaire (Deux-Sèvres) or Paris region

c. 1540/1560

Lead-glazed fine earthenware, h. 13.6 (5 $\frac{3}{8}$ ); l. of bowl (excluding the masks) 15.4 (6)

Widener Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The white body is inlaid with decoration in a clay that shows through the decoration as dark brown verging on black. The cup is entirely covered in a somewhat crackled transparent glaze, which has a greenish yellow cast where it has pooled beneath the foot. The design is heightened on the applied ornament with green, yellow brown, purple brown, and blue black, and on the ropework ornament

around the rim in pale brown. Some cracking of the body beneath the foot has taken place in firing. There is a break, repaired with some areas of fill, around the "gothic" arcade and buttresses supporting the bowl. The bowl has been broken and repaired, mainly beneath the shield of arms and hardly affecting the design, with small patches of fill; a piece has been broken off and filled at the edge. The masks on the bowl are chipped. A loose fragment rattles inside the knop.

### PROVENANCE

F. Engel-Gros, Château de Ripaille, Haute Savoie, France, by 1888 (sale, Paris, 30 May–1 June 1921, no. 122);<sup>1</sup> (Durlacher, London); purchased 1922 by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the Estate.<sup>2</sup>



The foot and central knob of the cup are circular, articulated with ridges into horizontal zones of decoration; the outer edge and two of the ridges are molded into a ropework pattern. The horizontal zones are elaborately decorated with bands of inlaid ornament, as follows (starting at the edge of the foot): a narrow band of rope pattern; a band of floriated "arabesque" scrollwork; a band of small touching circles, each with a short horizontal dash where it meets the next one; and a repeating ornamental pattern arranged around crosses formed of four outward-facing arrows; on the knob a band of ornament resembling the last, and a band of stylized foliate scrolls arranged in a pattern resembling four hearts meeting at the points.

Over these bands of inlaid ornament, and cutting into them, is a series of applied molded motifs: below the knob and supporting it are three scrolling brackets enclosing grimacing masks; around the lower part of the knob are pairs of curling scrolls of simple strapwork enclosing leaves; between these, three vertical pilasters support a horizontal course and three scallop shells. Rising from the knob and supporting the oval bowl are two curling flying brackets above lion masks, and two smaller flying brackets; inside these is a shaft with a "gothic" arcade. The shaft and brackets rise up to a series of gadroons with inlaid ornament of simple quatrefoil flowers; on these gadroons rests the oval bowl.



1942.9.351, top

The sides of the bowl are decorated with an elaborate pattern of interlaced strapwork with tendrils. This design is repeated four times in the four quarters of the bowl; overlying the inlaid decoration and concealing the seams where the repeated patterns meet imperfectly are four shouting masks with cloth tassels from their ears. Around the outer edge is a band of rope pattern colored pale brown, set between pairs of lines which cross over into knots at four points. The interior of the bowl has inlaid decoration: around the rim between double lines a band of the same circle-and-short-dash ornament as on the foot; and in the center, beneath a jeweled coronet of fleurs de lis, a shield of the royal arms of France, *three fleurs de lis*, with the collar and badge of the order of Saint Michel.

Spreading cups of this "baluster-stem" form, with various kinds of inlaid and applied decoration, but more often with round rather than oval bowls, are one of the commonest surviving types of "Saint-Porchaire." The *coppes* mentioned in the Trémoille inventories cited in the introduction were perhaps a version of this form. Other surviving examples include, in the Musée du Louvre, one which has in the bowl the royal arms of France represented exactly as on the National Gallery cup, and another with three intertwined crescents;<sup>3</sup> one in the Hermitage;<sup>4</sup> one at Waddesdon Manor with the royal arms of France;<sup>5</sup> one formerly in the Hutteau d'Origny collection with three intertwined crescents;<sup>6</sup> and one in The Cleveland Museum of Art.<sup>7</sup> One of slightly different form in The Metropolitan Museum of Art has three intertwined crescents beneath a closed crown.<sup>8</sup> A further one in Rothschild family possession is reported to have the salamander device of François I, who died in 1547. Most or all of them probably once had covers; one of the Louvre examples still has its cover, and a detached and damaged cover is at Sèvres. The National Gallery example differs from the others chiefly in having applied sculptural masks on the sides of the bowl, as well as on the stem. The form was probably purely ornamental, rather than ever intended as a drinking vessel. Shallow covered footed cups were a form common in French Renaissance metalwork.<sup>9</sup>

The open crown over the royal arms is not a significant pointer of date, although it was unusual after the reign of Henri II. To judge from the coinage, the open crown was replaced gradually during the reigns of François I and Henri II by a closed crown. In discussing the transition from one form to the other, Michel François comments that in the bookbindings made for François I, "l'on retrouve le plus grand fantaisie dans les dessins des couronnes;" pottery is not likely to have been more meticulous.<sup>10</sup>

The decoration can be paralleled in sixteenth-century engraved ornament prints: for example, the dense "arabesque" or "moresque" scrollwork on the foot of the cup is comparable to prints by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (c. 1511–c. 1585), and the broader strapwork-and-tendrils decoration around the exterior of the bowl reflects the influence of Rosso Fiorentino's work at Fontainebleau and of works such as the *Livre contenant passement de moresques* . . . , published in 1563; equally close parallels are found in the gold-tooled decoration of contemporary bookbindings such as those made for the great book collector Jean Grolier and for the royal library of François I and Henri II in the 1540s and 1550s.<sup>11</sup> Bookbinding, ornament prints, and pottery all form part of a coherent Italianate stylistic language current at the French court in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, which also affected other art forms, such as textiles: a very detailed and broadly based study is still required to pinpoint the closest parallels to "Saint-Porchaire" ornament and the likeliest source for the potter's knowledge of the motifs.

The masks of women around the sides of the bowl occur on other examples; the design is compared by Jestaz to the armor of Henri II in the Musée du Louvre; he suggests that it is adapted from an image of Medusa. Grotesque masks of this type, broadly after the antique, were a commonplace of Italian High Renaissance design.<sup>12</sup>

More or less identical or similar grimacing masks in S-scrolling brackets occur on several pieces—cups, cup lids, ewers, and salts.<sup>13</sup> They may have a metalwork source, but no precise parallel has been noted. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue des tableaux anciens, tableaux modernes, objets d'art et de haute curiosité, importantes tapisseries composant la collection Engel-Gros*, Paris, 30 May–1 June 1921, no. 122, repro.

2. NGA provenance records state that this piece was in the "Lowengard collection. Sold Paris, 10 June 1910," and from the "Achille Leclercq collection." However, what sounds like the same piece was already mentioned by Bonnaffé in 1888 as in the collection of Engel-Gros. Neither the sale in Paris on 30 May 1904, following the death of Achille Leclercq, "antiquaire," nor the *Catalogue des tapisseries de Flandres . . . après décès de M. Lowengard*, sold on 10 June 1910, included any "Saint-Porchaire".

3. Delange and Delange 1861, nos. 28, 39.

4. From the Basilewski collection. N. Birioukova, *Musée de l'Hermitage: Les arts appliqués de l'Europe occidentale XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Leningrad, 1974), no. 54. Not in

Delange and Delange 1861.

5. Delange and Delange 1861, no. 40.

6. Delange and Delange 1861, no. 29.

7. Helen S. Foote, "Three Pieces of Henri II or Saint-Porchaire Ware," *BCMA* 38 (1951), 140–142. Not in Delange and Delange 1861.

8. No. 17.190.1746. Delange and Delange 1861, no. 41. See also note 13, page 249, in this volume.

9. John Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540–1620* (London, 1976), 182.

10. See Michel Dhenin, "La couronne de France après les monnaies," in *La monnaie, miroir des rois* [exh. cat., Hôtel de la Monnaie] (Paris, 1978), 213–214; Michel François, "Le pouvoir royal et l'introduction en France de la couronne fermée," *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres: Comptes Rendus* (1962), 409.

11. For parallels in ornament prints compare, for instance, nos. 421, 422, 456, and 457 in R. Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1926–1927). For parallels in bookbinders' ornamental repertoire, compare nos. 43 and 54 in Paul Needham, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings* (New York, 1979), and the numerous binders' stamps illustrated in *Bookbindings from the Library of Jean Grolier* [exh. cat., British Museum] (London, 1965). Jestaz 1975, 387–388, has pointed out that close parallels can also be drawn with Italian bookbinders' stamps used earlier, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. See also Hayward 1976, especially 174–180.

12. Jestaz 1975, 391–392, and n. 36. For the general type compare the drawings of masks attributed to the studio of Giulio Romano in Philip Pouncey and John Gere, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum; Raphael and His Circle* (London, 1962), nos. 143–145.

13. For example, Delange and Delange 1861, nos. 11, 16, 32, 33, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49.

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1888 Bonnaffé, Edmond. "Les faïences de Saint-Porchaire." *GBA*, 2d ser., 37(1888): 327 ("une coupe d'une forme originale à M. Engel-Gros de Bâle," presumably this piece).

1891 Bonnaffé 1891: 130.

1921 Dacier, Emile. "Les collections du Château de Ripaille, II; les sculptures et les objets d'art." *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 39 (1921): 314, repro. 319.

1921 "Les grandes ventes." *L'art et les artistes*, n.s., no. 17 (May 1921): 335.

1925 Ganz, Paul. *L'oeuvre d'un amateur d'art: La collection de Monsieur F. Engel-Gros. Catalogue raisonné*. Geneva and Paris, 1925: 421–423, 452; no. 101, pl. 148.

1935 Widener 1935: 69, as c. 1560.

1942 Widener 1942: 14, as c. 1560.

1975 Jestaz 1975: 396, n. 36.

1983 C. Wilson 1983: 204, no. 32, as c. 1555.

1987 Schnitzer 1987 [see "St.-Porchaire" bibliography]: 203, no. 49, pl. 29.

# Candlestick

1942.9.352 (C-77)

French, probably Saint-Porchaire (Deux-Sèvres) or Paris region

c. 1547/1559

Lead-glazed fine earthenware, h. 29.5 (11 $\frac{5}{8}$ ); base diam:

16.6 (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ )

Widener Collection

## LABELS

*Sir Anthony Rothschild No. 1*

## MARKS

Written on the underside: 18 (or possibly 81).

## TECHNICAL NOTES

The white body is impressed with decoration in a clay that shows through the glaze as brown verging on black. The candlestick is entirely covered in a somewhat crackled transparent glaze which has a green cast where it is pooled inside the recess for the candle. The design is heightened with touches of green, orange-brown, purple-brown, and blue-black. The candlestick is broken and repaired above the central swelling ridge with floriated bosses; otherwise it is virtually intact, with only minor repairs. Some cracking of the applied ornament has occurred in the kiln. There is a loose fragment rattling inside the stem.

## PROVENANCE

Edmé-Unité Jacquot-Préaux, Paris (sale, Paris, 9–11 June 1850, no. 188,<sup>1</sup> sold for 4900 francs); Sir Anthony Rothschild, Bart. [d. 1876], London; by inheritance to his nephew, Alfred de Rothschild [d. 1918], London; by inheritance to Alfred's illegitimate daughter, Almina (Wombwell), Countess of Carnarvon. (Sir Joseph Duveen); purchased June 1923 by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

## EXHIBITIONS

London, Society of Arts, 1850, *Works of Antient and Mediaeval Art* (*Catalogue of Works of Antient and Mediaeval Art exhibited at the House of the Society of Arts*, 20, no. 600). Manchester, Art Treasures Palace, 1857, *Art Treasures Exhibition*, no cat. South Kensington 1862, no. 1203.

The candlestick is elaborately built up in tiers, with inlaid and applied decoration. The impressed decoration is around the circular core of the candlestick, whereas the applied and sculptural motifs are arranged in threes. The technical analysis in the Appendix concludes that the candlestick is composed of at least 130 separately formed parts.

Around the edge of the base, reserved in white on a brown ground, is an inlaid band of curling foliate scrollwork with pairs of dolphins; this ornament is laid on in three exactly similar sections, each of which incorporates three pairs of dolphins; a short section is inserted to make up the full circle; there are therefore four seams, imperfectly meeting, two of which are close together. The seams run through the white clay, but are not readily visible in the brown clay (fig. 1).

On the upper surface of the foot are concentric bands of inlaid decoration between double lines: near the edge, a narrow band of rope pattern; within this, a band of angular knotwork; within this, as the base rises in a convex curve toward the shaft, a band of floriated scrollwork (identical to the ornament on the foot of the National Gallery's standing cup); within this a band of rope pattern; in the center, partly hidden by the next tier, a design of radiating balusters and floriated "arabesque" scrollwork (identical to that in the well of the National Gallery's salt). Reaching down to this "floor" from the tier above is an inverted finial with three non-functional scroll buttresses; on the finial is inlaid ornament consisting of a band of overlapping circles, a band of touching circles, each with a short horizontal dash where it touches the next one; a band of rope pattern, and a row of short vertical dashes. The next tier, surrounding the inverted finial, is a vertical cylinder, cut through with slanted arches and ornamented with angular interlace inlaid in reserve in white against a brown ground and incorporating simple quatrefoil flowers. Set against this cylinder are three applied scrolling brackets enclosing grinning masks of bearded men with scallop shells on their foreheads; between them are flying swags resting on scallop shells.

Above this tier is a ridge inlaid with a band of rope pattern on the lower surface and a band of overlapping circles on the upper surface. Cutting across this, and resting on the scrolling brackets on the tier below, are slabs with inlaid angular interlace decoration in white on a brown ground; these serve as pedestals for three virtually identical sculptural figures of naked boys, with legs crossed, wearing only inlaid necklaces; each boy's head is connected to the central shaft by a flying scrolling bracket. Each of the boys holds in his left hand a scrolling shield; the shields are inlaid with: a coroneted shield of the royal arms of France; a monogram of H and two Ds; and apparently *two keys crossed in saltire, in chief a coronet, dimidiating ermine*.



French, probably Saint-Porchaire (Deux-Sèvres) or Paris region, *Candlestick*, 1942.9.352

The next tier up the stem of the candlestick, behind the shields, is inlaid with an interlace pattern in white on a dark ground similar to that on the tier below, but incorporating (instead of the quatrefoils) the letter H repeated several times; through this tier are cut three deeply recessed windows. Above this tier is a ridge inlaid on the lower surface with rope pattern and on the upper surface with a band of touching circles, each with a short horizontal dash where it touches the next one. This ridge supports six pilaster buttresses, ornamented with chevron and circle motifs, with scallop shells at their base and capitals at their head. Behind these buttresses is a swelling ridge inlaid with stylized quatrefoil flowers; above this is a "gothic" arcade, behind which is partially visible the "Sacred Monogram," *ih̄s*, within a sunburst.

Above this the shaft swells out; on the swelling ridge are inlaid simple quatrefoil flowers, a band of rope pattern, a band of touching circles with short horizontal dashes where each touches the next one, a narrower band of rope pattern, and a band of styl-

ized quatrefoil flowers. The ridge has six applied bosses, each ornamented with an impressed six-petaled flower. Where the shaft narrows is a band of overlapping circles.

The next tier is supported on three scrolling brackets (which are restored over a break) and inlaid with a pattern of adjoining serrated diamonds, arranged in a star pattern and enclosing quatrefoils. Around this tier are three flying swags hanging from three applied lion masks. Behind the lion masks is a row of shallow vertical slots; above this, on the sloping upper surface of a ridge, is an inlaid floral crown. On the tier above, the stem has—reserved in white on a brown ground—*ih̄s* within a sunburst motif, surrounded (in a manner reminiscent of the arrangement of some Renaissance tile pavements) by elongated hexagons with illusionistic faceting. This design is repeated three times and flanked by three scrolling brackets supported on scallop shells.

Above this is a swelling ridge supported on applied spreading gadroons. The ridge is inlaid in white in reserve against a dark ground with formal



Fig. 1 1942.9.352, detail

floral scrollwork. Applied ridged curving pilasters culminating in scallop shells divide the surface into three sections, each of which has a pair of simple applied scrolls enclosing an applied leaf.

The topmost tier has inlaid decoration—reserved in white on a dark ground—consisting of squares surrounded by faceted hexagons; these squares contain *ihs* within a sunburst and coroneted shields of the royal arms of France. Cut through this tier are three deeply recessed windows with elaborate late Renaissance scrolled and garlanded window surrounds. At the top is a flange inlaid with overlapping circles on the upper surface and vertical slots in the underside. The recess for the candle is without decoration.

The overall form of this elaborately constructed candlestick, with its basically cylindrical shape covered with applied ornament in a triangular rhythm, is reminiscent of Italian metalwork, particularly bronze candlesticks. The archetype of such candlesticks was the great Paschal candlestick made by Riccio for the Basilica del Santo in Padua and finished in 1516; several other north Italian candlesticks of the first half of the century followed the same general type, combining triangular and circular elements in a tiered design.<sup>2</sup>

The monogram apparently representing an H and two Ds interlaced is one used by Henri II both as Dauphin and after he came to the throne in 1547. It has usually been interpreted as an H and two Ds standing for Henri and his mistress Diane de Poitiers. This interpretation, however, is controversial: it has been argued that the correct decipherment is H and two Cs, for Henri and his wife Catherine de Medici, whom he married in 1534; or that the Ds stand for, successively, Henri Dauphin (Henri became Dauphin on the death of his brother in 1536) and Henri Deux; or that a deliberate equivocation was intended in royal usage of the monogram.<sup>3</sup> The occurrence of the royal arms crowned makes it probable that the candlestick dates from after Henri's accession to the throne in 1547, and the monogram makes it likely that it predates his death in 1559.

The dimidiated arms on the shield held by one of the putti have not been identified with any certainty. The dexter arms, *gules two keys crossed in saltire argent, in chief a ducal coronet argent*, are recorded to have been borne by the family of Clermont-Dampierre. The arms were identified by Robinson in 1863 as those of "Diane or Jeanne de Vivonne wife of Claude de Clermont, Baron de Dampierre, born 1515, died 1583." Claude de Clermont, baron de Dampierre, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king, is recorded as having married

Jeanne de Vivonne, daughter of André de Vivonne, seneschal of the Poitou. The arms of Vivonne were *ermine, a chief gules*. Claude de Clermont is said to have died in 1545, and his wife was later made a Lady of Honor to Queen Louise, wife of King Henri III. Her mother was the daughter of Marie de Laval (d. 1488), so that Jeanne had a family link to the Laval-Montmorency family (see p. 245). There is no indication on the candlestick that a chief gules is included in the sinister part of the shield, but since the pottery maker had little means of indicating a change of color in the field of the shield, this is not a decisive objection to the identification. Nor is it seriously problematic that Claude de Clermont died in 1545 (probably too early for him to have owned the candlestick): by the rules of modern heraldry his widow would continue to use his arms alongside hers, placing them in a lozenge rather than a shield; but by the more flexible rules of sixteenth-century blazon, she might have continued to use them in a shield.<sup>4</sup> A square pillared salt of "Saint-Porchaire" type with the same arms, together with the DHD monogram, the royal arms of France, and the three crescents device, was offered for sale at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, on 13 March 1989, lot 207, and is now in a private collection in America.

At least three other candlesticks of "Saint-Porchaire" are known, all similar, but not identical in form. One of these, the closest to the National Gallery one, once in the Fontaine collection and now in the Dutuit collection at the Musée du Petit Palais in Paris, bears the arms of Montmorency undifferenced, probably for the head of the family, Anne de Montmorency, constable of France, together with the letter A, the royal arms of France, and the DHD monogram.<sup>5</sup> One in the Victoria and Albert Museum has the DHD monogram and royal arms of France.<sup>6</sup> The third, which was until recently in the possession of the Rothschild family, is of somewhat simpler design.<sup>7</sup> Another comparable standing piece is a so-called *bouquetier* in The Cleveland Museum of Art.<sup>8</sup>

Bearded masks set in concave scrolling brackets are similarly used on the other candlesticks, and also occur on salts and on a large bowl in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The idea is derived from north Italian bronzes by Riccio and associated artists.<sup>9</sup> The applied shells and flying swags are of the same origin. The figures of boys, which are used on all four known candlesticks and several salts, are Italianate—perhaps a distant echo of Michelangelo.<sup>10</sup>

As mentioned in the introduction, page 249, the present writer does not share the doubts that have been expressed about the authenticity of this object,



**Fig. 2** Charles Toft, *Candlestick with Masks and Cupids* (copy of Henry Deux ware), Minton factory, Stoke on Trent, England, Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1988.25.1, special collection

nor does the technical report in the Appendix support them.

In the mid-nineteenth century the National Gallery candlestick was one of the most famous and highly praised pieces of "Henri II" ware. Brongniart in 1844 wrote of it as "un grand chandelier, couvert de charmants ornements en relief." The Du Sommerards hailed it as a "veritable chef d'oeuvre de ce genre d'art," and Labarte in 1847 as "un chandelier d'une forme ravissante." The Préaux catalogue of 1850 described "cet objet remarquable par son ensemble autant que par la finesse des details... sans contredit, la plus belle pièce de toutes celles connues de cette précieuse faïence," and was echoed virtually verbatim that same year by Marryat: "for delicacy of detail and beauty of execution... unequalled by any specimen known of this exquisite fayence."

Candlesticks were a popular form for the nineteenth-century imitations of "Saint-Porchaire" made by Minton's of Stoke on Trent. A fine example of such an imitation, signed by Charles Toft and dated 1875, was recently presented to the National Gallery of Art by the Federation of Malaysia (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> Like Toft's other candlesticks, it was modeled on the example in the South Kensington (now Victoria and Albert) Museum, discussed above. T.H.W.

