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Self-Portrait by Canaletto

H. J. WATSON

Ruffian Earl, Patron of Canaletto and others

FRANCIS HASKELL

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G. ST G. M. GOMPERTZ

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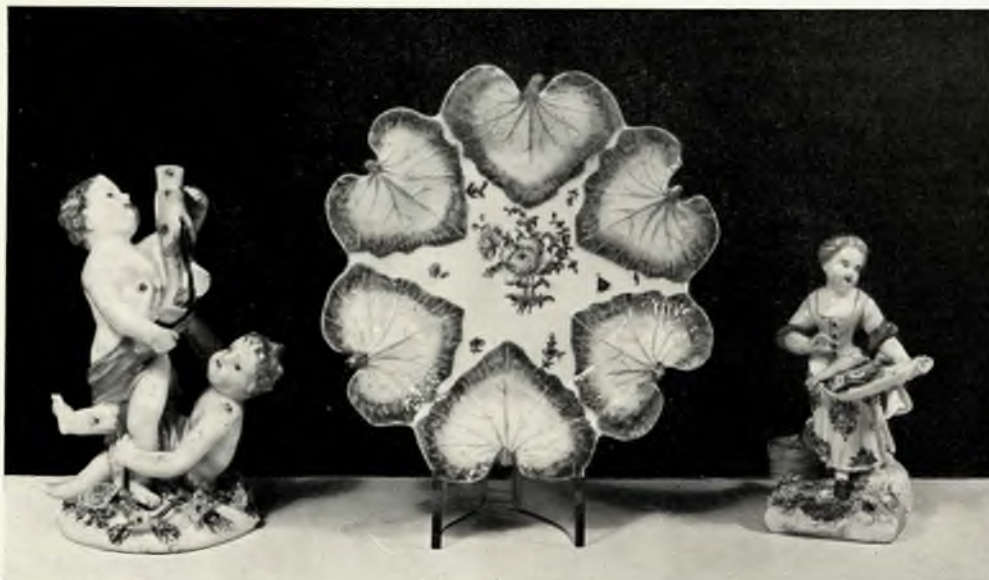
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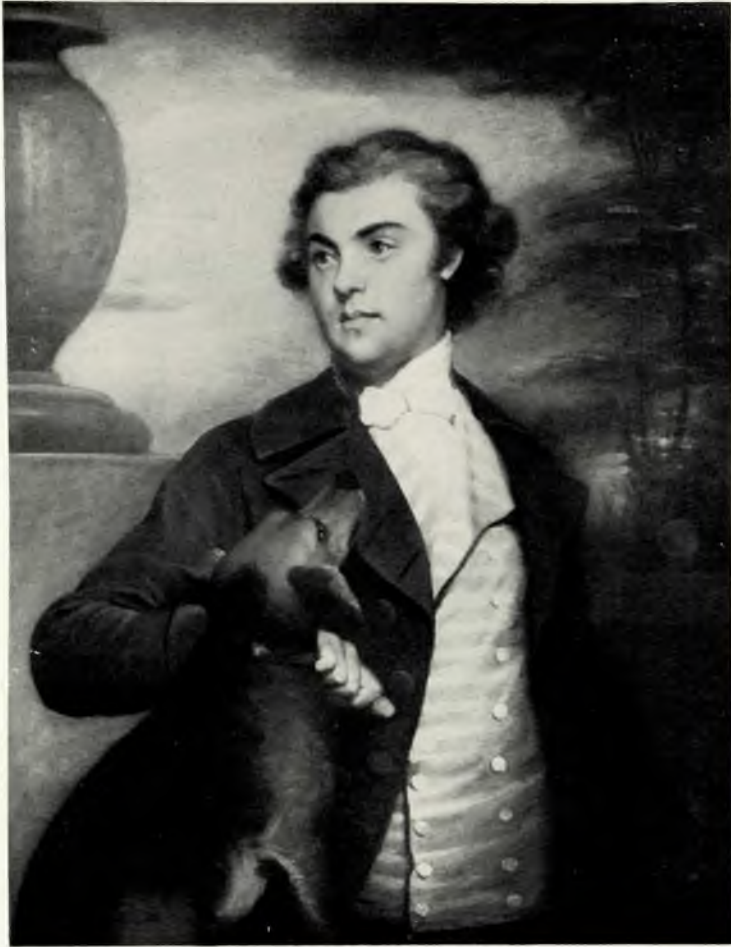
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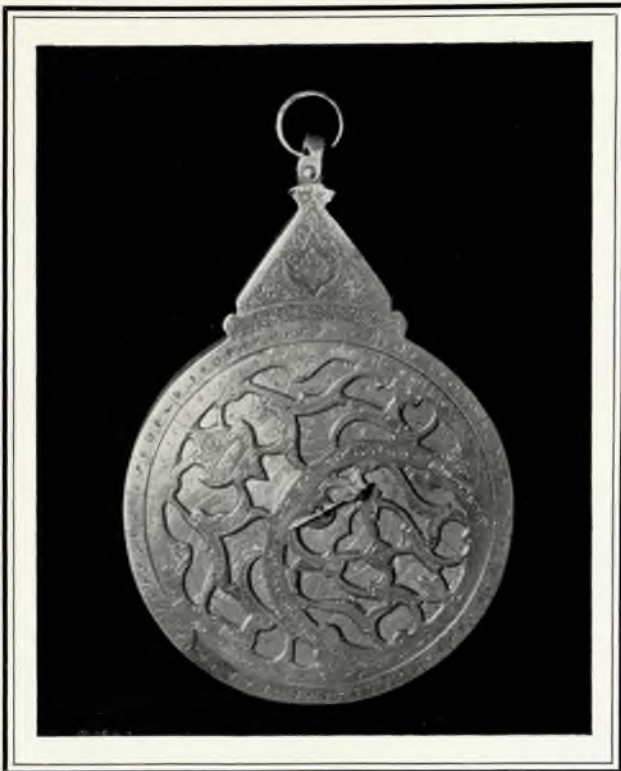
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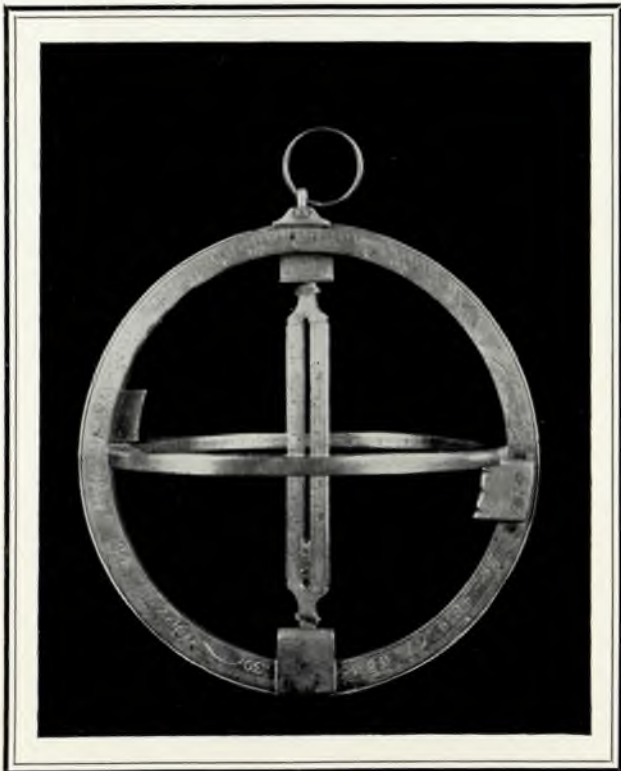


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1. Portrait of Giovanni Antonio Canale known as Canaletto, here ascribed to the artist himself. Panel, 35.6 by 28 cm. (Lord Fairhaven.)

93253 (1/4)

F. J. B. WATSON

A Self-Portrait by Canaletto

CANALETTO was so exclusively the painter of a single theme that it is very easy to forget that there are reasons to suppose that he made occasional excursions into other fields. Apart from the scene-painting and contributions to the McSwiny *Tombs*¹ of his early years there is, for instance, Cricco's statement² that he painted a *Holy Family* for the collegiate church at Mestre (the text makes it pretty certain that there was no confusion with his contemporary, the history painter, Fabio Canal) and an anonymous and well-informed guide book to *Windsor and its Environs* issued in 1768, after describing a number of most plausible view paintings of Rome and Venice by 'Candeletto' at Burford House, the seat of the Duke of St Albans, goes on to describe 'a curious Piece of Still-life'³ by the same hand, a painting which it would be interesting to trace.

Perhaps the most remarkable of these rare 'sports' is the small self-portrait in the possession of Lord Fairhaven, which is reproduced here (Fig. 1).⁴ It is painted on a panel (itself an unusual material for Canaletto to use) and shows the artist seated at an *œil-de-bœuf* window through which can be seen a view of the Thames with St Paul's in the distance. With his left hand he makes a vague gesture towards the landscape, while with his right he is engaged in drawing Wren's dome. The whole is framed in a feigned oval of stone round which is inscribed: GIO. ANTONIO DE CANALE ORIGINE CIVIS VENETUS at the top, and IL CELEBRE CANALE below. The form of the painting is reminiscent of the portrait of the artist engraved by Visentini as a frontispiece to the 1735 set of engraved views of Venice, *Prospectus Magni Canalis* . . . , and the artist's features are still recognizably those of the younger man depicted over a decade before. He wears a green coat with gold frogging over which a fur-lined cloak of murrey-coloured velvet is loosely slung. In spite of his age (he cannot have been less than 49, a fair advance into old age at that period) his jet-black Italianate hair shows no trace of grey, and on the little finger of his right hand he somewhat ostentatiously displays a diamond ring, perhaps an emblem of that considerable fortune which Vertue tells us he brought to London in 1746 with the intention of investing it in the English funds. The back of the chair in which he sits is surmounted by a carved coat of arms, its shield undecorated but supported by the lion and the unicorn of England.

One's first instinctive reaction is that the portrait must be of, but not by, Canaletto. But it is not easy to name a portrait-painter working in London in the decade 1746-56 who could

¹ Since the publication of the *Tomb of Lord Somers* (THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, xcvi [1953], pp. 362-5) two more of those tombs on which Canaletto collaborated have come to light.

² *Lettere sulle Belle Arti Trevigiane* [1833], p. 279.

³ Page 75. I am grateful to Mr Croft Murray for drawing my attention to this passage.

⁴ I am particularly indebted to the President of the Royal Academy for overcoming my incredulity and forcibly bringing this picture to my attention. And I should like to express my gratitude to Lord Fairhaven for allowing me to examine the painting at leisure, for having it specially photographed, and for allowing me to reproduce it here.

have executed this accomplished if aesthetically insignificant little portrait. Closer examination shows that the river scene in the background is painted in a technique which is unmistakably Canaletto's own⁵ and nothing else in the picture is incompatible with his usual handling.

Nothing was known of the portrait's earlier history when the present owner acquired it. There can be little doubt, however, that it came from Lord Clifden's collection, one of the *loci classici* for paintings by Canaletto and Guardi. In the catalogue of the sale of his pictures by Robinson and Fisher on 21st May 1895, Lot 783 appears as:

CANALETTO

A Portrait of Himself. Panel, 11 by 13½ in.

the price being given as 55 *gns* and the purchaser's name as Harris. A large part of Lord Clifden's paintings came by inheritance from that eminent connoisseur and collector, Agar Ellis, 1st Lord Dover. This is an excellent provenance for Venetian *settecento* paintings and included a very considerable number of paintings by Guardi and Canaletto. Lot 732 in the catalogue is preceded by a note: 'The following pictures, painted by Guardi, formed one Collection and were purchased by the first Lord Dover in Venice in the early part of the present century and have remained in the possession of the family ever since'. The succeeding forty-five lots consist of forty-three paintings by Guardi, one by Canaletto (Lot 776), and a second (Lot 774) attributed to Canaletto and Guardi working in collaboration. These are by no means the only paintings in the sale coming from Lord Dover's collection, and among the remaining paintings sold were six more Guardis and six more Canalettos including the present painting.

That the account of the origin of the Venetian views given in the catalogue can be relied on is confirmed by one of Lady Georgiana Agar Ellis's letters. At the end of 1829 she tells her sister that she and her husband have recently returned from a tour of Italy bringing with them 'a number of Guardis and two Canalettos bought cheaply at Venice as souvenirs'.⁶ The acquisition of so many Guardis in a single purchase suggests that they may possibly have come from Giacomo Guardi, Francesco's son and the inheritor of his uncle's *Nachlass* who survived until 1835,⁷ but whether or not this be so it certainly appears that the greater part of Agar Ellis's Venetian view paintings must have been acquired from some reliable source not far from the fountain-head of Venetian *veduta* painting.

⁵ The aspect of St Paul's in the background of Lord Fairhaven's painting is identical with that in the background of the Duke of Richmond's *View of the Thames with St Paul's Cathedral*, the first painting commissioned from Canaletto on his arrival in London.

⁶ *Three Howard Sisters*, ed. Maud, Lady Leconfield and John Gore [1955], p. 110.

⁷ The year in which the Agar Ellises acquired so many Guardis was also the year in which Count Teodoro Correr acquired from Giacomo Guardi some if not all the drawings by Francesco Guardi now in the Museo Correr at Venice. Carrying speculation further, if, in fact, the Agar Ellis Guardis came from Giacomo, the attribution of one painting, a view on the Grand Canal, size 22 by 33 in., to Canaletto and Guardi in collaboration, would inspire considerable confidence and the original, if traceable, would be a document of some importance.

The self-portrait, with its feigned oval framing, was clearly intended to be engraved. The inscription, too, with its slightly boastful emphasis on the artist's fame, noble birth, and Venetian citizenship recalls the similar character of the inscription beneath the earlier engraved portrait of Canaletto by Visentini. The impression given is that it was intended to be used as the frontispiece of some projected series of engravings of Canaletto's London views in some degree parallel to Visentini's series of thirty-six engraved views of Venice, which were issued by Joseph Smith between 1735 and 1742. No such engravings⁸ appear ever to have been issued in London, but there is one slight hint that the undertaking was for a time in contemplation. In the notes on published prints included by Vertue among his materials for a history of engraving the following inscrutable memorandum appears:

4. Views in London undertaken . . . by – Baudin (prints after Canaletti. 6 in one Set. 6 others).⁹

The reference is, of course, to Joseph Bodin¹⁰ who was re-

⁸ The various engraved views of London after Canaletto issued by Robert Sayer differ in size and were published over a period of years.

⁹ Vertue, VI, p.201. The words in brackets are recorded by the editors as a later addition.

¹⁰ Not André Baudin as he appears in the index. The reference can hardly be to the Boitard-Fletcher engravings after Venetian views, for these were issued in 1736 and 1739.

sponsible for the issue of two sets each of six engravings after Venetian paintings by Canaletto in English collections.¹¹ No London views bearing his name are known and whether the 'Views in London' were really 'of London' or intended to be after paintings by Canaletto is not clear from the elliptical form of Vertue's note, but it seems possible, and the compilers of the index to the *Walpole Society's* volume interpret the passage in this sense. The text as printed suggests that Vertue's note was written in 1745, which would present a difficulty since Canaletto did not arrive in London until the following year. An examination of the manuscript, however, makes it clear that Vertue was not, in fact, compiling a day-to-day chronological journal of published prints and the appearance of the date 1745 on the same page as the reference to Bodin is not therefore necessarily a stumbling block. The almost exact correspondence of the view of St Paul's with that in the background of the Duke of Richmond's painting¹² suggests that a date in the second half of 1746 would be plausible for the portrait. As so often, one cannot but wish that Vertue had adopted a little less stenographic form for his invaluable notes.

¹¹ See THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE [November 1955], p.353.

¹² It can be compared with the reproduction of the relevant detail in V. MOSCHINI: *Canaletto*, English edition [1955], pl.231.

FRANCIS HASKELL

Stefano Conti, Patron of Canaletto and others

IN 1923 Mr W. G. Constable gave news of four pictures by Canaletto which had been bought in the nineteenth century from Marchese Boccella in Lucca, and which, since his article was written, have ended up in Canada (Figs.2–5).¹ He published Canaletto's own signed receipts and contracts which showed that the pictures were painted for Stefano Conti, 'nobile lucchese'; the first two before November 1725, and the other two before June 1726. The negotiations were carried out by Alessandro Marchesini. As these are among the earliest works of Canaletto to have been identified, there has been much speculation as to who was Stefano Conti and how he got into touch with the artist. In Lucca recently I investigated material which solves these and other interesting problems.²

Stefano Conti came from a family of Milanese origin which settled in Lucca towards the end of the sixteenth century. His father, Giovanni, was accepted into the Lucchese nobility in 1630, and Stefano himself was born in 1654. From his lengthy will we learn that he carried on a flourishing trade in silk and cloth. He was a keen business-man and made anxious provision for the continuance of his trade after his death. This occurred in 1739 when he was aged 85. He was buried in the Lucchese church of S. Maria Corteorlandini.³

¹ W. G. CONSTABLE: 'Some Unpublished Canalettos', THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, XLII [1923], p.278. These four pictures are now in the Pillow Collection, Montreal.

² Biblioteca Governativa, Lucca: 26 MS.1110 – *Notizie genealogiche delle famiglie lucchesi*; and MS.1695 – *Notizie genealogiche riguardanti la famiglia Conti*. I am most grateful to the staff of this library for their kind help during my researches.

³ Archivio Notarile, Lucca: *Testamento segreto II Aprile 1739 pubblicato dal notaio Marc'Antonio Rinaldi, con verbale 8 Novembre 1739, foglio 1867*. This will makes it quite clear that Stefano Conti was not the naval architect employed on the last

In his will Conti devotes a paragraph to his collection of pictures, most of which had been painted specially for him '*tanto in Venezia, quanto a Bologna da i Primi Pittori del nostro secolo*'. In particular he was most anxious that they should not be dispersed after his death, but should be maintained '*in Casa per decoro della medesima*'. He himself, he tells his heirs, has been offered much more than what he paid for them, but has always refused to sell.

Fortunately, although the advice was ignored and the pictures are mostly untraceable, full details have been preserved not only of the subjects and artists concerned, but frequently also of Conti's negotiations with them. The long correspondence was copied out, probably by a secretary, into a notebook which is now to be found in the Biblioteca Governativa in Lucca. All the following quotations and information come from this source.⁴

Conti's collecting activities began early in 1705 when he got into touch with Alessandro Marchesini and commissioned eleven pictures from him. Marchesini was a Veronese pupil of Carlo Cignani,⁵ and henceforth he acted as Conti's agent in his dealings with the large number of other artists employed by him. So in the same letters in which Marchesini describes the progress of his own pictures, he also gives news of his dealings with Antonio Bellucci (four paintings), Gregorio

Bucintoro as reported by G. MARIACHER (*Le Tre Venezie* [January 1943], p.34), and repeated by F. J. B. WATSON (*Canaletto*, 2nd edition [1954]) and VITTORIO MOSCHINI (*Canaletto* [1954]).

⁴ Biblioteca Governativa, Lucca: MS.3299. I am extremely grateful to Dr Alessandro Marabotti of Rome for pointing out the existence of this correspondence to me.

⁵ ORETTI: *Notizie de' professori del disegno* – quoted in SYRA VITELLI-BUSCAROLI: *Carlo Cignani* [1953], p.33.

Lazzarini (six paintings), Antonio Balestra (five paintings), and Marc' Antonio Franceschini (one painting). Marchesini himself was prepared to exert pressure on these artists. Thus he writes of a picture of Bellucci that 'a mio genio Lo vorrei veder mutato in qualche parte che gia me ne ha dato sicurezza di farlo'. Perhaps for this reason some of the artists preferred to deal directly with Conti. Thus Balestra wrote from Venice in 1705 that he was not satisfied with the 100 ducats he had been offered for his first picture and threatened to stop working. Evidently the matter was settled satisfactorily, for two years later he wrote to congratulate Conti on the establishment of his gallery with its excellent lighting, and sent a certificate to guarantee the authenticity of the five pictures he had painted for it.

Certificates of this kind poured in throughout 1707 in answer to messages from Conti, who, as a shrewd businessman, was determined to show that he had had his money's worth. By the end of the year the first phase of his collecting was over, and it is worth looking at it a little more closely. Besides those mentioned already, the most significant artists are Angiolo Trevisani, Giovanni Antonio Fumiani, Niccolò Cassana, Sebastiano Bombelli, Felice Torelli, and Gio. Giuseppe Del Sole – all working in Venice or Bologna. There were also two busts by Giuseppe Mazza.

Choice of subject was evidently left to the artists themselves, though the size required was nearly always given them. The themes are taken from the stock allegorical, mythological, and religious repertory of the period, besides a few specialities such as small battle scenes by Ferdinando Chiaro, and various animals by Gio. Agostino Cassana. Of greater importance for the future, as we will see, were three small landscapes by the Cremonese artist Francesco Bassi. As regards subject matter a number of letters from Franceschini are of interest. After some discussion he writes:

... Il ritrovare Istoria, o favola di due figure con putti e un poco difficile, e quanto a me gradirei che costoto Cav.re suggerisse a me il soggetto di suo genio.

He goes on to suggest various possibilities, sacred and profane at random – Adam and Eve, Bacchus and Ariadne, etc. But, he continues,

... Riuscirebbe però più di mio gusto una Pastorale capricciosa con un Pastore, Ninfa e due o tre putti in atto bizzarro e curioso...

This suggestion was accepted and, after some delay, due to illness and an urgent commission from the Pope, the picture was completed by December 1705.

To paint portraits of himself, his wife, and his heir, Conti chose Sebastiano Bombelli, the most fashionable portraitist of the day in Venice. These were probably painted on one of Stefano Conti's visits to Venice which are referred to from time to time in the correspondence. For those of his three daughters he chose the Lucchese painter Antonio Franchi.

So far all the artists mentioned were well known at the time they were commissioned by Conti, and, though of very varying merits, were in the direct tradition of late seventeenth-century Italian painting. They were, in fact, just the artists whom one might expect a rich 'provincial' to choose for his gallery. They do not include any of the painters who were to be of real significance to the eighteenth century. But there was one exception, and this was to prove of the greatest importance for the future. In July 1707 Luca Carlevarijs apologized for his delay in replying to Conti and explained that he had been away from Venice for a month. He was

now enclosing the certificates asked for, and Conti inserted copies of them under the heading:⁶

Luca Carlevarijs Pittore commorante in Venezia mi ha fatto di mia commissione N.3 Quadri in tela di figurine piccole rappresentanti tre Prospettiva di d.a Venezia...

For some years Conti now stopped buying altogether. Then in 1713 he bought a Guercino, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, from the heirs of Sig. Bonviso Bonvisi, and a year later a *Christ in the Garden*, 'universalmente giudicato' to be by Correggio. In 1718 he commissioned a *Cain killing Abel* from a fellow Lucchese, Domenico Brugiore.

Then suddenly in July 1725 the correspondence with Marchesini is renewed. Marchesini's delight that Conti still remembers him and the fact that the note-book continues without interruption show that Conti had in fact stopped buying for several years and that no documents are missing. After effusive compliments to his patron, Marchesini writes:

Intesi il bisogno di che V.S. Ill.ma desidera per li due accennati quadri da accompagnare gli altri che tiene dipinti dal Sig.r Lucca Carlevari. Ma adesso veram. te vive il Soggetto, se non fosse superato di maggior stima dal Sig.r Ant. Canale, che fa in questo paese stordire universalmente ognuno che vede Le sue opere, che consiste sul ordine dl Carlevari ma vi si vede Lucer entro il Sole, sicchè questo è mio amico che appoggerò le due opere...

This extract gives a vivid illustration of Carlevarijs' eclipse by the young Canaletto with his startling light effects – an eclipse which is supposed to have caused the older artist such bitterness. But it also seems to indicate that Canaletto was never in fact his pupil, as has sometimes been supposed. Had this been the case, surely Marchesini would have been unable to resist adducing it as yet one more example of the favourite story of pupil outdistancing master. Marchesini adds that he will get in touch with Canaletto at once. Thereafter he writes weekly to report progress. The measurements are given, 'e mi creda che avera tutta l'ambizione d'incontrar l'occasione di farsi conoscere frà tanti soggetti di pittura che nella galleria di V.S. Ill. ma sia raccolti'. Like Owen McSwiney two years later Conti found Canaletto a difficult man as far as money was concerned.⁷ He demanded thirty *zecchini* a picture, which he only reluctantly reduced to twenty, after Marchesini had assured him that this was more than he could expect from any other client and that if the pictures proved satisfactory further presents would be given.

As for the subject,

ò Letto quelle che a fatte il S.Lucca [Carlevarijs] acciò non incontri Le simile, ma trovera vedute differente, e farà cose d'ammirazione che assicuro sopravanza il S.Lucca Carlevari che adesso e vecchio.

⁶ Carlevarijs' descriptions of these paintings, which I have been unable to trace, are as follows:

Attesto io Luca Carlevarijs Pittore, di haver fatto all' Ill.mo Sig.r Stef.o Conti un quadro di qu.te 8 in larghezza è qu.te 5 in altezza nell' quale vi è rappresentata la parte della Piazza di S.Marco, che stà frà il Palazzo Publico et la Ceccha, nel' quale si vede parte del med.mo Palazzo e Ceccha, con la Chiesa di S.Marco, e Torre del' Orologio; nel Principale del detto quadro vi è parte del Gran Canale, con quantità di Barche alla riva, d'ogni Genere, Ornato con quantità di figurine, le maggiori delle quali, sonno poco più di tre Once; è questo gli lo consegnai il Mese d' Agosto 1706.

Attesto io Luca Carlevarijs Pittore, di haver fatto all' Ill.mo Sig.r Stefano Conti, due quadri di qu.te 6 in larghezza e 4 in altezza nell' uno de quali vi è rappresentata la pescaria di Venetia, con la Frabrica della Ceccha, e granari Plublichi, con una parte del Canal Grande, oltre il quale si vede la Chiesa di S.ta Maria della Salute, et la Dogana di Mare, con Barche d'ogni sorte, è quantità di figurine le maggiore delle quali saranno pocho meno di once 3.

Nell' altro vi è rappresentata la Vedutta di S.Giorgio Maggiore oltre il Canal Grande, con varij Bastimenti e Barche piccole è molte figurine come nell' altro e questi gli li consegnai il Mese d' Aprile 1706.

⁷ HILDA F. FINBERG: 'Canaletto in England', *The Walpole Society*, ix.

The views chosen are discussed a week later on 4th August, when Marchesini informs Conti that work has begun on

*due delle più belle vedute che mai e state osservate, nel sito appunto dove alloggiava l' Ill.ma comitiva dell' Ill.mo S.Gio. Angelo.*⁸

Conti was evidently so pleased by what he heard from Marchesini and from his son Gio. Angelo, who was on a visit to Venice, that he now ordered two further paintings from Canaletto, making four in all. On 11th August Marchesini reported that Canaletto would begin work on the first two at once, and would look around for suitable views for the others

cosa grandiosa come quelle a vedute qui l' Ill.mo S.Gio. Angelo da un P.re Mstro Pedoci Carmelitano, che ha sorpreso il molto dell' altra prima veduta in Ca dell' E.mo Sagredo, cavagliero di tanta intellegenza, e che tiene molte meravigliose Cose . . .

A week later Marchesini wrote that Canaletto was about to begin work on the first,

dipingendole sul Lido proprio dove stava di alloggio l' Ill.mo Sig. Gio. Angelo.

He adds that:

*Il giorno di S.Rocco espose al Publico una sua veduta di S.Gio. e Paolo che fece meravigliare tutti. L' Ambasciadore dell' Imperatore se La Levò, e ne fece l' Acquisto avendone un altra di maggior grandezza, e le diè l' ordine d' accompagnarla, e pienissimo di commissioni ma non abbandonerà per qualsiasi questi due primi che deve a V.S. Ill.ma e poi li altri due non Le sarà Lontano ma sollecito anco per questi . . .*⁹

A fortnight later Marchesini writes that Canaletto has begun, but will not let anyone see the pictures. Meanwhile trouble had arisen over the expense of buying colours:

*non è questi Pittori ordinari, e nelle Loro opere non può scansare L' Azzurro quale tutto il Suo principal colore, che adoperi, mentre deve servirsi anche nè verdi per resistere alla discrezione del Tempo.*¹⁰

The problem was settled and now that the pictures were at last under way Marchesini's next job was to attend to their framing.

Per le cornici che si va facendo per li due Quadri che va operando il S. Canale o scelto qui il primo Mstro che so, quando vedrà le opere sue, son sicuro che resteranno sovrano a tante che V.S. Ill.ma tiene nella Sua Galleria.

Canaletto himself 'dice che ne suoi quadri non ricerca cose troppo grandiose, e che le Sagome non deve occupare La pittura . . .'

