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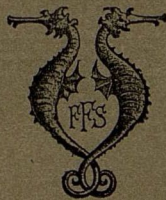
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AN ILLUSTRATED BI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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FEBRUARY, 1927

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DR. W. R. VALENTINER
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ART IN AMERICA *AND ELSEWHERE*
AN ILLUSTRATED BI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE
VOLUME XV • NUMBER II • FEBRUARY 1927



PIETER DE HOOCH

PART TWO

BY W. R. VALENTINER
Detroit, Michigan

III

THE development of Pieter de Hooch's art corresponds with that of the great era of Dutch seventeenth-century painting, represented in its three phases respectively by Frans Hals, Rembrandt and Vermeer. Pieter de Hooch's early works are connected with the art of Frans Hals through his soldier pictures painted in the manner of that master's followers. The relationship of his more mature work to Rembrandt is established through the influence exerted on him by Rembrandt's pupil, Karel Fabritius; and the influence of Vermeer, who was a contemporary of de Hooch's and lived in Delft at the same period, is obvious both in the works of his early maturity and in those compositions which mark the transition to his later style. His mental development, too, mirrors in a sense the social development of his race during that significant epoch when the lowlands had been freed from the Spanish yoke.

De Hooch's first period is still ruled by the spirit of that war for

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freedom which was brought to a happy conclusion by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In the second period, soldier scenes give place to portrayals of the quiet domestic existence enjoyed by the bourgeoisie during the first years of peace; and finally in the third period this bourgeoisie, with waxing prosperity, has established a specie of merchant aristocracy whose surroundings of luxury and culture are mirrored in the compositions of de Hooch's Amsterdam period.

The artist himself seems to have taken part to a certain extent in this social development. Originally footman to a cavalier of some distinction, he moved with him from place to place painting scenes reminiscent of the days of war. Then, founding a modest household of his own, he tasted the joys of domestic life with his wife and children, and finally in Amsterdam he affiliated himself with the most distinguished society of the city — not to be sure as an equal, but serving it in his capacity as artist.

We can form from his early work a characteristic picture of the unquiet days before the signing of the peace.¹ As is the way in war times the officers and soldiers in his compositions are intent on the joys of the moment, for their respite is probably a short one. They have laid their weapons aside and are singing, smoking, or playing cards. The women on whom they have been quartered are serving them beer or wine and they jest with the serving maids, putting care aside in the company of comrades and sweethearts. Or else they dally alone in the bedroom with the young housewife who is setting the bed to rights, but next morning when she demands her pay in actual coin the officer is unwilling to give her as much as she asks. The time for farewells has arrived, the trumpeter is at the door, the order to march has come, and the farewells are less hard for the soldiers enticed by ever new horizons than for the girls they are leaving.

The scenic background against which these soldier episodes unroll themselves is simple and somewhat poverty-stricken, for it lies near the seat of war where the troops are massed and where prosperous folk who can seek shelter from war's stringencies are not apt to be found. It is mostly in the rooms of the lower middle classes or in stable interiors that de Hooch's soldiers are quartered. We may assume a certain preoccupation on his part in the contrast between wealth and poverty from some scenes where beggars are contrasted with their

¹ The scenes described hereafter are taken from early works by de Hooch owned by Frau von Pannwitz in Haarlem; G. von Gerhardt, Budapest; Douwes, Amsterdam; Bottenwieser, Berlin; Hofstede de Groot, The Hague; W. J. Abrahams, London, and in the Hermitage, Leningrad.

more fortunate fellows. A gypsy woman has left the encampment to seek alms from an aristocratic couple on horseback; a poor old man tries to approach a prosperous group who are just leaving a house, and even a mere officer drinking the health of a girl in a stable seems fortunate enough in the eyes of a beggar lad to be approached for alms. (Pictures in the hands of dealers in Berlin and London.) In the hunting scene in the National Gallery we come across the first trace of the bourgeois note in a late soldier picture of de Hooch's early period. A young woman with a child in her arms stands beside the kneeling soldier who is occupied with his game bag — waiting, perhaps, for her share of the spoils — and lending a peaceful touch to the composition.

The works which now follow belong to the artist's second and ripest period. In them, particularly in the beginning, the male sex steps more and more into the background and the housewife occupies the centre of the composition — particularly in relation to her care for her child. She lifts him from his cradle, feeds him or plays with him, or else shows him his playmate—a slightly older girl child who is playing with a dog. This little girl is her mother's companion in all her household tasks — when she dresses, sets her bedroom in order, cleans vegetables, plucks ducklings, peels apples, or goes down to the cellar to fetch up the wine; when she crosses the courtyard, draws water or accompanies guests to the door. We are acquainted with all the domestic preoccupations of the simple housewife who does her own work. Towards the end of the Delft period this bourgeois atmosphere takes on a slightly more elaborate tone. In the painting in the Six Collection dated 1663 the housewife is occupied with her serving maid at the linen cupboard, and the appointments are a trifle richer. In the courtyard scene, dated 1665, in the National Gallery in London, a young woman with her back turned towards us, wearing a fine fur jacket, is giving instructions to a maidservant kneeling in the courtyard, while the master of the house is seen approaching through the garden. In the masterly composition in the Hermitage, which is even a little earlier in date, the serving maid is shown in humble posture beside an aristocratic housewife, and during the sixties we find several compositions where the maid is introduced as the mainstay of the household. For the most part she is interrupting with questions the occupations of the lady of the house who is invariably busied either with her child or in some other domestic fashion.

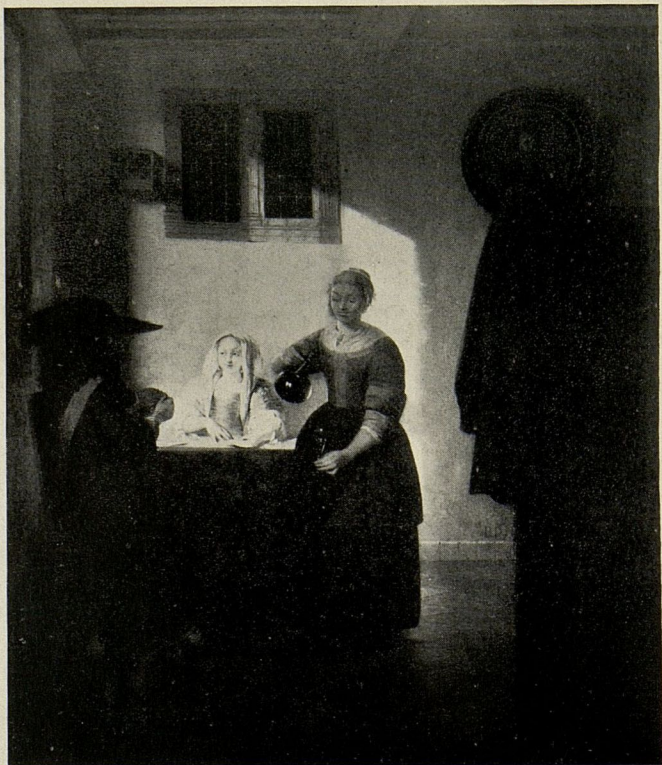
The decided step was taken after de Hooch's removal to Amster-

dam. Thereafter his elegant ladies, arrayed in silks and carrying lap-dogs in their arms, stroll through the rooms, or seated at the window await the coming of their lovers — we find both these motifs in pictures dated 1670. They have abandoned all concern with domestic matters, write and receive love letters and prove by their peroccupation with music and literature that they share all the tastes and privileges of the leisured classes.

Among these pictures the groups of musicians are of especial interest from the light they throw on contemporary social usage. From the accuracy with which de Hooch portrays the instruments and singers we may assume that in Amsterdam he belonged to a musical circle. In the simpler compositions the singer is generally accompanied by a mandolin or a guitar to which quite frequently a violin is added. This singer, who curiously enough always practices her art in a seated position, is generally accompanied by gentlemen — occasionally she accompanies herself on a stringed instrument. In the paintings in Copenhagen and Leipzig a cello, in one instance played by a man, in the other by a lady, is added to the vocal music, and a flute and a violin respectively complete the trio. In another composition the trio is made up of a harpsichord, a violin and a violincello. In the painting in the Huldchinsky Collection in Berlin a trio consisting of two ladies and a gentleman are singing on a terrace. Unfortunately in many of these compositions the execution is so weak that a study of the motifs presented seems almost superfluous, and in several instances — such as the two pictures with the dancing dogs accompanied by a lady on the spinet — it seems as though the artist by his choice of so unusual a motif has sought to distract our eye from his lack of artistic skill.

IV

We know of almost two hundred and fifty paintings by Pieter de Hooch, and of these only about thirty can be rated as real masterpieces. Without them his name would never have been included in the list of masters of the first rank. How can we explain this curious artistic phenomenon? The immaturity of his youthful work is quite comprehensible. We realize from its compositional motifs that his youth was passed in a turbulent era, and it would not have lain within his capacities to produce under such conditions works which breathed the quiet harmonies of a crystallized art.



PIETER DE HOOCH: THE CARD PARTY
Collection of Mrs. Charles H. Senff, New York



PIETER DE HOOCH: INTERIOR WITH A LADY, A BOY AND A MAID
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York

It would seem quite natural that Pieter de Hooch should have painted his best pictures between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five or forty if his life or his artistic activities had come to an end at that time. That his capacity should have suffered a comparative eclipse after his fortieth year — although he painted pictures for at least fifteen years longer, however — is a matter which demands explanation. In attempting such an explanation there are three circumstances which must be borne in mind: first, the nature of his talent; second, the particular circumstances of his life; and third, the general social conditions governing the period in which he lived.