#### NOTES

1. *Catalogue de la précieuse collection d'objets d'art, d'antiquités et curiosités... composant le Cabinet de Monsieur Préaux*, Paris, 9–11 January 1850, no. 188.

2. See the examples illustrated by Leo Planiscig, *Andrea Riccio* (Vienna, 1927), figs. 373–377.

3. The monogram occurs regularly on royal bookbindings. It is described as referring to Henri and Diane by, for

instance, Paul Needham, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings* (New York, 1979), no. 59. The view that it should be read as H and two Cs and that it refers to Henri and Catherine is put by Charles Lenormant, "Observations sur une médaille de Catherine de Médicis," *Revue numismatique* 6 (1841), 424–433; an attempt to distinguish a Diane and a Catherine form of the monogram is made by Cyril Davenport, "The Book Cyphers of Henri II," *BurlM* 11 (1907), 243–244. See also Howard M. Nixon, *Sixteenth-Century Gold-Tooled Bookbindings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1971), 141–147. Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Henry II King of France 1547–1559* (Durham, N.C., and London, 1988) reasserts the view that the monogram must have referred to Diane. The motif was also used on Diane's Château d'Anet; Pierre D. Roussel *Histoire et description du Château d'Anet* (Paris, 1875), pl. facing 60.

4. South Kensington 1862, 100. This form of the Clermont arms, with the crown in chief, is recorded for Clermont-Dampierre by Gustave Rivoire de la Batie, *Armorial du Dauphiné* (Lyons, 1867), 160. For Claude de Clermont and his wife see André Du Chesne, *Histoire de la maison de Chastillon sur Marne* (Paris, 1621), 519–520; Jean Baptiste Pierre de Courcelles, *Histoire généalogique et héraldique des Pairs de France* (Paris, 1822–1833), vol. 7, 78, s.v. "Clermont," Henri Filleau, Henri Beauchet-Filleau, and Charles de Chergé, *Dictionnaire historique biographique et généalogique de l'ancien Poitou*, 4 vols. (Poitiers, 1840–1854), 2:815. See also André Du Chesne, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Montmorency et de Laval* (Paris, 1624), 603–604. John Goodall notes that the crossed keys with the crown in chief were borne at least from the end of the fourteenth century by Clermont of Surgères, usually with a quartering for Surgères (François Eygun, *Sigillographie de Poitou* [Poitiers, 1936], no. 248–250), but that, as a descendant of a younger son of this family, Claude de Clermont would not have borne the Surgères quartering. An alternative identification, which seems less likely but has not been positively ruled out, would connect the arms on the candlestick with François de la Chaste, who is stated to have borne the Clermont crossed keys with *in chief a fleur de lis* in a shield; see Pierre Anselme de la Vièrge Marie, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1726–1733), 8:932. The dimidiation could in this case refer to the fact that he was Seigneur de la Brosse, the arms of the de Brosse family of Poitou, which also had links with the Lavals, were *ermine entire*; see Filleau, Beauchet-Filleau, and de Chergé 1840–1854, 1:494. Re-

search on armorial jetons of the period may possibly elucidate these arms.

5. Inv. no. Dutuit 1126; Delange and Delange 1861, no. 20; repro. Fourest 1969, 13.

6. Reg. no. 261–1864; Delange and Delange 1861, no. 21; King 1868, pl. 6. The upper part of the candlestick looks likely to be the work of a restorer.

7. Delange and Delange 1861, no. 22; Couturier and Nicolay sale catalogue, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 15 June 1988, no. 36. The notebook list of "Saint-Porchaire" compiled by Louis Dimier in the Bibliothèque Nationale, ref. Est. Lf 56 (11), mentions as no. 59 a fifth candlestick, with shields with the cypher of Henri II, as being in the collection of Alphonse de Rothschild. No detailed information on this piece is published, and no comment on its authenticity can be made. Schnitzer 1987 (see "St.-Porchaire" bibliography), no. 12, fig. 33, illustrates a fragment from another candlestick, formerly in Lord Swaythling's collection.

8. Delange and Delange 1861, no. 15; Helen S. Foote, "Three Pieces of Henri II or Saint-Porchaire Ware," *BCMA* 38 (1951), 132–142. Examination by Shelley Sturman suggests that this piece is composite.

9. For the brackets compare Delange and Delange 1861, nos. 23, 49, 10; also the salts in the Musée du Louvre (Jestaz 1975, figs. 13, 16) and the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris (Bonnaffé 1891, 2: 132, no. 4, pl. 2). For the bronze originals see Jestaz 1975, figs. 12, 14; Planiscig 1927, fig. 373. Dr. Mirjam Foot points out (personal communication) that comparable motifs also occur on Paris bookbindings of the 1550s and 1560s.

10. Schnitzer 1987 (see "St.-Porchaire" bibliography), 41–42, suggests that the design goes back to Michelangelo's bronze Hercules, which was sent to France c. 1530/1531.

11. Special collection, 1988.25.1. The candlestick was sold at Weschler's estate auction, Washington, D.C., 20–22 May 1988, no. 857. It is 13½ in. (34.3 cm) in height. A typescript discussion of the Toft candlestick by Sarah Goldfine is in NGA curatorial files. I owe to Paul Atterbury the information that the imitation of "Henri II ware" was introduced to Minton's by the French émigré Léon Arnoux (who had worked at the Sèvres factory). Arnoux taught Charles Toft, who produced numerous pieces, especially in the 1870s. Other Toft candlesticks from the same model include a pair sold at Sotheby's, London, 16/23 June 1987, no. 539; and a slightly later one by Toft and Cope sold by Phillips, London, 10 June 1987,

no. 177; see the pieces in Elizabeth Aslin and Paul Atterbury, *Minton 1798–1910* [exh. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum] (London, 1976), 50–52, nos. G8–G13, all dating from the 1870s.

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- 1935 Widener 1935: 69, as c. 1560.
- 1942 Widener 1942: 14, as c. 1560.
- 1975 Jestaz 1975: 396, n. 31.
- 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 204, no. 34, as c. 1555.
- 1987 Schnitzer 1987 [see "St.-Porchaire" bibliography]: 204, no. 67, 207, pl. 32, as of dubious authenticity.

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## Technical Appendix II: The “Saint-Porchaire” ceramics

The technological development of “Saint-Porchaire” ceramics is complex and difficult to trace. Little historic documentation exists, particularly in primary sources. Furthermore, everything from the origin, patrons, and manufacturing locale of these wares to their identity as ceramics has been questioned repeatedly. Most contemporary ceramic historians agree that the pieces are handmade from multiple clay sections, and that the three-dimensional attachments, masks, figures, insects, rosettes and so on were made separately and added. The complex manufacturing process has never adequately been explained, however, even though theories about the production have often been included in the literature on “Saint-Porchaire” ceramics.

Pottier, writing in 1839, claimed that the inlay or “incrustation” design was printed, using molds or raised wheels.<sup>1</sup> He compared the technique to *champlevé* or niello in metalworking. Brongniart, the first to publish an analytical discussion of the composition, discussed a contemporary porcelain replica that he believed might reproduce the original “Saint-Porchaire” inlay technique.<sup>2</sup> First, he claimed, the shape was modeled in plaster and the areas to be inlaid were incised. A mold was then taken from the model and impressed with white body paste. The body was inlaid with colored paste and prefabricated decorative elements in a complex process.

Clément de Ris proposed that the superficial inlay might have been created through tracing and transfer work,<sup>3</sup> while Jestaz suggested that the designs were formed by striking the surface, once it had reached a leather-hard state, with stamps simi-

lar to those used in contemporary Italian bookbinding, and then filling the resulting cavity with colored paste.<sup>4</sup> Molds of wood and metal are believed to have been used to inlay decoration in floor tiles, and some scholars have suggested that the roots of stamped inlay are to be found in traditional French tile production rather than Italian bookbinding.<sup>5</sup> It has also been claimed that the inlay on “Saint-Porchaire” ceramics is reminiscent of tiled floors from the chapel of the Château Oiron, constructed between 1530 and 1550.<sup>6</sup> However, the decoration, while similar, is painted rather than incised.<sup>7</sup>

Not until the 1950s was the observation made that a superficial clay “skin”<sup>8</sup> was decorated with stamped and inlaid designs and then laminated to the body of the ceramic.<sup>9</sup> For curved areas, the skin section was cut into trapezoids before being applied, so that it would more easily conform to the rounded form of the body beneath. For enhanced adhesion, the surfaces of the two parts being joined were scored (keyed), as seen on a lid fragment at Sèvres.

The following analyses attempt to reconstruct the methods and sequences of fabrication of each of the three National Gallery vessels. Nondestructive analysis was performed using optical microscopy and x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) of the surface textures and xeroradiography of the internal structures. Microscopic samples were taken for destructive analysis. These samples were analyzed using thermoluminescence dating (TL), x-ray diffraction (XRD), electron beam microprobe, scanning electron microscopy (SEM) with energy dispersive x-ray analysis (EDX), and refiring tests.

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### COMPOSITION

#### Clay Bodies

The clay bodies of the National Gallery pieces are similar in composition. They are, moreover, consistent with analyses thought to be from a cup lid in the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres<sup>10</sup> and of a ewer in the British Museum,<sup>11</sup> as shown in Table 1.<sup>12</sup>

Kaolinite is the likely clay fraction in the bodies. All three “Saint-Porchaire” ceramics were analyzed using XRD:<sup>13</sup> the samples contained quartz and the

salt cellar, possible kaolinite.<sup>14</sup> Examination using the SEM<sup>15</sup> showed stacked hexagonal platelets with a particle size range of 0.5 to 10 microns, as is also characteristic of kaolinite (fig. 1). Rounded quartz particles and muscovite mica inclusions were also present in the body as minor constituents. Because their total volume is less than 10%, they are probably natural inclusions in the clay rather than inten-

**Table I: White Bodies**  
(composition listed as weight percent)

	SiO <sub>2</sub>	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	CaO	MgO	K <sub>2</sub> O	Na <sub>2</sub> O	FeO	TiO <sub>2</sub>	P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	PbO	SnO <sub>2</sub>	Total
<b>Salt</b> (1942.9.353) analysis #1 (60 analyses)	50.09 (3.15)	36.18 42.69 (3.25)	1.74 (0.54)	0.58 0.29 (0.09)	1.29 (0.13)	0.29 (0.37)	0.77 (0.11)	0.84 0.45 (0.71)	BDL	NA	NA	97.61
analysis #2*	58.87 (1.70)	36.18 (1.70)	0.57 (0.20)	0.58 (0.04)	1.78 (0.41)	0.33 (0.16)	0.85 (0.11)	0.84 (0.71)	-	-	-	99.94
<b>Cup</b> (1942.9.351) analysis #1 (45 analyses)	55.73 (2.23)	39.62 (1.30)	0.62 (0.23)	0.49 (0.09)	0.99 (0.20)	NA	0.46 (0.08)	NA	0.76 (0.15)	NA	BDL	99.43
analysis #2*	57.27 (1.86)	39.0 (1.87)	0.47 (0.08)	0.59 (0.04)	1.46 (0.15)	0.31 (0.03)	0.56 (0.07)	0.32 (0.05)	-	-	-	99.99
<b>Candlestick</b> (1942.9.352) analysis #1 (60 analyses)	59.03 59.53 (6.62)	36.90 37.03 (5.28)	0.37 (0.24)	0.56 (0.12)	0.93 (0.13)	BDL	0.51 (0.12)	NA	NA	0.8 (0.21)	0.02 (0.02)	99.75
analysis #2*	59.03 (5.52)	36.90 (5.27)	0.42 (0.16)	0.62 (0.05)	0.92 (0.21)	0.30 (0.10)	0.67 (0.28)	1.19 (1.46)	-	-	-	100.12
<b>Ewer,</b> British Museum (1948, 12-3, 53) (Tite)	59.0	37.8	0.7	0.4	0.9	< 0.2	0.7	0.5	-	-	-	99.90
<b>Cup Lid,</b> Sèvres (Brongniart and Salvétat)	59.0	40.24	Point	Point	-	-	Trace	-	-	-	-	+99.24

**Key:** NA=not analyzed BDL=below detection limit of about 0.06

Numbers in parentheses refer to standard deviation.

\*These analyses were performed by Richard Newman, Research Laboratory, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

tional temper additions. That the quartz particles were rounded and the clay platelets stacked indicates that the clay body probably was not prepared by grinding. This in turn implies that it was used in its natural state without adding different constituents.

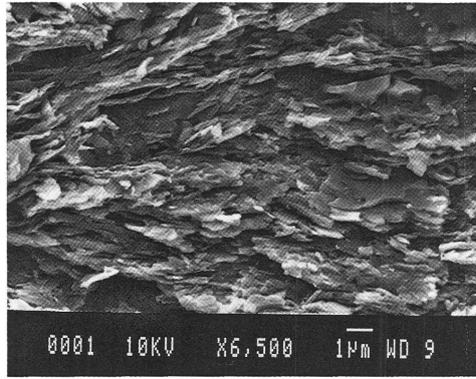
In the 1854 analyses of non-calcareous French refractory clays published by Brongniart and Salvétat, only three of the clays had alumina-silica ratios and trace elements similar to those found in the National Gallery "Saint-Porchaire" clay bodies.<sup>16</sup> From Brongniart's work it appears that the refractory clays used in the "Saint-Porchaire" objects are not common. This suggests that this clay was carefully selected and that the Washington clay bodies may in fact have come from the same source. Salvétat describes the clay as an excellent pipe clay, porous

enough when fired to absorb residues from tobacco and sufficiently refractory to avoid thermal shock when rapidly heated. Pipes made of such clay were brittle, however, and easily broken.

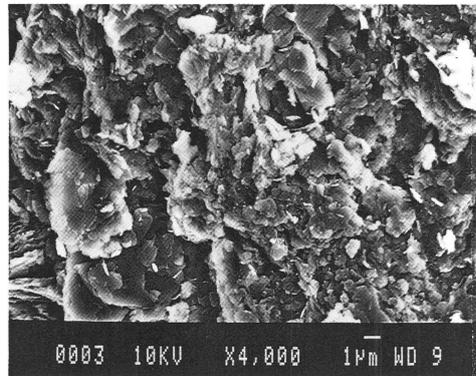
These coarse-particled, refractory kaolinitic clays are difficult to work and not very plastic, compared with the easily formed, calcium-rich or marly clays that are common in France. However, the large sizes of the particles of clay mean that there are very few water films per unit length of clay body, so that the clay shrinks very little during drying. Because the "Saint-Porchaire" pieces are made in so many parts that must be fitted and joined together, these clays are ideal even though they are difficult to form and require an experienced potter.

The microstructure of the body of the salt cellar is a coarse-particled clay with jagged edges. The ra-

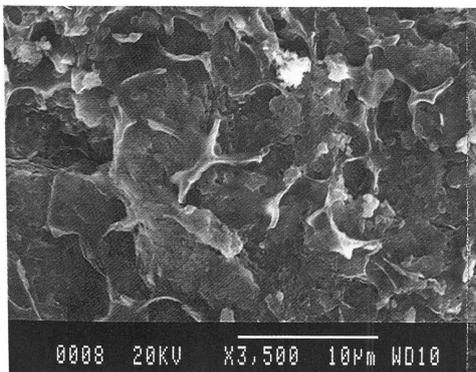
**Fig. 1** SEM micrograph of the salt showing stacked hexagonal plates with particle size range of 0.5 to 10.0 microns, characteristic of kaolinite



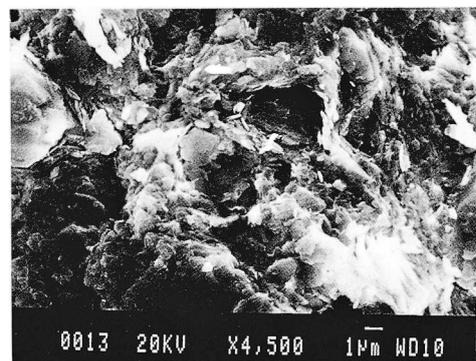
**Fig. 2** SEM micrograph of the salt showing coarse-particled clay with almost no glass formation



**Fig. 3** SEM micrograph of the cup showing linear and Y-shaped glassy elements formed in the contact regions between particles



**Fig. 4** SEM micrograph of the candlestick showing an intermediate firing stage between the salt and the cup. Some rounding of clay particles can be seen



tios of alumina to silica are approximately 0.85 and 0.61, with only traces of calcia, magnesia, soda, and potassia. In addition, analyses of different regions of a sample are nearly the same, showing that a very homogeneous clay was used. The firing temperature of this refractory clay was very low. It has a Moh's hardness of 3 and is soft enough to be scratched with a fingernail. Almost no glass formed during firing to consolidate the clay body, and the clay particles have not rounded (fig. 2). In refiring a chip of the body, the microstructure did not become rounded and glassy until 1100°C; hence a maximum firing temperature of about 950°–1050°C for the salt cellar is indicated.<sup>17</sup> No evidence for a bisque firing is found in the microstructure, and in fact the fabric is extremely fragile.<sup>18</sup> The porous body is essentially held together and strengthened by the lead glaze that surrounds it.

The microstructure of a fragment from the cup shows that its firing temperature was slightly higher than that of the salt cellar. The ratios of alumina to silica are 0.71 and 0.68, with the same minor elements as described for the salt. These ratios are similar to that resulting from Salvétat's analysis. Sufficient glass formed to join clay particles together. Note the linear and Y-shaped glassy elements formed in the contact regions between particles in the scanning electron micrograph of a fresh fractured surface sample (fig. 3). In further evidence of the higher firing temperature, the edges of the clay particles have become rounded as they dissolve to form a cohesive network of glass. Although fired higher than the salt cellar, the cup is still soft enough to be scratched with a fingernail; it has a Moh's hardness of 4 and is held intact by the glaze.

The microstructure of the candlestick shows an intermediate firing temperature somewhere between those of the salt and the cup (fig. 4). The candlestick has alumina to silica ratios of 0.62 and 0.63, which closely match that of the British Museum ewer.

## Glaze

The glaze (high lead with a few percent alumina and negligible alkali) was applied slightly less than 0.1 mm. thick, after the pieces were assembled.<sup>19</sup> It is characterized by a fine mesh pattern of craze lines, about 0.5 to 1.5 mm. apart, probably induced by differential thermal expansion. These fine cracks indicate that the glaze shrank more than the body during cooling. The three National Gallery pieces and the ewer analyzed at the British Museum have similar glaze compositions (see Table II). The standard deviations for some measurements (as indicated in parentheses, Table II) may reflect a difference in the homogeneity of the glazes.

**Table II: Glazes**  
(composition listed as weight percent)

	SiO <sub>2</sub>	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	CaO	MgO	K <sub>2</sub> O	Na <sub>2</sub> O	FeO	P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	PbO	SnO <sub>2</sub>	Total
<b>Salt</b> (1942.9.353) 15 analyses	40.1 (5.15)	7.50 (3.55)	0.58 (0.16)	0.46 (0.25)	1.02 (0.30)	0.28 (0.09)	0.65 (0.15)	0.2 (0.09)	48.85 (11.46)	0.14 (0.07)	99.78
<b>Cup</b> (1942.9.351) 30 analyses	36.48 (2.21)	6.79 (2.36)	0.46 (0.05)	0.2 (0.02)	0.48 (0.13)	0.19 (0.07)	2.17* (0.43)	0.24 (0.05)	50.39 (2.16)	0.17 (0.06)	97.39
<b>Candlestick</b> (1942.9.352) 60 analyses	38.02 (3.5)	6.07 (3.3)	0.40 (0.06)	0.27 (0.03)	0.44 (0.11)	0.25 (0.08)	0.68 (0.08)	0.27 (0.05)	52.35 (3.26)	0.25 (0.08)	98.75
<b>Ewer,</b> British Museum (1948, 12-3, 53) (Tite)	36.8	5.7	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.4	NA	56.0	NA	100.00

**Key:** NA=not analyzed

Numbers in parentheses refer to standard deviation.

\*Higher iron content due to migration from colored inlay.

## DATING

The pieces in the National Gallery were analyzed using thermoluminescence. The probable last firing dates were determined to be 1564 ( $\pm 85$ ) for the cup, 1619 ( $\pm 80$ ) for the salt cellar, and 1639 ( $\pm 100$ ) for the candlestick, confirming a sixteenth- to seventeenth-century date.<sup>20</sup>

Thermoluminescence dating is a method used to determine the age of fired ceramics based on radioactive elements (uranium 238, thorium 232, and po-

tassium 40) that occur as impurities in natural clays. A sample of the fired clay is heated, causing the stored energy to be released as visible light, called *thermoluminescent glow*. By measuring the intensity of this light output and comparing it to thermoluminescence induced by known amounts of radioactivity, the time elapsed since the ceramic's last firing can be estimated.<sup>21</sup>

## METHOD OF MANUFACTURE

### The Salt

The salt cellar (1942.9.353) is constructed in three main sections: the upper section containing the bowl, the hexagonal container, and the molded feet and base (figs. 5, 6, 7). The three parts were probably formed simultaneously and then joined, since had

they been formed at different times, the joints would have cracked from differential shrinkage.

The bowl of the upper section appears to have been thrown on a wheel. The center of the bowl was impressed with a single, circular stamp, and inlaid

with reddish brown paste (fig. 8). (The same motif appears on the boss in the center of the base of the candlestick.) Two concentric circles surrounding the central design were incised by hand and inlaid with reddish brown paste. The outer bands, composed of repeated circular motifs,<sup>22</sup> were likewise stamped into the clay, enhanced with simple hand-drawn incisions, and filled with reddish brown paste (fig. 9). A ropelike pattern was then incised on the exterior of the rim.

