

Charles Davis

**Sébastien Bourdon's Third Conférence,
›Light and the Six Times-of-Day‹,
at the Académie Royale in 1669
and His painting, ›A Roman Lime Kiln‹,
in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich**



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Editorial Note

This text, which Charles Davis (1939–2015) worked on until his death, is published here in a slightly edited version. Only missing precise source references have been added.

Ulrich Pfisterer, München

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Preface

This paper treats the surviving record of the lecture, *Sur la lumière dans les différentes heures du jour*, held by Sébastien Bourdon in the Parisian *Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* on 9 February 1669 and its relationship to Bourdon's very large painting of a Roman lime kiln found in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich. In 2014 (February-May) the museum presented an exhibition, dedicated to this painting and to related works, that reawakened my long dormant interest in French Baroque painting. At this time an initial review commentary was published in the blog of *arthistoricum.net* on 5 May 2014, before the exhibition closed some days later on 18 May. A continuation with a fuller interpretation of the painting was promised. It is presented here, preceded by a translation into English of the original blog-text in German, where numerous questions about Bourdon's painting were raised, and now accompanied by a full-text edition of Bourdon's third *conférence*. This text soon proved illuminating for a new reading of Bourdon's picture in the Alte Pinakothek, but constraints of time and stamina impeded developing these implications in the initial blog-text. In the subsequent consideration of the work, a number of passages in Joachim von Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie* of 1675 have proved to be relevant.

Fairly recently, in 2005, Marion Bornscheuer described the relationship of Bourdon's art theory to several of his paintings¹. Here Bornscheuer attempts to read, through detailed descriptions (*Bildbeschreibungen*), a relatively small number of paintings by Bourdon in order to gain further insights into his art theoretical thinking, that is, to see the pictures as painted art theory, and even as allegories of painting, with Bourdon as the »Maler-Theoretiker par excellence«. The considerations advanced here are more concrete. Bourdon's third lecture in the *Académie*, »Sur la lumière«, offers a guide to the structure of meaning in his Munich *Lime Kiln*. In the present instance, Bourdon's thought offers almost a *libretto* for the conceptual parameters of his painting, in terms both of meaning (*sujet*) and of artistic expression. This contributes to clarifying the themes and intent of Bourdon's representation and its place in the realm of his paintings and in the context of the emergence of times-of-day landscapes as a new pictorial genre, especially in Rome in the 1630s, and of these landscape artists's thinking about the aims of their art.

¹ »Bourdons Kunsttheorie im Spiegel seiner Malpraxis«, in: Marion Bornscheuer: Von der Bildbetrachtung zur Theorie der Malerei: Die Kunsttheorie des Sébastien Bourdon, 1616–1671, 2005 [Diss., Freiburg im Breisgau], pp. 239–322.

The Full Text of Bourdon's Third Lecture: *Les Six parties du jour pour la lumière*

Introduction: Literature and Editions

The manuscript of Bourdon's third *conférence* is lost. There exist two later records of this *conférence*, that of Guillet de Saint-Georges² and another longer version by Mariette (1752), including material added by Mariette. The dating of the lecture to 9 February 1669 is owed to Watelet.³

Guillet's shorter version contains essential information missing from Mariette's later account, which appears, in part, as a later re-elaboration of and expansion of Bourdon's conference on light. »Bien que moins lisible, la version de Guillet de Saint-Georges semble conserver un plus grande part du matériau d'origine de la conférence de Bourdon, et paraît ainsi plus proche de la pensée de l'auteur«⁴.

The text here follows Lichtenstein and Michel⁵, where the transcription is standardised. Bornscheuer⁶ provides a literal transcription which corresponds more closely to the manuscript text. There are divergences in the two transcriptions; a very few are noted here ('B.' = Bornscheuer).

The Full Text

[*Georges Guillet de Saint-Georges*]

Discours de M. Bourdon sur la lumière Les six parties du jour pour la lumière

M. Bourdon qui, dans une des conférences précédentes, avait examiné le tableau où M. Poussin a représenté le miracle de Jésus-Christ sur deux aveugles, et dans une autre conférence le saint Étienne du Carrache, dit avec beaucoup de modestie à l'ouverture de celle-ci qu'il appréhendait de n'avoir pas dignement expliqué ces deux excellents ouvrages, ni répondu à l'attente de l'Assemblée. De sorte que, pour essayer de mieux réussir, il allait prendre une autre route et parler en général de la peinture, sans se proposer un tableau particulier; que se préparant à six discours différents qui ne se suivraient pourtant pas immédiatement l'un l'autre, il traiterait tour à tour de la lumière, de la composition, du trait, de l'expression, de la couleur et de l'harmonie [Bornscheuer: »et de leur Harmonie«]; que c'étaient les six points essentiels de la peinture, et qu'ayant résolu ce jour-là de parler de la lumière, il considérerait qu'en six diverses heures du jour, elle pouvait être dispensée avantageusement, et donner aux peintres six différentes idées. Que ces six parties du jour étaient d'autant plus remarquables et plus nécessaires que chacune avait son mystère ou

2 Guillet de Saint-Georges, 1683; Paris, ENSBA [*École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts*], ms. 48.

3 Editions: Watelet 1788, vol. 1, pp. 398–415 (Mariette); Jouin 1883, pp. 122–135 (Mariette); Mérot 1996, pp. 169–180 (Mariette); Bornscheuer 2005, pp. 534–542 (Guillet); Lichtenstein/Michel, eds. (2006, pp. 293–304; Guillet).

4 Lichtenstein/Michel 2006, vol. 1, p. 293.

5 Lichtenstein/Michel 2006, pp. 293–304.

6 Bornscheuer 2005, pp. 534–542.

son caractère particulier, dont les poètes aussi bien que les peintres se prévalaient pour l'ornement de leurs ouvrages.

L'aube du jour, consacrée au silence, était la première de ces six parties. Le lever du soleil, [B.: »ordinairement«] propre à la joie, faisait la seconde. Il considérait pour la troisième la position du soleil entre le levant et le midi, ce qui figurait le travail. Ensuite, il regardait le midi comme le temps destiné au repos. Après il passait à la position du soleil entre le midi et le couchant, et dit qu'elle représentait la licence. Enfin le couchant faisait sa [B.: »la«] dernière partie et était réservée pour les plaisirs.

Il établit donc pour maxime que les étudiants doivent toujours avoir égard à la qualité de leur sujet, et choisir l'heure qui porte mieux le caractère de l'histoire qu'ils traitent, afin d'y accommoder leurs fortes ou leurs faibles teintes et distribuer sagement leurs couleurs. Il y ajouta une autre raison qui mérite d'être bien pesée, et dit que comme l'art de la peinture fait une partie de la vérité de l'histoire aussi bien que les médailles, on ne doit pas négliger la recherche du temps que les événements sont arrivés.

[*L'aube du jour*]

L'aube du jour est favorable à l'histoire des conquérants et des grands capitaines, quand il s'agit de l'attaque des brèches et des lignes, de l'enlèvement d'un quartier, de la surprise d'une place et de l'insulte d'une armée que l'on croit fatiguée du travail et plongée dans le sommeil. Ainsi Josué surprit à la pointe du jour les villes de Jéricho et d'Haï. La bataille d'Issus, où Alexandre et Darius se trouvèrent pour la première fois en présence, celle de Pharsale donnée de Romains contre Romains, celle où les Romains cédèrent à la valeur des Parthes et plusieurs autres aussi sanglantes se donnèrent au jour naissant. Quand l'heure n'est pas marquée précisément dans l'histoire, M. Bourdon conseille aux étudiants de se prescrire celle-là, car outre qu'elle marque mieux la vigilance du capitaine qui engage le combat, elle fournit une lumière très agréable et très avantageuse.

On peut encore prendre commodément cette partie du jour pour exprimer le moment favorable de quelques aventures amoureuses, comme l'enlèvement d'Hélène par Thésée et par Paris, et celui de Céphale par l'Aurore. Quiconque voudrait figurer un homme de lettres appliqué à l'étude ou un excellent artisan au travail serait encore obligé de choisir cet intervalle du jour, parce qu'il suppose un esprit tranquille, recueilli et libre des embarras qui ont accoutumé de troubler les méditations et les attachements de l'esprit. Une Diane, un Adonis, Céphale, Méléagre, et tout ce qui regarde l'exercice de la chasse, ne sauraient être traités plus à propos qu'en supposant ce temps-là. Enfin, comme il est propre à une infinité d'autres occasions, M. Bourdon invite les élèves à se servir avec choix et jugement de cette lumière qui, par des demi-teintes et par la douceur des couleurs, ne manque jamais de faire un effet admirable.

[*Le soleil levant*]

Après, il passa à l'heure du soleil levant et dit que de tous les moments du jour, c'est sans doute celui qui répand le plus de joie sur toute la nature, puisqu'il donne même aux corps inanimés un nouvel éclat et leur fait prendre une face plus agréable. Cet astre jetant alors des rayons parallèles à l'horizon et commençant à éclairer le sommet des montagnes et des arbres, donne lieu à de longues ombres qui font un effet merveilleux pour les paysages et pour les édifices. Et c'est ce que M. Poussin a traité avec un art insigne dans le tableau des aveugles, où il s'est servi d'une pareille lumière qui, par différentes échappées, tantôt au-dessus, tantôt à côté des corps qui lui sont opposés, va percer les vapeurs que l'humidité des eaux et les fraîcheur de la nuit ont fait naître, et par une teinte douce et naturelle unit agréablement toutes les autres couleurs.

Comme l'Antiquité destinait l'heure du soleil levant à plusieurs cérémonies memorables, M. Bourdon recommande aux peintres de la choisir pour les mêmes occasions ou pour de

semblables. À pareille heure, les juifs sacrifiaient au Veau d'Or, Jésus-Christ fut baptisé pendant une semblable partie du jour, et d'ordinaire saint Jean la prenait pour administrer le baptême; même ceux qui le recevaient étaient tournés vers l'Orient, ce qui passa en coutume dans la primitive Église. Les Phéniciens attendaient que le soleil commençât à paraître sur l'hémisphère pour l'adorer, et l'empereur Hadrien affectait ce moment quand il sacrifiait sur le mont Casius qui est en Égypte.

Les peintres qui traiteront de semblables sujets se souviendront de répandre la lumière sur les principales figures, comme M. Poussin l'a judicieusement pratiqué dans la tableau des aveugles, qui sont tous deux éclairés, mais en telle sorte que Jésus-Christ reçoit la plus grande lumière.

[*La matinée*]

Ensuite M. Bourdon parlant de la partie du jour qui est entre le levant e le midi soutint que sa [*B.: la*] lumière ayant trop de force est peu favorable pour les tableaux si elle n'est affaiblie par une représentation de nuages, de pluies et de tempêtes. Étant ainsi corrigée, on la peut employer pour les sujets tragiques et pour ceux qui portent un caractère de tristesse: une bataille perdue, un naufrage lamentable, les Philistins frappés de la peste, le martyre de saint Étienne comme le Carrache l'a traité, et semblables accidents qui doivent inspirer de l'horreur ou de la compassion et marquer le colère du Ciel, demandent un temps obscur et chargé. Cette invention est tirée d'un sentiment commun à tous les hommes qui, à l'aspect des ténèbres, sentent un frémissement secret et une grande disposition à craindre ou à déplorer les spectacles funestes ou dignes de pitié. Ainsi la plupart des Pères de l'Église ont cru qu'à la mort du Sauveur, les ténèbres recouvrirent la terre en signe de détestation, et que le soleil demeura obscurci pour cacher cet acte exécrable. M. Bourdon inféra de cette remarque qu'on choquerait le bon sens si on faisait servir des temps égayés pour exprimer un sujet de désolation.

[*Le midi*]

À l'égard du midi, qui est l'heure où le soleil paraît sur l'hémisphère avec plus de force et de lumière, M. Bourdon dit que ceux qui voudront traiter leurs sujets selon ce quatrième état du jour doivent avoir soin de cacher le corps de cet astre et de fuir ainsi ce qu'on ne peut jamais bien représenter, autrement il arriverait que les draperies d'une forte teinte et les couleurs éclatantes qui sont sur le devant du tableau auraient plus de vivacité et de force que la lumière même, jusqu'à rompre et trancher sur elle, contre l'ordre de la nature et contre l'effet du corps lumineux et des opaques. Il dit que, pour éviter de si sensibles défauts, il fallait cacher cette lumière par des montagnes, des arbres, des édifices ou par quelque autre corps. Cette partie du jour est une heure de repos et sert à exprimer le relâche que les hommes donnent à leur travail. Jésus-Christ à pareille heure, lassé du chemin, se reposa vers le puits où la Samaritaine le rencontra. Ses disciples abbatus d'une même fatigue étaient à ses pieds, le sollicitant de manger. Dans un temps semblable les trois anges furent priés de se reposer sous le tabernacle d'Abraham et d'y prendre un repas. Enfin il n'est pas jusqu'aux animaux qui ne cherchent alors à se délasser.

[*L'après-midi*]

Pour la partie du jour comprise entre le midi et le couchant, M. Bourdon dit qu'elle était sujette aux nuages, aux pluies et à l'inconstance du temps, particulièrement dans la saison des chaleurs, et sur cette constitution déréglée et variable, il l'avait nommée l'heure des licences parce qu'elle fournit d'agréables libertés aux peintres qui travaillent à la composition d'un tableau. Ainsi elle est propre à traiter des bacchanales, des jeux, des folâtreries et des exercices plaisants. La constitution de l'air qui suit une pluie embellit les paysages par des échappées de lumière qui viennent sur les eaux, sur les arbres, sur les draperies,

et qui forment une lumière de reflets plus sensible et plus naturelle que dans les autres temps. Il remarqua que le Titien s'en était souvent servi avec de grands succès.

Il dit ensuite qu'il n'insisterait pas longtemps sur cette partie du jour de crainte que les élèves ne se laissassent trouper éblouir à ses charmes et ne se fissent une habitude d'employer cette sorte de lumière dans tous leurs sujets. Il blâma ceux qui se bornent ainsi à une seule manière, accusa leur imagination de stérilité et leurs ouvrages d'une répétition ennuyeuse, vanta ceux qui tâchaient d'acquérir un talent universel et qui diversifiaient leurs sujets par des changements de lumière toujours [B.: »accommodée aux changemens de lumière toujours«] accommodés aux heures particulières de leur action principale. Il dit qu'il eût été à souhaiter que tant de grands hommes de l'Antiquité eussent eu égard à ce choix, et qu'ils n'eussent point insinué un air d'imitation continuelle dans l'esprit de leurs disciples, parce qu'ils nous auraient laissé des ouvrages plus achevés, quoiqu'ils ne laissent pas d'être admirables dans leur genre; qu'ainsi les Bassan qui avaient presque toujours employé la lumière du point du jour, et le Caravage qui s'était le plus souvent attaché à un temps ténébreux auraient encore porté plus loin leur réputation si, en diversifiant les positions du soleil et les parties du temps, ils eussent suivi les exemples que l'École de Lombardie en tirés du Titien, ou ceux que l'École de Rome a pris du Carrache, et dont M. Poussin s'est si bien servi.

[*Le couchant*]

Ensuite, M. Bourdon parla du couchant, et dit que cette dernière partie du jour était l'heure du plaisir et la borne du travail; qu'elle donnait un agréable penchant aux jeux, à la danse et à la promenade; que le général d'armée rassemblait à lui ses soldats, et le berger ses troupeaux, que tout enfin se préparait à une retraite agréable et désirée. Il dit que pour traiter de semblables sujets à une pareille heure, il faut encore avoir égard aux différentes couleurs que la lumière du soleil emprunte des exhalaisons embrasées [B.: »ombragées«] et des nuages plus ou moins sombres par où elle passe alors pour venir à nous; que d'ordinaire cette couleur tire sur l'éclat de l'or, et qu'elle règne souvent sur les objects, soit qu'elle y soit portée par une lumière directe, ou par une lumière de reflets. Ce qui demande une grande oeconomie. Mais que comme cette matière appartenait à la perspective aérienne qui enseigne l'effet des jours sur toute sorte de corps, il renvoyoit les étudiants aux livres excellents qui en ont traité, et aux leçons de M. Mignon qui, dans le temps de cette conférence, expliquait la perspective dans l'Académie, et qui mérite bien que je parle ici de lui avec éloge, autant pour rendre justice à son erudition, que pour satisfaire à l'étroite amitié qui nous a joints ensemble jusqu'au dernier moment de sa vie.

Glossary: (from: »Glossarie«, in: Lichtenstein/Michel 2006, vol. 2):

chargé: Piles, p. 321: »C'est lorsqu'on représente un visage avec des traits marqués avec excès, et de telle manière qu'avec quelques coups de crayon, on connaît une personne, quoique ce ne soit pas un véritable portrait, mais plutôt des défauts que l'on rende plus sensibles. On dit aussi qu'une figure est chargée quand les parties en sont trop ressenties.« (p. 803)

oeconomie: Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*: »Signifie quelquefois bel ordre et disposition des choses. C'est une chose admirable que l'*oeconomie* et la disposition des parties du corps humain, et de voir comme chacune fait ses fonctions. On dit aussi l'*oeconomie* d'un bâtiment, en parlant du ménagement de la place, et de la belle et commode disposition des appartements.« (p. 805)

Editions of Bourdon's Lectures in the *Académie*

See Bornscheuer 2005, pp. 19–24: »Überblick über die Veröffentlichungen der Reden«. See further: Lichtenstein/Michel 2006, vol. 1, pp. 11–12, 42 ff., 50 ff., 53, 56, 175, 239–240, 293, 374.

Principal editions of Bourdon's Lectures in the *Académie*:

André Félibien: Les Conférences de l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture pendant l'année 1667, Paris 1669 (Bourdon's first conference)

Claude-Henri Watelet and Pierre-Charles Lévesque: Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure, 5 vol., Paris: L. F. Prault, 1792 (ed. Genève 1972), vol. 1, pp. 398–415 (Sur la Lumière; cf. vol. 4, pp. 344 ff.), pp. 416–420 (fourth conference).

Henry Jouin (ed.): Conférences de l'Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture recueillies, annotées et précédées d'une étude sur les artistes écrivains, Paris 1883, pp. 66–86 (Poussin's *Les Aveugles de Jéricho*); pp. 122–136 (*Lumière*); pp. 137–140 (*L'antique*)

Charles Ponsonailhe: Sébastien Bourdon: Sa vie et son oeuvre, Paris: Aux Bureaux de l'Artiste, 1883 (also: Montpellier 1993; 1886; reprint: Genève 1993), pp. 84–90 (fourth conference)

André Fontaine: Académiciens d'autrefois: Le Brun, Mignard, Les Champaigne, Bosse, Jaillot, Bourdon, Arcis, Paillet, etc., Paris 1914 (pp. 190 ff., extracts from second conference)

Hans Willem van Heldsingen: »Summaries of two Lectures by Philippe de Champagne and Sébastien Bourdon held at the Paris Académie in 1668«, in: *Simiolus: Netherlands quarterly for the history of art*, vol. 14, 1984, pp. 163–178 (pp. 172 ff.: second conference)

Alain Mérot, (ed.): Les Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture au XVII^e siècle, Paris 1996 (pp. 113–129: first conference; 169–180: third conference; 247–251: fourth conference)

Marion Bornscheuer: Von der Bildbetrachtung zur Theorie der Malerei: Die Kunsttheorie des Sébastien Bourdon, Hildesheim 2005 (pp. 507–524: first conference; 525–534: second conference; 535–540: third conference; 543–545: fourth conference).

Until Bornscheuer 2005, the transcriptions of Bourdon's third lecture followed the text in Claude-Henri Watelet and Pierre-Charles Lévesque, *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure*, 5 vol., Paris 1792, which differs considerably from Guillet's protocol.

Jutta Held: *Französische Kunsttheorie des 17. Jahrhunderts und der absolutistische Staat: Le Brun und die ersten acht Vorlesungen an der königlichen Akademie*, Berlin 2001 (»Sébastien Bourdon: Die Blindenheilung von Poussin«, pp. 106–112, 368–401)

Lichtenstein/Michel: *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, ed. Jacqueline Lichtenstein and Christian Michel, vol. 1 (*Les Conférences au temps d'Henry Testelin 1648–1681*), Paris 2006

Literature

Charles Ponsonailhe: Sébastien Bourdon: Sa vie et son oeuvre, Paris: Aux Bureaux de l'Artiste, 1883 (also: Montpellier 1993; 1886; reprint: Genève 1993)

Henri Stein: »Sébastien Bourdon«, in: *Thieme-Becker*, vol. 4, 1910, pp. 458–459

Bernard Teyssèdre: *Roger de Piles et les débats sur le coloris au siècle de Louis XIV*, Paris 1957, pp. 131, 133–137 (ed. 1965, pp. 131–137, 288)

Alain Mérot (ed.): *Les Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1996, pp. 169–170

- Thierry Bajou: »Sébastien Bourdon«, in: The Dictionary of Art, Grove-Macmillan, London-New York, 1996, vol. 4, pp. 573–575
- Dominique Brême: »Sébastien Bourdon«, in: Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon, vol. 13, 1996, pp. 366–368
- Jacques Thuillier: Sébastien Bourdon 1616–1671: Catalogue critique et chronologique de l'oeuvre complet, Paris 2000 (book issued on the occasion of the exhibition, *Sébastien Bourdon, 1616–1671, Rétrospective*, Le musée Fabre, Montpellier, 7 July – 15 October 2000; Les Musées de Strasbourg, Galerie de l'Ancienne Douane, 25 November 2000 – 4 February 2001)
- Bornscheuer 2005 = Marion Bornscheuer: Von der Bildbetrachtung zur Theorie der Malerei: Die Kunsttheorie des Sébastien Bourdon, Hildesheim 2005
- Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, ed. Jacqueline Lichtenstein-Christian Michel, vol. 1, Paris 2006

Sébastien Bourdon's Third *Conférence*, ›Light and the Six Times-of-Day‹, and His Painting, ›A Roman Lime Kiln‹

Introduction

In the written sources for the history of art some readers hope to discover new insights and new points of view beyond those suggested by the dominant, often somewhat narrowly focused concerns of art history at any given moment. Other readers seek historical information for reconstructing microhistories, including artists's intentions. Yet others attempt to understand what art meant to its original public or to discover more about the circumstances in which works of art were made and how they were used. Some wish to find out more about the artist-creators, and they read the lives and letters of artists. Students of intellectual history may want to construct the succession of ideas and the development of art theory and criticism and of writing about the history of art. Historical texts about art may also offer guides or aids to the interpretation of single works of art or groups of similar works. The present number of *Fontes* is an instance of this last use to which *Kunstliteratur* may be put.



Fig. 1 Sébastien Bourdon: A Roman Lime Kiln, 1634/37, Munich, Alte Pinakothek
(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bourdon,_S%C3%A9bastien_-_Ein_R%C3%B6mischer_Kalkofen_-_1634-1637.jpg)

In simplest terms, Sébastien Bourdon's third conference addressed to the Parisian *Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, held on 9 February 1669, is seen here to offer an explanation of the actions depicted in Bourdon's large painting of a Roman *Lime Kiln* in the *Alte Pinakothek* in Munich (Fig. 1), as well as for the succession of these actions and the rationale that lies behind them. The painting has always been seen as a *Bambochade*,

that is as a genre painting of Roman low life. Bourdon's text, in contrast, suggests that it is essentially a times-of-day picture. It appears to belong to a then emergent genre of landscape painting, the nature of which is clarified in a number of texts contained in Joachim von Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie* of 1675, ones which relate to developments in landscape painting initiated by Claude Lorrain and artists associated with him in Rome in the 1630s. At the same time, although *bambochades* are nearly universally classified as a form of genre painting, most may also be described as landscapes, as they often appear as such in historical inventories. Sandrart explicitly associates Pieter van Laer, *Il Bamboccio*, with the early times-of-day ›movement‹ in Rome, and admires the representation of the hours of the day in his paintings as well as in those of the brothers Jan and Andries Both.

The full text of Bourdon's lecture »Les six parties du jour pour la lumière« is followed by a discussion of a recent exhibition devoted to Bourdon's painting and a new interpretation of it. In appendices are treated (1) the collection of the Munich collector and *Hofrat*, Baron Franz von Mayr, to which Bourdon's painting belonged from an very early date and (2) various texts by Sandrart that illuminate the art historical context in which it was created. In addition, there is (3) a guide to artistic theory in France in the seventeenth century based on Julius von Schlosser's *Die Kunstliteratur*. Schlosser's bibliographic account of French seventeenth-century texts is reproduced, with the additions included in published editions of his work until the French edition, Paris 1984, and a partial update of the later literature on the principal authors is provided. A list of relevant online editions is included.

Sébastien Bourdon's Path from *Bambocciade* Squalor to Academic Baroque Classicism: The Exhibition *Brennpunkt Rom*

Brennpunkt Rom: Sébastien Bourdon's Münchner Kalkofen (Focal Point Rome: Sébastien Bourdon's Munich *Lime Kiln*); Munich, Alte Pinakothek, 13 February 2014 – 18 May 2014

How did it come about that Sébastien Bourdon began his career as a painter of picturesque scenes of low life in the Roman metropolis, but ended it as a leading representative of the classical Baroque at the Royal Academy in France, where *peinture d'histoire*, with its emphasis on the noble actions of men, was assigned the first place in the ranks of painting? This question numbers among the principal ones posed by the present exhibition, which is on display at the Alte Pinakothek.

Open until May 18 [2014], the cabinet exhibition at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich offers the visitor, on the one hand, an international loan exhibition surveying the chameleonic *oeuvre* of the seventeenth-century French master, Sébastien Bourdon (1616–1671), and, on the other hand, a concentrated examination of Bourdon's Roman *Lime Kiln*, a painting that has belonged to the historical collection of the Pinakothek since its founding. Earlier, by 1750, at the latest, it was owned by the Wittelsbach, the ruling dynasty of Bavaria⁷. Bourdon's painting provides the title of the exhibition: *Brennpunkt Rom: Sébastien Bourdon's Münchner Kalkofen* (13 February 2014 – 18 May 2014).

For specialists of French Baroque painting Sébastien Bourdon is an old acquaintance, and to enthusiasts of Old Master painting he is equally well-known, owing to his presence in most large international museums of painting. Bourdon has long belonged to the historical canon of artists, established by art history, that museums collect. Nevertheless, Bourdon's position in the artistic succession of painters is not entirely clear. At first glance he appears to belong to the line of classical history painters that extends from Poussin to Charles Le Brun, Eustace Le Seuer, and others. Some works, however, as, for example, the Munich *Lime Kiln*, seem to aspire to a Baudelarian *modernité* and belong almost to the modern

⁷ Hipp 2014, pp. 14, 43, 49, 127 [Inv. Schleißheim 1750]; cf. Siefert 2005, p. 59: 1761.

era. Bourdon was a »talent universel«. He could easily copy anything he saw, reported Sébastien Bourdon's biographer Georges Guillet de Saint-Georges⁸. Thus it is not surprising that Bourdon was also active as a forger. With the »vivacité de son esprit« and with his »facilité naturelle«, wrote Félibien, he could paint »toutes sortes de sujets«. Bourdon was, nevertheless, criticised for not achieving a consistent and recognisable style⁹. Félibien observes further, »Ma avec tout cela, soit qu'il y eût trop de mouvement dans son esprit qui lui empêchât de pouvoir fixer ses pensées et son imagination«¹⁰. In his *conférences* at the *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Bourdon recommended that young artists reject uniformity of inspiration and avoid seeking to model themselves on a single source.

Section I: »Back in France«

The exhibition is distributed between two large, completely separate galleries on the ground floor of the Pinakothek. To his advantage the visitor might wish to view the second section of the exhibition (»Zurück in Frankreich«) first. Here, with a manageable number of works on display – 10 paintings, 4 drawings, 5 prints – there can be gained a useful overview of Bourdon's entire artistic production. Upon his return to France from Italy, Bourdon continued, at first, to paint versions of his Roman *bambochades*. Then he dedicated himself principally to history painting, with a gradually increasing orientation towards the art of Poussin. Later Bourdon displays a more monumental, more abstract, more rigorous sense of style, characterised by a geometric severity. At the same time the painter shows a strong interest in the classical landscape, which is linked to biblical and profane themes. It is in these terms that the path of Bourdon's art is presented. Thus one can follow the painter's development in the exhibition.

The somewhat unfortunate title of the exhibition obscures this valuable and important offering in Section II. Nevertheless, this part of the exposition affords an excellent point of entry into the study of Bourdon's artistic *oeuvre*, one based not on lantern slides, not on printed illustrations, and not even on Bourdon's ever increasing representation in the Internet, but on the authentic presence of original works of art. In the exhibition the holdings of the Munich collections (23 works, including 13 paintings) are expanded and enriched by numerous and substantial loans from Germany and abroad: 15 paintings (13 from foreign collections), 3 drawings and 9 prints (mainly from Vienna). Reproductive prints document, in particular, the landscape paintings of Bourdon.

Section II: »In Rome«

The entire exhibition, and certainly the first section (Part I: »In Rom«), might better have taken as its objective an attempt to answer a somewhat subversive question posed *en passant* in David Mandrella's catalogue essay about Sébastien Bourdon, »Anmerkungen zu Leben und Werke«. Mandrella asks if, without Sandrart's mention of the Bourdon's *Lime Kiln*, the painting would ever have been connected with him, or would it not, more likely, have

⁸ Georges Guillet de Saint-Georges: *Mémoire historique des principaux ouvrages de M. Bourdon ... lu à l'Académie le 7 juin 1692*, in: *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, ed. Jacqueline Lichtenstein-Christian Michel, vol. 2/2, Paris 2008, S. 442: »il contrefaisait fort aisément tout ce qu'il voyait«.

⁹ Félibien 1669: »une arrêtée maniere«.

¹⁰ Félibien 1669: »But with all his gifts, there was so much animation in his disposition that it prevented him from fixing his thoughts and imagination«.

simply been attributed to a Dutch master: »Hätte man das Werk [i.e., the Munich *Lime Kiln*] ohne Sandrarts Anmerkung jemals Bourdon zugeschrieben oder nicht eher einem Niederländer?«¹¹. In 1675, Joachim von Sandrart describes the painting, unmistakably, in the Munich collection of Baron Franz von Mayr, expressly naming Bourdon as its author. Instead, the exhibition and the catalogue concentrate on identifying as many connections as possible of motif and theme between Bourdon's painting and the works of Pieter van Laer, *il Bamboccio*, and his followers in the new genre of paintings called *bambochades*. These painters were called *bamboccianti*. They painted mostly small, low-life genre pictures, often of great artistic and painterly beauty.