De Hooch's was a lyric nature with fine artistic instincts but no particular intellectual gifts. Such natures are prone to exhaust themselves more quickly than those of richer intellectual equipment who renew their forces from the successive experiences which life brings to them. The lack of temperament which we feel in de Hooch's figures suggests that he did not readily adjust himself to changing conditions, just as his frequent indebtedness to other artists proves him to have been not particularly inventive or rich in creative ideas of his own. This borrowing of motifs is not limited to his early work where we have already recognized the influence of Berchem, of the Haarlem soldier painters and of Karel Fabritius. It is rare in his mature work to encounter motifs which have not already been made use of by other artists. At first glance the *Garden Scene*, date 1651 (reproduced December number, fig. 1), appears refreshingly original, but we know of a garden scene not dissimilar in composition painted in 1647 by Samuel van Hoogstraten who was a fellow pupil of Karel Fabritius under Rembrandt.

The appreciably earlier influence exercised on him by Terborch is not only obvious in some of the soldier pictures — where the trumpeter sounds the break-up of camp or the sergeant announces marching orders — but also in the pictures of his more mature period. The motif of the mother arranging the hair of her little girl who kneels in front of her, which de Hooch made use of in his painting in the Amsterdam Museum, is familiar to us from Terborch's much earlier picture in Berlin representing the family of the whetter. In several of his groups — particularly in the portrayal of those young women with delicious necks who are shown in vanishing profile, as in the outdoor scene in the Amsterdam Museum (van der Hoop bequest) — we are again reminded of Terborch. De Hooch's partiality for this artist's

work is incidentally emphasized by his introduction of a Terborch painting on the wall of one of his interiors known as "The Slipper," dated 1658, from the Beurnonville Auction (1883), and this Terborch painting deals precisely with the subject described above — a young woman seen almost in back view with a particularly lovely neck. In several of de Hooch's compositions a relationship to the work of Nicolas Maes can also be discerned. Not only were his occasional portrayals of beggars seeking alms at the hosedoor derived from Maes, but in his intimate interiors de Hooch owes something to this artist, who, while certainly not older in years, developed earlier, for we find in the work of Maes as early as 1655 and 56 compositions offering a glimpse into a brightly lighted neighbouring room where several figures stand out against the darker foreground in a manner similar to Pieter de Hooch's composition of somewhat later date.

Jan Vermeer, too, who was several years younger than Pieter de Hooch, exercised a distinct influence on him, but this is not to be wondered at in view of this great master's novel and authoritative art. In certain color harmonies, particularly in the combination of light blue with yellow and in a general lightening to cooler, clearer tones in some of de Hooch's best pictures painted about 1660 — such as the courtyard scenes in the National Gallery in London and in the Rijks Museum in Amsterdam — this influence is very obvious. We are again reminded of Vermeer in certain details — such as the laughing and brightly illumined figure of the girl beside the dark silhouette of the cavalier with his back turned towards us in the picture in the Have-meyer Collection (reproduced December number, fig. 2), which at one time was attributed to Vermeer himself (compare with the "Soldier with Laughing Girl" in the Frick Collection), and in another instance, the "Woman Weighing Gold" in the Berlin Museum. Dr. Bode points to the definite derivation of de Hooch's motif from Vermeer's painting in the Widener Collection. Here, as in the case of a composition derived from Karel Fabritius, it is obvious that de Hooch painted his picture very shortly after the completion of its prototype, for the former painting belongs to his Delft period — to about 1665 — and Vermeer's cannot possibly be dated much earlier than the middle sixties as it already shows his style in its richest development. We could undoubtedly establish similar compositional derivations in de Hooch's Amsterdam paintings were it worth while to go into the question. The artists with whom he associated there seem to have been men like Ver-

kolje, Netscher and Ochtervelt, who was formerly his fellow pupil under Berchem. As these men did not rank with the Delft masters who had been de Hooch's associates while in that city his highly susceptible artistic impulses soon suffered a diminution.

It is possible that de Hooch himself recognized this slackening of his creative faculty — the beginning of a species of stagnation after the wonderful creative elan of his earlier Delft period. It may, perhaps, have been for this very reason that he sought a change of milieu and moved from Delft to Amsterdam. Or was he influenced by a false ambition and fired by the possibilities of wider success in the larger city? To leave a provincial town for the capital was a natural move for a man who had established his local reputation and wished for wider honors. Rembrandt had moved from Leiden to Amsterdam in this same fashion and it was in the latter city that his real rise to fame took place. But, unfortunately, Pieter de Hooch was no genius. In his case the fresh environment, which imposed new qualifications on his talent, was disastrous. The larger circumstances were bewildering to his quiet temperament which flourished most happily in modest surroundings, and he attempted achieves that lay outside his real scope. He enlarged his rooms into halls of exaggerated dimensions, increased the number of figures in his groups and made these figures more dramatic. But intrinsically something had gone from it all, and there is no trace to be found of that tender and sustained mood that formerly breathed from his peaceful interiors.

It so happened that de Hooch's removal to Amsterdam coincided with the general decline of Dutch art. Rembrandt's death in 1669 marked the end of its golden era, which was inaugurated by him in 1630. Pieter de Hooch was a late comer, and when he reached maturity the great epoch was already nearing its end. No master, however, was by nature less fitted to combat this general decline, for he was extraordinarily dependent on his surroundings and his happiest development took place within narrow limitations. It would seem, therefore, that both general circumstances and individual conditions conspired together to hasten the unexpected eclipse of this engaging talent.

The following list of paintings by Pieter de Hooch now in American collections proves that a large proportion of his works in this country belong to his best period. A comparison with Hofstede de

Groot's Catalogue Raisonné, published in 1906, which lists only eight paintings as American owned,² shows that there has been an astounding increase in this number in the past twenty years.

LIST OF PAINTINGS BY PIETER DE HOOCH IN AMERICA

Early Works: 1647-1657.

- 1) Newark, N. J., Henry Blank: Soldiers in a Tavern.
- 2) Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection: Cavalier with Pipe. (Cat. Vol. III, 499.) (HdG 282.)
- 3) *Ibid.*: Cavalier and Girl in a Barn. (Cat. Vol. III, 498.)
- 4) Duveen Brothers: Garden Scene with Girl Carrying a Basket with Beans. Dated 1651. (Detroit Loan Exhibition Cat., 1925.)
- 5) Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection: View of Delft after the Explosion of 1654. (Cat. Vol. III, 500.) (HdG 317.)

Middle Period: 1658-1668.

- 6) New York, Samuel Borchardt: Paying the Hostess. (HdG 276.)
- 7) New York, Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer: Two Ladies and two Gentlemen in an Interior. (HdG 192.)
- 8) New York, Metropolitan Museum (Altman Collection): Interior with a Young Couple. (HdG 74.)
- 9) Washington, Andrew W. Mellon: Woman Cutting Bread for a Boy. (HdG 10.)
- 10) *Ibid.*: A Courtyard with Two Cavaliers and a Woman Drinking. (HdG 295.)
- 11) New York, Metropolitan Museum: Two Women and a Child in a Courtyard.
- 12) Philadelphia, Joseph E. Widener: The Bedroom. (HdG 78.)
- 13) *Ibid.*: Woman and Child in Courtyard. (HdG 294.)
- 14) Cincinnati, Miss Hanna: The Game of Skittles. (HdG 308.)
- 15) New York Private Collection: Interior with a Woman Nursing a Child. (HdG 11.)
- 16) New York, Knoedler & Company: Lady Giving Money to a Servant Girl. (HdG 51.)

² Of these eight paintings only five are still in this country, and only two are still in the same possession, the one in the Havemeyer Collection and "The Bedroom" in the Widener Collection. "The Woman at Washtub" (H d G 287), formerly in the possession of W. B. Thomas, Boston, is now in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, the "Woman Cutting Bread" (H d G 10), formerly belonging to the Drummond Collection, is now owned by Andrew W. Mellon. "Shaking Hands" (H d G 191), included in the Senator Clark Collection has been left to the Corcoran Gallery, Washington; while the two paintings from the Yerkes Collection (H d G 130 and 193) and the "Social Party," formerly belonging to R. Wanamaker, Philadelphia (H d G), have gone back to Europe.

- 17) New York, Knoedler & Company: Interior with Woman and Servant Girl with Fish. (HdG 61.)
- 18) New York, J. Pierpont Morgan: Courtyard with Woman at the Washtub, and a Child. (HdG 287.)
- 19) New York, John N. Willys: A Music Party. (HdG 161.)
- 20) New York, Mrs. Charles H. Senff: Card Players. (HdG 262.)
- 21) Minneapolis, Art Institute: Lady at her Needlework, with a Child in a Room. (HdG 4.)
- 22) New York, Col. Michael Friedsam: Gentleman and Lady in a Bedroom. (HdG 80.)
- 23) New York, Philip Lehman: Interior with a Lady, a Boy, and a Maid Servant. (HdG 187.)
- 24) New York, Miss E. Blodgett: Interior with Cavaliers and Woman. (HdG 217.)
- 25) Chicago, Martin A. Ryerson: Woman at the Fireside, Servant Girl, and Child. (HdG 60.)
- 26) Detroit, Art Institute: Interior with Woman Nursing her Child.