The bowl is joined to a hexagonal basal slab using two coils. The upper coil is formed from three sections, approximately 6.5 cm. wide, and adhered to



Fig. 5 Salt cellar (4¾ in. high, 12 cm.)

the bowl by scoring and pressing.<sup>23</sup> Each of the three sections was stamped five times and inlaid with reddish brown paste prior to the assembly of the coil (fig. 10). An ochre wash was painted over the pattern of white outlines, changing the color. The ochre wash in several places does not conform precisely to the outline, leaving the underlying white paste visible at the edges of the lines. Likewise, some areas intended to be left white were accidentally painted. A misregistration of the pattern at the join indicates that the coil was shortened to fit the bowl (fig. 11). Once the bowl and coils had been joined together, they were set onto a hexagonal slab that formed the top of the hexagonal container. A diamond and quatrefoil pattern, approximately 6.5 x 6.1 mm., was stamped into the six corners of the slab and inlaid with reddish brown paste (fig. 12). A circular piece was cut away from the center of the hexagonal slab to accommodate the base of the bowl and lower coil. Like the rim, the lower coil was incised in a rope pattern. Sea shells, probably formed in a small mold with incisions added by hand, were added on the exterior and painted with a green wash.<sup>24</sup>

The hexagonal container, built around three figurines, was assembled at the same time as the upper section. It was assembled by scoring and pressing together preformed slabs without adding paste or coils. Instead, braces in the form of fluted columns

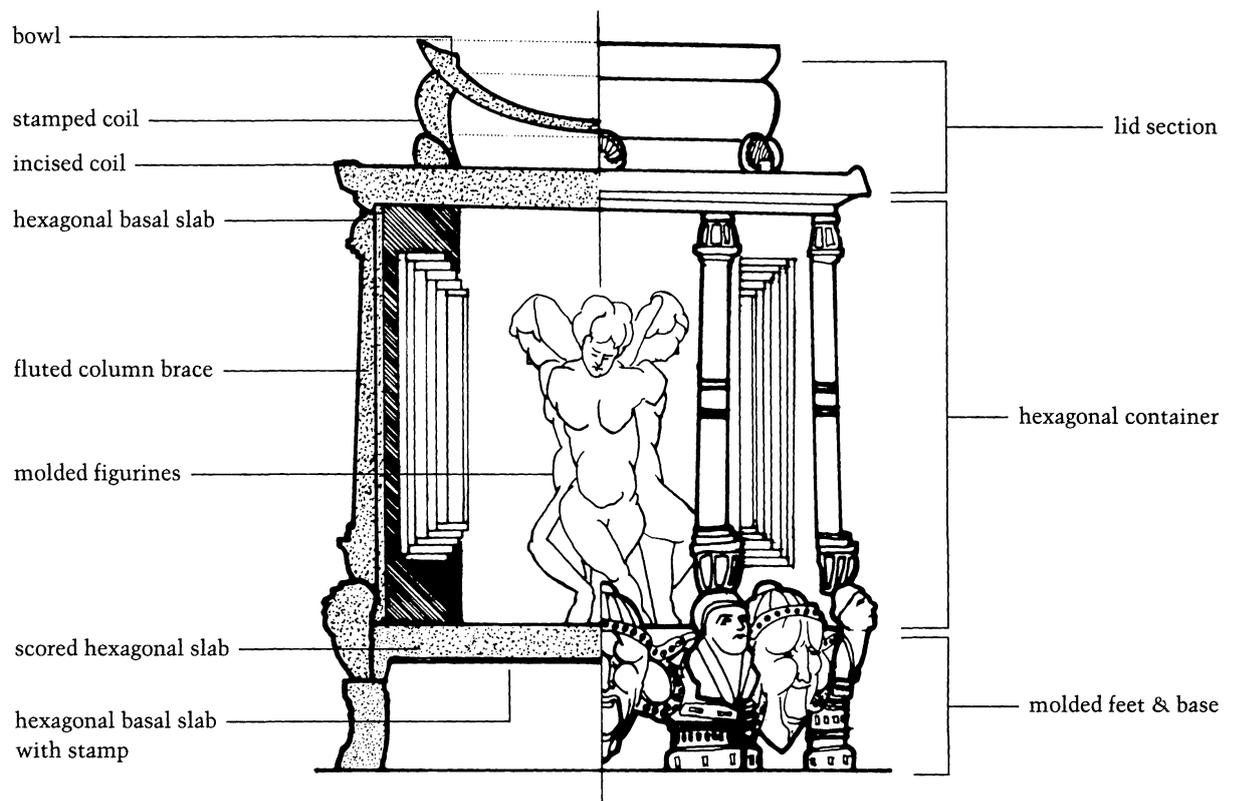


Fig. 6 Composite drawing of the salt

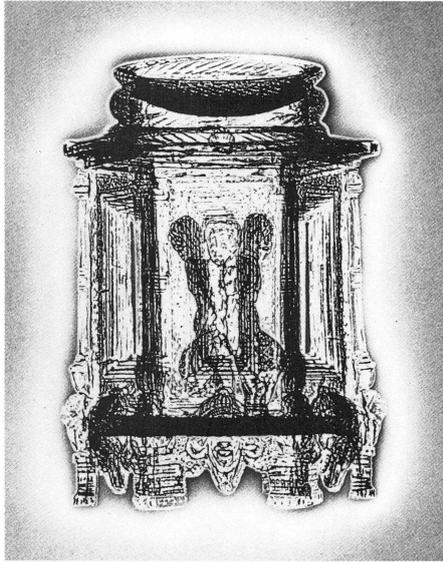


Fig. 7 Positive xeroradiograph of the salt



Fig. 8 Circular stamp, radiating balusters and floriated arabesque scrollwork, which decorates center of salt bowl and base of candlestick



Fig. 9 Repeated circular stamps enhanced with radial incisions from salt bowl, interior rim of cup bowl, base of cup, and inverted bowl of candlestick



Fig. 10 Interlace pattern stamped on coil below salt bowl

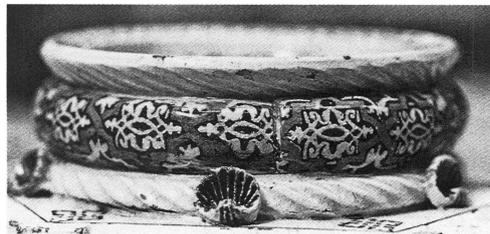


Fig. 11 Coil below bowl of salt illustrating shortening of coil and misregistration of pattern. It also indicates coil was predecorated



Fig. 12 Diamond stamp with quatrefoil center from six corners of hexagonal slab below lid section of salt



Fig. 13 Hexagonal container of salt supported by fluted columns



Fig. 14 Reddish-brown and white foliate scroll stamp that flanks recessed windows of salt

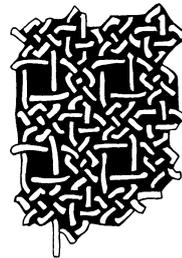


Fig. 15 Angular interlace pattern reminiscent of tilework from underside of salt and from cylinders and pedestals of candlestick

were added on the exterior for support, and were painted with a yellow ocher wash (fig. 13). Each of the six slabs has a recessed, rectangular window. The window frames are decorated with a reddish brown and white stamped foliate scroll pattern (fig. 14). At the corners, where the stamped design did not quite match, it was incised by hand. During the time required to incise, inlay, and form the windows, the clay body dried somewhat, the slabs warped slightly, and several drying cracks formed at right angles to the windows.

Through the windows, three figurines are visible inside the container. These were molded in an open-face mold, bent forward, joined together, and placed on a scored hexagonal slab.<sup>25</sup> A yellow ocher wash was applied unevenly over the surface of the figurines. Drip patterns from one direction suggest that the figures may have been dipped into a container of wash.

The piece was then turned upside down and the hexagonal basal slab, decorated with a single angular interlace stamp reminiscent of tilework and applied as a "skin," was added (fig. 15). That the hexagon had been cut from a larger, decorated slab is evident from distortions in the design at the edges. The recessed areas of the stamped design had been filled with reddish brown paste. The colored inlay shrank, leaving the white pattern as a raised surface.

Next, the feet were joined to the double-layered base. Each foot was made of two hand-modeled pieces decorated with incised lines. Molded busts linked by purple grapes and green garlands, articulated by repeatedly stamping the clay with circular stamps of two different diameters,<sup>26</sup> connect the six columns of the container to the feet. Busts painted entirely in yellow ocher alternate with busts having only purple drapery. Molded, large-eared masks are attached to the base between the feet. Together, the feet and decorative elements at the base form a clay band that supports and strengthens the container.

## Colorants

The reddish brown inlays in the bowl and lid coils bordering the windows and on the base were made of the type of clay used for the body with iron added as a colorant. The ocher wash on the coil and columns was also made using iron as a colorant.<sup>27</sup> It appears that the paler ocher on the interior figures and on the busts atop the feet was a more dilute iron-containing wash.

The sea shells on the lid and the garlands on the base were painted with a copper-containing green. Manganese wash was used to paint the purple drapery on some of the busts and the purple grapes; a bit dripped accidentally onto the rim of the bowl.

## The Cup

The cup (1942.9.351) is composed of at least sixty separately formed elements, including coils, slabs, and molded elements (figs. 16, 17, 18). It was made in three major sections, as seen in the xeroradiograph and composite drawing: the thrown and embellished base; the central stem, made of a small thrown vase, incised coils, and molded decoration; and the oval bowl, which was constructed in several layers and parts. All of these sections were constructed concurrently and then joined together when they were a similar wetness. The xeroradiographs<sup>28</sup> show that the rim and the area where the stem and cup join have been repaired. An inner support, possibly of metal, probably inserted at this time, is clearly evident in the xeroradiograph (fig. 18).

Circumferential and spiral throwing ridges on the bottom of the base indicate that it was thrown on a wheel. (Similar marks can be made by trimming, on the wheel, a pot that may not have been thrown.) Diagonal stretch marks further show that the top of the base was rotated relative to the bottom during throwing, that the clay body was quite wet, and that a considerable amount of force was applied by the potter's hands in throwing. Three small radial cracks occur at the point of greatest curvature, where stress would have been concentrated during drying. Another crack occurs on the underside of the base where it joins the stem; this circumferential crack may have been caused by differential drying shrinkage between the wetter top stem and the base. Four coils incised with rope patterns were added to the base at different levels. On the bottom of the piece, faceted trimming marks and several small, dark, adhering bits of clay, evidence of the supports used during firing to prevent the piece from sticking to the kiln, can be seen.



Fig. 16 Cup (5 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. high, 13.6 cm.)

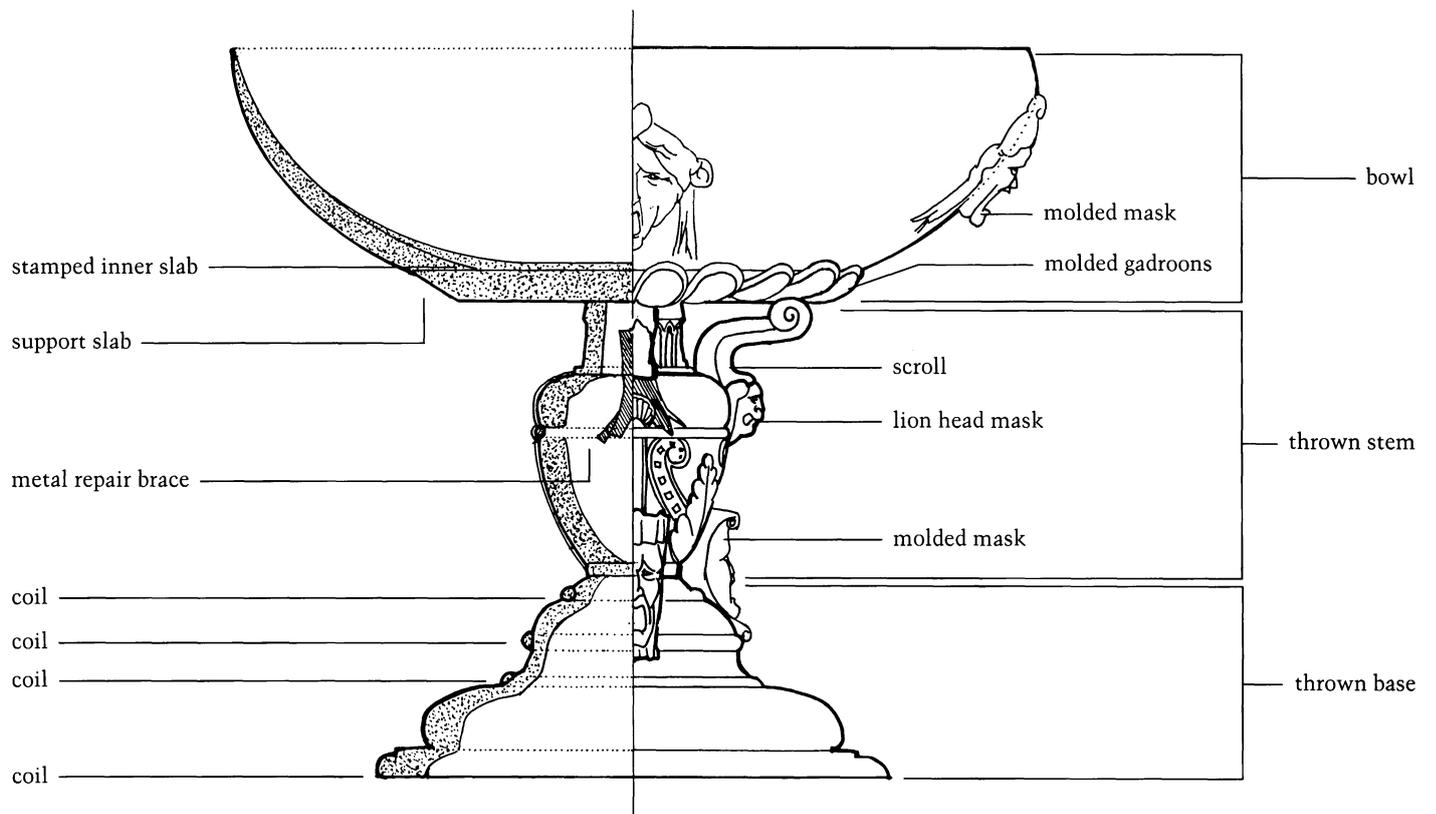


Fig. 17 Composite drawing of cup

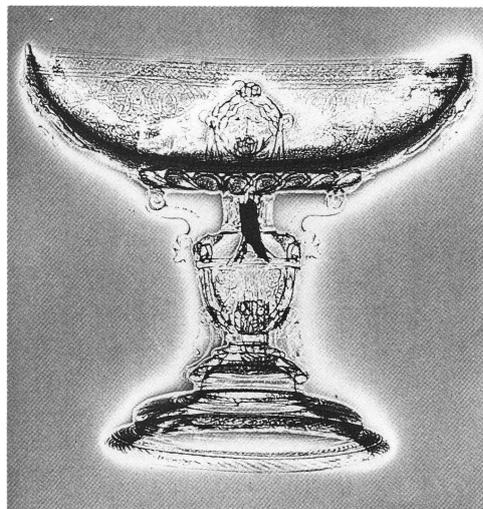


Fig. 18 Positive xeroradiograph of cup



Fig. 19 Hand-drawn guilloche from the base and bowl rim of the cup, and from several bands on the candlestick base

The lowest band of inlaid decoration on the base consists of a hand-drawn guilloche, bordered on either side by an incised line filled with brown paste (fig. 19). That the pattern was drawn freehand is proven by the varying thicknesses of the lines as well as by scattered errors. The penultimate brown-inlaid band is composed of a repeated, overlapping, stamped pattern bordered by incised double lines above and below (fig. 20). These lines were probably made by centering the base on a turntable and incising as the wheel was slowly rotated. The overlap varies with each repetition of the stamp. The same pattern, without overlap, is used in a similar position on the base of the candlestick.

The next band uses the same circular motif that appears on the rim of the salt (fig. 9). Here, however, the circles are slightly smaller<sup>29</sup> and the inner radial line is stamped, unlike the hand-incised variant on the salt. The uppermost band of decoration on the base is formed by adding small strips of an inlaid clay "skin" onto the surface; the joint between the strips occurs halfway between the masks. The white "skin" was impressed repeatedly with a stamped ornamental pattern arranged around crosses of four outward facing arrows and inlaid with brown paste (fig. 21). Another distortion in the design is present as a diagonal cut where the "skin" was bent to conform to the convex curvature of the base (fig. 22).



Fig. 20 Floriated arabesque scrollwork stamp from base of cup and candlestick



Fig. 21 Ornamental pattern arranged around crosses formed from four outward-facing arrows on base and stem of cup



Fig. 22 Misalignment of stamped ornamental pattern where "skin" cut to conform to convex curvature of base; see also applied coils with ropelike incisions

Once the decoration of this zone had been completed, a ropelike coil was added above and below, covering the edges of the design. Three applied molded masks, which serve both as a visual transition and as a structural brace, link the base to the stem.

The stem, which resembles a small vase, was thrown on a wheel. Surface decoration on the body of the vase is identical to that on the upper band of the base, described above, and was applied in the same manner. The neck of the vase is decorated with an elaborate quatrefoil stamp impressed into brown paste and filled with white paste (fig. 23). That it, too, was applied as a clay "skin" is evidenced in the joints and distortions in the pattern, which are covered by the molded lion heads at the base of blue scrolls and green sea shells. The lower pattern is covered by applied pilasters, yellow scrolls, and molded green leaves. The neck of the vase is decorated with incisions intended to resemble arched windows.

Joining the bowl to the stem, while hiding its basal slab, are molded petals (gadroons), which distribute the weight of the bowl over a wider area. Each petal was enhanced with an inlaid floral pattern made of five stamped circles<sup>30</sup> (fig. 24). Two short brackets between the bowl and stem support the narrow dimension; two larger brackets, ending in separately molded lion's heads, support the longer dimension of the bowl.

The bowl, which was constructed in several layers and parts, is not perfectly centered over the base as the three-part symmetry of the base changes to four-part on the bowl. A small amount of distortion also occurred during drying, further emphasizing the asymmetrical appearance. To form the bowl, the clay was probably set into an open-face oval mold. At the bottom of the mold a small oval basal slab, intended to strengthen the base, had previously been set. The bowl is decorated on the exterior with interlace strapwork drawn through a thin template onto clay "skins" inlaid with brown paste and applied in quadrants<sup>31</sup> (fig. 25). The edges of the four "skins" were butt-joined, and the misregistration of the seams is partially hidden by applied masks<sup>32</sup> (fig. 26). All four masks have yellow hair, while the tassels over their ears alternate between purple on the ends of the bowl and blue on the sides. Each of the quadrant patterns, including the guilloche around the rim set against an ochre background (the same as the guilloche on the base, fig. 19), was incised by hand into the clay and inlaid with brown paste.

An oval clay "skin," already inlaid with the royal arms of France, was set into the bottom of the interior of the bowl (fig. 27). It was smoothed into place by tamping until it became flush with the surface<sup>33</sup>



Fig. 23 Elaborate quatrefoil motif on stem of cup



Fig. 24 Floral motifs stamped on gadroons linking stem to bowl of cup



Fig. 25 Interlace strapwork with tendrils and applied masks from exterior of cup bowl



Fig. 26 Underside of cup bowl showing interlace strapwork partially hidden by molded masks; see also floral motifs stamped on gadroons supporting bowl, S-scroll brackets with lion's heads, and quatrefoil stamp on shoulder of stem



Fig. 27 Royal arms of France set into bottom of cup bowl

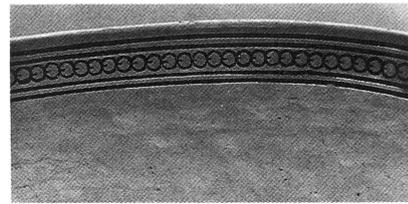


Fig. 28 Tamp marks on an interior of cup bowl

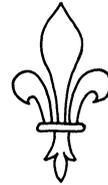


Fig. 29 Fleur-de-lis stamped on interior of cup bowl



Fig. 30 Double shell stamp from interior of cup bowl

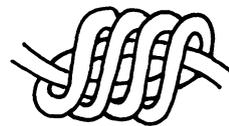


Fig. 31 Coiled rope stamp from interior of cup bowl



Fig. 32 Chevron stamp from interior of cup bowl

**Table III: Colored Inlays**  
(composition listed as weight percent)

	SiO <sub>2</sub>	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	CaO	MgO	K <sub>2</sub> O	Na <sub>2</sub> O	FeO	TiO <sub>2</sub>	P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub>	PbO	SnO <sub>2</sub>	CuO	Total
<b>Cup, sample #1</b> (1942.9.351) 30 analyses	49.67 (6.38)	32.74 (6.52)	0.66 (0.16)	0.51 (0.18)	2.03 (0.43)	NA	11.0 (8.7)	NA	0.24 (0.09)	0.81 (0.25)	0.06 (0.03)	BDL	97.72
<b>Cup, sample #2</b> (1942.9.351) 30 analyses	52.97 (26.67)*	30.1 (14.43)	2.41 (3.6)	0.41 (0.19)	1.34 (0.85)	NA	7.51 (4.13)	NA	0.96 (0.31)	0.96 (0.31)	BDL	BDL	96.66
<b>Candlestick</b> (1942.9.352) 30 analyses	54.61 (0.78)	30.30 (0.63)	0.80 (0.10)	0.5 (0.08)	0.75 (0.09)	0.27 (0.06)	9.08 (0.19)	0.72 (0.12)	NA	NA	NA	BDL	97.03
<b>Ewer,</b> British Museum (1948, 12-3, 53) (Tite)	59.6	24.9	0.5	0.4	1.9	0.5	11.0	1.2	-	-	-	-	100.00

Key: NA=not analyzed BDL=below detection limit

Numbers in parentheses refer to standard deviation.