On 15th September Marchesini writes that the second two pictures are to be larger in size than the first;¹¹ and on the 29th he tells Conti that the artist has decided on the second lot of views to be painted,

*e credo che sarà l' una che V.S. Ill.ma mentre teneva casa alla Croce che per Angolo si vede il Canal fino alli P.ri Scalzi, e la veduta nell' altro Angolo dalla parte delle monache di S.Chiana, che si vede da una parte e l' altra crederei forse resterà bene a memoria di V.S. Ill.ma . . .*¹²

A week later he writes:

Il Sig.r Ant. Canale e attentissimo dietro al p.mo quadro fisso sulla

⁸ Gio. Angelo, Stefano's heir, died at the age of 37, in 1733, four years before his father. He had married and left a son, Giovan Stefano, who was later to become a very well-known physicist. Stefano also had three daughters all of whom married. The Conti family owned what is now the Palazzo Boccella in Via Fillungo.

⁹ It seems reasonable to assume that these were bought for the Prince of Liechtenstein who began buying Canalettos at about this period. But I can find no trace of a view of S. Giovanni e Paolo in the catalogue of the collection.

¹⁰ Marchesini is referring to Marco Ricci also.

¹¹ On 10th November Conti changed his mind about this, and eventually all four pictures were the same size.

¹² Here and elsewhere it will be seen that Canaletto often changed his mind about the views to be painted.

locanda sù la veduta sta dipingendo non con l' immaginaria mente nelle solite stanze de Pittori stessi come practica il S.Lucca [Carlevarijs] ma questo va sempre sul loco, e forma tutto sul vero; veramente, e uno stupore . . .

This is confirmed in the remarkably interesting letter of a few days later, 13th October:

et ho parlato col S.Canale che mi ordina riverire V.S. Ill.ma e l' Ill.mo S.Gio. Angelo onde mi disse che circa le due nuove vedute intende che quella della Croce a S.Chiana che si vede sin tutto il corso del Canale sino alli P.ri Scalzi anderà bene, ma l' altra che V.S. Ill.ma scrive del Canalazzo, e la Dogana che resta fra il Canal Grande e con tutte l' altre fabbriche, questo non lo può fare mentre esso dipinge sopra il loco e non a idiea a Casa come fa il S.Lucca, e volendo far questa vi vorrebbe un Loco fisso, e stabile cosichè vede V.S. Ill.ma che non vi è caso, ma che però farà scelta di altra che accompagnerà in bella veduta . . .

This, as far as I know, is the only direct proof we have that Canaletto actually painted in the open air – a practice that is usually regarded as having been begun by the landscape painters of the nineteenth century.¹³ That this was looked upon as a startling novelty is shown by Marchesini's repeated comparison with the habits of Carlevarijs. Evidently Canaletto himself gave it up once the pressure of commissions became too heavy, though in 1760 Dr John Hinchcliffe found that the artist was still drawing in the open air.

Such pressure was already growing in intensity, and, as has already been seen, Marchesini constantly tried to reassure his patron that the artist had begun work, only to have to admit further delay in a subsequent letter. On 3rd November Conti was told that all would be well within ten days, though there was talk of Canaletto being employed by the French Ambassador.¹⁴ Finally both pictures were completed – 'uniti assieme fa una comparsa stupendissima' and on 1st December Marchesini wrote:

. . . e spero che tutti li S.ri di Lucca resterà meravigliati di si grande opere del Canal, che attesto da Cristiano, che tutti chi li à veduti, e l' E.mo Sagredo, altri Cavalieri, e molti Pittori tutti conclude, che questi due quadri, e li più belli che si sian veduti, e spero che anco l' altri due seguira di tal gusto . . .

Two more were still to be painted, and the correspondence continues much as before. On 8th December Marchesini writes that Canaletto

à detto che spera nell' altri due avvenire sarà, e riuscirà assai vaghi, e di belle vedute imparticolare quella d. lle Monache alla Croce, che fra tanto s' anderà procurando il Loco ad una balconata della Casa Businelo, che fù Cavalier Grande giusto a tocco di quella che aveva V.S. Ill.ma come piu volte scrittoli.

There were the usual delays due to other commissions,¹⁵ but on 2nd February 1726 Marchesini was able to write that Canaletto was about to begin the remaining two pictures

¹³ See MORASSI: 'Problems in chronology and perspective in the work of Canaletto', THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, xcvi [November 1955], pp.349–53.

¹⁴ The two pictures concerned must be those now in the Hermitage: *Reception of the Ambassador and Feast of the Ascension*. Though, according to BRUNETTI (quoted in MOSCHINI: *Canaletto* [1954]), the Ambassador, Conte de Gergy, only presented his credentials in October 1726, he was in fact appointed to the post in 1723 (*Repertorium der diplomatischen vertreter aller Länden*, II, Zürich [1950], p.132) and presumably got in touch with Canaletto before his official entry into Venice.

¹⁵ The two pictures for the French Ambassador caused most trouble. But Marchesini also reports a most curious commission to paint a view of Corfu for 'Marscial Salenbug'. This almost certainly must refer to General Schulenberg who had defended the island some years previously. Canaletto was presumably expected to do the painting from a print; but in view of his scruples about working on the spot, it seems most unlikely that he would have agreed to such a task at this stage in his career. In any case I can find no mention of the existence of such a picture, and as Marchesini mentions it only once (3rd March 1726) the arrangements may have come to nothing.

'con vedute di Terra, e situ piu grandiosi come quello del Ponte di Rialto'. A fortnight later, however, Canaletto was complaining about the quality of the priming, which, he said, 'betrayed' him. Rather cautiously Marchesini pointed out that the artist's nature was 'un poco sofisticato, e delicato', and asked Conti to humour him so as not to discourage his future efforts. By 4th May Marchesini could report that the pictures were ready. One represents:

la veduta della Chiesa di S.Gio. e Paolo, con la Chiesa, o sia Scuola di S.Marco, il Campo tutto con la bella statua a cavallo del general C.leone, parte dl Rio con veduta delle Case, e Ponte, e Barche, che smonta alla riva, e molte figurine per il med. Campo; l'altro la veduta della Carità in veduta (come a veduta l'Ill.mo Sig. Gio. Angelo dl Quadro che vide a Cà Sagredo) avendo mutate tutte le figurine.¹⁶

Eventually by the end of May one of the pictures was ready and Canaletto was claiming a present, as the second two had caused him much more work, 'come per verita non si puo negare'. Ten zecchini were sent, and Marchesini was able to write: 'ho osservato in Lui un sommo contento'. On 22nd June the last picture was finally completed, and the remainder of the correspondence on the subject is concerned with details of framing, of packing, and transport – 'che le pongano piane, e piate sopra le schiene degl'Animali' – and, above all, of the eternal problem of how to avoid the customs.¹⁷

The problem of customs was a familiar one to all collectors of the eighteenth century as it is to those of today, but there can have been few more ingenious solutions to it than the one provided by G. M. Crespi, 'lo Spagnuolo', the last artist to be employed by Conti.

Negotiations began in August 1728 when Crespi was aged 63, and took place directly between the artist and Conti, whose gallery was now referred to as 'famosa'. Crespi began haughtily by saying that he wanted a proper written contract of the kind that he had always had

con Sua Altezza il Gran Principe Ferdinando Defonta, con Sua Santita Defonta, con il principe Eugenio di Savoia mio Prne, di cui sono attual serv.re . . .

After this had been satisfactorily settled, he wrote to Conti a fortnight later, describing the subject he had chosen:

con l'istoria di Cibebe, quando partoriti ebbe Giove, e Giunone in un parto solo, mostrò solamente Giunone a Saturno, e diede nascosamente Giove alle Cureti, dette le coribanti, per nodrirlo. Queste dubitando, che li vagiti lo decollassero, come e solito dlli Bambini, e inventarono di marciare con una certa cadenza, detta da essi Bactili, e così gli urtavano assieme, e percuotevano piccole targhe di bronzo, di modo che Li vagiti del Pargoletto Giove, non potevano giungere agl'orecchi di Saturno, che divorava gli suoi figli Maschi.

This excessively long title has been quoted at such length for a reason which will be apparent later. With his letter Crespi enclosed a sketch, 'ma questo non le deve servire, che per un Embrione'.

Some months afterwards, in April 1729, Crespi had finished the picture, and it is now that he writes of the 'inganno curioso' by which he has cheated the customs. Sacred pictures, he explains, pay less duty than profane ones, and so he has changed the title of the painting he is sending to Conti. In fact he has said that it represents 'la ritrovata di Moise nel fumo Nilo dalla figlia di Faraone'¹⁸ The plan worked

¹⁶ I have been unable, as yet, to trace the present whereabouts of this picture.

¹⁷ Besides the documents quoted, all the contracts and receipts quoted by W. G. Constable have also been copied into the note-book.

¹⁸ This picture appears to have been lost.

admirably; Conti was pleased with his picture; Crespi was given a present, and in his last letter he warns Conti, in friendly terms, to be wary of dealers. It was their fakes, he writes, which were responsible for the Venetian collector Zaccharia Sagredo spending 7000 to 8000 zecchini on pictures that were not worth a single piastra and hence hastened his death.

To avoid confusion I have dealt with Conti's complicated negotiations with Canaletto separately and in some detail. But while these were in progress Conti was also engaged – through Marchesini – with other Venetian artists. In August 1725 Rosalba Carriera painted a portrait of his daughter-in-law, Emmanuella, and shortly before this, dealings began with Sebastiano and Marco Ricci. As with Conti's purchase of Canaletto's works, the impulse was almost casual. A companion picture was required for the landscapes of the Cremonese painter, Francesco Bassi, which Conti had bought twenty years earlier. The artist himself was now blind. Marchesini reported on the current situation:

Qui vi sono un virtuoso Pittore Paesista, che le sue opere sono in grandissima stima qui, e in Londra, che presentemente opera per questi S.ri Inglesi ed è pittore di molto prezzo, ma una maniera assai terminata onde non sò cosa al prnte dirle, ne risolvere se questo,¹⁹ è il Rizzi doverlo appoggiare perche questo eccellente Pittore è meraviglioso per far vedute, e bizzarri siti di fabbriche al gusto di Puscin con colorito spiritoso, e Lucido, che incanta il primo che divide disopra, è veramente Paesista, e questo Ricci è misto che sarebbe meglio averne due compagni di questo per esser La Sua galleria di un gusto non più veduto, come anch'esso è sempre occupato per qui è Londra, onde starò attendendo cosa decide sopra di questi V.S. Ill.ma mentre son due rari soggetti . . .

A week later, on 21st July 1725, Marchesini writes that he has decided to choose Marco Ricci – 'lo conosco più capace e di maggior stima [dell'altro virtuoso Cingheroli]' – and recommends Conti to buy two small pictures by him,

che in Londra ne viene assai ricercati, il suo prezzo e solo 5 cecchini per ogn'uno, e mi creda che son cose ammirabile con certi bellissimi siti, e vedute, che pajono di Tiziano, e Pusino, questi quadretti li tiene ricoperti col suo Cristallo, che costa otto in dieci Lire, poi la Sua soazzetta bella intagliata, e benissimo dorata che costerà 20 Lire incirca . . .

They are equally suitable for a picture gallery, or for 'un gabinetto come qui moltissimi Cavaglieri ne possiede . . .' The usual delays followed: Ricci's engagements with English patrons were particularly pressing. On 4th May 1726, however, Marchesini went to visit Marco Ricci

e vidi il sud. suo Zio [Sebastiano] che dipingeva sopra a Le figurine li quadri è bellissimi, che per verita è due opere stupendissime a meraviglia riuscite . . .

Conti eventually bought five works by Marco Ricci.

Some months earlier Marchesini had been engaged in direct negotiations with Sebastiano, who agreed to paint

due quadri istoriati di figure intiere a mezo naturale . . . che deve essere istorie pien di Alessandro Magno, che deve star a fronte di altri due de bravi Mstri Bolognesi.

Sebastiano insisted on forty 'doppie di Franza' as his minimum price. Marchesini wrote that this was not unreasonable for an artist who had been paid 100 zecchini for a small picture in Vicenza and other similar prices. But Conti evidently thought differently. No more was heard of the pictures of

¹⁹ This painter, later referred to as Cingheroli, is almost certainly Cimaroletti.

Alexander the Great, and Sebastiano's activities were confined to painting in the small figures on his nephew's landscapes.

Enough has been quoted to show the great interest of the correspondence; pressure of space has forbidden more than a few passing references to some of Conti's main concerns – details about prices, packing, framing, and so on. Moreover, by concentrating almost entirely on those artists who are of interest to us today, I have inevitably distorted Conti's true position in the history of taste. As a significant art patron he enters history almost by accident. A gap is found in the wall space of his gallery; a letter follows to Marchesini; and a young, and as yet little known, Canaletto makes an impor-

tant appearance. But there are only four Canalettos out of ninety-seven pictures in all,²⁰ most of which, as I have already indicated, look back towards the late baroque rather than forward to the significant artists of the new century. Yet if Stefano Conti is not a particularly exciting patron, he is none the less eminently representative of the taste of the 'man in the street' – a species about whom we have singularly little information.²¹

²⁰ Besides those mentioned in the text, artists included in the collection are Lodovico Lamberti, Tommaso Formenti, Giovanni Segala, Felice Torelli, Mario de' Fiori, Pietro Paolini, and Luca Cambiaso.

²¹ I am grateful to Mr Francis Watson for much useful help and advice.

G. ST G. M. GOMPERTZ

Gilded Wares of Sung and Koryo

I. GILDED SUNG WARES

THE fact that Chinese potters of the Sung period sometimes used gilding to decorate their wares has long been known from a brief reference in the *Ko Ku Yao Lun*, which may be rendered as follows:

Ting bowls are gilded by being painted with a gold solution prepared in garlic juice and then being re-fired, after which the gilding remains fast.

However, Western scholars have maintained almost complete silence on this subject, for it was not known that any authentic specimens of gilded Sung wares had survived and certainly none had been identified in Europe or America.

The exhibition of Chinese ceramic art held in March/April 1952, at the Los Angeles County Museum, included two examples of gilded Sung wares, the first being a fine white Ting bowl lent by Mr Tsuneichi Inouye of Tokyo and the second a smaller red-brown *temmoku* bowl from the Seattle Art Museum, which the catalogue boldly describes as 'Red Ting'.¹ The time may therefore be opportune for consideration of some remarkable specimens bearing gilt designs, most of which are in private collections in Japan.

During his visit to the Far East in 1929 Hobson spent some time in the museums at Seoul and was shown several gilded *temmoku* bowls which had been found in Korean tombs of the Koryo period (A.D. 918–1392). The following note will be found in his subsequent article: 'Sung and Yüan Wares in Korean Tombs', which appeared in *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* in May 1934 (p. 214):

There are several kinds of 'Honan *temmoku*', of Northern make, with white porcellanous body covered with thick, lustrous black glaze, plain or patterned with golden brown in flecks or streaks and even in painted designs. On some of these the brown element in the glaze entirely masters the black, and gives us the tan-brown ware which the Japanese call 'kaki *temmoku*'. There are bowls of this kind at Keijo² with finely gilt designs – three sprays of flowers in one case, and three birds and floral scrolls in another. These have been much discussed

but the general opinion is that the gilt decoration was added to the Chinese bowls by Corean artists. The shape of these bowls is characteristic, with their wide mouths, straight and sharply slanting sides, and small feet. Similar gilding also appears on specimens with black and with hare's-fur glaze.

Since the time of Hobson's visit there have been further discoveries of gilded Sung wares in Korea, while similar examples have also turned up in China and have been acquired by Japanese collectors. It can no longer be maintained that gilding was merely a Korean embellishment: on the contrary the tendency now is to regard it as invariably Chinese in origin, like the cups and bowls it adorns, but the possibility still cannot be excluded that the Koreans copied the Chinese technique and decorated some of the pieces after they had reached Korea. In most cases the gilt design has been so damaged by burial that only a few traces remain, and sometimes these have escaped notice for a number of years, though the effect produced by gilding is unmistakable once it has been observed.

Mention has been made in a previous article³ of the sensational discoveries of high-grade Sung wares on several small islands off Haeju, the port for the contemporary Korean capital of Songdo (or Kaesong). Specimens excavated from these islands first began to appear on the market about the summer of 1935 and included Ting and *temmoku* bowls, several of which bore distinct traces of gilding. However, as the investigations which brought these rarities to light were illicit, no details could be ascertained concerning the exact place or manner of discovery. We know only that they were found in Koryo tombs, of which there are said to be at least 100 on Yongmae-do, known to the Japanese as Ryubai-to, the principal island in the group. It has been suggested that the tombs near Songdo which contained fine Sung wares may have been constructed for important officials and Buddhist priests who had visited China or for noblemen who had some connexion with the Sung court. But this would hardly explain the recovery of similar wares in such number

¹ *Chinese Ceramics from the Prehistoric Period through Ch'ien Lung: A Loan Exhibition from Collections in America and Japan*, Los Angeles County Museum [1952], items 144 and 153. Ownership of the white Ting bowl is corrected in the errata.

² Keijo is the Japanese name for Seoul.

³ G. ST G. M. GOMPERTZ: 'Koryo Wares and Ying-Ch'ing', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, xciv [June 1953], No. 603, pp. 188–93, illus.



2. *The Rialto and the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi*, by Canaletto. Canvas, 91.5 by 134.7 cm. (Pillow Collection, Montreal.)



3. *Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, by Canaletto. Canvas, 92.8 by 135.3 cm. (Pillow Collection, Montreal.)



4. *A View on the Grand Canal*, by Canaletto. Canvas, 91.5 by 134.7 cm. (Pillow Collection, Montreal.)



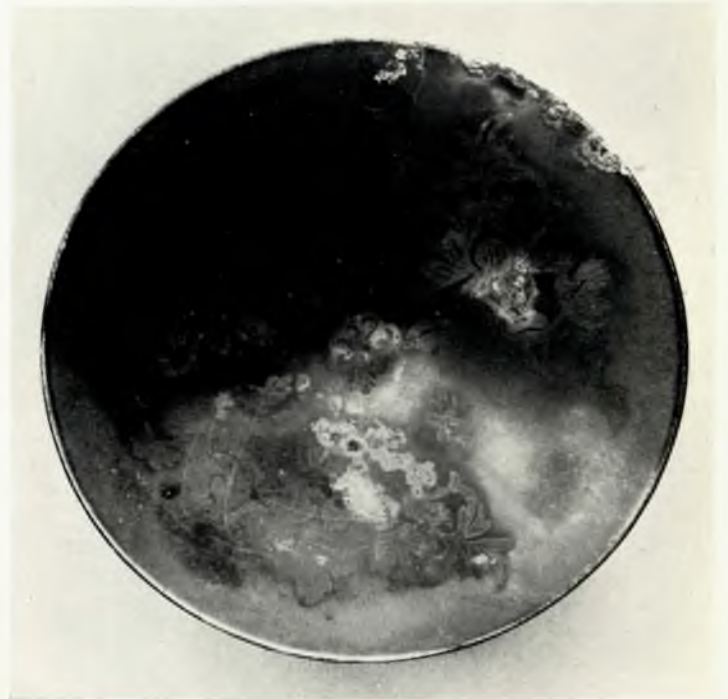
5. *Church of the P.P. della Carità Rochelini*, by Canaletto. Canvas, 92.8 by 135.3 cm. (Pillow Collection, Montreal.)



6. White Ting bowl with gilded decoration of flying birds. Diameter, 17.5 cm. (Mr Tsuneichi Inouye, Tokyo.)



7. Inside of bowl illustrated in Fig.9.



8. Inside of bowl illustrated in Fig.10.



9. Red-brown (*kaki temmoku*) bowl with gilded decoration of peonies. Diameter, 13.1 cm. (Mr Tsuneichi Inouye, Tokyo.)



10. Red-brown (*kaki temmoku*) bowl with gilded decoration of butterflies and flowers. Diameter, 12.9 cm. (Mr Tsuneichi Inouye, Tokyo.)

from outlying islands. A more likely view has associated these latter discoveries with the proximity of the trade routes between China and Korea. There is no longer room for doubt that the products of the Sung potteries constituted important articles of merchandise, and it would be natural for a relatively large number of such imports to remain in the possession of local traders and dignitaries who lived in the region of Haeju, the port of entry. In support of this theory is the fact that the islands are mentioned in the early Korean annals, Yongmae-do in particular being termed 'the portal to distant shores', while their position on the main trade routes has also been established from records of sea communications during the Koryo period.

It is improbable that the islands were actually used as places of residence or trading posts, though they may have served as refuges during periods of internal disorder or foreign invasion. The presence of so many tombs is rather attributable to the superstitious practices of the time, which caused the islands to be used as cemeteries. In ancient Korea the choice of burial sites was invariably determined by geomancy, and this has resulted in the construction of tombs in many out-of-the-way places where the conditions were found to be propitious.

Unfortunately no controlled excavations seem to have been undertaken on Yongmae-do or nearby islands, so that evidence is lacking as to the identities or functions of the persons buried thereon. The only detailed account of the discoveries was written by a Japanese professor of Keijo Imperial University and relied entirely on hearsay. According to this, the specimens found included Ting and *ying-ch'ing* wares, *temmoku* and *kaki temmoku* bowls, 'bowls with gilt floral decoration considered to be Black Ting', inlaid celadons and *egorai* wares – the last two categories being Koryo celadons with inlaid and painted decoration.⁴ There is no record of any epitaph, memorial tablet, or inscribed piece being unearthed to provide evidence of the date when the burials took place, but a number of silver and bronze articles were found with the pottery and the decoration on one of these is said to resemble that used during the early part of the thirteenth century. However, Koyama states that most of the wares he has seen from Yongmae Island date from the late Northern Sung period, or about a century earlier.⁵ Probably the tombs were constructed over a prolonged period during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the kingdom was at the height of its prosperity.

Of some two dozen specimens of gilded Sung wares which the writer has been able to trace in Far Eastern collections, only three are known to have come directly from China, while nearly all the others are said to have been found in Korea. At least seven of the pieces from Korea are credibly reported to have been excavated on Yongmae-do or nearby islands; no information is available concerning the rest, but they are likely to have been found in the vicinity of Songdo, where most of the early excavations took place and the richest discoveries were made. It is remarkable that so many gilded wares should have turned up in Korea, though we must bear in mind the fact that more thorough-going investigations

have been carried out in Korea than in the vast expanses of China; however, the discovery of three examples in China itself, two of which are exceptionally fine specimens, is clear evidence that gilding was practised in the country of origin and was not solely a Korean addition.

The surviving specimens are about evenly divided between the white, black, and red-brown wares: there are five gilded white Ting wares, seven gilded black bowls of the type 'considered to be Black Ting' and seven red-brown bowls of *kaki temmoku* type also with gilt decoration; in addition there are several small gilded tea-bowls with black or hare's-fur glaze. The design most frequently employed in gilding seems to have been the three sprays of flowers mentioned by Hobson, often with the addition of flying butterflies, but a few specimens bear traces of more elaborate decoration. Thus the white Ting bowl in the collection of Mr Inouye, which was exhibited at Los Angeles, shows the remains of a bold gilt design of birds among clouds with a running scroll border round the rim (Fig.6). Japanese experts have interpreted this design as 'cranes and clouds', which is such a frequent Korean motif as to raise again the question whether the gilding was not added after the bowl reached Korea. Although the heads and necks of the birds resemble those of ducks or geese, they have long tails curling at the ends and may be an attempt to portray the mythical *feng-huang*, or phoenix. Since the Koreans were apt to draw on their imagination when utilizing such themes, the phoenix interpretation does nothing to diminish the Korean flavour of the design. Another interesting feature is the scroll border, for the Koreans were fond of this style of ornament and used it on most of their bowls, but of course it was also employed by the Chinese. Whatever impression is conveyed by the decoration, the bowl itself is a typical specimen of Ting ware, with 'tear-marks' occurring in the glaze; like most Ting bowls, it was fired upside down, the foot being glazed and the mouth-rim left bare. The glaze shows deterioration as a result of burial and the gilding is badly worn and seems to have 'run', leaving a yellow stain round the design.

An even more elaborate gilt design, executed with great skill and delicacy, is seen on a cracked *kaki temmoku* bowl, which has long been numbered among the most prized possessions of the Prince Yi Household Museum in Seoul. Indeed Koyama considers this the finest of all extant gilded bowls by reason of its graceful form and exquisite decoration. It was excavated in the early years of the century, probably from one of the tombs near Songdo, and is the same size as the white Ting bowl just described. The design also is basically similar, consisting of a scroll border round the rim with an intricate pattern of birds and flowers underneath. The birds are highly stylized and somewhat resemble ruffed grouse, but they may be another version of the phoenix. In the centre of the bowl is a lotus-flower with overlapping petals. This, like the scroll border, is a favourite Korean motif and suggests that the decoration may have been executed locally, though the technical proficiency is exceptional. Only a few traces of gilding remain, but the impression of the original design is quite clear and has been reproduced in a facsimile drawing (Fig.11).

Another *kaki temmoku* bowl, also badly broken, is of special interest for having been discovered in northern Shensi, China, during the summer of 1938. Though smaller than the previous

⁴ TAKEHIKO OKUDAIRA: 'On Chinese Porcelain Discovered in Korea' (in Japanese), *Oriental Ceramics*, ix [May 1937], No.2, pp.1-11, illus.

⁵ FUJIO KOYAMA: 'Ting Bowls with Gilded Designs' (in Japanese), *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, cix [January 1941], p.31.

example, it is equally refined, and the gilt design is far better preserved, probably because it was buried in the dry, sandy soil of North China. In addition, it has a band of silvering about half an inch wide round the rim, but the silver has become tarnished whereas the gold still shines on a bold pattern of peonies in full bloom (Figs.7 and 9). Here, in spite of the cracks, it is possible to gain some impression of the original effect and enjoy the splendid contrast of red and gold. Although the same cannot be said of the *kaki temmoku* bowl from Yongmae Island shown in our next illustrations (Figs.8 and 10), a chance effect produced by the corrosion of metal fragments adhering to this bowl has lent it added charm in Japanese eyes, for the bluish green patches are felt to enhance its age-old beauty. Both these small bowls are owned by Mr Inouye and invite comparison with the gilded white Ting bowl described earlier. The question whether they, too, were made at the Ting-chou potteries will be considered later; here it will suffice to note that, in Hobson's words quoted above, 'the shape of these bowls is characteristic, with their wide mouths, straight and sharply slanting sides, and small feet' (Fig.10).

The gilt design on the last-mentioned bowl consists of three floral sprays with a pair of flying butterflies between each spray. This seems to have been a conventional pattern for overglaze decoration in gold, for it is also found on five of the seven black bowls which are known to survive. None of the gilded wares is more impressive than these raven-black bowls with their lustrous glaze which, as Koyama has put it, 'shines as if it were wet'.⁶ A good description of two almost identical black-glazed bowls from Yongmae Island has been given by Mr Okudaira and, freely translated, runs as follows:

Both flare outward and are flat and shallow, resembling 'leaf-pattern' *temmoku* bowls. The part near the rim is very thin, but it becomes thicker toward the foot. The glaze is black and thickly coated, so that it has run down the side of the foot-rim as well as inside it. A single coating was applied: it is lustrous and resembles black lacquer. Because the glaze has run down, the rim appears brownish in places. The body is fine and white, similar to that of *ying-ch'ing* or Ting ware. The gilt design is confined to the inner surface: a round floral pattern appears at the centre, a chrysanthemum spray at three points on the side and a pair of flying butterflies on each intervening space. It is specially noteworthy that one of the bowls has retained traces of the gilding.⁷

Probably it is the brilliant lustre and durability of this black glaze which has caused the imprint of the pattern to persist even when the gilding itself has long since disappeared. The floral sprays stand out in every detail, like tiny ferns, where the 'wet' surface appears dry. Evidently the gilding remained in position long enough to remove the gloss, leaving as it were a delicate photographic impression on the glazed surface. All round the pattern the glaze has retained its original brilliance, except where it has been scratched or worn by abrasion (Fig.12). On the other hand, the *kaki temmoku* glaze nearly always shows more or less deterioration; in some cases this is limited to impairment of the surface lustre, but this is enough to obscure the imprint of the gilt design.

The final example to be described came to light only recently, though its existence was reported from Peking some

twenty years ago. Apparently it was acquired by a Japanese official from Manchuria and brought back to Japan, where it has reposed in obscurity ever since. It is a covered cup or bowl of a type not uncommon among Ting and other northern wares. The exterior is covered with a fine red-brown *kaki temmoku* glaze, on which is painted a gilt design of fishes swimming among water-weeds (Figs.13 and 14). In addition, a wide band of silver encircles the cup just below the rim, and another silver band runs round the cover above the flange. Both gilding and silvering are in excellent condition, appearing only slightly worn. Inside both cup and cover a creamy white slip was applied and over this a transparent glaze. A crack in the cover is thought to have occurred during the second firing which, it will be recalled, the *Ko Ku Yao Lun* records as necessary to 'fix' the gilding, for it is argued that the gilt decoration would have made the piece too precious to be discarded, even though it had developed a crack.