Late Period: 1668 to about 1684.

- 27) Detroit, Louis Mendelssohn: Young Woman Beside a Cradle. (HdG 7.)
- 28) New York, Jules Bache: The Love Letter.
- 29) New York, John Talmadge: A Music Party. (HdG 149.)
- 30) Boston, Museum: Interior with Woman and Servant Girl by the Fireside. (HdG 40.)
- 31) Washington, D. C., Corcoran Gallery (W. A. Clark Collection): Shaking Hands. (HdG 191.)
- 32) Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection: Lady with Child and Serving Maid. (HdG 28.) (Cat. Vol. III, 501.)
- 33) *Ibid.*: Dinner Party on a Terrace. (HdG 174.) (Cat. Vol. III, 502.)
- 34) New York, Durand-Ruel: Portrait Group on a Terrace.
- 35) New York, William Skinner: Lady at Spinet.
- 36) Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Berkshire Museum: The Music Party.

A SEICENTO PAINTING AT VASSAR COLLEGE

By ARTHUR McCOMB

Boston, Massachusetts

THE recent foundation of the Magnasco Society in London testifies to the existence in England of an interest in the art of the seicento which is conspicuously absent in America. Some years ago the revival had its inception in Rome and Germany and in time will doubtless reach these shores. It will find few works of the barocco

style, even in our great museums — above all hardly any Italian paintings. Our collectors (perhaps naturally) have preferred the bright, pure colours, the sincerity, the appealing naivete and quaintness of the primitives. One would not quarrel with them but one wishes that the very fine exhibition of seicento and settecento painting held in the Pitti Palace in 1922 might have done more towards arousing in the American collector a feeling for the quality of this later "Jesuit" art. The epithet was originally in intention disparaging but ought to be stimulating to an age which like ours prides itself on catholicity of taste.

While awaiting the advent of the movement which will introduce us to the sensitiveness of Guercino,¹ the dynamic energy of il Prete Genovese or the sombre and fantastic genius of Magnasco, it would be well to take stock of what we already have. In this connection the accompanying illustration of an unpublished canvas by the Cavaliere Mattia Preti² may be of interest to the readers of "Art in America." The gift of Mr. Charles M. Pratt, it belongs to Vassar College and hangs in the Taylor Art Gallery. It is painted on canvas and measures $91\frac{3}{8} \times 69\frac{1}{4}$ inches, a measurement vastly greater (and the fact is typical) than that of the Renaissance pictures hanging next to it. The subject—Erminia and the Shepherd—is taken from the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso and the exact scene depicted by Preti is described at the end of the sixth and opening of the seventh stanza of Canto vii. Discovered and pursued by the Christian outpost (in spite of the armour worn as disguise) when she attempted to enter the camp where Tancred whom she loved lay wounded, Erminia fled through the "erma campagna" and took refuge with some shepherds.

E vede un uom canuto all'ombre amene
Tesser fiscelle alla sua greggia accanto
Ed ascoltar di tre fanciulle il canto.

Vedendo quivi comparir repente
Le insolite armi, sbigottir costoro
Ma gli saluti Erminia, e dolcemente,
Gli affida, e gli occhi scopre e i bei crin d'oro.

¹ See, for example (since it is near at hand), that exquisite drawing "Fireworks in a Piazza" in the Metropolitan Museum. Even of the despised Dolci I know one work of moving beauty and without a trace of sentimentality—the portrait (hanging in the corridor of the Pitti leading to the Venetian rooms) of a young man with full sensuous, red lips and soft, brown eyes and dressed in a blue jacket with a heavy white collar. The painting comes from Villa della Petraia.

² Those were the days, so different from Renaissance or Modern times when a title was almost a necessity. Preti was created a Cavaliere di Malta by Urban VIII, Barberini.

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Mattia Preti has rendered the poet's verses with great accuracy. We see the "hoary old man" seated in "the agreeable shade" and in his lap the basket he was weaving while beside him are the three shepherd boys to whose song he had been listening and nearby roams his flock. The shepherds are dismayed at the "insolite armi" but Erminia, taking off her helmet greets them and reassures them, uncovering the "bei crin d'oro" (in the picture brown hair streaked with gold).

The tonality of the canvas is sombre as one would expect of a follower of Caravaggio and Ribera. The dress of the old shepherd is dark brown, Erminia's armour a dark grayish-blue, her skirt a greenish-blue (but not at first perceptibly different from the colour of the armour), the shepherd with the pipe is dressed in the brownish red so favoured by Ribera, a colour repeated in the lining of Erminia's helmet. Above a dark romantic landscape, threatening clouds scurry across a sky of sullen blue. In the middle distance a shepherdess wearing a dress of cerulean blue with a yellow ochre scarf about her waist lends a touch of colour, but somehow (with the strange inner consistency of the barocco style) it remains joyless. The type of the Erminia reveals how far we have travelled since the blond opulence of the Venetians of the previous century. She is heavy, sensuous and troublant, like Allor's Judith.

Mattia Preti was a naturalist, a follower of the great Neapolitans, but it is questionable whether (with the possible exception of the French impressionists) there have ever been in the history of painting any complete realists. Realist he was compared to Domenichino or the painter of the Rospigliosi Aurora, yet how romantic is his landscape (almost in Salvator Rosa's mood) and how operatic the gestures of his figures. Never were two shepherd boys like these two with their outstretched arms making stage gestures of simulated surprise and fear. The self-consciousness of the whole group would be hard to exceed. None of the three shepherd boys are really looking at Erminia. It is the consciousness of their effect on the unseen audience, the spectators of the picture, which obsesses them all. This is of the very essence of the baroque.

The sombre tone of the canvas is in accord with Preti's character which was violent and gloomy.³ Often, we are told, he had to move from the town where he was living on account of his ungovernable

³ The Naturalisti were indeed a violent crew, especially Ribera and his friends, Corenzio and Caracciolo. For an account of their astonishing doings, see Sacheverell Sitwell: *Southern Baroque Art*, pp. 38-9.

temper. Once at least he left Naples in disgust at the facility of Luca Giordano's execution, a reason which may endear him to some modern visitors who have also suffered whether there or at the Escorial from that fatal ability of Luca's to "far presto." However, De Dominici tells us that a man who lived in Preti's house reported that he [Preti] painted with so much fire and speed and manipulated his brushes and pigments in such a manner that one would have thought he was playing a drum!⁴

It may not be without interest in this connection to record the opinion which the greatest of modern artists held of Preti. Emile Bernard tells us of visiting the Museum at Aix-en Provence in the company of Cezanne. He continues: "Me montrant Le Martyre d'un Saint par Mattia Preti, dit le Calabrais, il s'extasia: 'Voilà comment je rêvais de peindre autrefois!' Cette peinture vigoureuse, plutôt espagnole qu'italienne, lui faisait un excessif plaisir."⁵

Our picture is neither signed nor dated. The attribution, however, will hardly be called in question if a comparison is made with Preti's treatment of the same subject in the picture now in the National Museum at Stockholm.⁶ In both pictures the general scheme is similar — though the design of the example at Vassar is finer — and the correspondence of certain details such as Erminia's gesture will be apparent to everyone.