The first section of the exhibition compares Bourdon's large painting with the works of the *bamboccianti*, with, that is, thematically related representations by Bourdon's contemporaries and predecessors. In the foreword to the catalogue, the Director General of the Bavarian State *Gemäldesammlungen*, Klaus Schrenk, writes of these comparisons: Through these juxtapositions the visitor should be able to understand the special characteristics of the Munich painting¹². The catalogue leaves this quest largely to the exhibition's visitors. In what follows, this topic will number among the principal questions addressed.

Entering the large southern gallery, where the first section is displayed, the visitor is immediately confronted with Bourdon's *Lime Kiln*. Strongly illuminated, it hangs alone on a large isolated wall-structure built in the middle of the room. The viewer receives an initial impression that the spatial structure of the painting and the staging of the events represented are accomplished with an extraordinary clarity. And this impression is strengthened, if one asks closely after the identities and actions of the single, relatively small figures¹³.

The very large canvas (172 × 246 cm) appears almost gigantic in comparison with the small paintings, drawings, and prints exhibited on the perimetral walls. Their average width is only 51 cm. Bourdon's *Lime Kiln* is five times wider. In this dimensional context the principal work of the exhibition appears distinctly *fuori scala*, and, indeed, almost *fuori posto*. The average height of the other works exhibited is 42,4 cm. Passeri wrote that Pieter van Laer painted pictures of varying sizes everyday, but always with small figures, about one *palmo* (circa 22 cm) high – never larger¹⁴. As adumbrated earlier, the connection of Bourdon's large painting with all the other, mostly smallish exhibits in the room is largely thematic or one of motif, and only to a limited extent stylistic. In terms of pictorial structure, figural grouping (composition), lighting, light-dark contrasts, perspective organisation and construction, repoussoir-effects, in short, in terms of artistic ambition, the Munich *Kalkofen* is worlds apart from the small, droll pictures of the *bamboccianti* exhibited here. When you look around the gallery, the little pictures begin to look like tiny seeds that might grow into the much larger and very different organism, represented by the large canvas in the middle of the room. A principal shortcoming of the exhibition is its failure to address this discrepancy directly and with persistence. As relevant as the exhibited *bamboccianti* works are in theme and motive, they are as a single frame of reference inadequate, and, at times, misleading.

In truth, Bourdon's so-called Roman *Kalkofen* resembles closely only one other work in the room. This is Sébastien Bourdon's painting, called in the exhibition *Bettler vor einem*

11 David Mandrella: »Sébastien Bourdon: Meister der Stile, Anmerkungen zu Leben und Werk«, in: Elisabeth Hipp, David Mandrella: Brennpunkt Rom. Sébastien Bourdons Münchner Kalkofen, München 2014, pp. 52–63, here: p. 54.

12 Elisabeth Hipp/David Mandrella: Brennpunkt Rom. Sébastien Bourdons Münchner Kalkofen, München 2014, p. 7: »Dem Betrachter sollen sich auf dieser Weise die Besonderheiten des Münchner Bildes erschließen«.

13 cf. *infra*, »Census«

14 Francis Haskell: *Patrons and Painters*, New Haven/London 1980, p. 13.

*Kalkofen*¹⁵. With only a fairly recent Belgian provenance, this painting has been found, since 1989, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Valenciennes, on the border with Belgium (Fig. 2). It became better known in the year 2000, owing to its presence at the important Bourdon exhibition, held in Montpellier und Strasbourg in that year. This significant and original painting remains largely unstudied. For this reason, among others, it constitutes one of the principal attractions of the present exhibition.



Fig. 2 Sébastien Bourdon: Lime Kiln, c. 1637, Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts

The small panel in Valenciennes appears to belong to the history of the Munich *Four à chaux*: either to a preliminary phase of the planning, or, perhaps more likely, directly to the design process that produced Bourdon's large painting. It seems, possibly, an early, subsequently discarded sketch, or, much less likely, a later simplified spin-off from the Munich *Lime Kiln*. To this testifies the almost monochromatic colour scheme that characterises both works, with a very restricted four-colour palette composed of earth-colours (red, yellow, black, and white – a colour palette known in antiquity, for example Pliny). This unitary and sombre colour scheme, is broken, in Valenciennes, by a very few, isolated accents in blue. Further, both paintings have an unusually large number of figures: 40 in Valenciennes; 55 in Munich. In both, a large, brightly lit, diagonally extending middle zone serves as the principal stage for the action, and, in both, broad planar elements play an important part in the spatial organisation. And, there are further significant similarities in design. Both paintings are sunset pictures. In addition, many motifs are common to both: the men playing games, the cat-catcher, the wooden staircase (where clothing is being dried), the round buildings, the scuffling dogs, the fire in the mouth of the kiln. In the Valenciennes painting the ship masts in the background, to the left, almost certainly constitute an allusion to the Tiber, indicating, again, Rome as the setting of the picture.

¹⁵ Hipp 2014, cat. no. 6; 55 × 75 cm; here dated »ca. 1637« – despite the title, none of the figures explicitly engage in begging [cf. »Corrigendum«, *infra*].

In the Exhibition Catalogue, at No. 6 (Valenciennes), we read: »Unklar ist, ob es noch in Rom oder erst nach Bourdons Rückkehr nach Frankreich entstanden ist«¹⁶. A small repetition of the Munich *Kalkofen* appears intrinsically unlikely, nearly a step backwards. In point of fact, many aspects of Bourdon's *Le Four à chaux* in Valenciennes speak for its having been painted in France. These extend far beyond its recent *oltralpine* provenance, north of France, in Belgium.

Observed more closely, the small painting from Valenciennes appears to be more an oil sketch than a finished painting. The paint layer is very thin, and the ground often shines through the thinly applied paint. Rather than displaying a rich and varied palette of colours, the small painting is nearly monochrome. The brushwork is sometimes raw; it appears rapid, spontaneous, and of a virtuoso bravura. The handling of paint is also, in comparison with a finished painting, very sketchy. The small figures are only sporadically executed in a somewhat more finished manner; one figure is only drawn in. The over-all impression is brownish. The sketch seems to be the precursor to a painting.

In Rome, Bourdon imitated the works of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, in addition to those of the *bamboccianti*. »Benedette«, as Castiglione was called in France, was possibly the first painter who made oil sketches as independent works of art and not simply as preliminary studies for finished paintings. Although the small *Four à chaux* does not contain any of the bucolic animals most typical of the animal paintings of *Benedette* (sheep, goats, dromedaries), a young bull stretches his head into the picture in the lower right corner – this looks like an allusion to the art of Castiglione. Further, the bare-breasted mother with two children, just above, is found in paintings by Bourdon painted after his return to France from Italy (e.g., *Jacob and Laban*, *Abraham in Egypt*).

In contrast to the at least four female figures present in the small *Four à chaux* in Valenciennes, women are totally absent in the all-male world of the Munich *Kalkofen*. This singular circumstance is not mentioned in the catalogue, and it appears to have gone completely unnoticed and remains unexplained.

Further features speak for the making of the small *Four à chaux* in France. Unlike many paintings of the *bamboccianti*, the active figures, shown in movement, are relatively large, and they spread outward, nearly filling the space. In the painting from Valenciennes, light-dark contrasts are highly developed, as in many of Bourdon's baroque-appearing works from around 1640 and somewhat later, for example, in the *Martyrdom of St. Peter* of 1543 (Notre-Dame, Paris). In addition, a strong, wide shaft of light streams diagonally, from top to bottom, through the entire composition. It is as if sunlight flows from the golden, heavenly sky on the horizon through the entire dark picture, with the purpose of illuminating the figures and imparting to them a touch of colour here and there. Dynamic diagonals characterise the works of Bourdon in his first Parisian period following his return from Italy until the time of the *Martyrdom of St. Peter*. In the small *Four à chaux* this characteristic finds further expression in the directional and diagonal structural elements that give form to the composition (stairs with a small canopy-like roof; the ship masts, in the form of crosses).

In the paintings of Bourdon one recognizes the intention – one which increases with the passage of time – to structure the vision of the observer and to situate him in relation to the image. Bourdon first availed himself of the traditional methods of perspective, but then he turned to adjusting the spatial structure of the image. He constructs a succession of flat planes, disposed parallel to the picture plane, creating a succession of platforms, where the pictorial action takes place. Such an architectonic approach gradually comes to dominate Bourdon's art. In the pictures of the Roman *bamboccianti* there is usually only a

¹⁶ It is unclear whether the painting was made in Rome or whether it was created only after Bourdon's return to France.

simple background. In contrast, Bourdon creates a spatial stage with accessory spaces. In the Valenciennes painting we see blocks of stone in light and shadow in the foreground, *in nuce*, the planar structure of the later works. Similar is the flat, broad planar faceting of the pillar in front of the rotunda of the furnace.

An un-*bambochade*-like feature of the Valenciennes painting is found in the foreground group at the left, where the figures are shown in very deep shadow under a roof-like projection. At the left a soothsayer reads from the hand of one of the five figures, who constitute the group in shadow. At the right a man follows the hand-reading. Wearing a short skirt, carrying a staff, and with a drinking bowl hanging from his belt, he is identified as a pilgrim¹⁷. A further male figure rests on the ground. This prominent dark configuration at the left margin of the picture forms a dramatic baroque repoussoir motif in strongly deepened shadow; the stark dark-light contrast of this group set against the brightly illuminated middle zone and the golden sky beyond greatly enhances its effect. Bourdon's implementation of this artistic device appears skilful and practiced. In the works of Bourdon one finds this pictorial idea first in the image of the ›black‹ dromedary in the etching, *Le Départ de Jacob*¹⁸, which was made soon after Bourdon's return to France. It is found again, somewhat later, in other works of the early Parisian period. See, in this exhibition, no. 33, the Potsdam *Adoration of the Magi*¹⁹, and, even more strikingly, two other etchings, *L'Annonce aux bergers*²⁰ and *Le Baptême de l'eunuque*²¹, and also the painting, *La rencontre*²², and other works »de cette première période« in Paris²³. It would be extremely difficult to detach the small *Four à Chaux* in Valenciennes temporally from Bourdon's other works made in France.

The Valenciennes painting joins colour, light-dark effects, lighting, repoussoir effects, and linear structuring elements in an impressive unitary composition – nothing remotely like it is to be found among the *bamboccianti* works of Dutch masters. Sandrart might have admired this painting in much the same terms as he admired the Munich *Kalkofen*: »auf Bambotio Manier (...) und verwunderlich-vernünftig gut exprimirt«! In connection with Mandrella's question, mentioned earlier, Cat. No. 6 (Valenciennes) provides the missing link to Bourdon's *oeuvre*.

Bourdon's sojourn in Rome was, in fact, quite short: little more than one and a half years, far less than has been traditionally believed. At the beginning of 1638, he was found again in France. Earlier research had reckoned with the years 1634–1637 for his stay in Italy (rather than 1636–1637), and, accordingly, very many paintings were rather casually assigned to his Italian period – many more than seem possible for the brief time he actually spent in Italy. Thus far there exists no complete critical monograph treating Bourdon's works; there is only the large companion book issued for the Bourdon exhibition held in Montpellier and Strasbourg in 2000–2001, where the catalogue entries by Jacques Thuillier are often quite brief and summary, although they are very many in number.

From the examination of the Valenciennes *Four à Chaux* (Cat. No. 6) a conclusion about the main work of the exhibition seems almost inevitable: if Cat. No. 6 (Valenciennes) was painted in France, the same must hold for Cat. No. 1, the Munich *Kalkofen*, for the latter

17 Perhaps the first concern of pilgrims was the question of their fate: salvation (or, sometimes, healing).

18 Jacques Thuillier: Sébastien Bourdon 1616–1671: Catalogue critique et chronologique de l'oeuvre complet, Paris 2000, no. 20.

19 Thuillier 2000, no. 61.

20 Thuillier 2000, no. 65.

21 Thuillier 2000, no. 70.

22 Also known as *Antoine et Cléopâtre*; Louvre; Thuillier 2000, no. 71.

23 cf. Thuillier 2000, Nos. 35, 43, 60, 98.

represents a comprehensive development of ideas that are present or implicit in the small painting in Valenciennes. It represents the *trait-d'union* with Bourdon's remaining works.

Intermission: Census and Sources

Both the preceding considerations in Part I and, especially, those advanced below, in Part II, are based upon a systematic study of all of the single figures represented in the Munich *Lime Kiln*. The results of this examination are presented here in a ›Census‹ of the participants in the painting, one which records information about their identities. The *Census* constitutes the basis for large parts of the consideration of the Munich *Lime Kiln* proposed here. It is followed by a brief survey of the historical written sources that document the painting itself.

Census: The Figures in the Munich Lime Kiln – Social Rôles and Actions

The *Census* attempts to clarify the individual identities of the figures who perform the actions that unfold on the grounds of the lime-kiln complex of the Munich *Kalkofen*. The identifications suggested here often do not correspond to those proposed in the earlier literature or in the exhibition catalogue, where far from all the figures are identified. The identifications in the *Census* are, for the most part, stated in a condensed form, rather than being demonstrated in detail. Once named, many identifications may appear fairly apparent or even self-evident. Identifying attributes and other real things that characterise a figure's rôle or place in life are, nevertheless, mentioned.

It might be noted at the outset that no beggars, clearly identified as such, are represented, although many commentators have seen beggars in the Munich *Kalkofen*. Indeed, Sandrart mentions »Bettler«, but, relying on memory, he may have been mistaken. »Bettler« was a theme associated, in general, in his mind with Pieter van Laer, *il Bamboccio*, and his art²⁴ (Fig. 4). In any event, beggars who appear in the guise of pilgrims, but who do not beg, or who are not at least dwarfed, bodily deformed, crippled, or in some similar way characterised, cannot successfully be recognised in pictorial representations, and thus they cannot convincingly be interpreted as beggars²⁵, unless one wishes to posit that the painter employs an encrypted pictorial language in which persons and objects represent something other than what they appear to be, one to which the viewer holds no key.²⁶

Turning to the figures in the picture, in the foreground and in the forward part of the middle zone of the painting, there are to be seen from left to right: (1) two men, who dry clothing (?), or who, possibly, are tanners who process animal skins near the hot fire; (2) an old man, a vendor who sells a sleeveless jerkin or vest (*Wams/Weste*), apparently assembled from pieces of leather; with him are (3) two customers, and nearby (4) two dogs play; (5) two lime kiln workers who weigh lime, together with (6) a man (a participant in the sale), who loads lime onto (7) working animals (a white horse and two donkeys); behind, (8) another lime kiln worker heaves solid fuel (brushwood or reeds) onto the fire in the furnace.

24 See his estimate of Van Laer's excellence: »Bambotio in Bildung der Bettler«, in: Joachim von Sandrarts *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675: Leben der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister*, ed. A. R. Peltzer, München 1925, p. 418.

25 Cf. Hill 2000, Cat., p. 26.

26 The small panel in Valenciennes, contrary to what was written in Part I, does appear to contain a small group of beggars at its centre, but the *morra*-players usually seen there seem to be absent.

In the middle of the foreground is a group of pilgrims at rest, composed of three men and a boy. The boy, with a pilgrim's bag and a pilgrim's staff, and with his heavy mantle laid to one side, removes his shoe (from his long journey on foot, a hole has been worn in his shoe). One of the pilgrims lies, resting on the ground, whereby one sees only his two shoes. The standing pilgrim wears a pilgrim's hat and a long mantle and carries a staff (walking stick) and a pilgrim's bag. Behind the boy is a pilgrim, with a staff and a characteristic pilgrim's hat, with upturned forward brim.

To the right of this group of pilgrims at rest is found, seated on large dressed or squared stones, a group of four card players (two players hold cards; visible are perhaps a five of clubs and a six of hearts [a French deck?]). One of the players and a spectator wear rather elegantly-cut, sheer white *chemises*.

In the background, from left to right, beginning at the right of the kiln-worker who fuels the fire: around a heap of lime, (1) a sleeping man (pilgrim with hat and staff); (2) another man, who delouses himself; and, at the side of the heaped up lime, (3) a further reclining pilgrim (identified as such by his hat and mantle). Before this resting figure stand (4) two further pilgrims with long pilgrim-staffs, one with a pilgrim's drinking bowl (right).

Behind the figures, before a long wall and behind a long wooden beam, (1) a cat-catcher²⁷, who skins a dead cat that hangs from the wall, and, further to the right, (2) a vendor of cat-meat with (3) three customers (one carries a large 'shopping bag', made from a heavy, coarse fabric). In the opening in the wall, under the canopy-roof, stand in the shadows (4) three or more small figures, who are only very sketchily represented, and thus are difficult to discern. Sandrart refers to »Braten und Eßen mit deren Garkuchengesellen«. *Garküchen* are the forerunners of the modern vending (or, vendors) of edibles from street kitchens, or stands or booths out-of-doors. The *Gesellen* (companions in sociable eating) purchase from the vendor of skinned cats and roast the animals on long spits²⁸.

Somewhat closer to the viewer, beside two long wooden beams, is found a group of men who play *boccia* (a ball game in which heavy balls are thrown or rolled towards a small target ball, the Italian variant of the *Boule-Spiel*), with the usual onlookers.

More distant, around a circular, pit-like opening in the ground, filled with hot, steaming lime (a part of an underground lime-oven, or possibly a pit for cooling hot lime), are (1) two reclining men who roast skinned cats on long spits; behind them (2) a further crouching figure is represented in a very sketchy manner, and (3) a further similar figure is seen at the left.

Behind is a group of pilgrims, with broad-brimmed hats, long cloaks, and long staffs, one of which has a ball-shaped enlargement near the top, as does a pilgrim's staff.

Beside, and to the right of this group, is another group of men playing cards (one card can possibly be discerned, but the figure holding it is lying on his stomach, assuming a position often seen in groups of *morra* players).

Next to this group, at the right, are two men, who are pilgrims, the one at the right, with staff, mantle, and hat. They lean against the low inward face of a retaining wall of the Tiber embankment and look into the distant sunset, towards the Castel Sant'Angelo, the refuge of the popes and fortress of the Vatican, which bears a mast, topped by the Archangel Michael standing on a globus.

So, too, behind the two large carriage wheels, possibly part of a cart for stone transport, and before a series of low retaining walls of the Tiber embankment is (1) a further male figure, who casts his sideways gaze in the direction of the Castel Sant'Angelo; further, to the right, (2) another man crouches in the shadows of coming darkness on the ground

27 Cf. Sandrart/Peltzer, p. 259: »Katzenfangern«.

28 See *infra*.

before the low retaining wall. He is thought to defecate, as Callot's *Capricci* (1622) show such a figure²⁹.

Preliminary conclusions: The figures in the Munich *Lime Kiln* are arranged in groups of men who are alike in rôle, station, or activity. This observation permits identifying some figures whose identities are not otherwise clear. The number of pilgrims is very considerably larger than is usually thought, although their number is perhaps not surprising in the immediate vicinity of the Vatican and the Basilica of San Pietro – the principal pilgrimage shrine in Rome. Pilgrims constitute approximately one-third of the participants in the painting. The total absence of female figures, noted above, suggests that begging or beggars do not belong to the thematic complex of the picture, as begging is very often performed by women and children. Nor is the act of begging represented directly, as it sometimes is in paintings by the *bamboccianti*.

Primary Sources

No reliable source testifies to a Roman origin for Bourdon's Munich *Lime Kiln*. The painting is mentioned for the first time in 1675, shortly after Bourdon's death in 1671, by Joachim Sandrart³⁰. It was found at that time in the Munich collection («Kunst-Cabinet») of the Freiherr Franz von Mayr (Mayer). Félibien³¹ writes only of paintings by Bourdon, not otherwise identified, in the «Cabinet du Baron de Mayer», without explicitly mentioning a *Lime Kiln* painting. Here Félibien relies entirely upon Sandrart's earlier text³². It is only in a much later ›source‹, the *Abrégé* of Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville³³, that one reads that such a painting was made in Rome, where, according to Dezallier d'Argenville, Bourdon executed only a few paintings. Four paintings are named by Dezallier: «Albinus qui recontrant à pied les Vestales», «un four à chaud»; «un paysage dans le goût de Claude», «des corps-de-gardes dans la manière de Michel-Ange de batailles» [Cerquozzi]. Dezallier's *Abrégé* is, as its title indicates, no more than a compilation based on earlier writings. The inclusion of the Albinus painting among Bourdon's Roman works is conjecture, or an error, based on a misreading of Félibien, who describes its creation in Paris before the departure from Paris for Rome of Félibien (and not that of Bourdon), which took place in 1647³⁴. The mentions of Claude and Cerquozzi derive from Guillet de Saint-Georges. Thus Dezallier's «four à chaud» seems to be based entirely on Sandrart, and the putative Roman origin of the painting is no more than an extrapolation based on the Roman subject matter described by Sandrart, which Dezallier expands to include a Roman origin for the painting, a circumstance in no way implied by Sandrart. As a historical source for the Munich *Lime Kiln*, Dezallier is without significance. The only genuine source for the painting with documentary value is Sandrart. This fact is not without importance, in the case of a painting of such quality and originality and of such self-evident importance. Félibien apparently never saw the picture. He is not tempted by Sandrart's remarkable description, which he has demonstrably read, to comment specifically on this highly interesting work in his lengthy treatment of Bourdon, which concentrates on works Félibien knew

29 Hipp 2014, p. 82, cat. no. 15.

30 Joachim von Sandrart: *L'Academia Todesca della architettura, scultura & pittura oder Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nürnberg 1675, Bd. I/2, 3. Buch, S. 369.

31 Félibien: *Entretiens*, 1666–1688, specifically, 1684.

32 «Viel seiner bästen Werke sind bey dem Kunstliebenden Freyherrn von Mayer in Mönchen zu finden»; Sandrart/Peltzer, p. 259; also: «in seinem Kunstcabinet».

33 Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville: *Abregé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, Paris 1745, vol. 2, p. 289.

34 Thuillier 2000, p. 261.

or about which he had direct information. The Munich painting left no echo in Rome and no echo in Paris, possibly suggesting that it was not made for a patron in either of these cities. Sandrart, in fact, describes it as »von des Authoris aller berühmtester Arbeit«, but its fame apparently did not extend beyond Germany. Arguments *ex silentio* are generally weak ones, but where there is little other guidance, they merit consideration. When the painting entered the collection of Franz von Mayr is not known. Mayr acquired Schloss Stockau from Sandrart in 1670. Sandrart's *Teutsche Akademie* was published in 1675. The question arises if perhaps Sandrart may have acted as an intermediary in the acquisition of the painting by Franz von Mayr, or, more speculatively, in its commissioning. Just as the date of Mayr's acquisition is unknown, the date of the painting is not documented. Its almost ›unique‹ character within Bourdon's *oeuvre* means that attempts to date it are, to an extent, speculative and, inevitably, contain an element of guesswork.

The Exhibition *Brennpunkt Rom*, Part II: Sujet, Genre, and Interpretation of Bourdon's *Lime Kiln*

In the Munich *Lime Kiln* the deviation from the characteristic pictorial modes of the early *bamboccianti* is much more marked than in the Valenciennes *Four à chaux*. The clarity of the pictorial structure has been greatly heightened. The endeavour to achieve a clear structuring of space and vision is much more resolute. This solidification of the pictorial structure represents a *salto di qualità*, one that would seem to bar a return to the solutions found in the Valenciennes painting.

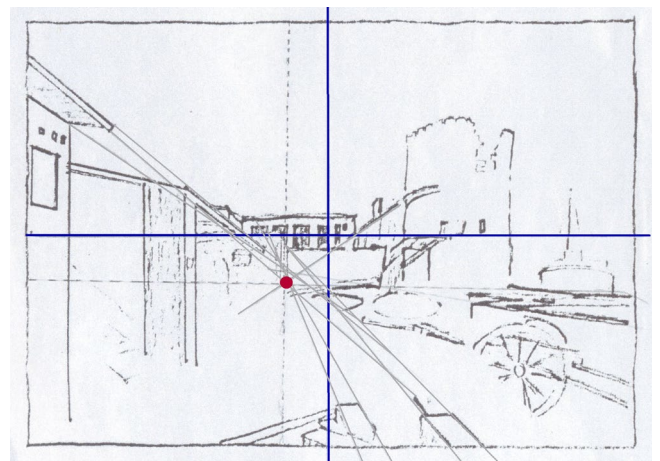
It was suggested in Part I of this report that, in the Munich *Lime Kiln*, this formal disciplining of the pictorial organisation was achieved through a consistent perspective, through emphatic directional, vector-like elements, and through a planar structuring of recession into depth.

This aspect of Bourdon's Munich *Lime Kiln* may be described more exactly. As a visual aid, a linear diagram extracted from the painting renders the perspective construction more explicitly (Fig. 3).

The simple central, one-point perspective finds its vanishing point somewhat beneath and to the left of the absolute centre point of the painting. This perspectival centre is found approximately at the feet of the *Katzenfänger* (cat catcher; *v. supra*). The horizon line is thereby established below the centre of the picture – from it rise the Castel Sant'Angelo and the round tower to its left –, and the rather low horizon leaves ample space for an expansive sunset sky.

The recession into depth is regulated by the successive planes established by the architectural structures depicted: the large-scale structures at the left, with their planar surfaces accentuated by contrasting reflected light and shadow, and the distant structures parallel to the plane of the image – the wall behind the *Katzenfänger* and the whitish building behind this wall, with its almost De Chirico abstraction – which bring recession to a halt and close the pictorial composition.

In contrast to the small *Four à chaux* at Valenciennes, and, indeed, to most of the lime-kiln paintings of the *bamboccianti*, the lime kiln as an almost freestanding architectural construction nearly disappears in the Munich painting, where the main lime kiln is displaced



to the far left border of the picture, where we see only the mouth of the oven, its blazing fire, and a cloud of black smoke in the sky above. This expedient allows the burning sunset to dominate the painting. The sky has been aptly described as »rötlich wie ein Brandbild« and as »un cielo che appare quasi infuocato«. In the lime kiln itself the emphasis is on the fire and the heat which it gives forth, creating a warm social space for the congregation of men on a winter's late afternoon. That a kiln, with its warmth, could attract passers-by as a place of congregation may, in fact, have been primarily responsible for the interest of *bamboccianti* painters in this theme in the first instance. Light falls diagonally through the painting onto the grounds of the kiln, which are covered with powdery lime dust, forming a seemingly almost snow-covered stage stretching diagonally backwards into the distance, an arena on which the actions of the men are performed.

The pictorial perspective construction is seconded by *repoussior* elements in the foreground: the large stereometric blocks of squared stones, with their highly-lit top surfaces, point, as if vectors, towards the distant vanishing point, and the figures sitting upon these stones assume a position close to the beholder, situating him in relation to the pictorial space. The two large repoussior-like carriage wheels are implicitly ›rolling‹ towards the vanishing point. The timbers of the carriage also constitute linear, vectoral elements that underline the directions of the perspective construction, as do the wooden beams further in the distance. Similar in function are the low (›low‹, when seen from within, looking outwards) *muretti* of the Tiber embankment. These are constructed in ashlar masonry (*Quadermauerwerk*). The structural arrangement of these walls, when viewed obliquely, yields a sequence of acute V-shaped forms, their flat superior surfaces brightly gleaming under the impact of the golden sunset. These V-shape forms point towards the perspectival vanishing point. The cumulative impact of these structuring elements is to impart an almost crystalline clarity and solidity to the pictorial organisation, one that is absent in the typically much smaller, more informal *bamboccianti* pictures. Through this more complex and insistent structural articulation in space and through the high-contrast illumination in the red light of sunset, the painting acquires something of the character of a heroic landscape, a landscape type constructed frequently with a low point-of-view and a solid structural clarity of disposition, and one where the landscape – no longer a back-cloth – becomes a completely structured organism on which, or in which, the action takes place. Bourdon's inclusion of two ancient round buildings furthers this parallel with the heroic landscape by sounding an archaeological note. Helge Siefert wrote »Aber durch die Ruinen des Grabmales der Metella und der Engelsburg und deren Ausleuchtung im Abendrot erhält das vorliegende Gemälde den Charakter einer heroischen Landschaft, wodurch die reine Bamboccianten-Darstellung in den Hintergrund gedrängt wird.«³⁵ This insight is not pursued in the exhibition catalogue.

In parallel with the clarification of pictorial structure, there is effected a more rigorous organisation of representational content, in comparison with *bamboccianti* pictures in a smaller format by Bourdon and others³⁶. As seen in the *Census*, the figures are organised into cohesive groups of men, like in kind or activity.

The shift in scale, as mirrored in the greatly increased size of the Munich *Lime Kiln*, appears to reflect an intentional reconsideration of the question of pictorial genre in a painting the genre of which is not susceptible to an immediate and unequivocal assignment within the traditional scheme of pictorial genres, just as its *sujet* appears, at first, elusive.

35 Helge Siefert: Cat., Alte Pinakothek: Französische und spanische Malerei, München/Ostfildern 2009, p. 48.

36 cf. *infra*.

Bourdon's *Lime Kiln* Reconsidered

Sandart describes the painting briefly as »ein grosser Kalchofen mit einer Menge Figuren, auch Thieren und Landschaften«³⁷ – »with landscapes«, although, except for the sky, the landscape elements are not prominent. Yet the picture is, in a sense, a landscape painting, an urban landscape, or what is sometimes called a city- or townscape, an emergent sub-type of landscape painting in the seventeenth century. Were one compelled to assign the Munich painting to a traditional genre, landscape would be the almost inevitable choice.

The small figures of the painting might appear, at a glance, to be mere staffage accessories in a cityscape. Although the distant figures are quite small and sometimes difficult to discern clearly, the magnification of the scale of some figures, especially in the foreground, leads to a marked enhancement of their rôle in the pictorial economy of the painting vis-à-vis that accorded to traditional staffage figures, ones of secondary importance, introduced to enliven a landscape or an architectural composition. The amplification of the size of the figures is paralleled by an notable amplification of their number and by a consistent development of their actions in time and space. The new scale allows the considerable interest of the human activities that the figures perform to be more easily recognised and comprehended. Thus the rôle of the human actors is elevated and enlarged within the picture. Despite their painterly execution, the small figures are susceptible to enlargement in *gigantografie*, as was seen in the Munich exhibition and in the blow-up posters outside the exhibition in the Barer Straße. The figures are an integral part of the painterly fabric of the picture, unlike, for instance, the small staffage figures that some landscape artists let be added to their landscapes by other hands.

With the enlargement of the figures and the elevation of their rôle, they become a constituent element of the *sujet*. Thus we must finally ask the question, what is the painting essentially about? What is the »true« subject of the picture and how shall this *sujet* be referred to a specific pictorial genre?