Among Sung wares the design of fishes and water-weeds is found chiefly on Tz'u-chou jars and vases, and this Tz'u-chou effect is enhanced by the white slip covering the inner surface of the vessel. In this connexion we may note that Koyama has made the following comment on the peony design which appears on Mr Inouye's bowl (Fig.7): 'I have once seen a specimen of enamelled Tz'u-chou decorated with a similar peony design, but I have never before seen such a design on Ting ware [*sic*]'.⁸ A further resemblance to Tz'u-chou decoration is seen in the floral sprays traced in gilt on one of the black-glazed bowls, which are loosely tied with cord or ribbon in the Tz'u-chou manner, and also in the gilt butterflies sporting together above the flowers (compare Figs.12 and 15, 14 and 16). However, it would be a mistake to read too much into analogies of this kind, which may derive from nothing more than a similar technique. In other words, since Tz'u-chou ware was virtually the only Sung pottery on which painted decoration was normally used, it would be natural for overglaze painting in gold to follow the same style. If this interpretation is correct, we should regard these designs as typical of Sung painted decoration rather than of Tz'u-chou ware.

As indicated by his comment on Mr Inouye's bowl, Koyama holds the view that the gilded porcelains described above are Ting ware, the black-glazed bowls being the famed Black Ting and the *kaki temmoku* specimens Red or Brown Ting. He had already reached this conclusion on the basis of studies in Japan and Korea before his discovery of the original Ting kiln sites near Ting-chou in central Chihli. Koyama located two large kiln centres but was able to conduct only a brief investigation owing to the presence of Chinese guerillas. However, there is no reason to doubt his claim that the principal site at Chien-tz'u-ts'un, with its vast mounds of high-grade shards and other kiln-waste, was indeed that of the celebrated factory which made fine Ting ware for the Imperial court. On the other hand, the second site at Yen-shan-ts'un, some eight miles distant, is thought to have been employed chiefly in the manufacture of second-grade Ting ware for common use, though certain types of shards picked up at this site were indistinguishable from those collected at Chien-tz'u-ts'un.⁹

⁸ FUJIO KOYAMA, *op. cit.*, p.28.

⁹ FUJIO KOYAMA: 'On the Discovery of the Ruins of Tingyao', *Bulletin of Eastern Art* [November-December 1941], Nos.23-24, pp.1-28, illus.

⁶ FUJIO KOYAMA, *op. cit.*, p.27.

⁷ TAKEHIKO OKUDAIRA, *op. cit.*, p.6.



11. Facsimile drawing of gilt design on *kaki temmoku* bowl in Seoul. Diameter, 17.2 cm. (Prince Yi Household Museum.)



12. Detail of gilt design on black-glazed bowl. (Museum of Art, Hakone.) For reverse view, see Fig. 21.



13. Bowl and cover illustrated in Fig. 14. Diameter of bowl, 11.6 cm.



14. Red-brown (*kaki temmoku*) bowl and cover with gilt decoration of fishes and water-weeds. (Private Collection, Japan.)



15. Tz'u-chou vase with painted design of butterflies and flowers. Height, 17.9 cm. (Yokogawa Collection, National Museum, Tokyo.)



16. Tz'u-chou vase with painted design of fishes and water-weeds. Height, 24.6 cm. (Private Collection, Japan.)



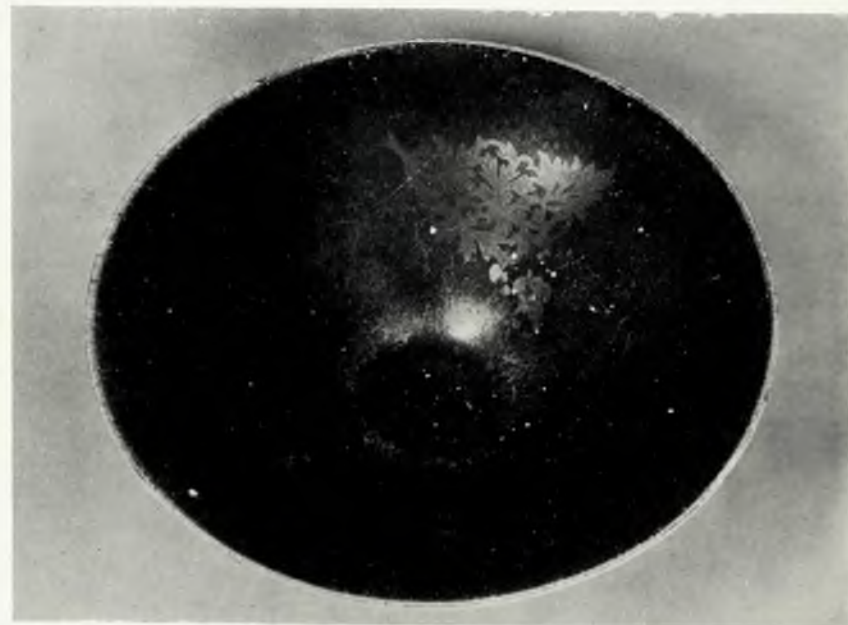
17. Black Ting bowl, obverse. Diameter, 18.4 cm. (Dr Tamotsu Kakimoto, Tokyo.)



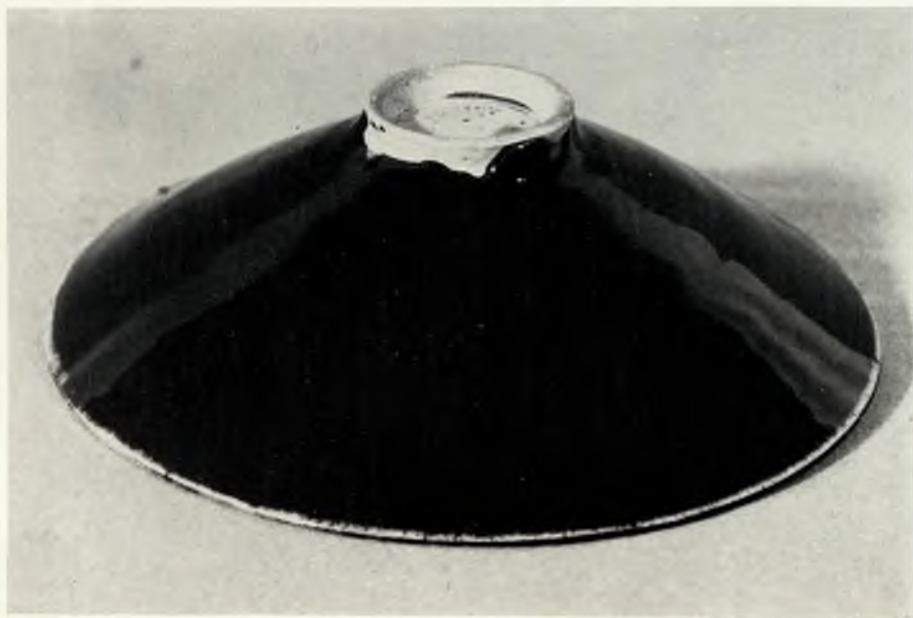
18. Dark brown bowl with purple tone (Purple Ting?). Diameter, 12.1 cm. (Yokogawa Collection, National Museum, Tokyo.)



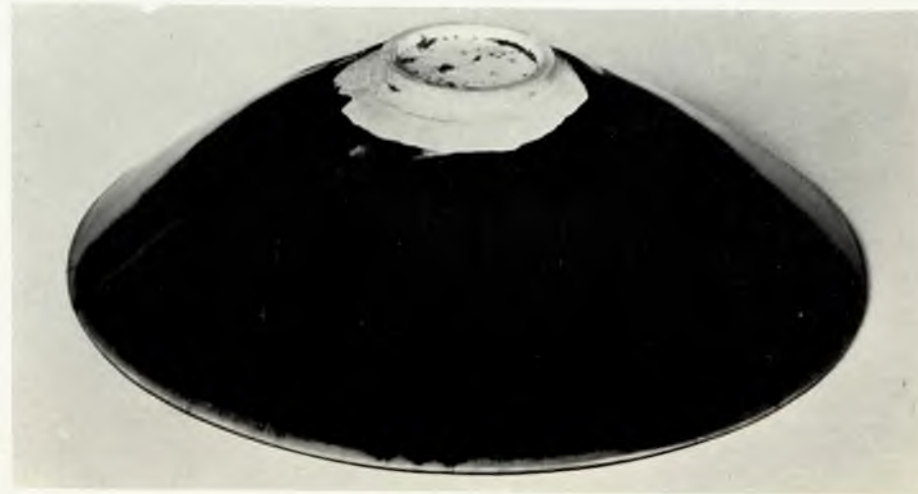
19. Red-brown (*kaki temmoku*) bowl with gilded decoration of butterflies and flowers. Diameter, 15.8 cm. (Yamato Bunka Kan Collection, Osaka.)



20. Black-glazed bowl with gilded floral decoration. Diameter, 13.9 cm. (Private Collection, Japan.)



21. Black-glazed bowl with gilded floral decoration: reverse view, showing deeply-cut foot. Diameter, 19 cm. (Museum of Art, Hakone.)



22. Reverse of bowl illustrated in Fig. 17.

In the brief time at his disposal, Koyama collected some 1100 shards at Chien-tz'u-ts'un. Over 1000 of these may be described as standard white Ting, but there were also some other varieties including five black-glazed fragments and three *kaki temmoku*, both these types being of high quality. Similar varieties also were found at Yen-shan-ts'un, though here the body material was coarser, as generally the case with shards collected at this site. No reasonable doubt exists, therefore, that the Ting-chou kilns produced wares with black and persimmon coloured glazes. The question is whether, in the present state of our knowledge, it is possible to determine that surviving complete specimens of these types actually were made at the Ting-chou kilns. For, if this could be done, it would be difficult to resist the further conclusion that such pieces might be identified with the Black and Red Ting mentioned in Chinese literature.

The scarcity of high-grade black and red-brown Sung wares, together with the lack of information about Koyama's studies, have induced perhaps too much caution in the West, where such attributions would be regarded as entirely speculative. It is true that no positive conclusions can be reached until it has become feasible to undertake more thorough and extensive investigations of Sung kiln sites in North China. Nevertheless, there is no good reason why some further examination of the whole matter should not now take place in the light of recent research, especially as it can be shown that the current Japanese view is no more than a projection along lines already indicated by our own great authority, Hobson.

II. BLACK, RED, AND PURPLE TING

A FEW remarks on the general background will help to place the problem of Black and Red Ting, together with the identity of the gilded Sung wares, in due perspective. Hobson seems to have reached the conclusion, as recently pointed out by Mr Basil Gray, that 'the distinction between Ting types, Tz'u-chou types and Northern Black Wares (or *Temmoku*) is not well marked, and that it is probable that all three types were made at the same kiln centres'.¹⁰ This was fully borne out by Koyama's findings at the Ting-chou kiln sites, for he collected fragments of white pottery which he describes as 'a coarser ware with light greyish or brown body, white-engobed and white glazed: the style is that of Tz'u-chou-yao, common to several other kilns in North China'. There were also numerous fragments of coarse black-glazed pottery, which is described as 'rustic and soft' and 'giving somewhat the same effect as the Korean ware known (in Japan) as *Korai temmoku*'.¹¹

We know that there were many pottery kilns in North China in Sung times making the various black and persimmon glazed wares called 'Honan *temmoku*' as well as those with a coating of white slip which have usually been known as Tz'u-chou ware. Chiefly as a result of Japanese studies, our conception of the term 'Tz'u-chou' has latterly been expanded to include nearly all these types: according to the current view it should be understood as 'a broad generic classification for the geographically all-pervasive stoneware made . . . in

North China during the Sung dynasty'.¹² It was on this broad base that the development of the classic Ting ware took place, and it may prove impossible in the final analysis to draw any hard-and-fast line between Tz'u-chou and Ting, although certain kilns seem to have specialized in the finer porcelain and to have become famous when it received the Imperial patronage. We have seen that even the Imperial factory at Chien-tz'u-ts'un produced a proportion of the commoner ware for general use; conversely other northern kilns doubtless tried to manufacture superior porcelain of Ting type just as, the Chinese records inform us, there were many later imitations of Ting ware in the south. Indeed we are told that some of these southern copies compared favourably with genuine pieces and were easily mistaken for them. Similarly the finer products of kilns not yet located in North China probably were little inferior to the wares actually manufactured at the Ting-chou potteries.

There has been general agreement among scholars both in Japan and the West that the multiplicity of these northern types has made positive attributions extraordinarily difficult. Hobson long ago suggested that specimens of Red Ting might exist unidentified among the *kaki temmoku* wares.¹³ Koyama has gone one step further, maintaining that all the *kaki temmoku* with gilt ornament as well as a few others are Red Ting, but he admits that this attribution is limited to a single type, whereas 'the so-called *kaki temmoku* ware is divisible into several groups'.¹⁴ Similarly not all the black-glazed ware can be considered of such high quality as to warrant identification with Black Ting, but here also the gilded bowls and one or two others possess a distinction which sets them apart. Their refinement and sensitive potting certainly are not unworthy of Ting, though some difference may be noted in the paste and in the care given to cutting the foot.¹⁵ Their lustrous, 'lacquer-black' glaze also seems to correspond closely with literary descriptions of Black Ting as well as being indistinguishable from that of the black-glazed fragments brought back by Koyama from the Ting-chou kiln sites. Most of the gilded bowls are of small size and their shape is in conformity with that of similar 'Honan' or northern examples, with 'wide mouths, straight and sharply slanting sides, and small feet'. Though not specially characteristic of Ting ware, this shape is also found in a number of Ting-yao dishes and bowls.

Fortunately there is in Japan a specimen of Black Ting whose identity cannot be seriously questioned. This is the famous 'Nishimura bowl', as it is sometimes called from the name of its original owner, which was brought to Tokyo from China some twenty years ago. The extraordinary grace and delicacy of this outstanding example of Sung ceramic art will be apparent from the photographs here reproduced (Figs. 17

¹² SHERMAN E. LEE: 'Sung Ceramics in the Light of Recent Japanese Research', *Artibus Asiae*, XI/3 [1948], p. 170. See also HENRY TRUBNER: 'Tz'u-chou and Honan Temmoku', *Artibus Asiae*, XV/1-2 [1952], pp. 151-62.

¹³ R. L. HOBSON: *Handbook of the Pottery and Porcelain of the Far East in the Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography*, British Museum, London [Second edition, 1937], p. 32.

¹⁴ FUJIO KOYAMA, *op. cit.* (*Bijutsu Kenkyu*), p. 23.

¹⁵ As remarked earlier, Ting bowls were normally fired upside down, and their feet were carefully made and glazed all over. On the other hand, the red-brown and black-glazed bowls were evidently fired in an upright position, standing on their unglazed foot-rims. Even when allowance is made for this technical difference, however, the feet of the latter wares often seem coarser and less well finished by comparison with standard Ting bowls; but sometimes care was given to glazing the area within the foot-rim, only the rim itself being left bare.

¹⁰ BASIL GRAY: *Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, London [1953], p. 27.

¹¹ FUJIO KOYAMA, *op. cit.* (*Bulletin of Eastern Art*), pp. 18-19.

and 22). The brilliant, lacquer-black glaze seems to be thicker than the body itself: indeed the impression of fragility is so great that one scarcely dares to handle the bowl, especially as it has been skilfully repaired after a clean break. The pure white body, neatly cut foot, and sensitive outline are all redolent of Ting ware, while the quality is so fine that one can only confront convinced sceptics with the query: if not Black Ting, then what?

The Nishimura bowl is devoid of decoration, but another superb black bowl of about the same size bears plain evidence of a beautifully gilt design of floral sprays (Figs. 12 and 21). This indeed is the finest of the gilded black-glazed bowls and was excavated from Yongmae Island, off Korea. Although its quality is not so breath-taking as the Nishimura bowl, it is of the same class and the gilt decoration confers added distinction. It will be observed that the foot is more deeply cut than in the case of the Nishimura bowl, and indeed all the black and red-brown bowls vary considerably in this respect, probably because their production was so limited.

If we may accept the Nishimura bowl as, almost without doubt, a surviving specimen of Black Ting, then what is to be said of the gilded black bowl which is so nearly its equal? And, although the other gilded black and red-brown bowls are mostly of smaller size, they all possess much the same quality and were evidently made by skilled craftsmen at one or more of the leading Sung kilns. There are also some undecorated black and red-brown specimens in Japan, America, and England which are hardly less distinguished and seem to be of the same lineage.

While it may yet be too early to arrive at any final conclusion on the matter, there is every reason to give due weight to Koyama's views, which are based on long and careful research and have received at least partial confirmation from the kiln-site evidence he obtained at Ting-chou. Koyama believes that there is sufficient support 'from documents, relics, and techniques' to justify his identification of all the specimens we have been considering as Ting ware. The difficulty is to differentiate between the many varieties of white, black, and *kaki temmoku* wares which were made in North China and to determine which of them can justifiably be regarded as Ting. In a written communication on the subject Koyama states:

I know that there are kiln sites in many places in North China where white glazed wares of Ting type or imitations of Ting ware were made. Indeed I have personally explored or discovered some of them, but I found that the shards in each case differed considerably from the true products of Ting-chou.

It is Koyama's contention, based on his investigations of numerous kiln sites in North China, Manchuria, and Mongolia, that 'each kiln site has its individual characteristics which differentiate it from others'. Certainly no one is better qualified to determine the provenance of the gilded wares pending the complete confirmation which may eventually be obtained from the kiln sites.

It is necessary at this point to refer briefly to the vexed question of 'Purple Ting', which seems to have dropped out of ceramic controversy during the last ten or fifteen years. Hobson has pointed out that the whole question of Purple Ting arose from the description in the well-known album compiled by Hsiang Yüan-p'ien and that rejection of this

account would dispose of the matter. In this case there would be no reason for questioning Dr Bushell's translation of the Chinese word *tzu* as brown rather than purple, the relevant passage from the *Ko Ku Yao Lun* being:

... There is brown Ting-chou porcelain in which the colour is brown, and also black Ting-chou porcelain with a glaze as black as lacquer.¹⁶

And, as Hetherington had remarked in the paper which gave rise to Hobson's comment:

... brown Ting would be easy to imagine and not difficult to identify, derived as it would presumably be from ferric oxide like the *temmoku* glazes.

He went on, significantly, as follows:

There is little doubt that the black Ting was produced from a suitable glaze made from ferric oxide, and the *temmoku* bowls display every shade of brown up to a jet black.¹⁷

In the light of the above reasoning Koyama's views seem to be soundly based, for the vagueness and occasional extravagance of Chinese literary descriptions – especially those relating to colour – do not need to be stressed. Koyama writes as follows:

I believe ... the varieties are made by the quantity of the iron ingredient in the glaze; that is, the smallest amount is used in the Purple Ting, some in the Black Ting, and most in the Red Ting. But whether my opinion is right or wrong cannot be decided by historical studies of references but only by the result of the investigation of the ancient kilns of Ting-yao.¹⁸

There is in the Yokogawa Collection, now in the Tokyo National Museum, a small bowl or dish of exactly the same type as the gilded black and red-brown specimens already described, but the glaze colour in this case is a warm brown, not unlike the tone of brown grapes, with perhaps an even darker, purple tinge (Fig. 18). It is possible that this is the effect which Hsiang Yüan-p'ien compared with grapes ripened in the sun and the fruit of the aubergine plant, misleading present-day students into a quest for the bright purple glaze found on Chün ware.

Returning to the gilded wares, the case for regarding these as Ting is strengthened by their family resemblance to one another and by the reference to gilded Ting bowls in the *Ko Ku Yao Lun*. However, the survival of small tea-bowls with traces of gilding or silvering proves that other wares besides Ting sometimes received the same ornament. In addition to the bowl with hare's-fur glaze in Seoul mentioned by Hobson, there are several small *temmoku* bowls in Japan, and at least two in England, which bear the mark of gilt or silver decoration. Some are like the specimen in Seoul, showing traces of four Chinese ideographs set within quatrefoil frames; others carry different designs, such as a rough sketch of a house or a verse in Chinese characters. None of these bowls could possibly be regarded as Ting ware – they are generally considered to be Chien *temmoku* from South China – nor are there any substantial grounds for supposing that their decoration was executed outside China or at a much later date than that of their manufacture.

[To be continued]

¹⁶ S. W. BUSHELL: *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain, being a Translation of the T'ao Shuo*, London [1910], p. 39.

¹⁷ A. L. HETHERINGTON: 'Purple Ting', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1928-30, p. 29.

¹⁸ FUJIO KOYAMA, *op. cit.* (*Bulletin of Eastern Art*), p. 6.

Early Italian Paintings at the Orangerie

THE presentation to the Parisian public of 138 paintings, eleven works of sculpture, and twenty-three drawings of the Italian school, datable from the end of the Dugento to the earliest years of the Cinquecento, with the rigorous exclusion of the High Renaissance (which is traditionally the period best known and most highly regarded in France), was in itself – for Paris – a bold venture into the unknown; to this must be added the conscious decision to select works which appeal to the modern taste of students engaged in art-historical research: that is to say, a large representation of the minor schools, Bolognese, Pisan, Umbrian, Ligurian, Lombard, and such like. For this reason the title 'From Giotto to Bellini', by placing the emphasis on the giants of Italian painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, may give a slightly misleading impression of the wide range of exhibits in the three large, and two smaller, rooms of the Orangerie, and in a room on the fourth floor of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs where an annexe of the exhibition was installed. Not that undoubted masterpieces were lacking: works like the marble bas-relief of Donatello showing the *Feast of Herod* (Lille) and the reconstructed predella of Mantegna showing the *Passion of Christ* (Louvre, Tours) proclaim themselves in that high poetic language which strikes a chord equally in the layman and in the erudite scholar, and refuses to be clamped down by the chains of chronology and local 'schools'.

Among those works which can be labelled with reasonable certainty, capable of arousing a vivid and immediate response which is pure aesthetic pleasure, we would like to single out the Pietro Lorenzetti *Saint* from the Museum at Le Mans, a delightful vision of feminine grace where the gold ground contends playfully with the blond hair and the orange dress in the rich tones of ripe corn; the fragment of the Lorenzo Monaco predella from Nice, where the monks gathered round the tomb of St Augustine are viewed in a greenish, underwater light (perhaps it was this light, and the already Renaissance-like treatment of space which suggested the name of Fra Filippo to Adolfo Venturi); the genre-like gaiety of the Sano di Pietro predella and the Whistlerian 'harmony in grey, blue, and black' (as Berenson described it) of the Bergognone predella (both from Nantes); the *Madonna with an Angel* by the young Botticelli in the Museum of Ajaccio (Fig.29), still plump and child-like beneath her Della Robbia swags, but already entwined in transparent veils and folds of a feverish, vibrant quality; Cima's *St Sebastian*, so young and triumphant in his sunlit landscape that the rope on his wrist and the single arrow seem extraneous to him; all the same a cloud passes over the brow of this Apollo, of a kind to appeal to romantic spirits more than Antonello's *St Sebastian* from which it derives; also from the Museum at Strasburg, the incisive *Nativity* by the young Crivelli and his miniature-like *Pietà* in the Louvre; and Tura's metallic Saints from Caen, Nantes, the Louvre, and (most useful for comparison) from the Uffizi; and to add to these, some drawings, such as the Giovanni Bellini *Pietà* from Rennes, the Filippino Lippis from Lille, the Signorelli nudes from Dijon; and finally the stylized yet still lively marble masks of women at Aix-en-Provence,

Bourges, Chambéry, Puy, by Laurana and his assistants, most ingeniously exhibited in a pyramidal group which allows for the comparison one with the other of the subtle variations in modelling.

Other works exhibited can be added to this brief list according to the personal preferences of the visitor. We have not included works of good quality whose authorship is still problematical: to these we shall return later. The exhibition is by no means weak in works of this kind; and exceptionally rich is it in unpublished pictures (Nos.2, 50, 74, 85, 101, 131, 197, 201), bequeathed by private collectors to their native or adopted towns, or exiled, as the Louvre was in the habit of doing, to small museums in the provinces, and there lost sight of. Such is the Benvenuto di Giovanni *Martyrdom of a Bishop Saint* (No.50), formerly in the Campana Collection, which has remained unnoticed by criticism in the Museum at Blois, although the predella panel of the *Massacre of the Innocents* with which it belongs, divided from it and sent off to Aix-en-Provence (1876), was recognized there by Perkins, Berenson, and later students. And similarly an important right-hand panel of a triptych (No.85), showing a *Canonized Pope* in an embroidered cloak (Fig.28) and, in the pinnacle, a coy and elegant *Virgin Annunciate* in pale blue, the attribution of which to the mature Giovanni di Paolo cannot be disputed, but which has nevertheless languished in inexplicable oblivion at Châlons-sur-Saône from 1876 to 1956. The panels so far referred to belonged to the Campana Collection, but the fine, unpublished *Christ Blessing* (No.2; Fig.24) reasonably attributed to Barna by the author of the exhibition catalogue, was bequeathed to the Douai Museum by a private collector, and the typical Matteo di Giovanni *Madonna* between two lively little angels discovered for this occasion in the Museum at Orleans (No.101) is from an unknown source.

As a whole, therefore, the exhibition betrays a commendable determination on the part of the French to assert themselves in the field of scientific criticism which has so far been sacrificed, one has to admit, to a more general, more lively, fundamentally more creative, interest in art as taste or as literary stimulus. It has been pointed out in Paris, with a certain chauvinistic bitterness, that the bibliography cited in the catalogue consists entirely of Italian, English, American, German, and Dutch names (Berenson, Longhi, Offner, Perkins, Pope-Hennessy, Pouncey, Schubring, Salmi, Suida, Van Marle, A. Venturi, Zeri, etc.) This is certainly not the fault of the conscientious compiler of the catalogue, Michel Laclotte, to whom it is hoped that the Direction Générale des Musées de Province will give time and money to complete the studies which he has so well initiated. A more positive reaction to the exhibition would be the expression of the hope that in future young Frenchmen will emulate the foreigners in the study of foreign art of the past centuries belonging to their public and private collections. Meanwhile, Professor André Chastel of the Sorbonne, in an introductory essay to the catalogue entitled *Le goût des Préraphaélites en France*, attempts a reevaluation of the French critical literature and of French taste, documenting the interest of collectors and

writers of the first half of the nineteenth century in the so-called Primitives or painters before Raphael: Artaud de Montor, Dante scholar and author of a literary work on Italian painting up to Raphael (1808-13), whose collection is partly at Chambéry; François Cacaault, diplomat in Naples and Rome, who enriched with his paintings the Museum at Nantes (1810); Séroux d'Agincourt, the author of a monumental history of art illustrated with 300 engravings (1811-23); the painter J. B. Wicar, who bequeathed his valuable collection of drawings to Lille (1834); Rio, who wrote on the various schools of Italian painting in his *Art Chrétien* (1836); Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, who left his paintings to Ajaccio (1839) among which the fine Boccati (No.55; Fig.27) in the present exhibition; the painter Ingres who gave to Montauban (1867) two such unacademic panels as the Butinone *St Paul* and the Masolino predella (Nos.59 and 100 in the exhibition); finally, and more unexpectedly, F. Reiset who, while privately collecting excellent paintings by the Italian Primitives (among which are the Sassetta and the Piero di Cosimo now at Chantilly), in his function as *Conservateur du Louvre* was passionately opposed to keeping intact the famous Marchese Campana Collection acquired by Napoleon III in Rome in 1861.¹

As is well known, the determined opposition of the Louvre bureaucrats triumphed even over Napoleon III, and the Campana Collection was ignominiously dispersed (1863, 1872, 1876) to more than ninety provincial museums, in spite of the protests, among others, of Ingres and Delacroix (for once united). More than eighty years afterwards, one of the most serious intentions of the Orangerie exhibition has been to remedy this unfortunate event, by reuniting for the benefit of the public some of the Trecento and Quattrocento paintings which belonged to this collection, and especially to aim at recomposing polyptychs and predellas which were at that time barbarously dismembered, such as the triptych by Paolo Veneziano dated 1354 from Ajaccio, Toulouse, and the Louvre (Nos.25, 27, 28), the polyptych by Francesco di Antonio Banchi from Grenoble, Carcassone, and Bourges (Nos.70, 71, 72), and the predella already referred to by Benvenuto di Giovanni (Nos.49, 50). Or a work with a Campana provenance has been reunited with others from another source: like the Tura *St Anthony*, exhibited along with the Caen *St James enthroned*, the Uffizi *St Dominic*, and the Nantes *St Nicholas of Bari*. Where it has not been possible to exhibit the dismembered fragments together, the catalogue reminds students where the other panels are to be found: thus, we are informed that the *SS. Agatha and Bernardino* recognized by Berenson as the work of Lorenzo da San Severino (No.200, Campana Collection, Dijon) are pendants of the *SS. Francis and Clare* at Le Havre (also listed in Berenson); that Le Havre also possesses the pendant of the *St Anthony Abbot* (No.170, Campana Collection, Amiens), both given by Berenson to Andrea di Bartolo; that the *SS. Lawrence and Bartholomew* removed by Zeri from the *œuvre* of the 'Master of the Gardner *Annunciation*' and given by him to the Ferrarese Aleotti (No.173, Campana Collection, Nancy), do not stand alone, since two other panels from the same

¹ To these may be added the E. Fouret Collection acquired by the Museum of Le Mans in 1863, the Fabre gift to Montpellier (1825), the Thomas Henry gift to Cherbourg (1855), the Mancel gift to Caen (1872), the Maciet and Crangier gifts to Dijon (1898-1905), the Jean Gigoux gift to Besançon (1894), not to mention others less important.