\*High standard deviation reflects inhomogeneity and porosity in the sample.

(fig. 28). The outline of the shield, the cross-hatching above it, and the contour of the crown, including the fleurs-de-lis, were hand drawn. The three fleurs-de-lis inside the shield were stamped (fig. 29), as were each of the alternating double shell (fig. 30) and coiled rope (fig. 31) motifs of the collar. The circular jewels in the band of the crown, at the top of the fleur-de-lis, and encircling the badge of the order of Saint Michael were formed using the same circular stamp or tube.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, the figure inside the badge was hand drawn. The diamond jewels in the band of the crown were made by opposing chevron stamps (fig. 32). Around the inside of the rim appear the same kind of inlaid circles with stamped radial lines as are seen on the base of the cup and on the bowl of the salt (fig. 9).

### Colorants

The brown inlay in sample #1 appears to be the same type of clay as the body with slightly more potassium and iron added as colorant (see Table III).

XRF was used to identify the remaining colorants. The ocher wash on the guilloche band and the yellow volutes on the stem contain iron as the colorant. Cobalt is used on the blue tassels of the

masks while the purple tassels appear to have been colored with a mixture of manganese and iron. Green leaves and shells were toned with a copper-containing wash.

### The Candlestick

The candlestick (1942.9.352) is the most complex of the three "Saint-Porchaire" ceramics in the National Gallery, and one of the most complex examples of ceramic construction in existence (figs. 33, 34, 35). Whereas the salt and cup were made in three major sections, one stacked upon the other, the candlestick was constructed of nine thrown sections with more than 130 separately formed parts. Two lower sections have internal supports, and the one lower section lacking an internal support was made in layers and heavily buttressed.

The base was thrown. Three coils—at the foot, the rim, and under the beards of the applied masks—were added over the thrown section. The lower band of decoration on the foot is made up of five strips of brown "skin" measuring 10.1 cm., stamped and inlaid in white paste (fig. 36). A short strip of 1.7 cm. with only half the scrollwork design was inset to complete the band (fig. 37). Just inside the raised rim on the base, the freehand guilloche

Fig. 33 Candlestick  
(11¾ in. high, 29.8 cm.)



band, already encountered elsewhere (fig. 19), was again employed. This is followed by two complex bands of decoration, stamped and inlaid with brown paste. The lower one is made up of angular knotwork, repeated around the circumference (fig. 38). The upper band of stamped and inlaid decoration is the same as that on the base of the cup (fig. 20). Here, however, the pattern does not overlap. A circular slab, applied to the top of the base and visible inside the openwork cylinder, is stamped with the same floriated scrollwork stamp found on the interior of the salt's bowl (fig. 8).

Two thrown pieces, a cylinder and a cone, sit on the base. The internal cone was decorated with a circular stamp or tube and inlaid with brown paste. The external openwork cylinder was embellished with an applied "skin," decorated with the stamped angular interlace pattern reminiscent of tilework and used for the bottom of the salt (fig. 15). The arched windows in this cylinder offer a view of the "skin" over the body in cross-section. In a slight

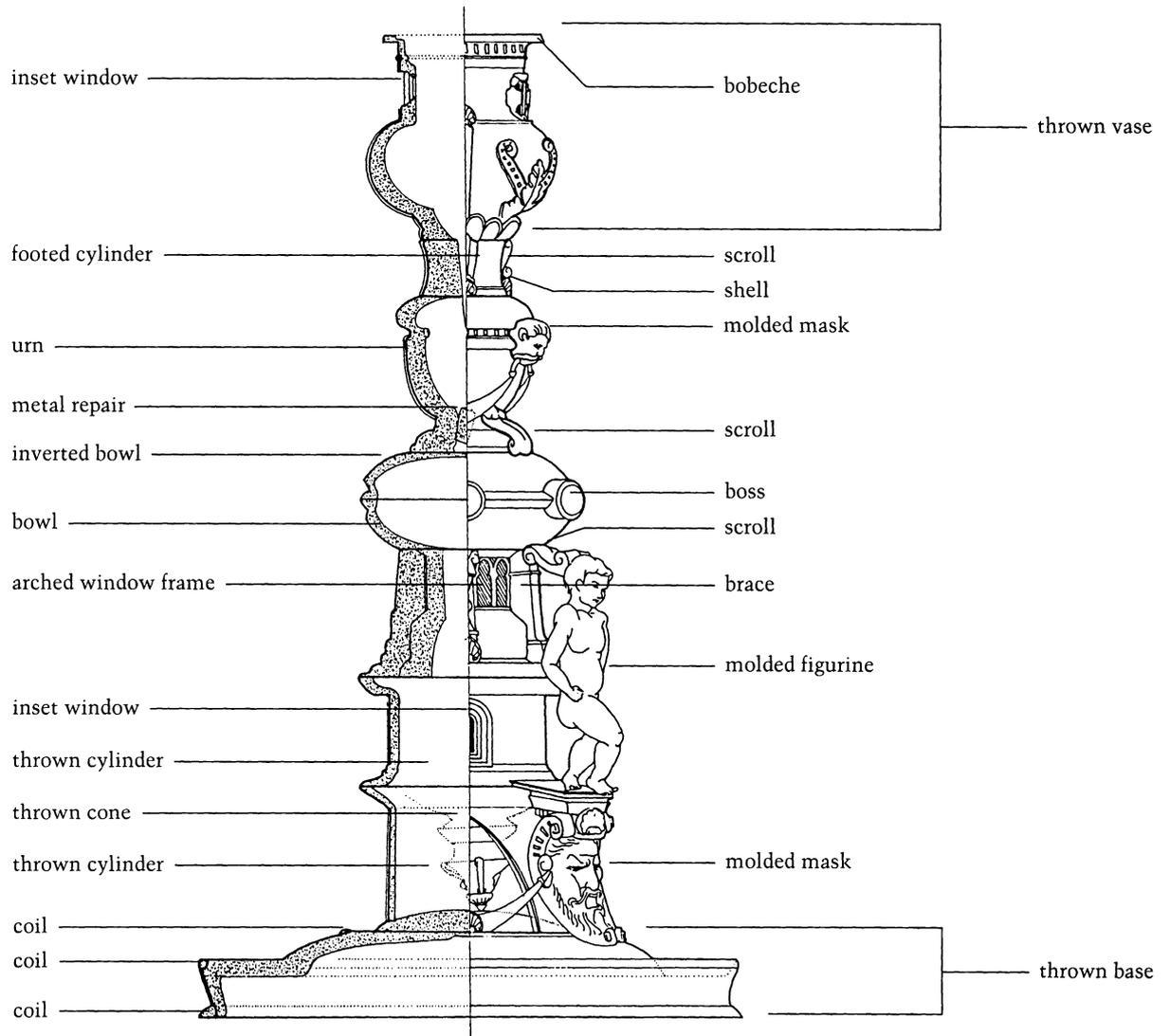


Fig. 34 Composite drawing of candlestick

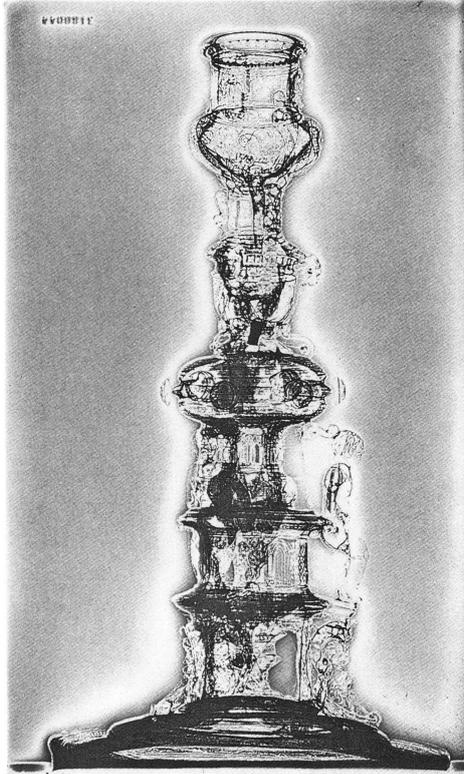


Fig. 35 Positive xeroradiograph of candlestick



Fig. 36 Stamp of curling foliate scrollwork with pairs of dolphins from base of candlestick



Fig. 37 Misregistration of lines from inset piece to complete band on base of candlestick



Fig. 38 Band of angular knotwork stamped on base of candlestick

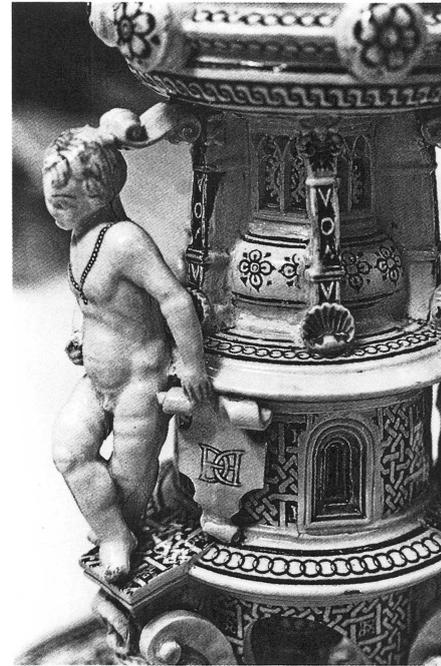


Fig. 39 Stamped tilelike design on cylinder and projecting pedestals of candlestick, shield with Henry II's controversial monogram, and molded putto; on the next tier, two of the six molded vertical braces with raised chevron and circle design. A trace of wash overlapped the edge and can be seen on the side of the brace

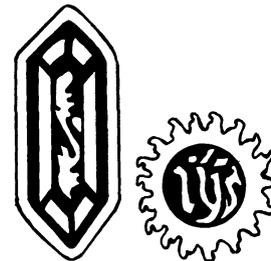


Fig. 40 Sunburst motif with *ihs* monogram, surrounded by elongated hexagons with illusionistic faceting on neck of candlestick

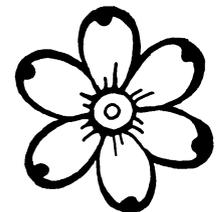


Fig. 41 Six-petaled flowers stamped on bosses of rim joint on candlestick

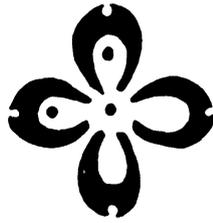


Fig. 42 Stylized quatrefoil floral stamped pattern from inverted bowl (above bosses) on candlestick



Fig. 43 Serrated diamond stamp from urn on candlestick stem



Fig. 44 Molded lion's masks dangling swags from seam between urn and footed cylinder, hexagonal star pattern of serrated diamonds, shallow vertical depressions, and stamped floral crowns

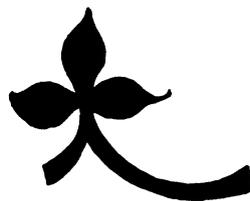


Fig. 45 Floral crown stamp from inverted bowl above urn on candlestick

variation of the tile pattern, a circular stamp, impressed into the larger brown squares, was repeated to create a simple quatrefoil flower motif and inlaid with white paste. Three open-back, molded masks (with freehand enhancements to the light brown hair) attached to scroll slabs were next affixed to the cylinder. Molded green swags link the masks. Finally, molded and hand-incised sea shells (of the same dimension as those found on the other pieces) were attached to the top of each mask and at the base of each swag.

An internal clay support in the next tier is encased by a thrown cylinder, into which recessed, arched windows, painted with green wash, are inset. Both the cylinder walls and the projecting pedestals have fundamentally the same inlaid angular interlace decoration as the preceding cylinder (fig. 39). In this case the larger squares were filled with a stamped H inlaid with white paste. Three shields, one next to each standing putto, partially cover the tiled patterns. Each shield contains a motif. The first bears the controversial stamped monogram,<sup>35</sup> the other two are hand-drawn.<sup>36</sup> Resting on the aforementioned pedestals, next to the shields, are molded putti with hand-inscribed details.

A small vase was thrown for the next section. Brown slabs, stamped with a sun and *ih*s monogram (fig. 40), were set into the neck behind double arched window frames. The body of the vase was decorated using a circular stamp to form a repeating floral motif and infilled with brown paste. After the adjoining segment above was set in place, six vertical braces were added to the small decorated vase in order to provide support for the growing column. The outer braces were molded with a raised chevron and circle design, painted blue, and wiped, leaving the raised areas white. A trace of the blue overlapped the ends of the braces and can be seen on the sides (fig. 39). Capitals on top of each brace and the shells below are painted with green wash.

The next segment was formed from two thrown bowls joined rim to rim. Both rims are decorated with the stamped circular motif and radial line used on the other two Washington pieces (fig. 9). At eight intervals molded bosses with stamped six-petaled flowers reinforce the rim joint (fig. 41). The decoration on the bodies of the bowls, a coiled rope motif, was incised freehand and inlaid prior to their being joined. An additional stylized quatrefoil floral pattern, stamped and inlaid with brown, appears on the upper bowl (fig. 42). It is likely that at this stage of manufacture the piece was allowed to sit and stiffen just enough to support the final thrown elements.

The top three elements, an urn, a footed cylinder, and a vase, were probably thrown separately and joined together, then applied as a unit onto the

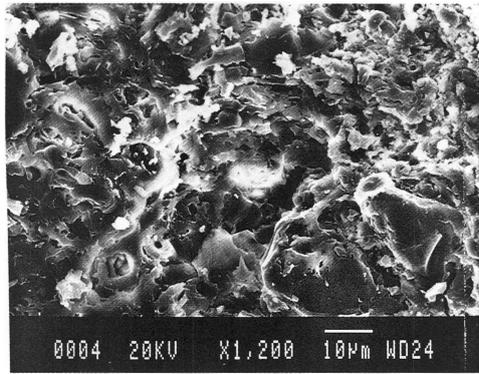


Fig. 46 SEM micrograph of the Toft candlestick, a nineteenth-century replica of "Saint-Porchaire" ware, illustrating the glass formed due to a high firing temperature

lower part of the candlestick.<sup>37</sup> A six-pointed star pattern made with serrated diamond stamps decorates the urn (fig. 43). The pattern was stamped into a brown "skin," which was wrapped around the urn and sliced vertically from the bottom edge in order to make it conform to the urn's curved contour. Three molded lion masks dangling green swags were attached to the urn at the seam with the cylinder foot. The lions' heads overlay a row of stamped, shallow, vertical depressions (fig. 44).

Stamped floral crowns, inlaid with brown paste, decorate the foot of the cylinder (figs. 44, 45). The cylinder was formed with very thick walls and has only a small opening, visible from the top of the candlestick. To the exterior of this cylinder were attached inlaid "skins" with the previously mentioned *ih*s monogram within a sunburst motif, sur-

rounded by elongated hexagons (fig. 40). At the bottom and top of this cylinder coils were added to conceal the joins; the coils are linked by three S-scroll brackets resting on green shells.

A ring of molded gadroons atop the cylinder supports the small vase in the uppermost segment. The lower portion of the vase is adorned with the same quatrefoil stamp as seen on the stem of the cup, applied as a brown "skin" inlaid with white paste (fig. 23). Applied pilasters, scrolls, and leaves hide portions of the quatrefoil design. The body and neck of the vase are separated by a thin coil on which three green shells rest. On the vase's neck the stamped sunburst motif with *ih*s monogram appears for the third time, though it is replaced at intervals with stamped coroneted shields of the royal arms of France. The neck is punctuated with three windows, each surrounded by an oval molded frame decorated at four points with small clusters of purple grapes. A flaired rim caps the neck. On the underside it is stamped with shallow vertical depressions like those on the seam between the urn and the inverted bowl, and on the rim it is stamped and inlaid with a band of overlapping circles bordered by incised lines.

## Colorants

Brown paste used in the colored inlay appears to be made of the type of clay used for the body with iron added as a colorant, without the added potassium seen in the cup and the British Museum ewer. The remaining colorants were identified using XRF. All the shells on the candlestick were painted with a copper-containing green except for those above the masks on the base, which were left unpainted. Cobalt blue was used as a wash on the molded braces with raised chevron-and-circle designs. Other colored washes not specifically identified using XRF were probably comparable to those described in other sections.

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## CONCLUSION

From the number of elements and the complexity of construction, it is obvious that a great deal of advance planning and hand labor went into each of the "Saint-Porchaire" vessels. They appear to have been made in general accordance with the description given by Brongniart and Salvétat, but the methods were much more complex than those authors imagined.<sup>38</sup>

The kaolinitic clay used in "Saint-Porchaire" bodies is a very coarse, white clay that is poorly plastic and difficult to form. It appears to have been carefully and intentionally selected because it shrinks little in drying, which made possible the assembling of complex structures. However, the fired products are very fragile. The bodies are easily scratched with a fingernail; they are held together

by a thin cladding of lead glaze, which appears to be similar on all three pieces.

The methods of decoration on all three pieces appear similar in concept, though very complex. Decorative motifs, as the literature suggests, were created by using a thin applied slab or "skin," sometimes colored, into which a design had been stamped and filled with colored pastes. Other surfaces were decorated by stamping directly into the body, drawing freehand, or tracing. Three-dimensional decorative or structural adornments were molded, sometimes enhanced freehand, and attached. Decorative attachments and stamped designs repeatedly reappear, not only on the three

Washington pieces but throughout the "Saint-Porchaire" repertoire in general, suggesting that a limited number of molds and stamps was in use.

The fabrication of these wares was likewise intricate. Some sections were thrown on a wheel and others were cut from larger slabs or formed in open-face molds. Often sections were made from multiple pieces. Coils and brackets were carefully manipulated to mask joins while serving as structural supports. In sum, the three remarkable "Saint-Porchaire" ceramics at the National Gallery reflect the work of highly skilled ceramicists who produced some of the rarest, most complex and mysterious of all Renaissance ceramics. D.S.B., S.G.S., P.B.V.

#### NOTES

1. André Pottier and Nicolas Xavier Willemin, in *Monuments français inédits pour servir à l'histoire des arts* (Paris, 1839), 65.

2. Alexandre Brongniart, *Traité des arts céramiques ou des poteries*, 2 vols., rev. ed. by Alphonse Salvétat (Paris, 1854), 2:176–177. The recreation he cites was undertaken by Mr. Regnier and took place eighteen years before his text was published.

3. Louis Clément de Ris, "Les faïences de Henri II," *GBA* 1 (1860), 32–48.

4. Jestaz 1975.

5. Edmond Bonnaffé, "Les faïences de Saint-Porchaire," *GBA* 1 (1895), 277–286.

6. Marie-Juliette Ballot, *Musée du Louvre: La céramique française; Bernard Palissy et les fabriques du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1924), 20–24.

7. Henri Clouzot, "Séance du 20 Février," *Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (Paris, 1907), 139.

8. While the literature has always referred to the thin clay layer bearing the design as a "skin," it should technically be called a slab. To avoid confusion, the term "skin," is used in this text.

9. Henri Garnier, "Contribution à l'étude des faïences de Saint-Porchaire," *Art et Curiosité* (May–June 1953), 13–16.

10. Brongniart and Salvétat 1854, 2:177.

11. Michael S. Tite, "Report on the Scientific Examination of a St. Porchaire Ewer," British Museum ms., file No. 5580, October 1987. Analyses were performed using a scanning electron microscope coupled with energy dispersive x-ray analysis (SEM/EDS).

12. An ARL electron beam, wavelength dispersive microprobe was employed at 20 kV for 10 seconds to analyze 16 x 16 x 5 micron volumes in 30 micron steps from the exterior to the interior of each sample of the three National Gallery "Saint-Porchaire" ceramics. Beam current was monitored using a Faraday cup. Geological standards were calibrated and used to correct for differential matrix effects using a ZAF program. Hornblende was analyzed as a working standard before and after the analyses to check for instrument drift. We are grateful to Eugene Jarosewich and Joseph Nelen, department of mineral sciences, Na-

tional Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, for providing assistance with the microprobe analyses.

13. The initial x-ray diffraction analysis was conducted using a Philips PW 1720 at the Conservation Analytical Laboratory, Smithsonian Institution and additional XRD analyses were performed on a Philips XRG 3100 equipped with copper target and nickel filter to provide Cu K $\alpha$  radiation; 45 kV anode voltage and 25 mA current. Exposure time ranged from sixteen to twenty-four hours. Measurements of d-spacing and intensities were estimated visually and the results compared with Joint Committee on Powder Diffraction Standards (JCPDS), *Powder Diffraction File Search Manual*, JCPDS (Swarthmore, Pa., 1982). We are grateful to Lisha Glinsman, NGA conservation scientist, for these analyses.

14. When kaolinite minerals are heated so that all water molecules and ions are driven off, a stage which is almost reached at 650°C and is complete by 800°C, only quartz is identified. Kaolin fired to temperatures 970°C or above produces mullite, which was not detected in our samples. W. A. Deer, R. A. Howie, and J. Zussman, *An Introduction to the Rock-Forming Minerals* (London, 1974), 258–259, 374.

15. A JEOL 840-II scanning electron microscope was operated at 5–20 kV in secondary and backscatter modes with a simultaneous energy dispersive system (EDS) for elemental analysis (Tracor Northern 5502) at the Conservation Analytical Laboratory, Smithsonian Institution.