The exhibition catalogue sees, in the last analysis, Bourdon's painting primarily as a representation of a Roman lime kiln, as a genre painting, one with traces of classical landscape, architectural fantasy, and history³⁸, leaving, as it were, the question of genre unclear and essentially unanswered.

As observed above, the lime kiln itself is nearly banished to the far left side of the painting and into near darkness. Its structure is scarcely discernable. What we in reality see is the impact of its heat, its product, in the form of lime, and its warmth spreading outwards on a late winter afternoon. The extent to which the events depicted unfold on the grounds of a lime kiln – apparently the premises of a complex of lime kilns and pits of various sorts, perhaps in part underground – has been somewhat neglected. But the lime kiln itself is not the essential subject. A second and perhaps a third lime kiln may be situated in the courtyard that lies behind the wall on which dead cats are hung; their domed and conical pinnacles extend above this wall. The entry to this second courtyard is sheltered by an almost makeshift pitched-roof canopy that extends far out over the lime kiln grounds.³⁹

If we look again at Bourdon's very large *Four à chaux* in Munich, freed from the confining temporal framework of his brief Roman sojourn, which ended well before the end of 1637, we see a large urban landscape – Rome at the time of a winter sunset – in a panoramic veduta populated by a large number of men engaged in a variety of activities.

37 ed. Peltzer, p. 326; cf. p. 259: »a large lime kiln with a lot of figures, also animals and landscapes«.

38 Hipp 2014, p. 67.

39 Van Laer's *Der große Kalkofen* included two lime kilns; cf. engraving of Cornelius Visscher, in: Hipp 2014, cat. no. 2, cf. cat. nos. 4–5.

It is a multifarious composition with small and larger figures represented in a *pittoresco*, painterly manner, with themes drawn from the repertoire of the *bamboccianti*, which Bourdon came to know in Rome. The figures are, as we have seen, not mere staffage, but protagonists.

It may appear all too obvious to compare, as hitherto has not been done, this winter sunset with Bourdon's doctrines treating the representation of light in the different times of the day, and, indeed, treating the elaboration of paintings that represent these times, according, that is, to Bourdon's doctrine that divided the day into six – and not four – discrete times, from dawn to sunset, a doctrine that Bourdon explained in a lecture of 1669 to the French *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*: »Sur la lumière dans le differente heurs du jour«. Nevertheless, Bourdon's painting lends itself quite readily to a reading in light of his ideas, in a reading where many questions regarding the *sujet* find their answers. Examining attentively Bourdon's remarks, it can scarcely be doubted that the light of the time of day and the actions or activities of that hour could become the essential content of a painting. The boundary between genre and *sujet* has begun to dissolve, in their intersection with a ›new‹ valorisation of the rôle of light in painting, one in which the times of day become the medium of pictorial content, in which, almost, the medium is the message.

In Bourdon's third *conference* before the *Académie Royale* in Paris (9 February 1669), he divided the day into six parts, or *points du jour*, and treated the conditions of light prevailing in each, in particular, with respect to its representation in painting. Traditional representations of the times of day had been divided into four scenes: *Aurora*, *Meridies*, *Vespera*, and *Nox* (Morning, Noon, Evening, and Night). Bourdon's scheme of the times of day appears to be new, especially in its greater differentiation: night is disregarded, but daytime is divided, not into three parts, but into six, with a corresponding six-fold classification of light during the day. That means that the number of the different times of day has been doubled. Not only does the light specific to a particular time of day confer a harmony among the parts of the painting, the light of the several *points du jour* are also appropriate to particular kinds of subjects, ones which Bourdon describes for each of his six times of day.

The six different kinds of light suggest to the painter six different ideas.⁴⁰ Each kind of light has its own mystery and its particular character.⁴¹

Thus for each time of day there is a particular symbolic meaning, and each transmits a corresponding affective atmosphere (*Stimmungsgehalt*). The earlier times of day are often associated by Bourdon with specific traditional subjects of a literary or historical character (e.g., »Bataille d'Issus ou Alexandre et Darius«; »le enlevemens d'Helene par Thesee et par Paris«). The fifth time of day is suitable for, rather generically, »des Bacchanales, des Jeux, des folasteries et des Exercices plaisans«. When Bourdon comes to the sixth and last of his *points du jour*, to ›Sunset‹ (*Couchant*), what he proposes is not a *sujet* drawn from traditional literary iconographies. He proposes, instead, to represent this last part of the day by showing typical activities of men at the time of sunset. It is, at the beginning of Bourdon's discourse, the »borne du travail« and the »heure du plasir«⁴² – the time when work comes to an end, that is, its outer boundary, or perimeter, and the hour of pleasure, whereby Bourdon specifically mentions »Jeux«, »Danse«, and »Promenade«⁴³ – games,

40 IIIA, 18 (IIIA, here, and *infra*, refers to the Bornscheuer's ›Quellenedition‹ of Bourdon's third lecture, which is numbered by lines, Bornscheuer, pp. 535–540): »donner aux peintres six differentes idées«.

41 IIIA, 19–20: »chacune avoit son mystere ou son caractere particulier«.

42 IIIA, 175.

43 IIIA, 176–177.

dance, and taking walks. He also alludes to the time of rest⁴⁴, or to *otium*, or leisure, including rest and eating.

Sunset, or Evening, marks the end of the day. Work comes to its conclusion; it is the hour of pleasure, of *Feierabend* (*dopolavoro*, end of the workday, or *fin de la journée de travail*). In Bourdon's Munich *Sunset*, this is exactly what we see. The events that unfold on the grounds of the lime-kiln complex unfold from left to right in a loose succession in time – it is as if it were later on the left, and slightly earlier on the right. There is increasing darkness towards the left (the kiln is in deep, almost nocturnal shadow) and increasing brightness towards the golden sunset sky at the right. The successive activities depicted in time follow a scheme comprising (1) work, (2) respite and repast, (3) pleasure and play, and (4) *promenade* (*passeggiata*; peregrination), in a compression of the course of a day that corresponds closely, if not rigidly, to the precepts of Bourdon's third lecture on the light of day.

La borne du travail: At the left side of the painting vendors sell (or consign) the products of labour (leather and lime), marking work's end in commerce. Playing dogs allude to what will come. They form a counterpoint to the *animalia laborantes* nearby (a white horse with two donkeys).

Respite and repast: Following work, comes rest. Men rest around the mound of lime in the middle ground, and, to the right, others recover, taking nourishment. In the foreground, pilgrims rest from their journey.

›Homo ludens‹ follows ›homo faber‹: The group of card players in the foreground, and, behind them, the game of *boccia*, and, in the further distance, another group of players.

Promenade: If the pilgrims in repose in the foreground are walkers, other walkers follow the path of the angular retaining walls of the Tiber, congregating along its extent for diversion and recreation. Walking is also the modality of the pilgrims's peregrination.

What we see appears as an exemplification of Bourdon's doctrine of the times of day following the paradigm proposed in his lecture rather than a traditional iconography drawn from bible, myth, or history. The accent is upon the typical: the typical aspects of daily life according to the *point du jour*, here day's end, at a time when men were more dependent upon natural light and when the distinct character of the times of day was more in the forefront of human consciousness, with the changing light of nature as man's most essential link with the astral universe.

Bambochades: Bourdon has clearly drawn upon *bamboccianti* themes and types – »auf Bambotio Manier« (Sandrart) – first of all the lime kiln itself, but the motives of daily life are given a new programmatic order in time and space.

If the actors are drawn from Roman low life, they are not representatives of a true *sottoproletariato*: the underworld of beggars, prostitutes, racketeers, swindlers, petty criminals, tramps, outcasts, not merely miscreants, dressed in rags. As Francis Haskell has remarked⁴⁵, what we see in paintings by Pieter van Laer and his followers is an urban proletariat of reasonable prosperity. We see nothing of the violence that marked contemporary Roman life and little of its extreme misery. As in most *bamboccianti* paintings, Bourdon's canvas conveys a picture of almost untroubled serenity. Men at work and men at play are both *bamboccianti* themes drawn from everyday Roman life. Bourdon includes, atypically, many visitors to Rome. Although the pilgrims are only visitors, at any given time they constituted a significant and visible presence in the populace of the eternal city. The poor are picturesque additions to the setting, but they are included here with the intent to illustrate the typical life of a particular time of day and to concord with the light of this hour.

⁴⁴ IIIA, 178–179: »retraite agreable et desirée«.

⁴⁵ Francis Haskell: *Patrons and Painters*, New Haven/London 1980, p. 133.

The rendering of the poor by the *bamboccianti* painters was usually characterised by a tempered, picturesque realism that made the poor more pleasant and acceptable to contemporary taste. Baroque collectors wanted to view the poor from a distance and not to embrace the harsh reality of their lives. Thus, in Bourdon's Munich painting, there is, first of all, his attention to colour in a limited range, and, then, there is his brilliant loose, picturesque brushstroke, which is left apparent, in executing the figures. It distances them and their ill-dress from everyday reality, raising them to artful pictorial motives, as well as distancing them from a literal, critical realism.

Contemporary critics regularly emphasized how small the figures were in *bambochades*, but Bourdon's is not a *petit tableau*. His is a much larger picture – indeed it numbers among Bourdon's largest pictures⁴⁶ –, and it was surely painted to commission⁴⁷ and doubtless with ambitions not identical with those of the *bamboccianti*.

It has not been recognised that the painting is an explicit times-of-day representation in which light (sunset) plays the major rôle. The sunset determines the characteristic nebulous, opaque *Stimmung* (mood, or atmosphere) of the entire painting: dark, reddish, brownish, and somewhat gloomy. In the painting of similar subjects⁴⁸, the colours of sunset will be imprinted with shadows and sombre tones. Here there is a generalised *Brauntönigkeit*, an almost uniform overall redish-brown, with occasional fiery accents and patches of grey in the sky, which sets the tone of the entire painting. It is one not uncharacteristic of Bourdon. But the renouncing of a bright, multi-coloured chromatic palette is also a characteristic of the painted nocturne (*Nachtstück*). The light of day becomes itself an element of content, similar or equal in value to a pictorial *sujet*, as it is in the paintings of Claude Lorrain⁴⁹. Here the time of day is joined to the time of the year, to, that is, the season of winter. The precise time is perhaps early winter, when darkness comes early, and when, in Rome, a vibrant after-work street-life continues on after the setting sun. The time of year is indicated, first, by the leafless tree, a seasonal attribute, but also by the confluence of men in close proximity to the kiln's torrid warmth, a wave of heat which passers by would flee in the period around *ferragosto*.

In its depiction of the time of sunset, in its atmospheric unity, and in its sombre, uniform reddish-brown tonality, marked especially on the left by the deep shadows and the darkness of the lime kiln, Bourdon's painting appears to exemplify his doctrine of evening light and the harmony or union of effects afforded by the light and colour of a winter afternoon. Here we have seen the accord or correspondence of all the colours in a generalised reddish-brown. So, too, do the human actions, from left to right, show the work day drawing to a close and the time after work unfolding in the warmth of the ovens and in the fading light – rest, eating, games, or, expressed differently, repose, repast, play. Walking pilgrims pause; others gather along the low walls.

The unity of light and colour has such a strong impact that the painting appears at first almost monochromatic. This is Bourdon's *harmonie* of all the parts of the painting. The painting of light, of the warm red glow of evening, determines not only the mood, but it also plays an essential rôle in the successful distribution of the colours⁵⁰. Here there is no trace of the brilliant colours – the bright blues and scarlet reds – of many of Bourdon's paintings. The range of colour is contracted into a narrow, nearly monochromatic spectrum: red, brown (at times, greenish), black, grey, white, yellow ochre. One might wish

⁴⁶ cf. *infra*.

⁴⁷ cf. Mandrella, in: Hipp, 2014, p. 54.

⁴⁸ IIIA, 179: »semblables sujets a une pareille heure«.

⁴⁹ cf. *infra*.

⁵⁰ IIIA, 33: »y accommoder leurs fortes ou leurs foibles teintes et distribuer sagement leurs couleurs«.

to see this as *gemalte Kunsttheorie*, but Bourdon's lectures were doubtless reflections of convictions he gained from his practice of painting, and, indeed, his discussion of sunset⁵¹ might equally be read as an exposition of his Munich *Lime Kiln*. His painting appears as a pictorial anticipation of »l'effet d'ensemble du tableau« that became prominent in later art criticism. Just as his concept of *harmonie* may be, as Bournscheuer maintains, the forerunner of the »harmonie du tout-ensemble« in De Piles's *Principes* (1708), it anticipates Du Fresnoy's »le tout-ensemble du tableau en général«⁵², that is, the unity or union of colour, tonality, and light which determines the overall impact of a painting. This is an artistic component, and not merely a literary or theoretical consideration, one that was of the first importance in Bourdon's artistic practice. In the last analysis, the Munich *Lime Kiln* exemplifies Bourdon's *harmonie* of the picture, with its wonderful colouristic accord in the painting⁵³ and the extent to which his aesthetic ideal is dependent on the painterly means of light and colour.

Size

Bourdon's Munich *Lime Kiln* is not a small cabinet painting as are most *bambochades*, and nearly all the early ones, and this circumstance has suggested to more than one critic that Bourdon has sought to elevate his work to a higher position within the ranks of pictures. The rather extraordinary dimensions of Bourdon's *Lime Kiln* are inescapable, and nearly all commentators mention its large size. What has not been considered is its dimensions in the context of the sizes of Bourdon's other paintings. Such a consideration casts into high relief that something remarkable has taken place in Bourdon's conception of his painting. The results of the somewhat detailed consideration of the dimensions of Bourdon's recorded paintings, which follows, will be summarised below.

A closer look at the numbers:

At the outset we saw the dimensional disjunction between the *Lime Kiln* and the typically small *bambochades* shown in the Munich exhibition. A *bambochade* is by definition »un petit tableau«, which Bourdon's canvas is most emphatically not. Upon departing Paris for Stockholm, in 1652, Bourdon hoped to paint »de grand Tableaux«⁵⁴, but this ambition was fulfilled in only one work, a work ironically painted for the King of Spain⁵⁵: Bourdon's *Portrait de Christine de Suède à cheval* (1653, Madrid, Prado), a canvas that measures nearly 4 × 3 metres (3.83 × 2.91). But this very large portrait is one of Bourdon's »tallest« works. Among his surviving paintings, only his altar painting for the cathédrale Saint-Pierre in Montpellier (1657) is greater in height: 6.5 × 4.7 m. These works are highly exceptional in Bourdon's *oeuvre*.

Bourdon's Munich *Lime Kiln* measures approximately 172 × 246 cm. A survey of Thuillier's catalogue of Bourdon's works, which comprises 343 numbers, reveals only nine or ten works, among surviving or recorded paintings, that are as large or larger than the *Lime Kiln*, including one full-size tapestry cartoon⁵⁶ and the giant portrait of the Queen of Sweden, just mentioned⁵⁷. All the remaining paintings⁵⁸ are very large altar paintings made for

51 IIIA, 175–185.

52 Charles Du Fresnoy: *De arte graphica*, 1668.

53 cf. Bournscheuer, pp. 66 f.

54 Félibien 1725, p. 26.

55 Thuillier cat. no. 150, p. 297.

56 Thuillier, cat. no. 205: 365 × 680.

57 Thuillier, cat. no. 150.

58 Thuillier, cat. nos. 75, 101, 136, 228, 281, 282, 285.

churches, works which fall into a class to themselves, the very large dimensions of which were determined by their destinations and specified by the parties who ordered them.

When Bourdon's paintings are arranged by size, in descending order, there follows, after the rather exiguous number of paintings larger than the Munich *Lime Kiln*, only one other work that, while smaller, approaches the size of the *Lime Kiln* ($172 + 246 = 418$, or: 4.23 m^2). This painting is again an altar painting: the *Saint Pierre Nolasque recevant l'habit*, made for the *église de la Merc*⁵⁹, but even it is more than 66 cm^2 smaller than the *Lime Kiln*. Among the yet smaller paintings may be mentioned the *Contenance de Scipion* at Grenoble⁶⁰ and the *Sacrifice de Noé à la sortie de L'Arche* at Arras⁶¹. But only two or three other paintings even distantly approach the dimensions of these two works, while remaining distinctly smaller than even they are. An average or typical size for Bourdon's many large canvases is about one by one-and-one-half metres (or, perhaps more exactly, $100/120 \times 135/150 \text{ cm}$).

The detailed account of measurements given above represents only a somewhat approximate survey of the dimensions of Bourdon's paintings, but a more exacting survey would probably not change its results significantly. These results cast the dimensions of the Munich *Lime Kiln* in a new and different light. Firstly, Bourdon's *Lime Kiln* greatly overreaches the dimensional boundaries of Bourdon's easel paintings, a term usually applied to a mid-size painting. Secondly, if the very large altar paintings⁶² are set aside, along with the colossal portrait of the Swedish Queen and a large tapestry cartoon, all of which are different in kind, the *Lime Kiln* remains as Bourdon's largest painting. Almost all of his remaining larger works are very much smaller.

This somewhat unexpected conclusion suggests, first of all, an ambitious patron. Bourdon is not Courbet, opening his own *Pavillon du Réalisme* to display his *L'Atelier du peintre* (1855). Two centuries earlier it is exceedingly unlikely that Bourdon undertook the *Lime Kiln* without a buyer. The name, Louis Hesselin, Bourdon's early patron and mentor in Italy and France might suggest itself, but would such a large and remarkable *chef-d'œuvre* gone unnoticed in Paris? And, further, is it very plausible that such an ambitious picture would have been commissioned to Bourdon during his brief stay as a young, unknown French painter in Italy, where, once again, it left no verbal or visual trace? While such considerations cannot be conclusive, they need be kept in mind when weighing possibilities and probabilities.

The Question of Artistic Genre

What has happened in Bourdon's conception of his largest easel or gallery picture? Here the question of pictorial genre looms large. Problems with viewing the *Lime Kiln* simply as a genre picture, as *bambochades* are often seen, have already arisen, and the exceptional character of its singular size causes such a classification to appear even more problematic. There are, further, the suggestions that Bourdon has sought to elevate this Roman pictorial genre or to transcend its limitations via a change or shift in pictorial genre⁶³.

But Bourdon's efforts do not seem so much an attempt to rescue the *bamboccianti* painters's informal little scenes of the *vie quotidienne*, often portrayed in a quasi-burlesque

59 Thuillier, cat. no. 285, II: 275×130 , or: 3.57 m^2

60 Thuillier, cat. no. 110, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 207×163 , or: 3.37 m^2

61 Thuillier, cat. no. 218, ii, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 171×227 , or: 3.88 m^2

62 See Liselotte Strauch: Altarblatt, in: Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 1 (1934), cols. 471–473.

63 cf. *supra*, and Thuillier, p. 176: »Il est clair que Bourdon voulut faire plus grand, plus complexe, plus pittoresque, non seulement en battant Van Laer sur son propre terrain, mais en élevant le tableau de genre jusque'au point où il rejoint le paysage noble«.

manner, from the bottom rungs of the hierarchy of the genres, as they appear as an attempt to assimilate *bambochade* themes and motives into a new pictorial genre, one determined by the times and the light of the day and moving towards an expanded vision of land and sky unified by light and colour, a vision of landscape as a metaphor of something more profound than mere appearances. Bourdon appears to want to confer a distinct and pronounced profile upon his painting in a novel pictorial genre. The resulting work is heightened in its dimensions and nobility as well as in its skill and mastery.

The texts of Bourdon's lectures do not figure at all in Julius von Schlosser's *Kunstliteratur* (1924), but, in 2005, Marion Bornscheuer published an extremely detailed examination and analysis of Bourdon's *conférences* at the French Academy⁶⁴. Her text is many, many times longer than Bourdon's brief pages.⁶⁵ Marion Bornscheuer's reading of Bourdon's ›art theory‹ is, in part, a conjectural reconstruction or interpretation of his thoughts, often based on things that Bourdon does not say but may seem to imply. The author sees the third *conférence* as an, almost the essential exposition of Bourdon's doctrines⁶⁶. Here the development of artistic ingenuity accompanies a shift in the pictorial genres. With the reciprocal interrelation between light and ingenuity, Bourdon achieves, it is believed, the dissolution of the academic hierarchy of the genres⁶⁷. If this is true, Bourdon eludes the repression of the genre hierarchy through his artistic mastery and skill. The artist's handling of light, and thus also of colour, becomes the essential criterion for the talent and ability of the artist. There is, then, an explicit re-evaluation of landscape painting, which, in Bornscheuer's reading⁶⁸, constitutes an early anticipation of the ›modern‹ theory of Roger de Piles: »Ansi, la Peinture que est une espèce de création l'est encore plus particulièrement à l'égard du paysage«⁶⁹ – landscape as a species of creation.

Bourdon's consideration of landscape in the context of his lecture on light (and especially of the fifth and sixth times of day) represents, it is said, the first positive re-evaluation of the pictorial landscape within the academic tradition⁷⁰. Here Bourdon alludes to his own artistic (and art theoretical) mastery⁷¹, the more so, in as much as in his later works he addresses increasingly landscape painting, which he identifies as a central theme in his treatment of sunset (›couchant‹, in third lecture ›On Light‹).

For Bourdon, the representation of light in painting provided the most convincing demonstration of the artist's skill and mastery, and his Munich *Lime Kiln* is manifestly a cerebral and intellectually calculated painting. Helge Siefert writes, »In dem der Künstler das Ganze in die Abenddämmerung verlegt, kann er eine weitere Seite seines Könnens entfalten: das Spiel mit dem Licht. Virtuos nutzt er den Feuerschein des Ofens, um einzelne Personen und Gruppen auszuleuchten«⁷².

This is a part of what Sandrart so admired in the painting. Sandrart's master, Gerrit van Honthorst, was called ›Gherardo delle Notti‹ by his Italian contemporaries, reflecting

64 Marion Bornscheuer: Von der Bildbetrachtung zur Theorie der Malerei: Die Kunsttheorie des Sébastien Bourdon (1616–1671), Hildesheim 2005.

65 see reviews: Daniela Fährmann, in: *Kunstform*, 7, 2006 and Milovan Stanić, in: *Revue de l'art*, no. 159, 2006/1, pp. 81–82; and Appendix 3, *infra*.

66 Bornscheuer, p. 196.

67 Bornscheuer, pp. 196–205.

68 Bornscheuer, p. 200.

69 Roger De Piles 1708 [1989], pp. 98–99; quoted from Bornscheuer, p. 206.

70 Bornscheuer, p. 205.

71 Bornscheuer, pp. 239 ff.

72 Helge Siefert: Cat., Alte Pinakothek, Französische und spanische Malerei, München/Ostfildern 2009, p. 48; also Siefert, in: Baumstark [ed.], 2005, p. 54: »Durch einen wichtigen Kunstgriff des Künstlers [...]«

this exceptional feat: the representation of nocturnal illumination, in particular, in painting night scenes and, more generally, in painting candlelight scenes.

The *Nachtstück* testifies to the mastery of special light effects as a demonstration of technical and artistic abilities that few artists possess. Among early writers, Sandrart devotes a notable attention to the night scene (»Nachtstück«), which is called simply a »Notte« in Italian, in the eleventh chapter of his first volume of the *Teutsche Academie* (Nürnberg 1675): »Von Dem Liecht und Mahlzimmer auch Nacht-Stucken.« Sandrart, too, emphasises the *Nachtstück* as a indication of artistic prowess and virtuosity. Moreover, Sandrart uses the term, here as elsewhere, to identify a pictorial genre, one based on the depiction of light, according to a representational or artistic-technical criterion, and not one based on subject matter⁷³. The artistic *bravura* of the *Nachtstück* caused such paintings to be highly prized as collector's pieces (*Sammlerstücke*, or *Sammlerobjekte*). Although Sandrart does not devote distinct treatments to the categories *Abendstück* and *Morgenstück*, he uses these terms often, and they clearly permit considerations similar to those advanced in his treatment of the *Nachtstück*. Both *Abendstück* and *Morgenstück* are names of pictorial genres that Sandrart applies to paintings in exact parallels to his use of the concept of the *Nachtstück*: *Morgenstück*, or »Sonnen Aufgang«; »Abendstück«, or »Sonnen Niedergang« – and also »Mittag«, or »heller Sonnenschein«; »ein Nachtstück oder Mondschein«.

Although Sandrart does not specifically label Bourdon's *Lime Kiln* an *Abendstück*, he obviously recognized it as a 'sunset' painting. If he does not explicitly state this, that is because he has concentrated on its »Bambotio Manier«. Sandrart's friend and perhaps also patron, the *Hofrat* (court counsellor) Franz von Mayr (or, Mayer), ordered from Claude Lorrain in 1670, 1674, and 1676 – it is said, on the recommendation of Sandrart himself – three large landscape paintings that were to represent Morning, Noon, and Evening. »Sie sollten verschiedene Stimmungen des Tages wiedergeben: (...), waren aber sonst thematisch nicht festgelegt « writes Helge Siefert⁷⁴. This corresponds to what the sources imply, although it is not there stated so explicitly.

The first painting, »Morning« or »Sunrise« is a sea-port scene⁷⁵. It shows only the embarkment (*Einschiffung*) of a small anonymous party, clad in timeless dress, on a voyage at sea, »destination unknown«, with at the right, at water's edge, the Arch of Titus, in an apparent anachronism (one not rare in Claude's paintings). The travellers's bales are being loaded onto a somewhat fragile, seemingly not quite sea-worthy ship. The second painting, »Evening« or »Sunset«, shows the herding of cows across a shallow crossing (ford; *Furt*) in a river; the herd is followed by a *Hirtenknabe*⁷⁶. Sandrart attributes his description of this event, apparently owing to a mix-up in his notes, to the third painting ordered from Claude by Franz von Mayr: »(...) wie das Vieh wieder durch einen Bach ausgetrieben wird, in eine schöne Landschaft (...)«⁷⁷. The word »wieder« underlines and makes obvious the time of day: at the end of a day of grazing, that is, at sunset, the cows come home to barn and stable for the night – an activity typical and characterising of day's end. This *sujet* indeed numbered among those suggested for sunsets by Bourdon: »(...) et le Berger ses Troupeaux, que tout enfin se preparoit à une retraite agreable et desirée«⁷⁸. Thus, again, a typical happening of the time-of-day, one in which Claude also includes »la Danse«, as

73 cf. Neumeister, p. 17, regarding Sandrart: »wie eine Gattungsbezeichnung verwendeten Begriffes des *Nachtstücks* ersichtlich«.

74 Siefert 2009, p. 48.

75 Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. 381.

76 Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. 382.

77 Peltzer, p. 211.

78 IIIA, 177–179; Bornscheuer, p. 540; cf. Bourdon, »La Sortie du troupeau«, etching: »S. Bourdon pinx et sc«, Thuillier, p. 422; cf. pp. 431 [*Morning?*] and 164ff., 309.

Bourdon recommends⁷⁹. A very similar picture by Claude, his ›Sunrise‹ of 1646–1647, is found in the Metropolitan Museum. Here goats and cattle are driven across a ford, the prerequisite for their return in the evening.

In sets of prints representing the four times of day, dating from the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century, the return of cattle and sheep at sunset or evening is an established theme⁸⁰. Bourdon joins, it seems, the nature-study of Claude and his landscapes, including their acute observation of the times of day, with lessons drawn from the typological representation of the times of day in Northern prints, although, as we have seen, Claude already links the many different lights of daytime with actions typical of the times of day.

In any event, it appears that the actual content of Claude's paintings is not the subject that the small staffage figures in his paintings represent, as Anthony Blunt has observed⁸¹. Blunt saw the essential ›content‹ as opposed to the subject – admittedly a nebulous term, but an understandable one – as something akin to the poetic rendering of the Roman countryside. Marcel Röthlisberger⁸², perhaps Claude's closest student, consistently represented a different view, seeing fairly emphatically the literary subject as the fundamental point of departure in Claude's planning of his pictures. He writes, for instance, »All of Claude's pictures contain figures, and they provide the key to the meaning of the landscapes«⁸³. In a much later and, in the best sense, speculative study, Röthlisberger attempts »to show that the representation of the passage of time can be taken as the leitmotif of his [Claude's] art«, without, however, considering the question of Claude's depiction of the times-of-day, to which Sandrart attributes such importance.⁸⁴

Sandrart's reading and his representation of Claude's landscapes appear rather more in agreement with Blunt's point of view than with Röthlisberger's. And, while Sandrart's testimony is clearly not that of Claude himself, Sandrart did know Claude quite well in Rome. There he explored the Roman campagna together with Claude, where the two men made landscape studies directly from nature. Sandrart writes, »We loved each other very much and lived for a long time together in Rome, often also painting together from life in the field«⁸⁵.

Sandrart admired the naturalness of Claude's landscapes, that is, their closeness or truth to nature, which, he believed derived from Claude's direct study of nature, in nature, from his almost dwelling in nature, in communion with nature: »He tried by every means to penetrate nature, lying in the fields before the break of day and until night in order to learn to represent very exactly the red morning-sky, sunrise, and sunset and the evening hours«⁸⁶.

79 IIIA, 176; p. 540; see Siefert, p. 88: »hinter dem drei Frauen zu tanzen scheinen« (although two appear seated; cf. Röthlisberger: on the poor state of conservation of the painting).

80 see Tobias Verhaecht, *Vespera*, after 1590, in which ›Evening‹ drives the herds to their accustomed folds, or Jan van de Velde, *Vesper*, circa 1618, where the wool-bearing beasts go to their familiar beds; illustrations in: Sean Shesgreen: *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition*, Ithaca: Cornell, 1983.

81 Anthony Blunt: *Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700*, Pelican History of Art, London, 1953, p. 197.

82 Marcel Röthlisberger: *e.g.*, 1961, vol. 1, p. 23.

83 Röthlisberger 1961, p. 23.

84 Röthlisberger: »The Dimension of Time in the Art of Claude Lorrain«, *artibus et historiae*, no. 20, 1989, pp. 73–92.

85 Röthlisberger, I, p. 48 = Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 209; cf. Peltzer, p. 32: »[...] deßwegen wir einander sehr geliebt und zu Rom lang beysammen gewohnt, auch oft miteinander im Feld nach dem Leben gemahlet haben«.

86 Sandrart/Peltzer, p. 209: »Doch wandte er großen Ernst und Fleiß an, diese Kunst recht zu ergründen, daher sucht er auf alle Weiß der Natur beyzukommen, lage vor Tags und biß in die Nacht im

The »nach dem Leben mahlen« was also Sandrart's favoured approach, »wie in dem Leben selbst«⁸⁷. The evidence of Claude's 'nature-poetry' informs the pages of his evocative descriptions of Claude's landscapes⁸⁸.