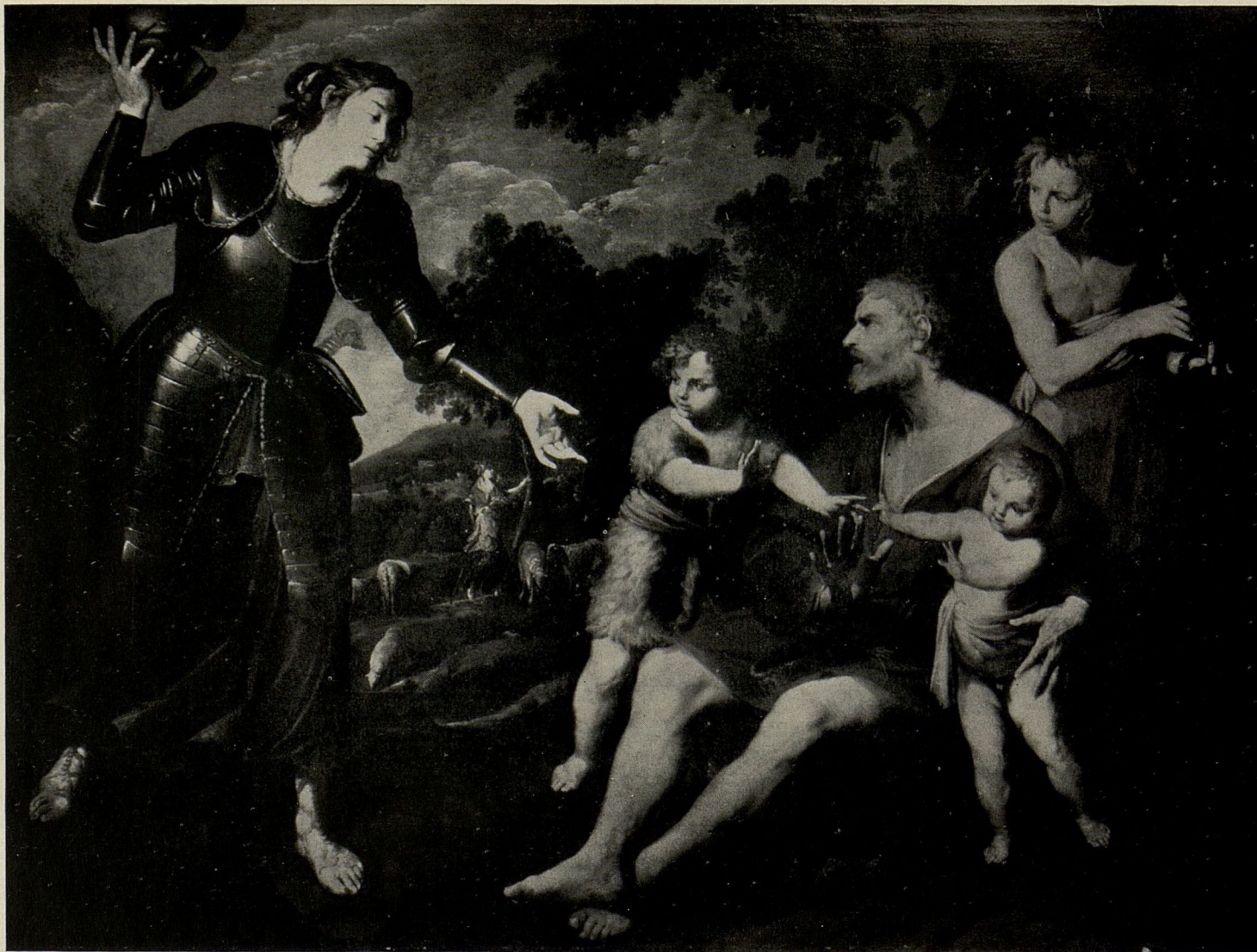
The Erminia is not mentioned in the list of works by Preti in Mitidieri's catalogue⁷ nor does any picture in subject corresponding to ours figure in his list of pictures mentioned by De Dominici and other sources, but on the other hand Mitidieri does not claim completeness for his list. (Outside of Italy and Malta he mentions only thirteen paintings.) The Vassar picture may therefore be considered as yet another addition to the Cavaliere's already prodigious oeuvre.

⁴ De Dominici: *Vita dei Pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani*, 1742-5.

⁵ Emile Bernard: *Souvenirs sur Paul Cezanne*, Paris, n.d., pp. 70-71.

⁶ Listed by Salvatore Mitidieri in his catalogue of Preti's works at the end of his article *Mattia Preti detto il "Cavalier Calabrese"* in *L'Arte*, 1913, fasc. vi.

⁷ Mitidieri, *op. cit.*



MATTIA PRETI: ERMINIA AND THE SHEPHERD
The Taylor Art Gallery, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

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SOME NORTH ITALIAN ROMANESQUE MARBLE RELIEFS

BY WALTER HEIL

Detroit, Michigan

ABOUT a year ago, Professor Charles Rufus Morey in an article on the mediaeval sculptures in the Museum of Princeton University,¹ described a Romanesque marble relief of the Angel Gabriel (Fig. 1) as originally "from the Pyrenees." There is in the Detroit Art Institute a second relief, identical in type, of a male saint; and a third of a female saint is owned by an art dealer in New York, through which the two previously named pieces were also obtained.

Professor Morey did not state the grounds on which his belief concerning the Pyrenean origin of the relief was founded. It is probable that he accepted the attribution of the previous owner, which, in its turn, was founded on the statement of some European dealer. At any rate Professor Morey points out the "archaism of the figure — heavily Lombard in its flapper feet and brutal mask." Moreover he dates the relief as early thirteenth century and establishes a relationship with Northern French Gothic.

The Lombard allusion is more apt than its author surmised, for as a matter of fact, these reliefs, instead of coming from the Spanish French border, are of North Italian origin.

There are in the little municipal museum of Reggio (Emilia) two other reliefs: a Madonna (Fig. 4) and a St. Peter (Fig. 5), which in measurements, material and workmanship are so completely identical with the three already mentioned that there can be no question but that they are all by the same sculptor and were made for the same purpose. The measurements in each case are 30" by 24", and the material white marble — probably Veronese marble which was in common use in Northern Italy. The illustrations render any detailed enumeration of the technical and stylistic analogies superfluous. From the framework, the inscriptions, the halos, the shape of the crowns and the stars, to the harshly drawn features and the uniformly curled locks of hair, all the details correspond completely.

According to the museum authorities the two reliefs now in Reggio

¹ *Art and Archaeology*, XX, September, 1925, p. 137.

Translated by Alice M. Sharkey

originated there, coming from the old cathedral, which was completely rebuilt during the Renaissance. It is frankly unlikely that this small and unimportant provincial museum should have acquired these reliefs through purchase or bequest — especially if they were of foreign origin — and, moreover, no other objects in its collection substantiate such an assumption. Moreover, the belief that these two reliefs (and consequently the other three) came originally from Reggio is strengthened by other circumstances. The two saints, Daria and Chrysanthus² (Figs 2 and 3) (the latter name is characteristically given the Italian form of Grisant[e]), had long enjoyed a particular fame in Northern Italy and especially in Reggio. They reappear, for instance, in some mosaics in Ravenna and in an altarpiece by Guilio Campi in San Sigismondo in Cremona. In Reggio itself there are statues of them by Michelangelo's pupil, Prospero Clementi (who was born there), on either side of the principal entrance to the cathedral, in the most prominent possible position as the patron saints of the church and of the town. We can therefore consider the appearance of these two particular saints in the series of our reliefs as an added proof that they originated in Reggio. Finally their identification with the Lombard-Emilia School is established through their close relationship to the work of the most noted master of the period — Benedetto Antelami. There can be no question that our sculptor was familiar with the statues and reliefs by Benedetto in Parma, and endeavored — very clumsily to be sure — to imitate them. The similarity of the Madonna Enthroned with that of Benedetto's over the northern entrance to the Baptistery, both in the detail and in the general execution, its quite obvious. In the other reliefs, too, we are strongly reminded of the prototypes in Parma — for instance in the foliated motifs on the crowns, which are typical of Antelami, and in the angels wings with their different types of plumage — downy at the base, and stiff in the pinions.

According to the inscriptions, Benedetto's work on the sculptures for the Baptistery was begun in 1196 and carried on until the first

² St. Chrysanthus and St. Daria died in Rome as martyrs in 237 (or 284). According to the legend, Daria, a Vestal Virgin, on being converted to Christianity, extinguished the sacred fire and for this act was burned to death. Another version of the legend relates that she, a young Athenian, was betrothed to Chrysanthus, a noble youth from Alexandria, who converted her. In our relief Daria is shown as a Vestal Virgin extinguishing the fire. The lion — which probably relates to still another legend — seems to point to her death in the arena. Chrysanthus is shown carrying his martyr's crown.



FIG. 1. THE ANGEL GABRIEL
MUSEUM OF HISTORIC ART
Princeton, New Jersey



FIG. 2. SAINT DARIA
Private Collection, New York



FIG. 3. SAINT CHRYSANTHUS
Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich.



FIG. 4. MADONNA AND CHILD
MUNICIPAL MUSEUM
Reggio (Emilia), Italy



FIG. 5. SAINT PETER
MUNICIPAL MUSEUM
Reggio (Emilia), Italy

decades of the thirteenth century.³ Our reliefs, therefore, date from this same period — an assumption which is fully in accord with their stylistic characteristics. The broad, plastically conceived curves of the swelling draperies — particularly in the figures of St. Chrysanthus and the Angel Gabriel — have no longer any connection with those stylized outlines which the twelfth-century artists were wont to grave into their figures as graphic symbols of the draperies. True, there is much that gives an archaic impression — particularly the rude technique, but this we must attribute to the unskilfulness of a provincial sculptor. The whole conception of the series, the deep cutting of the reliefs, the free technique, all point clearly to the thirteenth century. We can date them fairly accurately, as from 1210-20, and consequently agree with the date assigned by Professor Morey. The relationship to Northern French Gothic mentioned by this writer is derived seemingly via the circuitous route of Antelami — the School of Provence.

The question of the original disposition of these reliefs remains. Their excellent state of preservation makes it unlikely that they adorned an outer wall of the cathedral, for instance, on either side of the main entrance where later the Clementi statues were placed. In the interior of the church they might have been part of the ornamentation of a pulpit, or possibly of a choir screen. Numerous churches in Northern Italy boast of choir screens ornamented by just such figure reliefs from the Romanesque period which were frequently removed during the Renaissance. This is true, for instance, of the cathedrals of Parma and Modena.⁴ If our reliefs belonged to such a screen we must assume that there were still other similar portions which may yet possibly come to light. Until then, it is hard to reconstruct the original grouping. Possibly the Angel Gabriel was placed beside the relief of St. Daria, this would explain the motif of the martyr's crown which he holds.

³ The uncompleted building was dedicated in 1216.

⁴ The choir screen in Modena has been recently reconstructed from the original pieces.

THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST IN ROERICH'S ART

BY SERGE WHITMAN

New York City

RECENTLY the occidental world has had occasion to see the work of some Eastern artists who have been creating under Western environment, with some extremely interesting results.

Now occasion presents itself to study the effect and reaction of the Orient, as it translates itself into the work of a Western master. The arrival of the Himalayan panorama of paintings by Nicholas Roerich recently sent to the Roerich Museum in New York affords this new opportunity.