Campana polyptych were dispatched to Toulouse. The documentation is valuable when the dismemberment has given rise to different attributions – a situation more than likely to occur in the case of minor artists whose personality is open to many influences – and helpful for the revision of attributions. Four Saints from a Campana polyptych were dispatched, two to Nantes and two to Rennes, and separately attributed to Andrea Vanni and Giovanni del Biondo: today they are considered lateral panels of the *Madonna* signed by Cecco di Pietro and dated 1386, given by Kress to Portland. The two predella fragments with the *Story of St. Bartholomew* sent off, one to Le Mans, the other to Perpignan, were in the same way ascribed, the one to Niccolò Rondinelli, the other to Benedetto Diana. The latter is, doubtless, fairly close in style to the Diana predella with the *Life of the Virgin*, divided between Polesden Lacy and the National Gallery, Washington (Kress Collection). However, the two fragments, exhibited side by side, reveal themselves as the work of the same hand, and that hand is Rondinelli's.

This attempt at temporary reunion is, we are informed, the first step towards a more ambitious project: that of re-assembling 200 Campana paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Petit Palais at Avignon, which was the seat of the local bishops and archbishops during those very centuries, and so provides a perfect architectural setting for these paintings. However, since the laws concerning the surrender of works of art were, at the end of the last century, extremely badly defined in France, the supporters of this praiseworthy project are coming up against unexpected difficulties, every time they ask for a Campana picture from a provincial gallery.² They hope to use the success of the exhibition as a weapon against the traditional administrative red tape, and if they succeed in their aims (we wish them every success), within four years students of Italian Primitives will have to add the Petit Palais at Avignon to their list of places to visit.

Meanwhile the paintings exhibited at the Orangerie have given scholars the delight and pain of new certainties and uncertainties in the field of attributions. In spite of the fine head of Christ, one hesitates to pronounce the name of Giotto in front of the small Strasburg *Crucifixion*, with the too attenuated body of Christ, the mechanically symmetrical distribution of the angels and the repaints in the group on the left. On the other hand, the cautious names of the 'Master of San Gaggio' (in place of Berenson's Cimabue), 'Verrucchio Master', 'Master of 1310', 'Master of the *Pietà*', 'Master of St Louis of Toulouse', etc., while reflecting the present exploratory phase of study on minor Trecento artists, hold out the promise of further enlightenment, not to be long delayed. Some works here exhibited, like the monolithic, but tender, *Madonna* of the Pisan School (No.38), or the *Maestà* (No.17) both relegated to the Museum at Angers, have an expressive force and dignity which demand that they should be removed from the limbo of rustic, provincial anonymity. Fascinating, although a ghostly ruin, are the Campana triptych (Fig.23) and *Crucifixion* (Nos.13 and 12) given by Longhi to Jacopino di Francesco. Unusually interesting, for the

² Again on the occasion of the exhibition the Musée Condé at Chantilly and the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne refused the loan of pictures and drawings to the Orangerie, invoking the terms of the testators' wills which bind them, but the refusal of the Museum of Châalis was not legally justified.



23. Triptych: *Coronation, Crucifixion, Annunciation*, and other scenes, by Jacopino di Francesco. Panel, 136 by 145 cm. (Campana Collection; Museum, Perpignan, 1863-1954.)



24. *Christ Blessing*, by Barna da Siena. Panel, 52 by 33 cm. (Museum, Douai.)



25. *Nativity*, attributed to a Siennese Master active in Avignon. Panel, 59 by 39 cm. (Museum, Aix-en-Provence.)



26. *Madonna enthroned*, by Bartolommeo Montagna. Panel, 84 by 73 cm. (Museum, Lyon.)



27. *Madonna enthroned with Angels*, by Giovanni Boccati. Panel, 148 by 104 cm. (Musée Fesch, Ajaccio.)



28. Detail from right-hand panel of triptych, showing *Canonized Pope*, by Giovanni di Paolo. (Campana Collection; Museum Châlons-sur-Saône.)



29. *Madonna and Angel*, by Sandro Botticelli. Panel, 110 by 70 cm. (Musée Fesch, Ajaccio.)



30. *Entombment*, here attributed to Fra Filippo Lippi and Sandro Botticelli. Panel, 93 by 64 cm. (Museum, Cherbouurg.)

fusion of Siennese stylistic elements and the taste of Avignon, are the three refined panels with the *Life of the Virgin* from Aix-en-Provence and the Lehman Collection in New York (Nos.42, 42 bis; Fig.25). Finally, outstanding in quality, are the *Last Judgment* (No.29) ascribed by Berenson to Segna and the predella (No.24) ascribed by the same critic to Palmerucci, both from Angers, the triptych of Taddeo di Bartolo formerly in S. Paolo all'Orto at Pisa (No.32), the Lippo Vanni *Madonna* (No.35), and the Taddeo Gaddi *Madonna* (No.8) and *Nativity* (No.9).

Passing to the Quattrocento, one is convinced by the attributions to Bartolomeo della Gatta of the Campana lunette (No.46, Périgueux) formerly ascribed to Utili, to Leonardo Boldrini of the *Saint with Standard* (No.56, Dijon) formerly given to Montagnana, and to Filippino Lippi of the *Head of Christ* (No.87) listed as Andrea Solario in the Besançon Museum. As for the Cherbourg *Entombment* (Fig.30), generally recognized as Fra Filippo's, it shows clearly, since cleaning, the collaboration of the young Botticelli: the profile of the Magdalen, her nervous hand (so different from the rounded hands of the Madonna), the folds of her dress, with those deep furrows which cut into the body and increase its tension (whereas the Madonna's draperies are full and compact), the glimpse of landscape seen on the right of the Lippesque rock, identical with the landscape in the background of Botticelli's *St Sebastian* in Berlin, the lightness of touch with which the vase of ointment in the foreground is painted – all these features seem to me to be signatures of Botticelli. Less certain is the attribution to Angelico himself (rather than to a follower) of the predella showing *St Augustine in Meditation* from Cherbourg (No.44), based as it is on considerations of quality rather than on exact stylistic affinities. The free use of reds, unusual in Angelico, associates this predella with the *Head of Christ crowned with Thorns* in S. Maria del Soccorso at Leghorn, which was a novelty, not universally accepted, at the Fra Angelico exhibition in Florence in 1955, and was also assigned, by those who accepted the attribution to the master, to the years preceding the Linaiuoli Tabernacle (1443).

It is hard to make a judgement, today, on the authorship of the *Christ on the Cross between St John and the Virgin* (No.115, Campana, at Montpellier, restored for the exhibition) listed as early Sassetta by Berenson in 1909, and accepted as such by later historians. We envy those privileged people who saw this panel half a century ago, because now all the faces are lost and very little survives on which to base an attribution. The same can be said, but in this case owing to extensive repaints, for the *casone* panels showing the *Rape of Helen* and the *Rape of Europa* (Nos.86, 86 bis, Campana, at Le Havre and the Louvre), for which the names of Francesco di Giorgio, Cozzarelli, Matteo di Giovanni, Girolamo da Cremona, and Liberale da Verona have been suggested.

Fascinating problems are still presented by the *Epiphany* (No.54) attributed to Boccaccino, the *Portrait of a Lady* (No.64) attributed to Costa and Boltraffio, the Foppesque *Madonna* in Dijon (No.69), the vigorous, Lombard *Madonna and two Angels* at Aix-en-Provence (No.94), the Veneto-Mantegnesque-Ferrarese *Holy Family* from Strasburg (No.129), the delightful series of panels with the *Life of the Virgin* in the Louvre (No.227) which are not convincing either as Jacopo Bellini or as Antonio Vivarini or as any other known Venetian artist of the time; and the curious little panel, more

North Italian than Venetian, showing *Pilgrims on the way to Emmaus* (No.176, gift of W. Gay to the Louvre), the unusual mountainous perspective and very small dimensions of which make one think, not of a predella, so much as of a fragment of a *Supper at Emmaus*, where sometimes the pilgrims are glimpsed through a window in the background.

The last-mentioned works were exhibited in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, with many examples selected for the occasion from the Louvre store-rooms. In some cases they presented problems of attribution which criticism was called upon to solve, but which can never be solved without the active intervention of the Restoration Department. While deprecating merciless cleaning and while recognizing the absolute necessity of caution especially when dealing with painting composed of glazes, one has to admit that the exhibition (which has now closed) revealed a depressing backwardness in the field of restoration. The pictures which the catalogue declares were restored for the occasion were, almost always, merely dolled up just sufficiently to make more obvious the reapplication of gold ground or superimposition of repaints (e.g. Nos.25, 31, 32, 93). These half measures are all the more irritating in cases where modern scientific methods could provide the restorer with a sure guide, such as the case of the profile of the *Young Florentine* from Chambéry, which X-rays have revealed as being different from the profile which for generations has perplexed art historians who have been hesitating between Paolo Uccello and Masaccio. In other cases the injunction 'not to touch' makes one suspicious of sheer aesthetic insensibility, as is the case with the splendid Montagna *Madonna Enthroned* from Lyon (No.103), which we reproduce as it was exhibited, standing above the Louvre fragment with three music-making angels (Fig.26). While we must congratulate the organizers of the exhibition on this most felicitous reconstruction, we wish them every success in obtaining permission for the modern head of the Christ-child to be, not merely freshened up, but courageously restored to its original contours. There are besides certain extreme cases in which it is justified to take risks, with full recognition of possibly more serious consequences; if, in fact, an honest restoration revealed that the so-called Botticelli or Sellaio, the simpering *Venus with Putti* (No.179) in the Louvre store-rooms, was largely painted by a dauber somewhat closer to our own times, no critic or amateur of art would suffer, nor would the Louvre be damaged by it. But naturally the first concern must be to salvage from neglect and ruin the rich store of art treasures deposited in those small museums which are as anxious to retain their treasures as they are deprived of sufficient means of maintaining them in good order. And this seems particularly necessary for the museums in the south of France where the old Italian panels get miserably cracked during the summer heat. If the late Albert Henraux, with the assistance of the Association des Amis des Musées de France, was able to obtain private funds for the more urgent restorations, it is up to the Inspection Générale des Musées de Province, to the Direction des Musées de France, to the Association de Conservateurs des Collections Publiques, to unite their efforts and to pool their authority to carry on with this unending task of preservation and salvage.

Finally, the exhibition prompts a warning, which is perhaps as useless to voice as it is irresistible to voice it: the matter of photography of the pictures exhibited. Every student of art

knows how difficult it is to obtain photographs which are legible and reasonably close to the original, of works belonging to French public collections. The excellent catalogue of this exhibition is also painfully inadequate as far as reproductions are concerned; so cloudy are they that they bear very little relation to the originals; certainly they do not help to stir up the memory of the visitor to the exhibition, and to an even less extent help to instruct those who missed it. This is particularly sad when it is a question of unpublished works. We would like, for example, to have reproduced the Giovanni di Paolo (No.85) in its entirety, but the only available photo-

graph shows the pinnacle tied up with paper, with the string dangling in front of the *Virgin Annunciate*. The photographs on sale were for the most part blurred, and made before cleaning in cases where this had taken place. The very few, clear photographs taken for the occasion had such a success that one has hopes of a salutary change of policy. Since students of art depend to such an extent on photographic documentation, as complete and as readable as possible, it would be of very great assistance to them if they could be provided, at the Louvre, with a photographic library worthy of the name.

MICHAEL JAFFÉ

Rubens' Drawings at Antwerp

TO mark the year in which Ludwig Burchard is 70 an exhibition of Rubens' drawings, by far the largest and best considered ever held, has been arranged this summer in Antwerp:¹ more than 140 items lent from public and private collections in Europe and the U.S.A. M. Frans Baudouin² is to be congratulated not only on the assembly in the Rubenshuis of these many drawings, of which a score have not hitherto been exhibited anywhere, but for having so far overcome without easy finances at his disposal the difficulties of hanging and lighting in rooms hardly suited for such display.³ The exhibition catalogue⁴ is an exceptional triumph of collaboration between Dr Burchard himself and Dr Ir. R. d'Hulst. The voluminous information and valuable suggestions contained in their joint entries notably revises and extends the ground for further progress in Rubens studies. Here is substantial achievement, rendering superfluous any panegyric less elegant than that with which Professor van Regteren Altena prefaces their labour on the personal contribution of Dr Burchard during the past thirty years.

The arrangement of so numerous a selection, perhaps one-fifth of the works recognized to have been drawn, or to some extent redrawn by Rubens, offers a chronology more satisfying than has previously been feasible. The firm basis for dating rests in models for printmaking; in designs for the sculptural enrichment of the Jesuit church in Antwerp,⁵ where Rubens was master decorator; and in other drawings preparatory to

¹ *Tekeningen van P. P. Rubens*, Antwerp [1956]. Open 16th June–2nd September. Numbers in brackets refer to this catalogue. References to publications are abbreviated as in the catalogue.

² I am most grateful to M. Baudouin for facilities afforded me at the Rubenshuis, particularly for the chance to examine the backs of drawings. In the course of examining No.75 verso it became plain to him, and then to me, that the inscription by Rubens reads 'geschildert fenster', not 'geschloten(?) fenster'.

³ With increased funds more use could have been made of properly diffused fluorescent lighting; and the disturbing reflections from marble floors could have been obviated by suitable carpeting. As it is arranged the artificial lighting is rather trying to visitors' eyes.

⁴ In Flemish only; though a brief handlist is available in French. The Introduction, by Frank van den Wijngaert, draws attention again to the need to reconsider the authenticity of the series of landscape drawings in pen and water-colour owned by the Antwerp Print Room and other cabinets. A fresh approach to this vexed subject is attempted by the present writer in an article to appear later this year in *Oud-Holland*.

⁵ In addition to the Pierpont Morgan *Angel blowing a Trumpet* (No.67) and the two Albertina drawings, designs for the High Altar (No.69) and for the ceiling of the Mary Chapel (No.70), Dr Burchard has included his *Standing Angel with a Lance*, and the *Nails of the Passion* (No.71) and a *Cherub Decoration* (No.68) (see here below). Mention is made in catalogue entry No.67 also of the Berlin *Angel with the Candelabrum*, and of the British Museum drawing (HIND, II, No.41), as well as

such paintings as can be dated either exactly, or, from close stylistic relation to those which can, within limits of four or five years. The way is now further open to relate drawings to each other in style and date. The catalogue suggests, for example, that the Petit Palais *Birth of the Virgin* (No.50) should be placed nearer 1612 than 1617, these years being the limits published by Frits Lugt, since in the manner of using the pen it seems not very far from the Chatsworth *Studies for a Last Supper* (Nos.24, 25), which can be placed with confidence in the Italian period. Equally plausible is the suggestion made that the series of elaborate drawings in colour after Primaticcio's frescoes at Fontainebleau are show-pieces, composed about 1630 from considerably earlier studies done in the Galerie D'Ulysse, rather than copies of the period when Rubens was at work for the first suite of decorations commissioned from him by Marie de Medicis. The opinion of Glück and Haberditzl⁶ that the Victoria and Albert Museum

of the pendant to the Pierpont Morgan drawing. To this list could have been added (a) the *Head of a Sphinx*, designed for the left-hand console of the tympanum on the façade, which was exhibited at Helsinki, 1952/3, No.49, and comes from the collections of Lord Somers; Richardson, Sr; Rymsdyck; Dr Goldstein; J. Scholz. (b) The penultimate design for the street face of the *Tower*, outlined by J. Huysens but with the figure of Christ, its tabernacle, and other sculptural detail sketched in by Rubens' pen in a brighter bistre – including even the flames on the flambeaux. This drawing in Sir John Soane's Museum was published, as Mr John Summerson has kindly brought to my attention, in *Wren Society*, XII [1935] pl.24B: 'Design for a Campanile of a Baroque character', probably by James Gibbs (*ibid.*, p.1). Recently the design was identified by E. F. SEKLER: *Wren and his place in European Architecture*, London [1956], p.80 and n.3; but Dr Sekler, in his discussion of the influence of the great Antwerp tower on Wren's spire of St Magnus Martyr, miscalls the (Soane Museum) drawing a copy. (c) Drawings identified, but incorrectly attributed, that still remain in the sadly dismembered archives at the church of St Charles-Borromée. See C. VAN HERCK and AD. JANSEN, 'Archief in beeld' (2e deel), *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis en Folklore*, Antwerp [1948], No.35, pl.1 – cornucopiae, fruit swags, cartouches, and winged cherub-heads are by Rubens, in whose hand is written at the left 'ex parte horto', an inscription unrecorded by these authorities, whilst the remaining outlines, shading of pillars, etc., are by Huysens and the other inscriptions by Père Dolmans; No.37 – entirely by Rubens, including the inscription 'S. F. Xaverii'; No.45, as already discussed by J. H. PLANTENGA: *L'Architecture Religieuse de Brabant au XVIIe Siècle*, The Hague [1926], Fig.139, this being correctly attributed to Rubens; No.16 – the group in brown pen and wash of the *Madonna and Child with two Angels under a Baldachin* in the tympanum is by Rubens, the architectural lines and the blue wash by Huysens; No.21 – the spandrel decorations are by Rubens, remainder by Huysens. Drawings Nos.35 and 37 again bear the erroneous attribution entirely to Huysens in *Scaldis Tentoonstelling*, Antwerp [1956], Nos.326 and 327.

⁶ The suggestion that this drawing (GLÜCK-HABERDITZL, No.5) may be copied from a *Madonna* of Andrea del Sarto is not adumbrated in the present catalogue. Andrea del Sarto, although copied elsewhere by Rubens, does not seem quite convincing as the immediate source of the figure.

Study of a Woman, seen half-length (No.90) belongs to the Italian years is amended. Indeed this very accomplished work *en trois crayons* could perhaps date from a period even later than the 'c.1620' proposed in the catalogue; almost from the period of the *Studies after Titian*,⁷ placed likewise by Glück and Haberditzl in the Italian years but manifestly done during the second visit to Spain. Another work quite properly removed from the Italian years is the *Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides* (No.140), which is included in the exhibition although in effect an oil-sketch on paper. Quite apart from its connexion with the picture formerly in Palazzo Durazzo Adorno, it shows a fluidity in painting landscape hardly to be found within the first half of Rubens' career. On the other hand the Ashmolean *Naked Man, seen from behind* (No.9) is again confirmed as a study for the early *Elevation of the Cross*, and quite distinct from the group of studies for the triptych on the theme ten years later in Antwerp (Nos.34, 35, 36). In boldness of scale, and in approach to the problems of figure composition through direct observation of life, all these drawings of male nudes in action bear witness to Rubens' personal development through the years of Carracci methods of work. But in actual handling of chalk, and in the Tintorettesque rhythm of form expressed in the haunches, the Ashmolean drawing shows a closer attachment than any to the immediate inspiration of Annibale.⁸ And that indeed was available to him as a young man in Rome while his senior contemporary was engaged in the decoration of the Galleria Farnese.

In discussing the drawing, however, which reproduces part of the decoration of that gallery (No.116), the authors of the catalogue have taken over or put forward misleading suggestions, through insufficient attention to the physical facts and some apparent disregard of the working principles which the Carracci inherited as draughtsmen from the sixteenth-century Venetians.⁹ The original piece of paper shows an irregular, presumably accidental, tear. The missing area has been made good by a second piece of paper backing it. So the sheet, as it stands, is by no means an example – such as the *Two Bound Prisoners* (No.92) (Fig.39) is most conspicuously – of Rubens in the course of designing having outrun the limits of the paper first taken, and so having straight away added neat rectangular pieces to augment the working area, but of a drawing damaged and then repaired by him after a considerable interval. His under-drawing in black chalk is still visible over virtually the whole of the original paper, including the upper part of the medallion, but nowhere on the repaired portion. This under-drawing where it appears on the upper part of the medallion does not prefigure the *Leda and the Swan* design done with his brush; but it could correspond to the relevant part of the *Apollo and Marsyas* design frescoed in the Galleria. That Annibale himself ever made any chalk drawing on this large scale in order to elaborate such a complex of decoration within the whole scheme is not at all probable. For his compositional ideas were penned down on a comparatively small scale; and subsequently the particular attitudes of

herms, *putti*, and *ignudi* were studied on the large scale with chalk in separate drawings. There is no evident reason to doubt, therefore, that the original part of the Rubens sheet was copied not from some drawing of Annibale now missing, but from the finished fresco in the Galleria itself – an impression corroborated by the way in which the muscling is described in the Rubens drawing – and that much later, perhaps about 1630,¹⁰ Rubens chose to rework the damaged sheet, supplying freely with his brush a fresh design for the medallion quite in the spirit of Annibale but of his own invention. In fact such active reconsideration by him of the visual knowledge amassed during his Italian years, and its enhancement after long assimilation, is nobly exemplified elsewhere in the present exhibition by Dr Burchard's own *Reclining Pan* (No.121).

That Rubens in Rome did profit from the chance to study actual chalk drawings by Annibale as well seems none the less most probable. The Louvre *Study of a Standing Ignudo* (No.22), seen *di sotto in sù*, whether or not that can ever be identified with any design prepared by Correggio for one of the heroic youths who tend fires by the Parma *Assunta*, expresses clearly the ideal of form, both in the outward thrust of the bent elbow hiding the face and in the rhythm of limbs in profile, of Correggio's admirer Annibale rather than of Correggio himself directly. It is even possible to suppose, if the Louvre drawing be compared, for example, to a sanguine drawing by Annibale, belonging to the British Museum,¹¹ of a similar subject, that Rubens may have been working from a design of Annibale as yet unrecognized which has no precise connexion with Correggio. In any case sympathy with the graphic power of Annibale appears to have been of profound consequence to Rubens, an invaluable means for him to comprehend as a draughtsman the gigantic creations of Correggio as of Michelangelo¹² also.

Meanwhile other identifications proceed of sources for Rubens' interests and inspiration. The catalogue establishes the connexion of the Chatsworth *Four Bacchantes seated round a Table* (No.7) and of a drawing listed as Van Dyck in the British Museum with Cobbe designs for the decoration of dishes. Masaccio is convincingly put forward as the source of inspiration for the figure of the Apostle in Museum Boymans' *St Peter healing the Lame Man* (No.29). And to these can now be added two further facts: that the Christ Church *Head of a Man, looking upwards* (No.15) is drawn from a marble head of the Emperor Galba,¹³ an illustration with the authority of an

¹⁰ The observation in this entry that the head looking upward reappears almost identically in the *Apotheosis of the Duke of Buckingham* is doubtfully relevant, and serves inadequately to indicate the likely date of the drawing. In fact, the broad nose and fully everted lips of the seated *ignudo* reflect closely Annibale's taste in youthful physiognomy: whilst the distinctively Rubenian face of the female grace who attends the royal favourite at his apotheosis could be held to do so only remotely. Besides, both figures and particular poses have commonly a long life history, with manifold developments, within Rubens' ever active imagination.

¹¹ B.M.1903-6-29-1, as 'Annibale Carracci'. Sanguine on white paper, 425 by 195 mm. Presented by C. W. Leatham. Hitherto unpublished.

¹² See MICHAEL JAFFÉ, *The Listener* [23rd June 1955]. The Rubens copy of the Michelangelo *ignudo* referred to there is hitherto unpublished: B.M.1870-8-13-882. Sanguine, and rose red wash accents with the point of the brush, on white paper, 387 by 287 mm. Numbered '19' in sanguine. Collections: P. H. Lankrink; E. Bouverie. It is noteworthy also that, as regards Correggio, Rubens seems to have absorbed the feeling of his *Lamentation under the Cross* through Annibale's famous engraving when he himself came to design the group of the Madonna fainting in the arms of a Mary, which he inset, like a carved incident in a bas-relief, into his Roman composition of *The Elevation of the Cross*.

¹³ Other views of this same antique marble were engraved by P. Aveline after drawings transcribed from Rubens' notebook, and published by C.-A. JOMBERT: *Théorie de la Figure Humaine*, Paris [1773], e.g. pl.iii.

⁷ GLÜCK-HABERDITZL, No.3. These most brilliant studies in combinations of red, black, and white chalks are sophisticated beyond the development of Rubens' style in chalk in 1603.

⁸ In designing the figure of the Ashmolean drawing, Rubens may well have had in his mind a recollection of the corresponding figure by the plough of Romulus frescoed on the 'In urbe robur et labor' field of the Palazzo Magnani decorations, which he would surely have studied on his way through Bologna.

⁹ See OTTO KURZ: *Bolognese Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London [1955], p.5.

antique of the 'maccaturæ' discussed by Rubens in his recommendations *De Imitatione Statuarum*; and that the Boymans *Two Bassoonists* (No.28) are not developments of a single figure, but direct copies, on a characteristically more generous scale, of individual Jewish musicians from two successive engravings by Adrien Collaert in the series *Encomium Musices*¹⁴ after designs by Johannes Stradanus. This particular identification emphasizes once again the importance of the study of Rubens as a print collector to the study of Rubens as a draughtsman and inventor of figures.

His activity as a collector of drawings by other masters is illustrated in the exhibition by his beautiful reworking of *A Classical Head, in profile* (No.20) originally by Ambrogio de Predis, and in his scarcely less extensive work over *The Fall of the Titans* (No.23) after Giulio Romano. This latter, basically a pedestrian copy in pen of a Giulio Romano drawing, such as Rubens acquired at Mantua or commissioned for his own use, has been characteristically transformed by his wash and heightening with oil. Hard outlines of limbs are corrected with the point of his brush in bistre; while whatever was for him irrelevant in the sky, in scrambling figures on the distant rocks, or in the clothing of the giants falling in the foreground, is more or less obliterated in the interests of establishing a general tone and coherent movement.

The less fortunate activity of later collectors of Rubens' own drawings appears also in the exhibition. The familiar blackish wash of J. de Wit¹⁵ shades Mr Chr. P. van Eeghen's splendid life-study of a *Naked Man* (No.36). And on two sanguine drawings, the Oberlin *Head of an Old Man* (No.14) and the Boymans *Three Nude Women* after Primaticcio (No.100) there are the additions of a seventeenth-century hand, which seems to be that of Lankrink. The Oberlin head, still fine, especially in the eyes, though looking sadly rubbed beside its superb and well-preserved neighbour the *Niccolo da Uzzano*¹⁶ (No.13), has been mended into another piece of paper. Presumably by the mender, it has been heightened awkwardly with white on the hair and the hatching thickened with a brickish sanguine that is harsh and untypical of Rubens. Similar rather insensitive work is to be seen in the small repairs to the Boymans drawing, although these are asserted in the catalogue to be by Rubens himself. Moreover, and there most obviously, similar work is found on yet another Boymans drawing, one not in the present exhibition, the *Nude Woman seated with a Child in a Landscape*.¹⁷ A considerable part of this drawing, of which the original part is certainly by Rubens, has been repaired in the same hard, dry manner and in an alien shade of sanguine. Further, in this last instance, the mender has been led on unhappily by belief in his own prowess to add more and more touches to the remaining portion of the original for the sake of uniting – as one may

conclude – the two parts in a new coherence. On the added portion is stamped *PHL*. The stamp looks as though it were not only a collector's mark but a signature.