16. Brongniart and Salvétat 1854, 1:9–17, table v. The clays are from Abondant près Dreux, Saint-Aubin-les-Foux, and Echassières.

17. The sample was refired in a computer-controlled molybdenum disilicide Zircar furnace in 100°C increments from 600° to 1100°C, soaking and ramping for five minutes at each step. The sample was observed with a microscope through a quartz port.

18. Brongniart states that glaze pooling in concave areas indicates that the glaze was applied after a bisque firing. In some concave areas, such as those on the sea shells, the glaze pooled slightly; however, we have been unable to determine, without damaging the pieces by tak-

ing large samples, whether there were one or two firings.

19. W. G. Lawrence, *Ceramic Science for the Potter* (Philadelphia, 1972), 200. Lead's presence allows the glaze to mature at a relatively low temperature over a wide firing range and it lowers the surface tension, allowing the glaze to form over drying cracks and defects.

20. Thermoluminescence analyses were performed by Doreen Stoneham, Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford, England. Stoneham noted that radioactive and chemical analyses on all three pieces appeared similar. Based on these dates and the compositions of the bodies and glazes, we strongly support Timothy Wilson's conclusion that the Washington candlestick is authentic.

21. Zvi Goffer, *Archaeological Chemistry* (New York, 1980), 67.

22. The diameter of the circle measures 2.9 mm.

23. Looking up into the center of the container the base of the bowl and coils can be seen through the windowed sides. Through these windows the scoring marks on the slab and trimming marks on the bowl can also be seen.

24. The sea shells on all three National Gallery pieces measured 7.8 mm. wide; an open-face mold was probably used.

25. Mold lines can be seen along the sides of the heads and shoulders of each figurine.

26. The diameters of the circular stamps or tubes used to delineate the garlands and grapes are 0.9 mm. and 1.2 mm. respectively.

27. This and many of the colorants in the glazes and washes were analyzed using x-ray fluorescence. Energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy is a non-destructive x-ray technique capable of determining elemental surface composition. A Kevex energy-dispersive XRF spectrometer 0750A, with a BaCl<sub>2</sub> secondary target, 50 kV voltage, 3.3mA current, and an accumulation time of 50 seconds was used to collect the data. We are grateful to Lisha Glinsman, NGA conservation scientist, for these analyses.

28. "Xeroradiography is a process that passes conventional x-rays through the object being examined onto a xeroradiographic plate, which replaces x-ray film, and which has an aluminum base covered on the surface by a photo conductor, vitreous selenium. The plate is kept in a cassette to protect it from ambient light or surface damage." S. Heinemann, "Xeroradiography: A New Archaeological Tool," *American Antiquity* 41 (January 1976), 106-111. Xeroradiography rather than x-radiography is used in this study as it offers greater definition, particularly of materials with different densities. The xeroradiograph of the cup was taken at 45 kV, 300 mA for 1 second. The candlestick was taken at 45 kV, 300 mA for 1.5 seconds. Xeroradiographs were made subsequent to sampling for thermoluminescence analysis and did not affect the dating. We are grateful to Wilma Savage, Clinical Radiologists, Inc., for taking these xeroradiographs.

29. The diameter of the circle measures 2 mm.

30. The diameter of the circle measures 1.5 mm.

31. The strapwork is reversed on two of the quadrants.

32. A broken lid in the collection of the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres was made in the same way as the Washington cup except that the skin quadrants were made of a tan paste, onto which the drawing of arabesques was traced and incised. The thin lines were inlaid with brown paste and the thicker lines were inlaid with white paste.

33. Pierre Ennès, curator, département d'objets d'art, Musée du Louvre, suggested that the regularity of the tamping marks on some of the Louvre pieces may imply that these marks were intentionally employed as decorative elements as was done in sixteenth century metalworking.

34. The diameter of the circle measures 1 mm.

35. Timothy Wilson discusses the controversy surrounding this monogram. It has been interpreted both as an H and two Cs or as an H and two Ds. See page 260 of this volume.

36. They are (1) a coroneted shield of the royal arms of France and (2) apparently two keys crossed *in saltire*, *in chief a coronet*, *dimidiating ermine*.

37. The candlestick is slightly off vertical axis at this juncture, which indicates a shrinkage problem that could have led to cracking. It is in fact repaired here and a small rectangular metal piece from the repair is lodged in the join between the urn and lower shaft of the candlestick, clearly evident in the xeroradiograph (fig. 35).

38. In addition to Regnier's replica, on which Brongnart and Salvétat based their reconstruction of the process, Charles Toft in the nineteenth century produced signed and dated Minton porcelain reproductions of "Saint-Porchaire" ware, one of which, a candlestick, is now in the National Gallery collections (1988.25.1, special collection; see p. 261, fig. 2). This piece is fired at a much higher temperature than the "Saint-Porchaire" ceramics; the SEM micrograph shows glass formation in the clay body (fig. 46). Its contours are simplified, so larger elements could be formed at one time; hence the Washington example was made in only six sections. The Minton copies lack the fineness of details that characterizes the "Saint-Porchaire" originals: incised lines are much wider, decorative patterns are simplified, and the number of repeated patterns is greatly reduced.

JEWELS



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## ALFRED ANDRÉ

1839–1919

Alfred André was born on 25 October 1839 in Paris. Where he learned the goldsmith's craft is still unknown. In 1859 he established his own shop, later – probably by 1874 – situated at 10 rue Notre Dame de Lorette in the ninth arrondissement. He studied and reactivated old enameling methods, and specialized in the restoration of applied art objects of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

André was in close contact with the Rothschilds and with Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890), and did several works for their collections, apparently not only restorations. His wealth grew, and in 1880 he was able to buy a large four-story house at 15 rue Dufrenoy in the fashionable sixteenth arrondissement (demolished in 1971). He set up workshops for various decorative arts techniques on every floor in the left wing of the house, working not only with other goldsmiths, but also with hardstone carvers and ceramists.

After the marriage of his son Léon Alexandre (1873–1954), André transferred half of the business to him in 1905. In 1907 it was completely in the name of Léon. From then until his death André lived in an apartment on the Boulevard Flandrin, not far from his former house. There he died on 10 May 1919, having received the distinctions of Officier de l'Instruction Publique and Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, among many others. The auction of his art collections after his death brought about five hundred thousand francs in 1920.<sup>1</sup>

André is scarcely mentioned in the literature. Henri Clouzot noted that the master restorer M. (sic.) André expertly restored Saint-Porchaire ceramics and that he reconstructed damaged pieces in the old technique.<sup>2</sup> Despite the erroneous initial M, this reference is indeed to the same master. André's activity as a restorer of goldsmith work is more interesting in connection with the National Gallery jewels. Bonnaffé refers to him as the restorer of a Milanese rock-crystal casket in the Escorial, which is now in the Treasury of the Palacio de Oriente in Madrid.<sup>3</sup> André received this commission because of his international reputation as a restorer with a great sensitivity to various styles. Within a year, together with his coworkers, who were all trained by him, he added to the casket the four satyrs on the base, the four caryatids at the corners, the four sirens on the lid, eleven old and four new cameos together with their settings, one hundred ornaments made of enameled gold, and many gold ornaments in the spaces in between. In 1885 he himself delivered the casket in Madrid and received in return for his work, from the queen herself, the "croix de chevalier de l'Ordre de Charles III." By request of the queen he engraved the bottom of the casket with the inscription: *S.M. EL REY DON ALFONSO XII (Q.G.H.)/ encargó la restauracion de esta Caja á/Monsieur Alfred André de Paris el año de/1885.*<sup>4</sup>

This work made it possible to identify André as the creator of the jewelry in the Widener collection, all of which had been published as work of the sixteenth century. A thorough examination of the six pieces had already led to the suspicion that they might have originated in the nineteenth century. Similarities of ornamental details and in technique of execution connected the jewels with each other, and led to the conclusion that they had originated in the same workshop. Two essential arguments spoke in favor of André: first, the master craftsman of these jewels must have seen Spanish pieces kept in Madrid, since individual motifs can be traced back to Spanish designs and since an ornament of the pendant representing the head of the Medusa (1942.9.306) is copied from an object at the Prado; and second, variations on motifs of André's additions to the Madrid casket appear in small decorative details of the jewels.

More detailed research at the residence of André's descendents in Paris confirmed this hypothesis, and brought to light some extraordinarily interesting material. Just about twenty years ago, during a move to a smaller house, the account books and notes of André were unfortunately destroyed because they took up too much space, but the family possesses hundreds of models and casts of the pieces produced by their important ancestor.<sup>5</sup> This discovery constitutes the basis for a completely new critical evaluation of the six National Gallery jewels and, thereby, extends the basis of discussion considerably. The models for two jewels exist and very similar comparative pieces for others have survived.

Although the recently discovered material is extensive, it does not represent the total production of André's workshop. The accidental nature of what has survived is illustrated by the fact that for some pieces models of various production stages and of several parts are preserved, while for others only a wax model or the cast of the complete object remains. It is not known when André began to preserve his models; at this point it is also impossible to trace the development within the workshop or to place the models in chronological order.

Most of the painted wax models are damaged. Only a few models are made of wood; most are of plaster, many of them carefully painted in the colors of the enamel to be used. Some of these models are inscribed with notes about the type of enamel (for instance, whether it is to be translucent or opaque), the number of pieces to be produced, and the type of gems to be set. Models of engraved brass and copper, copper electrotypes, and lead counter-dies are preserved as well. Some of the plaster models seem only to reproduce what had already been finished. Models for fully sculptured objects are often meant to be viewed from several directions, set on a thin plaster base.

The material may be divided into three groups:

1. Casts of old originals. They are labeled as such and kept in small individual boxes.
2. Models for restoration, or for additions to old pieces. These include objects of many historical periods and different materials. Ancient Egypt and classical antiquity are repre-

sented, as well as the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Models exist of enamels of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; parts of gold-plated silver goblets; rock-crystal vessels; watches and astrolabes; appliquéés for small household altarpieces and caskets; and mountings for vessels of precious stone. Small sculptures, models for figures of ivory and silver and for small reliefs, and many small frames in the style of the Renaissance, for paxes or plaquettes, are preserved as well.

3. Models for new productions. Here jewelry in the style of the Renaissance predominates. André must either have received most of his commissions for these or had a special preference for them.

All the works by André and his shop are of high quality, even if they do not achieve the refinement of the Renaissance. Bonnaffé writes that he used the methods of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.<sup>6</sup> Despite his ability to understand the old styles, which places him among the best restorers of the nineteenth century, he also developed his own individual style. A special fondness for certain ornamental motifs, which he often varied or repeated, is recognizable.

In order to give an idea of the range of André's skill, there follows a selection of objects for which models by him exist. This compilation should also help to explain why it is possible to attribute to one workshop jewels as different as those in the National Gallery's collection.

André executed many pieces according to designs by Reinhold Vasters.<sup>7</sup> The middleman between André and Vasters was apparently the ambitious collector Frédéric Spitzer, who owned many pieces by both craftsmen. In Spitzer's sale catalogue of 1893, for example, the pieces of jewelry with the following numbers can be attributed to André, based on existing models:<sup>8</sup> 1803,<sup>9</sup> 1831, 1833,<sup>10</sup> 1834, 1840 (after Vasters' design), 1856, 1858, 1864, and 1865;<sup>11</sup> 1864 and 1865 were also produced from designs by Vasters, who designed numbers 1813, 1818, 1819, 1830, and 1843 as well. This does not complete the list of jewelry in Renaissance style in the Spitzer collection produced in the nineteenth century; André participated in the production of many other pieces. In this, Spitzer played an inglorious role. In order to enlarge his collection, he apparently commissioned André and Vasters to produce objects in the style of the Renaissance, then presented them in his collection as originals of the sixteenth century.

Many of Vasters' designs, which are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, must have been at least temporarily in André's hands. Whether the designs by André are also among them bears investigation. Apparently the Parisian master craftsman received much inspiration from Vasters, and varied many designs according to his ideas of individual motifs reused in a different context. Models by André based on Vasters' designs exist. Among others, there are models for a watch case for Spitzer,<sup>12</sup> for the handle and mounting of a rock-crystal bowl,<sup>13</sup> and for the mounting of a rock-crystal shell,<sup>14</sup> the latter two pieces also from Spitzer's collection, both in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Before turning to the jewels, a few interesting works produced by André independent of Vasters should be mentioned. Models exist for all the ornamental fittings and for the supporting harpy of the jewel casket with *verre églomisé* in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.<sup>15</sup> Whether the casket is a creation or restoration by André remains to be investigated. The painted model and a plaster cast of the mounting of a smoky rock-crystal cup in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>16</sup> probably produced in its entirety in the nineteenth century, have been preserved. André added the stand, lid, handle, and mounting on a rock-crystal ewer also in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>17</sup> The models for the knob and the gold and enamel work for an agate bowl in the Walters Art Gallery<sup>18</sup> survive, but André's workshop probably produced the whole piece. In the Arturo Lopez-Willshaw collection there was a shell-shaped jasper cup whose mounting and siren handle were created by the master, and a heliotrope ewer with enameled gold mountings from the same collection is also his work.<sup>19</sup> Similar material exists in large quantity and has yet to be studied.

Most interesting in connection with the National Gallery jewels are André's models for jewelry in the style of the Renaissance. Here again, only a selection can be presented; the objects are referred to by the numbers under which they appear in Yvonne Hackenbroch's publication of 1979.

For number 36, models exist both for the frame and for the Flaying of Marsyas. A wax model exists for the setting of the Jupiter cameo, number 78. Based on this, the agate cameo has also been recognized as work of the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup> A painted plaster model and a lead counter-die for the frame of number 80A are preserved. The frame is a variation on a design by Vasters.<sup>21</sup> Another carefully painted model survives for the lavishly and magnificently designed pendant with the cameo of a hippocamp, number 181, as does a model for the beautiful *commesso* with the bust of a black lady, number 234. The model belonging to the cross pendant, number 395, is partly colored and inscribed in some places with notes about the enamel colors. Only the suspension loop and the part directly under it, at the upper end of the cross, differ from the work as executed. On the other hand, cross pendant number 472C is represented by an identical plaster, except that the gems with their setting were not yet set in the model, which is true of the prior model as well. Perfectly painted models survive for the front and the reverse of the pendant depicting Jupiter, Venus, and Cupid, number 416. Of the jewel depicting a warrior on a horse, number 418, only a model for the horse made of plaster was found. This is the horse for this pendant, and not the one for number 412, which is a variant of it. A complete plaster model by André also exists for a Saint George pendant, which was in the Arturo Lopez-Willshaw collection.<sup>22</sup> The figure of Saint George is a variant of the two warriors, numbers 418 and 412. Saint George's horse is a variant of the one in pendant number 410 (putto on a horse), which must have been in André's hands as well, since the model for the suspension element with a mermaid was found there.

Several models exist for the pendant depicting the three cardinal virtues, number 424, including models of the individual figures. André probably produced the whole piece. A plaster that copies an engraving by Daniel Mignot (number 486), with only minor variations, shows how closely the master had studied the style of the sixteenth century. It is thus not surprising that he also produced the Hercules pendant, number 489, as well as the pendant depicting Diana hunting, number 630. A variant of the Diana pendant in the Walters Art Gallery is also represented by partly colored models of the front and the reverse.<sup>23</sup> André produced at least the frame and the suspension loop for the jewel depicting a biblical scene, number 753, for which exactly painted models of the front and reverse exist. A beautiful painted model, fully sculptured in the round, exists for pendant number 907 as well, but without the warrior on a griffin. Some pieces for which André produced the models are hanging in the Rothschild Bequest at Château Ecoen, and in the Schmuckmuseum Pforzheim there is a chain produced in his workshop.<sup>24</sup> André seems to have produced several chains of this kind, since there are several variations of it among the models. Objects in Hackenbroch's book of which only models for the chain or small details were found are not mentioned here. However, these do indicate that André was involved in their production or their restoration.

Considerably more models of jewels exist than could be mentioned here, since we are dealing with the traces of a major workshop that was in operation for approximately forty years. The jewels to which they relate, however, are not all as easily accessible or illustrated in the literature.

The problem of the possible restorations and of additions to antique jewelry and other goldsmith works deserves special study. André's reputation as a restorer of gold and enamel work was unsurpassed in all of Europe. In 1902 the Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses summoned him to Vienna to consolidate badly corroded enamel on their four famous magnificent Burgundian goblets of the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup> André also restored Renaissance painted enamels from Limoges and had pieces of this type in his collection.<sup>26</sup> In addition he restored and created silversmith work; there exist models in Spanish style for the handles of a flower vase and for twenty-three parcel-gilt silver plaques from the Hildburgh Bequest in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>27</sup>

Only an impression of the diversity of André's activity can be conveyed here. A detailed publication of the recently discovered material is planned. The close study of André's material and of the about one thousand drawings by Vasters in London may increase our understanding of the production of the second half of the nineteenth century, to the point where pieces from that period become easily recognizable, even if no designs or models are available. André and Vasters were not the only artists of that period who worked with great feeling in historical styles.<sup>28</sup> R.D.

NOTES

1. All the information about the life of Alfred André was gathered by Michel Duchamp, a private scholar in Paris and fellow of the Jewellery Historian's Society, London, to whom I am deeply grateful.

2. Clouzot 1904, 371, n. 1. See Timothy Wilson's essay on "Saint-Porchaire" ware in this volume, p. 242, n. 9. I thank Suzannah Fabing for drawing my attention to this reference.

3. Bonnaffé 1887, 165–174.

4. Bonnaffé 1887, 173–174; illustrations of the casket before and after the restoration are found in Bonnaffé 1887, 172, 173 (after etchings), and in Kris 1929, pl. 132, no. 499; pl. 133, no. 498. See also Fernando A. Martin, "La arqueta del Monasterio de El Escorial: Una restauracion decimononica," *Reales Sitios* 27 (1990), 65–68.

5. At my request, Michel Duchamp searched for André's descendents in Paris and made the first contact, for which I am deeply grateful. I would like to thank the André family for their understanding and their kind cooperation, as well as for permission to take pictures. Unfortunately, it was impossible in the available time to study and sort the total inventory of the models. Therefore, I restricted myself chiefly to photographing the models of jewels in the Renaissance style and additions to and settings for vessels of precious stone.

6. Bonnaffé 1887, 172.

7. On Vasters see Truman 1979, 154–161; exh. cat. London 1980, 137–140, nos. H18–H23, HG1–HG7; Hackenbroch 1986, 163–268.

8. *Catalogue Spitzer* 1893, pl. 47.

9. Donald F. Rowe, *The Art of Jewelry 1450–1650* [Exh. cat., The Martin D'Arcy Gallery of Art] (Chicago, 1975), no. 17.

10. Lesley 1968, no. 33.

11. Exh. cat. London 1980, nos. H21, H22, HG5, HG6.

12. Spitzer 1890–1892, vol. 5, pl. 7, no. 2; Hackenbroch 1986, fig. 53.

13. Inv. no. 14.40.654; Hackenbroch 1986, figs. 62–66.

14. Inv. no. 14.40.655; Hackenbroch 1986, figs. 74, 75.

15. Inv. no. 46.3; Ann Gabhart, *Treasures and Rarities: Renaissance, Mannerist and Baroque. A Walters Art Gallery Picture Book* (Baltimore, 1971), 18, repro.; John F. Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540–1620* (London, 1976), no. 247.

16. Inv. no. 17.190.1702; Hackenbroch 1986, fig. 129.

17. Inv. no. 14.40.660.a,b; Hackenbroch 1986, figs. 104, 107.

18. Inv. no. 57.1924; Gabhart 1971, 35, repro.

19. *Thirty Renaissance Jewels and Works of Art from the Collection of the Late Arturo Lopez-Willshaw*, sale, Sotheby's, London, 13 October 1970, nos. 10, 25.

20. Clare Vincent in *Linsky Collection* 1984, no. 121.

21. Compare Hackenbroch 1986, fig. 38.

22. *Twenty-Five Renaissance Jewels and Works of Art from the Collection of the Late Arturo Lopez-Willshaw*, sale, Sotheby's, London, 10 June 1974, no. 21.

23. Inv. no. 44.442. Anne Garside, ed., *Jewelry Ancient to Modern* (New York and Baltimore, 1979), no. 515.

24. Sylvia-Monica Schmager and Fritz Falk, *Schmuckmuseum Pforzheim* (Braunschweig, 1981), 34, repro.

25. Inv. nos. 49, 65, 85, 88; note in the inventory. The goblets are reproduced in *Katalog der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe 1. Teil, Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1964), figs. 34–37.

26. See the entry by Philippe Verdier for plaque with *The Last Supper* by Jean I Pénicaud, 1942.9.289. I am grateful to Suzannah Fabing for this reference.

27. Charles Oman, *The Golden Age of Hispanic Silver 1400–1665* (London, 1968), 118, no. 32, figs. 74–80, 215.

28. Shirley Bury, "The Renaissance in the 19th Century," in exh. cat. London 1980, 41–45.

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## Pendant with Europa and the Bull

1942.9.304 (C-29)  
1870/1890

A baroque pearl; gold enameled in white, black, dark green, pale blue, translucent red, green, yellow, and blue; 22 colorless stones (sapphires, diamonds), 1 blue sapphire, 19 red stones (rubies, glass), 6 pearls

With chain: 13.6 x 6.8 x 2.7 (5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Widener Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Table-cut stones are in variously worked rectangular box settings. The enamel is damaged in numerous places, especially on the figure of Europa.