And this occasion is an unusual one, because the Himalayan panorama of Roerich comprises but a part of his work in the Roerich Museum and finds itself amidst a number of pictures representative of previous periods of the artist's creation. Among these previous paintings one may see some of his earliest works, perhaps those of the Vikings with their heroic splendor, or the Stone Age series, filled with the primitive spirit of early man. Here are, too, the paintings completed in America before Roerich's departure eastward, with their joyous pronouncement of faith in America's future. Thus one may see, under especially happy circumstances, how the East has pervaded the new series, set against the dynamic background of the Himalayas.

Of course, even in Roerich's paintings completed in 1923 there is some suggestion of the East, whether it be in his painting of sacred subjects, with their simplicity and color suggestion of the Byzantines, or in his "Dreams of Wisdom" where his interpretation is so reminiscent of the Hindu or Persian art. Even contemplating his "And We Continue our Labor" from the "Sancta" painting in 1922, one has the feeling of the Orient. In this work, in a yellow background with its figure and towers fading into mist, one feels himself in Xanadu among the dream-enveloped towers of Kublai Khan.

It is interesting, too, that the East seems to have been especially touched by Roerich's art, which Tagore finds so close to his own spiritual moods, and of which he writes: "Your pictures profoundly moved me. They made me realize one thing which is obvious and yet which one needs to discover for oneself, over and over again; it is that truth is infinite.— Your pictures are distinct — and yet are not definable by words."



NICHOLAS ROERICH: SAINTLY GUESTS
The Roerich Museum, New York City



NICHOLAS ROERICH: MOSES THE LEADER
The Roerich Museum, New York City

Thus when Roerich touches the Himalayas he enters upon an artistic pilgrimage not entirely new to his creative imagery. Within him long since dwelt the East, just as within Gauguin dwelt Tahiti, long before his path led him to its golden shores. Witness, in this, the paintings of Brittany, which, with all their quiescence, suggest a hidden and suppressed abandonment of color.

This Eastern spirit in Roerich's work translates itself into his landscapes as well as in the series touching the legend and lore of Asia where Roerich seems to have caught not alone the oriental theme but something of the innermost spirit of oriental fantasy. The landscapes to these paintings take on the same brilliancy of color, the same fantastic rock formations, the same pageantry of cloud effects, which mark all of Roerich's previous landscapes. In these works one can see the imposing, awe-impelling grandeur of the East. Sanctuaries loom high over the cliffs; shrines crown hills and look out upon vast gorges; lakes in their cool depths, reflect green precipices towering above them to stupendous heights — here is the Roerich who beholds the drama of nature as an eternal and ever-repeated sacrament.

In the series "His Country," "Sikkim," and "Banners of the East" Roerich enters a province of legend and touches the deepest meditations of the Orient. Such a painting for instance as "She Who Leads" at once bridges the emotion of East and West. Here is a subject which holds for the oriental a never-fading attraction — that of the merciful Kwan Yuen. Roerich has captured all the tenderness and elusive quality with which the East invests this goddess of their emotions, and at the same time into the painting has entered a touch of the human; the goddess with all her benignity has also become a wayfarer upon the path of life, a helper of man. In its coloring Roerich has revealed the impelling beauty of these mountain ramparts of the world. It is early dawn, and the scene is Everest — peaks of mountains emerge from a sea of clouds and all is bathed in the rose-glow of sunrise. The two figures in the corners stand out in dramatic relief against this moving festival of nature behind them. A woman stands upon the edge of a precipice. Below her a man makes his way over this difficult glacier touching the hem of her garment. Her lithe figure reclines somewhat towards him as though helping his labors. In her seeming tenderness to him, in her slightly reclining figure there is an unspeakable womanliness and compassion — here is the White Tara of the East combined with the humanity of a Saint Therese.

Another painting, which philosophically and atmospherically seems to have been born in the very depth of the Eastern soul, is "Higher than the Mountains," of the same series. Here the figure is that of an Eastern lama—probably Padma Sambhava as the legend goes—flying northward over the summits. Below him through ethereal mists rise three peaks — Everest like a pyramid. The entire painting is so delicately transparent in its coloring that it seems almost translucent.

A completely differing concept is brought into such paintings as "Burning of Darkness," "Star of the Mother of the World," where one is reminded more of the spirit of the early masters. As in the many of Roerich's works, one colour pervades the entire work. In the former, deep blue of night lies on the icy summits of Himalaya, and is reflected back as from a sea. The White Robed Figures in a processional are enveloped in a luminosity of their own, a radiance which sears the darkness around them. The "Star of the Mother of the World" is again the night — but the green night of the desert. The undulations of sand-waves are seen and through these desert dunes rides the caravan to the guidance of the Star above them, another Magian pilgrimage.

Touching the natural beauties of Asia and the legend and fantasy that fill its soul — Roerich has penetrated deeper into the spirit of Asia, and he constantly remembers, as he pursues the caravan trails, that here were born all the great religious movements of the world.

His painting of Christ in Gethsemane again touches the spirit of the primitives. Night is over — it is the deep twilight before dawn. All is solitary, the figure of Christ kneels in the upper hill and the radiance from himself seems reflected in the stars which are the only watchers to his night-vigil, before the coming of that inevitable day. Christ in Gethsemane has been done often — but never has that silent communion in the Garden been conceived with this sense of sacred solitude. There is something here that recalls the words of such early Christian writers as Origen in their concept of the flaming and solitary striving of the Man Christ.

Roerich's Moses and Mahomet cannot be likened to other previous concepts. Certainly there is nothing here of the Angelo Moses which harkens back to the Zeus of brawn and power. In Roerich's painting, Moses is no longer an individual — he is a symbol. It is the moment when on Sinai he has been entrusted with the tablets of the law. On the summit of the mountains, arms outstretched, he seems part of the

mountain and nature. He kneels, and around him the skies move into great spirals of green light. It is a cosmic moment Roerich conceives, and the heavens, mountain and the lone figure as the instrument of the deity in man, are all the participators in a cosmic ritual.

The Buddha, of Roerich's conception, is the Buddha conceived in the shades of Himalaya, the Teacher in meditation. Withal its silences, there is joy in the painting, the joy of the Easterner in religion; the green-golden stalactites of that Himalaya gorge radiate, and in this glow one sees the figures of attending deities witnessing the conquest of self, of the master of Aryavarta.

Altogether this series of paintings seems a pulsating conception of the unity of Eastern and Western thought and creation. They may be said to be the summit and the result of all Roerich's previous periods, and looking back one sees an almost inevitable progression towards this revelation.

Ever since his early days, when the antiquity of man held for him so great a lure — Roerich's art has concerned itself in a parallel way with Beauty and the evolution of spirit as expressed in the creation of men. Thus, while he is doing his landscapes, his paintings of Russia with their brilliant clouds, rocks, and colors, he is also painting his numerous series touching the pulses of the spirits.

In the Roerich Museum these earlier periods are almost all represented, and one may judge this interest in the emotional and spiritual cogitations of man. Thus we see his "Pagan Russia" with its totems recalling the rites of antiquity, or the "Call of the Sun" when the stone age man danced with joy before this fiery messenger of the deity. Here, too, are his Viking Series — The Varengian Sea, with the sweep of galleys, impatiently awaiting the wind, and ready to be off for conquest.

Roerich's interest in the fantasy of things also has brought him into the field of the Theater — and his settings to Wagner, Maeterlinck, Ibsen, and others bear witness to this feeling.

Among the collections here one also sees the paintings termed Prophetic by the English and Scandinavian critics — the "Last Angel," with its inexorable angel standing amidst a world in conflagration. So also with the "Doomed City," and others. These works, painted before the war, according to the writers, seem filled with a strange sense of foreboding of the impending holocaust despite the fact that the superficial world was reflecting not a sign of the impending danger.

In America Roerich seems to rejoice at the spirit of the country — and the great young aspirations which gestate within her soul. And his American series bespeak this faith in the country. His "Messiah" Series and his "Bridge of Glory," against the background of America, show Roerich's belief in the fulfillment of the ancient heritages of the world, and herewith Roerich affirms a faith he expressed some quarter century before in Russia when he planned the first American exhibition there and revealed his own belief in the creative destiny of this country.

SANTIAGO AGAIN

BY ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER

Cambridge, Massachusetts

I

It is, I suspect, nearly impossible to read the book of a friend with unbiased judgment; something in the swing of the sentences will inevitably set strange chords of the memory vibrating; a voice which it is pleasant to hear seems to be echoing in the ears; recollections of a thousand acts of gentleness lie between one's eyes and the cold print of the page; this phrase or that reference, to others no doubt commonplace enough, calls up the vision of hours spent in Widener, where the clocks are bewitched; or the lengthening shadows of a summer evening on the banks of the Charles; or a day in January, when the deep snow, deadening for a moment the roar of the traffic, brought back the peace of another age. All this, I know, would make the reading of the work that lies before me¹ a delight beyond that given by most, even were it a less admirable piece of work than it is. But I am also equally sure that even those who approach the book in an entirely impersonal spirit, will be struck by its merit.

It is hard to believe that the architecture of the cathedral of Santiago has never before been exhaustively studied. The work of Lampérez² was excellent so far as it went, but limits of space in a book dealing with the architecture of all Spain, necessarily made detailed analysis impossible. Similarly Miss King, while bringing

¹ Kenneth John Conant, *The early architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926.

² Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media*, Madrid, 1908, I, 551.



FIG. 1. ALTAR COLUMNS FROM SAN PELAYO DE ANTEALTARES, SANTIAGO
STS. SIMON, PETER AND MATTHEW

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much new light³ had her hands far too full with the vast subject of the pilgrimage roads, to be able to undertake the thousands of patient measurements, the conscientious checking up of results, the stone-for-stone study of the building required for an architectural monograph. Such work was of course also far from the thought of the excellent historians of the monument, of whom Lopez Ferreiro⁴ is the most eminent. Therefore notwithstanding all that had been written upon Santiago, and the great importance in the history of art that it is now acknowledged to possess, a study of the architecture still remained to be made. It is this that Professor Conant has now brought to completion after hard, devoted and self-sacrificing work. His training as an architect and as an archaeologist qualified him for the task, which was not an easy one; also it may be added, his gift as an artist, although this he has seen fit to keep in the background, no doubt in the interests of scientific clarity. His drawings in this book hardly give a hint of what poetry his pencil is capable, when he chooses to have it so.

What we have therefore in his book, is, for the first time, an adequate illustration of the architecture of Santiago, with accurately measured plans, sections and elevations as well as numerous photographs; we have furthermore a thorough study of the building itself, and a comparison of the stones with the most penetrating study that has yet been made of the documentary sources, so that the chronology is established more firmly than ever before; and we have an analysis of the transformations and rebuildings that the edifice has undergone in the course of centuries. In this connection the discovery of two old drawings in the Museum of the Sociedad Económica of Santiago is of the utmost interest. They give us back the lost exterior of the mediaeval cathedral. No less illuminating is Professor Conant's observation of cylindrical towers, forming part of the original building and still in existence, although concealed so that up to the present they had eluded all students. His new data throw important light upon the entire subject of Romanesque architecture, and has an European significance.

The author studies the question of the relationship of Santiago to the sister churches in France. "Each of the four great roads by which pilgrims were encouraged to travel on their way to pay homage to the apostle had on it a church of the peculiar Pilgrimage type: the Paris-Bordeaux road, St.-Martin of Tours; the Vézelay-Périgueux road, St.-Martial of Limoges; the Le Puy-Moissac road, Ste.-Foy of Conques; the Arles-Jaca road, St.-Sernin of Toulouse; at the objective of all the roads was the finest of the five churches." Granting that the type, especially as regards the ambulatory, is essentially French, from which of the five are the others copied? It is one of the absorbing questions which have been proposed to mediaeval archaeology. Until very recently it has been assumed that the type must have originated in France and spread south and west. Closer study however has given reason to suspect that Santiago might be the source, which although French in origin, or at least containing French elements, was copied in the other four great Pilgrimage churches, and less exactly in many others. It is to this view that Professor Conant seems to incline after examining the other four churches, although he admits that the case for an early dating of St.-Martial of Limoges is

³ Georgiana Goddard King, *The Way of Saint James*, New York, Putnam's, 1920, 3 vols.

⁴ *Historia de la santa iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, Santiago, Seminario, 1898 f., 11 vols.

a strong one. The question, of quite primary importance for the history of art, can only be answered when the other four churches have been the subject of just such a deep-going and dispassionate analysis as Professor Conant has given to Santiago. It is deeply to be hoped that he will extend his researches to the other monuments.

II

One of the results of Professor Conant's work has been, as already intimated, to place the chronology of Santiago on a much firmer basis. It is now clear that the building was planned in the middle 1070's, and that the construction was immediately begun at the east end; that in 1102 eight of the apsidal chapels were dedicated; that in 1103 the Puerta de las Platerías was erected (for Gómez Moreno's new reading of the inscription which Professor Conant hesitates to accept seems certain); that in 1105 the silver high altar was erected; that in 1112 the old church was cleared away; that the fire of 1117 injured only the wooden roof above the vaults, and that in 1122 the building was substantially finished.

Now all this is of no less significance for sculpture than it is for architecture, which Professor Conant has so carefully studied. For the Puerta de las Platerías, which has been dated as late as 1120, is now definitely proved to be of 1103. A fixed point is thereby gained for the chronology of the early Romanesque style.

This solid foundation gives me courage to attack a problem which has hitherto never been solved. That is the date of the altar columns of San Pelayo. These admirable sculptures, are, or at least until recently were, in the church of Antealtares. They are associated with the most poetic and venerable traditions of Compostela, for they served to support the altar which enclosed what was believed to be the first altar of Santiago raised over the tomb of the Apostle by his very disciples. They combine consequently artistic, historic and religious interest as few works of mediaeval art that have come down to us. Indeed the historic interest is almost too great. The documentary evidence in regard to them is so abundant and conflicting, that even the very able historians who have studied the question have been led into perplexity and an erroneous conclusion, placing the columns in the eleventh century, whereas they certainly are not earlier than the twelfth. Building upon Professor Conant's clear summary of the history of the cathedral of Santiago, I shall venture to try to pick my way through the historical labyrinth.

As has been said, it was the belief at Santiago that the first altar erected by the disciples of the Apostle had been always preserved. This tradition is recorded in the *Historia Compostelana*,⁵ and *Pilgrims' Guide*,⁶ both documents of the twelfth century, so that it must be at least as old. It is recorded also in an inscription cut

⁵ Ed. Florez, *España Sagrada*, XX, 51: Altare etenim S. Jacobi quantulaecumque parvitatit extiterit, ne minus vero dicere judicemur, ex ipsius arulae quantitate verius colligi poterit. Crescente denique in fidei cognitione christianae professionis religione, aliam arulam aliquantisper majoratam à cultoribus Sanctae fidei superimpositam, antiqua antiquorum Patrum memoria tam fidelium verborum enuntiatione, quam certa literarum subministratione, nobis evidenter insinuavit.

⁶ Calistine Codex, Book V, Chap. IX, ed. Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, III, Ap. II, 17: Super cuius [sancti Iacobi] sepulcrum est altare parum, quod eiusdem discipuli ut fertur fecerunt.



FIG. 2. ALTAR COLUMNS FROM SAN PELAYO DE ANTEALTARES, SANTIAGO
STS. MATHIAS, ANDREW AND JAMES

in letters of the late eleventh or early twelfth century⁷ on the support for this altar, which is still at Santiago, in the church of Antealtares. Upon this first altar was somewhat later placed a second, larger top.⁸ The altar in this form continued in use until the twelfth century.

At an uncertain date, about 813 probably, the tomb of St. James was discovered by the bishop of Iria Theodomir, because of miraculous lights seen by the hermit Pelayo.⁹ A small church was at once built, and this was soon replaced by a larger one, consecrated in 899.¹⁰ Traces of the foundations of this have been found, but unhappily not scientifically explored.¹¹

The date of the foundation of the monastery of Antealtares is uncertain. The agreement of 1077 between the abbot San Fagildo and Don Diego Peláez, bishop of Santiago, implies that the monastery was as old as the first church, and enjoyed jurisdiction over all east of the altar, on condition that services should be celebrated by at least twelve monks;¹² on the other hand the *Historia Compostelana* says that the monastery was founded by Sisnando, who was bishop at the time the second church was constructed, that is at the end of the ninth century.¹³

The agreement of 1077 is one of the important monuments for the history of Santiago. The bishop, D. Diego Peláez, in undertaking the construction of the great Romanesque basilica, found himself obliged to destroy the church and part of the cloister of the monks. The abbot San Fagildo, and the monks, seeing that monastic discipline could not be observed in their old quarters while the new cathedral was building, moved out. They built a small new church a short distance to the eastward, on the spot where the hermit Pelayo had had his cell. This new church had three altars, and was dedicated to San Pelayo Martyr. It occupied of course the site of the existing San Pelayo de Antealtares.

The plan of the old church of Antealtares has, Prof. Conant suspects, been

7 CVM SANCTO
IACOBO FVIT HEC ADLA
TA COLVMNA ARAQVE SCRI
PTA SIMVL QVE SVP,ER, EST
POSITA CVIVS DISCIPL'I SACR
ARVNT CREDIMVS AMBAS AC
EX HIS ARAM CONSTITITVE
RE SUAM

The unbarred A's, the pointed and gauged O's, the square C's are all archaic characters, hardly used after the first quarter of the XII century. For a facsimile reproduction, see D. Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España y su influencia en la historia universal*, Barcelona, Salvat, 1919, 3 vols., I, 432.

⁸ See text from the *Historia Compostelana*, cited above, note 5.

⁹ Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, II, 9 f.

¹⁰ Conant, *op. cit.*, 6.

¹¹ See *ibid.* 8 for a discussion of this question.

¹² See below, note 14. This early date for the foundation of the monastery is accepted by Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, I, 214.

¹³ *Histor. Compost.*, I, II, 3, ed. Florez, 10: [Sisnandus] fundavit etiam Monasterium quod de Ante altaria nuncupatur. See also Zepadano y Carnero, *Historia y descripción arqueologica de la basilica Compostelana*, Lugo, Freire, 1870, Ap. I, 313; Fray Antonio de Yepes, *Cronica general de la orden de San Benito*, Valladolid, Fernandez, 1617, 6 vols., IV, 44 v.

misunderstood by Lopez Ferreiro; on the basis of the unreliable data available it seems idle to speculate as to its forms. The document tells us that there was the church of St. James, near by was another church of St. John, the baptistry of course; and "in front of the altars" (that is, east of the tomb of the Saint) was the church of the monks, of good size (*non modicam*) and with three altars. The monks had the right to celebrate offices over the tomb of the Apostle, which must consequently have been within their church; and by the charter of foundation they had been given every thing to the east of the tomb, for their cloister and monastic buildings. The abbot, worried lest his monastery might permanently lose the valuable revenues of the altars in the cathedral which had been abandoned because of the new construction, appeared before the king with the bishop; and an agreement¹⁴ was drawn up, safeguarding the interests of the monks.