From present-day collections the exhibition introduces a number of drawings virtually unknown. Among these, from Dr Burchard's own collection, comes the design (No.68) (Fig.31) for one of the two cherubim reliefs executed in Carrara marble – but, alas, with a much tamer frontal gaze – on the soffit of the main entry to the Jesuit church in Antwerp. The Albertina has lent their two studies (Nos.142, 143), now dated 1637–8, for the *Triumph of Christ over Sin and Death* altar in the Antwerp Carmelite church. Illustration here (Fig.33) of one, the *Melchisedek and Elijah* (No.142) next to the Louvre *Three Studies of a Man with a Heavy Load*¹⁸ (Fig.34), a drawing not exhibited, demonstrates stylistically the authorship of that also as by Rubens. A sheet of late drawings (No.117) from an unnamed collection makes its first public appearance classed among those rarities in Rubens' *œuvre*, records by his own hand of his compositions in painting done without evident thought of printmaking: the recto, a *Meeting of the Romans and Sabines* (Fig.40), corresponds to the grisaille in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia; and the verso shows a *Mars and Venus* (Fig.41) recalling a composition that dates from before 1628. From the museum at Rennes comes an outstandingly fine *Deposition* drawing (No.37) (Fig.38), a link between the Antwerp Cathedral and the Rijssel pictures in the chain of Rubens' ideas for composing on this subject, which originates in his second Roman period with the Hermitage drawing.¹⁹ Particularly illuminating is the technical development towards the Rennes drawing, executed broadly with the brush and sharpened by pen-work, from this Hermitage drawing, which is contemporary with the two Chatsworth *Studies for a Last Supper* (Nos.24, 25) – the fine brush drawing of the *St Sebastian* figures (No.25 verso) and the pen drawing of the *Medea* figures (No.24 verso) are mingled in it – and with the fully-finished Boymans *Washing of Christ's Body* (No.31). The marvellously supple and atmospheric technique of the Rennes drawing agrees perfectly with that of the verso, showing *Susanna* (Fig.37), of the *David and Goliath* (No.38) (Fig.35) from Montpellier. Those two drawings, with the other pen drawing of *David and Goliath* from Museum Boymans (No.39), form another reasonably compact chronological group. In pure penwork with intense hatching, the means at once spirited and delicate of a number of Rubens drawings still unrecognized as his, is the *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus* (No.53) (Fig.44) from Brunswick. Attachment of a part of this sheet to a known and dated composition in painting should not only dispel any doubts about its autograph, but should attract further attributions. Besides the *Hippodameia* drawing (No.42), which has not previously been seen outside the Rijksprentenkabinet, Professor Altena has sent from his own collection for its first exhibition the design (No.86) of 1619–20 for the title-page of *Gelresche Rechten des Ruremundschen Quartiers*. Another much larger design for printmaking, now also seen generally for the first time, is the splendid model from Poznan for the big Jegher woodcut of *The Rest on the Flight* (No.129) (Fig.32), which reinforces the attribution entirely to Rubens of the two sheets prepared for Jegher's

¹⁴ Published as Nos.12 and 13 by Ph. Galle in Antwerp. See F. W. H. HOLLSTEIN: *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts*, III, Amsterdam [1949], p.201.

¹⁵ This work of J. de Wit appears also in GORIS-HELD, Nos.103 and A.97.

¹⁶ A contemporary copy (without inscription), in black chalk on white paper, 232 by 180 mm, is owned by the present writer. A copy of this quality, also apparently by an able pupil of Rubens, made in black chalk with brown wash on white paper, 244 by 326 mm, from M. Lugt's drawing by Rubens after Michelangelo's relief of the *Lapiths and Centaurs* (see No.12 of the present exhibition) is in another English collection. There are doubtless a number of other such drawings, besides the copies attributed to Panneels in Copenhagen, to demonstrate the care with which Rubens' own early copies from other masters were in their turn copied.

¹⁷ Museum Boymans, V.5. Perhaps *Venus and Cupid*. Sanguine, retouched by the brush in a rose-red wash, on white paper, 253 by 281 mm.

¹⁸ LUGT: *Lowre, Ecole Flamande*, II [1949], No.1215.

¹⁹ See M. W. DOBROKLONSKY: *Drawings of Rubens*, Moscow/Leningrad [1940], No.8.

woodcut of *The Garden of Love* (No. 128). There, at the extreme right, the inimitable brilliance and freedom of the penwork in creating basin and figures and trees, not to speak of the white heightening and washes of indigo and bistre, is the absolute mark of Rubens' authorship throughout. One can only admire in both models the completeness, and exactness of suggestion for woodcutting, of his instructions to Jegher for the quality required of each impression from his block. The Rubens touch²⁰ shows as unmistakably in the fullness of form freely and rhythmically given to St Joseph's feet in the Louvre model for Vorsterman's print of *The Holy Family* (No. 85). The special flowering there of the highly-refined penmanship, generally subjugated elsewhere in the drawing to the precise exigencies of engraving, is eloquent for Rubens as author of all but the crude and disturbing wash – for Rubens rather than Van Dyck, whose name M. Lugt has suggested as a probability, on the strength of the tradition from Bellori that he assisted his master in the preparation of prints.

The nice business of distinguishing the penmanship of Van Dyck during his years with Rubens from that of Rubens himself is not yet done. The exhibition does well, for example, to maintain the *Thisbe* drawing (No. 40) as Rubens, not Van Dyck. However, the *Lamentation over Procris* (No. 51) seems misplaced as Rubens.²¹ On the recto (Fig. 42) the individual figures are loosely spread upon the page.²² Characteristic also of the young Van Dyck is the composition. Brilliant in detail, and even closely Rubenian in such expressive formulae as eyes and noses, yet it sprawls ungoverned by that overriding force which gives impact and direction to the sketchiest thoughts of Rubens. The verso (Fig. 43) reveals no fewer tricks of Van Dyck's hand: the convex curve of the Madonna's neck at the left; the fleeting notes of sharp-featured heads in the earlier essay in the composition at the right; slack indications of the extremities of limbs; and a predominantly pictorial quality, lacking that discipline by sculpture which informs

even the most rapid jottings by Rubens. The catalogue omits to observe that the left hand, and more advanced, trial of the composition is squared in black chalk for enlargement. It is not indeed a *ricordo* of 1612–13 by Rubens, but an original composition of 1617–20 by Van Dyck for painting.

Beyond the sight of masterpieces too numerous to mention here, this exhibition gives pleasure not least in presenting most ably one continuing interest of Rubens, the manifold development of his love for the art of Pieter Breugel. There is the careful, but irrepressibly lively, pen copy from his earliest years of a group in *The Massacre of the Innocents* (No. 5) (Fig. 45). There is the dazzlingly free wash drawing (No. 88) of about 1620 after the lost *Quarrelling Card-players*. And from that period onwards there are studies in chalk or pen of all that pertains to the life of farms – and, in the drawings of farm-carts (Nos. 77, 78), a delicate combination of many colours in the chalks betrays at the same time another abiding affection of Rubens, for the art of Barocci. In this genre three lesser-known studies of peasant women at work in the fields (Nos. 102, 103, 105) join company with the famous *Woman churning Butter* (No. 120). Of these, done in Rubens' own idiom but seen in the spirit of Breugel *naer het leven*, the least known (No. 105), a drawing timeless in quality, may be illustrated in conclusion (Fig. 36).

Since the foregoing was set in type, the exhibition has received a significant addition, ten drawings from Leningrad, including not only the *Deposition* (No. 31A) discussed above, but four other most welcome pieces: the *Mars and Venus* (No. 10A), which makes a handsome companion to the Berlin 'Homer' (No. 10) in the series of early copies from the antique; a magnificent sheet consisting mainly of studies of nude women and *putti* placed as No. 101B, but belonging in style and technique with the Warsaw University *Group of three young women, fully clad, accompanied by putti* (No. 144); a breathtakingly beautiful composition of *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 63B) sketched in Chinese ink and coloured oils, a miracle of strength and delicacy in drawing with the point of the brush; and, perhaps most wonderful of all, a verdant *Landscape of trees and watermeadows* (No. 138A)²³ to set beside the Ashmolean *Entry to a Wood* (No. 138) in grandeur of spirit and drawing.

²³ See M. W. DOBROKLONSKY: *Hermitage Catalogue, Drawings by Flemish Masters of the XVII–XVIII Centuries*, Moscow [1955], No. 659, pl. lxi. The technique of this Rubens landscape recalls, although grander and at the same time more arrestingly local than any of them, the group of landscapes traditionally attributed to Van Dyck in the British Museum (HIND, II, Nos. 86, 87, etc.) These British Museum drawings may be seen to stand in a relation to it which, if anything, reinforces the probability that they are indeed by Van Dyck.

²⁰ An argument against, but not decisively against, Rubens' authorship of this fine drawing – certainly, as M. Lugt says, too good for Vorsterman – is a slight lack of the characteristically compelling intensity of expression in the eyes and in the interchange of glances.

²¹ See J. S. HELD, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXIII, series 6 [1943], pp. 117–22. Neither the drawing by Panneels cited by Professor Held as a comparison to the Princeton drawing, nor any other by that master in the Copenhagen Print-Room, bears much resemblance to it in style of penmanship or quality. However, the Princeton drawing has real stylistic affinities to LUGT: *Louvre, Ecole Flamande*, II [1949], No. 1224, classified there as '*Ecole et manière de Rubens*'. This Louvre sheet is not only characteristic of Van Dyck's draughtsmanship in pen during his years with Rubens, but it shows on its verso notes in Van Dyck's script, cf. HIND, II, No. 85.

²² The conception of form expressed in the prone figure of Procris may be compared in particular to the figure of Antiope in the Ghent Museum *Jupiter and Antiope*.

CHRISTOPHER WHITE

Rembrandt Exhibitions in Holland

THE three exhibitions devoted to Rembrandt in Holland this summer bring together about 500 paintings, etchings, and drawings.¹ In the case of Rembrandt, however, a large number of works is not necessarily a prerequisite for a satisfying exhibition; about one-tenth of that number would achieve this, such is the nature of his art. With the example of

famous Rembrandt exhibitions in Holland in the earlier half of this century, the organizers have collected together works from all over the world to create an exhibition from which it is possible to form a very extensive idea of the artist. There is no doubt at all that their high ambitions have been realized, and just as it is many years since the last such comprehensive exhibition, in all probability it will be necessary to wait as long for another opportunity.

¹ At the time of writing the paintings and etchings are at the Rijksmuseum, and the drawings at the Boymans Museum.

The majority of exhibitions devoted to a single artist on this scale would bring together some new material, at least in the drawings if not in the paintings. Yet such has been the thoroughness of Rembrandt scholars that the total number of unpublished works on view is limited to one drawing, with a number of other drawings included which have only been recently discovered (Fig.49). The revelation of the exhibition is primarily, therefore, not so much an extension of our knowledge, but a deeper understanding of the artist and the overwhelming realization of his greatness, which makes him outclass his Dutch contemporaries in a way that no other artist did in relation to his time. But this is not to deny that our knowledge is not advanced, as apart from many works which have only been known to the majority in reproduction, there are new valuations to be made within his *œuvre*. One of the major revelations has been the very high quality of the early works. The late works, such as *The Staalmeesters*, *The Three Crosses*, or the series of late nude drawings have always been accepted as the perfection of his art. It was, therefore, a surprise to find some of the early works so fine in execution and deep in sentiment, from which one was not continually looking forward to the later times but which one accepted as complete works of art in themselves. This was particularly apparent in the pen sketches of the 1630's, e.g. the two drawings from Budapest, *Saskia Seated before a Window* and *A Woman with a Child Frightened by a Dog* (Nos.33a and 44a), where his technique is completely at his command to convey a mood or an expression. Even earlier works, for example the red chalk studies or the first room of paintings, strike one with their mastery. It has often been stated that Rembrandt was slow in maturing, and with this idea in mind a series of paintings and drawings were attributed to him as youthful creations. This is, however, by no means supported by the works on show, and it will be necessary to re-examine the whole problem in the light of these exhibitions. Another important aspect which has been brought out by the exhibitions is the stylistic interrelation of the paintings, etchings, and drawings. It is so easy to regard them as separate entities developing within their own framework that the opportunity to compare one with another gives us a new insight into the development of the whole artist and not just the painter or the etcher, and this helps us to try and comprehend the underlying personality.

The exhibition of paintings, though very well hung, is in some ways the most difficult to assess owing to the enormous variation in preservation. This is particularly apparent in the last two rooms where the states of the pictures vary between drastic over-cleaning and layers of dirty varnish. By far the greater number of the exhibits are portraits, which is, of course, in correct proportion to the total *œuvre*. The subject paintings have been particularly well chosen, ranging from small sketches to monumental canvases. Only in the landscapes, not numerous anyway, is there a certain inadequacy. The selection has brought out the artist's enormous range both in quality and style. On the one hand there is such a hard and unsympathetic picture as *The Bath of Diana* (No.29; Salm-Salm) of 1635, and on the other the deeply moving *Entombment* (No.30; Glasgow) probably from the same year. Or the *Tobit and Anna* (No.80; Rotterdam), a painting so intimately touching with the small view of the roofs through the window, painted with the naturalistic precision of

Vermeer or De Hooch, only precedes by one year the monumental and dramatic *Denial of St Peter* (No.82; Rijksmuseum) of 1660. It is easy to continue these contrasts endlessly, and it is this variety which makes it impossible for us to tie his art down within the boundaries of a firm definition. Each time we return, our impressions are different. He always surprises us.

One of the most interesting aspects of the exhibition is the way in which the first rooms show to an astonishing degree the logical development of his early works. Starting with the *Tobit and Anna* (No.1; Paris) of 1626 with its strong local colours and plastically modelled figures right in the foreground, the artist gradually fuses the figures in tone, depth, and colour into the general atmosphere, and five years later he has reached his conclusion in *The Presentation* (No.14; The Hague). His development is made clear throughout the exhibition up to the last room with the highly personal late works.

Even though there is a flexibility in standard, one may wonder whether one or two of the exhibits are really from his hand. *The Portrait of a Young Woman* (No.17; Stockholm) has such pallid and pasty flesh tones, that it is hard to believe that it is by the same hand as *The Portrait of 'Lysbeth van Rijn'* (No.16; Stockholm), one of the most beautiful of the earlier portraits; or whether *The Portrait of Anna Wijmer* (No.45; Six Coll.) of 1641, with its shallow character study and uncomfortably posed position of the hands, is by the same hand as the deep and majestic *Portrait of François Coopal* (No.44; Brussels) of the same year. *The Painter's Studio* (No.61; Glasgow) would seem clearly to be unacceptable. (One wonders why it was chosen.) The strange yet arresting *St Bartholomew* remains a problem. But these few doubts in no way detract from the total achievement of the exhibition, to which should be added the beautifully written introduction of Mr A. van Schendel.

The exhibition of etchings, which displays about one-third of his work in that medium, has been arranged with great taste, and at the same time contains a considerable amount of scholarly material both in the exhibits and the catalogue, written by Mr K. Boon. The very fine collection belonging to the Rijksmuseum with its large number of impressions on Japanese paper has naturally been the main source, but there are also a number of unique impressions (Fig.46) and two unusual impressions which have been borrowed from collections as far away as America. In the arrangement one might criticize the one or two cases where different states of the same etching have not been placed together, which makes it difficult to follow the development.

Though the etchings have been the subject of two recent studies, the detailed exhibition catalogue, with its tangible reasons for attribution and dating, makes a contribution to some of the problems on which unanimity has not been reached. Of the earlier etchings, Boon includes *The Rest on the Flight* (H.307; No.1) and *St Jerome* (H.309; No.3), both doubted by Hind but now generally accepted. Also exhibited is *The Beggar in the Tall Hat and Long Cloak* (H.321; No.7), which Münz thought to be by Van Vliet. The drawing is characteristic of Rembrandt and can be compared with *The Beggar in a Large Cloak* (H.75a; No.8).

It has often been thought that in a number of the more heavily worked etchings Rembrandt may have used assistants. Münz has gone farthest in this assumption and has stated that a number of the etchings in the 1630's were

worked up by pupils, in particular identifying the hand of Van Vliet. In the second state of *The Great Jewish Bride* (H.127; No.29), dated 1635, often attributed to pupils, Boon quite rightly asks whether the drawing of the right sleeve is not characteristic of Rembrandt himself. One can extend his doubts to the atmospheric background. The crucial etching in this connexion is *The Angel appearing to the Shepherds* (H.120; No.24). The landscape, which as we know from the first state was executed first, can hardly be doubted as entirely drawn by Rembrandt, since it is one of his finest creations of atmosphere in etching. This shows his willingness to work up an etching in very considerable detail and not merely to search for quick effects. When considering this question, therefore, one should base one's opinion more on the result than on the actual drawing of the worked-up area. This enquiry can be extended to other etchings such as the early *Portrait of Jan Sylvius* (H.111; No.22) or *The Gold-weigher* (H.167; No.33) where the drawing of the old man and woman in the left background would seem to have been drawn by Rembrandt himself.² In the case of the two large early etchings, *The Descent from the Cross* (H.103; No.20) and *Christ before Pilate* (H.143; No.26), the assistance of pupils is more probable, especially in *The Descent from the Cross* after the first plate had failed to bite properly. Boon, however, suggests that there is less than is generally believed, which may well be correct.

The Small Lion Hunt with two Lions (H.180; No.32) has been dated either c.1641, at the time of *The Large Lion Hunt* (H.181; Hind and Biørklund), or c.1629 with *The Small Lion Hunt with one Lion* (H.6; Münz). Neither solution is satisfactory and Boon has suggested that it should be placed c.1636, and compares the details in the drawing of the landscape in *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (H.147; No.31) of 1636. Though agreeing with him in principle, this seems to me to be too late; it should be placed a year or two after the first *Small Lion Hunt* (H.6), which must have been etched by 1629. The conception of the landscape, with the diagonal recession, is found in the first *Small Lion Hunt* and differs from the closed landscape of *The Prodigal Son*. Furthermore the roughly etched quality with the harsh *repoussoir* of shadow in the left foreground is different from the composed and delicate etchings of the mid-1630's.

The usual dating of *The Entombment* (H.281; No.99) and *The Presentation in the Temple* (H.279; No.100) about the time of *The Descent from the Cross* (H.280; No.97), dated 1654, has been retained. This is in opposition to Münz's theory that they should be placed at the end of the 1650's. There seems to be no reason for not regarding these three etchings as a group, added to which there is the evidence of the drawings. The drawing of *The Presentation* (No.220; Boymans), in all probability preparatory to the etching, is clearly of the same date as the preparatory drawing (No.221; Rijksmuseum) for the etching *Christ at Emmaus* (H.282; No.98) which is dated 1654.³

The exhibition of the drawings, which contains about 260 sheets, is perhaps the most impressive, largely because they are so much less well known and one rarely has the opportunity to see them placed on a wall in large numbers. It is then that one becomes so conscious of their completeness.

The difficulties involved in studying the paintings and etchings increase when one comes to the drawings. This is due not only to their infinite variety but also to the number of pupils who produced drawings so faithful to Rembrandt's style, and to the eighteenth-century pasticheurs whose deceptive forgeries have not yet been sorted out satisfactorily. *The Landscape with a Drawbridge* (No.147; Vienna) is an example of a drawing about which doubt has been expressed (Benesch). Though it has the characteristic broadness of stroke and summary drawing it is possible to feel that there is a painstaking attempt to achieve this, which might well betray the hand of a pupil. Another drawing *St Mark Preaching in Venice* (No.224; Pierpont Morgan Library), which is a copy after a Venetian drawing, seems weak in comparison with such an inspired copy as that after Mantegna in the British Museum. The author of the drawing might well have been a pupil following Rembrandt's advice to copy drawings by other artists. The question of eighteenth-century pastiches is raised by the inclusion of a number of drawings from Munich, the authenticity of which has been much disputed. *The Baptism of the Eunuch* (No.13) is the least convincing. It is impossible to parallel the extreme sketchiness and disintegration of form in any other drawing of this period, and it is questionable how far the lines are meaningful. Even though the composition bears a relation to a lost painting etched by Van Vliet, this is not enough to overcome the doubts on stylistic grounds. A more important drawing, *Claudius Civilis* (No.249) is a far more open problem, largely owing to the scarcity of other drawings of that date, c.1660. *The Seated Nude* (No.240) would, however, seem indisputable, as it is so clearly related in style and quality to the other nude drawings of this date.

The Raising of the Cross (No.21; Albertina) is accepted as authentic by Benesch though it has been attributed to Backer.⁴ The drawing bears a convincing relation to the painting by Rembrandt of 1633 at Munich, as the changes one would expect in the transferring of the design occur. But the style of the drawing does not point so closely to Rembrandt; the fussiness and repetition of the outlines of the soldiers in the foreground are not typical, especially in compositional sketches. *The Sacrifice of Isaac* in the British Museum, though two years later, makes a very different impression.

Though the exhibition only contains one of the more controversial juvenalia, *Mucius Scaevola and Porsenna*, the first room reflects directly on this problem, the answer to which lies in the relation of the early works of Lievens and Rembrandt. Bauch's attribution⁵ of this drawing to Lievens seems to me the most convincing. A reliable comparison exists in Lievens' signed etching of *St John the Evangelist* (B.4) where there is a similar technique – a combination of short parallel pen strokes and dots – and a similar conception of the figure, which is defined as a separate entity standing out from the background, often achieved by going over the outlines several times. Rembrandt, on the other hand, tends to merge his figures together into a pictorial unity not found in Lievens; e.g. the painting of *The Flight into Egypt* (Tours; on exhibition at Leiden) of 1627, or the etching of the same subject (H.307; No.1), or the drawing of *An example of Justice* (No.2; Rijksmuseum) (Fig.47). Also the Lievens etching and the drawing of *Mucius Scaevola and Porsenna* have the same fixed frozen

² The catalogue incorrectly gives the date as being 1636 instead of 1639.

³ The painting of this subject by Abraham van Dijck may well have been based on the etching though there are considerable differences.

⁴ PROFESSOR VAN REGTEREN ALTENA, *Oud-Holland*, XLII [1925], p.141.

⁵ K. BAUCH, *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XI [1939], pp.240 ff.

expression.⁶ It is possible to separate this drawing stylistically from *The Man on Horseback Blowing a Trumpet* (No.5; Rijksmuseum), which is usually accepted as by Rembrandt, and it clearly shows his conception. Though the same hatching as in *Mucius Scaevola and Porsenna* can be found in the drawing of the horse, this can be explained by their close collaboration at this time. The early dating c.1625-6 is the most plausible. *The Foot Operation* (Uffizi - on exhibition at Leiden) is a more difficult problem as it remains halfway between the two. It would have been easier to make up one's mind if it had been included in this exhibition as intended.

The catalogue, compiled by Mr E. Haverkamp Begemann with many suggestions from Professor J. Q. van Regteren Altena who also wrote the introduction, has done much to bring order into the still confused question of dating. There are one or two debatable cases. *The Blind Beggar guided by a Boy* (No.94; Albertina) has here been dated c.1639/40 on the basis of another drawing of nearly the same subject (No.93; Stockholm), which is dated here and by Benesch c.1639/40. There would seem to me to be a difference between the two drawings; No.93 is characteristic of the late 1630's with its combination of small pen strokes to delineate the head and a rapid broad and slightly incoherent treatment of the draperies. In No.94 the penwork is broad yet even and there is an economy of line giving a more clarified impression of the outline of the figures. In this drawing there is a calm and composure which is more typical of the 1640's and which would support Benesch's dating c.1647/50.

In *The Young Man pulling a Rope* (No.232; Rijksmuseum) the traditional date c.1656-8 has been retained in place of Benesch's twenty years earlier. It relates clearly to the late period drawings of *The Girl at a Window* (No.230 and 231; Stockholm) and the series of nude studies which are so well represented in the exhibition.

One of the most outstanding features is the large number of landscape drawings, which though only executed within the space of twenty years show a very great variety. As the exhibition is so large, it would have been easier to study them if they had been hung as a separate group.

The Canal in a City (No.48; Rijksmuseum), in black chalk, is dated here c.1636/7. Benesch placed it in the middle of the 1640's with a number of other drawings in chalk of approximately the same size.⁷ The earlier dating of the catalogue is

⁶ Rembrandt's painting of *The Clemency of Titus* has a similar type of composition, yet how much more fused in tone the immediate foreground and main group of figures are.

⁷ Professor van Regteren Altena's suggestion to group these other drawings around his sheet of *The Back of the Old Town Hall in Amsterdam during Demolitions* (No.152; Albertina), which must be c.1647-52 on external reasons, is very plausible.

the most satisfactory as there is a similarity in the drawing of the trees in two pen drawings of *A Row of Trees* (Nos.95a and b; Albertina), which were probably executed in the second half of the 1630's. There is also an identity of mood with the etching *A Small Grey Landscape* (H.175; No.43), usually considered with reason to be c.1640. (Münz does not agree and dates the etching three or four years later, which would, of course, support Benesch's late dating for the drawing!)

The finished quality of *The Back of the Handboogsdoelen* (No.142; Foder) with its detailed wash is unusual for Rembrandt, and not suprisingly it has been doubted (by Hofstede de Groot). Yet the sensitive drawing with the pen is quite characteristic of Rembrandt and raises the question as to whether there are any finished landscape drawings by Rembrandt. This has a direct bearing on the landscape drawings of many of his pupils who used careful washes and water-colour freely.

A fourth exhibition of paintings and drawings, entitled *Rembrandt als Leermeeester*, has been arranged in Leiden. It has been well displayed and is of great interest, including works from Lievens' early period down to the last works of Aert de Gelder at the beginning of the eighteenth century. A few of the paintings, however, show no influence of Rembrandt at all; e.g. Dou (No.28) or Drost (No.31). The question of the nature of Rembrandt's influence on the continuous flow of pupils through his studio is the main problem which emerges. One wonders how far it was a discipline for them to remain under so powerful an influence, as so many of their paintings seem to lack any inspiration. In the drawings of certain artists one feels them developing on their own a little more. There are, however, attractive works in the exhibition, such as Flinck's *Isaac blessing Jacob*,⁸ Carel Fabritius' portraits, Drost's *Bathsheba*, and Philips Koninck's landscape. There is also a good selection of drawings, with a number of figure studies by Backer and Flinck which must have been inspired by such Rembrandt drawings as *Studies of a nude Woman* (No.20; Boymans).

A number of paintings by Rembrandt have been included. It is difficult to define their position in the exhibition as they are hardly representative of the type of picture which influenced his pupils. It is, however, interesting to see the two paintings of 1626, *The Clemency of Titus* (No.4; Leiden) and *The Prophet Balaam* (No.7; Paris), and also *The Flight into Egypt* (No.1; Tours) which is perhaps the most beautiful of the early paintings.

⁸ The composition appears almost exactly in reverse in a drawing by Rembrandt (Benesch Cat. No.509, dated by him c.1640/1).

LEE JOHNSON

Delacroix at the Biennale

HAD Delacroix ever travelled to Italy, he would no doubt have made it a special point to visit Venice, to whose major colourists he was much indebted. Now, for four months, he is represented in this city of intense colour and strong natural light by forty-four of his paintings and thirty-two drawings

and water-colours, every one of which is hung in the completely blacked-out *Ala Napoleonica* and illuminated, unhappily, with ordinary yellow electric spotlights. Having resigned himself, however, to a tinted view of the paintings, the visitor will find the exhibition of great value.

According to an official publicity sheet of the twenty-eighth Biennale, the principal objects of this retrospective were to 'place in light the strictly pictorial values of Delacroix . . . ; pictorial values that are more evident in the easel paintings than in the great compositions'; and to illustrate in a 'rapid synthesis the various phases of the evolution of the artist'. On a broader plane, it was implicitly intended to elucidate Delacroix's contribution to modern art.

It is a fallacy to state that Delacroix's easel paintings are of more obvious pictorial value than his large machines and decorative paintings. It would be quite absurd, for example, to contend that the painterly qualities of *The Return of Christopher Columbus* of 1839 (No.21), prodigious though they may be, are more apparent than those of *The Taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders* of 1841, or that the rather muddy sketch for *Jacob and the Angel* (No.36) could compete on a pictorial level with the superbly modulated mural painting at St Sulpice. Furthermore, it might be argued that in his large works Delacroix divided coloured light into its components more logically than it was possible to do in his easel paintings, where small surfaces reduced his colour range (it was no chance that Seurat studied at St Sulpice), and that his system of coloured hatchings, one of the greatest of his pictorial assets, was developed and perfected in his decorative schemes. The large machines do not travel well,¹ however, while the decorations cannot of course be moved. Thus for practical reasons alone it was wise to limit the exhibition to easel paintings.

This limitation accepted, the paintings were well chosen, with a nice balance between works of each decade of the artist's activity from the 1820's onwards. Some seem, inevitably, better to support the aims of the exhibition than others, but only one canvas seemed a little out of keeping in an exhibition of this standard, namely, the *Self-portrait* from the Emil Bührle Collection, Zürich (No.69). Less than a third of this small surface (35 by 27 cm) is by the hand of Delacroix; the rest was completed after his death by Constant Dutilleux.² The style of the fragment by Delacroix, incidentally, with its tight, tonal modelling in a sticky impasto (owing much to Géricault), supports Robaut's dating of 1823, not the exhibition catalogue's 1830-4, which was probably based on the fact that Delacroix wears a moustache in this portrait – an insecure criterion, especially when the moustache is not from the master's hand.