As noted earlier, two of Franz von Mayr's three paintings by Claude are found today in the Munich Pinakothek⁸⁹. Neither of these two works depicts a specific literary subject. »Morning«, or »Sunrise«, depicts, it appears, only the early morning beginning of a typical sea-journey, and »Evening«, or »Sunset«, shows the herding of cattle at the end of the day.

The third of Franz von Mayr's pictures by Claude, and the last to be commissioned – »Ein anders repraesentirend den Mittag und hellen Sonnenschein«⁹⁰, now in the Dulwich Picture Gallery – shows, in its small staffage figures, Jacob with Laban and his daughters. It represents not simply noontime, as Sandrart suggests in his list of the important works in von Mayr's collection. It shows, more exactly, as Sandrart reveals in his biography of Claude, the second hour of the afternoon, that is, the second hour after the hour of mid-day, or noon (1676): »Nach diesem ließ ermeldter Freyherr von Mayer noch ein drittes [Gemälde] von ermeldtem Claudio Gilli mahlen, da er vernünftig die zweyte Nachmittagsstund ausgebildet (...)«⁹¹.

This time-of-day corresponds approximately, or perhaps exactly, depending upon the season and the hour of sunset, with Bourdon's fifth »partie du jour pour la lumiere«. Franz von Mayr, most probably following Sandrart's advice, but also following his own taste and interests as a collector, has divided the day into more than four parts, or times, according to the prevailing conditions of light⁹². Mayr's second painting ordered from Claude, the *Abendstund* or *Abendstück* (1670; Alte Pinakothek⁹³) shows the »Sonnen Untergang«⁹⁴, but it is also a summer sunset (»wie in heißen Sommertägen geschicht«), in a pictorial conception that links the times-of-day with the seasons of the year.

Franz von Mayr's last painting ordered from Claude was made in Rome in October 1676⁹⁵. Much earlier in Rome, in 1632–1635, Sandrart had lived, together with Claude, in the palazzo of the marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani. It was probably at this time that Sandrart acquired a »morning« picture by Claude from the artist himself: »Unter andern hat er [Claude Lorrain] mir überlaßen eine Morgenstund, darinnen eigentlich zu erkennen, wie die Sonne etwan zwey Stund über dem Horizont aufsteigend die neblicht Luft vertreibt und der Thau über dem Waßer schwebend in der Warheit sich verwunderlich hinein verliert, die Sonne spielet nach Proportion über die Gründe herein, daß sie fast warhaft dem Leben gleich Graß, Gesträuß und Bäume beleuchtet und alles in natürlichen Licht und Schatten samt der reflexion perfect zeigt, also gleichsam die distanz eines jeden nach proportion abzumessen und correct wie in dem Leben selbst zu finden ist (...)«⁹⁶. This painting, which, Sandrart writes, he sold subsequently in Amsterdam for 500 guilders, testifies to Claude's

Felde, damit er die Tagröhte, der Sonnen Auf- und Nidergang neben den Abendstunden recht natürlich zu bilden erlernte«.

87 Sandrart/Peltzer, p. 210.

88 v. *supra*.

89 Siefert: 2009, pp. 88–91.

90 Sandrart/Peltzer, p. 326.

91 Sandrart/Peltzer, p. 211; Röthlisberger: 1961, p. 50: »After this, the aforesaid Baron von Mayer had Claudio Gilli paint yet a third one, where he represented clearly the second hour of the afternoon«.

92 Sandrart/Peltzer, p. 210.

93 Siefert: 2009, pp. 88–89.

94 Sandrart, p. 210.

95 Röthlisberger: Drawings, 1968, no. 1096 = *Liber veritatis*, 188.

96 Sandrart/Peltzer, pp. 209–210; Röthlisberger, 1961, pp. 48–49: »[...] we made many deals, exchanging his smaller for my larger landscapes; among others he ceded me a morning piece in which one can truly recognise how the sun, risen for some two hours above the horizon, dissipates the nebulous air and how the dew floating above the waters really mingles astonishingly with it; the sun plays over

very differentiated perception of the times-of-the-day. Even if Röthlisberger is dismissive of attempts to identify the hours of the day in Claude's landscapes, it is clear, in this instance, that Sandrart, who obtained his painting directly from the artist, sees a specific hour of the day in his landscape. This accords with the commission to Claude, made by Sandrart's friend, Franz von Mayr, for a painting of the »zweyte Nachmittagsstund«, the second hour of the afternoon, more than forty years later. Other similar »times-of-day« paintings in Mayr's »Kunstcabinet« will be examined below.

Sébastien Bourdon's arrival in Rome, in 1636, followed, almost seamlessly, Sandrart's departure in 1635. In Rome, Bourdon became closely allied with the *bamboccianti* painters (as was Claude in his early years), and there he, Bourdon, copied or indeed counterfeited a work by Claude, to the latter's irritation. The receptive young Bourdon may well have learned about Claude's ideas, which apparently find reflection in Bourdon's *conférences* many years later, although this circumstance appears to have gone unnoticed.

Sandrart was certainly very aware of the »essential content« of Claude's light-filled landscapes, as his account of »Claudius Gilli« eloquently testifies⁹⁷, and of Claude's painting of sunlight and of his diffusion of light in atmospheric moisture, »alles der wahren Natur zum ähnlichsten«⁹⁸. Sandrart is clearly quite conscious of the times-of-day, conceived according to the hours, even if he aims, first of all, at a deep penetration of nature, as did Claude.

Following the description of Claude's third painting made for the Baron de Mayr, Sandrart writes that Claude is the school for all landscape painters (»Landschaftsmahlern«): »worinnen sie lernen und gelernet werden mögen, wie man eine Landschaft vernünftig ordiniren, den Horizont beobachten, alles dahin verlierend machen, die Coloriten nach Proportion der Weite halten, jedesmal des Tages Zeit oder Stund erkantlich vorstellen, alle zusammen in gerechte Harmonie bringen, das vorder Theil stark herfür, das hintere nach Proportion weit hinaus lauffend machen könne, wie solches alles in seinen Werken unvergleichlich zu finden (...)«⁹⁹. Here, among the requirements for excellence in landscape painting, is the accurate observation of the times, or hours of the day, in conjunction with a *Harmonie-Lehre*. All this is present at least in Sandrart's idea of Claude and his works as the »Lehrschul aller Landschaftmaler«¹⁰⁰.

In the section, »Kunst- und Schatzkammern Hohe Potentaten, Chur-Fürsten und Herrn«, of Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie*¹⁰¹, times-of-day paintings find mention¹⁰², especially in the collection of Franz von Mayr and that of Sandrart himself. In Mayr's Cabinet¹⁰³ were found at least 3 *Nachtstücke*, 2 *Sonnenaufgange* or *Morgenstücke*, 1 *Mittag*, and 3 *Abendstücke* (including Bourdon's). Sandrart records in his own collection¹⁰⁴, among other works, a *Morgenstück* and an *Abendstück* by Johann (Jan) Both, in whose landscape paintings

the grounds in all parts and lights up the grass, bushes, and trees almost as in life, showing everything perfectly in natural light and shadow [...]«.

97 see the descriptions cited *supra*.

98 Sandrart/Peltzer, p. 211: »all with the greatest similarity and truth to nature herself«.

99 Sandrart/Peltzer, p. 211; Röthlisberger, p. 50: »this is adequate proof of the master's reputation and serves as an example for all the landscape painters by which they may learn and become learned in how one can order a landscape with clarity, observe the horizon and make everything diminish towards it, holding the colouring in proportion with the depth, each time represent recognizably the time of day or the hour, bring everything together in correct harmony by accentuating strongly the front and shading off the back in proportion, as all this can be found incomparably in his works«.

100 Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 208.

101 Peltzer, pp. 305–334.

102 e.g., pp. 315, 322.

103 Peltzer, pp. 325–326.

104 Peltzer, pp. 328–331.

»man (...) gleichsam die Stunden des Tags erkennen konte«¹⁰⁵. In the years around 1630 Rome was a matrix for developing ideas about times-of-day landscapes and for a greater differentiation of the hours of the day in pictorial representations. Among the artists participant in this process were Claude, Pieter van Laer, Jan Both, Sandrart, and possibly Poussin, artists of whom Bourdon became aware in his brief stay in Rome.

Bourdon's *Lime Kiln*, as an exposition of evening light (sunset), is, in the last analysis, an *Abendstück*. The times of day were taken up as an important theme by the early *bamboccianti*. Sandrart himself owned an important painting by Pieter van Laer »alias Bambots«: »eine Tafel, darinn etliche Italiänische Spitzbuben zu Rom das Spiel-Alamore [alla morra] spielen bey einem Kalchoven, des Autoris beste Arbeit«¹⁰⁶, a work that Franz von Mayr may well have seen. Sandrart further outlines the figural repertoire of Pieter van Laer and the genres of his work, and, in conclusion, he observes that van Laer knew how to represent the »unterschiedliche Zeiten des Jahrs, des Tags Stunden, Morgen-, Mittags- und Abend-Sonne, welches alles er durch bloßes Ansehen sich so eigentlich eingebildet, daß er nachmalen (...) jedes absonderlich in eines Fingers großen Bildern ganz vollkommen mit dem Pinsel aus seinem Hirn, samt denen nöhtigen Affecten, wuste auszubilden«¹⁰⁷. Sandrart notes that he owned many works by van Laer¹⁰⁸, which were much sought after by the men of Amsterdam, in van Laer's homeland. Apparently van Laer's first work made after his return in 1639 was painted for Sandrart, a painting of three »Spannen« (spans; ca. 60 cm), »wie bei aufgehender Sonne etliche Jäger samt einer Damen zu Pferd sitzend mit ihrem Buben und allerley Art Hunden ganz erkantlich auf die Jagd reiten in einer Landschaft, darinn eine große Brucken, worunter die Morgensonne ins Wasser scheint und sich gegen den Brucken reflectiret, alles sehr künst- und rühmlich (...)«¹⁰⁹. This work (»in de Morgenstond«), or a similar one was, by 1675, found in Von Mayr's collection: »Von Peter von Laer al' Bornbot eine Landschaft, darinn etliche Cavaglieri zu Pferd mit allerley Art von Hunden von der Jagt ankommend, des Authorn bester Arbeit«¹¹⁰, a description that would seem to suggest, however, an *Abendstück*. Thus Bourdon's *Lime Kiln* as an *Abendstück* accords with its *bambochade* thematic, »auf Bambotio Manier«¹¹¹.

Remission

In Bourdon's small *Four à chaud* in Valenciennes, there takes place, near the centre of the painting, a somewhat veiled, or hidden act of charity¹¹². The highly-lit extended hand with opened palm in the midst of the seated group, slightly to the left, is not part of a hand-game of *Morra*, as it is usually seen to be. Instead, it is a hand that begs, extended to request alms, and it belongs to the man wearing a red skull-cap, whose face appears somewhat

105 Peltzer, p. 185: »in his landscape paintings one could almost recognize the very hours of the day represented«.

106 Peltzer, p. 330: »a panel with some Italian scoundrels, in Rome, playing the game of *morra* before a lime kiln, among the artist's best works«; this is van Laer's »Der kleine Kalchoven oder die alla-morra-Spieler«, p. 422, note 1490; cf. *Brennpunkt Rom*, cat. no. 4.

107 Peltzer, p. 183: »the different times of the year, the hours of the day, the morning-sun and that of midday and evening«.

108 Peltzer, p. 184.

109 Peltzer, p. 184: »showing how by a rising sun some hunters, together with a lady, all on horse-back ride off, with their lads and dogs, to hunt in a landscape, where is seen a large bridge and, under it, the morning sun shining on the water and reflecting off the bridge, all very artfully made and praiseworthy«; cf. Janeck: Van Laer, 1968, pp. 84–85.

110 Peltzer, p. 326.

111 Peltzer, p. 259.

112 cf. »Corrigendum«, *infra*.

deformed and grottesque, as beggars were often depicted. A more daring interpretation would be that the man in blue pants attempts to continue his game of *morra* as a response to the hand that seeks alms, but such black irony is perhaps foreign to Bourdon. Behind the red-capped beggar are two boys, one half-naked, again with somewhat deformed features, attended, it seems, by an old woman. All these figures appear to constitute a group of beggars. Almsgiving is an act of virtue or charity. »Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy« (Matthew, 5:7).

In the far left foreground, another hand-based or gestural action is transacted: the reading of hands. A soothsayer foretells their fate to a group of pilgrims who have walked to Rome in search of forgiveness and salvation. At another time Bourdon painted a series of large canvases depicting the *Seven Acts of Mercy* (now Ringling Museum, Sarasota). »Feed the hungry«, »Give the thirsty to drink«, »Clothe the naked«, etc., are merciful acts of charity that, as a means of grace, hold the promise of salvation.

The many pilgrims in Bourdon's Munich *Lime Kiln* perform analogous rôles. At the right of the picture, in the middle ground, at least three pilgrims look towards the setting sun and capture in their gaze the fortress of the popes, the Castel Sant'Angelo, with high above the Angel of the Last Judgement, *San Michele Arcangelo* armed with sword and scales, the Angel of Death who weighs souls in his balance, a beacon of salvation. A further allusion to human mortality and death may perhaps be seen in the prominent tall round tower that resembles the Tomb of Caecilia Metella as well as other ancient monumental round tower tombs found on the via Appia (Tomb of Priscilla; Tomb of the Plauti, etc.). The total absence of women in Bourdon's *Kalkofen* may be seen as an indirect confirmation of the centrality of pilgrims in the painting, for from the fourth century female pilgrims were frowned upon. They were sometimes tolerated, but, in general, unwanted.

For pilgrims to Rome, the Vatican and San Pietro, with the holy sepulchre of St. Peter, were the first sites to visit. The large component of pilgrims among the populace of Bourdon's picture is, in part, explained by the »salvational« component of the Castel Sant'Angelo, with the Archangel Michael who acts almost as a pharos for pilgrims. In Bornscheuer's interpretation of Bourdon's ideas, the light of sunset embodies an element of a religious-moral promise¹¹³, although this is nowhere so clearly stated in Bourdon's lectures. Nevertheless, even in this respect, Bourdon's large *Calcara* cannot be viewed as merely a *veduta* of the *vie quotidienne* in Rome, for, with its many *pellegrini* and their vision of salvation, it opens a sacral dimension.

Destination, Function, Ordering Party

In attempting to isolate a patron, commissioner, or buyer for Bourdon's sunset *Lime Kiln*, it is useful to ask what was its initial destination and purpose. Although where the painting was executed, and exactly when, are both uncertain, its creator is known, the French painter Sébastien Bourdon (1616–1671). If contemporary testimonies relevant to these questions are missing, the internal evidence of the painting itself – the quintessential primary document –, including the manner of its execution as well as its representational content, offers substantial indications for where it was made, that is, for the kind of place for which it was destined, as well as for its initial function in the circumstances of its time.

The subject matter of Bourdon's painting alone appears to exclude a sacred setting: a church or an accessory structure such as a cloister. As residual, if remote possibilities, buildings with charitable, welfare or benevolent functions deserve mention. Suitable buildings

¹¹³ Bornscheuer, pp. 179 f: »der religiöse Erlösungsgedanke nun sowohl in der Himmelserscheinung als auch auf Erden erkennbar«.

of a profane character, where the picture might in some way reflect the official functions of the edifice, are also few: inns or taverns, or a *hôtel*, or perhaps even a brothel, but the large size of Bourdon's painting may speak against these locations.

Thus a private destination is the most likely one. Bourdon's *Lime Kiln* is, on the one hand, an outsized *bambochade*, and, on the other, a time-of-day picture as a type of landscape painting.

About *bambochades*, the painter and writer Giovan Battista Passeri asked (1679): »Quante persone, e di nascita non ordinaria; ma di genio così plebeo, che apetiscono, e comprano anche a prezzo non picciolo, simili guidonerie [cose disoneste; imbrogli], et empiono le loro Galerie d'alcune pitture, delle quali restarebbero anche onorate le Cucine delle Taverne?«¹¹⁴. The works of the *bamboccianti* were as often bought as ordered on commission. While Francis Haskell acknowledges buyers of such works among the grandees of Rome, he sees the majority of *bambochade* clients in the »anonymous ›uomini di stato mediocre‹ about whom we know so little«¹¹⁵. But when Passeri points to »le loro Galerie«, he may be closer to the mark. Certainly fellow artists, picture dealers, and other agents acquired *bambochades*, but recent systematic research locates the principal market for such pictures among rich and noble Roman art collectors, who acquired the paintings for their collections, to display in their galleries and picture-cabinets¹¹⁶. Obviously smaller pictures were also hung in more modest private houses, rarely leaving traces in inventories and other records. The size of Bourdon's painting, as mentioned often above, speaks for an ambitious, perhaps prestigious destination and for a work painted on commission, ordered by a collector, one who might be identified as a connoisseur or *cognoscente*. It appears to have been created solely as a work of art, as a demonstration of the artist's artistry, and within the context of an aesthetically defined system of the arts, one shared by creator and collector.

Franz von Mayr

If Franz von Mayr acquired the painting from such a collector, he must have done so fairly soon after its creation, for Sandrart records Bourdon's »grosser Kalchofen« in Mayr's collection in 1675. The world of seventeenth-century collectors is large, and despite much study in the last years, many areas of darkness remain. Franz von Mayr represents one of these dark corners.

Sandrart's high estimation of Freiherr Franz von Mayr's collection has often been challenged, and considered partial, owing, first, to his friendship with the Freiherr, and then to Mayr's patronage of Sandrart, and perhaps even to Sandrart's gratitude to von Mayr for his purchasing of Sandrart's Schloss Stockau near Ingolstadt (Bavaria) in 1670, enabling Sandrart's transfer to Augsburg. Those who dismiss Sandrart's comments usually appear to know little about von Mayr or his collection. And, in fact, not much is known about the latter. Not uncharacteristic is Marcel Röthlisberger, who writes of »Freiherr Franz von Mayer (...), who according to the exaggerated statement of Sandrart, his intimate, formed the world's best and largest collection«¹¹⁷. While this is a far more expansive claim than Sandrart actually makes, most commentators overlook just how circumspect Sandrart was.

114 Giuliano Briganti/Lodovica Trezzani/Laura Laureati: I Bamboccianti: Pittori della vita quotidiana a Roma nel Seicento, Roma 1983, p. 356.

115 Haskell 1980, p. 136.

116 Piereth: 1996, pp. 115f.

117 Röthlisberger 1961, p. 413.

Sandrart mentions Franz von Mayr's collection («Kunst-Cabinet») for the first time in his account of Claude Lorrain, identifying Mayr, among owners of Claude's paintings in Germany, as a real connoisseur and amateur¹¹⁸: »(...) in his art-cabinet in Munich, and in Regensburg, where he alleviates and diverts his mind from the important chancery and very heavy government business detailed by His Electoral Highness by means of an interesting cabinet of the very rarest paintings«¹¹⁹. Writing of Sébastien Bourdon, Sandrart mentions that many of his best works are to be found with the *Kunstliebender* ('lover of the arts'; 'connoisseur') Baron von Mayer in Munich¹²⁰. Sandrart, despairing of siring an heir, sold Schloss Stockau, together with its lands and its »Unterthanen«, »an seinen vertrauten vornehmen Freund, den kunstliebenden und hochqualifizierten Freyherrn von Mayr«¹²¹. He also identifies von Mayr as an »unvergleichlicher Kunst-verständiger Liebhaber«¹²². All this suggests that the Freiherr von Mayr not only secured rare works of art but also that he was genuinely interested in them and knowledgeable about them.

It is only rather far on into his book that Sandrart offers his often doubted estimate of Franz von Mayr as a collector. Treating the »Kunst- und Schatzkammern Hoher Potentaten, Chur-Fürsten und Herren« – near the end and only shortly before his own collection – Sandrart describes the »Des Freyherrn von Mayr etc. Kunst-Cabinet«, listing works in Mayr's »Behausung zu München« as well as works found in »Schloß Stockau«, without distinguishing between the two locations of Mayr's collection. Sandrart has sometimes been misread on this point. These places are with the »besten raren Gemälde-Tafeln also staatlich versehen«, and thus Sandrart writes that »ich in Teutschland keinen Cavalier wüste, der es ihm zuvor gethan, sowohl in der quantität als qualität, die meist von ihm selbst als dessen Meisterschaft Erfahrenen überall in der Welt ausgesucht und zusammen gebracht worden«. Then Sandrart lists a number of works in this collection, but »nur die allerbeste«¹²³. That means that von Mayr's collection was substantially larger, probably very substantially larger than Sandrart's list might suggest and that it included lesser works. The position that Sandrart ascribes to Franz von Mayr among collectors is no more than that he was perhaps the first German nobleman to assemble such a large collection that was so high in quality. Sandrart further admires Mayr's initiative as a collector and his far reaching efforts to secure the best works for his collection. None of these fairly limited claims appear contradicted by what can be established about Franz von Mayr's collection¹²⁴.

Art historians have taken little interest in Franz von Mayr and his collection. Peltzer's annotations to Sandrart constitute the most useful contribution. The numerous annotations in *Sandrart.net* add little or nothing to what is was already known. Nearly all art writers have overlooked an important study of Franz von Mayr, published in 1936, which treats both Mayr's biography and his collection. The Wikipedia article "Schloss Stockau (Reichertshofen)", however, cites this article: Matthias Wellnhofer, "Der kurbayerische Geheimrat und Kunstsammler Franz von Mayr († 1699)", in: *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 9, 1936, pp. 421–431 (mentioned in Hipp, 2014, pp. 45, 49, and bibl.).

118 Röthlisberger 1961, p. 50.

119 Sandrart, in: Röthlisberger, 1961, p. 50; Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 210: » (...) absonderlich bey uns Teutschen zu den wahren Kunstverständigen und liebhabenden Freyherrn von Mayer und deßen Kunstkabinet zu Mönchen und Regensburg, allda er die von Ihro Churfl. Durchl. in Bayern aufgetragene hochwichtigsten Canzeley und schwäreste Reichsgeschäfte mit einem curiosen Kunstkabinet von den allerraresten Gemälden lindert und seinen Geist damit ergötzet«.

120 Peltzer, p. 259: »Viel seiner bästen Werke sind bey dem Kunstliebenden Freyherrn von Mayer in Mönchen zu finden«.

121 Peltzer, p. 33.

122 Peltzer, p. 219.

123 Peltzer, p. 225.

124 see *infra*.

Wellendorfer, with the assistance of A. R. Peltzer, assembled what he could establish about Franz von Mayr and his collection, including information about the fate of his pictures. It has been possible to add to his conclusions, and this information is here summarized below in an appendix.

The importance of Franz von Mayr for the formation of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen has been somewhat underestimated. It is recognized, as we have seen, that some works come from his collection. Two of the Alte Pinakothek's Claudes and Bourdon's masterpiece, in the same collection, constitute an important component of the seventeenth-century French holdings. But it has been overlooked that Poussin's beautiful *Apollo and Daphne* in the Alte Pinakothek also derives from von Mayr's collection. It may, indeed, have been the first painting by Poussin to be acquired for a collection in Germany. The painting is described thusly by Sandrart: »Von Nicolo Poussin eine Venus und Apollo, vergesellschaftet mit vielen Amorinen oder Liebeskindern (...)«. Here Sandrart's 'inventory' includes a mistake, because ›Venus and Apollo‹ is not a mythological topic – in fable their paths do not cross – and it is not a theme that finds representation in Baroque painting¹²⁵. When Sandrart lists »die flüchtige Daphne durch Apollo verfolgt«¹²⁶, at end of his text concerning Poussin and among numerous paintings by Poussin briefly mentioned, he describes the subject more correctly. The five *amorini* of the Munich *Apollo and Daphne* correspond very clearly with Sandrart's »vergesellschaftet mit vielen Amorinen oder Liebeskindern«, and ›Venus‹ instead of ›Daphne‹ is a understandable lapsus that occurred in the course of compilation. In the Wittelsbach collections, Poussin's *Apollo and Daphne* is first mentioned in 1722 by Pierre de Bretagne as in Schloß Nymphenburg¹²⁷, alongside the two Claudes from Franz von Mayr's collection, still found in Munich¹²⁸. These two landscapes by Lorrain also appear here for the first time in Wittelsbach possession¹²⁹.

Alone the presence of these four masterpieces of French Baroque painting in Franz von Mayr's collection is sufficient proof of the accuracy of Sandrart's estimate of the collection, where often were found examples of the best work of the masters that he collected.

At the beginning of Sandrart's description of the »Des Freyherrn von Mayr etc. Kunstkabinet«¹³⁰, after he ranks the Baron von Mayr's collection as perhaps the best private collection of a nobleman (Cavalier) in »Teutschland«, both in quantity as well as in quality, Sandrart remarks that most of these rare works were obtained by von Mayr throughout the whole world on his own initiative. Possibly he used agents. Thus von Mayr himself was directly or indirectly in contact with the painters themselves, and he was not relying simply upon the secondary art market for acquisitions (dealers, auctions, etc.): »die meist von ihm selbst als dessen Meisterschaft Erfahrung überall in der Welt ausgesucht und zusammen gebracht worden.« Claude's *Liber veritatis* provides an independent confirmation of Sandrart's report that the Freiherr von Mayr actively sought out his pictures worldwide, in this case ordering on three distinct occasions paintings from the greatest landscapist of his time.

In Appendix 1 is found a very provisional attempt to retrace the paintings in Franz von Mayr's collection. While doubtless incomplete, this attempt permits some general observations about the collection and about its owner as a collector. The care and pains the *Freiherr* expended on his collection according to Sandrart appear to be confirmed. Von Mayr seems to have relied upon his international network of contacts, especially those in

125 cf. Andor Pigler: Barockthemen, 1956/1974; and Appendix 1, *infra*.

126 Peltzer, p. 258; cf. p. 411, note 1130: »Pinakothek«.

127 Pierre de Bretagne 1722/1723, p. 52: »Daphnè changé en Laurier«.

128 v. *supra*; Bretagne 1722/1723, pp. 52 and 53.

129 see: Siefert 2005, pp. 56–64.

130 Peltzer, p. 325.

Rome and Paris. He also had definite ideas about what he wanted, as testify his specific orders made to Claude Lorrain. His collection was not just a miscellaneous assemblage drawn from what crossed his path. Instead it had areas of concentration. Although the *Freiherr* had some ›classics‹ from the sixteenth century, with a slight bias toward Venice, his collection was largely one of recent and contemporary art – today he would have collected late-modern painting and contemporary art. He has a marked taste for *bambochades* (one painting by van Laer, his Bourdon, and several paintings by the Both brothers, Jan and Andries, and their followers); he also favoured times-of-day paintings and *Nachtstücke*, and, especially, landscapes. As to the large size of his collection, we must take Sandrart at his word, for he does not list all the works. Doubtless, Von Mayr owned some copies and replicas, but a closer examination of Sandrart's ›inventory‹ tends to confirm that Von Mayr was genuinely interested in quality.

Franz von Mayr was not only a court advisor, but he was also a »Gesandter an auswärtiger Potentaten Höfen«¹³¹. In his youth he travelled in foreign parts. He died in 1699, but his date of birth has not been established. The 1620s have been suggested. He spoke both French and Italian and had a worldly manner¹³². France was at the centre of his political concerns and activity. Neither von Mayr nor at least one of his three wives were averse to receiving gifts and other emoluments from the French side¹³³.

In discussing Sébastien Bourdon, Sandrart describes his *Kalchofen* owned by Franz von Mayr¹³⁴, mentioning this work by Bourdon »samt andern mehr, die in seinen Kunstcabinet zu ersehen sind«, and stating also »viel seiner bästen Werke sind bey dem Kunstliebenden Freyherrn von Mayer in Mönchen zu finden«. When treating von Mayr's collection, Sandrart writes: »Von Pordenon [Bourdon], ein grosser Kalchofen mit einer Menge Figuren auch Thieren und Landschaften von des Authoris allerberühmtester Arbeit samt mehrern Historien von selbiger Hand«. However one chooses to interpret these words, Sandrart seems to imply that von Mayr owned at least four or five paintings by Bourdon. For a private collection this is quite a few works, and in the context of von Mayr's own collection the number is significantly high.

While von Mayr may have acquired these works on the secondary market at an early date, these were also paintings that might be counted among Bourdon's best. Thus it would seem, if not quite self-evident, at least highly likely that he acquired some of these works directly from Bourdon himself, possibly with the participation of intermediaries. It is in this context that it must be asked if Franz von Mayr was not perhaps the first owner of Bourdon's very large *Kalkofen*. Uncertainty about the *Freiherr*'s birth date cautions against a too certain answer, but an affirmative answer is scarcely to be excluded, as, I believe, most readers will recognize. More can doubtless be established about von Mayr and his collection, but in the present state of knowledge he appears a prime candidate for being the first owner of Bourdon's *Kalkofen*, and he possibly ordered it from Bourdon, specifying some aspects of size and subject, similar to the procedure he employed with Claude Lorrain.

Naturally this would imply a rather later dating for the painting than the circa 1637 usually proposed. Possibly one should look to a period of Bourdon's activity such as the one Thuillier characterises as »Les grandes ambitions, 1652–1658« or even beyond. The conventional dating is based on little more than the belief that the painting was painted in Rome, a belief that in many respects¹³⁵ appears unfounded. Aside from the recent exhi-

131 Johann Friedrich Gauhe: Des Heil. Röm. Reichs Genealogisch-Historisches Adels-Lexicon, Leipzig 1740, vol. 1, col. 1337; see Wellnhofer 1936, p. 421.

132 Wellnhofer 1936, p. 422.

133 Wellnhofer 1936, p. 429.

134 Wellnhofer 1936, p. 259.

135 v. *supra*.

bition in 2014, my knowledge of Bourdon's paintings in the original probably resembles that of most museum visitors. It is not possible to undertake a sort of *Tour de France* to see large numbers of Bourdon, a tour which might furnish indications on which a more definite dating might be based.