### PROVENANCE

Maurice de Rothschild, Paris. (Duveen), New York, purchased 11 November 1912 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, probably as Italian sixteenth century. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

This pendant is mentioned in the literature on jewelry but has never been examined extensively. The 1935 Widener catalogue respects the designation under which the pendant may have been purchased, "Italian work of the XVI century."<sup>1</sup> Stone and Newman adopt this opinion.<sup>2</sup> Heiniger defines it more precisely as the style of Benvenuto Cellini.<sup>3</sup> Hackenbroch sees a connection with the engravings of Assuwerus van Londerseel and considers the jewel to be Netherlandish of about 1590.<sup>4</sup> In all publications the sixteenth-century date is accepted, although many factors cast doubt on this dating.

So far neither a design drawing nor a model has been found for this large jewel. A nineteenth-century dating and an attribution to André can, therefore, only be based on stylistic analysis. At first glance the piece seems rather ambitious, but it does not measure up to its pretensions in the execution of the details.

The relation of Europa to the bull, with regard to content and form, has been sacrificed to create a planar composition in the triangle formed by the arrangement of the chain. Europa could have been inspired by Giambologna's two-figured Abduction group or his Nessus and Deianira.<sup>5</sup> At the same time the comparison shows clearly how far Europa's body is spread out in a plane, without inner torsion, and how stiffly she stretches out her right leg. She lacks the spirit of the sixteenth century. The veil, inexplicably patched over her right thigh, forms an en-

compassing countercurve to the body. Its curve, however, is insufficiently motivated, since Europa does not hold the end of the cloth with her left hand—again an abstraction of content in favor of empty formalism. This formalism shows even more clearly in the unfortunate device of setting a pearl at the highest point of the wind-blown veil, in order to fill up another space.<sup>6</sup> On the reverse the veil turns into a thick shapeless cushion on which Europa sits.

According to the legend, Zeus, in the form of a white bull, carried Europa away across the ocean. The theme is depicted in this way in antiquity and the Renaissance.<sup>7</sup> In this jewel the bull's body is resting on an island surrounded by water. However, its hooves do not dip into the water, but rest on its surface—another contradiction between form and content. So much for the strange artistic execution of this theme.

There are neither stylistic nor technical reasons to assume different periods of origin for Europa and the bull. Both are modeled in rich detail, with a strong emphasis on the musculature of the female body, which is highly unusual. Similarly accentuated modeling of the body, although in male figures, is found in the pendant depicting the sacrifice of Isaac in the Linsky collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the one depicting Cain and Abel in the Musée de Cluny, Paris.<sup>8</sup> The former closely resembles the works of Vasters and André in many of its ornamental details, and the latter was produced from a design by Vasters. Even the pose of Abraham is similar to that of Europa, although laterally reversed.

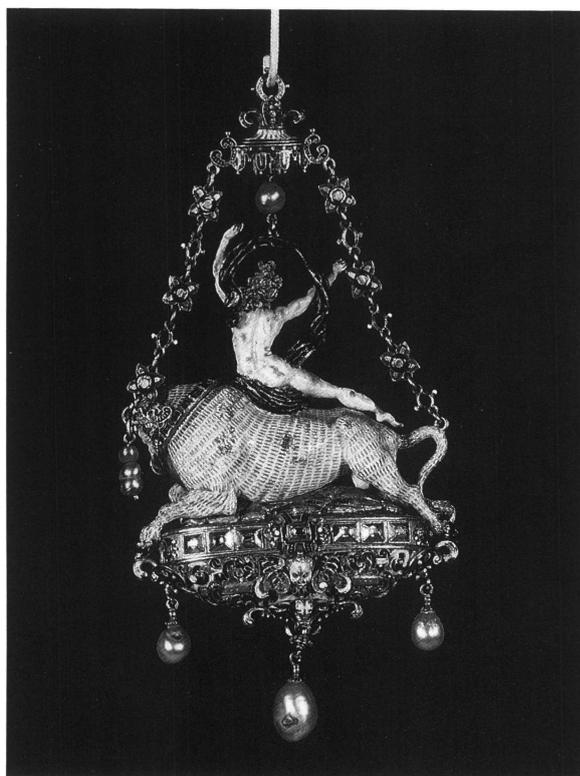
The white enamel of the Washington pendant is full of flaws and is of inferior quality. The enamel on the figure of Europa is especially damaged. Chipped places occur all over the body, regardless of whether the damaged parts are particularly exposed. The bull is damaged at protected places as well; for instance, on the forelegs. This gives the impression that the figures can lay claim to a long, eventful past, which in fact they do not have. The marking of the bull's coat with regular, parallel gold bars on white enamel is a pattern that does not appear on any other piece securely dated in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. In that period the bars were shifted diagonally by half a stroke, which gave the surface greater liveliness.<sup>9</sup>

The figural group rests on an oval base which is surrounded by a ring of colorless stones and whose



lower portion forms a perforated, richly ornamented basket. More than half of the stones are sapphires, which are apparently meant to give the impression of diamonds, while the rest are actually diamonds.<sup>10</sup> Both are of inferior quality. In the center of the front part is a somewhat larger blue sapphire, thus a stone of lesser value in the middle of a row of "diamonds." The band of rubies around the bull's neck contains imitation gem stones in glass.

None of the observations made so far is by itself sufficient to establish a nineteenth-century date for the jewel, but taken together they have considerable weight. There is no reason to assume that the figure group originated at a different time from the base.



1942.9.304, back



**Fig. 1** Alfred André, model for a pendant, painted plaster, Paris, private collection

The nineteenth century and André's workshop are unmistakably recognizable in the ornament and technical execution of the basket. None of the details achieve the quality that can be taken for granted in a sixteenth-century piece with similar overall pretensions.

Material comparable to the basket exists among the models made by André, who designed several motifs of this kind. Most telling is a comparison with the model for the small basket of a pendant in a private collection, depicting a warrior riding on a griffin (fig. 1).<sup>11</sup> The light-blue band with gold dots on the enamel, which runs horizontally through the basket, can be found on the fully sculptured, painted model. The black and white, club-shaped enameled tendrils with golden dots on the back are repeated, just as they appear here in the center, under the wings of the small putto head; the volutes on the outer ends (there with suspension loops) are also repeated. Longitudinal stripes on rolled ornaments, which are enameled in various colors separated from each other by bands of gold, are characteristic of André. They also appear on the pendant representing the head of the Medusa (1942.9.306), on the sphinx (1942.9.307), and on the mermaid (1942.9.308, on the suspension element).

The Parisian master showed a special fondness for an ornament in the form of a crescent whose center is drawn out into a point, comparable to the letter E in uncial script. It appears here, extended into space by a volute at the point where the hanging pearls at the sides are attached. It appears again in the red enameled parts of the setting of the Jupiter cameo in the Linsky collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, at the lower corners of a pendant with the cameo depicting Cleopatra, on the suspension element of a pendant representing Jupiter and Venus, on an eagle pendant (all private collections), and on the Diana pendant in the Walters Art Gallery.<sup>12</sup> A model by André exists for each of these pieces. The underlying layer of enamel in the setting for the blue sapphire is repeated on the appliqués of the Madrid casket (see page 282) on either side of the rock-crystal side panels; on the stone at the neck of the mermaid (1942.9.308); and on the stone on the chest of the centaur (1942.9.310).

The small basket can be opened. It is only pressed into the ring set with stones and does not have a lock. There is nevertheless a fictive push-button atop the small putto head on the front, which is immovable. It therefore has no function. The inside of the upper section has Moresque ornament on a striated golden ground, overlaid with very thin translucent bluish green enamel.

The chain links between the gems are a simplified version of the reverse of the chain belonging to the mermaid (1942.9.308).

The jewel can clearly be very closely connected to the works of André. Since it is not known when André began to preserve his models, and since his notes are lost, we do not yet have a basis for a more precise dating within his oeuvre. R.D.

#### NOTES

1. Widener 1935, 45.
2. Stone 1958, 197, 199, fig. 14; Newman 1981 (see Biography), 118, repro. 119.
3. Heiniger 1974, with the best color repro., 170.
4. Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), 251–252, no. 688, color pl. 31.
5. *Giambologna: Ein Wendepunkt der europäischen Plastik* [exh. cat., Kunsthistorisches Museum] (Vienna, 1978), nos. 56, 60–66, repros.
6. Such pearls, attached to the highest point of a veil or a sail, are also found on a pendant representing Venus Marina standing on a dolphin in the Lehman collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and on a pendant with a “mermaid astride a sea-monster” (private collection). I believe both these pieces are of the nineteenth century.
7. Compare the antique cameo in Gisela M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Romans* (London, 1971), fig. 261, and the sixteenth-century cameo in Fritz Eichler and

Ernst Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum* (Vienna, 1927), pl. 29, no. 198.

8. Hackenbroch 1986 (see Biography), 187–188, figs. 44–48; *Linsky Collection* 1984 (see Biography), no. 119.

9. The same pattern is found on a pendant with a dragon (private collection), whose body also consists of a large “baroque” pearl, and which should also be dated in the nineteenth century (Hackenbroch 1979, no. 60, color pl. 3).

10. All observations on the National Gallery gems were made in 1984 (with eye and microscope only) by Pete J. Dunn, division of mineralogy, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

11. Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), no. 907.

12. Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), nos. 78, 80A; 416, 533, color pls. 4, 22.

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- 1958 Stone, Peter. “Baroque Pearls—1.” *Apollo* (December 1958): 194–199, fig. 14.
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- 1974 Heiniger, Ernst A., and Jean Heiniger. *The Great Book of Jewels*. Boston, 1974: 170, color repro.
- 1979 Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography): 251–252, color pl. 31, no. 688.
- 1981 Newman 1981 (see Biography): 118, 119 repro.
- 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 166, color repro.

## Pendant with the head of Medusa

1942.9.306 (C-31)  
1885/1890  
Chalcedony; gold enameled in black, white, pale blue, translucent red, blue and green; 6 diamonds, 4 rubies, 1 pearl  
12 x 6.8 x 2.5 (4<sup>11/16</sup> x 2<sup>11/16</sup> x 1)  
Widener Collection

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Table-cut stones are in rectangular box settings. The enamel does not always fill the cavities provided. There has been some loss of enamel. The chalcedony is drilled through both vertically and horizontally. Four pin hinges connect the black enameled flange on the reverse side. The flange is worked separately so that the gem can be put into the mounting. The stone under the suspension loop could be quartz. The diamonds are of inferior quality.

#### PROVENANCE

Said to have belonged to Count Stephan Keglevich (1740–1793), Vienna.<sup>1</sup> Said to have belonged to the duke of Marlborough, Blenheim Palace.<sup>2</sup> (Duveen), New York; pur-

chased 3 February 1923 by Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, probably as Italian, sixteenth century. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, after purchase by funds of the Estate.

This pendant has not been studied thoroughly and is treated rather uniformly in the literature. Steingräber places it in northern Italy.<sup>3</sup> Lesley is also of this opinion, but localizes it more precisely in Milan.<sup>4</sup> Both authors date the pendant about 1570. Hackenbroch, who also regards it as a work from Milan, dates it around 1550 to 1579.<sup>5</sup> All three scholars consider the Medusa cameo and its setting to be a unit.

The enameled tendrils of the setting consist of a single motif which is repeated eight times on each side. This is not unusual. What does make the ornament unusual is that it is a copy of an appliqué in the setting of the base plate of the “Fuente de los

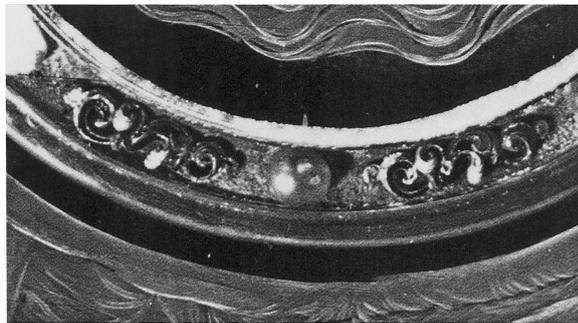


Alfred André, *Pendant with the head of Medusa*,  
1942.9.306

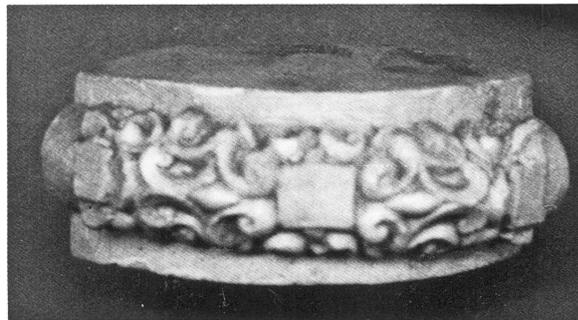


1942.9.306, back

**Fig. 1** *Fuente de los Doce Cesares*, c. 1580, detail of appliqué in the setting of the base plate, Madrid, Museo del Prado, *Alhajas del Delfín*, 80



**Fig. 2** Alfred André, model for a mounting, plaster, Paris, private collection



doce Cesares" in the *Alhajas del Delfin* of the Museo del Prado, which must be attributed to the Saracchi workshop (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> In technical execution this copy is in all details cruder than the original. It corresponds exactly to works done in André's workshop.

Among André's models is one of plaster for a circular setting of identical design in all details and even in the position of the stone (fig. 2). Still, it need not be the model for the Medusa pendant because the ring is smaller and circular in form. Either André altered the model for the cameo, or it was intended to be used for another piece which has not been found. In any case, it proves that André had copied the design in Madrid. His latest opportunity to do so would have been the occasion of the delivery of the restored Milanese casket in 1885 (see page 282). Details of André's additions to the casket confirm the connection and establish authorship for the Medusa setting. The stones on both main axes of the setting rest on small, flat red-enamelled pieces formed like four connected leaves, whose crescent-shaped sides face inward toward the setting. This small motif is repeated in similar form on the lid of the Madrid casket in the middle of the shorter sides, on both sides of the oval rock-crystal plate depicting Apollo in the sun chariot.<sup>7</sup> The motif is used again on the horse's body in the pendant depicting the centaur (1942.9.310). Both stones on the central axis of the pendant are set upright, and their settings have rectangular attachments at the side. Such attachments, which would be unusual for Italy in the sixteenth century, appear on the chain of the riding Cupid in the British Museum<sup>8</sup> for which the model by André has survived. The Medusa cameo is directly encircled by a black molding with golden transverse bands. Similar moldings appear on the cameo settings on the base of the Madrid casket.<sup>9</sup> The moldings in both cases are identically made and differ from those of the sixteenth century.

With regard to the technical execution of the details, André's other secure works, for instance the medallion depicting the Flaying of Marsyas in the Lehman collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, point toward him as the maker of this gem.<sup>10</sup> His models for this medallion, which has a related frame but whose rolled ornaments remain in a single plane, have survived.

The copy of the ornamental motif after a late sixteenth-century example in Madrid, the existence of a model of the same type, and the analogies with the additions on the Madrid casket and with other works by André are together sufficient evidence to establish André's authorship for the setting of the Medusa. The references to the Madrid pieces suggest a date shortly after 1885.

The problem of the cameo's historical position still remains. The head of the Medusa, made of pale blue chalcedony, pretends to be an antique *phalera*, especially since it has two crossing drilled channels, senseless in this mounting. Such drilling appears only on gems worn as marks of distinction in Roman antiquity. The style of stone carving, the impressionistic treatment of the hair, the form of the mouth, and the whole modeling of the face, however, have nothing to do with the antique. Medusa was an often-used motif in ancient gem cutting.<sup>11</sup> Probably the most famous examples are the Tazza Farnese in Naples and the Marlborough Medusa.<sup>12</sup> A comparison with any of the larger cameos depicting this theme from the hellenistic or early Imperial period, the time at which the Gallery's Medusa stone pretends to originate, shows the distance in creative power both in details and in the overall effect.

If the stone is not antique, one may ask whether it could have originated in the Renaissance. The head of Medusa is a relatively rare theme during that period.<sup>13</sup> The Medusa had by then lost its magic-apotropaic character and turned into an ornamental motif. As such, the best examples in the minor arts of the sixteenth century appear on rock-crystal or agate vessels.<sup>14</sup> But no stylistic connections can be established with these Medusas either. The drilling would also be inexplicable in a Renaissance cameo. The only conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that one of André's coworkers produced the head of the Medusa in the style of the antique *phalera*, at the same time as the setting was made. The closest stylistic analogies can be found in the gems of the Madrid casket. The type of the then-famous Medusa Rondanini, in the Glyptothek in Munich, considered the best of several surviving copies after the shield of the Athena Parthenos, served as a model.<sup>15</sup> Comparison with this marble sculpture again makes it clear that the gem cutter was not able to produce a Medusa close to the great forms of antiquity. R.D.

#### NOTES

1. This is neither verifiable nor possible, since the object was created only in the nineteenth century.

2 M H Nevel Story-Maskelyne, *The Marlborough Gems* (London, 1890), makes no mention of this work

3 Steingraber 1956, 113, fig 185, English ed 1957, 112, fig 185

4 Parker Lesley, unpublished statement, 1973, in NGA curatorial files

5 Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), 41, no 76, and color pl 4

6 Inv no 80 Diego Angulo Inuez, *Catalogo de las Alhajas del Delfin* (Madrid, 1989), 132-135, no 80, color repros Ernst Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneidekunst in der italienischen Renaissance*, 2 vols (1929, reprint, Vienna, 1979), pl 159, no 556

7 A good reproduction of this detail appears in Teresa Ruiz Alcon, "Dos arquetas de arte italiano e el Palacio de Oriente," *Reales Sitios* 10 (1973), 68, color pl 7

8 Hugh Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum I The Jewels* (London, 1986), no 18, color pls 14, 15, Hackenbroch 1979, no 410

9 The same molding and a variation of the small crescents around the gems also occur in the setting of a pendant with the profile of Emperor Charles V in the Thyssen Bornemisza collection, Lugano, which probably originated in Andre's workshop as well Compare Anna Somers Cocks and Charles Truman, *The Thyssen Bornemisza Collection Renaissance Jewels, Gold Boxes and Objets de Vertu* (London, 1984), no 40, in this catalogue erroneously called Viennese, but with the right date of late nineteenth century

10 Hackenbroch 1979, no 36, color pl 1

11 Ernst Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini* (Stuttgart, 1958), pl 21, no 5, pl 23, no 4, pl 24, no 5, pl 25, no 2, pl 27, nos 1-6, pl 28, nos 1-4, pl 29, nos 1-3

12 Buschor 1958, pl 23, no 4, pl 24, no 5

13 Compare Fritz Eichler and Ernst Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum* (Vienna, 1927), nos 286, 511, 521

14 Compare Kris 1979, nos 161, 166, 442, 560, 571

15 Buschor 1958, pl 1

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 1956 Steingraber, Erich *Alter Schmuck* Munich, 1956 113, fig 185, English ed 1957 112, fig 185  
 1979 Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography) 41, no 76, color pl 4  
 1981 Newman 1981 (see Biography) 198, 199  
 1983 Wilson 1983 165

## Pendant with a mermaid

1942.9.308 (C-33)  
1885/1890

A baroque pearl, gold enameled in white, black, pale blue, translucent blue, red, and green; 14 diamonds, 10 rubies, 9 pearls

With chain: 13.2 x 7.6 x 1.1 (5¼ x 3 x ⅜)  
Widener Collection

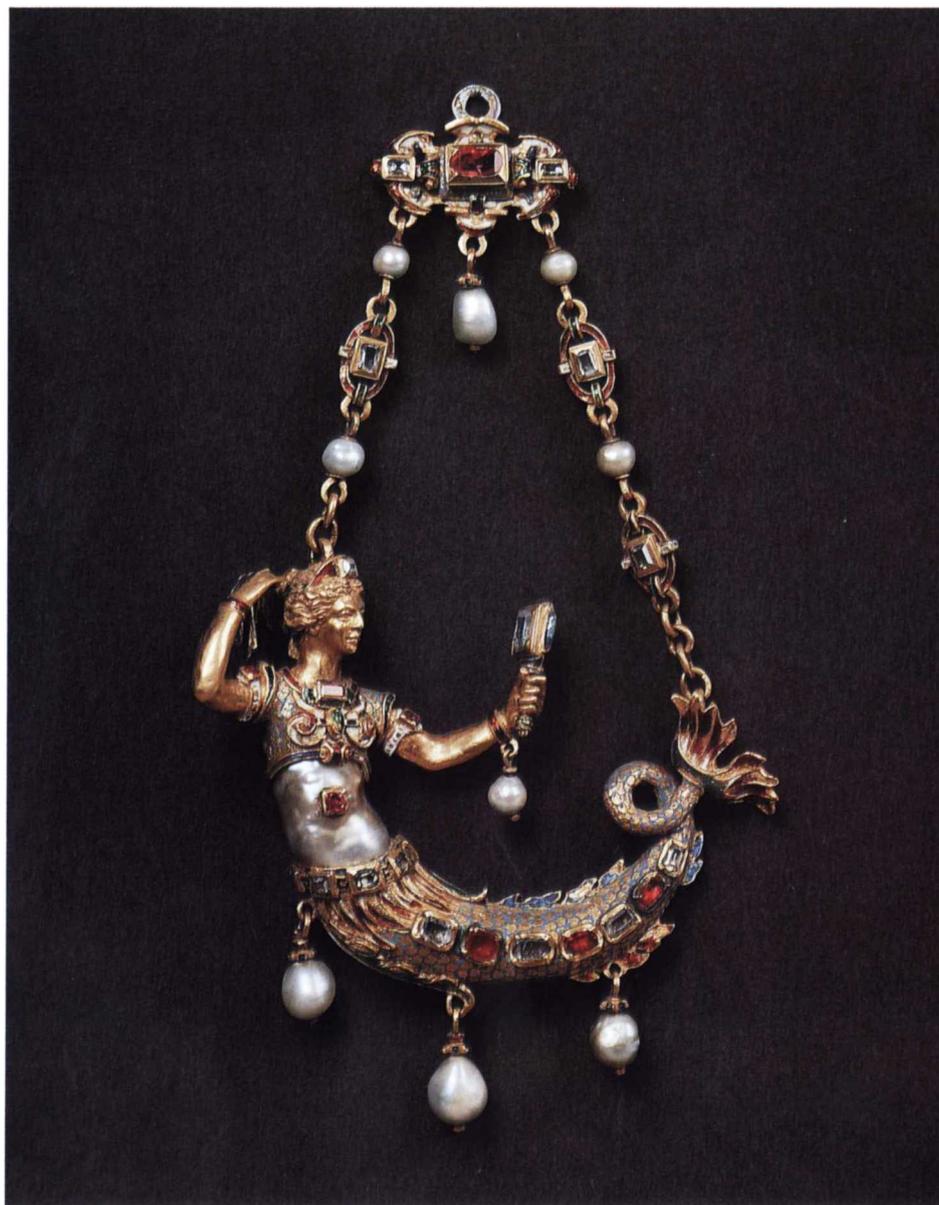
### TECHNICAL NOTES

This piece contains table-cut stones. There are rectangular box settings on the cartouche shield, chain, body, and

belt, and a bowl setting reduced to a thin fluting on the fish's body. The enamel is slightly chipped.