¹ *The Taking of Constantinople*, for example, was moved from Versailles for the Delacroix Exhibition at the École des Beaux-Arts in 1885; it was returned with large *craquelures* over it. These had to be repaired, with the result that the picture was no longer, according to Robaut, 'la merveille que l'on connaissait!' (see Annotated Robaut, No.734, Bibliothèque Nationale). *The Justice of Trajan* suffered a similar fate in 1855, and had to be restored by Delacroix (see *Journal des Arts* [December 1888]).

² The Annotated Robaut (p.25) contains the following handwritten information on this work: 'C! Dutilleux montrant cette étude inachevée me témoigne tous ses regrets de la voir en cet état et il ajoute: "Si j'osais pourtant!" Devinant alors sa pensée, je vais au devant de ses explications et je reprends vivement: "Oui, oui, même pour la mémoire du Maître, il faut sauver l'œuvre que personne ne regarderait à cause de cette ablation et que le reste finirait même par être supprimé!" C'est alors que Dutilleux s'armant de courage remplit, du mieux qu'il peut, le bas de la figure'. Alongside the indication that the picture belonged to Henri Rouart, Robaut added: 'qui ignore que tout le bas de la figure à partir du nez a été peint complètement par C. Dutilleux à qui Jenny avait offert cette œuvre sacrifiée par Delacroix lui-même'.

A thin ridge of paint running horizontally across the face on a level with the tip of the nose, and the inconsistency of technique between the upper and lower parts of the face attest the accuracy of Robaut's information. Further, two strips of painted canvas, on the left and top edges of the picture, were evidently added by Dutilleux to centre the head.

Of the drawings and water-colours, only the *Arab Stallion with Saddle*, from the Jacques Seligman & Co., Inc., Collection (No.64), failed to be wholly convincing. Some information would have been welcome on the provenance of this awkward drawing, which is not in Robaut and on which the electric light revealed no *cachet de vente* (the mouth, the relation of head to neck, the right hindleg and whisk-broom tail seem particularly weak).

Thirteen paintings from the decade 1820-30 illustrate Delacroix's style and choice of subject in this period. Four of these, *Two Greek Warriors* (No.2), *Two Indians* (No.3), *Baroilhet Dressed as a Turk* (No.10), and *Studies of Armour* (No. 11), are perhaps more valuable as illustrations of Delacroix's interest in picturesque costume than as important indications of style; but their inclusion is not unjustified on that account. The dating of the last canvas c.1830 is debatable. It is known that Delacroix made studies of armour with Bonington in the Meyrick Collection, during his visit to England in 1825 (*Correspondance*, IV, p.287). It does not therefore seem improbable that the *Studies of Armour* were painted at that time or shortly after Delacroix's return to France. Certainly there could be no objection to this dating on style, and there would be no conflict with Robaut, who offers no date.

The two major paintings in the 1820's group are *The Natchez* (No.4) and *The Assassination of the Bishop of Liège* (No. 13). The former raises a question that has hitherto been evaded by writers on Delacroix. According to Robaut, Delacroix interrupted work on it in 1824, when it was at a very advanced stage, to execute the *Massacre de Scio*; but it was not exhibited until the Salon of 1835. When was it completed? The hard, smooth, somewhat sculptural finish of the figures, concealing their sharply defined outlines, the slightly crude orange reflections in the male figure's flesh, and the features of the female figure relate it to the early stages of the *Massacre*. The foreground landscape, with its broken patches of ochres and greens, seems inconceivable without the recent example of Constable, who influenced Delacroix during the last stages of the *Massacre*; while the more streaky, blended background could easily have preceded the Constable influence. The balance of probabilities is that Delacroix completed the work soon after the *Massacre*, possibly touching up a virtually complete work with a Constable technique as had probably been the case with the *Massacre*, and sent it more or less without revision to the Salon of 1835. Details like the bead necklace and bracelet may have been added for the Salon: the red and green beads make such a brilliant complementary contrast that they suggest a concession to Chevreul (if not a slight overcleaning), with whose law of simultaneous contrast Delacroix was almost certainly familiar by 1835.

But *The Death of Hassan* (No.5) – dated 1824-6 in the catalogue, the earlier date seeming more probable on style – warns us to be cautious about complementary contrasts: Hassan wears a drapery with a relatively subdued red and green flower pattern on it, and background figures are contrasted in blue and orange – this at a time when Delacroix could have had no knowledge of Chevreul's law. Considered in relation to the complementary contrasts in both flesh and draperies in the three studies after Rubens and Veronese (Nos.19, 44, and 53), this visual evidence lends a certain weight to René Piot's statement that Delacroix told

Andrieu he had learned the law of contrasts from these two artists (*Les Palettes de Delacroix*, Paris [1931], p.32).³

The Assassination of the Bishop of Liège of 1829, though a completed work, is sketchy by contrast with the carefully finished *Natchez*; already in a Salon painting Delacroix has posed a problem that concerned him throughout his life, a problem inherited by later nineteenth-century painters: where does the dividing line between sketch and completed painting lie? By contrast with the sketch for *The Death of Sardanapalus* (No.7; 1826), on the other hand, the *Assassination* is highly developed, its colour relationships carefully controlled (yet a notable characteristic of the extremely impetuous sketch is that, in its turn, it possesses a finer chromatic balance than the definitive version).

By far the larger part of the *Assassination* is composed of ochres, earths, and greys. Within this sombre framework Delacroix places the few colour accents he needs to bring the whole drama to life. A scarlet plume spurts like a flame from De la Marck's helmet, as he strikes his fist on the table. Opposite him an upraised arm gives the signal – scarlet too, where the candlelight catches the sleeve. These are the two major accents: tokens of impending disaster. Then in the costumes around the lighted table, subdued oranges and restricted touches of scarlet echo the primary accents, and are opposed to complementary blues and blue-greys.⁴

It is unfortunate that the exhibition did not include a late interior scene. *The Two Foscari* of 1855, for example, would have brought out the increase in subtlety and extent of colour range shown by Delacroix in a comparable mature work.

The specialist would have welcomed a larger choice of paintings from the 1830's; there are only eight, three of which come from the Louvre; and one, a study from Rubens (No.19), cannot be certainly dated in this decade. But for the unspecialized visitor, the disadvantages of this restricted choice would no doubt be offset by the inclusion of the large and important *Femmes d'Alger*. The documentary exactitude

³ But caution is necessary here also, because Delacroix was by no means a precise copyist, and his copies are often difficult to date. Two of the copies in the exhibition can be securely dated. The *St Barnaba Healing the Sick* (No.53), after a Veronese in the Museum of Rouen, was executed from the original in September 1834, by which time Delacroix was very probably familiar with Chevreul's law. The *Miracle of St Just* (No.44) was painted in 1853 from memory and with the help of an engraving (which accounts for the reversal of the original composition) of a painting in the Museum of Bordeaux, which was then, but is no longer, attributed to Rubens. By 1853 Delacroix certainly knew Chevreul's law.

Since Veronese and Rubens (and many other artists before the nineteenth century) sometimes used oppositions of green and red, and blue and orange, which modern science knows as complementary contrasts, it is not unlikely that Delacroix first learned to use these contrasts from them. Chevreul could merely have taught him to use them more methodically.

⁴ The architectural setting of the *Assassination* poses a problem of some interest. In his introduction to the Robaut Catalogue, ERNEST CHESNEAU states that we learn from Villot that Delacroix made the following remark to him concerning this picture: '... je vais me mettre à l'architecture; je changerai ma disposition première et m'inspirerai, pour la charpente de la voûte, des croquis que j'ai faits au Palais de Justice de Rouen' (p.xxii). The source of this information was the entry, quoted *verbatim* by Chesneau, on the *Assassination* in the *Catalogue de la Vente du Cabinet de M.F.V.* [Frédéric Villot], 11th February 1865).

I am indebted to Professor Anthony Blunt for pointing out to me that in fact there is a hammer-beam roof in the *Assassination*, which appears to have been inspired by Westminster Hall, not by the *Palais de Justice* of Rouen, whose main hall has a wooden roof in the form of a pointed barrel vault, and which provided the setting for a later painting by Delacroix: the *Amende Honorable* of 1831 (Philadelphia Museum of Art).

An article entitled *Le Palais de Justice de Rouen dans l'œuvre d'Eugène Delacroix* was published by GEORGES DUBOSC in the *Journal de Rouen* [7th September 1902].

of this picture, pieced together almost entirely from studies taken in Africa and Moroccan accessories brought back to France by Delacroix, is typical of the North African themes of the 1830's. It may safely be assumed, however, that it was not its documentary qualities which caused Renoir to consider that no more beautiful picture than the *Femmes d'Alger* had ever been painted, or Cézanne, according to Gasquet, to say before this canvas: '*Nous y sommes tous dans ce Delacroix*'.

Take the top of the cushion on the extreme left. It has a red and green pattern. The strong, oblique sunlight blurs and greys these local colours, while the colours of the same cushion in diffused light remain intact. Delacroix obtains the blurred effect by placing short, heavily loaded strokes of green and red on the surface, and blending them partly, to produce grey. Spread this method over an entire canvas painted in the open air and you would have something not unlike an impressionist landscape.

Now observe the high light on the blue drapery of the central figure. It is not cold and chalky, but shimmering and coloured – coloured a light green, probably because Delacroix had observed that in the highest lights of a blue drapery the yellow of the sun mixed with the blue local colour to produce green.

Finally, take the green and red flower pattern on the white blouse of the figure next to the negress. The starting point was a water-colour made in Africa, and now in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, of a similarly coloured blouse (a fact which, it may be said in passing, invalidates Charles Blanc's and Signac's case for a scientific use of optical mixture in Delacroix's flower pattern). In the painting the flowers in the light are red inclining to purple and smaller than those in the shadows, which are red inclining to orange. Science, I think, would not sanction this disparity of tint; if anything, there should be an increase in blue in the red in shadow. Delacroix seems to have defied the laws of optics here, simply because the stripes on the adjoining negress's skirt are orange-red in the lights, and by modifying the flower pattern to this hue he created a chromatic, pictorial link between the two figures.

Minute observation of colour modifications in nature; arbitrary changes of colour for the sake of chromatic unity: these are two lessons the *Femmes d'Alger* held for the future.

The rather wooden *Interior of a Courtyard in Morocco* (No.16; Fig.52; dated 1833, exhibited at the Salon of 1838⁵) marks a similar stage of development to the *Femmes d'Alger*. But the horses, very thinly painted, yet in strong relief, and the legs of the squatting figure are of special significance in suggesting that Delacroix is beginning to discover what it took Cézanne, on his own admission, thirty years to learn, namely, that painting is not sculpture.

⁵ This painting is listed by Robaut under the year 1838 (his No.664), but he states incorrectly that it was exhibited at the Salon of 1833. He evidently confused it with the water-colour exhibited at that Salon (No.636) and entitled: *Intérieur d'un corps de garde de soldats maures*. The oil-painting was, in fact, at the Salon of 1838 (No.459), under the title: *Intérieur d'une cour dans laquelle des soldats marocains ont amené des chevaux*. In his Additions and Corrections, Robaut correctly notes that the painting is signed bottom right. He mentions no date. The reproduction of this canvas in Moreau-Nélaton clearly reveals the signature, but no date (*Delacroix Raconté par Lui-même*, I, Paris [1916], Fig.177 – Cliché Georges Petit). Similarly, a photograph from a different source, reproduced by Escholier, shows the signature and a blank space in the position of the date that now appears on the original (*Delacroix* . . . II, Paris [1927], facing p.236 – Cliché Georges Bernheim). Hence it appears that the date was either added in the twentieth century or uncovered in course of a cleaning.

Unfortunately the Musée Fabre version of the *Femmes d'Alger*, started no later than January 1847 and completed shortly before the Salon of 1849, was not at the exhibition. No more telling comparison than this picture hung alongside the Louvre version could have been found to illustrate Delacroix's confession of 17th October 1853: '*Je n'ai commencé à faire quelque chose de passable, dans mon voyage d'Afrique, qu'au moment où j'avais assez oublié les petits détails pour ne me rappeler dans mes tableaux que le côté frappant et poétique; jusque-là, j'étais poursuivi par l'amour de l'exactitude que le plus grand nombre prend pour la vérité*' (*Journal*, II, p.92).⁶

In the absence of the Montpellier painting, the Rouen *Juive d'Alger à sa Toilette* (?1847; No.29; Fig.48)⁷ makes the point almost as well. Accessories and details of costume are reduced to a bare minimum; light and atmosphere, dissolving contours, and loosening forms, become the major interest. The catalogue of the Bruyas Collection informs us that Delacroix was obsessed by Correggio when he painted the second *Femmes d'Alger* (*Galerie Bruyas* [1876], p.280). This seems plausible (Delacroix was certainly interested in Correggio when he was painting the Orpheus hemicycle in the Palais Bourbon Library in March 1847). It also gives a clue to the Rouen picture, which reminds us too that Delacroix was an admirer of that most Correggiasque of nineteenth-century painters, Prud'hon, and published an article on him at this period in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1st November 1846). But if the *sfumato* of the flesh passages seems to owe much to the example of Correggio or Prud'hon, the treatment of draperies in lights appears to be Delacroix's alone: loose, open brushwork, overlapping strokes of every size, shape, and degree of transparency. Within a romantic iconographic framework, the master is pointing the way to the impressionist disintegration of form by light. Renoir particularly comes to mind.

The sombre harmony of broken hues in *The Education of the Virgin* of 1842 (No.23) suggests that Delacroix also studied the technique of the late Titian in this decade, although it was not until 1854 that he conceded that Titian was an artist to be enjoyed by those who were growing old (*Journal*, II, p.282).⁸

The lightly brushed, sketchy, yet completely satisfying *Vue générale des environs de Champrosay* of 1842 (No.24) is the earliest landscape in the exhibition. It cannot be said that the Biennale as a whole is designed to elucidate Delacroix's influence on modern art; but those who take a look at the

⁶ All *Journal* references are to the Joubin edition, Paris [1950].

⁷ This painting is stated in the Exhibition Catalogue, and has hitherto been believed, to be identical with ROBAUT No.1016. Robaut's No.1016, however, measured 40 by 32 cm and was not signed; the Rouen picture measures 27 by 23 cm and is signed bottom left. It seems that the latter painting should rather be identified with a work mentioned in a marginal entry to No.1016 in the Annotated Robaut. This entry runs as follows: '*au No.112 [Exposition] E[ugène] D[elacroix] B^z arts 1885 nous trouvons la même composition mais beaucoup plus petit format 26° x 21° S.[igné] b.[as] g.[auche], appartient à M. Hédou à Rouen, artiste peintre - rue de la chaîne. The measurements agree within a centimetre or two, and the position of the signature tallies. The Rouen picture was, moreover, left to the museum by M. Hédou in 1907.*

I do not know the present whereabouts of ROBAUT No.1016, which belonged to G. Colin in 1885 (though not for long, according to the Annotated Robaut). Joubin's identification of an *Intérieur d'Oran*, which Delacroix composed (*composé*) on 26th May 1847 (*Journal*, I, p.228), with Robaut No.1016 is convincing as far as subject is concerned. It seems probable, however, that the Rouen picture, being on paper, was the work to which Delacroix refers, and that Robaut No.1016 was later developed from it.

⁸ In fact, the similarity of the composition of *The Return of Christopher Columbus* of 1839 to that of Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin* in the Venice Academy suggests an even earlier influence of the Venetian master.

exaggeratedly violet clouds opposed to a bright orange sky in this landscape, and then note the infinitely more arbitrary opposition of similar hues in the sky of Emil Nolde's *Sea* (German Pavilion No.5; 1915-20), will get some idea of where one aspect of Delacroix's use of colour – the arbitrary-expressive – eventually led.

I cannot do full justice in a short review to the complex sketch for the ceiling of the Galerie d'Apollon (No.31; 1849-50) or *The Lion Hunt* from the Art Institute of Chicago (No.42; 1861), only remark that they are two of the most brilliant achievements in the exhibition, and suggest that the student observe the bright pink horse drawing Apollo's chariot in the former, and the nose of the fallen figure on the extreme left of the latter, modelled with the same red and blue as his drapery, then reflect on Gauguin and Van Gogh.

The *Christ on the Lake of Genezareth* from the Fritz Nathan Collection (No.33; Fig.51; probably c.1854⁹) illustrates as well as any picture in the exhibition the importance of Delacroix for these two artists. Here the elaborate compositional mechanics of the *Sardanapalus*, the *Femmes d'Alger*, or the *Columbus* have been cast aside. The high horizon line emphasizes the picture plane; so do the tilt of the boat, and the limbs, draperies, and oars overlapping the gunwale. It was this final rejection of conventional *trompe-l'œil* devices and the concentration on pure painting to express, as Gauguin put it, *la réalité de la passion*, that Gauguin admired so much in Delacroix. This painting of *sentiment* leads directly to *Synthétisme* and the theory of *équivalents* (*Le sentiment, c'est la touche intelligente qui résume, qui donne l'équivalent* – *Journal*, III, p.50).

For Van Gogh it was the colour of a *Christ on the Lake of Genezareth* and generally Delacroix's use of arbitrary colour that impressed: '*La barque du Christ . . . parle un langage symbolique par la couleur même*' (*Lettres de Vincent Van Gogh à son frère Théo*, Paris [1937], p.198).¹⁰ The art historian, anxious for precision, might prefer the adjective 'evocative' or 'affective' to 'symbolic' to describe Delacroix's colour in the Nathan picture (for what can vermilion symbolize when it is used both on the tranquil Christ and the very ill figure in the bow?); but this is a trivial matter if we consider that it was probably Van Gogh's interpretation of Delacroix that enabled him eventually to say, in reference to his own *Café de Nuit*: '*J'ai cherché à exprimer avec le rouge et le vert les terribles*

⁹ In the Exhibition Catalogue this picture is identified with ROBAUT No.1215. I believe it is identical with No.1215 bis in the Annotated Robaut, which is described as follows: '*Le même composition [que celle du N° 1215] absolument aux mêmes dimensions figure à l'Exposition Eug. D^x B^x arts sous le N° 82 à M^r Paul Gallimard (fils). The Nathan painting was reproduced in the September 1908 issue of *Les Arts* (p.17) as belonging to Paul Gallimard. A comparison of the details of provenance and exhibitions contained in the Annotated Robaut on No.1215 with those arrived at independently by the Metropolitan Museum, New York (and kindly communicated to me by Mr Claus Virch), on their version of the *Christ on the Lake of Genezareth*, leads me to conclude that the Metropolitan picture is identical with Robaut No.1215, in spite of the fact that the former is signed on the lower left and the latter is stated by Robaut to be signed on the right.*

¹⁰ I have omitted the following phrase from the quotation: '*je parle de l'esquisse bleue et verte avec taches violettes, rouges et un peu de jaune citron pour le nimbe, l'aurole. Of the eight paintings of *Christ on the Lake of Genezareth* listed by Robaut, none is mentioned as being a sketch. From another letter (533) written to Theo later in the same year, 1888, it appears that Van Gogh saw the 'sketch' in an exhibition on the Champs Élysées. Assuming the Metropolitan Museum version of *Christ on the Lake* to be identical with Robaut No.1215 (see note 9), it is probable that this was the painting to which Van Gogh refers. It was exhibited at the *Exposition de Maîtres du Siècle*, which was held at 3 Rue Bayard, just off the Champs Élysées, in April-May 1886. Van Gogh arrived in Paris in March 1886.*

passions humaines' (*ibid.*, p.231) – a more explicit statement on colour as symbol than any Delacroix is known to have made.

As regards the more general influence of Delacroix's colour on Van Gogh, Vincent writes in Letter 520 to his brother: *Et je serais peu étonné, si sous peu les impressionnistes trouveraient à redire sur ma façon de faire, qui a plutôt été fécondée par les idées de Delacroix, que par les leurs.*

Car au lieu de chercher à rendre exactement ce que j'ai devant les yeux, je me sers de la couleur plus arbitrairement pour m'exprimer fortement.

The intense expressiveness of Delacroix's brushwork (considered independently of colour), as manifested admirably in the Fritz Nathan picture, must also have had a great influence on Van Gogh.

The Arab Blacksmith of 1853 (No.35; Fig.53) fulfills the promise of the thinly painted details noted in the earlier *Interior of a Courtyard in Morocco*: Delacroix has learned that painting is not sculpture.

Technically, this picture is probably a sketch, but the distinction between sketch and finished painting becomes more or less academic at this stage of Delacroix's development; this work is, aesthetically, as complete as an unfinished water-colour by Cézanne. And it is of Cézanne that we think, on observing the discontinuous, detached, and doubled contours in the trouser leg and calves of the standing figure; the internal shadow sliding through a break in the contour onto the background plane; and the light, shimmering touches producing atmosphere around the contours. What better illustration of Delacroix's remark to George Sand, summing up a problem common to the two great nineteenth-century French colourists: *'Ni la lumière qui frappe le contour, ni l'ombre qui glisse dessus, n'ont de point d'arrêt saisissable* (GEORGE SAND: *Impressions et Souvenirs* – first published in *Le Temps*, 17th October 1871; quoted by RAYMOND ESCHOLIER: *Delacroix . . .*, II, p.146).

If the arbitrary aspect of Delacroix's colour seemed to predominate in the *Christ on the Lake of Genezareth* and the Champrosay landscape, the *Shipwreck near the Coast* of 1862 (No.43; Fig.50) proves that he never abandoned the close observation of light effects in nature, which characterized certain parts of the Louvre *Femmes d'Alger*. Here is nature truly felt and observed. The picture, slightly 'arranged', was almost certainly not painted in the open air, but the modifications of light are so sensitively depicted, they suggest that Delacroix was drawing much from his direct observations of the sea, made at Dieppe during the 1850's. Warm sand is the dominant tone – the colour of shallow, sunlit water lying over a shoal. In the shadow of the grotto, the waves take on their green local colour, and project it, in the form of reflections, into the shadow of the arch of rocks. Farther out, the waves, modified by full sunlight and the sand beneath them, are yellower, the foam whiter; the shadows seem a pinkish, attenuated violet (it is impossible to be certain of this in electric lighting). Finally, definition is lost, and the sea passes through gradations of pale pink-violet and green to the violet coastline and blue sky. In the *Christ on the Lake of Genezareth* (Fig.51) the human element was all-important; here the figures are little more than indeterminate patches of colour in a study dedicated to nature. This painting – at once a dying concession to the eighteenth-century shipwreck tradition and a final legacy for the Impressionists – belonged to Victor Chocquet, the friend of Renoir and Cézanne.

In conclusion, it may be said that the exhibition served excellently to bring out most of Delacroix's pictorial gifts, and hence his major contributions to modern art, but that it was of slightly less value in illustrating his stylistic development. Practical restrictions on the size and number of the exhibits, however, made this unavoidable.

Shorter Notices

French Illuminated MSS. in Paris

BY FRANCIS WORMALD

WHEN the splendid exhibition of French illuminated MSS. was made at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1954 the most revealing aspect was the great contribution afforded by the provincial libraries who at the French Revolution became the main repositories of neighbouring monastic libraries. In the present exhibition, which will be visible until the end of September, there is a marked difference. The exhibition displays MSS. dating from the early thirteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century. For the most part the whole accent of patronage has changed from the cloister to the Court. The king, the princes, and the nobility owned the books and presumably ordered them. The new exhibition is as splendid as its predecessor and Monsieur Porcher, the indefatigable keeper of MSS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale, is once more to be congratulated on a wonderful display of the most precious and interesting examples of French illumination.

This change of patronage is again reflected in the growth of lay shops which produced books to order. Even the type of books change – the great copies of St Augustine and St Gregory give way to romances or didactic tracts like the *Somme-le-Roy*. In liturgical books the Psalter is gradually superseded by the Book of Hours with its innumerable series of pictures. In these books one sees the great change from the large initial decorated with an interminable interlace of struggling dragons and biting monsters to the marginal grotesque where many of the same monsters appear in a slightly different form, transformed from fantastic ornament into a dream world of monkey bishops and gay frolicking monsters whose behaviour is an exuberant comment on contemporary life.

By far the most important change is the introduction, albeit gradually, of naturalistic elements. These first appear in modifications in the representation of architecture and also in the treatment of folds of drapery. Then in the growth of landscape and finally in the mastery of perspective as it is known today. One thing, however, must be confessed. In spite of great and important artists working as illuminators, the great artistic experiments, except in rare cases, are no longer so constantly observable in the MSS., which from the thirteenth century onward occupy really a secondary place in the world of aesthetic experiment.

It would be absurd to say that everything changed like a thunder-clap in 1200. The earliest MSS. shown by Monsieur Porcher, such as the Pontifical of Chartres (No.1), are quite Romanesque in style and the 'classical' Romanesque illumination of the type found in the Ingeburg Psalter at Chantilly lived on in a number of books, e.g. Nos.2, 4. Monsieur Porcher assigns a number of these early books to Paris and one wishes that he would provide us with some evidence of this school. This is particularly necessary in deciding the origin of the splendid copy of the *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (No.7). In looking at this MS. one cannot help remembering the importance of Saint Bertin at Saint-Omer as a scriptorium in the



54. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Lat.5286, folio 8 recto.



55. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Fr.848, folio 2. (Christine de Pisan.)



56. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Lat.8865, folio 37. (*Liber Floridus*.)



57. Cambrai MS. 232, folio 69 verso. (Missal of Cambrai.)



58. *Mushrooms*, by Rik Wouters. Signed and dated 1912 but painted in the previous year. Canvas, 92 by 86 cm. (Mme Cattier, Brussels.)



59. *La Vierge folle*, by Rik Wouters. 1912. Bronze, height 200 cm. (A. Taevernier Collection, Ghent.)



60. *Annunciation and Visitation*. English School, 1420-35. Panel, 101.6 by 44.2 cm. (Church of St Michael at Plea, Norwich.)

late twelfth century and wondering whether this book is not a belated production of this great house. Incidentally anyone who works on the Apocalypse of the family used by Matthew Paris will do well to consider the possibility of a relationship between that family and the Apocalypse as found in the MSS. of the *Liber Floridus*. The latter may equally have had some influence on the thirteenth-century English Trinity College Apocalypse (Fig.56).

In the latter half of the thirteenth century one sees the rise of one of the great Parisian workshops; that of Maître Honoré. In distinction from such MSS. as the *Liber Floridus* he is completely Gothic in style with finely modelled drapery and characteristically tumbled curly hair. We know from documents that Honoré was a layman with a business, and he is the first of the great names whom we encountered in this exhibition. Nevertheless his appearance was not unheralded, for the MS. of the *Chroniques de Saint Denis*, No.19, which is dated about 1275, already shows a style which is advancing rapidly in the direction of Honoré. The same may be said of the martyrology of Usuard (No.25). Lying between Honoré and the productions of the next great workshop, that of Pucelle, are two very fine MSS: the famous MS. of the *Vie de Saint Denis* (No.33) and the Bible of Philippe le Bel (No.35). Neither MSS. are by Honoré or indeed come from his workshop, but both show that their illuminators had absorbed Honoré's manner of the treatment of draperies. Even closer to Pucelle is the MS. of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis* (No.37).

Monsieur Porcher has very rightly devoted a part of the exhibition to MSS. ascribed to Picardy and Artois. Though in some ways this group is not so splendid as the books ascribed to Paris they have very much a style of their own, particularly in the much greater use of marginal grotesques. Stylistically they can be associated with Flemish MSS. and even to certain MSS. of the East Anglian school. Iconographically they are also of great interest, particularly such a MS. as the *Vergier de Soulas* (No.66), which is dated about 1290. Its didactic illustrations and diagrams are important for those investigating such cycles of paintings as those in British Museum MS. Arundel 83 or the didactic paintings at Longthorpe Tower near Peterborough.

In Parisian illumination, at any rate in the second and third quarters of the fourteenth century, the dominating force was the atelier associated with Jean Pucelle. Pucelle's style developed from that of Honoré and the famous life of Saint Denis (No.33) lies clearly between these two, but quickly changed under influence from Italy. This Italian influence is clearly visible in some of the miniatures in the Belleville Breviary (No.106) with their attempts at perspective and interest in coffered ceilings. In considering this Italian influence it will be well to remember the possible importance of law-books, which came in from Italy at that time. Contemporary with the latest work of Pucelle are such fine books as the collection relating to Saint Denis (No.34), which is illustrated with ink drawings, which show hardly any symptoms of the new influences (Fig.54).