A few further considerations may be added here to avoid proposing a closed interpretation of the painting. Despite its picturesque aspect, Bourdon's *Kalkofen* is a cerebral picture, one that has been intellectually calculated. Its panoramic breadth must owe something to Jacques Callot's panoramic views¹³⁶. If one seeks, outside strict chronological parameters, to identify similar pictures, it is possible to think of Francesco Guardi's *Fire in the San Marcuola Fire Depot*¹³⁷. But this is only the beginning of a much larger list of possibilities. The subject of Bourdon's painting resembles many paintings of people gathering outside a tavern, a popular subject of Dutch genre painters, without however drawing it into the realm of genre painting. It is evident that further investigation of Franz von Mayr is needed, and it would be well to investigate the physical fabric of the painting more closely. Elisabeth Hipp writes in the 2014 exhibition catalogue that »spätere Restaurierungen haben Spuren hinterlassen«¹³⁸, and in a note adds: »So ist in den Akten von einer 1872 vorgenommenen »Regenerierung« die Rede, d. h. seinerzeit wurden Trübungserscheinungen der Firnis- bzw. Malschicht behandelt.«¹³⁹ This doubtlessly refers to the *Pettenkofersche Regeneriervverfahren* invented by Max von Pettenkofer, which exposed paintings to hot alcohol vapours to ›refresh‹ darkened varnishes, a controversial measure even in its own time, and one widely practiced in the Munich collections from the 1860s¹⁴⁰. This may be reflected in the fragile condition of the painting, which has prevented its travelling to exhibitions. Some X-rays apparently exist. The physical fabric of the rather roughly textured canvas might be investigated, to determine the place of its origin.

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¹³⁶ e.g., *The Fair at Impruneta*, 1620.

¹³⁷ Venice, Accademia, 1789; München, Alte Pinakothek, ca. 1790.

¹³⁸ Hipp, p. 31.

¹³⁹ Hipp, p. 47, n. 62.

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Corrigendum

In the initial blog of May 2014 was written: »This is Sébastien Bourdon's painting, called in the exhibition *Bettler vor einem Kalkofen* (cat. no. 6; 55 × 75 cm; here dated ›ca. 1637‹ – despite the title, none of the figures explicitly engage in begging)«. This statement is incorrect and requires correction. In the catalogue, as usually, the central group of figures

in the foreground is said to represent a »Morra-Spiel« (*v. supra*). This may perhaps not be true. Not having examined closely the actions of each individual figure in the painting, I failed to notice a problem with this interpretation in my blog. In point of fact, the opened hand next to the seated or kneeling figure, who wears a tattered hat and is dressed in brown and white, near the center of the picture, does not belong to him, as it might appear to at first glance. Instead it belongs to the hidden extended arm of the figure, wearing a red cap, behind him. Thus in Bourdon's small *Four à chaud* in Valenciennes, there takes place, near the centre of the painting, a somewhat veiled, or hidden act of charity (cf. ›Corrigendum‹, *infra*). The highly-lit extended hand with opened palm in the midst of the seated group, slightly to the left, is not part of a hand-game of *Morra*, as it is usually seen to be. Instead, it is a hand that begs, extended to request alms, belonging to the man with a red skull-cap, whose face appears somewhat deformed and grotesque, as beggars were often depicted. A more adventurous and uncertain reading is that the man in blue pants attempts to continue his game of *morra* as a response to the hand that seeks alms. The hand gesture of the man in blue pants is possibly not *stricto sensu* a *morra* one, although it does appear as one. Behind the red-capped beggar are two boys, one half-naked, again with somewhat deformed or distorted features, attended, it seems, by an old woman. All these figures appear to constitute a group of beggars. Almsgiving is an act of virtue or charity. »Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy« (*Matthew*, 5:7).

Thus the title given in Thuillier, p. 179, no. 37, *Gueux devant un four à chaud* (which corresponds to the metal label attached to the frame) and in the exhibition catalogue (2014), p. 72, »Bettler vor einem Kalkofen«, appears correct. The painting is illustrated in the catalogue *Brennpunkt Rom* (2014) at page 73. Pages 124–126 contain an excellent large double-page illustration. A concentrated reconsideration might lead to a more coherent and complete interpretation of this painting, with its themes of charity, chance, and fate.

Incorrect and Non-Pertinent Interpretations

A number of interpretations, found in the literature of art history, of Bourdon's painting and observations about it have appeared to me to be either manifestly incorrect or in some way misleading. Others appear to add nothing essential to the consideration of the work. All of these have been largely ignored in the preceding text. Here they are treated briefly.

Spinario:

While the ancient bronze *Spinario*¹⁴¹ appears to be reflected in Pieter van Laer's *Washer-woman and Herd on the Bank of a River*¹⁴², the boy who removes his shoe in the foreground of Bourdon's picture is not, in my view, introduced to awake in the viewer a memory of the *Spinario*. Possibly he is merely intended to recall the figural repertoire of *bambochades*.

¹⁴¹ Hipp, cat. no. 22

¹⁴² cf. Schuckman, 1992 = Hollstein, XL, p. 91, no. 74

Comic genre:

While some contemporary critics did associate Pieter van Laer's art with Pliny's account of Peiraikos and other ›comic‹ artists of antiquity, this seem to be only a erudite, literary response to van Laer's paintings, a mere topos, that is not genuinely related to the *bamboccianti* programme, in so far as such a programme may have existed. In relation to Bourdon's painting in Munich, this sophistic interpretative approach would appear to have no relevance.

Irony and paradox:

Attempts to discover elements of irony and paradox in the paintings of the *bamboccianti* appear at time forced. Perceptions of visual irony are difficult to demonstrate, and often may be only subjective responses. See especially the studies of David Levine (*infra*).

Beggars disguised as pilgrims:

While in his *Les Gueux, or Baroni* (1622), Jacques Callot appears to show beggars dressed as pilgrims – they are identified as such by the context and title of the 25 plates –, these may, however, be simply genuine pilgrims constrained to seek alms to continue their journey¹⁴³.

Wollwäscherei:

A proposal dating from the 1960s (BASF) that Bourdon's painting represents a *Wollwäscherei* for cleaning raw wool and not a lime kiln is accorded considerable space in the *Brennpunkt Rom* catalogue¹⁴⁴, where it is rejected. This fairly unlikely idea merits little consideration, in as much as the well-informed Sandrart had already identified the subject of the painting in 1675, and it clearly belongs to a pictorial tradition of lime kilns found in *bambochades*. Elisabeth Hipp's identification of the two round opening in the ground as *Löschgruben*¹⁴⁵ appears correct.

Caecilia Metella:

Very extensive interpretative mileage has been exacted from the resemblance of the large round tower in Bourdon's painting to the *sepulcro* or *mausoleo di Caecilia Metella*. This is the large, tall cylindrical monument that towers in the sky at the right side of the picture. Sometimes this structure is seen as a lime kiln, because, it is said, smoke emerges from the top of the tower. Smoke is, however, black: compare Bourdon's painting at the top right. Above Bourdon's tower we see only sunset-red clouds. Elisabeth Hipp reviews the identification of this monument as the *Sepulcro di Caecilia Metella* in the literature as well as the implications of this identification¹⁴⁶. The Caecilia Metella-structure has been utilised as an interpretative key in discussions of the picture especially by David Levine (1984, 1988, 1991).

Recognizing the Mausoleum of Caecilia Metella *tout court* in the middle of Bourdon's picture is, I believe, incorrect. There are several reasons to conclude that this assumption does not correspond to Bourdon's intentions and that it is simply a result of an excess of exegetic zeal on the part of modern art historians. First, and most simply, the Caecilia Metella monument is on the Via Appia. Setting it down on the banks of the Tiber constitutes a rather glaring anachronism (something that is out of its proper place). Such a topographical ›anachronism‹ most likely would have appeared rather jarring in Rome, but it would have also struck others further afield, although for many no question would have been raised.

143 cf. Hipp, 2014, pp. 82–84, cat. nos. 16, 17

144 Hipp, pp. 30–33, figs. 11–13

145 Hipp, p. 34: lime pits

146 Hipp, 2014, pp. 22–23, 46

A second consideration is that Bourdon's cylindrical tower is proportionally twice as tall as the Metella mausoleum. The latter is a decidedly squat and stocky structure, one which in its form resembles that of the stump of a tree. This is one of the most characteristic features of its appearance. The total monument is 21.7 metres high, while the diameter of the circular drum measures 29.5 metres. It is decidedly not a tower. Nevertheless, many details of the Via Appia monument are included in Bourdon's tower: the break in the masonry at the top, the crenels or battlements around the top border, the rounded cornice with an accompanying frieze of bucrania and festoons, the rectangular inscription tablet, the small vertical window, etc. But the positioning and arrangement of these details have often been changed very considerably, and some of the details are not distinctive features that identify the tomb of Caecilia Metella, but ones that belong to the typology of the ancient Roman cylindrical tomb. Bourdon's small *bambochade* in Valenciennes, for instance, includes a round tower, with circular cornices and a rectangular inscription plaque, without intending a reference to the Metella monument. In this regard, the Tomb of Priscilla and the Tomb of the Plauti have been mentioned earlier. Pietro Santi Bartoli's *Gli antichi sepolcri o vero mausolei romani et etruschi trovati in Roma & in altri luoghi celebri*¹⁴⁷ illustrated most of the large cylindrical tombs known at the time: the *Sepolcro de Plautii*, that *Caecilia Metella*, as well as the *Mole Adriano* (Castel Sant'Angelo or Mausoleum of Hadrian), and in addition, outside of Rome, the *Sepolcro di Munatio Planco* in Gaeta. Bartoli also include architectural plans of other ancient round tombs. Taken together these monuments constitute a general building typology that corresponds to many aspects of Bourdon's ›tower‹. Examining the plans in Amato Pietro Frutaz's *Le piante di Roma*¹⁴⁸, I was unable to determine a topographical rationale, either ancient or modern, for Bourdon's round tower at this point in the Roman landscape. This is perhaps not surprising, for Bourdon's architectural settings, which often incorporate *all'antica* architectural elements and buildings, do not aim at topographical, geographical or temporal accuracy. With architecture Bourdon establishes a framework in which to contain figures, and he populates his landscapes with ›staffage‹ architecture. His motives often seem *scenographic*, that is, he aims to create an attractive and impressive setting. The Italian word ›scenografico‹ applies in an extended sense to that which »richiama una scenografia, in modo di suggerirne gli effetti visivi di grandiosità, imponenza, spettacolarità (un edificio, un paesaggio, in particolare urbano)«¹⁴⁹; that is, what might be called ›theatrical‹. The Pyramid (*sepulcrum*) of Caius Cestius in Rome became almost a ›signature‹ motive for Bourdon. One need only leaf through the pages of Jacques Thuillier's monograph (2000) to see that Bourdon introduces this pyramid-tomb countless times into his settings, and that he does so with little or no regard to time and place. Sometimes it has ›Egyptian proportions‹, and sometimes it is shown elongated, assuming proportions similar to an obelisk. Bourdon evidently found that it looked attractive in a picture. Round towers were not so favoured, but Bourdon liked them, too. They can be found in his *bambochades*¹⁵⁰, as are also Cestius pyramids in the middle of nowhere¹⁵¹. The Roman Pantheon can be similarly displaced, as can the Horse Tamers of the Quirinal. Round towers and other round buildings (often similar to the Castel Sant'Angelo) appear especially in the later landscapes, and they were also favoured by Claude Lorrain. How little the literal appropriateness of ancient or *all'antica* monuments in landscape paintings

147 Pietro Santi Bartoli's *Gli antichi sepolcri o vero mausolei romani et etruschi trovati in Roma & in altri luoghi celebri*, Roma 1697; 1698

148 Amato Pietro Frutaz's *Le piante di Roma*, 3 vol., Roma 1962

149 Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario, ad vocem*.

150 Thuillier, no. 18.

151 Thuillier, nos. 49, 50.

mattered to Bourdon's contemporaries is suggested by Roger de Piles's (1635–1709) discussion of the heroic landscape:

»The heroic style is a composition of objects, which, in their kinds, draw, both from art and nature, everything that is great and extraordinary in either. (...) The only buildings, are temples, pyramids, ancient places of burial, altars consecrated to the divinities, pleasure-houses of regular architecture: And if nature appear not there, as we every day casually see her, she is at least represented as we think she ought to be. This style is an agreeable illusion, and a sort of enchantment (...)«¹⁵². In much of the discussion of Bourdon's round tower there is an element of naive literalness. In *Thieme-Becker*, ›Henri Stein‹ writes: »Man wirft seiner Kunst eine gewisse Theatralik und allzugroße Anhäufung architektonischer Schmuckstücke vor; dagegen erkennt man ihm Originalität und Phantasie zu«.¹⁵³

All this cautions strongly against attaching any particular importance to the resemblance of Bourdon's tower to the Mausoleum of Caecilia Metella. At the most Bourdon may have wished to suggest an allusion to transience and death, using the imaginary ancient structure as a fairly casual topos-like allusion to antiquity and ancient graves, much as he uses the pyramid of Cestius, primarily as a decorative element.

Preservation Rome:

A related misconception is that the painting contains an explicit or veiled protest against the destruction of ancient Roman monuments and, specifically, against the burning of the ancient stones of Rome for lime. This idea is as misleading as the idea that Bourdon's painting contains elements of social criticism. It is developed in an widely-read article, »The Roman Limekilns of the Bamboccanti«, by David Levine: »By witty allusion to both the destruction and persistence of antiquity, pictures of Roman Limekilns lead the viewer to contemplate a paradox regarding the nature of greatness and eternity«¹⁵⁴. This statement remains undemonstrated in the article. The author attributes similar views to Pieter van Laer¹⁵⁵, but there is no evidence that he held them. The idea does not apply to Bourdon's Munich *Lime Kiln*.

152 Roger de Piles: *The Principles of Painting*, translated by a Painter, London, 1743, quoted from Elizabeth Gilmore Holt: *A Documentary History of Art*, Princeton 1982, 3rd ed., vol. 2, p. 176 = de Piles: *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris 1708.

153 *Thieme-Becker*, vol. 4, 1910, p. 459.

154 David Levine: *The Roman Limekilns of the Bamboccanti*, in: *Art Bulletin*, 74, no. 4, New York 1988, pp. 569–589.

155 Levine 1988, p. 580.

Appendix 1: The Collection of Franz von Mayr

There follows a preliminary attempt to identify the works in Franz von Mayr's collection. Perhaps only the three paintings by Claude Lorrain can be considered with absolute certainty to have come from this collection, for they are recorded as commissions from von Mayr in the artist's *Liber veritatis* (British Museum): München, Inv. no. 382 (1670): LV 176, »per Illmo sigre franco mayer consigliere a Ratisbonna«; München, Inv. no. 381 (1674): LV 5, »per Illmo sigre francesco mayer«; Dulwich, no. 205 (1676): LV 188, »per ilmo sigre francesco mayer«, with the drawings of the *Liber veritatis* corresponding to the paintings.¹⁵⁶ Probably no one would consider the identification of Bourdon's *Münchner Kalkofen* with Sandrart's descriptions of Franz von Mayr's painting by Bourdon (»ein grosser Kalchofen«) particularly speculative, but the identification does rest primarily on Sandrart's descriptions of the painting and its presence now in Franz von Mayr's Munich. The treatment here of further identifications relies mainly on such considerations, following the traces of the artists's name and Sandrart's descriptions of the subjects. It has further concentrated on paintings in Germany or with German provenances, and especially on the Munich collections, where many of von Mayr's pictures are found or through which they passed. Many identifications proposed here – a number are found already in Wellnhofer, 1936 – appear fairly certain. There is a partial, underlying assumption that paintings in the historic Munich collections that correspond to von Mayr's paintings in subject and attribution may be from his collection. If this has produced too many results, this may be corrected by more extensive research. A very few identifications are proposed mainly to solicit possible contradiction and to stimulate the localisation of more suitable candidates. A certain amount of information is included primarily to facilitate this search. A number of early descriptions of painting have been included, especially because the terms in which the pictures are titled, recorded, and described are closer to those of Sandrart's 'inventory' of the Franz von Mayr collection than are those current today. If a clear picture of von Mayr's collection does not perhaps emerge, a much fuller picture does. A notable number of his pictures remain in the Bavarian *Staatsgemäldesammlungen* (or have passed through them) and a few remain in other Munich collections or in ones nearby.

Some general conclusions about the nature of von Mayr's collecting were provided above – among them were seen the care and pains that Baron von Mayr expended on his collection and that he had definite ideas about what he wanted. The profile of his collection was determined by its areas of concentration: ›classics‹ from the sixteenth century and a large representation of recent and contemporary art – briefly it was a Baroque collection –, and there was a marked taste for the *bamboccianti* and their followers in Germany. Von Mayr was also clearly interested in times-of-day paintings, in *Nachtstücke*, and, especially, in landscapes.

156 see Röthlisberger 1961, pp. 102, 413, 442.

Sandart's description of Franz von Mayr's *Kunstkabinett*:

From: Joachim von Sandart: *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, ed. A. R. Peltzer, München 1925, pp. 325–326:

Des Freyherrn von Mayr etc. Kunst-Cabinet.

Von dem Kunst-Cabinet des Freyherrn Frantz von Mayer etc. ausführlich zu erzehlen, würde Ursach geben, nicht allein von vielen bezierten Saletten, Stuben und Cammern in dessen Behausung zu München, sondern auch, was in dessen schönem Schloß Stockau befindlich zu sagen, welches Schloß mit so vortrefflichen, vollkommenen und wolauf geführten Künsten, absonderlich der besten raren Gemählde-Tafeln also stattlich versehen, daß ich in Teutschland keinen Cavalier wüste, der es ihm zuvor gethan, sowol in der quantität als qualität, die meist von ihme selbst als dessen Meisterschaft Erfahrenen überall in der Welt ausgesucht und zusammen gebracht worden. Demnach nur der allerbeste zu gedencken, so finden sich darinn:

Von Julius Romanus ein Stuck repraesentirend den Paris, wie er nach Griechenland zu Schiff gehet.

Giulio Romano, *Paris departs for Greece (Die Einschiffung)*.

Apparently a copy after Giulio Romano (possibly by Johann Melchior Bocksberger), Sala di Troia, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua (cf. Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven: Yale, 1958, fig. 399, *The Rape of Helen*).

Compare: Anon.: *Die Bildergallerie in München: Ein Handbuch für die Liebhaber, und Kunstfreunde*, München 1787, p. 109: »Julius Pippi, genannt Romano. 512. Theseus verläßt die in Kummer schlafende Ariadne. Beynahe hört man sie Theseus Name seufzen. Er betrachtet sie noch zum letztenmale mit einer Mitleidsthräne im Auge, und geht zu Schiffe. In klein. Fig. auf Holz. 1 Fuss 7 Zoll breit; 1 Fuss 4 Zoll hoch.« This seemingly pendant subject does not seem to have been represented by Giulio. Mayr's painting – also an ›Embarkation‹ (*Einschiffung*; *Embarquement*) – must have been a similar work. The two directors of the gallery in 1787 (Joseph von Weizenfeld, 1. *Direktor*, and Johann Jakob von Dörner, 2. *Direktor*) distanced themselves emphatically from this guide, written by an unidentified author, in the *Kurfürstlich gnädigst privilegirte Münchner-Zeitung*, 1787, p. 364 („Avertissement“), criticising the author's haste, carelessness, insufficient preparation and lack of knowledge, claiming that his descriptions are often mistaken. Johann Nepomuck Edler von Weizenfeld (also: Weitzenfeld), *Beschreibung der Churfürstlichen Bildgallerie in Schleißheim*, München 1775, no. 399: »Theseus verläßt die schlafende Ariadne, und entflieht heimlich zu Schiffe mit der Phödra« (cf. no. 98, Bocksberger after Giulio). *Compare*: Amanda Ramm: *Die Grüne Galerie in der Münchner Residenz von 1737 bis 1836*, München 2009, p. 205: cat. no. 26, Giulio Romano (Pippi), *Pan und Venus*, oil on panel, ca. 79 × 105 cm; since 1810 »verschollen«.

Von Francesco Parmisamini ein Maria-Bild mit dem Christikindlein, sehr curios.

Compare: Parmigianino, *Madonna and Child*, Alte Pinakothek, München.

The key to an identification of von Mayr's painting may lie in the words »sehr curios« (>curios« [*kurios*] and similar words are found 57 times in Sandrart). Parmigianino painted several >curious« (in the sense of somewhat strange, eccentric, or somehow remarkable) Madonnas (*Madonna della rosa*; *Madonna dal collo lungo*, etc.), but the description also fits Parmigianino's small *Maria mit dem Kind und einem Monch* (Alte Pinakothek), recorded in the *Kammergalerie* of Maximilian I in Munich as early as 1627–1630. Franz von Mayr's painting was conceivably a replica of this work (for copies, see Achim Gnann, in the exhibition catalogue: *Parmigianino: Die Madonna in der Alten Pinakothek*, ed. Reinhold Baumstark, München/Ostfildern 2007, citing Ann Rebecca Milstein: *The Paintings of Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli* (Diss.), New York 1978, pp. 148 f., and Mario Di Giampaolo: *Girolamo Bedoli*, Firenze 1997, no. 7). Cf. Joseph Sebastian Rittershausen: *Die vornehmste Merkwürdigkeiten des Residenzstadt München für Liebhaber der bildenden Künste*, München 1787, pp. 361 f.; and *Bildergalerie*, 1787, p. 93, no. 451.

The Estate-Inventory (1686) of the Herzog Albrecht Sigismund von Bayern lists a *Maria mit dem Jesuskind* that explicitly came from the »Besitz des Barons von Mayr« (Wellnhofer: »Franz von Mayr«, 1936, p. 430); cf. Annibale Carracci and Lodovico Carracci, *infra*. Wellnhofer (advised by Peltzer) identifies this painting with that of Parmigianino in the Alte Pinakothek (p. 430).

Von Paul Veronnes eine Auferstehung Christi.

Veronese, *Resurrection of Christ*.

This painting cannot be identified with any certainty. Veronese represented the »Resurrection of Christ« a number of times. In light of present locations and provenances, several possible candidates might be considered: (1) Paolo Veronese, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, 1570/1575, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Inv.-Nr. 235; acquired 1741 from the dealer Riedl; earlier: private collection, Vienna (Pignatti, 1995, vol. 2, cat. no. 207); (2) Veronese, *Resurrezione di Cristo*, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, acquired late 18th century (Pignatti, 1995, vol. 2, cat. no. 209); (3) Hans F. Schweers (*Gemälde in deutschen Museen*, München 1981, p. 1098) mentions Veronese, *Die Wiederaufstehung Christi*, Pommersfelden, Graf von Schörn'sche Kunstsammlung, Schloß Weißenstein (not in Pignatti, 1995; cf. catalogues 1719 and 1721). See also Pignatti, 1995, vol. 2, cat. nos. 338, 400, 401 (Tersio Pignatti and Filippo Pedrocco, *Veronese*, 2 vol. Milano 1995).

Von Annibal Carraz ein Maria-Bild mit dem Christikindlein und andern Figuren.

Annibale Carracci, *Madonna and Child with other figures*.

No similar painting appears to have passed through German collections. The estate inventory (1686) of the Herzog Albrecht Sigismund von Bayern lists a *Maria mit dem Jesuskind* that explicitly came from the »Besitz des Barons von Mayr«¹⁵⁷.

157 Wellnhofer 1936, p. 430.

Von Lodowig Caraz Unser Liebe Frau mit dem Christkindlein.

Lodovico Carracci, *Madonna and Child*.

No corresponding composition was found. Cf. Annibale Carracci, *supra*.

Von Jacob Palma, eine Abnehmung Christi vom Creutz mit andern Figuren in Lebens-größe, des Authors beste Manier.

Jacopo Palma, *Deposition from the Cross*, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv. 486 (Kultzen, 1971, pl. 150, p. 102).

The Alte Pinakothek owns four large paintings by Jacopo Palma il Giovane of this subject (Rolf Kultzen: *Venezianische Gemälde des 15. und 16 Jahrhunderts*, München 1971, pp. 100–103, 105; nos. 907, 6352, 486, 4227; pls. 149–152). With reference to all these compositions, Kultzen writes: »Die zwischen *Kreuzabnahme* und *Grablegung* eingefügte Szene ist im Bericht der Evangelium nicht erhalten. (...) Auffallend viele Darstellungen finden sich im Oeuvre Palma Giovanes«. In light of its size and provenance, Inv. 486 (pl. 150) deserves consideration (Kultzen, 1971, p. 102). The painting is first mentioned, at Schleissheim, in 1748; around 1783, in the Hofgartengalerie. Rittershausen, 1787, p. 240: »Von Palma, dem Jüngeren / Der Vom Kreuz, abgenommene Heiland in den Händen Marien, und Johannes. Nicht gar Lebensgröße, ganze Figuren» (cf. Weizenfeld: *Beschreibung*, 1775, no. 571); cf. Kultzen, 1971, pl. 150 (Inv. Nr. 486; cf. also pls. 149, 151, 152). *Die Bildergalerie in München*, München 1787, p. 98: »Jakob Palma, der ältere / 478. Der von Kreuz abgenommene Heiland lehnt in den Händen von Maria und Johannes. In ganz Fig. auf Leinw. (...)«. Schleißheim, *Cat.*, 1914, Palma, No. 1154.

Von Tintoret auch eine Abnehmung Christi vom Creutz.

Tintoretto, *Deposition from the Cross*.

Not identified.

[Von Tintoret] Eine Creutzigung Christi

Tintoretto, *Crucifixion*.

Jacopo Tintoretto, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv.-Nr. 4590 (?). See Kultzen, 1971, pp. 131 f. At Schleißheim since 1761 (no. 608); 1787 in the Hofgartengalerie. Weizenfeld, *Beschreibung*, 1775, no. 245; *Bildergalerie*, 1787, p. 49; Rittershausen, *Merkwürdigkeiten*, 1788, p. 210. After 1806: Depot, Augsburg; 1873: Schleißheim; Cat. Schleißheim 1875, no. 1236; since 1909: Alte Pinakothek.

[Von Tintoret] und eine grosse Tafel repraesentirend unsern Herrn und Seeligmacher Christum, wie Er die Welt zu Gericht beruffen lässt, sehr voll Arbeit und Geist.

Tintoretto, *Last Judgement*.

Not identified.

Von Bassan die Historie von der Ruth erfüllet mit vielen Bildern und Thieren,

Bassano, *The Story of Ruth* with many figures and animals.

To be identified with: Francesco Bassano the Younger, *Der Sommer* (Ruth and Boas), Inv. Nr. 2300, Alte Pinakothek, München (Kultzen, 1971, pl. 44). Kultzen, 1971, pp. 37 f.: »Das Gemälde ist seit 1748 (Inv.-Nr. 9) in den Schleißheimer Inventaren nachweisbar«. Weizenfeld: Beschreibung, 1775, no. 224: *Jacob da Ponte genannt Bassano*, »Ruth sammelt die Aeren auf dem Acker des Boz. Auf Leinwand 5 Fuß 5 Zoll breit, 3 Fuß 9 Zoll hoch.« (cf. no. 454).

Cf. Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 354: »Absonderlich in der schönen Behausung des Herrn Fleischbeins neben alda befindlichen vier grossen Tafeln von dem weltberühmten Bassan, die vier Zeiten des Jahrs repraesentirende, mit vielen Bildern, Thieren und andern künstlichen Wercken beziert, (...)«.

[Von Bassan]: wie auch die Historie, wie Noah mit den Seinen zur Arche eingehet.

Bassano Workshop, *Der Einzug der Tiere in die Arche*, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv.-Nr. 3638.

Kultzen, 1971, pp. 46 f., pl. 58. Catalogued as a copy of Inv.-Nr. 6049 (Bassano Workshop, Kultzen, pp. 45 f.: »abweichende Kopie [...] wahrscheinlich nicht in der Bassano-Werkstatt entstanden; auf Grund der Malweise ist vielmehr die Ausführung durch einen nordeuropäische Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts zu vermuten.«).

History: »Das Gemälde ist seit 1748 in Schleißheim nachweisbar [wie 2330] (Inv. 1748, fol. 11 v. Möglicherweise ist es identisch mit einer Bassano-Kopie gleichen Inhalts, die sich im Nachlaß des 1685 verstorbenen Herzog Albert Sigismund, Bischofs von Freising und Regensburg befand (Nachlaßinventar [1586] fol. 55 v., Nr 62 lt. Abschrift im Archiv d. Bayr. Staatsgemäldesammlungen)«.

Albrecht Sigismund von Bayern (1623–1685), from 1652 Fürstbischof von Freising, from 1668 also Fürstbischof von Regensburg, purchased Schloß Stockau from Franz von Mayr and came into possession of an undetermined part of his art collection (cf. Wellnhofer, »Franz von Mayr«, 1936, p. 430). Albrecht Sigismund bequeathed his *Kunstbesitz* to the Jesuits in Ingolstadt. Around 1700 many of these rare and precious *Kunststücke* passed into the collection of the *Churfürstliche Kunstkammer* (Anton Wilhelm Ertel: *Churbayerische Atlas*, 1, Teil, München 1705, p. 283; quoted in: Wellnhofer, 1936, p. 430). Cf. Weizenfeld, *Beschreibung*, 1775, no. 207; cf. nos. 23, 281–284, 989.

[Von Bassan]: Die Martha geschäftig in ihrem Hauswesen, um unsern Herrn Christo zu dienen.

Bassano-Workshop: *Christus bei Maria und Martha*, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv. Nr. 1744 (Kultzen, 1971, pp. 51 f.; pl. 46).

History: »Das Gemälde ist zwischen 1751 (Inv.-Nr. 146) und 1770 in den Inventaren des Schlosses Nymphenburg verzeichnet« (Kultzen, 1971, p. 51). It is also mentioned earlier by Pierre de Bretagne, *Rejouissances*, 1723, p. 52 (»deux tableaux de Jacomo chevalier Bassan, (...), le second Nostre Seigneur, Ste. Magdelaine, & sainte Marthe [1722]«) at

Nymphenburg. Kultzen doubts the identity of this work with one described by Rittenhausen (*Die vornehmste Merkwürdigkeiten*, ed. 1788, p. 303) in the Hofgartengalerie: »Von Leandro Bassano: Christus zwischen Martha und Maria heißt diese den beßern Theil erwählen: in der Küchen wird zu Tafel bereitet. Schön koloriert.« Nevertheless, the description corresponds very well (cf. *Die Bildergalerie in München*, 1787, p. 111). Cf. *Versteigerungs Protocoll*, Schleißheim, 1851/1852, no. 455: »Ponte, J. da (nach), Christus im Hause der Martha. Leinw. H. 4. – . Br. 5. 5. 6.«

[Von Bassan]: Ein Nachtstück, repraesentirend der Engel Verkündigung von Christi Geburt an die Hirten auf dem Feld, oder Angelus ad Pastores.

Bassano, A Nachtstück *representing the Annunciation of the Birth of Christ to the Shepherds* (*Angelus ad Pastores*).

This seems to follow the type of a *Verkündigen an die Hirten* by Jacopo Bassano, formerly in Dresden (destroyed 1945). Cf. Schleißheim, Kat., 1905, no. 544; Schleißheim, Kat., 1914, p. 11, no. 3544 (*Zweibrücker Galerie).