However this does not seem to have ended the controversy. In 1147¹⁵ and again in 1152¹⁶ the monks brought suit against the bishop and chapter before the Emperor to compel the latter to fulfill the agreement of 1077. It may even be that the affair took a violent turn. In 1084 San Fagildo was killed, and it has been conjectured that this was at the orders of the bishop Don Pelayo.¹⁷ He was buried at San Pelayo, where his tomb is still preserved, but the epitaph, as shown by the character of the letters, is of the thirteenth century.¹⁸ Anciently the inscription was surmounted by a painting which represented the soul of the abbot carried to heaven by angels, but this has disappeared.¹⁹ The sculptured *gisant* also obviously of the thirteenth century, has been illustrated by Lopez Ferreiro.²⁰

Now it is certain that the primitive altar believed to be that erected by the disciples of the Apostle over his tomb and which until the time of the re-construction of the cathedral shortly before 1077 had been preserved in the choir, was in later times to be seen in the church of San Pelayo Antealtares. The question of cardinal importance for us is, when was it removed.

The historians of Compostela²¹ are of the opinion that the monks, who as we have seen had special claims upon the altar of Santiago, took away with them this venerable relic when they moved out of the old cathedral in the 1070's, and that at this time the sculptured columns which we are studying were made to set up the

¹⁴ This long document is printed *in toto* by Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, III, Ap. I, 3, and Zepadano, *op. cit.*, 313.

¹⁵ Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, IV, 231.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 250.

¹⁷ Gregorio de Argai, *La soledad laureada por San Benito*, Madrid, Zastrá, 1675, 7 vols., III, 392.

¹⁸ ABBAS FAGILDUS SCS SCIS SOCIATUR
HAC HUMILIS UITA NC CELIS GLORIFICATUR
ISTIUS ISTE LOCI DUX ET LUX LUCIDA MOR'
ET SCIS MONITIS CETUS REXIT MONACHORU
FESTO CALISTI CELO LOC' EST DAT' ISTI
ERA MILLENA CETU DENA CU DUODENA

¹⁹ D. José Maria Fernandez Sanchez y D. Francisco Freire Barreiro, *Santiago, Jerusalem, Roma*, Santiago, Fraile, 1880, 3 vols., I, 277.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, III, 43.

²¹ D. Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, I, 277 f.; *Lecciones de arqueologia sagrada*, Santiago, Seminario, 1894, 267; Sanchez y Barreiro, *op. cit.*, I, 275.

ancient altar in the new church of Antealtares.²² Our columns would consequently date from the eleventh century. Their style does not make such an ascription impossible; but documentary evidence which has been overlooked makes it I think certain that the altar did not leave the cathedral as early as 1077.

The *Historia Compostelana* tells us how the bishop Gelmirez in 1105 was troubled because the simple altar of the Apostle did not harmonize with the sumptuous new basilica. He therefore began to consider how it could be embellished. Although the greatest reluctance was felt to change so venerable a relic, he nevertheless gathered courage. A third marble top, still larger than the others, was placed on top of the older two; and the whole was enclosed within a gold and silver case.²³

From the *Pilgrim's Guide*, we learn that this gold and silver outer altar was made so that the east front could be removed to show the old altar inside.²⁴

From these texts it appears absolutely certain that the primitive altar was not taken by the monks to San Pelayo in the eleventh century; on the contrary that it was still in the cathedral in the twelfth century, and that it was seen there by Aymery, who wrote the *Pilgrim's Guide*, when he visited the church between 1122 and 1135.

We learn other curious and helpful details about the altar from the description in the *Guide*. The dimensions are given in palms; Aymery assures us that he measured it with his own hands. The length of a Santiagoan palm has been carefully worked out by Professor Conant; according to his calculations²⁵ the altar was three and one half feet high, eight feet five inches long, and four feet ten inches broad. Aymery remarks that if any one wants to give a covering for it, it should be made six feet and three inches broad, and fourteen feet, eight inches long. And a frontal should be three and a half feet high, and nine feet two inches long. The *Guide* also describes the sculptures of the gold and silver casing of the altar. In the center was the *Majestas Domini* surrounded by the evangelists; on either side

²² Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, III, 44. Cf. Josef Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, München, Guenther Koch, 1924, 2 vols., I, 165, Taf. 19.

²³ *Histor. Compost.*, *loc. cit.*, ed. Florez, 51: Ceterum praefatus Episcopus in augmentando suae Ecclesiae decore sollicitus vehementer, quoniam arula jam secundo augmentata, tantum Apostolum minime decebat, Apostolicum altare majorari debere pia consideratione consideravit. Quapropter habitaculum illud ab ejusdem Apostoli columnis ad instar inferioris mausolei conditum, quo Sacrosancti Apostoli pignora sine ullo scrupulo claudi cognoscimus, religiosorum virorum prudente consilio roboratus, se destructurum Canonorum Conventui sibi super hac re fortiter reluctanti praenuntiavit: multiplici etenim assertionem asserebant, opus manibus tantorum virorum, licet rude et deforme aedificatum destrui nullatenus debere, ne ipsi aut eorum dominus, caelestis fulminis mucrone percusi tantae audaciae citata pericula sustinerent. Ipse veró velut strenuus miles impenetrabili suae bonae considerationis clypeo munitus, quia eos exterioribus magis quam interioribus, oculo suae discretionis intendere prospexit, calcata eorum formidine, pede bonae intentionis supradictum habitaculum solo tenus destruxit, et altare quod modicae quantitatis primitus extiterat, jam tertio marmoreo desuper impositae lapide undique prout decuit augmentavit. Circa cujus egregiam et optimam quantitatem, argenteam tabulam non interjecto temporis spatio, et mirabiliter incepit, et mirabilius consummavit.

²⁴ Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, III, Ap. II, 17-18: Est igitur altare parum ex tribus lateribus, ad dexteram scilicet, et levam, et retro, sub eodem magno altari clausum, set in antea apertum, ita ut uideri aperte potest ablata tabula argentea altare uetus.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, 55.

were the twelve apostles in two rows; and the four and twenty elders holding vials. An inscription recorded that the casing had been made by Gelmirez in the fifth year of his episcopacy (1105).

The mystery is, how and when did the primitive altar pass to San Pelayo? The rich documentation for the history of Compostela at this period repeatedly suggests possibilities as to how this may have come about, but supplies no definite information. Thus it is clear that the relations between the abbey and the cathedral were at this period close, if not always cordial; the abbot was a privileged member of the cathedral chapter. In the riots of 1117 the abbot of Antealtares, one Pedro, took an active part on the side of Gelmirez, as is described at length in the *Historia Compostelana*.²⁶ The church of Antealtares burned in the sedition,²⁷ was reconstructed by Gelmirez.²⁸ A hospital for pilgrims was connected with the monastery; however the monks are referred to as poor in comparison to the canons of the cathedral. In 1130 Gelmirez deposed an abbot of Antealtares named Pedro, presumably the same who had been so useful to him in 1117, for various irregularities, among others having maintained seventy concubines.²⁹ In his place he consecrated a new abbot, before the altar of St. James *ante Altare B. Jacobi* and made him take an oath *super Altare B. Jacobi Apostoli*. From these phrases it is unhappily impossible to draw any deduction in regard to the location of the primitive altar; it is not certain that the ceremony in question took place in the monastery rather than in the cathedral; and the reference may be simply to the high altar of the cathedral without regard to the primitive altar.

The *terminus ante quem* for the transference of the old altar to Antealtares is the year 1138, and that for the following reason:

The crypt below the altar in the cathedral was accessible in the early part of the twelfth century. This was clear from the miracle told in connection with the pilgrimage of Count Pons of St.-Gilles in the Callistine codex. Aymery, between 1122 and 1135 saw the crypt. In 1138 the body of the saint was still accessible, for a bone of the skull was sent to Italy. But the crypt was then sealed, and was not opened until the nineteenth century.³⁰ Now when the altar was sent to San Pelayo it was not sent entire. It had consisted of a cylindrical supporting column, with a horizontal slab on top. The cylindrical column was sawed in two, and only half of it sent to San Pelayo. The other half was found in the nineteenth century excavations, sealed in the crypt of the cathedral.³¹ It therefore results that the ancient altar was removed from within the high altar before the crypt was sealed in 1138.

We may therefore I think conclude that the primitive altar was removed from the high altar of the cathedral and taken to San Pelayo sometime after Aymery saw it at the cathedral (1122-1135) and before the crypt was sealed in 1138. Now between these dates, and precisely in the year 1135, we know of an event which may well be not unconnected with the removal of this venerable relic.

²⁶ Ed. Florez, 227 f.

²⁷ Zepedano, *op. cit.*, 71.

²⁸ *Hist. Compostel.*, II, 55 ed. Florez, 372.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 20, ed. Floreiz, 508.