During the second half of the century there emerges first the illumination of the atelier called the Maître aux Bocquetaux, which is quite in the Pucelle tradition and often rather monotonous. Yet great changes were in store. On the one side is an expansion of realism which seems to come from the north and the Franco-Flemish border, and at the same time the increasing importance of Lombardy as a source of inspiration. This northern realism is already to be seen in the splendid miniature of the crucifixion in the Missal of Saint Vaast at Arras (No.74). North France continued producing fine works as may be seen by the rather later miniature in a missal from Cambrai (No.89), where the drapery and frame show a very advanced style (Fig.57).

The end of the fourteenth century has for long been considered a period of immense importance and the impact of the 'Inter-

national Gothic' upon the French illumination produced a tumultuous variety of styles. Some of these MSS. are copied from Italian models such as an Orosius in French (No.148), which is dated between 1390 and 1410. Such copying is known in other books, e.g. the *Histoire des Romains*, now British Museum Stowe MS.54, containing the arms of Louis de Sancerre, Constable of France who died in 1403, which was certainly copied from a Neapolitan MS., Royal MS.20 D.1 in the British Museum. This Italian influence is again to be seen in such a MS. as the *L'Épître d'Othea* (No.149), but mixed with it is a strong dose of northern realism, and it may well be that some of these MSS. were by Flemings. To this group belongs another Christine de Pisan MS. (No.152) (Fig.55). Though not by the same hand the drawings in this book should be compared with the miniatures in Stowe MS.54.

In the first quarter of the fifteenth century there emerge two well-defined styles. The first is that associated with the Bedford Hours in the British Museum. It seems highly probable that the Bedford atelier is a direct descendant of the workshop which produced the Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut (No.201). Secondly, there is the style associated with the famous Heures de Rohan (No.233). Towards the middle of the century appears that extraordinary group of books associated with King René of Anjou. These MSS. have recently been the subject of an important paper by Otto Pächt entitled 'René d'Anjou et les Van Eyck' in *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des Etudes françaises* [1956] pp.41-67. Pächt suggests with great probability that René himself was the illuminator of some of these books.

With Jean Fouquet French illumination reached the point at which book decoration and painting are almost united. After Fouquet the art of illumination began to decline and though Bourdichon is a fine illuminator he never achieves the inventive stature of his predecessors. A delightful group of books dating from about 1460 are those associated with Jean de Wavrin. They are often on paper and the miniatures are executed in pen and thin water-colour (Nos.301, 303, 310). Their vigour is enchanting and they have great decorative quality.

The problems raised by such an exhibition are innumerable. It serves to remind us that in spite of Grete Ring's excellent book on French painting there is still no comprehensive study of French illumination. Three problems still stand out above all others. The provincial schools of the second half of the thirteenth century; a satisfactory chronology of the Pucelle MSS., and a stylistic study of the Italian influences in the Parisian MSS. of about 1400. Monsieur Porcher's catalogue is a wonderful quarry for all students in these fields and in many others.

Medieval Panel Paintings from Norwich, St Michael at Plea

BY PAMELA TUDOR-CRAIG

THE three groups of medieval panel paintings from St Michael at Plea, Norwich, are not, in the strict sense, a discovery. However, their quality was barely discernible until, owing to the generosity of the Pilgrim Trust, Mr John Brealey was able to restore them. His retouching has been confined, on principle, to the inpainting of losses where the original drawing was sufficiently clear to allow faithful reconstruction. The cleaned panels have a freshness and occasionally a subtlety which holds promise of further excitements under the bushels of East Anglian dirt and coach-varnish. In every sense, this comparatively large

corpus of English medieval painting deserves more serious examination than it has received hitherto.

The pair of the *Betrayal* and *Crucifixion* have been shown in London before,¹ and it has long been recognized that they relate to the Norwich Cathedral Retable, which was executed c.1382–90. A study of the nineteenth-century descriptions of the parish church of St Michael at Plea and of its contents has led to the tentative reconstruction of an original five-panel formation for the St Michael at Plea example, confirming its relationship with the Cathedral Retable, also of five panels.

The single panel of the *Resurrection* is, perhaps deservedly, less well known, and more problematical. Like the MS. of Lydgate's *Life of St Edmund*,² it may stand as a document of contact during the 1430's with Germany and the Low Countries. Either it, also, was part of an altar-piece, or else, on Continental analogies, it may have been attached to a tomb.³

The third and largest group is the most controversial. Upon the evidence of the post-Reformation history of the Church, upon comparisons with surviving examples, and upon interrelationships of style and scale, it is suggested that these five panels – an *Annunciation* (Fig.60), a *Crucifixion*, a *St Margaret*, and two single *Episcopal Saints* – all belong to one object, a composite screen. This does not in any way imply, as would be manifestly absurd, that the five panels were all painted by one hand, but simply that they were painted approximately at the same time. An equal divergency of style can be observed within the screen at Ranworth. These screens were the output of a Norwich workshop, within which, at any one moment, there were marked differences of skill and awareness of Continental developments. The Norwich workshop was postulated long ago to account for the East Anglian screens, but it has always been thought that the whole of its output was produced during the years c.1475–1535. In the catalogue of this exhibition, a new theory is brought forward, whereby the East Anglian screens are distributed more evenly over the fifteenth century.

Many screens declare their very late Gothic date, either by reflecting later fifteenth-century Flemish and German models, or by the crystallization of the 'Perpendicular', the *fin de siècle* which can be observed in all branches of English late Gothic art. This 'Perpendicular' series, of which there are examples at Filby and North Elmham, employ decorative motives, such as brocades, which are long out-moded, thereby implying that they rely upon a tradition of painting earlier than themselves. Another group of screens, of far lower quality and less rich derivation, can be placed during the years c.1450–70, and linked with the Wars of the Roses, and the importation of mass-produced Flemish Books of Hours. It is intrinsically unlikely that the fine and interesting screens of the Ranworth group should be coeval with the poorest work, which does, on occasion, include rather pale reflections of the Ranworth SS. George and Michael. This criterion is operative in the Suffolk School of the 1430's and 1440's, which recent research is separating out from the main body of East Anglian painting. In some of its later manifestations, as at Somerleyton, influence from the Ranworth group is clear, while in its initial stages it appears to depend upon MS. material similar to the sources used in the formation of the Ranworth vocabulary. It follows, therefore, that Ranworth and its affiliations at Barton Turf, Southwold, etc., find their place around c.1435.

It is improbable that a style so elaborate and sophisticated as that of Ranworth should have no indigenous ancestry, or that there should have been a void between the two Norwich retables of the 1380's and the 1430's. On the contrary, fragments of a *Christ before Pilate* and a *Carrying of the Cross*, in the Fitzwilliam

Museum, Cambridge, and two panels of the *Entombment* now in the Christchurch Mansions Museum, Ipswich, carry on the tradition of painted altar-pieces into the first decade of the fifteenth century. The second decade of that century was a period of astonishing fecundity in English painting, which is worthily reflected in what is probably the first important painted screen: the almost unknown masterpiece at Castle Acre.⁴ If this screen and with it the pulpit in the same church, and the side-screens at Worstead, belong to the second decade of the fifteenth century, then the link between the Castle Acre style and the Ranworth group of the earlier 1430's is the screen from Norwich, St Michael at Plea. The *Crucifixion* panel reflects something of the excited gestures and involved draperies of the Castle Acre *Apostles*, while the other panels include many elements, such as the curtain-bearing angels, to be incorporated into the Ranworth vocabulary. The charming panel of the *Annunciation*, distantly reflecting the Wilton Diptych, suggests that the connexion between London and Norwich, to become more remote after the crystallization of the Ranworth type, was still close when the St Michael at Plea screen was undertaken.

Thus there emerges a new pattern for the history of fifteenth-century painting in East Anglia, one which fits intelligibly into the general framework of the period.

⁴ Compare the *Desert of Religion* (British Museum Cotton Faustina B VI) of c.1410–15.

Rik Wouters at the Biennale

BY EDITH HOFFMANN

RIK WOUTERS, whose work forms the central exhibition of the Belgian pavilion at this year's Biennale, is practically unknown outside Belgium and Holland, although one of his paintings (*Portrait de Madame Wouters*, 1912) belongs to the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris. His name does not appear in any of the standard books on modern art. The list of monographs devoted to him even in his own country is short. Most important among them is a book published in 1944 by his widow, Madame Nel Wouters, under the title of *La Vie de Rik Wouters à travers son œuvre* (Les Editions Lumière, Brussels), which contains 100 plates of reproductions; in it the author, who was also the artist's favourite model, describes exactly how most of his works came into being, and although her attitude is naturally not that of a historian, she has supplied us with the kind of material we would be glad to possess as a basis for work on many other masters. Finally one of the *Monographies de l'Art Belge* (by A. J. J. Delen) deals with Wouters. There is still no *catalogue raisonné* of his *œuvre*. Yet everybody in Belgium knows Rik Wouters, who is represented in all the museums. And now, forty years after his death, it is possible to say with certainty that he should be known everywhere.

Wouters was born at Malines in 1882 – two years after Franz Marc, one year after Lehmbruck. Like these two, he lived just long enough to show how gifted he was, and even to leave us a few masterpieces, but not to allow us to guess what turn he might have taken, had he enjoyed a normal span of life. He learnt to carve in wood when he was twelve years old and began to attend the art academy of Malines at the age of 17. Later he went to live in Brussels, in order to continue his studies. Although he had begun as a sculptor, he was soon equally attracted by painting and henceforth worked alternately in both fields. His earliest works are not known, as he was in the habit of burning what he had done at the end of every year, until he felt that the phase of apprenticeship was concluded. The earliest pieces of sculpture we have got are dated 1907, the earliest paintings 1908. These show him in full

¹ Notably in the 'British Primitives Exhibition' at the Royal Academy in 1924 (Catalogue, Nos.33 and 34, pl.xx).

² British Museum, Harley 2278.

³ I owe this suggestion to Dr. Grossmann.

possession of both crafts, but still dependant on those masters he most admired: James Ensor and probably Rodin. By 1909 his sculpture was completely individual, and after 1910 the same can be said of his paintings.

Wouter's life was uneventful. He had married in 1905. His wife, whom he had known since his student days, was almost his only model, and thus a constant witness of his work. Living in the country, in poverty, but never quite destitute, he limited himself to a domesticity which seems to have provided the ideal atmosphere for the development of his gifts. The same interior appears again and again in his canvases, with the same furniture and the same personal objects, seen from various angles, and usually from above, as the rooms were small. He watched Nel as she went about her housework, and he painted her in her everyday clothes, ironing, arranging flowers, putting up her hair, or sick, wrapped in her shawl. A few self-portraits and very few portraits of friends interrupt this series, and there are also some pictures of the forest outside, but his main interest was always focused on the human figure. Considering that Wouters had begun as a sculptor, this was perhaps natural.

Yet his paintings were conceived as pure colour compositions. The paint is put on flat, often with the palette knife, unmixed, in bright patches which cover the whole canvas almost evenly. Plasticity is achieved by colour contrasts – the shadows are red, blue, or green – but hardly ever by drawn contours. The effect of light on local colour became increasingly important to Wouters who is best described as a Post-Impressionist. He has been called a Fauve, because of his strong, sensuous colours. But this term is misleading, as he never renounced perspective or used colour quite unrealistically, and seldom in a massive, purely decorative manner. Technically he comes closer to Manet and Bonnard than to the early Vlaminck or Derain. The name most frequently pronounced in connexion with Wouters is that of Cézanne. In fact the French master's influence is obvious in the Belgian's later pictures, which are more clearly constructed, more 'architectural' than 'painterly', as it were. But in 1911 Wouters still wrote in one of his letters: '*Que Cézanne est merveilleux, je veux bien le croire. Dommage que j'ignore complètement la couleur de tout cela . . . j'ai la sensation qu'Ensor doit pâlir à côté de tout cela . . .*', and later: '*J'ai vu quelqu'un qui a vu une vingtaine de Cézanne, tous très beaux, et quelques Van Gogh . . .*' It was not before 1912 that he went to Paris where he saw the first original paintings by Cézanne – a friend had already sent him black-and-white reproductions – and these hardly impressed him more than the Renoirs he saw, also for the first time, at Durand-Ruel's. It is interesting to reflect that such German artists as Marc and Macke knew long before Wouters what was happening in France. No wonder, therefore, that the Belgian, who could not afford many journeys from Brussels to Paris, had no part in any of the contemporary movements. What he knew were the museums of his own country. These and the example of Ensor were, apart from his own inspiration, all he could draw on for the first half of his career.

Ensor fascinated the young artist, not so much by his peculiar subjects, as by the highly sensitive technique of his early years. Like him, Wouters at first set dark figures against a lighter background (*Dame au chapeau rouge*, 1908), and like him he depicted all the details of a middle-class interior, the furniture, lamps, and table-cloths – with the tender attention of a seventeenth-century artist. There are certain passages even in Wouters' later canvases – such as a blue or pink vase on a mantelpiece – that come straight out of Ensor's pictures. But there is no trace of the old painter's morbidity in the work of Wouters. On the contrary, it often seems to express an exuberance, an enjoyment of life which is deeply rooted in the Flemish tradition, but which appears in this case tempered by a sensitive craftsmanship which places Wouters very definitely within the orbit of western, not to say French, culture.

It was in his sculpture, however, that his tremendous vitality broke through all fetters imposed by academic tradition. The powerful statues he made can again best be described as post-impressionist realism, and they presuppose a knowledge of Rodin; Degas, whose bronzes they resemble, can have been known to Wouters as a painter, but not as a sculptor. Madame Wouters tells us that Rik deeply admired the medieval sculptor Claus Sluter, whose influence can indeed be detected in the closed contours and the column-like garment of *Soucis ménagers*. She also mentions that the extraordinary pose of *La vierge folle* (Fig. 59) was inspired by Isidora Duncan dancing. In any case it was certainly the relationship between volume and space which interested Wouters who seems to have been 'modern' mainly by intuition, for in sculpture as in painting he avoided all naturalistic detail, all anecdotal features and all conventionality. In a letter of 1911 he wrote: '*Pourquoi chaque tête doit-elle faire penser à une tête de l'antiquité grecque, égyptienne, renaissance, XVIIIe siècle, Empire et Carpeaux . . .*' This is reminiscent of a famous letter by Gauguin whom, again, Wouters can hardly have known. It was his independence rather than any example that made him go part of the way towards deformation which is a main characteristic of his contemporaries, the Expressionists.

Some of Wouters's best bronzes, *Attitude* and *Au Soleil*, were done in 1909. But from 1911 onwards the artist had concentrated more and more on painting, and *Les champignons* (Fig. 58), although dated 1912, were done in the previous year (Madame Wouters explains that he often dated pictures only when sending them to exhibitions, and that errors occurred in this way). Composed in various shades of brown and blue, with emphasis on *valeurs* rather than on contrasts, this canvas is of a quality rarely attained by any but the best still-life painters. 1912 was the year of Wouters's greatest fertility and of his first exhibition at the Galerie Giroux, Brussels, as well as of his journey to Paris. One of the still lifes he did at this time was significantly entitled *Hommage à Cézanne*. His colours now grew ever bolder, while his compositions were spread out more flatly, and certain ornamental details – the flowers on the wallpapers – remind one, not of Cézanne, but of Matisse. It is uncertain whether he saw any Fauve works. Undoubtedly Wouters had entered a phase of experimentation, even though no violent break can be noticed in his development.

The invasion of Belgium in 1914 and immediate mobilization interrupted Wouters's quiet existence. The actual spell of war service was very brief for him: Antwerp fell after a few months, and the painter was, together with many other Belgian soldiers, interned in Holland. A series of water-colours and drawings record his experiences in the Dutch camp and show yet another aspect of his art. But by this time Wouters had been found to suffer from an incurable illness which not only caused him great pain but also robbed him of one eye. He underwent three successive operations, and before the end he recovered sufficiently to begin painting again. Of this period – 1915 – it is his *Self-portrait with the Bandaged Eye* which is best known: it shows Wouters in hospital clothes, in front of a red curtain, the white jacket reflecting green and blue lights. The haggard face is composed of red and green patches, and although it coolly records the painter's appearance after his second operation, it tells a tragic tale, particularly when confronted with the *Self-portrait with Cigar* done two years earlier, which can best be described in Madame Wouters's words: '*Son visage aux couleurs fraîches reflétait sa joie de vivre. Enfoncés dans leur cavité profonde, ses grands yeux étaient aussi candides que des yeux d'enfant*'. Wouters died in 1916, thirty-four years old. He left about fourteen pieces of sculpture, fifty to sixty paintings, and many drawings behind, which were all done within eight years. His work was not revolutionary, but rather a proof that even in our century the old tradition of Netherlandish painting can still bear fruit.

The Literature of Art

Lothar Franz von Schönborn

BY C. N. P. POWELL

THE director of the Mainfränkisches Museum, now in the Marienburg above Würzburg, Dr von Freeden, is to be congratulated on bringing to an end an important task embarked on in 1929 by the Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte.* As he points out in his introduction to the second half-volume, it will no longer be necessary for the scholar to go to various sources for his information about one of the most important periods not only of German but of European baroque art. 1656 documents, mostly letters by Lothar Franz about his building projects, are reproduced. They are collated from over thirty archives, not least among them those at Pommersfelden, Wiesentheid, and including the national libraries of Paris and Vienna. Indices of places and persons are combined for both half-volumes, and with one blow the scholar of the period has been given a most wonderful tool. The matter covered in the first half-volume is the New Residence at Bamberg, the creation of the Pommersfelden Gallery, the decoration of Schloss Weissenstein (Pommersfelden). The second half deals with the conception of the Residence at Würzburg. The result is to emphasize, if that were needed, the far-reaching influence and inspiration of the central figure, Lothar Franz, with his relations and interests in Vienna, Franconia, and Mainz.

The Elector is the subject of a long introduction. He was first a political figure, a vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire together with his nephew in Vienna, the first time that these offices had ever been shared by an imperial Elector and his nephew. Personally he was responsible for much that took place in architecture in South Germany and Austria. Hildebrandt was sent from Austria to Würzburg, and Steidl to Bamberg, the painter Rottmayr to Pommersfelden to paint the ceilings, J. L. Dietzenhofer was sent to Vienna to learn under Hildebrandt in 1713, as was Welsch. Nor was this all: he was able to employ his favourite painters in twelve prophets' pictures for San Giovanni Laterano. They included Benedetto Luti, Sebastiano Conca, Paolo Melchiori, Procaccini, Trevisani, Giovanni Odazzi, Luigi Garzi, cav. Nasini, Giuseppe Chiari, Marco Bonifal, P. L. Ghezzi, and Domenico Muratori. For this project of Clement XI he originally released Luti who had painted for him. Because this sort of artistic competition particularly appealed to him, he eventually undertook the entire expenses. When the Pope expressed his approval of the final result, it was particularly gratifying to feel that of these artists, Trevisani, Luti, and Conca were very well represented in his own private gallery at home. (Letter 549.)

It is not without interest that Schloss Pommersfelden was built at his own expense, but he had received a pension from Karl VI, for his assistance at the imperial election at Frankfurt, which he put to good use, in the same way that Prince Eugen used his gratification for his victories for the creation of the Belvedere in Vienna. Although his nephew at Würzburg was the titular proprietor, the enormous project of the residence was a combination of effort by the whole family and intended for the glory of that family. One tends to think nowadays of the architect only, just as at the opera it is the conductor who counts, but of course the real credit must go to the producer, and director, and it is to Lothar Franz's credit alone that the string of great names were encouraged to work and commissioned by him. Johann Dietzenhofer, Maximilian von Welsch, and of course Neumann himself

owe their greatness to his greatness. It was not only for his well-known architectural and collecting enthusiasm that he was a great baroque figure, but also in lesser delights, that he was so typical of his age; in waterworks, in fruit growing (over 3000 oranges a year were produced by the Pommersfelden Orangeries for his table, while at Seehof the surplus was given to the needy). Indeed, it is difficult to overestimate his importance and it is only necessary to repeat that he was personally responsible for the idea of the staircase at Pommersfelden. It was indeed a wonderful idea, and to have far-reaching effects in European architecture. Hildebrandt was only called in to carry out the double staircase on which it would be possible to receive, dine, and even dance. The process of this attribution worked out from the present correspondence can be seen in Heinrich Kreisel, *Das Schloss zu Pommersfelden*, Munich [1953], pp.25-27. It includes the important letter from the Vice-chancellor Friedrich Karl, No.335, with the important phrase 'die stieg in der mitten einem duomo en forme de pavillon becommet von überaus schönen gedanken . . .'. Two vital letters must be added. The crucial letter, to my mind, is that in Italian from Hildebrandt to Lothar Franz, No.314, in which he praises the invention of the staircase and mentions the praises that the idea has received in Vienna. It seems to smack of something more than courtly flattery. Similarly, the letter No.1208, now published, but however made available to Kreisel, from the nephew Johann Philipp Franz, describes the French court architect Boffrand's visit to Pommersfelden, about which there had been any amount of preparatory letters. 'I informed him that your Grace was before all the master and inventor, at which his astonishment increased, and he freely admitted that there was nothing in France to compare with the staircase and the Great Hall.' This crossed with a letter of Lothar Franz, wondering what the comments of the great Frenchman would be. 'Nun bin ich curios, seine sentiments über Pommersfelden zu vernennen. Bei mir heisst es das bauen ist eine lust und kost viel gelldt, einem jeden narren seine weis gefällt' (No.1209). Such are the revelations to be found in this correspondence. The staircase as a room and a representative room had been invented, and has never been forgotten. It is the spiritual precursor not least of the *Escalier d'honneur* in Garnier's Paris opera, and the uses to which that is still put. All this building was not done without incurring debts which it was left to his nephews to meet, not without difficulty. As Dr von Freeden points out, the phrase 'Schönbornzeit' is no modern historian's phrase, but was already in general use in the eighteenth century to denote their splendour.

This important publication is not intended for reading, but rather for reference, but a cursory reader can find what was thought at the time of an artist like Trevisani, what the buildings cost, and what the glaziers, carpenters, builders, smiths, and turners earned, what pipes the organ at Walldürn was to have, or even the details of a slaughter-house at Kitzingen.

To complement it, the series of Mainfränkische Hefte are useful aids. The most recent pamphlet† is devoted to the Schönborn monuments, one of which was recently published in this Magazine (November 1954, Fig.10). It deals with those in the Würzburg Museum as well as with those still in place in Mainz and Trier cathedrals and the Peterskirche at Bruchsal, by Wolfgang von der Auvera.

* **Quellen zur Geschichte des Barocks in Franken unter dem Einfluss des Hauses Schönborn.** I. Teil: Die Zeit des Erzbischofs Lothar Franz und des Bischofs Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn 1693-1729. First half-volume by P. Hugo Hantsch and Andreas Scherf with the assistance of Anton Chroust, pp.1-411. (Benno Filser Verlag Augsburg, 1931.) DM.13.50. Second half-volume by Max H. von Freeden with the assistance of preparatory studies by P. Hugo Hantsch, Andreas Scherf, and Anton Chroust, xxxix+pp.413-1264. Würzburg (Kommissionsverlag F. Schöningh), DM.28.0.

† **Wolfgang v.d. Auveras Schönborn-Grabmäler im Mainfränkischen Museum und die Grabmalkunst der Schönborn Bischöfe.** By Richard Sedlmaier, 64 pp.+42 pl. Würzburg (Mainfränkische Hefte No.23).

Coloured Worcester Porcelain of the First Period (1751-1783). By H. Rissik Marshall, F.L.S., President of the English Ceramic Circle. Newport, Monmouthshire (Ceramic Book Company).

Apart from one qualification presently to be named, this sumptuously produced book is likely to remain the standard work on the Worcester china made when the factory had something of real importance to contribute to English art. Those acquainted with the subject will at once compare it with the late R. L. Hobson's *Worcester Porcelain*, published in 1910; authoritative as it was, that book suffered from the fact that it appeared when the implications of certain discoveries, then new, were not fully understood, and before misconceptions traceable to earlier writers had been cleared up.

As Mr Marshall explains, his book does not pretend to be a history of the factory; he has, moreover, deliberately left out of his survey two classes – the blue-and-white and the monochrome transfer-printed wares – which are among the most characteristic productions of Worcester and little, if at all, inferior to those he has included. He approaches his subject as a collector who has long devoted himself to an intensive and unprejudiced study of the wares. He does not overstrain evidence, but states with clarity all that can be learned from contemporaneous records and references to the factory, and from a meticulous scrutiny of specimens, marked or unmarked, that can be attributed to it. Where there is doubt or uncertainty, he makes no concealment of this fact; for instance, he stresses the cogent reasons for questioning the authenticity of the date and the silhouette portrait on a famous mug.

The book begins with a survey of the various types of coloured china made, opening with a valuable discussion of those early pieces attributable either to the Bristol factory which preceded and was absorbed by Worcester, or to Worcester itself. The next following sections, dealing with the 'outside' decorators, Giles and O'Neale, and with Worcester figures, will be found particularly informing. The chapter on Giles gives an exhaustive examination of anonymous painters who worked for him at his enamelling shop in Soho; the inclusion among the admirable colour plates of four documentary pieces – plates given by a descendant of Giles to the Victoria and Albert Museum – is particularly welcome for purposes of comparison. It has been conjectured that Dr Wall, the leading partner in the Worcester firm, himself occasionally took a hand in the decoration of the china; this surmise led at one time to the payment of high prices for pieces presumed to have been painted by him which were found on investigation to be not of Worcester china but from a Liverpool factory and by an unidentified painter. Mr Marshall concedes as plausible the possibility that a commemorative mug

and two vases he reproduces may actually be from Dr Wall's hand.

The publication in 1899 of the diary of Mrs Lybbe Powis established beyond doubt the fact that, as at all the important china factories, figures were, for a short time at least, part of the Worcester output. Their identification was for some time thwarted by the discovery of figures which, in spite of the Worcester blue crescent mark painted under their bases, were eventually found to be of Bow china; with the help of chemical analysis the true nature of Worcester figures was at last disclosed, and Mr Marshall gives a complete account of all the specimens recognized up to date. The chase has afforded much entertainment, but it must be said that in this class of work Worcester was much inferior to its rivals.

The second part of the book consists of a catalogue comprising more than a thousand numbers, with illustrations of every piece, from photographs mostly taken at the 'Bicentenary Exhibition of Worcester' in 1951, together with a few from other sources; it forms an invaluable repertory of the majority of types current in the 'Wall' period, and includes a few of the early 'Bristol-Worcester' porcelain.

BERNARD RACKHAM

Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers.

By Sir Mortimer Wheeler. xii + 192 pp. (19 figs.) + 38 pl. (G. Bell and Sons), £1 5s.

Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum. By Douglas Barrett. x + 76 pp. (2 figs.) + 48 pl. (The Trustees of the British Museum).

The titles of these two books hardly suggest a similarity of subject. In fact, they are indeed connected. Mr Barrett makes frequent references to the results of Sir Mortimer's excavations in South India, and the Amaravati Stūpa is several times mentioned in Sir Mortimer's work. It is quite possible that the subjects discussed in the two publications are even more closely connected than their contents suggest. Western influences on the Amaravati sculptures may be more important than Mr Barrett supposes. It is rapidly becoming more evident that the Andhra, the rulers of the Deccan in the first centuries A.D., had considerable relations with the Roman Empire. Mr Barrett, however, states expressly: 'The question of Mediterranean influence on the style seems not worth discussing' (p.53, note).

In his *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, Sir Mortimer Wheeler devotes only a third of his text to India and Pakistan. As the title states, the discussion concerns the entire realm of Roman influence outside the Empire. Thus, in addition to Asia, he includes especially Germany (Free Germany, as it is called) and Africa. Few scholars are qualified to survey such a wide field without running the risk of treating it

superficially. Happily Sir Mortimer is one of the few. He has been fortunate in his extensive field-work in India and Pakistan, and he has drawn on the best sources. For Germany he used above all H. J. Eggers' basic work, *Der römische Import im freien Germanien*. It is strange that he does not mention Mr H. Buchthal's articles on Gandhāra, since Mr Buchthal was the first to stress the influence of Rome on Gandhāra at a time when it was customary to emphasize Greek influences.