Von Guido Reen die Sündfluth, des Authoris beste Manier.

Guido Reni, *The Flood*.

See: Guido Reni, *The construction of the Ark of Noah*, Hermitage, St. Petersburg (Cesare Garboli: L'opera completa di Guido Reni, Milano 1971, no. XIV, attribution, p. 116). There is no existing or recorded painting of the *Flood* itself by Reni. Hermitage: Guido Reni, *The Construction of the Ark of Noah*, ca. 1608, 76 × 61, attb., acquired 1719. D. Stephen Pepper: Guido Reni, Oxford 1984, p. 303 (*The Building of Noah's Ark*. Hermitage. Cat 1958, no. 51, fig 91: »It has no relation to Guido Reni.«). There appears to have been a copy by Johann Carl Loth (b. München). Sandrart visited Guido Reni in Rome, »höchstfreundlich empfangen« (Peltzer, p. 26).

Von Nicolo Poussin eine Venus und Apollo, vergesellschaftet mit vielen Amorinen oder Liebeskindern,

Poussin, *Apollo and Daphne with ›amorini‹*, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv.-Nr. 2334

See the discussion in the text, *supra*. ›Venus and Apollo‹ is not a mythological subject, and it is not represented in Baroque painting. The description of Sandrart corresponds to: Poussin, *Apollo and Daphne with ›amorini‹*, Alte Pinakothek, München (v. *supra*); see: Siefert, 2009, p. 102 (»Von Kurfürst Max Emanuel erworben. – Aus Schloss Nymphenburg« [mentioned by de Bretagne, *Rejouissances*, 1723 (1722, in: 1723, p. 52)]). Kat. Schleißheim, 1905, no. 702, as school of Poussin. Rittershausen, *Merkwürdigkeiten*, 1787, p. 226; *Bildergalerie*, 1887, p. 28, no. 144. The engraving by François Chauveau (*Saur Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 18, pp. 342f.) of 1667 (Paris) may be after a smaller version (see Blunt: Poussin, 1966, vol. 1, p. 91: various sales in England, 19th century).

[Von Nicolo Poussin] und des Aeneas Vergöttung.

Poussin, *The Deification of Aeneas*.

The ›Deification‹ of Aeneas (Ovid, XIV, 597–604) is a subject distinct from his ›Apotheosis‹. The ›Deification‹ of Aeneas was represented by a number of Poussin's contemporaries and near-contemporaries, among them: Candid, Cortona, Jordaens, Le Brun, Perrier, Le Clerc, Carpioni, de la Fosse, Luca Giordano; cf. Pigler: Barockthemen, ed. 1974, vol. 2, pp. 295–296. Pigler (p. 295) cites the following painting: »Die Vergötterung des Äneas«, »Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) irrt. zugesch. Gem. (81 x 98 cm). Ehem. Amsterdam, J[acques]. Goudstikker. Abb. *Catalogus der Tentoonstelling van Schilderijen en Antiquiteiten geexposeerd door den Kunsthandel J. Goudstikker*, Amsterdam, Rotterdam 1937 (17 Dec. 1936 – 10 Jan. 1937), 92 pp., No. 47«. The subject of ›Aeneas's Deification‹ is related to the subject *Venus übergibt die Waffen dem Äneas*, represented by Poussin (Toronto, copy at V&A; Rouen) and also by Bourdon (Thuillier, p. 161: »pastiche de Poussin«). Cf. this subject in: Amanda Ramm: Die Grüne Galerie in der Münchner Residenz von 1737 bis 1836, München 2009, pp. 376–377, cat. no. 112, Luca Giordano, *Venus verleiht Aeneas die Unsterblichkeit*.

Henry Keazor writes: »(...) die Information zu dem Aeneas-Bild [Vergöttung] insofern bestätigt, als bei der Versteigerung von Gemälden aus der Thélusson-Sammlung in Paris am 1. Dezember 1777 unter der Nummer 30 eben ein Poussin-Gemälde dieses Sujets angeboten wurde« (Keazor: »Noch einmal: Poussin und Deutschland«, in: Pierre Rosenberg, *Poussin, Lorrain, Watteau, Fragonard ...*, exhibition catalogue, Bonn/München/Paris, Ostfildern 2005, p. 36 and note 12).

Vom Scorsillin aus Ferrare eine Samaritana.

Scarsellino, *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*.

There appears to be no painting of this subject by Scarsellino, although it is not uncommon in the Ferrarese School. It was represented several times by Garofalo. The attribution may be mistaken. The BStGM owns a *Hochzeit zu Kana* by Scarsellino (inv. no. 5186).

Von Joach. von Sandrart Jacobs Reise in Mesopotamien, der schläft unter einer Eichen und ligt im Traume mit ab- und aufsteigenden Engeln aus dem Himmel auf Erden mit vielen Figuren erfüllet.

Sandrart, *Jacobs Traum*, Bayerische Staatsgemälde Sammlungen, Inv. 1548. 1934/1938 and 1956: Stadtresidenz Landshut (Hans Thoma und Herbert Brunner: Stadtresidenz Landshut, Staatliche Gemädegalerie/Stadt- und Kreismuseum, Amtlicher Führer, München 1956, p. 35). Schweers 1994, vol. 4, p. 1163, »Inv. 1548«.

Signed: »Joachimo Sandrart ab Stockau fecit 1648«. 1748 Inventar Schleißheim. See: Christian Klemm: Joachim von Sandrart: Kunst Werke und Lebens Lauf, Berlin 1986, cat. no. 72 (cf. no. 138); Paul Kutter: Joachim von Sandrart als Künstler, Strassburg 1907, p. 94, no. 18 (Schleißheim); cf. p. 98. Cf. Schleißheim, *Versteigerungsprotokoll*, 1851/1852, p. 6, No. 208: Sandrart, die Himmelsleiter. Leinw. H. 4. 3. Br. 3. 9. 6. Inv. Nr. 1494 (to Wiesengrund); *Kat. der Kgl. Gemälde-Galerie in Schleißheim*, München: Pössenbacher, 1870, p. 125, No. 232, Sandrart: Jacobs Traum;

Kat. Schleißheim, 1914, p. 215, no. 3247, *Jacobs Traum*, 1,38 x 1,23, Leinwand, Kurfürsten Galerie zu München. Rittershausen, *Die vornehmste Merkwürdigkeiten*, 1787, p. 235: »Von Joachim Sandrart. / Jacobs Traum unter dem gestirnten Himmel. Die kleinen Engel steigen mit kindlicher Freude, wunderlichen Gebärden, in grossem Gedräng auf und ab; die Lichtstralen ergiessen sich die wunderbare Leiter hinunter, an deren Fuß der Patriarch schläft.« Kat. Schleißheim, 1905, no. 247.

[Von Joach. von Sandrart]: Ein Nachtstück. Eben der, Jacob den Segen von seinem abgelebten Vatter empfangend, auch des Authoris bester Werck.

Sandrart, *Isaak segnet Jakob* (a *Nachtstück*), Schleißheim.

Isaak segnet Jakob, Staatsgalerie, Schleißheim (replicas in Pommersfelden and Aschaffenburg; see Christian Klemm: Sandrart, Berlin 1986, cat. no. 73, pp. 167f.: replicas in Pommersfelden; Aschaffenburg; Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen; ehemals Sammlung Gorsius; ehemals Salzburg, fürstbischöfliche Sammlung (1727); bei Hermine Bauhofer, München (1957). See also: Paul Kutter: Sandrart, Straßburg 1907, pp. 104, 105. BStGS S–Z, Bestandsliste der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen S–Z: 6339, Sandrart Joachim von, *Isaak segnet Jakob*; 10595, Sandrart Joachim von (Kopie nach), *Isaak segnet Jakob*

[Von Joach. von Sandrart]: Item, unterschiedliche Landschaften nach dem Leben gemahlt.

These are landscape studies painted by Sandrart directly from nature.
»nach dem Leben« Instead of drawing directly from life, or from nature or an object, »nach dem Leben mahlen«, in the context of landscape study, means painting directly from nature in the field. Sandrart writes that he and Claude Lorrain, instead of drawing landscape studies in the Roman campagna, made painted studies of the landscape in the environs of Tivoli, studies that were »nach dem Leben gemahlt« (Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 209: »auch oft miteinander im Feld nach dem Leben gemahlet haben«; cf. p. 184: »Ein andermal sind wir, Pousin, Claudi Lorenes und ich, Landschaften nach dem Leben zu mahlen oder zu zeichnen auf Tivoli geritten [...]«). Here Claude and Sandrart clearly anticipate completely the oil study made in nature, *en plein air*, sometimes seen as a nineteenth-century innovation. This was also observed by Werner Busch in his lecture, Berlin: »... auf einem Blick, ohne den Kopf zu bewegen«, *Bedingungen der Ölskizze*, Pinakothek der Moderne (4. Juli 2015), as this study was nearing final completion (Tagung: *Mobilität und Naturerfahrung im 19. Jahrhundert – Landschaftsmalerei, eine Reisekunst?*, München, 3 – 5 July 2015). The presence of these painted nature studies in von Mayr's collection indicates that they were collected. Some may still exist unrecognized. Busch has suggested that Claude's nature studies may exist beneath his painted landscapes.

[Von Joach. von Sandrart]: Eine Iconomia, darinn s. h. viel Vieh als Kühe, Ochsen, Pferde und andere darzu gehörende Figuren gebildet.

Not located: see Christian Klemm: Joachim Sandrart: Kunst Werke und Lebens Lauf, 1986, p. 165.

Cf. Schleißheim, *Versteigerungsprotokoll*, 1851, No. 253: »Sandrart, Landschaft mit Ruinen und Vieh. Leinw. H. 2. 8. Br. 3. 5. 6. Inv. 1702« (buyer: Winter); Weizenfeld, *Beschreibung*,

1775, no. 172, Joachim Sandrart, »Eine Landschaft mit Ruinen und Viehe auf der Weide. Auf Leinwand 3 Fuß 2 Zoll breit, 2 Fuß 6 Zoll hoch.« Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 288: »meine ganze Hofmark Stockau, das schöne Schloß und allerley Mahlmühlen und Wassergang samt der ganzen Oeconomia, Bräu- und Wirtshaus mit darzu Unterthanen«. »Oeconomia«; also: Johann Voller: *Oeconomia Ruralis et Domestica*, Frankfurt am Main 1680 (»Oeconomia Ruralis« as *Landwirtschaft*).

Von Claude Lorraine eine grosse Landschaft, repraesentirend der Sonnen Aufgang.

Claude Lorrain: *Landscape with Sunrise*, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv. no. 381 (Siefert 2009, p. 88: Claude Lorrain: *Ein Seehafen bei aufgehende Sonne*, 1674). Röthlisberger, 1961, pp. 104 f.

Bildergalerie, p. 151, no. 626. Mentioned by Bretagne (Nymphenburg: 1722), 1723, p. 53 (»un port de mer [...] & le soleil couchant«). Weizenfeld: Beschreibung, 1775, no. 743: »Ein Seepekt. Bey aufgehender Sonne führen einige Matrosen einem in der hohen See stehenden Schiffe die Ladung«.

[Von Claude Lorraine]: Ein anders repraesentirend den Mittag und hellen Sonnenschein.

Claude Lorrain, *Landscape representing Noon and bright sunlight*. Dulwich Picture Gallery. This painting is: Claude Lorrain, *Jacob with Laban and his Daughters*, 1676, Dulwich Picture Gallery, Dulwich, South London, no. 244; acquired: 1811; Acc. No. DPG205.

[Von Claude Lorraine]: Ein Abendstück oder der Sonnen Niedergang.

Claude Lorrain, *An »Abendstück«, or the setting Sun*, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv. no. 382. (Siefert 2009, p. 88: Claude Lorrain, *Idyllische Landschaft bei untergehender Sonne*, 1676).

Bildergalerie, 1787, p. 147. Mentioned by Bretagne (1722), 1723, p. 52. Weizenfeld, 1775, no. 739: »Eine Abendlandschaft. Verschiedene Thiere werden von der Weide nach Hause getrieben.« Marcel Röthlisberger, *Im Licht von Claude Lorrain*, München 1983, p. 90, states that this work, together with Claude 1 (*supra*), came to the Kurfürstliche Galerie, München, after the death of Herzog Albrecht Sigismund von Bayern in 1685. The estate inventory of Albrecht Sigismund (1685) is not cited, but would appear to be Röthlisberger's source for his statement. This is prior to Franz von Mayr's death in 1699.

Also in Sandrart's collection: Claude: »Eine berühmte Landschaft oder Morgenroth bey Tivoli repraesentirt. C. [= Kopie]. Eine Compagnie zur Abendstund, darinn der Sonnen Niedergang sehr eigentlich vorgebildet wird. C.« (Peltzer, p. 330, and Anm. 1489 (Peltzer: perhaps copies after the paintings in the Franz von Mayr collection)

Von Peter von Laer al' Bornbot eine Landschaft, darinn etliche Cavaglieri zu Pferd mit allerley Art von Hunden von der Jagt ankommend, des Authorn bester Arbeit.

Pieter van Laer, *A Landscape with several Cavaliers on horseback and hounds returning from the Hunt*.

This is fairly clearly a painting that had earlier belonged to Sandrart, a painting of three »Spannen« (ca. 60 cm), »wie bei aufgehender Sonne etliche Jäger samt einer Damen zu Pferd sitzend mit ihrem Buben und *allerley Art Hunden* ganz erkantlich *auf die Jagd reiten* in einer Landschaft, darinn eine große Brucken, worunter die Morgensonne ins Wasser scheinet und sich gegen den Brucken reflectiret, alles sehr künst- und rühmlich (...)«. This is a *Morgenstück*; von Mayr's picture is interpreted in the inventory as an *Abendstück* in as much as it is identified as a return from the hunt. This is an understandable confusion, arising perhaps from haste. In old inventories »sunrise« and »sunset« pictures are sometimes interchanged.

Cf. the same subject in: Axel Janeck: Untersuchung über den holländischen Maler Pieter van Laer, genannt Bamboccio, Diss. Würzburg 1968, pp. 84–85, A IV 1, Stich von Cornelius Visscher: *Aufbruch der Jäger* (»P. van Laer pinx.«), with various descriptions of corresponding paintings. The print by Visscher is illustrated in Christiaan Schuckman: Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700, vol. 40, Visscher, Roosendaal 1992, p. 79, no. 63, Cornelis Visscher, *The Hunters*, after Pieter van Laer. The composition however differs from Sandrart's description.

This instance provides a further indication that von Mayr acquired not only works by Sandrart but also works from Sandrart's collection. Sandrart did sell works he owned (v. *supra*, »500 Gulden«; = Sandrart-Peltzer, pp. 209–210). Cf. *Versteigerungsprotokoll*, Schleißheim, 1851/1852, p. 8: »306. Laer, Peter de, (angeblich), eine Abendlandschaft. Holz. H. 1. 4. Br. 1. 10. 3. Inv. No. 2095.«

Von Peter de Cortona Adam und Eva in Lebens-grösse.

Pietro da Cortona, *Adam and Eve*, present location not determined (formerly Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Schleißheim; included in the current inventory of the BStGS; cf. *infra*).

This painting is cited in older catalogues of the Munich collections. Wellnhöfer: »Franz von Mayr«, 1936, p. 431, mentions Rittershausen: Merkwürdigkeiten, 1787, p. 215 (»früher Augsburg, heute [1936] Schleißheim, Inv. 4840«). Rittershausen, 1787, p. 215 f.: »Im Stile des Petrus Beretinus. Adam und Eva. Lebensgrosse, ganze Figuren. Die Mutter der Menschen reicht eben die Frucht von dem verbotenen Baume dem Adam. Die Schlaglichter und Schatten thun bey Vereinigung dieser zwo treffende Wirkung.« Weizenfeld: Beschreibung der Bildergalerie in Schleisheim, 1775, p. 144, »Peter Beretini da Cortona., no. 579. Adam und Eva im Paradiese. Ganze Figuren. Auf Leinwand 6 Fuß ii Zoll hoch, 5 Fuß 3 Zoll breit.« *Die Bildergalerie in München*, 1787, p. 60, »Petro di Kordona., No. 301, Adam und Eva in Paradiese in Lebensgrösse. Auf Leinw. 6 F. ii Z. hoch, 5 F. 3 Z. breit.« For Sandrart's friendship with Pietro da Cortona: Sandrart-Peltzer 1925 (1971), pp. 270, 288; cf. *ad Indicem* »Cortona (Cortonne), Pietro Berettini da«.

Giuliano Briganti, in: *Pietro da Cortona*, 2nd ed., Firenze 1982 (also in first ed., 1962), p. 272, lists at the Augsburg Pinacoteca (n. 2354), by Cortona, *Il peccato originale*, tela, 2,56 × 1,86 (*proviene da Monaco*), citing the catalogue of the Augsburg Gallery of 1869 and the dissertation of Von Below, 1932, p. 72. Stefanie von Below, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis*

Pietro da Cortona, Diss., München/Murnau am Staffelsee, 1932, in the *Werkverzeichnis*, cites "Augsburg: Gem. Galerie, Nr. 354, »der Sündenfall«; Lit.: Kat. 1899, p. 66, »Eva reicht dem Adam vom schlangenumwundenen Baum der Erkenntnis eine Feige. Adam hält einen Zweig des Baumes in den Händen. Ganze lebensgroße Figur, Leinw. H. 2,36, Br. 1,86 m. (aus der kurfürstl. Galerie in München).« She adds, »nicht mehr vorhanden«, which apparently escaped Briganti's notice. Wellnhofer (who was aided by A. R. Peltzer), 1936, p. 431, notes: »früher Augsburg, heute Schleißheim, Inv. 4840«, that is, at Schleißheim after 1932 (von Below).

Augsburg and its Gallery received numerous paintings from Munich (Schleißheim) on several occasions (1806, 1810, 1873). The painting is first mentioned in Augsburg by Rudolf Marggraff: *Katalog der k. Gemälde-Galerie in Augsburg*, München 1869, p. 76, no. 257, Berettini, »Eva, an dem verhängnißvollen Feigenbaum auf die Kniee niedergesunken, reicht dem auf einer Felsbank sitzenden Adam die Frucht. Vorn ein reicher Blumenflor. – Ganze lebensgr. Figg. – Leinw., 8' h., 5' 9'' br.« The 1899 *Katalog der K. Gemälde-Galerie in Augsburg, Amtliche Ausgabe* (München), cited above, p. 66, no. 354, lists the picture as »Der Sündenfall«. The second edition of this catalogue, ed. Franz von Reber, München 1905, p. 66, no. 354, repeats the same information, as does the *Katalog der Königl. Filialgemäldegalerie zu Augsburg*, Dritte Auflage, ed. Heinz Braune, 1912, p. 15, no. 2354, from the Kurfürstl. Galerie, München. The painting does not appear later in Augsburg. It seems to have returned to Munich (Schleißheim). Schweers, 1994, vol. 1, p. 311, notes: »Cortona, Adam und Eva, Lw., 256 × 186 cm., Inv. 4840, München, Alte Pinakothek«. This corresponds to the inventory no. given by Wellnhofer in 1936 (p. 431: »früher Augsburg, heute Schleißheim, Inv. 4840«; v. *supra*). BStGS A-E, Bestandsliste der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen A–E: 4840, Cortona Pietro da, *Sündenfall*.

A very Cortonesque painting of *Adam and Eve*, credibly attributed to Johann Carl Loth, after Pietro da Cortona (National Trust, Acc. No. 108919 [1987], Kedleston Hall and Eastern Museum, near Qarndon, Derby, Derbyshire; ca. 1656, oil on canvas, 74 × 55 inches) closely resembles the descriptions, especially that of 1869 (Eve kneeling on tree; Adam sitting on *Felsbank*). This painting is apparently a reduced copy of Cortona's Munich *Adam and Eve*.

The subject of *Adam and Eve* (»Original Sin«) does not otherwise figure among the better known works of Pietro da Cortona, and it would seem that the »lost« painting from Schleißheim, with life-sized figures, most likely derived from Franz von Mayr's collection.

Von Carlo Maratti der Englische Gruß.

Carlo Maratti, *Englischer Gruß*: Weizenfeld: Beschreibung der Churfürstlichen Bildergalerie in Schleißheim, München 1775, p. 66: »Karl Maratti. 238. 239. Der englische Gruß in zweyen Gemälden« may possibly be identified with two paintings (Maria of the Annunciation and Archangel Gabriel) now in the Munich Residenz, there listed as copies after Maratta. Johann Nepomuck von Weizenfeld: Beschreibung der Churfürstlichen Bildergalerie in Schleißheim, München 1775, p. 66: »Karl Maratti. 238. 239. Der englische Gruß in zweyen Gemälden. Auf einem ist diseligste Jungfrau in andächter Stellung; auf dem anderen der Engel Gabriel mit einer Lilge in der Hand. / Auf Leinwandf 2 Fuß hoch 1 Fuß breit«. Wellnhofer 1936, p. 431.

See: Amanda Ramm: Die Grüne Galerie in der Münchner Residenz von 1737 bis 1836, München 2009, pp. 216–217, cat. no. 32 (illustrated): Kopie nach Carlo Maratta, *Engel Gabriel einer Verkündigungsszene*, Öl auf Leinwand, 73 × 60 cm, BSV, Inv. Nr. G0259, Residenz München, Grüne Galerie (Pendant to Maria einer Verkündigungsszene; in the collection of

the Grüne Galerie since 1748), catalogues as a copy of the eighteenth century. The *Maria* (cat. no. 20, pp. 192–193 (illustrated)). These are apparently copies of the paintings of the paintings once at Schleißheim. Divided ›vignettes‹ of the Annunciation were painted by Maratti. These may be easily located in image-searches in the Internet.

Von Adam Eltzheimer ein kleines, aber curioses Stuck.

Adam Elsheimer: »ein kleines aber curioses Stuck«.

The description may be insufficient to establish an identification. Nevertheless, Sandrart knew Elsheimer well in Rome, and he acquired a work by Elsheimer from his widow (Peltzer, p. 162). In Sandrart's collection was found: »Von Adam Elsheimer eine Historie aus dem Pastor Fido unterschiedlicher Figuren in einer vortrefflichen [Landschaft] mit grossen Bäumen und deren Stamm und Gründen samt darauf befindlichen Kräutern, allesamt so natürlich fleissig ausgeführt, daß aller Bäume Blätter, wie auch alle Kräuter nach deren Eigenschafften verwunderlich zu erkennen und zu unterscheiden sind, überaus curios ausgeführt und auf Kupfer gemahlt.« (Peltzer, p. 328). ›Pastor Fido‹: a pastoral tragicomedy set in Arcadia by Giovanni Battista Guarini (Venice 1590). ›Curios‹ is a quality that Sandrart associates with Elsheimer: Peltzer, p. 160: »(...) also ware dieser der erste Adam, der in der Malkunst kleinerem Bildern; Landschaften und andern Curiositäten sich also hoch und natürlich erhoben (...)«; p. 162: »Curiosität«. For Sandrart, typical of Elsheimer were »kleine Bilder, Landschaften und anderen Curiositäten«; also noted for »Herrliche Nacht-Stucke«. See also: *Die Sintflut*, Städel, »erworben 1920: aus Augsburg, vor 1920; dann Murnau. Aus Süddeutschen Privatbesitz«.

Von Christoph Schwartz Mars und Venus.

Christoph Schwarz (Schwartz), *Mars and Venus*. Not identified.

The title is possibly mistaken (cf. Venus and Adonis). See Heinrich Geissler: Christoph Schwarz, ca. 1548–1592, Diss. Freiburg (Br.) 1960, p. 201 (unidentified); also nos. G II, 119; G II, 120; G II, 121.

[Von Christoph Schwartz]: Die Schlacht von Senacherib.

This painting is:

Christoph Schwartz, *Die Niederlage des Sanherib*, Brunn, Moravská galerie, Brunn, Inv.-Nr. A200. 30 × 42.5 cm (wood).

Heinrich Geissler, *Christoph Schwarz*, 1960, p. 175. See the »aufgeklebtes Schreiben« of 1731 (»N. 500 Euer Exellenz gehorchsambster Diener Frantz Antoni Loreck Churfürstl. Rath und Schätzmeister. München den 4 Martz 1731«). 1895 from the estate of the Kustos Moritz Trapp in Brunn, who had acquired it in Munich.

Von Johann Both und seinem Bruder:

See Sandrart, *Vita* (Peltzer, pp. 184–185).

Several paintings by Both belong or belonged to the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen; see: James D. Burke: Jan Both: Paintings, Drawings and Prints, New York: Garland, 1976 (Diss., Univ. Harvard, 1972), pp. 227–231, nos. 78–82. No. 80, *Landscape with a Wooden Bridge*, 76 × 114, may correspond to one of Both's large landscapes; suggested dating (Burke), ca. 1645. These works apparently came from the collection of the childless Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz (1658–1716), founder of the ›Gemäldegalerie Düsseldorf‹. Kat. Schleißheim (E. D. Schmid), 1980, p. 20: »384: Italienische Landschaft. (Prov.: Düsseldorf-Galerie); no. 795: Juno und dem toten Argus (aus Mannheim)«.

[Von Johann Both und seinem Bruder]: zwey grosse Landschaften, nemlich ein Morgen- und Abendstück.

Such paintings are known; cf. Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 185: »Also haben sie [Jan und sein Bruder] auch den Mittag, Abend und Sonnenuntergang, den Mondschein bey Nacht und dergleichen in Colorit und anderm dermaßen verwunderlich nachgebildet, daß man in ihren Gemälden gleichsam die Stunden des Tages erkennen konte (...). (...), wie sie dann viel hundert schöne Werke in kurzer Zeit in Rom vollbracht, darvon ich noch zwei große Stück, eine Morgen- und Abend-Stunde, mit andern zu ihrer Gedächtnis aufbehalte.«

See also: Hans F. Schweers: Gemälde in deutschen Museen, ed. München 1994 (first ed.: 1981), p. 185: two larger landscapes in München, A.P (140 × 180, Kopie, Inv. 2119; 111 × 150, Inv. 140). Cf. BStGS A-E, Bestandsliste der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen A–E: 1016, Both Jan, inv. nos. 140, 192, 384, 3074, 7426.

[Von Johann Both und seinem Bruder]: Eine Landschaft mit einem Ruin.

Jan Both, *A Landscape with a ruin*, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, München (Staatsgalerie in der Residenz Ansbach, Inv.-No. 1016). Schweers, *Gemälde in deutschen Museen*, 1994, p. 185, Ansbach, *Kartenspieler in römische Ruinen*, 63 × 80 cm, Inv. 4/61. Weizenfeld, *Beschreibung*, 1775, no. 789 (Both): »Eine Landschaft mit einem zusammengefallenen alten Gebäude, bey dem etliche Bauern auf Steinen herum sitzen, und spielen. Auf Leinwand 2 Fuß 7 Zoll breit, 2 Fuß ½ Zoll hoch.«

Die Bildergalerie in München: Ein Handbuch für die Liebhaber, und Kunstfreunde, München 1787, p. 137: »Joh. Both. 588. Eine Landschaft mit offenen und zerfallenen Ruinen, bey denen sich lüderliche Gesindel mit Spielen, und Saufen aufhält. Die Luft ist in seiner Art schön, und dämmernd. Auf Leinwand. 2 Fuß 7 Zoll breit, 2 Fuß ½ Zoll hoch.« Rittershausen, *Merkwürdigkeiten*, 1787, p. 339 (nearly same description as found in *Bildergalerie*). *Brennpunkt Rom*, 2014, pp. 94–95, cat. no. 26: *Römische Volksszene mit Kartenspielern vor dem Saturntempel* (as with »Abendlicht«; von Mayr provenance not noted). See also: Burke: Jan Both, Diss., 1976 (1972), pp. 140–142 (»Morning«); 230–231, cat. no. 82.

BStGS A–E, Bestandsliste der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen A–E: 1016, Both Jan, *Römische Volksszene mit Kartenspielern vor dem Saturntempel*.

[Von Johann Both und seinem Bruder]: Ein Nachtstück oder Mondschein.

Both, *A night-piece with the shining moon*, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv. 2119.

See Hans F. Schweers, *Gemälde in deutschen Museen*, ed. München: K. G. Saur, 1994, p. 185: Jan Both, *Landschaft in Mondschein*, Holz, 74 × 60 cm. Zuschreibung. Inv. 2119, München, Alte Pinakothek. Not in Burke, *Jan Both*, 1976 (1972).
BStGS A-E, Bestandsliste der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen A–E: 2119, Both Jan, Mondscheinlandschaft.

[Von Johann Both und seinem Bruder]: Ein zierlicher Schöpfbrunn

Both, A picture of a pretty draw-well.

Not identified.

Cf. Burke, *Jan Both*, 1976 (1972), fig. 159, Rotterdam: *Fountain in the Woods*, drawing.

[Von Johann Both und seinem Bruder] samt unterschiedlichen andern Artigkeiten von dieses Authoris Hand verfertigt.

Together with various other nice things from this artist's hand.

See: Schleißheim, *Kat.*, 1851, p. 10, Landscapes, nos. 382, 386; Schleißheim, *Kat.*, 1905, no. 857 (copies?). Hans F. Schweers: *Gemälde in deutschen Museen*, ed. München 1994 (first ed.: 1981), p. 185: Landscape paintings in: Berlin, Bonn, Essen, Leipzig, Meiningen, München, Schleißheim, Würzburg, etc. See *Versteigerungs-Protocoll*, 1851/1852, nos. 382, 386.

Von Pordenon [= Bourdon] ein grosser Kalkofen mit einer Menge Figuren, auch Thieren und Landschaften, von des Authoris aller berühmtester Arbeit

Sébastien Bourdon, *Römischer Kalkofen*, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv. no. 155. Rittershausen, *Merkwürdigkeiten*, 1787, p. 360: »Von Sebastian Bourdon. / Ein römischer Kalkofen mit vielen Figuren. Einige Menschen sind beschäftigt Kalk zu verkaufen, andere wieder herzurichten; auch Esel werden gepackt: im Hintergrund wird Speise bereitet.« Weizenfeld, *Beschreibung*, 1775, no. 275: »Ein brennender Kalkofen.« See the exhibition catalogue, *Brennpunkt Rom*, 2014, pp. 127–128, for early inventories of Schleißheim (1750, 1751, 1755, 1761). See also Helge Siefert, in: Rosenberg, 2005/2006, p. 59.

[Von Pordenon [= Bourdon]: **samt mehren Historien von selbiger Hand.**

Various history paintings; not identified.

Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 259: »Viele seiner [Bourdon's] bästen Werke sind bey dem Kunstliebenden Freyherrn von Mayer in Mönchen.«

See: *Versteigerungs-Protocoll*, Schleißheim, 1851 (1852): *Bourdon, Seb. Die drei Könige, Leinwand, H. 2.2, Br. 1.8.6*; (cf. *Brennpunkt Rom*, 2014, p. 129, and cat. no. 33, Potsdam).

Cat. Schleißheim, 1914, *Seb. Bourdon, Landschaft*, no. 3714. Kat. Schleißheim, 1905, p. 149, »Sébastien Bourdon, no. 714 (1204) xvii, Landschaft. Ein von Bäumen umgebenes Kastell erhebt sich hinter einem Wasserfall, an dessen linken Ufer vorn Schafe getrieben werden. Holz, rund, h. 0,26 ½, br. 0,27 ½ – Zweibrücker Galerie. – Inv. Best.« Cf. Bourdon: »et le Berger ses Troupeaux«. *Brennpunkt Rom*, cat. no. 47 (pp. 120–121; cf. cat. no. 48). See *op. cit.*, pp. 126–129: »Verzeichnis der Werke von Sébastien Bourdon in den Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen«.

In light of the number of works by Bourdon that Franz von Mayr owned, it might be considered if Bourdon's *Perseus and Andromeda* (»um 1650«), mentioned in Munich as early as ca. 1750, did not come from his collection (see *Brennpunkt Rom*, pp. 109–110, 128). Bourdon's *Perseus and Andromeda* (*Die Befreiung der Andromeda*, um 1650, 111 × 141 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Inv.-Nr. 1290), is mentioned as early as 1751 in inventories (cf. Reinhold Baumstark, *Alte Pinakothek*, English ed., München 2002, p. 154: in the Badenburg in Nymphenburg); in the »Saal der Badenburg«, in 1738 [Siefert 2005, p. 69 and note 55, no. 29]). Not mentioned by Bretagne, 1723, in his description of the *Sallon* of the »la Maison des bains, autrement Badembourg« (p. 61), where, however, paintings are not listed. Between 1700 and 1710, Bourdon's *Perseus and Andromeda* was copied by the miniature painter François Bouly along with other paintings belonging to the Kurfürst Max-Emanuel (Siefert 2005, p. 58 and note 20; Hans Buchheit and Hans Oldenburg: *Das Miniaturenkabinett der Münchner Residenz*, München 1921, catalogue of the *Miniaturenkabinett*). Franz von Mayr died in 1699. Thus Bourdon's *Perseus and Andromeda* might have derived from von Mayr's collection. See also Rosenberg, 2005/2006, p. 319: »Provenienz«. It should come as no surprise that, in addition to Bourdon's *Kalkofen*, other works by Bourdon in von Mayr's collection were of high quality, as Sandrart affirms. Although Sandrart praises the quality of von Mayr's paintings by Bourdon, he describes only one of them. *Bildergalerie*, 1887, p. 56, no. 287: Andromeda. Cf. *Brennpunkt Rom*, 2014, p. 128.

Summary statement at the end of Sandrart's »Des Freyherrn von Mayr etc. Kunst-Cabinet« (Peltzer, p. 326):

»Dabey sind auch sonst noch vieler andern Italiänischen, Teutschen und Niederländischen alten und neuen Meister beste Wercke in schöner vollkommener Ordnung eingerichtet, absonderlich sehr viel gute Tafeln von Johann Bockspergers geistreichen Historien. Von Osenbeck Landschafften und allerley Gethiere. Von Bemmels schöne Landschafften, also auch von Ermel und anderen noch lebenden guten Mahlen ihre beste Wercke.« (Peltzer, p. 326).

absonderlich sehr viel gute Tafeln von Johann Bockspergers geistreichen Historien.

Johann Melchior Bocksberger, many of his good history paintings.

Cf. Weizenfeld: Beschreibung, 1775, nos. 67, 68, 71, 75, 80, 82, 85, 98 (nach Giulio Romano), 99, 513.

Johann Melchior Bocksberger, 1525/1535, Salzburg; 1587, Regensburg (Peltzer, note 425; see: Ilse Krumpöck, »Johann Melchior Bocksberger«, in: *Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 12, München/Leipzig 1996, p. 52; Susanne Kaeppler: *Die Malerfamilie Bocksberger aus Salzburg*, Salzburg 2003). Active mainly in South Germany: Ingolstadt, Passau, Wien, München, Landshut, and especially in Regensburg. Seventeen works are assigned to Bocksberger in the BStGM Inventory.

Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 115: »Absonderlich aber legte er sich auf Jagden und Feldschlachten zu Pferd und zu Fuß in fresco zu mahlen«. See »sehr viel Häuser in Augsburg, Salzburg, München, Regensburg, Ingolstadt und Passau (...)«. »Über diese hab ich auch bey dem Kunstliebenden Freyherrn von Mayr zu München und Regensburg etliche der allerbästen Gemälde des Bocksbergers so wol in Oel- als Wasserfarb, gesehen, welche deßelben Excellenz, und zwar nicht unbillich, in hohen Ehren halten.« (Peltzer, p. 115).

Von Ossenbeeck Landschaften und allerley Gethiere.

Jan van Ossenbeeck, Landscapes and all kinds of animals.

Jan van Ossenbeeck (1623, Rotterdam – 1674, Wien), was a Dutch painter. According to Houbraken (based on Sandrart), he painted in the manner of Pieter van Laer. He was so good at arranging animals and figures before grottoes, Roman ruins, and waterfalls that it was said that he brought all of Rome with him (»Hy schildere op de wyze van Bamboots verscheide geslagten von Beesten, en Beeldjes, en schikte de beywerken of agterwerken zoo vreemt met Grotten, vervalle Roomsche Gebouwen, Watervallen en dergelyke zoodanig naar den Italiaanschen aart, (...)« (Houbraken).

Rome: 1647–1655; Brussels: 1656–1660; Wien: 1660–1674. Sandrart mentions his presence in Regensburg, where he may have encountered Franz von Mayr, who owned several works by Ossenbeeck.

See: *Thieme-Becker*, vol. 26, 1932, p. 72 (Timon Henricus Fokker).

Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 198: »Obgedachter von Hoje [Nicolaes Van Hoy] brachte mit sich von Rom einen genannt Ossenbeck, der die fast unvergleichliche Manier Bambots in Ausbildung allerley Bäurischer täglicher Begebenheiten, Landschaften und allerley Arten von Thieren an sich hatte, die er verwunderlich, natürlich und wol verstanden, derenthalben er bald sehr berühmt und allenthalben beliebt worden, auch itzt annoch in Regensburg wohnhaft seyn solle« (see also p. 314: »Ein Nachtstück von Ossenleick«).

Conclusion: Italianate landscapes; Romanist; style of Pieter van Laer (imitator; *bambochade* painter); animal painter .

Von Bommel schöne Landschaften.

Willem van Bommel, Beautiful landscape paintings.

Willem van (Wilhelm von) Bommel (1630, in Utrecht; 1708, Nürnberg) was a Dutch painter active in Germany and Italy.

For Willem van Bommel, see Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 216: »Der berühmte Landschaftmahler Wilhelm Bommel von Utrecht (...)«. He has »Rom und die fürtreflichste Oerter Italiens besucht, absonderlich aber zu Tivoli sich lang aufgehalten, daselbst alles zu seinen Landschaften dienlich nach der Natur selbst so fleisig zu Papier gebracht, daß es kein anderer vor ihm jemals so vollkommen gehabt, wie er dann in kurzer Zeit vermittelt seines guten Verstands und unverdroßenen Fleißes ein fürtreflicher Landschaftmahler worden, so daß seine Werke wegen guter Ordinanz, vernünftiger Colorirung und Vielheit der Bäume den Augen sehr fröhlich vorkommen, wodurch er auch in Italien einen großen Ruhm erlanget. Carl Albert Regnet, in: Meyer's *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1855, p. 492: »Er malte mit Vorliebe Landschaften mit Ruinen und Wasserfällen, wobei er sich gut auf die Vertheilung der Licht- und Schattenmassen verstand«. Bommel's works were collected by »fürnehme Liebhabere« in Augsburg, Nürnberg and elsewhere in Germany. See Kurt Pilz, in: *Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, München/Leipzig 1994, pp. 580–581; Wolf Eiermann: Willem van Bommel, Petersberg 2007 (Franz von Mayr: pp. 81, 85, 113 f., 163, 180).

Bemmel was a leading painter of Italianate pastoral and classic landscapes in Germany. It is said that he had »den Teutschen zum Landschaften am ersten rechte Anleitung gegeben« (Leonhard Sturm, 1702, cited in Eiermann, 2007, p. 149). Eiermann (2007, pp. 149f.) suggests that the first rule of landscape painting (Sturm) derived from Bemmel himself (»Bey den Landschaften ist darauf zu sehen dass die Luft und die Colorirung der Landschaft item die Tageszeit und der Schatten wohlmiteinander übereinstimmen. Also wenn einer in einem Gemälde so den Morgen oder Abend vorstellet kurze Schatten machet, wäre es ein Fehler und wenn die Farben bey heissen heitern SonnenLufft aufs annehmlichste getrieben werden, ist es auch nicht zu loben.«). Earlier Sandrart had praised Bemmel's conscientious observance of the times of day (Eiermann, p. 150).

Conclusion: another Italianate landscapist, who was influenced by painting in Rome in the 1630s and later. Twelve landscapes by Bemmel are included in the BStGM inventory

also auch [Landschaften] von Ermel und anderen noch lebenden guten Malern ihre beste Werke.

Also Landscapes by Ermels and other good painters who are still alive.

Johann Franz Ermels (auch Ermel, Ermelein, Johann Franciscus Ermels; 1641, Reilkirch; 1693, Nürnberg) was a German portraitist, history painter, and landscapist. He was most successful as a painter of landscapes, in which he imitated the style of Jan Both and other Dutch Italianates. He worked with his friend Bemmel. Ideal landscapes, often with ruins and pastoral themes.

Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 218: »Des Kunst-reichen und berühmten Ermels mit wenigen zu gedenken, ist derselbe nicht allein in Landschaften, sondern auch in schönen Figuren, Gebäuden und andern Zierlichkeiten, damit er seine Landschaften bereichert, vortreflich (...)«.

See Thieme-Becker, vol. 11, pp. 1–2 (Theodor Hampe: notes the decline in Ermels's reputation, »Seine Gemälde freilich sind heutzutage vielfach in die Depots gewandert«); Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon, vol. 34, p. 414 (Sven Hauschke).

Conclusion: Landscape painter and follower of Jan Both. Five landscapes by Ermels are included in the BStGM inventory.

Johann von Spillenberger, etliche Ovidianischen Figuren zu dem großen Saal des Schloßes Stockau.

Johann von Spillenberger: 1628, Kaschau (Hungary); 1679, between Vienna and Augsburg. Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 219: »Gleichfalls erwies er seinen Verstand in Ausbildung etlicher Ovidianischer Figuren zu dem großen Saal des Schloßes Stockau, welche ihm der Herr Baron von Mayer als ein unvergleichlicher Kunst-verständiger Liebhaber zu einem sonderbaren Ornament verfärigen lassen.« See Ruth Baljühr: Johann von Spillenberger, 1628–1679: ein Maler des Barock, Weissenhorn 2003.

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Appendix 2:

Texts by Joachim von Sandrart,

from the *Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*

There follows a selection of full texts from Sandrart relevant to Bourdon's painting of a Roman lime kiln in Munich. The transcriptions correspond to the texts in Sandrart-Peltzer (1925/1971).

Sandrart on Sébastien Bourdon and His »Kalchoven zu Rom«

Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 259: *from* Das XXVI. Capitel, *Dreizehn Mahlere Französicher Nation*.

Eben von dieser Nation ware zu Rom auch in dieser Kunst sehr befließen Bordon, der formirte ihm selbst eine gefällige Manier von großen Landschaften mit vielen Bildern,* Thieren und Historien aus heiliger Schrift, besonders dem Alten Testament, womit er dann seinen Geist und Überfluß in der Invention, wie nicht weniger auch seine Geschwindigkeit aus denen prophan-Historien und allerley mechanischen Einfällen verspüren laßen. Viel seiner bästen Werke sind bey dem Kunstliebenden Freyherrn von Mayer in Mönchen zu finden,** unter selbigen aber das ruhmwürdigste ein großer angezündter Kalchoven zu Rom mit derselben Umkaufs-Handlungsgeschäften an Menschen, Pferden, tragenden Eseln, Hunden, Bettlern, Katzenfangern, Braten und Eßen mit deren Garkuchengesellen auf Bambotio Manier, dannoch größer und verwunderlich-vernünftig gut exprimirt, samt andern mehr, die in seinem Kunstcabinet zu ersehen sind. Er hat meistens zu Paris gehaust, allwo in vielen Plätzen des Bordons Tugend zu sehen, von denen der Natalis die Vermählung Christi mit der heiligen Catharina in Kupfer gebracht, folgendes auch viel anders mehr, als die sieben Werk der Barmherzigkeit, die noch im Druck zu bekommen sind. Es würden auch zweifelsohne noch viele von ihme verfärtiget worden seyn, wo er nicht mit Tod abgegangen wäre, deßen Ursach einer ihme ungünstigen Person, dern gute oder böse Recommendation doch bey dem König meistens gültig, beygemeßen wird, als welche ihn aus Neid so hart gedruckt haben solle, daß er fast mit Weib und Kind Hunger leiden müßen. Nichts desto weniger wird sein Ruhm beständig grünen, weil seine Werke hoch lobenswehrt von den Kunstverständigen theur bezahlt und in Ehren gehalten werden.

*Bildern** = »Figuren« (this usage is fairly common in Sandrart).

*in Mönchen zu finden*** : *In the Latin edition*: »tam Stockavii quam Monaci«; *Peltzer, note 114* (Schloss Stockau [Reichertshofen])

Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 326:

In: »Des Freyherrn von Mayr etc. Kunst-Cabinet«

»Von Pordenon [= *Bordon / Bourdon*]** ein grosser Kalchoven mit einer Menge Figuren, auch Thieren und Landschaften, von des Authoris aller berühmtester Arbeit samt mehrnen Historien von selbiger Hand.«

* Peltzer, note 1456: »Von Sandrart selbstständig verfaßt.«

** »Pordenon« = *Bordenon*

Sandrart on Pieter von Laer, *Il Bamboccio*

Sandrart-Peltzer, pp. 183–184: *from Das XIX. Capitel, Heinrich Gaudt und noch neun und zwanzig andere Mahlere und Künstler.*

Unser Niederland hat aus ihrem Schoß immerzu neue und mit großem Verstand begabte Künstler in die Welt geschickt, worinnen auch die Stadt Harlem in Holland nicht die geringste gewesen, sonderlich aber hat sie sich dem Peter von Laer glücklich erwiesen, als der von guten Leuten gebohren und nach selbiger Stadt guter Kinderzucht, sittlich und wol erzogen worden. Nach hingelegten Kinderjahren wandte er sich zu denen Studien, da sich alsobald seine Neigung zur Mahlkunst verspüren ließ, dann er machte kleine Figuren, Landschaften, Gebäude, allerley Thiere und andere gemeine tägliche Begebenheiten, als auch Jagten, Felder, Landstrassen, Baurenhäuser und Städel oder Tafern, alte Ruinen und Mauerwerk, Gefängnußen, Zimmer, allerhand Nationen und derselben Beruff, unterschiedliche Zeiten des Jahrs, des Tags Stunden, Morgen-, Mittags- und Abend-Sonne, welches alles er durch bloßes Ansehen sich so eigentlich eingebildet, daß er nachmalen (wie lang ers auch zuvor gesehen) jedes absonderlich in eines Fingers großen Bildern ganz vollkommen mit dem Pensel aus seinem Hirn, samt denen nöthigen Affecten, wuste auszubilden.

Dieser schöne Kunsteiffer triebe ihn von Harlem nach Frankreich und fürters auf Rom, wo er 16 Jahr lang mit großem Ruhm verblieben und seine Studien ganz meisterhaft fortgesetzt, auch von Tag zu Tag größers Lob und Ruhm erlanget. Dann unangesehen daß sonsten alle, die in klein Mahlen, ihre Disposition nicht eben gar genau nach den wahren und scharpfen Reglen der Kunst richten und noch weniger in dem Grundaufziehen und Abtheilungen sich bemühen, sondern sich an guter Stellung der Bilder vergnügen, hat er seine kleine Stuck, wie andere ihre allergröste Taflen gerichtet, die Pflaster-Austheilungen auf dem Grund correct gezogen nach Anleitung des Horizonts, jedes Stuck ausgesonnen, gemeßen und accurat eingericht, ja so gar die Proportion und Kräfte der Farben nach den Regeln nett beobachtet und solches alles nur aus seinem schönen Geist ohne einige Beyhülff der Kupferstichen, dann ob er schon auch bißweiln etwas nach dem Leben gezeichnet, hat er doch in denen Gemälden seinen Verstand und Gedächtnus allein zu Raht gezogen, und was er im Spazieren gehen auf dem Mark oder vor der Stadt Denkwürdiges gesehen, in seinen Werken fürtreflich und vollkommen nach den Reglen abgebildet, daß seines gleichen vor und nach ihm nicht gewesen.

Was seinen Lebenswandel belanget, der mir, als einem seiner vertraulichsten Freund, wol bekannt, indem wir lange Jahre theils zu Rom, theils in Holland um einander gewesen, kan ich mit Grund der Warheit melden, daß er aller Tugend voll eines liebeichen und freundlichen Gemüts gewesen, durch stäte Betrachtung und Nachsinnung aber seinen Verstand zuviel aufgebürdet, welchen Last er doch sich selbst mit der Music, sonderlich mit einer Violin erleuchtet. Sonsten ware er gütig, bescheiden und friedlich in Gesellschaften (denen er zwar nicht zu viel ergeben). Er hatte eine sehr seltsame Gestalt, deßwegen ihn die Romaner nur Il Bambotto benahmet, womit ein fisirliches Ding gemeinet wird, dann sein unterer Leib war um ein Drittheil größer als der obere und hatte [er] fast ganz keinen Hals, darzu eine kurze Brust, weßhalben viel Lachens über ihn und diesen defect entstanden, womit er aber selbst nur gescherzet und die Kurzweil vermehret. Also hat er einsmals bey einer angestellten Kurzweil Verwillkomstauffen genannt, einen Schurzpfleck angelegt und sich in den Winkel hinter die Thür gesetzt, daß viel fürübergehende ihn für einen Pavian oder seltsam Thier angesehen. Im Tanzen war er überaus artig, zoge sich oben kürzer ein und fuhr mit seinen langen Beinen so geschwind andern über den Kopf herum, gleich als ob nur ein halber Mann auf der Erden hupfete. Ein andermal sind wir, Pousin, Claudi Lorenes und ich, Landschaften nach dem Leben zu mahlen oder zu zeichnen auf Tivoli geritten, da dann auf der Ruckreise aus Sorge eines einbrechenden

Regens Bambatio, unweißend unser, von uns heim geritten. Da wir nun vor Rom ans Thor kommen und ihn gemißet, fragten wir die Wacht, ob er etwan schon vor hinein wäre, die aber mit nein geantwortet, sondern es wäre des Viterinno* Pferd ohne Mann allein hinein gelauffen, habe auf sich ein Felleisen und 2. Stiefel neben dem Sattel, auch ein Hut oben auf gebunden gehabt, also daß sie obgedachten Bambots nur für ein Felleisen, Hut und Stiefel angesehen, so uns große Ursach zu lachen gegeben, wie er dann auch, als wir solches ihm erzehlet, selbst herzlich darüber gelacht.

Unangesehen nun, daß die Natur ihn der Gestalt nach nicht wol begabet, so ware er doch nicht abscheulich und unangenehm, sondern hat die Mängel des Leibes mit seinem schönen Geist, Verstand, Witz und Weißheit vielfältig herein gebracht, daß er wol unter die fürtreflichste Künstler mag gestellet werden. Er hat zu Rom eine unzählliche Mänge oberzehnter Stucken gemahlt, die man niemalen seinem Namen von Laer nach, sondern Bambotio, benamet, weil die Italiäner seinen rechten nicht gewust haben, bis er durch erzehlte Stuck sich berühmt gemacht; Mithin nahete sich nun allgemach sein Alter herbey, und wurde er von seinen Befreundten, sonderlich denen Amsterdamern, verlangt, als die sehr nach seinen Werken (deren ich damals viel gehabt) trachteten, deshalb kam er endlich auf mein unterschiedliches freundliches Zuschreiben und gethane Versicherung, daß er in seinem Vatterland mehr als in Italien vergnügt leben könnte, Anno 1639 zu uns nach Amsterdam, wurde wol empfangen und ihm alle Ehr, Liebs und Guts erweisen, bis daß er sich zu Harlem bey seinem Bruder, einem berühmten Schulmeister, niedergesetzt, da er dann bey glücklichem Zustand seines lieben Vatterlands bald die Früchte seiner Kunst zu sehen gegeben. Da er erstlich mir ein drey Spannen großes Stuck gemacht, wie bey aufgehender Sonne etliche Jäger samt einer Damen zu Pferd sitzend mit ihren Buben und allerley Art Hunden ganz erkantlich auf die Jagd reiten in einer Landschaft, darinn eine große Brucken, worunter die Morgensonne ins Waßer scheint und sich gegen der Brucken reflectiret, alles sehr künst- und rühmlich, deren er folgend in fünf Jahren viel gefärtiget, und auch in einem Büchlein dergleichen Stuck in Kupfer geätzt, ausgehen lassen, welche alle stark gesucht und ungeachtet des hohen Wehrts zur Zierde der Cabineten verlangt, ja so gar die zu Rom gemachte theur erkauf und nach Amsterdam gebracht worden.

Immittelst lieffen seine Jahre dem sechzigsten zu, und weil er ohne das von schwach- und subtiler complexion, auch zur Melancholey geneigt, nahme mit dem Aufnehmen der Jahre die Kräfte und Gedächtnus ab, und wurde dieser fromme hochverwunderliche Mann zu Harlem mit großem Bedauern der Kunstliebende aus dieser zeitlichen Unruh zur ewigen Ruh versetzt und dieses Kunstlicht, das unzählbar vielen andern hell und klar zur Folge geleuchtet, ausgelöscht. Sonderlich haben die Italiäner und Niederländer, welche sich häufig in dergleichen Bambotschereyen geübet, seinen Tod schmerzlich beklaget. Seine Bildnus ist in der Kupferblatte NN zu finden in Gestalt, wie ich denselben in seiner Studie nachgezeichnet habe.

Viterinno*: Peltzer, note 831: »vetturino, d.h. Fuhrmann.«

See further: Sandrart-Peltzer, pp. 30, 177, 182, 185, 195, 198, 220, 259, 330, 333; also *ad Indicem*.

Sandrart on ›Landschaftsmalerei‹ and ›Landschaftsmaler‹

After: Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie, Nürnberg 1675-1680*, ed. Christian Klemm, Nördlingen 1994, vol. 1, Text p. 71.

Vom Landschaft-Mahlen.

[in margin: *Mahlen ist besser als Zeichnen nach demselben.*]

Die Landschaftsmahler haben hierinn, indem sie viel nach dem Leben gezeichnet, sich wo-
lerfahren gemacht, maßen sie solcher Handriße sich nachmals überall bedienen können. Ich
selbst thäte solches etliche Jahre lang. Endlich aber, als mein nächster Nachbar und Hausgenoß
zu Rom, der berühmte Claudius Gilli, sonst Loraines genant, immer mit ins Feld wolte, um
nach dem Leben zu zeichnen, aber hierzu von der Natur gar nicht begünstet war, hingegen
zum Nachmahlen eine sonderbare Fähigkeit hatte [in margin: *Der Autor, und Claudius Gilli
übeten sich hierinn zu Rom.*], also haben wir ursach genommen (anstatt des Zeichnens oder
Tuschens mit schwarzer Kreide und dem Pensel) in offnem Feld zu Tivoli, Frescada, Subiaca
und anderer Orten, auch al S. Benedetto, die Berge, Grotten, Thäler und Einöden, die abscheu-
liche Wasserfälle der Tyber, den Tempel der Sibylla, und dergleichen mit Farben auf gegründt
Papier und Tücher völlig nach dem Leben auszumahlen. Dieses ist, meines darfürhaltens, die
beste Manier, dem Verstande die Warheit eigentlich einzudrucken: weil gleichsam dadurch
Leib und Seele zusammen gebracht wird. In den Zeichnungen wird hingegen alzuweit zuruck
gegangen, da die wahre Gestalt der Sachen nimmermehr also fur eigentlich heraus kommt. Es
ist auch besagter Claudius, wiewol langsam genug, endlich in dem Landschaft-Mahlen, grün-
den und coloriren so perfect worden und hoch gestiegen, daß er wunder gethan und billich
ein Antecessor und Ubertreffer aller der andern mag genennet werden. Von ihm, wie auch
von Adam Elzheimer, Paulo Bril, Fochier, Bothe und andern Teutschen und Niederländischen
fürtreflichen Landschaftmahlern wird im andern Theil ein mehrers zu lesen seyn.

[in margin: *Noch andere fürtreffliche Landschaftmahlere.*]

From: I. Teil, 3. Buch, VI. Capitel: *Vom Landschaft-Mahlen.*, fol. 71 (also in: Peltzer, note 936).

From: *Eine kurze Anleitung zur Landschaft-Mahlerey.*

[in margin: *Die beste Art, natürliche Landschaften mahlen zu lernen.*]

Es haben auch die Alten sich hierin sehr vernünftig und viel bemüht, die Landschaften
nach dem Leben zuzeichnen, und alsdann nach selbiger Zeichnung zu Hause ihre Gemähl
zu verrichten. Welchen Gebrauch, sonderlich wo es an Zeit fehlet, ich auch nicht gar ver-
wehrt, sondern vielmehr selbst mitgefolgt habe. Aber wie ich mich ohnverdrossen besser
daran gemacht und zu Rom, auch zu Tivoli, etliche Monatlang mit Farben und Tüchern
ins Feld begeben, und sogar nach dem Leben gemahlt, und alles dasjenige nach solchen
natürlichen Modeln verfertigt hernach zu Hause, gegen denselben die Nachzeichnungen
gemacht und paragoniert, hat neben mir mein Nachbar Claude Gilli, als ein hohes Liecht
in Landschaften, den mächtigen Unterschied so handgreiflich gesehen und erkannt, daß
dieses dem wahren Weg zur Vollkommenheit weisete und daß er selbst auch also gefolgt
bis er endlich ein Meister in Landschaften worden ist.

From: II. Hauptteil, III. Teil, fol. 22: *Das VII. Capitel. Giebt eine kurze Anleitung zur
Landschaft-Mahlerey.*

Sandart on Jan Both and His Brother

Sandart-Peltzer, pp. 184–185: from *Das XIX. Capitel, Heinrich Gaudt und noch neun und zwanzig andere Mahlere und Künstler.*

CLXXXV. [in margin: Johann Both und Bruder Landschaftsmaler von Utrecht.]

Johann Both und sein Bruder waren zu Utrecht eines guten Glasmahlers Söhne, und wie ich damals bey Gerhard von Hundhorst, haben sie bey Abraham Blomart gelernet, sind auch in unserer Academia fleißig erschienen, auch haben sie durch anhaltenden Fleiß große Hofnung von sich gegeben, auch darauf fremde Länder zu besehen, sich erstlich nach dieser Leute Gebrauch in Frankreich, und dann in Italien auf Rom begeben, alldorten eifrig der Arbeit abgewartet und mit klugem Nachsinnen alles wol durchgangen, endlichen aber in den Landschaften die Manier des berühmten Claudi Lorentes, in den kleinen Bildern aber die Weiß des Bamotio angenommen und der Natur, so viel möglich, beyzukommen sich bemühet; der eine hat herrliche gute Landschaften gemacht, der andere aber dieselbe mit Menschen, Thieren, Vögeln und andern angehörigen erfüllet, so artig, als ob alles von einer Hand wäre, sind auch dardurch bald dermaßen hoch gestigen und berühmt worden, daß sie neben den allerfürtrefflichsten dieser Kunst sehr wol bestanden.

Sie malten meistens große Landschaften, die sie reichlich ordinirten in Ausbildung der Morgenstunden, als wie der Thau noch auf den Feldern ligt und die Sonne über das hohe Gebürge herfür blicket. Also haben sie auch den Mittag, Abend und Sonnenuntergang, den Mondschein bey Nacht und dergleichen in Colorit und anderm dermaßen verwunderlich nachgebildet, daß man in ihren Gemälden gleichsam die Stunden des Tags erkennen konte, mit sonst andern eigentlichen Natürlichkeiten der Felder, Berg und Bäumen. Und weil der berühmte Claudius Lorentes mehr in Landschaften als Bildern erfahren, diese aber in beyden wol geübt waren, trieben sie ihn zu fleißiger Arbeit durch einen nuzlichen Vorzugsstreit eifrig an, zumal da sie in Geschwindigkeit gleichsam unvergleichlich gewesen und viel ohne besondere Müh verrichtet, wie sie dann viel hundert schöne Werke in kurzer Zeit in Rom vollbracht, darvon ich noch zwey große Stuck, eine Morgen- und Abend-Stunde, mit andern zu ihrer Gedachtnus aufbehalte. So ist auch ein guter Theil darvon zu Venedig zu sehen, allwo sie sich eine Zeitlang aufgehalten, bis der eine Bruder, der die Bilder in die Landschaften gemacht, zu Nacht im heim gehen von der Gesellschaft unversehens in den Canal gefallen, und weil man ihme so eilends nicht mögen zu Hülff kommen, erbärmlich ertrunken ist, worauf der andere sich alsbald nach Haus begeben und allda seine Kunst ausgebreitet. Da er mir eine Abendstund in einer schönen Landschaft wol ordinirt und noch bärer colorirt gelaßen, und einen grossen Zulauff und häufig zu thun bekommen, ob er sich schon reichlich bezahlen ließe. Endlichen erkrankte er und verschied in seinem Vatterland ungefähr Anno 1650. Sein Contrafät steht in der Kupferblatte NN.

Sandart-Peltzer, pp. 208–211.

Sandart on Claude Lorrain

Several texts describe the painting of landscape directly from nature.

From: *Das XXIII. Capitel. Claudius Gilli und noch andere ein und zwanzig Mahlere.*

CCLXV. Claudius Gilli, sonst Lorraine genant, Mahler: Wird ein Pastetenbecker. Komt zu Augustin Taso, Mahler zu Rom. Seine Manier, die Kunst zu erlernen. Sein Lebenswandel. Seine Werke. Kan keine gute Bilder mahlen. Seine Werke in fresco. Sein Morgen- und Abendstund. Seine Werke sind die Lehrschul aller Landschaft Mahler. (...)