³⁰ D. Antonio Lopez Ferreiro, *El altar de Santiago*, Santiago, Boletín Eclesiástico, 1877, 31.

³¹ Sanchez y Barreiro, *op. cit.*, I, 276.



FIG. 3. ALTAR COLUMNS FROM SAN PELAYO DE ANTEALTARES, SANTIAGO
THREE APOSTLES

27

This is the placing by Gelmirez of a new silver retablo upon the high altar of the cathedral.³² Such an addition must have necessitated remodelling the altar to a considerable extent, and especially on the east side, where previously the metal casing had been arranged so that it could be opened to show the ancient altar within. It may easily be that the new retablo made it necessary to close permanently this front, and the old altar was consequently removed. The new work of Gelmirez was an important addition to the cathedral from many points of view. It was of superior workmanship, and adorned with ancient cameos. It was also one of the very earliest appearances of an artistic and liturgical motive destined to lead to important developments. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the retablo of Gelmirez was unhappily melted down, but a drawing of it has been preserved.³³

The primitive altar of St. James was then probably preserved in the church of Antealtares from 1135. There is however so far as I can find no further record of it during the entire Middle Ages.

In 1487 the church of San Pelayo was taken from the monks, and given to Benedictine nuns, who still hold it.

At the end of the fifteenth century the altar was certainly in the church of Antealtares, for it is mentioned in a catalogue of relics of this date.³⁴ It was seen there too in 1572 by Morales.³⁵ The same author also saw and described the silver altar of Gelmirez with its retablo in the cathedral.³⁶ The latter seems to have remained in place until 1668 when the choir was done over in the Barocco style. It was then melted up, and so disappeared a noble work of Romanesque art.

The primitive altar in the church of Antealtares also underwent a strange fate. In 1605 it was formally authenticated by several dignitaries;³⁷ it was at this period below the high altar of Antealtares, and the half of the original column supported with four³⁸ other sculptured columns the table of the altar. This is the earliest specific mention of the colonnettes that are the subject of this study.

In 1707 the mania for baroccoization infected the nuns of San Pelayo, and they too determined to make over their altar. The present one was erected, and to make place for it, the old one was torn to pieces. The primitive altar of St. James was carefully and reverently preserved behind a grill arranged in the wall, where it

³² *Histor. Compost.*, III, 55, ed. Florez, 566: Dominus Compostellanus honorem suae Ecclesiae summa intentione augere et decorare tam in prosperitate quam in adversitate volens, quandam retro Altaris B. Jacobi tabulam pretiosam et optime antiquitatibus laboratum, cujus opus materiam superabat, sicut alia multa ornamenta prius eidem Ecclesiae contulerat, eodem tempore mirabiliter incoepit, et multo mirabilius consummavit.

³³ Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, IV, 159.

³⁴ Lopez Ferreiro, *Altar*, 9.

³⁵ Ambrosio de Morales, *Viaje santo* [1572], dale a luz Henrique Florez, Madrid, Marin, 1765, 132.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Zapedano, *op. cit.*, 29.

³⁸ Zapedano is in error in saying that there were in 1605 only three. Castellá Ferrer says explicitly that in 1605 there were four. On the other hand Sanchez and Barriero, *op. cit.*, 276, are probably wrong in saying that in 1881 there were four, for Zapedano in 1870 knew only three.

may still be seen. Three of the sculptured colonnettes of the old altar also escaped destruction; when I saw them in December, 1925, they were still preserved in the convent.

In view of the curiously documented history, it becomes a matter of peculiar interest to attempt to determine the date of the colonnettes. It is evident from the style that they must be of the first half of the twelfth century. There are two, and I think only two, possible occasions on which they might have been made.

The first is at the time the new altar of the cathedral was erected in 1105. The documents tell us very plainly that the small original altar had been enlarged by the superposition of a larger top; and that on top of this Gelmirez placed a third and very large top, eight feet and five inches long, four feet and three inches broad. Obviously this enormous stone could not have been supported only by the old column in the middle. There must have been four other supports at the angles. Were these our sculptured colonnettes? The style of the sculptures has about it nothing to make such an attribution impossible. They are very close to the sculptures of the Puerta de las Platerías dated 1103; the archaic epigraphy might easily be of this period.

There is also however another possibility; that the colonnettes were made in 1135 when the primitive altar of the Apostle was removed from the cathedral, and set up in the church of Antealtares. This I confess would accord more nearly with my first impression³⁹ of the date of the sculptures, arrived at when the Puerta de las Platerías was still notably post-dated, and at a time when I had not been able to obtain access to the *clausura* in which the columns were kept, so that I could judge of them only from the casts in the cathedral. I now feel far from sure that they are so late, although it is by no means certain that they may not be. The truth is that we know very little of the development of sculpture at Santiago between the work of 1103 and the appearance of the atelier of Mateo in the second half of the twelfth century. When other monuments of Spain and beyond the Pyrenees have been explored in the same careful and thorough way in which Professor Conant has studied Compostela, we shall no doubt be able to determine this and other questions more accurately.

The Santiago columns are of interest also from the standpoint of the history of liturgy. They certainly were altar columns, and probably the prototypes of many others made for the same purpose, the original destination of which however has been forgotten.⁴⁰ It was as Braun points out a symbolic thought of peculiar beauty to represent the twelve apostles sustaining the table of the altar.

³⁹ A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, Jones, 1923, 10 vols., I, 220; VI, 705-708.

⁴⁰ For example two from Sahagún, now at Elmwood, Cambridge, Mass. These were seen in the cloister and remarked upon by Morales in 1572 (*op. cit.*, 39). On the scroll of the St. Paul is an inscription from Eph. v, 15:

FRS
UIDE
TE: Q
UOMO
CAU
TE: ABV
LETIS



FIG. 4. ALTAR COLUMN FROM SAHAGÚN

FIG. 6. ALTAR COLUMN FROM SAN PELAYO DE ANTEALTARES, SANTIAGO
Detail of St. Peter

FIG. 5. ALTAR COLUMN FROM SAHAGÚN

III

The study of Professor Conant's book has led me into a little travelled corner of Santiago, yet one I think not without very real interest and even broad significance. A great work of art like Compostela is well nigh inexhaustible; the strangest and most unexpected threads are woven into the complex pattern; the more one studies, the more new vistas in surprising directions will unfold themselves. That is why this book will render such a great service. For the author has not only seen his way through an involved and difficult problem, disentangling the truth with unbiased scholarship, and keeping his head unturned by the buffeting waves of passion that have surged about the questions he deals with, and which have led into folly and extravagance older and one would have supposed also wise heads; but by so doing he has opened a road full of possibilities for those who come after him. The test of a good work of scholarship is whether or not it lays foundations: and that work has indubitably been accomplished by Professor Conant. Months and even years of work will be spared those who in the future wish to study critically the greatest of Romanesque monuments; from a few hours with this book they will know the church as they could not otherwise have known it unless they were gifted as Professor Conant is gifted, and unless in addition they had spent the long and careful study which he has put into the subject. And from this vantage point, now so easily gained, they may start off in a thousand directions, each one of which will be fruitful in increased understanding of an heroic age and an exalted art. That is what is accomplished by scholarship.

NEW ART BOOKS

- A COLLECTION IN THE MAKING. By Duncan Phillips. Illustrated Quarto. The Phillips Memorial Gallery. Washington, D. C. 1926.

The introduction to this handsome volume of reproductions of the paintings in the Phillips Memorial Gallery is a most illuminating and suggestive exposition of the emotional adventure and spiritual growth which has so far accompanied the formation of a truly important collection. The arrangement of the book is unusual for a work of the kind and particularly the estimates of the painters, which precede the catalogue proper, deserve attention as succinctly stating the motivating characteristics of their art. Mr. Phillips is to be congratulated upon the conception of a new and pleasant sort of public gallery where one may truly commune with beauty.

- THE EARLY WORK OF VAN DYCK. By Dr. Gustav Gluck. Illustrated Octavo. Anton Schroll & Co. Vienna. 1926.

A scholarly study of the subject, of particular interest to American readers in that it is printed in English and illustrates (in the frontispiece) the very beautiful "St. John the Baptist in the Desert" now in the possession of a New York dealer.

- THE CLEANING AND RESTORATION OF MUSEUM EXHIBITS. Third report upon investigations conducted at the British Museum. Illustrated Octavo. His Majesty's Stationery Office. London. 1926.

Brief treatises upon the methods adopted at the British Museum in the cleaning of all kinds of works of art, with reproductions illustrating the results obtained, together with a note on "fakes."

- PIETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER. By Virgil Barker. Illustrated Quarto. The Arts Publishing Corporation. New York. 1926.

A commendable study of the work of this rare master. Mr. Barker has profited by the earlier researches of M. Hulin, but not the least interesting part of his monograph is that which records his personal opinions. He supplies his readers with a very complete Bibliography and adds a number of Notes on certain of Bruegel's paintings.

- J. FRANCIS MURPHY. By Eliot Clark. Illustrated. Small Quarto. Frederic Fairchild Sherman. New York. 1926.

This is an exceptional monograph for the fact that it presents a really discriminating study of the work of a master so recently deceased that a proper perspective for intelligent criticism hardly exists today. In Mr. Clark's case that perspective was provided by a wide disparity in ages which enabled him to see Murphy's art for what it really is rather than for what one might think it was from the great popularity it enjoyed in recent years.

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