### PROVENANCE

Said to have belonged to Comtesse Batowska (city unknown). Charles Wertheimer collection, London. (Duveen), New York; purchased 28 October 1911 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, probably as Italian sixteenth century, style of Benvenuto Cellini. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.



The jewel has been cited repeatedly in publications and has been reproduced numerous times. In the 1935 Widener catalogue it is listed as "Italian work of the XVI century, style of Benvenuto Cellini."<sup>1</sup> Stone and Kriss-Rettenbeck agree with this attribution, the latter specifying the date as about 1570.<sup>2</sup> Steingraber designates it North Italian, about 1570.<sup>3</sup> Lesley dates the pendant around 1580 to 1585 and supports a South German origin based on its motif and the enameling technique used. He dates the chain earlier (!), however, about 1570, and considers it to be a North Italian addition.<sup>4</sup> Newman agrees with this designation.<sup>5</sup> Wilson accepts South German, between about 1580 and 1590.<sup>6</sup>

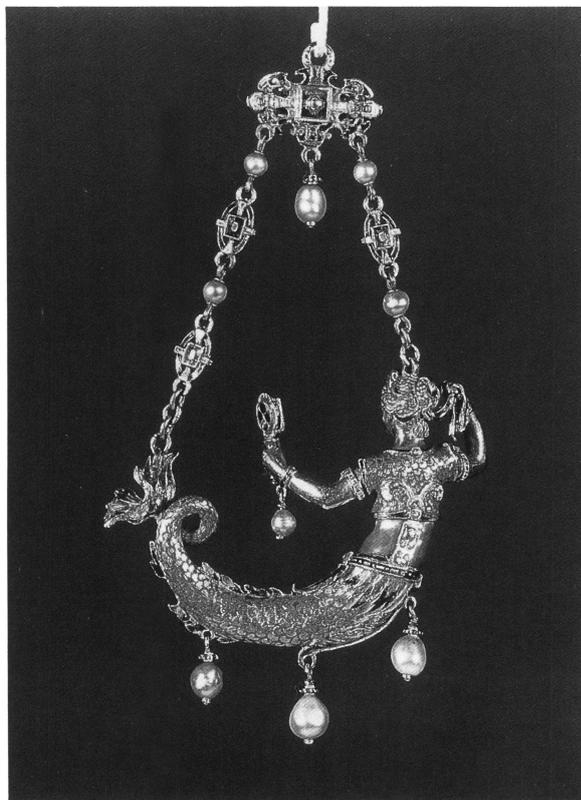
The lack of compactness and balance in the design is striking when one compares this piece with the mermaid pendants securely dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, like the one in Florence and the three in Dresden.<sup>7</sup> This results in empty spaces on the long curved body and the loss of formal balance between the right and left half of the jewel. The mermaid's pose is repeated in Spanish silver pendants of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some of which are combined with whistles.<sup>8</sup> One of these Spanish pendants from the Germanische Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg was

published in 1863, without mention of the provenance, as a work of the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The National Gallery mermaid was evidently inspired by such simple pendants, in which the position of the mermaid's arm is nearly identical. Thus, this form, which deviates from the mermaid jewels of the sixteenth century, is based on a misconception: a design of the eighteenth century has been adorned with ornaments in the style of the sixteenth. This alone argues for a nineteenth-century origin. The ornaments of the mermaid's upper body, like the ones of the pendant depicting a sphinx (1942.9.307), are borrowed from the siren handles of hardstone vessels of the sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

A very similar mermaid jewel, which Clare Vincent dates around 1870 to 1895, is in the Linsky collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>11</sup> Based on the analogies found even in details, it can be assumed that both pieces were designed by the same artist and executed in the same workshop. However, the comparison made in the Linsky catalogue with the designs by Reinhold Vasters for a mermaid pendant now in the Victoria and Albert Museum is not sufficient to attribute both pieces to that master.<sup>12</sup>

No model by André has been found. Still, it is evident that the mermaid pendant is a piece of work from his atelier. This is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of the details with those of the Triton (1942.9.309) and the Sphinx (1942.9.307), as explained in the preceding entry concerning the sphinx. The connection to André's work becomes most evident in the execution of the fish's body. The five acanthus leaves with green tips and the fins are executed in exactly the same way as the ones on the Triton pendant, for which a wax model by André – for the fish's body – exists.

Several details connect the mermaid with the sphinx: the treatment of the hair, with similar coiffure and knots and a band woven in; the enamel on the mirror; rectangles between the stones on the belt, which appear on the sphinx's base; the mountings of the hanging pearls, which are decorated with enamel pellets on both jewels;<sup>13</sup> and the chain. The suspension element, composed as an oval, is a variation of the large links of the Sphinx necklace. Both consist of the same elements: a larger central stone flanked by two smaller stones; four club-shaped red enameled arches and four small leaves curving outward. The oval links of the chain, with small, rectangular lateral mountings for the diamond setting, are a simplified variation of the smaller chain links of the sphinx. They can probably be traced back to a design by Vasters in the Victoria and Albert Mu-



1942.9.308, back

seum (inv. number E2857-1919), which is executed in a nearly identical way on an eagle pendant in a private collection.<sup>14</sup>

The demonstrated connections with the two Washington jewels for which models by André exist seem to confirm his authorship of the mermaid pendant. The close analogies to the Triton suggest a date after 1885. R.D.

#### NOTES

1. Widener 1935, 47.
2. Stone 1959, 33, fig. 5; Hansmann and Kriss-Rettenbeck 1966, 111, fig. 298.
3. Steingraber 1956, 114, fig. 190; English ed. 1957, 113, fig. 190.
4. Unpublished statement, 1973, in NGA curatorial files.
5. Newman 1981 (see Biography), 199, 200, repro.
6. C. Wilson 1983, 165, 166, repro., frontispiece.
7. Compare Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), no. 642; Ulli Arnold, *Grünes Gewölbe: Schmuckanhänger*, 3d ed. (Dresden, 1970), figs. 7–10.
8. Hansmann and Kriss-Rettenbeck 1966, figs. 724, 725.
9. Carl Becker and Jakob (Heinrich) von Hefner-Alteneck, *Kunstwerke und Gerätschaften des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt, 1863), pl. 45.

10. See note 7.

11. *Linsky Collection* 1984 (see Biography), no. 116.

12. Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. nos. E 2800-1919, E 2802-1919, E 2827-1919. Hackenbroch 1986 (see Biography), 163–268, figs. 23–25.

13. It appears on other jewels by André as well. Compare Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), nos. 181, 416, 753, color pl. 10.

14. Compare Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), no. 839, color pl. 45.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 47.
- 1956 Steingraber, Erich. *Alter Schmuck*. Munich, 1956: 114, fig. 190; English ed., 1957: 113, fig. 190.
- 1959 Stone, Peter. "Baroque Pearls—II." *Apollo* (February 1959), 33, fig. 5.
- 1960 Wilkens, Manja. *Das Schmuckbrevier*. Hamburg, 1960: 141–142, pl. 20.
- 1966 Hansmann, Liselotte, and Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck. *Amulett und Talisman*. Munich, 1966: 111, fig. 298.
- 1974 Fröhlich, Ruth and Max, eds. *Benvenuto Cellini: Abhandlungen über die Goldschmiedekunst und die Bildhauerei*. Basel, 1974: 55, color repro.
- 1974 Heiniger, Ernst A., and Jean Heiniger. *The Great Book of Jewels*. Boston, 1974: 230, repro.
- 1981 Newman 1981 (see Biography): 199, 200, repro.
- 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 165, 166, repro., frontispiece.

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## Pendant with a Triton

1942.9.309 (C-34)

1885/1890

A baroque pearl; gold enameled in white, black, translucent red, green, blue, and yellow; 2 diamonds, 37 rubies, 4 pearls

With chain: 13.1 x 7.6 x 2.25 (5 1/8 x 3 x 7/8)

Widener Collection

#### TECHNICAL NOTES

Table-cut stones are in rectangular box settings with flat shields. There has been slight enamel loss.

#### PROVENANCE

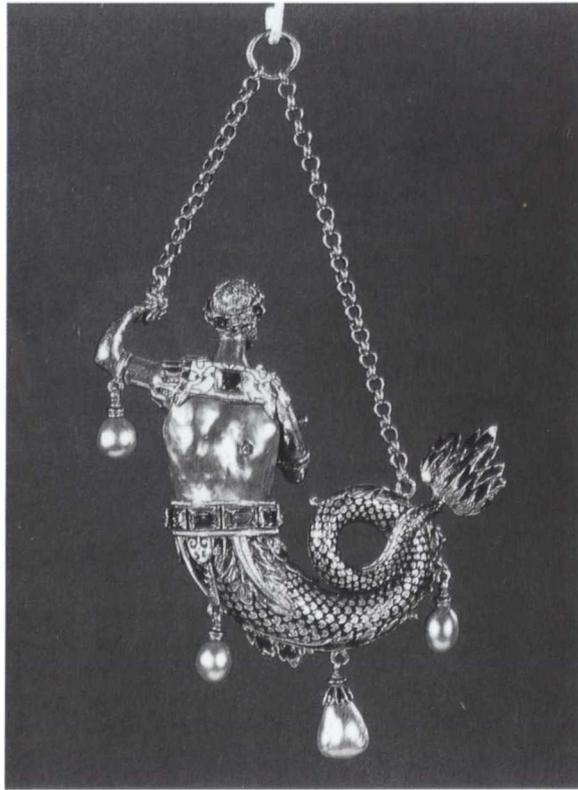
(Goldschmidt), New York; purchased 31 December 1911 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, probably as Italian sixteenth century. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.

The 1935 Widener catalogue designates the pendant as an Italian work of the sixteenth century, and Stone adopts this opinion.<sup>1</sup> Steingraber publishes the work as upper Italian and dates it about 1570.<sup>2</sup> Lesley concludes that it is probably Spanish, between about 1590 and 1600, by an artist trained in South Germany from about 1580 to 1590.<sup>3</sup>

A wax model by Alfred André for the fish's body of the triton has been preserved (figs. 1, 2). The model is in bad condition. The tail fin is broken off, the fins and acanthus leaves are deformed, and the paint is badly damaged. There is nevertheless no doubt that it is indeed the model for the triton. The following features are identical: the row of rubies between two light bands on the front and the back and gold scales on the reverse; the green acanthus

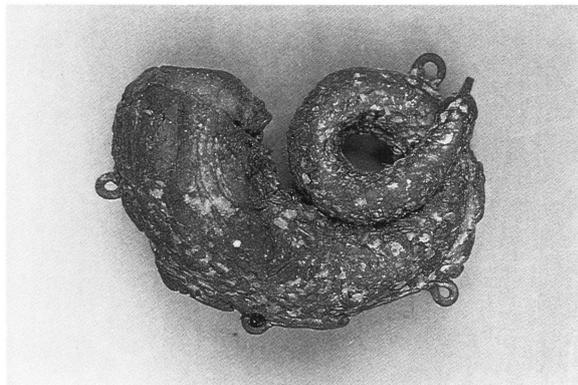


Alfred André, *Pendant with a Triton*, 1942.9.309



1942.9.309, back

**Fig. 1** Alfred André, model for the front of the fish body of the triton pendant, painted wax, Paris, private collection



**Fig. 2** Alfred André, model for the back of the fish body of the triton pendant, painted wax, Paris, private collection



leaves with a broad cross piece hanging from the belt on the back (the leaves on the front of the model are deformed, the belt is missing); the red enamel of the fins, and the green leaf at the top of the tail spiral at the suspension loop. In the execution, the body of the fish became somewhat more slender and the positions of the loops for the three hanging pearls were slightly altered. The upper part, made of a large "baroque" pearl, is not a particularly successful completion of the fish's body. It throws the jewel out of balance and is probably the reason why the pearls were attached at a different place from that of the model. The head is too small and the arms too weak.

André was inspired by Spanish models when he designed the ornamental golden strokes on the white enamel. For the fish's body he adapted the ornament of the Christ child pendant in the Musée du Louvre.<sup>4</sup> The ornament on the shoulder is rather similar to that of the base of the pendant representing Saint Anthony in the Museo Arqueológico in Madrid.<sup>5</sup> The enamel ring on the setting of the hanging pearls is repeated on the Linsky mermaid in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and on the Medusa pendant (1942.9.306). The piece should probably be dated after 1885, the year of André's trip to Spain. R.D.

#### NOTES

1. Widener 1935, 47–48; Stone 1959, 33, fig. 4.
2. Steingräber 1956, 114, fig. 191; English ed. 1957, 113, fig. 191.
3. Parker Lesley, unpublished statement, 1973, in NGA curatorial files.
4. Priscilla E. Muller, *Jewels in Spain 1500–1800* (New York, 1972), 74, fig. 108.
5. Hackenbroch 1979, no. 916.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 47–48.  
 1956 Steingräber, Erich. *Alter Schmuck*. Munich, 1956: 114, fig. 191. English ed. 1957: 113, fig. 191.  
 1959 Stone, Peter. "Baroque Pearls—II." *Apollo* (February 1959): 33, fig. 4.  
 1981 Newman 1981: 313.

## Pendant with a centaur

1942.9.310 (C-35)  
1885/1890

A baroque pearl; gold enameled in black, white, pale blue, translucent red, green, and blue; 2 emeralds, 2 rubies, 1 piece of rock crystal or glass, 4 hanging pearls, 10 small pearls in the chain

With chain: 13.1 x 5.5 x 2.1 (5 1/8 x 2 1/8 x 7/8)

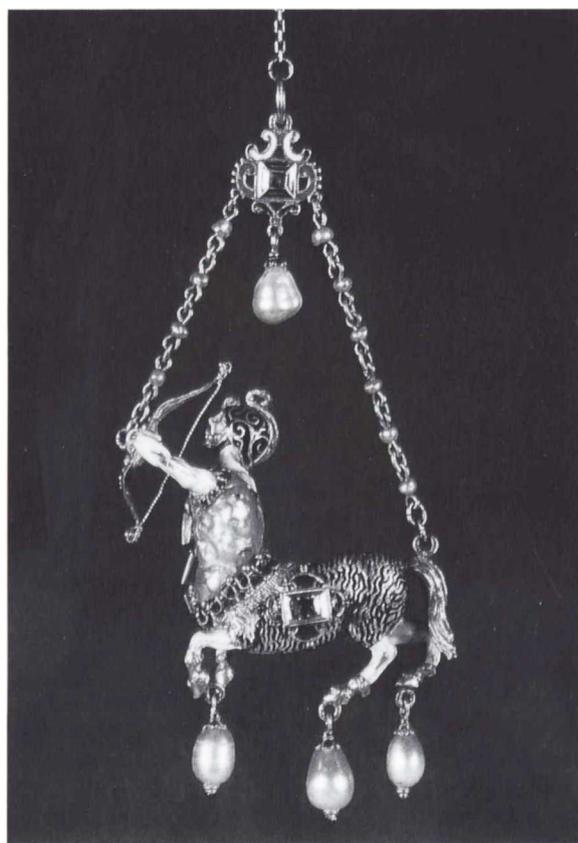
Widener Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

Table-cut gems are in rectangular box settings. There has been slight enamel loss.

### PROVENANCE

Said to have belonged to Comtesse Batowska (city unknown). Charles Wertheimer, London. (Duveen), New York; purchased 28 October 1911 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, probably as Italian sixteenth century. Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.



1942.9.310, back

The pendant has attracted very little attention in publications dealing with jewelry. The 1935 Widener catalogue refers to it as an Italian work of the sixteenth century, and Newman accepts this attribution.<sup>1</sup> Hackenbroch also dates the object to the sixteenth century but, based on relationships to drawings in the *Llibres de Passanties* from Barcelona, considers it Spanish.<sup>2</sup>

Neither a design by Vasters nor a model by André exists for this jewel. Yet a close examination places it clearly among the works of André. The pendant was undoubtedly inspired by Spanish designs. André's models support the conclusion that the master was in Barcelona and studied the drawings in the *Llibres de Passanties* of the goldsmiths of that city, which were kept in the Instituto Municipal de Historia de la Ciudad. There is, for example, a model for the rooster pendant which is closer in design to the drawings in the *Llibres*<sup>3</sup> than to the pendant depicting a rooster in the treasury of the Barcelona Cathedral,<sup>4</sup> although it is a pastiche of both.<sup>5</sup> Several models reveal how closely André had studied the drawings in these books: there are three models of ship pendants of the type of the drawing of folio 319,<sup>6</sup> three mermaids in Spanish style, including one of the type of drawing of folio 283,<sup>7</sup> and several eagles, among them the type of folio 7v.<sup>8</sup> A model of a hippocamp on which Neptune stands, similar to the one in the British Museum,<sup>9</sup> a reclining cat, and a sitting lion are also in Spanish style. The fish in a New York private collection, for which the exact model exists, is executed in its entirety by André.<sup>10</sup>

The leaping centaur appears several times in the *Llibres de Passanties*.<sup>11</sup> A surviving jewel of this type is in the Hispanic Society of America in New York.<sup>12</sup> These models show that the centaur is usually holding a weapon (club or trident) in one hand and a shield in the other. In one of the drawings the centaur is drawing a bow but does not leap.<sup>13</sup> The centaur in the National Gallery has his left arm bent as if he were supposed to hold a shield in front of him, while his right hand is in a better position to draw a bow than merely to hold the arrow. As in many other models by André, a free compilation of motifs has obscured the meaning. None of the prototypes has pearls hanging from the hooves. These pearls are too big in relation to the horse's legs. Consequently, no pearl was attached to the fourth hoof, because overlapping would have occurred. The pearls, like the positioning of arrow and bow, show a



certain irrelevance to the theme of the jewel, a phenomenon similar to the case of the Europa (1942.9.304).

Models for the details also exist among the Barcelona drawings: for the form and decoration of the helmet, folio 346;<sup>14</sup> for the rectangular neckline, the stone on the chest, and the garland around the hips, folios 328 and 318.<sup>15</sup> The horse's coat is designed in the same manner as in a drawing of folio 385, which illustrates a pendant with a lamb lying down.<sup>16</sup>

The eclectic compilation of motifs from several designs in these books, and the alterations reveal the centaur as a work of the nineteenth century. The evidence that André had indeed studied the *Libres de Passanties* and the apparent relation of the centaur to these books are arguments in favor of attributing this work to the Parisian master craftsman. Furthermore, André decorated the centaur with ornaments typical of his style. The gem setting on the horse's body with its four small crescent-shaped plates is already known from the Medusa pendant (1924.9.306), but does not appear in the works that served as models. The form of the enameled gold setting and the gem on the chest, which is glass or quartz, has a variant in the setting of the Jupiter cameo in the Linsky collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>17</sup> for which a wax model made by André exists. The suspension element is completely in André's style and variations of it are found in his models, but not in the Renaissance prototypes.<sup>18</sup> Finally, the enamel colors and the technical execution of the details correspond with the work of André's workshop.

It can be assumed that André studied the Barcelona drawings when he returned from his trip to Madrid in 1885; therefore, the jewel is to be dated after 1885. R.D.

#### NOTES

1. Widener 1935, 48; Newman 1981 (see Biography), 61.
2. Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), 320, no. 826.
3. Priscilla E. Muller, *Jewels in Spain 1500-1800* (New York, 1972), 97, fig. 155.
4. Muller 1972, color pl. 9.
5. The cornucopia on which the rooster of the model stands is nearly identical with the one in a Vasters drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. E2843-1919), on which a dog is depicted; exh. cat. London 1980 (see Biography), no. HG7, compare the jewel no. h 23. This raises a question as to whether all of Vasters' designs are indeed by Vasters.
6. Muller 1972, 70, fig. 96.
7. Muller 1972, 84, fig. 127.
8. Muller 1972, color pl. 5.
9. Hugh Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum 1. The Jewels* (London, 1986), no. 22, color pl. 22.
10. Muller 1972, 87, fig. 132.
11. Muller 1972, 82-83, figs. 122, 123, 124.
12. Muller 1972, frontispiece, 83, fig. 125.
13. Muller 1972, 82, fig. 121.
14. Muller 1972, 91, fig. 141.
15. Muller 1972, 82, 83, figs. 122, 123.
16. Muller 1972, 95, fig. 151.
17. Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), no. 78, color pl. 4.
18. See the suspension element of the medallion in Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), no. 753, for which a model by André exists.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 48.  
1972 Neumann, Robert von. *The Design and Creation of Jewelry*. Rev. ed. New York and Philadelphia, 1972: 13, fig. 4.  
1979 Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography): 320, no. 836.  
1981 Newman 1981 (see Biography): 61.