Sir Mortimer divides his book into three parts. The first is devoted to Europe and especially to Germany, where great quantities of Roman artifacts were sent between the first and fourth centuries A.D. The second part concerns Africa, particularly the Sahara discoveries at the Fezzan and Tin Hinan, and the third deals with Asia with particular reference to India and Pakistan. It is plainly here that the author is at his best. South and East Asia are also touched upon, although only briefly. As an introduction to the third part, the author discusses the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, the well-known handbook of a Greek merchant of the first century A.D., and the effects of the monsoon, without knowledge of which the voyage to India was hardly possible. There are numerous references in Eastern and Western literature to the contacts between India and the West. In the West, however, there exists only one striking document of the traffic with old India: it is the famous and also artistically important Indian ivory figure 'found at Pompeii and therefore brought there prior to A.D.79' (p.135). In India, on the other hand, many examples of Roman influence are to be found. Sir Mortimer gives pride of place not, as one might have expected, to Pakistan and Afghanistan (previously called Gandhāra), but to South India which has hitherto hardly been considered relevant to this subject. Recently, however, the situation has changed. Sir Mortimer has personally supervised excavations in South India – an area which is becoming, also from the standpoint of Western influences, of increasing interest from day to day. 'The discovery of Arikamedu (near Pondicherry) is in more than one respect a landmark in the study of Indo-Roman relations' (p.150). It is noteworthy that he gives no more space to Pakistan and Afghanistan than he does to South India. The centre of his investigation is not the Taxila excavations, the results of which Sir J. Marshall published in three detailed volumes in 1951, but the finds at Begram, some forty-five miles from Kabul, where excavations were carried out between 1939 and 1946 by a French archaeological mission first under Prof. J. Hackin (who lost his life during the war), and later under Prof. R. Ghirshman. The results belong among the most prominent archaeological finds of the twentieth century. Sir Mortimer has surely given us the best available summary of them. He accepts Prof. Ghirshman's dating of the chief objects at Begram into the second

phase which in the latter's reckoning ended with the conquest of the region by the Sasanid king Shāpur I in about A.D. 250. Surely no other area in the world has produced such a rich variety of ancient datable art treasures as were contained in these two small rooms at Begram: glass vessels from Syria or Egypt, lacquer bowls from China, ivories from India, Mediterranean plaster medallions, etc.! 'The store was probably a Customs depot for the receipt of dues in kind . . .' (p. 164), Sir Mortimer contends, but this is surely not the only possible explanation. The author quite rightly does not examine Gandhāra art 'in any detail', though it does belong to the same field. However, he makes a number of interesting observations with which it is not always possible to agree. He says, for example, that the head of the Gandhāra Buddhas ' . . . is in most instances completely Oriental' (p. 168, note). Do they not often show the unmistakable features of Apollo heads? This does not exclude the fact that past scholars may sometimes have overemphasized the Western influences on Gandhāra art. Sir Mortimer's publication is not intended for specialists; it is too short for this and its theme too broad. Nevertheless, and perhaps for this very reason, the specialist should read it in order to see how a readable, indeed a fascinating, book can be written on important archaeological subjects, even when it is a book intelligible also to the layman. His work is effectively illustrated with thirty-eight plates. Its success in wider circles has been confirmed by the fact that it has already been published in a Penguin edition.

Mr Barrett's knowledgeable book is of a quite different kind. It is certainly written only for specialists and is concerned with a limited theme: the sculptures from Amarāvati which have been housed in the British Museum since 1880. They rank ' . . . among the great possessions of the Museum' as Mr Basil Gray rightly stresses in his Preface to the book. Previously they stood on the main staircase, but have been newly installed at the entrance to the Reading Room, obviously as a result of Mr Barrett's recent researches on the spot. The author remains close to his subject, seldom being tempted to look further afield. We hear little of the place these sculptures occupy in Indian art as a whole, or of the profound influence they exercised. He says: 'Stylistic comparison with the other early schools of Indian sculpture can be very misleading' (p. 53). To be sure, he explains this statement by listing our meagre knowledge of the early styles; but he is here perhaps too cautious. His publication is in fact to be regarded as a completion of the more detailed work by C. Sivaramamurti, published in 1942, on the other group of Amarāvati sculptures in the Madras Museum. Mr Barrett's first chapter describes the historical background of the Amarāvati Stūpa, and he expands this into a revised early history of the Deccan. There follows an account of the discovery of the

Stūpa with details of its subsequent sad fate, and he proceeds with an investigation of its original form. The author examines most of the possible answers to this question and agrees with the conclusions of G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (1932), rejecting that of Percy Brown (1942). It would be elucidating if the numerous representations of Stūpas on the reliefs themselves had been referred to more often. The longest chapter deals with the dates and style of the sculptures. Work on the Stūpa continued over a number of centuries (second to fourth century), as it did on Western cathedrals. It is not difficult to establish the various periods in the style, though neither the beginning nor the end of the Amarāvati school can be determined with any certainty. The last chapter, entitled 'The Buddha Image at Amarāvati', is rather surprisingly in the form of an appendix. Is its subject less important than that of the other chapters? At the end of the book there are included a catalogue, concordances, and forty-eight plates with some sixty excellent illustrations. Unfortunately, not all the sculptures in the British Museum are reproduced, nor are they all fully described. The works in Madras are mentioned in the text, but perhaps not sufficiently. The bibliography might also have been more detailed. Thus it seems that, without underestimating the merits of Mr Barrett's book, we must still await a publication which will correlate the whole body of the material in London and in Madras and investigate in detail all the problems created by this monument. Together with the Stūpas of Bhārhut, Sāñchi, and Bodh Gayā it belongs to the greatest masterpieces of early Indian art.

WILLIAM COHN

Bruegel The Paintings Complete Edition. By F. Grossmann. 58 pp. + 155 pl. (10 in colour) (Phaidon Press), £2 2s.

Though the present volume may not appear to be more than a picture-book, illustrating Bruegel's *œuvre* as a painter, it is by implication much more than that as a new attempt by a most conscientious and discriminating scholar to establish in what exactly this *œuvre* consists. It includes a number of paintings, which have either not been previously published or have only been discussed in learned, in some cases not easily accessible, periodicals. Among these are pl. 1, *Landscape with sailing Boats and a burning Town* (private collection: not before published); pl. 2, *Landscape with Christ appearing to the Apostles at the Sea of Tiberias* (private collection: published by Dr Charles de Tolnay in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, xcvi [1954], p. 239); pl. 30, *The Resurrection of Christ* (Boymans Museum, Rotterdam: lately claimed as an original by Dr Grossmann himself); pl. 78, *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* (Count Antoine Seilern: also first published by Dr

Grossmann in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, xciv [1952], pp. 218 ff.)

Perhaps even more significant than the additions to, are the omissions from, the canon of Bruegel's paintings. Dr Grossmann is no 'expansionist': he rejects no less than eight pictures included in the 1951 edition of Gustav Glück's book on Bruegel. These rejected paintings fall into two categories; works, which, if not original, must nevertheless be accurate copies of Bruegel compositions, and, secondly, paintings which the more or less arbitrary intuition of connoisseurs has assigned to him. If the attribution of this second class of pictures is wide of the mark, their inclusion in Bruegel's *œuvre* is disastrous: it matters much less if a painting turns out to be an exact copy of the original, not the original itself. I am convinced that Dr Grossmann is absolutely right in excluding such works as the *Landscape with the Martyrdom of St Catherine* (Glück 3); the *St Michael* (Glück 4); the *Christ driving the Money-changers from the Temple at Copenhagen* (Glück 5); the *Landscape with a Draughtsman* in the National Gallery (Glück 8), and the *Landscape with the Temptation of St Anthony* (Glück 11), all works which have been thought to represent the beginnings of Bruegel as a painter, but which to my eye are not only not from his hand, but, what is still more important, not from his design and can only falsify our view of Bruegel's development. Of course we must wait for a second volume, which is promised, for Dr Grossmann to justify his rejections and acceptances and there are not a few other points which the character of the present volume does not allow Dr Grossmann space to elucidate. He includes, for example, some paintings in the authenticity of which he does not believe, e.g. one version of the *Fall of Icarus*, both of which he reproduces (pls. 3 and 4) and the *Massacre of the Innocents* at Vienna (pl. 110), which he regards – and I agree with him – as inferior to the little-noticed and partly overpainted panel at Hampton Court (pl. 111).

The book is furnished with a summary catalogue of the paintings illustrated (it is, indeed, something of a relief to find a catalogue not overloaded with bibliographical references, so many of which are useless and irrelevant) and a short introduction. This comprises an accurate and sensible account of the facts known about Bruegel's life, together with a translation of Carel van Mander's indispensable biography and a section with the title 'Bruegel and his Critics' in which reactions to Bruegel from the time of Guicciardini, Lampsonius, and Ortelius to the present day, with its formidable and still increasing array of books devoted to the artist, are discussed. Dr Grossmann summarizes these as follows: 'The man has been thought to have been a peasant and a townsman, an orthodox Catholic and a Libertine, a humanist, a laughing and a pessimist philosopher; the artist appeared as a follower of Bosch and a continuator of the

Flemish tradition, the last of the primitives, a mannerist in contact with Italian art, a painter consciously transforming reality and adapting it to his formal ideal'.

I have said that the volume is more than a picture-book, but there is no doubt that it is also a first-class picture-book. The plates, of which there are 155, are really excellent and a large number of fascinating and in many cases unfamiliar details are reproduced, ten of them in colour. Similar details from the less-known paintings, such as those reproduced on pls. 1 and 2, to which I have already referred, would have been particularly welcome, but no doubt there were difficulties in the way of this.

A. E. POPHAM

Publications Received

Topography

L'Arte nel Sannio. By Mario Rotili. 212 pp.+135 pl. Benevento (Ente Provinciale per il Turismo). This book contains illustrations of a selection of works of art from classical times down to the present day preserved in and around Benevento. Unfortunately they are not of sufficiently high quality to be of any real value to scholars, but they serve a limited purpose as documentary records. The classical and medieval architecture and sculpture have been well published elsewhere, but the Seicento and Settecento (which are profusely illustrated) remain comparatively unknown. The text is not very informative.

Les Sites Mosans de Lucas I et Martin I van Valckenborch: Essai d'identification. 24 pp.+19 pl. Liège (Société Royale des Beaux-Arts de Liège).

Miscellaneous

Bildnismalerei des Leibl-Kreises. By Robert Neuhaus. 80 pp.+40 pl. Marburg (Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars).

Zürcher Bildnisse. By Marcel Fischer, Hans Hoffmann, Paul Klaui, Anton Largiadèr, Dietrich W. H. Schwarz. 200 pp. (209 figs.)+8 colour pl. Zürich (Atlantis Verlag) Sw.Fr.40.40.

Heinrich Schliemann's Briefwechsel. 382 pp.+18 pl. Berlin (Verlag. Gebr. Mann), D.M.24.

Shadow of Eros. By Adrian Bury. 108 pp.+24 pl. (MacDonald & Evans), £1 10s.

Tempi e Aspetti della Scenografia. By A. Hyatt Mayor, Mercedes Viale, A. della Corte, A. G. Bragaglia. 250 pp. (110 figs.) Turin (Edizioni Radio Italiana).

William Balston, Paper-maker, 1759-1849. By Thomas Balston. xii+172 pp. (5 figs.)+13 pl. (Methuen), £1 1s.

The Victorian Home. By Ralph Dutton. x+206 pp. (103 figs.). (Batsford), £1 10s.

I talsti Houslari (Italian Violin-Makers). By Karel Jalovec. 655 pp. (copious figs.)+32 colour pl. Prague (Orbis; Sole distributors in Great Britain and Eire: W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge), £3 3s.

Art Fakes and Forgeries. By Fritz Mendax, translated by H. S. Whitman. 222 pp. (many drawings in text)+17 pl. (Werner Laurie), 18s.

After the Hunt. By Alfred Frankenstein. 190 pp.+136 figs. Berkeley and Los Angeles (University of California Press); London (Cambridge University Press), £3 15s.

Studien zur deutschen Buchkunst der Frühdruckzeit. By Hedwig Gollub. 112 pp. (65 figs.). Leipzig (Otto Harrassowitz), DM.25.

The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy during the XIVth Century. By Dorothy C. Shorr. xi+208 pp. (450 figs.). New York (George Wittenborn Inc.), \$12.50.

Paintings, Drawings, and Theatre Designs, 1932-1954, by John Piper. Arranged with an Introduction by S. John Woods. 160 pp.+241 figs. (28 in colour) + an aquatint frontispiece. (Faber and Faber),

a very various artist, well known as a theatre-designer, a book illustrator, a photographer, and a compiler of guide-books. But all this miscellaneous activity is an extension of his work as a painter, and it is as a painter that he is presented in this volume. No doubt a superior prestige is attached to this craft, but that is a prejudice of our age, and it is much better to insist on the integrity of all that is produced by such an artist. Then even the abstract paintings of 1934-7, which might otherwise seem a strange aberration, fit into the panorama. For a panorama it is, a view of everything that can be seen (which includes structure), but never venturing below the surface, to the underworld of emotion and imagination. Within his self-imposed limits Piper is an artist of great skill and integrity, and, as Mr Woods says, 'it is a measure of the power of his vision and the success of its expression that his work has affected the way in which many people see: house and church, seashore and villa garden, pulpit and pew are revealed in a new light through acquaintance with his pictures and a fresh pleasure can be found in things which were habitually passed unnoticed'. This is no mean achievement, and such work may well outlast the more timely expressions of our turbid age.

The illustrations are admirable, and the volume contains useful appendices of a bibliographical nature. H. R.

Current and Forthcoming Exhibitions

Vienna

Nearly sixty years after its foundation the Wiener Secession still serves the cause of contemporary art and during July and August it housed an exhibition 'Querschnitt 1956: Malerei, Graphik, Plastik der letzten fünf Jahre aus Österreich'. This was the first post-war retrospective survey of Austrian art, and the organizing committee hope to repeat the experiment. Some 240 works by artists born between 1877-1933 were shown, and while the wide variety of styles reflect the alert responsiveness of Austrian artists to the main European trends, yet one sought hard for some specific national characteristics. Picasso apart, the two main formative influences seem to have been Paul Klee and Oskar Kokoschka, the latter being represented here by a rather disappointing water-colour *Maiskolben* (No.98), done at Fiesole in 1948. One of the outstanding paintings in the Kokoschka tradition was Sergius Pausers's *Wiener Landschaft* (No.145) which showed a view of the city from the surrounding hills at sunset. Rudolf Hausner (b.1914, Vienna) has perfected a Dali-like form of surrealism; another Viennese, Robert Schmitt (b.1924) is experimenting with 'action' painting and has much in common with the latest phase of Patrick Heron's style. The overcrowded composition and stiff doll-like figures in Wolfgang Hutter's *Adam and Eve* is an interesting blend of the provincial baroque carved and polychromed altar-piece and the so-called *peintre naïf* traditions.

At the Österreichischer Galerie in the Upper Belvedere there is a memorial exhibition of paintings, drawings, and portrait sculpture by Peter Krafft (1780-1856), a former director of the Belvedere Royal Gallery and professor of history painting at the Vienna Academy. Krafft, a pupil of Jacques-Louis David and friend of Schnorr von Carolsfeld, is known chiefly for his neo-classical compositions and large historical works such as *The Proclamation of the Allied Victory at the Battle of Leipzig*, 1817 (represented here by a smaller copy made by the artist in 1839; No.29), not unlike Horace Vernet in style. But he is also capable of intimate domestic genre and *The Artist's Wife at a Writing Desk*, c.1830 (No.50), anticipates the early work of Adolf von Menzel. The greater part of the exhibition (which closes at the end of September) is devoted to drawings by Krafft in a variety of media, and these delightful sketches afford welcome relief from the dry monotony of his *grandes machines*.

D.L.A.F.

London

An exhibition opened by a robot borrowed from the properties of a film company engaged in space fiction movies might lead one to question the seriousness of the venture, but 'This is Tomorrow' at the Whitechapel Art Gallery is a witty, intelligent, and, on the whole, an effective reminder that art is or should be a part of life and not merely an aesthete's unearthly paradise. The architect, painter, and sculptor are interdependent for each has his special contribution to make and, still more important, there must not be an inexorable cult of specialization if modern art is to fulfil its purpose as a comprehensive means of communication. Such, at least, seems to be the underlying argument of the exhibition, but its title expresses a hope rather than a prophecy for the future, and the twelve group exhibits show a wide diversity of talent and ideas - some peacefully co-existing, others in sharp opposition. The two basic human qualities of reason and emotion are best presented in Sections 5 and 6. Section 5 (John Ernest, Anthony Hill, and Denis Williams) visualizes a logical, geometrical 'constructionism'; whereas Section 6 'Patio and Pavilion' (Eduardo Paolozzi, Peter Smithson, A. Smithson, and N. Henderson) stresses the irrational, haphazard elements of life (by a choice and calculated selection of *objets trouvés*) which is often in conflict with, but irrevocably dependent upon the machine age. Section 2, near the entrance to the exhibition, is a contraption designed to assault all five senses and stimulate them into action ready for the rest of the show. However, the smell machine (if there was one) appears to have been sabotaged at an early stage. The exhibition closes on 9th September.

'Autour du Cubisme' is a selection of twenty-nine paintings lent by the Musée d'Art Moderne to the Arts Council while repairs are carried out to the Paris museum. The exhibition has now come to the Tate Gallery after its showing at Birmingham City Art Gallery and will remain open until 9th September. Pride of place is given to Picasso and Braque as the founders of the movement, and the display of Braques is particularly interesting as it includes an early fauve work signed and dated 1906. The exhibition is not intended to be representative of the whole movement, but some of the rarer followers are included such as Maria Blanchard and Franz Kupka; the latter's *Plans Verticaux I*, 1912 (No.13), must be counted among the earliest of the pure non-figurative works of this century. Perhaps the most commanding picture on show is Roger de la Fresnaye's *Le Cuirassier*, 1910, a bold re-interpretation of Géricault's subject matter which is entirely successful.

Another current Arts Council exhibition of 'Drawings by Jean-François Millet' remains open at St James's Square until 15th September. Of the ninety drawings and prints, twelve have been lent by the Louvre and seven are from American sources, but it comes as a mild surprise that so many can be culled from British collections until one remembers that J. Staats Forbes owned some hundred works by Millet alone, and that the Barbizon School had become popular with English collectors by the turn of the century. Sir Kenneth Clark contributes a foreword to the catalogue in which he gives a convincing survey of Millet's development and points out that he was to some extent working in isolation from the artistic mood of his day. That we should find his drawings more attractive than his monumental pieces is some indication of our own reaction against the artist's choice and presentation of subject.

The Hanover Gallery has a lively display of contemporary sculpture by European and American artists (open until 14th September). It is only possible to select a few of the works for mention and César Baldacchini's iron *Seated Figure* (No.8) is impressive both because of its scale and authoritative character. It is a characteristic of modern sculpture that the artist is as much concerned with revealing the inner form and framework of an object - particularly one so complex as the human body - as defining its outward mass and appearance. This seems true also of Paolozzi's work as well as of the figures by Cousins such as *Carapace*, 1956 (No.18): while Clatworthy, Turnbull, and Jorge Vieira, for example, hold to the more traditional conception of

Record of the work of

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ИМ. Н. А. Некрасова



the medium as a solid impenetrable three-dimensional block.

At the New Vision Gallery, Sarah Jackson is showing a group of sculptures and drawings until 1st September. The curved and jagged exploding forms of her work remind one of the futurist Boccioni's sculpture, and her style also has an odd affinity with the work of a fellow American Charles Howard. The cold white plaster in which most of her pieces are executed gives an ethereal effect which is disturbing and sometimes unpleasant: the metal sculptures are much to be preferred.

The exhibition of the stained glass windows destined for Coventry Cathedral will remain open at the Victoria and Albert Museum until 30th September and it is hoped to devote some space in these columns next month to a discussion of these works by Lawrence Lee, Geoffrey Clarke, and Keith New, all of the Royal College of Art.

The Wyndham Lewis exhibition has provoked a retort from one of the original Vorticists in the shape of an entertaining four-page pamphlet entitled *The Resurrection of Vorticism and the Apotheosis of Wyndham Lewis at the Tate*. The author of this mustard-coloured counterblast is William Roberts and he appears to be objecting to the undue attention devoted to Lewis at the expense of his followers; he also dislikes Lewis's own assertion that 'Vorticism, in fact, was what I, personally, did, and said, at a certain period'. The publication takes the form of three letters apparently sent to *The Listener*, *The Times*, and *The New Statesman*, which were never published, and is entirely in the tradition of the movement ending on the back cover with a flourish in 'Blast' typography 'BLAST VORTICISM'.

D. L. A. F.

New York

The John Marin Memorial Exhibition, now at the Whitney Museum, was organized by the Art Galleries of the University of California and has arrived here slowly, stopping at many institutions on the way. It was worth waiting for, if only to give us the opportunity of reappraisal.

Marin's work was the most significant produced in America during the years bounded approximately by the Armoury Show (1913) and World War II. To compare his work with that produced during the same years by 'the school of Paris' would be chauvinism. Yet no American painter attracted so chauvinistic a cult or was himself so much 'the professional American'. So one of the critical problems in dealing with a Marin retrospective is the separation of the man from his work and the separation of both from the myth.

Let us look at the paintings. The earliest, done in 1903, are called *Weehawken Sequence*. Three of these four small oils (only 9 by 6 in.), though restrained in scale, have something of the boldness of Fauve paintings. The brush-work is free. The landscape elements are simplified. The colours have an exciting and arbitrary bravado. One is surprised to see the quiet water-colours of a few years later (*e.g. London Omnibus*, 1908, and *River Movement - Downtown*, 1910). It is apparent that Marin was groping for a style that would combine the expressiveness and immediacy of Fauvism with the structural emphasis of Cézanne and the Cubists, as well as Whistler, whose work influenced him profoundly when he first saw it in 1905. Marin was also groping for an expressive subject-matter, and he found it when he returned to America permanently in 1911. It had taken him years to assimilate two seemingly opposed styles of painting and to understand profoundly the grandeur and excitement of New York City, but by 1912, when he was 42, he painted two of the finest and most typical water-colours of his career: *Woolworth Building No. 31* and *Movement - Fifth Avenue*. The first word of the latter title is the key to both of these paintings and, basically, to the best of Marin's work during the remainder of his long career. Everything *moves* - the buildings, the sky, the street, the traffic - everything vibrates with life. The transparent dashes of blue and purple and rose and brown shimmer as though still wet. The immediacy of these paintings, the freedom, the undisguised painting act, all anticipate much that was to become the credo of a later generation of

American 'action painters', who went much further. But Marin, himself, never surpassed this work. He equalled it in his cityscapes of the twenties, intensifying his colours, and in some of the wonderful paintings of mountains and sea, but towards the end (*e.g. Sea Piece*, 1951, *Off the Cape, Cape Split, Maine*, 1952, and the free calligraphic *The Written Sea*, 1952) it was apparent that he was using the techniques developed mostly by Jackson Pollock to achieve the vitality and flux he sought to communicate. In a sense, Pollock and his generation (about forty years younger than Marin) were paying a debt.

The limitations of Marin are obvious throughout the exhibition. In his best work, as in all successful art, form and content are inseparable. Marin was able to communicate movement - and, best, the essential movement of light on city, town, mountain, sea. When he attempts more literal concepts (as in the too often reproduced *Young Man of the Sea* and *Women Forms and Sea*, both of 1934, or *Sea and Gulls*, 1942, or *Boats, Sea, and Rocks*, 1943, or *Laurel Blossoms*, 1949) his images became static. The usual process is reversed: figures ape store dummies; gulls ape decoys; flowers ape paper.

B. H. FRIEDMAN

Francesco Maffei at Vicenza

The exhibition of more than sixty works by Francesco Maffei which is being held in the Basilica Palladiana at Vicenza until about the end of October provides a perfect opportunity to study one of the most enthralling of minor Seicento artists. Nearly all his most important pictures are present, as well as many recently cleaned and little known, and only one (No. 46) that quite certainly is not by him. Studied here his personality seems even more complex than one had guessed, and his works of the most uneven quality. Often flaccid and careless, at times he achieves real poetry of a high order. The exhibition contains one undoubted masterpiece which deserves a high place in any assessment of Italian seventeenth-century painting - the *Traslazione dei Santi* (No. 51) from the Duomo Vecchio at Brescia. The long torchlight procession which stretches right the way across the foreground of the canvas; the towering skyline of Brescia - as striking an urban landscape as can be found outside Gentile Bellini; the dazzling angles - all combine to produce an extraordinarily exciting composition with just that touch of mystery that Maffei loved; and the priests and young boys are painted with a delicacy that he never achieved elsewhere. But there are a number of other pictures - such as the *Martyrdom of St Bartholomew* (No. 52), the *Guardian Angel* (No. 56), and the *Adoration of the Magi* (No. 65) - which show what an individual and impressive artist he sometimes was. Yet his position remains hard to define. Though evidently an early success in Venice, he soon left and wandered around the provinces, haunted by the great masters, but developing an entirely personal style of his own. He retained the vivid characteristics of the early Mannerists at a time of academic reaction and tired repetition of old forms - the three angels at the base of the *Crucifixion* (No. 70) seem almost Pontormesque; he painted 'official' celebration pictures in a vein of complete fantasy that suggests a purely private world (No. 27); and his scenes of gruesome torture have the elegance and daintiness of a formal ballet (No. 52). He borrowed extensively from the great Venetian masters of the Cinquecento, but adapted the loot to his own purposes more sensitively than did any of his contemporaries. Yet like all misfits, at times his anticipations are just as startling as his debts to the past: the bearded old man he is so fond of, seen in profile and painted with dazzling nervous brio, suggest Sebastiano Ricci; and Professor Pallucchini has pointed out his importance for Guardi's figure paintings.

Great ingenuity has been shown in trying to overcome the almost insuperable difficulties of the site, and the catalogue by Professor Ivanoff contains much useful information. It is to be hoped that the success of this exhibition will encourage others of artists of similar stature (Sebastiano Mazzoni, perhaps?), and thus help in the useful and highly agreeable task of reassessing this neglected period.

FRANCIS HASKELL

Forthcoming Sales

Christie's

Christie's Autumn Season commences on 3rd October and full details of all the month's sales will be given in the October issue of *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*. However, we thought many would like to know the composition of the first fortnight's sales.

The first week is largely devoted to the Collection of the late Mrs Raymond fennell, and removed from Wytham Abbey, Oxford, which has been bequeathed to the University of Oxford, and the second to the Collection of the late Lucius O'Callaghan, Esq., R.H.A., F.R.I.A.I., formerly the Director of the National Gallery in Dublin.

The opening sale on 3rd October will be of fine jewels, including the casket of the late Mrs Raymond fennell, and the properties of the late Henry Freedman, Esq., the late Lady Muriel Jex Blake, and the Rev. F. R. Longworth Dames.

The furniture sale on Thursday, 4th October, comprises the late Mrs Raymond fennell's fine collection of English and Continental furniture objects of art, and oriental rugs and carpets. The principal pieces are a fine Sheraton satinwood breakfast bookcase, a pair of rare small Adam side-tables inlaid in green and black marble, and an early nineteenth-century circular malachite centre table engraved with the monogram of Tsar Alexander I.

The late Mrs Raymond fennell's pictures which are being sold on Friday, 5th October, include a few British and foreign historical portraits, some seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish landscapes and flower pieces, and a number of nineteenth-century British paintings and drawings. The rest of the sale on that day will be made up of pictures and drawings of similar character from various sources.

On Wednesday, 10th October, there will be a sale of old English and foreign silver.

The sale on Thursday, 11th October, includes the collection of fine English and Continental porcelain and pottery formed by the late Lucius O'Callaghan, Esq., R.H.A., F.R.I.A.I. Among pieces of note are a previously unrecorded Longton Hall flower-holder, a pair of Longton Hall dishes, Delft and Rouen wall fountains, and a Meissen crinoline group *The Kiss* by J. J. Kaendler. Among property sent in by H. H. the Maharane of Baroda are a pair of Jacob Petit apple green candelabra 31½ in. high, and a pair of Sheraton satinwood card-tables. Brigadier G. L. Prendergast, D.S.O., has sent from Inverloch House a pair of fine Regency mahogany sideboard tables.

The collection of pictures and drawings of the late Mr Lucius O'Callaghan will take all day to sell on 12th October. He was an architect by profession and collected works of art all his life. The pictures and drawings to be sold are mainly by Dutch, Flemish, and Italian masters of the seventeenth century with a group of British works of the eighteenth century. There are, however, two earlier Flemish paintings, one ascribed to Mabuse of the *Infant Saviour with St John the Baptist*, and the other a little *Portrait of a Woman* by Joos van Cleve. Of special interest among the Italian pictures are two architectural fantasies by Monsù Desiderio and a picture of *Christ at the House of Simon* by Sebastiano Ricci. The chief Dutch seventeenth-century paintings are a *Seapiece* by A. van Beyeren, a man's portrait by Govert Flinck, two small landscapes by J. van Goyen, an interior by Dirk Hals which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1952, and a *Vanitas*, also shown at the same exhibition, by Peter de Ring. The British works include three portraits by Gilbert Stuart, two portraits by A. Ramsay, and a series of oil-paintings and drawings by George Chinnery, R.H.A.

Details of other sales to take place during October will be given in this column next month.

Foreign Auction Sales

A sale will take place at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, at the beginning of November of antique and early medieval jewellery, as well as coins and gold medals from the period of Greece and Rome down to modern times. Of special interest are some Byzantine pendants and enamel boxes.

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