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## Necklace and Pendant with a sphinx

1942.9.307 (C-32)

c. 1890

Gold enameled in white, black, translucent red, blue, and green; 28 diamonds, 5 emeralds, 43 rubies, 37 pearls

Pendant only: 11.1 x 5.2 x 1.5 (4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 2 x <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>); chain: L. 60.7 (23<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>)

Widener Collection

### TECHNICAL NOTES

The necklace has table-cut stones with rectangular box settings; the settings of the smaller stones are soldered on. There has been some enamel loss. The large chain links are composed of two parts mounted over one

another. The sphinx is screwed to the back grid frame and to the console, which is attached to the grid. The parts of the surface which are not enameled are either punch tooled or lined. Modern screws are used.

### PROVENANCE

Said to have belonged to Comtesse Batowska (city unknown). Charles Wertheimer, London. (Duveen), New York; purchased 28 October 1911 by P. A. B. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, probably as Italian sixteenth century (Benvenuto Cellini). Inheritance from the Estate of Peter A. B. Widener by gift through power of appointment of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park.





1942.9.307, back



1942.9.307, side

The various datings and localizations of this jewel proposed in the literature have never been sufficiently proven. The 1935 Widener catalogue lists it as: "Italian work of the XVI century (Benvenuto Cellini)," merely repeating the designation under which the jewel was purchased.<sup>1</sup> Steingraber regards it as a work from North Italy dated about 1570, whereas Hackenbroch feels it was created in the Netherlands about 1585 to 1590.<sup>2</sup> Wilson adopts this opinion.<sup>3</sup> Newman accepts Steingraber's attribution.<sup>4</sup> Lesley points to the stylistic and technical differences between the framework to which the sphinx is bolted and the sphinx itself. He dates the sphinx 1570 and the frame 1590, and localizes both to Florence. He is of the opinion that the sphinx was restored and renamed and, as part of this restoration, was attached to the frame.<sup>5</sup>

The problem with this jewel starts with the figure of the "sphinx," which is strikingly unhomogenous in design: the figure gets smaller at the bottom; the upper part of the body and the head are not designed in proportion with the lower part of the body. The figure is a pastiche of two motifs of different themes. The legs and the lower body do not belong to a sphinx, but were adapted from squatting satyresses as they appear in ornamental engravings of the sixteenth century or in the design for a pendant in Berlin, which is even flanked by two sphinxes.<sup>6</sup> A satyress is a spirit of nature and was, therefore, never richly ornamented.

The upper part, which is intended to turn the figure into a sphinx, finds its closest models in the winged female grotesque creatures whose bodies vanish into tendrils and in the so-called siren handles of the Milanese rock-crystal vessels of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> It is here that we find the ideas for the ornamental elements: the diadem, the volutes around the breasts, the belt with a gem in the center. Thus, the design of the sphinx is based on a misunderstanding of sixteenth-century ornament, and can, therefore, be identified as a historicizing compilation of the nineteenth century.

Again it can be proven that Alfred André is the creator, as he kept a plaster cast of the model (fig. 1). The model shows the complete figure of the sphinx and some projecting parts of the ornamental console on which the figure is mounted: the volutes on top of the head, the gems under the wings, the end of the rolled ornament below (approximately at knee level of the sphinx), the small dolphin heads at the end of the green enameled ornament on either side of the base, and the suspension of the hanging pearl in the middle. Furthermore, the ornamental link between the pendant and the chain is indicated. Thus, the piece must have been completely mounted at

Fig. 1 Alfred André,  
model of the sphinx  
pendant, plaster, Paris,  
private collection



the time of casting. The model gives the impression that it served as documentation for the private archive, as a reminder that this piece had left the workshop.

Certain details locate the pendant neatly within André's oeuvre. The grid that serves as a background for the sphinx widens toward the bottom and thus evens out the diminishing proportions of the figure. The lower part of the black-enamelled reverse is differently ornamented from the upper part of the enamelled reverse. The lower section finds its equivalent in the black-enamelled parts of the setting of the Jupiter cameo in the Linsky collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the upper section in the molding encircling the Marsyas medallion in the Lehman collection of the same museum.<sup>8</sup> Models by André exist for both comparable pieces.

The sphinx is closely related to the mermaid (1942.9.308) and the mermaid in the Linsky collection; Clare Vincent has already recognized the latter as work of the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The hairstyle with the large knot is repeated in all three pieces. The style of goldsmith work in the execution of the hair is also similar. The necklace of red-enamelled gold beads is found on the sphinx and the Linsky mermaid; the protruding enamel volutes on the setting of the large ruby under the chest of the sphinx have variants in the mirrors of both mermaids. The small rectangularly framed enamelled squares between the emeralds on the base on which the sphinx rests appear again between the gems of the belt of the National Gallery mermaid. It is precisely these small and insignificant ornamental motifs that prove the connection to the workshop.<sup>10</sup>

The large links of the chain consist of two parts. A ruby flanked by two pearls lies in the center of an oval base motif formed by red-enamelled curved clubs, with a diamond at each end. Two small leaves curve outward from the setting of the ruby. This motif is used in modified form on the suspension element of the Washington mermaid. Both are a variation of the flat gold enamel appliqués added by André in the middle of the long side of the Apollo panel on the lid of the Madrid casket. The small chain links are variations of the ornaments on the bellies of the satyrs that support the casket.<sup>11</sup>

It is unnecessary to continue the study of the details because it will lead again and again to the same result. There is no doubt that André was the creator of this piece. The pendant probably originated after the restoration of the Madrid casket, therefore around 1890. R.D.

#### NOTES

1. Widener 1935, 46–47.
2. Steingräber 1956, 114, fig. 192; English ed. 1957, 113, fig. 192. Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), 237–238, no. 637, color pl. 29.
3. C. Wilson 1983, 165.
4. Newman 1981 (see Biography), 287, color pl. 11.
5. Parker Lesley, unpublished note, 1973, in NGA curatorial files.
6. Compare Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Die ornamentale Grotteske in Deutschland 1500–1650*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1979), 2: nos. 333, 369, 597; Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), 77, fig. 176, center.
7. Compare Kris 1929 (see Biography), nos. 493, 520, pls. 129, 174; Rudolf Distelberger, "Beobachtungen zu den Steinschneidewerkstätten der Miseroni in Mailand und Prag," *JbWien* 74 (1978), 109, 111, 116, 118, 120, figs. 83, 86, 91, 94, 97, 98; Erich Steingräber, ed., *Schatzkammern Europas* (Munich, 1968), pl. 28, fig. 17, color pl. 78, fig. 18.
8. *Linsky Collection* 1984 (see Biography), no. 121; Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), nos. 78, 36, color pls. 4, 1.
9. *Linsky Collection* 1984 (see Biography), no. 116; Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography), no. 648, color pl. 28.
10. From the evidence of the sphinx and the Washington mermaid, the Linsky mermaid can be attributed to André as well.
11. Good reproductions of these details can be found in Teresa Ruiz Alcon, "Dos arquetas de arte italiano e el Palacio de Oriente," *Reales Sitios* 10 (1973), 65, 68, color pls. 1, 7.

#### REFERENCES

- 1935 Widener 1935: 46–47.  
 1956 Steingräber, Erich. *Alter Schmuck*. Munich, 1956: 114, fig. 192; English ed. 1957: 113, fig. 192.  
 1979 Hackenbroch 1979 (see Biography): 237–238, no. 637, color pl. 29.  
 1981 Newman 1981 (see Biography): 287, color pl. 11.  
 1983 C. Wilson 1983: 165.



## Concordance of Old-New Attributions/Dates

Old Attribution/Date	Accession No.	New Attribution/Date
Salimbene Andreoli (?)	1942.9.329	Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio
Attributed to Francesco Xanto Avelli	1942.9.339	Painted in the Urbino district or Gubbio; lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, or possibly in the workshop of Vincenzo Andreoli, Urbino
Cafaggiolo, c. 1510	1942.9.313	Probably Urbino district or Venice, c. 1510/1520
Castel Durante, c. 1530	1942.9.343	Probably Urbino district, c. 1520/1530
Castel Durante	1942.9.344	Urbino district
Attributed to Anonymous English, thirteenth century	1942.9.280	Probably English or Scandinavian, thirteenth century
Faenza, c. 1520	1942.9.341	Painted by Nicola da Urbino, Urbino, c. 1525
Flemish (Tournai), c. 1290	1942.9.283	Probably Italian or French, after Nicolas de Douai and Jacques de Nivelles, based on a design by Jacques d'Anchin, cast c. 1897/1908
Florentine, fifteenth century	1942.9.311-312	Executed by Giovanni di Domenico, 1498/1503
Franco-Flemish, fifteenth century	1942.9.286	German or Netherlandish, setting probably Italian, shell cameo, c. 1500; setting, c. 1500/1520, with later repairs and additions
Anonymous French, fifteenth century	1942.9.276	Probably French (imitator of Roman, second/third century A.D.), c. 1850
Gubbio, Deruta influence	1942.9.327	Deruta or possibly Gubbio
Gubbio, c. 1530	1942.9.336	Attributed to Nicola da Urbino or a close associate; probably lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, c. 1530/1535
Attributed to Anonymous Italian, sixteenth century, or Attributed to Anonymous Spanish, sixteenth century	1942.9.310	Alfred André, 1885/1890
Attributed to Jean de Court	1942.9.290	Workshop of Jean de Court
Netherlandish, probably Antwerp, c. 1580/1590	1942.9.304	Alfred André, 1870/1890
Netherlandish, last quarter sixteenth century	1942.9.307	Alfred André, c. 1890
North Italian, fifteenth century	1961.9.183	Pierre Reymond, mid-sixteenth century

Old Attribution/Date	Accession No.	New Attribution/Date
North Italian, fifteenth century	1961.9.184	Pierre Reymond, mid-sixteenth century
North Italian, probably Milanese, c. 1570	1942.9.306	Alfred André, 1885/1890
Jean Penicaud I	1942.9.288	Master of the Triptych of Louis XII
Rhenish/Mosan style, second half twelfth century	1942.9.282	Probably Rhenish or Mosan, c. 1150/1175
Siena (Maestro Benedetto?), c. 1510	1942.9.314	Probably Faenza or Venice, probably c. 1510/1525
Siena (Maestro Benedetto?), c. 1510	1942.9.315	Siena, c. 1510/1520
Sieneese, c. 1500	1961.9.186–194	Northern Italian, c. 1380/1400
South German, c. 1580/1590	1942.9.308	Alfred André, 1885/1890
South German, last quarter sixteenth century	1942.9.309	Alfred André, 1885/1890
Urbino (Maestro Guido of Castel Durante)	1942.9.346	Workshop of Guido Durantino, Urbino
Urbino, c. 1540	1942.9.340	Probably painted and lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, c. 1535/1540
Urbino, c. 1540	1942.9.347	Probably Urbino or Urbino district, c. 1540/1545
Urbino, c. 1540	1942.9.348	Attributed to Francesco Durantino, Urbino, c. 1540/1545
Venetian, c. 1400	1961.9.196	Possibly Florentine, c. 1480 (pax frame); western European, 1850/1875 (miniature)

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## Concordance of New-Old Accession Numbers

1942.9.276	C-12	Probably French (imitator of Roman) <i>Inkwell in the form of a grotesque head</i>
1942.9.277	C-1	Alexandrian cup <i>Chalice of the Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis</i>
1942.9.278	C-2	French (Limoges) <i>Reliquary châsse</i>
1942.9.279	C-3	Spanish (Catalan) <i>Ciborium</i>
1942.9.280	C-4	Probably English or Scandinavian <i>Aquamanile in the form of a horseman</i>
1942.9.281	C-5	Northern French or Mosan <i>Aquamanile in the form of a lion</i>
1942.9.282	C-6	Probably Rhenish or Mosan <i>Crucifix</i>
1942.9.283	C-7	Probably Italian or French, after Nicolas de Douai and Jacques de Nivelles, based on a design by Jacques d'Anchin <i>Saint Agnes</i>
1942.9.284	C-8	French (Limoges) <i>Pyx in the form of a dove</i>
1942.9.285	C-9	Western European <i>Diptych with scenes from the Life of Christ</i>
1942.9.286	C-10	German or Netherlandish, setting probably Italian <i>Pax: The Annunciation</i>
1942.9.287	C-11	Paris (Trinity and Angels); western European (setting) <i>Morse with the Trinity</i>
1942.9.288	C-13	Master of the Triptych of Louis XII <i>Triptych</i>
1942.9.289	C-14	Jean I Pénicaut <i>Plaque with the Last Supper</i>
1942.9.290	C-15	Jean de Court (Master I.C.) Workshop <i>Oval dish with the birth of Adonis</i>
1942.9.291	C-16	Martial Courteys <i>Oval dish with the Whore of Babylon</i>
1942.9.292	C-17	Léonard Limousin <i>Portrait of a Huguenot</i>
1942.9.293	C-18	Léonard Limousin <i>Round dish with the wedding feast of Cupid and Psyche</i>

1942.9.304	C-29	Alfred André <i>Pendant with Europa and the bull</i>
1942.9.306	C-31	Alfred André <i>Pendant with the head of Medusa</i>
1942.9.307	C-32	Alfred André <i>Necklace and Pendant with a sphinx</i>
1942.9.308	C-33	Alfred André <i>Pendant with a mermaid</i>
1942.9.309	C-34	Alfred André <i>Pendant with a Triton</i>
1942.9.310	C-35	Alfred André <i>Pendant with a centaur</i>
1942.9.311	C-36	Executed by Giovanni di Domenico <i>The Virgin Annunciate</i>
1942.9.312	C-37	Executed by Giovanni di Domenico <i>The Angel of the Annunciation</i>
1942.9.313	C-38	Probably Urbino district or Venice <i>Plate with border of putti and trophies amid grotesques; in the center, a winged putto standing, armed, in a landscape</i>
1942.9.314	C-39	Probably Faenza or Venice <i>Plate with border of grotesques on an orange ground and three shields of the arms of the Gritti of Venice; in the center, putti holding another shield of the same arms</i>
1942.9.315	C-40	Siena <i>Plate with border of grotesques on an orange ground; in the center, Narcissus gazing at his reflection in a fountain</i>
1942.9.316	C-41	Probably Tuscany or Faenza <i>Deep bowl with "Persian palmette" ornament; in the center, a profile bust of a young man wearing a wreath</i>
1942.9.317	C-42	Deruta <i>Large dish with segmental border of plant sprays and scale pattern; in the center, an emblematic female figure holding a crowned toad and cornucopia</i>
1942.9.318	C-43	Deruta <i>Large dish with running plant border; in the center, horsemen fighting</i>
1942.9.319	C-44	Deruta <i>Large dish with plant-pattern border; in the center, the arms of a Medici pope</i>
1942.9.320	C-45	Deruta <i>Large dish with scale border; in the center, an imperial Roman figure and the letter N crowned</i>

- 1942.9.321 C-46 Probably Deruta  
*Large dish with border of floral scrollwork with cornucopias and a crown; in the center, a griffin holding a shield of arms amid roses*
- 1942.9.322 C-47 Deruta  
*Large dish with border of floral scrollwork and cornucopias; in the center, profile bust of "Faustina"*
- 1942.9.323 C-48 Deruta  
*Large dish with segmental border of plant sprays and scale pattern; in the center, profile bust of a woman in a winged headdress*
- 1942.9.324 C-49 Deruta  
*Large dish with segmental border of half plant sprays and scale pattern; in the center, profile bust of a woman*
- 1942.9.325 C-50 Deruta  
*Large dish with scale border; in the center, the Madonna and Child*
- 1942.9.326 C-51 Attributed to the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio  
*Small flat plate with border of cornucopias, scrollwork, and lozenges in four sections; in the center, a bust of Saint Paul with raised sword*
- 1942.9.327 C-52 Deruta or possibly Gubbio  
*Plate with border of rounded hills within pointed arches with flowers between them; in the center, a wading bird between stylized plants*
- 1942.9.328 C-53 Deruta or possibly Gubbio  
*Plate with running plant border and geometric panels on well; in the center, profile bust of a man in armor*
- 1942.9.329 C-54 Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio  
*Broad-rimmed bowl with palmette and cornucopia border; in the center, shield of arms of the Saracinelli of Orvieto*
- 1942.9.330 C-55 Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio  
*Shallow bowl with Hercules overcoming Antaeus*
- 1942.9.331 C-56 Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio  
*Plate with border of foliate scrollwork; in the center, shield of arms of Vigerio of Savona*
- 1942.9.332 C-57 Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio  
*Plate with border of foliate scrollwork with dolphin heads and cornucopias; in the center, shield of arms of Vigerio of Savona*
- 1942.9.333 C-58 Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio; painting attributed to the Painter of the Three Graces  
*Plate with the reconciliation of Cupid and Minerva*
- 1942.9.334 C-59 Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio; painting by the Painter of the Three Graces  
*Flat plate with a battle scene*

- 1942.9.335 C-60 Workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio  
*Plate with border of palmettes and scrollwork; in the center, a shield of arms and the initials A.F.*
- 1942.9.336 C-61 Attributed to Nicola da Urbino or a close associate; probably lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio  
*Plate with Venus in her chariot and Cupid, riding through a night sky*
- 1942.9.337 C-62 Attributed to Francesco Xanto Avelli and a collaborator, probably in Urbino; probably lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, or by Vincenzo Andreoli, Urbino  
*Plate with Hero leaping to her death from her tower and the drowned Leander; in the center, a shield of arms*
- 1942.9.338 C-63 Attributed to Francesco Xanto Avelli, Urbino, possibly with assistants; lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, or possibly in Urbino  
*Shallow bowl on low foot with the death of Laocoön and his two sons*
- 1942.9.339 C-64 Painted in the Urbino district or Gubbio; lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio, or possibly in the workshop of Vincenzo Andreoli, Urbino  
*Plate with Jupiter, Juno, and Io transformed into a cow*
- 1942.9.340 C-65 Probably painted and lustered in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, Gubbio  
*Shallow bowl on low foot with the muse Clio riding on a swan through a watery landscape*
- 1942.9.341 C-66 Painted by Nicola da Urbino, Urbino  
*Panel with the Adoration of the Magi*
- 1942.9.342 C-67 Probably Faenza  
*Circular plaque with fruited wreath enclosing a shield of arms*
- 1942.9.343 C-68 Probably Urbino district  
*Broad-rimmed bowl with border of dolphins and "delphigriffs"; in the center, head of a young man*
- 1942.9.344 C-69 Urbino district  
*Broad-rimmed bowl with border of urns and cherubs' heads; in the center, device of a bird standing on a bundle with the inscription VINCENZO*
- 1942.9.345 C-70 Painted by Francesco Xanto Avelli, Urbino  
*Broad-rimmed bowl with Neptune raping Theophane; arms of Pucci with an ombrellino*
- 1942.9.346 C-71 Workshop of Guido Durantino, Urbino  
*Broad-rimmed bowl with the sacrifice of the Greeks at Aulis and the omen of the serpent devouring nine birds, interpreted by the priest Calchas; arms of Anne de Montmorency*
- 1942.9.347 C-72 Probably Urbino or Urbino district  
*Broad-rimmed bowl with Leda and the swan*
- 1942.9.348 C-73 Attributed to Francesco Durantino, Urbino  
*Plate with Bacchus seducing Erigone; at the top, a shield of arms*

1942.9.349	C-74	Painting attributed to Francesco Xanto Avelli, place of production uncertain <i>Shallow bowl on low foot with the Conversion of Saul</i>
1942.9.350	C-75	Probably Urbino or Urbino district <i>Plate with Hercules, Omphale, and Cupid</i>
1942.9.351	C-76	French, probably Saint-Porchaire (Deux-Sèvres) or Paris region <i>Cup on high foot with the royal arms of France crowned</i>
1942.9.352	C-77	French, probably Saint-Porchaire (Deux-Sèvres) or Paris region <i>Candlestick</i>
1942.9.353	C-78	French, probably Saint-Porchaire (Deux-Sèvres) <i>Salt</i>
1942.9.354	C-79	Medici porcelain factory, Florence <i>Flask</i>
1961.9.182	C-528	French (Limoges) <i>Book Cover with Christ in Majesty</i>
1961.9.183	C-529	Pierre Reymond <i>Plaque with Ganymede</i>
1961.9.184	C-530	Pierre Reymond <i>Plaque with Ixion</i>
1961.9.186	C-532	Northern Italian <i>Costume ornament with profile portrait</i>
1961.9.187	C-533	Northern Italian <i>Costume ornament with profile portrait</i>
1961.9.188	C-534	Northern Italian <i>Costume ornament with profile portrait</i>
1961.9.189	C-535	Northern Italian <i>Costume ornament with profile portrait</i>
1961.9.190	C-536	Northern Italian <i>Costume ornament with profile portrait</i>
1961.9.191	C-537	Northern Italian <i>Costume ornament with profile portrait</i>
1961.9.192	C-538	Northern Italian <i>Costume ornament with profile portrait</i>
1961.9.193	C-539	Northern Italian <i>Costume ornament with profile portrait</i>
1961.9.194	C-540	Northern Italian <i>Costume ornament with profile portrait</i>
1961.9.196	C-542	Possibly Florentine (pax frame) western European (miniature) <i>Pax with a miniature of the Nativity</i>



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