CCLXV [in margin: Claudius Gilli, sonst Loraines genant.]

Nota: Here the word ›Bildern‹ means ›Figuren‹.

Wann jemalen einer von einem schlechten Anfang oder geringen Wißenschaft zu so großer Kunst in der Mahlerey gestiegen, daß sein Lob durch die ganze Welt ausgebreitet worden, so ist es gewiß unser Claudius Gilli gewesen, der insgemein nach seinem Vatterland Loraines genannt worden. Von ihm fallen verwunderliche Begebenheiten zu erzehlen für, als daß, da er erstlich in die Schreibschul gestellt, und darinnen wenig und schier nichts zugenommen, seine Eltern ihn zu einem Pastetenbecken gedinget. Nachdem er nun in dieser Arbeit etwas erfahren, zoge er seinem Beruf nach mit vielen andern dergleichen seinen Landsleuten nach Rom, weilh daselbst immerdar in die etlich hundert Lothringische Köch und Pastetenbecken sind. Alldieweil er aber der Italiänischen Sprach und aller Complementen unerfahren, keinen rechten Dienst haben konte, nahm ihn ein geistreicher, zwar Podagrischer, doch wegen seines lustigen humors beliebter Mahler, genant Augustin Taso zu sich, welcher viele Architecturen, Friesen und anders in der Cardinäl Zimmer zu Zierrahten oberhalb der Tapetzereyen, auch perspective und anderes, machen, dernthalben und anderer Geschäften wegen auch zum öftern ausreiten und an unterschiedlichen Orten sich aufhalten muste. Da dann indeßen Claudi Gilli ihm die Kuchen und das ganze Hauswesen sehr willig versahe, alles säuberte, die Farben zum Mahlen riebe, Palet und Pensel putzte.

Unter diesen Aufwartungen nun beflöße er sich auf Einrahten seines Patrons der Perspectiv, welcher ihn auch darinnen informiret, und nachdem er derselbigen Grundregeln bald gefaßet, legte er sich auf das Zeichnen, so ihm aber gar nicht anständig ware, dann er keine einige Manier noch Zierlichkeit annehmen konte, bliebe also wiederum bey den vorigen und lernete in etlich wenigen Jahren so viel, daß er sich allein setzte und Landschaften mit Gebäuden mahlete, die er aber, weil sie zimlich schlecht, desto wolfeiler verkaufte und sich sparsam hielte. Doch wandte er großen Ernst und Fleiß an, diese Kunst recht zu ergründen, daher suchte er auf alle Weiß der Natur beyzukommen, lage vor Tags und biß in die Nacht im Felde, damit er die Tagröhte, der Sonnen Auf- und Nidergang neben den Abendstunden recht natürlich zu bilden erlernete, und wann er eins oder das andere im Feld wol betrachtet, temperirte er alsobald seine Farben darnach, lieffe damit nach Haus und wandte sie an sein vorhabendes Werk mit viel größerer Natürlichkeit, als kein anderer vor ihm gethan, mit welcher harten und beschwerlichen Art zu lernen er sich viele Jahre beholfen und täglich in das Feld hinaus und den weiten Weg wieder heimgelauffen, biß er endlich mich zu Tivoli in den wilden Felsen bey dem berühmten Waßerfall mit dem Pensel in der Hand angetroffen und gesehen, daß ich daselbst nach dem Leben mahlte, auch viele Werke nach der Natur selbst und nicht aus Imagination und Einbildung machte, so ihme dermaßen wolgefallen daß er gleiche Weiß anzunehmen sich emsig befließen, auch darauf vermittelst großer Arbeitsamkeit und continuirlicher Nachsetzung also hoch in der Natürlichkeit gestiegen, daß seine Landschaften von denen Liebhabern allenthalben gesucht,

fleißig erkaufft und an unterschiedliche Ort hin versandt, auch gleichwie sie anfänglich sehr schlecht und gering geachtet, also sind sie hernach wehrt und wol für hundert ja mehr Goldcronen verkauft worden, so daß er derselben, unangesehen er stets fleißig gearbeitet, nicht genug machen können.

Er wuste als ein Meister der Perspectiv der Farben harte Art zu brechen und so zu vermischen, daß selbige nicht mehr denen Farben, sondern vielmehr demjenigen so er zu entbilden verlangt, ähnlich schienen, so ware er auch ganz unverdroßen und saße so lang darauf, biß heraus kame, was seine reiche Gedächtnus aus der Natur und Leben gleichsam heraus gezogen hatte, dahero ihme von allen Malern in Landschaften bald gefolget und seine Manier beobachtet, gelobt und geehret worden. In seinem Lebenswandel war er kein großer Hoffmann, jedoch gutherzig und fromm, suchte auch keine andere Freude als in seinem Beruf, deßwegen wir einander sehr geliebt und zu Rom lang beysammen gewohnet, auch oft miteinander im Feld nach dem Leben gemahlet haben. Aber gleichwie ich nur gesucht, gute Felsen, Stämme, Bäume, Waßerfälle, Gebäuden und Ruinen, die groß und zu Ausfüllung der Historien mir tauglich waren, also mahlte hingegen er nur in kleinem Format, was von dem zweyten Grund am weitesten entlegen, nach dem Horizont verlierend gegen den Himmel auf, darinn er ein Meister ware. Wir handleten viel Tauschweis miteinander, seine kleinere gegen meinen größern Landschaften. Unter andern hat er mir überlaßen eine Morgenstund, darinnen eigentlich zu erkennen, wie die Sonne etwan zwey Stund über dem Horizont aufsteigend die neblichte Luft vertreibt und der Thau über dem Waßer schwebend in der Warheit sich verwunderlich hinein verlieret, die Sonne spielet nach Proportion über die Gründe herein, daß sie fast warhaft dem Leben gleich Graß, Gesträuß und Bäume beleuchtet und alles in natürlichen Licht und Schatten samt der reflexion perfect zeigt, also gleichsam die distanz eines jeden nach proportion abzumessen und correct wie in dem Leben selbst zu finden ist, weßhalben auch nicht ohne Ursach der Herr Adrian Pau zu Amsterdam bey meiner Abreiß mir 500 Gulden für diese drey Spannen lange Landschaft bezahlet hat. Neben diesem hat er viele andere dergleichen köstliche Stuck verfärtiget und ist dardurch ein sehr reicher Mann worden.

Er bliebe unverheuratet und ließe einen seiner Vettern zu sich kommen, der ihm sein ganzes Haus neben dem baarem Geld gubernirte, auch Farben und Pensel schafte, damit er geruhiglich nur seinen Studien abwarten könnte, wodurch beeden Theilen nach Wunsch gedienet ist, dann also lebet er ruhig und ohne Sorge, sein Vetter aber der guten Hoffnung, daß er ein Erb alles deßen, was sein Vetter hat, werden soll und verbleibet also biß noch diese kleine Republic in guter Intelligenz. [*in margin: Kan keine gute Bilder mahlen.*] Hie kan ich nicht unterlaßen zu erzehlen, daß wie glücklich dieser schöne Geist ist, die Natürlichkeit der Landschaften wol vorzustellen, also unglücklich seye er in Bildern und Thieren, ob sie schon nur eines halben Fingers lang, und unangesehen er sehr große Mühe und Arbeit daran wendet, auch viele Jahre zu Rom auf den Academien nach dem Leben und denen Statuen gezeichnet, ja größern Fleiß auf die Bilder als Landschaften gewendet, bleiben sie doch mißfällig. Zwar ist wahr, daß er seine Landschaften mit überaus großer Mühsamkeit durch oft-wiederholtes übermahlen, untersuchen und übergehen zu solcher Perfection bringet, so daß er oftmals an einer Sach ein oder zwey Wochen arbeitet und gleichwol fast nicht zeigen kan, was er gethan hat.

Er hat nicht allein mit Oelfarben, sondern auch in fresco viele herrliche Werke gemacht, unter andern bey dem Cavalier Mutio eines großen Saals vier hohe Mauren; auf den ersten Theil mahlte er ein Stuck eines Palasts, der sich an einem großen Wald endigte, wo er allerley Bäume in Lebensgröße herrlich gebildet, jeden Baum nach eigner Art an Stämmen, Blättern, Colorit, so erkantlich, als ob sie rauschten und vom Wind bewegt würden, auch mit ringsherumgewachsenen Laubwerk und Kräutern aus dem Grund gezieret, daß sich dieser großen Bäume Gründe erst in das andere Stuck verlieren, unter welchen Höhe und Größe, auch die Contananza hinaus biß zum Horizont, wie auf dem andern Stuck völlig

aufeinander correspondiren. Auf das andere Stuck färtigte er eine große offene Landschaft reich von Bergen, Waßerfällen, kleinen Baumwerk, Gesträuß, Kräutern, reisenden Leuthen, Bildern und Thieren, die sich zu der dritten Seiten einflechten, in welcher etliche Berge an einem Seeport mit allerley Schiffzeug, auch viele in einem offnen wilden Meer durch die Winde beunruhigte Schiffe. Gegen der vierdten Seiten sind ausgeholte Felsen, Grotten mit verfallenen Ruinen, Stucken von Gebäuden, Statuen, allerley Fragmenten und wilde Thiere, alles dermaßen meisterhaft gearbeitet, daß hierinn allein der Vernünftige urtheilen kan, daß unser Claudi Gilli das allerhöchste Lob in Landschaftmahlen erhalten, und ich bekenne, daß meine Feder zu schwach ist, sein Lob nach Meriten vorzutragen, weißwegen ich die Liebhabere selbst zu seinen Werken, theils in Rom, theils bey andern Königen und Potentaten der ganzen Welt, zuruck gewiesen haben will, absonderlich bey uns Teutschen zu den wahren Kunstverständigen und liebhabenden Freyherrn von Mayer und deßen Kunstkabinet zu Mönchen und Regensburg, allda er die von Ihro Churfl. Durchl. in Bayern aufgetragene hochwichtigsten Canzeley und schwäreste Reichsgeschäfte mit einem curiosen Kunstkabinet von denen allerraresten Gemälden lindert und seinen Geist darmit ergötzet; darinn seine Gnaden von Claudii Gilli Hand eine Morgenröhte haben, wie bey aufgehender Sonnen augenscheinlich der Thau sich verzehret, daß Land und Bäume bescheinet werden, alles in natürlicher Vertieffung, wie es in der Natur selbst zu geschehen pflegt. Also auch in einem andern Stuck die Abendstund vor der Sonnen Untergang, welche über die Berge röhtlich hinab ziehet, worbey die hitzige rohte Trückene am Himmel und die Wärme, wie in heißen Sommertagen geschieht, an dem Gebürg, Bäumen und Thälern ganz verwunderlich und natürlich zu sehen.

[in margin: *Seine Werke sind die Lehrschul aller Landschaftsmahler.*]

Nach diesem ließ ermeldter Freyherr von Mayer noch ein drittes von ermeldtem Claudio Gilli mahlen, da er vernünftig die zweyte Nachmittagsstund ausgebildet, wie das Vieh wieder durch einen Bach ausgetrieben wird in eine schöne Landschaft mit Bäumen, Ruinen und vielfältiger Erweiterung im Feld und Gebürg, alles der wahren Natur zum ähnlichsten, so genugsam des Meisters Lob bezeuget und allen Landschaftmahlern zur Schul tauget, worinnen sie lernen und gelernet werden mögen, wie man eine Landschaft vernünftig ordiniren, den Horizont beobachten, alles dahin verlierend machen, die Coloriten nach Proportion der Weite halten, jedesmal des Tages Zeit oder Stund erkantlich vorstellen, alles zusammen in gerechte Harmonie bringen, das vorder Theil stark herfür, das hintere nach Proportion weit hinaus lauffend machen könne, wie solches alles in seinen Werken unvergleichlich zu finden, dernthalben ich auch zu deßen Gedächtnus sein Contrafät in der Kupferblatte NN. beygefüget habe.

Note: Peltzer recommends Walter Friedlaender's *Claude Lorrain* (Berlin 1921), where Sandrart's information is made use of extensively (also in: *Thieme-Becker*, vol. 13, pp. 366–372).

Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 32:

From: *Lebenslauf und Kunstwerke des woledlen und gestrengen Herrn Joachims von Sandrart* (...).

Unter seinen [*Sandrarts*] bästen und vertrautesten Freunden ware auch Claudius Gilli, ein Lothringer und unlängst angekommener Landschaftsmahlermahler, welcher mit unserm Herrn von Sandrart oft nach Tivoli spatziret, auch in Prinz Justinians Garten anstat des Zeichnens große Bäume, Landschaften und Wasserfälle nach dem Leben gemahlt; worinn sie durch solche Uebung soweit gestiegen, daß sie die Fusstapfen der Natur aufs genauste erreicht. Wie dann Claudius nachmals bey dem Landschaftmahlen geblieben, und man nach aller erfahrenen Kunstliebenden Aussage wenig seines gleichen findet. Herr von Sandrart hat etliche seiner köstlichen Stücke zusammengekauft, die er in seinem Kunstcabinet als einen sonderbaren Schatz zu jedes geneigten Liebhabers Contento, verwahret aufbehält.

[in margin: *Er und Claude Gilli, erfinden die natürlichste Weise Landschaften nach dem Leben zu mahlen.*]

Cf. Sandrart-Peltzer, p. 330 (*Sandrartische Kunstkammer*):

Von Sandrart Ihro Kais. Maj. obrist Hofmeisterin Gräfin von Mannsfeld. Eine Landschaft nach dem Leben gemahlt, darin die Wasserfälle zu Tivoli repraesentirt werden. Eine andere Landschaft, darin der große Wasserfall zu Tivoli nbach dem Leben gemahlt.

Claude Gilli Lorientes: Eine berühmte Landschaft oder Morgenröth bey Tivoli repraesentirt. C. [= *copy*] Eine Compagnie zur Abendstund, darinn der Sonnen Niedergang sehr eigentlich vorgebildet wird. C.

Appendix 3:

Artistic Theory in France: The Seventeenth Century

Introduction

Julius Schlosser's classic *Die Kunstliteratur: Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte*, published in Vienna in 1924, contains a chapter, »Die Kunsttheorie des 17. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich«. While Schlosser's book has never been translated into English, and some feel that the time for such a translation has passed, it was first translated into French only in 1984, just over thirty years ago. In contrast, an Italian edition appeared in 1935, barely a decade after the original German edition was issued (tr. Filippo Rossi, Firenze). Although Schlosser's *Handbuch* is weighted towards Italian material, one wonders how French readers reacted to Schlosser's characterisation of the French *Volk*, »dessen Eitelkeit jederzeit noch größer war als seine Begabung«, and if his rather negative assessment of French thought in this arena may have impeded the reception of his book in France.

Schlosser's »Die Kunsttheorie des 17. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich« begins:

»Dieses Land, das im 17. Jahrhundert den zweiten Aufstieg seiner Kultur und seines Einflusses erlebt, im Siècle Louis XIV. gipfelnd, hat auch in dieser selben Zeit die Führung der Kunsttheorie an sich genommen. Nicht daß es sich eigentlich um neue Gedanken handelte; dieses Volk, dessen Eitelkeit jederzeit noch größer war als seine Begabung, das keinen einzigen im höchsten Sinne schöpferischen Großen hervorgebracht hat, der denen der übrigen Kulturvölker ebenbürtig wäre, hat die Aufgabe erhalten, sich fremde Gedanken rasch anzueignen, sie in die glücklichste, freilich auch oft starrste Formel zu bringen und eine Werbearbeit sondergleichen zu entfalten. Die Worte, die Francesco de Sanctis von der großen philosophischen Vorbereitung der Weltrevolution in England und Deutschland gebraucht, lassen sich auf unser Thema anwenden: »Frankreich war die große Übersetzerin (*volgarizzatrice*) der Ideen, die das vorhergehende Jahrhundert ausgearbeitet hatte, es gab nicht die Darlegung selbst, sondern das Nachwort, nicht die Untersuchung, sondern die Formel, nicht die Durchdringung des Gedankens, sondern seine Anwendung, die in ihren Grundsätzen schon gefestigte und zum Katechismus gewordene Lehre, in einer schriftgemäßen und allgemein verständlichen Form, die ihre Propaganda unwiderstehlich machte.« Das gilt Wort für Wort von der Kunstlehre. In diesem besonderen Falle waren es die Gedanken des alten Ursprungs- und Heimatlandes alles Nachdenkens über bildende Kunst, Italiens, gerade erst im florentinisch-römischen Umkreis der ersten Hälfte des Seicento zur endgültigen Durchbildung gelangt, um die es sich handelte, genau so wie Frankreich die Lehren der italienischen Poetik sich zu eigen gemacht und namentlich in seinem Theater in die Tat umgesetzt hat. Es spielte diese Vermittlerrolle schon einmal, zu Ende seines »gotischen« Mittelalters, seiner eigensten und höchsten Schöpfung, als es die Raumkunst italienischer Prägung für sich selbst und das übrige Abendland aufnahm [pp. 547–548].«

Julius von Schlosser: »La teoria artistica del Seicento in Francia«

In the Italian edition this text reads:

[From: Julius Schlosser Magnino (Julius Schlosser; Julius von Schlosser): *La letteratura artistica: Manuale delle fonti della storia dell'arte moderna*, traduzione di Filippo Rossi, terza edizione italiana aggiornata da Otto Kurz, Firenze/ Wien 1964, pp. 627–637; ed. Firenze 1967, pp. 627–637, 731.]

[627:]

La teoria artistica del Seicento in Francia

»Questa terra, che vede nel secolo xvii la seconda ascesa della sua cultura e del suo influsso, culminante nell'epoca di Luigi XIV, assume in questo periodo anche la guida della teoria artistica. Non si tratta veramente di concetti nuovi; questo popolo, in cui la vanità fu sempre maggiore dell'ingegno, che non ha prodotto alcuna grande creazione nel massimo senso della parola, pari a quella degli altri popoli civili, ha avuto il compito di assimilare rapidamente le idee che gli venivano dal di fuori, di formularle nella maniera più felice e spesso anche più rigida e di propagarle così in modo non raggiunto da altri. Le parole di Francesco De Sanctis sulla grande preparazione filosofica della rivoluzione mondiale in Inghilterra e in Germania possono adattarsi anche al nostro argomento: »La Francia era la grande volgarizzatrice delle idee dal secolo anteriore elaborate; era non la dimostrazione, ma l'epilogo; non la ricerca, ma la formula, non la speculazione, ma l'applicazione; la scienza già assodata ne' suoi principî e divenuta catechismo, in una forma letteraria e popolare che rendeva la propaganda irresistibile«. Ciò vale, parola per parola, anche per la teoria artistica. In questo caso speciale si trattava delle idee italiane, provenienti cioè dalla culla di ogni speculazione sull'arte figurativa, giunte a perfetta elaborazione solo nell'ambiente fiorentino-romano della prima età del Seicento; allo stesso modo la Francia si impadroniva delle dottrine della poetica italiana, e le realizzava specialmente nel suo teatro. Questa parte di intermediaria essa aveva già avuto alla fine del suo Medio Evo »gotico«, la sua creazione maggiore e più originale, quando accolse per sé e per il resto dell'Occidente l'arte spaziale di impronta italiana.«

Schlosser's text continues in the Italian translation:

Il terreno era già preparato. Con la forza impulsiva che distingue da tempo immemorabile questa vivace stirpe dei Gallo-Franchi, già sotto Francesco I essa aveva rotto, rapidamente e completamente

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come nessun altro popolo, col suo autentico passato »gotico« o »gaulois«; là morirono Leonardo e il Serlio; là il talento artisticamente inferiore di un Primaticcio portò non soltanto le prime antichità come modello scolastico, ma anche e più quello stile del primo manierismo, così francese nella sua leggiadria e nella sua forbitezza, di cui l'arte locale fu imbevuta completamente e per lunghissimo tempo, nonostante che la sua evoluzione fino ad allora gli fosse stata intimamente contraria. Assai presto era cominciata l'attività dei traduttori, soprattutto quella di Jean Martin; rapida e volenterosa accoglienza trovarono i grandi teorici italiani dell'architettura, prima Vitruvio e poi l'Alberti, il Serlio che finì anzi le sue opere su suolo francese, il Palladio, il Vignola; ci si impadronì appassionatamente del sogno rinascimentale della *Hypnerotomachia* come del più severo L. B. Alberti, e gli studii dei prospettici trovarono presto una notevolissima eco nel libro del Pélerin le

Viateur, che ci offre ancor oggi molti enigmi. Nel secolo xvii anche il Lomazzo, ritenuto maestro infallibile, è acquisito alla cultura francese attraverso il poeta pittore di Tolosa, Hilaire Pader. Tutto ciò favoriva l'illusione di questi barbari celtici, di essere una nazione »latina«, perché imitavano il linguaggio delle legioni in maniera da renderlo un gergo inintelligibile che riempiva ancora di dispetto e di rabbia il *Misogallo* dell'Alfieri; l'illusione di vedere il loro avo nel loro vincitore Cesare, di poter ritenere cosa propria lo splendore dell'impero romano mondiale, con l'insaziabile avidità di gloria che hanno nel sangue, e dipoter così dimenticare il loro stesso passato etnico più glorioso, pur avendo accettato il nome e la tradizione del grande regno dei Franchi, e avendo trasformato con disinvoltura in Charlemagne un re schiettamente germanico.

Si può quasi determinare l'ora in cui è nata questa teoria artistica di impronta francese; semenzaio ne è quella Accademia francese a Roma, creazione del »grand Colbert«, tanto significativa in quanto riconoscimento formale dell'idea classicistica, esempio a tutto il resto del mondo (1665), connessa a sua volta all'Accademia parigina, fondata nel fatale 1648, come quella è colla *Académie française* del Richelieu, modellata pur essa sulle accademie italiane, soprattutto sulla celebre Crusca fiorentina. Il vero capostipite ne è Nicolas Poussin, il pittore francese che ebbe in Roma una seconda patria. Egli vi si era recato fin dal 1624; e vi passò tutto il resto della sua vita, ad eccezione di un breve soggiorno a Parigi (1641–1642), fino alla morte seguita nel 1665. Si trovò quindi nel bel mezzo di tutte le tendenze teoriche che l'Italia aveva maturato fino ad allora, e a cui

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lo iniziarono le misurazioni degli antichi monumenti che egli intraprese con un compagno anch'esso giunto a chiara fama, il fiammingo Duquesnoy. Il celeberrimo poeta italiano di quel tempo, l'intenditore d'arte G. B. Marino, lo aveva attirato in Italia, e i rapporti con collezionisti come Cassiano del Pozzo e eruditi come il Bellori permisero alla sua seria e fiera indole normanna, affine al Corneille, di assimilare tutto ciò di cui naturalmente abbisognava. Il Sandrart, che ebbe a Roma assai stretti rapporti con lui, descrive assai vivamente l'ambiente intellettuale che lo circondava anche prima del suo viaggio a Parigi; la sua casa era una meta di pellegrinaggio specialmente per i suoi compatrioti. Ebbero rapporti con lui i due fratelli Fréart; il signore di Chantelou, poi cavaliere d'onore del Bernini, cui dobbiamo i notevolissimi appunti già citati del suo diario, e il Sieur de Chambray, famoso come primo traduttore di Leonardo (per cui fece i disegni il Poussin) e del Palladio, e anche scrittore d'arte; la sua *Idée de la perfection de la peinture* del 1662 è dedicata al Poussin. Anche molti particolari attestano la considerazione di cui questi godeva come capo delle tendenze nazionali nel campo teorico: Hilaire Pader, il traduttore del Lomazzo, gli dedica una ristampa della sua *Peinture parlante*, un'allegoria di gusto completamente italiano; rapporti egli ebbe anche coll'incisore Abraham Bosse, divenuto celebre per i suoi trattati tecnici, e insegnante di prospettiva per un po' di tempo all'Accademia parigina. Anche il Monier, poi insegnante accademico, era stato a Roma dal Poussin; è questi il primo a tentare in terra francese un quadro generale della storia dell'arte che non è privo di importanza. Il Poussin si trova proprio al centro dell'Accademia quando il Le Brun, scolaro del primo pioniere romano dei francesi, Simon Vouet, lo addita a guida e a modello durante la sua dittatura ventennale. Di natura didattica e riflessiva, come mostrano le sue numerose lettere, il Poussin aveva pensato a fissare le sue idee in un'opera letteraria, come risultato della sua lunga e sicura esperienza; ma non lo poté fare. Ne erano però rimasti degli abbozzi, come già fu detto (nella Biblioteca del cardinale Massimi), e un notevole frammento ne fu inserito dal Bellori nella sua biografia dell'artista. Il *peintre-philosophe* si serve di un linguaggio tecnico tutto scolastico, aristotelico; caratteristico è l'esplicito richiamo alla *Poetica* del Castelvetro, che fu il codice della teoria artistica francese; in fine sono le esatte

misure dell'antica statua di Antinoo. Ma non c'è nulla di nuovo in confronto alla produzione anteriore e contemporanea della teoria italiana.

A ciò di cui il Poussin non era venuto a capo, altri provvidero

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che si studiavano di andare sulle sue orme. In forma assai concisa ha esposto secondo il gusto francese i fondamenti della teoria romana Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy, nel suo poema latino *De arte graphica*, nato su suolo romano e incessantemente limato per venticinque anni, dato alle stampe dall'amico suo Mignard, *le Romain* (1667), e circondato di molta considerazione anche nel Settecento e persino nel secolo successivo. Il noto avversario del Lessing, il professore lipsiense C. A. Klotz, lo ristampò nel 1770; se ne hanno numerose traduzioni in tutte le lingue, alcune ancora secentesche, fra cui notevoli specialmente quelle inglesi del Dryden (1695) e più tardi del Mason (1783); le note di quest'ultima sono nientemeno che di Sir Joshua Reynolds. Una nuova edizione francese ne usciva ancora nel 1824. È infatti il compendio più accessibile e più conciso, manchevole nel contenuto, ma chiaro e intelligibile nella forma; e ciò spiega il favore che poté incontrare.

L'ombra del Poussin incombe da allora in poi sull'Accademia parigina; soprattutto attraverso l'autorità del Le Brun egli diviene il patrono dell'arte francese di tendenza romana, e la sua presenza è sempre sensibile nei discorsi tenuti dai membri dell'Accademia secondo il modello italiano e riuniti dal suo storiografo Félibien; uno dei documenti più importanti per la mentalità francese di questo tempo. In base alle sue opere vengono spiegati i principi di ogni vera arte; ed è molto notevole l'esoterica di tipo scolastico-medievale che spunta specialmente nei discorsi del Le Brun, quando attribuisce un significato mistico persino ai colori del Poussin; in genere le *conférences* degli accademici ricordano, talvolta assai da vicino, la casistica dei predicatori, e ciò non è certo da imputare solo al Félibien. Difficilmente si possono anche qui scoprire nuove idee, sebbene lo storiografo della teoria artistica francese di questo tempo, il Fontaine, cerchi onestamente di mostrare che il Poussin fu un pensatore originale, la stella polare di tutta questa tendenza. Si ritrovano dappertutto, già un po' stantii, i luoghi comuni della scuola fiorentino-romana; il *dessin*, il pregiatissimo 'disegno' di Roma è il pezzo principale, di fronte al quale il colore è un accessorio, un'appendice che attira i sensi (e perciò esteticamente sospetta): così per il Le Brun, e così per il Du Fresnoy e ancora alla fine del secolo per il Testelin, nel suo conciso libro di regole (1680). Accanto sta l'*expression*: il Le Brun ha dedicato un'opera sua a questo argomento, della quale si vide ben presto la notevole derivazione dai dotti celebri che avevano trattato lo stesso soggetto, come Descartes e De La Chambre, e che inoltre dipende evidentemente dall'antica,

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notissima opera dell'italiano Porta sulla fisionomia. Una cosa è veramente francese e mette in chiarissima luce la natura e l'influsso di questa terra: la grande abilità di rendere gustose e gradevoli materie veramente aride e spesso astruse. Interiormente ed esteriormente domina la tendenza tutta francese alla *clarté* e alla *bienséance*; la dottrina del *decorum* non poteva altrove contare su una eco più forte e su una diffusione più ampia; vien fatto forse di pensare come questo lato del carattere francese sia stato chiarito da un fine pubblicista come Karl Hillebrand.

Ma lo spirito di contraddizione e di ribellione si era manifestato anche mentre il Le Brun teneva lo scettro dell'accademia come dominatore quasi assoluto. Il grande pittore giansenista Philippe de Champagne era già vigorosamente entrato in campo in difesa del >colore< messo al bando, e aveva anzi osato biasimare i numerosi prestiti dall'antichità, anche troppo evidenti nell'opera del popolare Poussin, l'artista di moda nelle scuole. Il Le

Brun ottenne ancora una volta una vittoria di Pirro; scoppiò la contesa dei Poussinisti e dei Rubenisti, e col successore e avversario del Le Brun, il Mignard, trionfò finalmente la causa del colore, dei Veneziani e del grande fiammingo, il cui nome era divenuto il grido di battaglia di quella parte. Il fedele scudiero del Le Brun e segretario ufficiale dell'Accademia, il Félibien, aveva mostrato di intendere abbastanza il Rubens, e anche il Rembrandt e il Caravaggio; ma aveva pur sempre cacciato dal tempio dell'arte i maestri che troppo avevano peccato contro il *grand goût* e il *beau idéal*, – vere emissioni francesi di valori italiani, – non solo un Velazquez, ma soprattutto i quadri di contadini e di taverne del Teniers e anche quelli del suo conterraneo Le Nain, artista notevolissimo e quasi unico, ciò che del resto non impedì che essi fossero sempre più richiesti dai raccoglitori.

Un'altra contesa era scoppiata nel frattempo, che coinvolse ambienti molto più vasti, la famigerata *Querelle des Anciens et Modernes*, che fin d'allora trovò il suo storiografo poetico nel Callières. Quando Apollo alla fine pronuncia il suo giudizio è difficile non riconoscervi l'influsso di un'opera critica italiana molto più antica, quei *Ragguagli del Parnaso* di Traiano Boccalini (1610) pervenuti a notevole considerazione come pionieri della moderna critica letteraria (in Inghilterra la *Querelle* rimonta al secolo xvi: O. Dieder: *Der Streit der Alten und Modernen in der englischen Literaturgeschichte des 16./17. Jahrhunderts*, Diss., Greifswald 1912). Tutta la contesa è in primo luogo di origine letteraria, e in sostanza non più francese delle

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altre idee di cui si è appropriata la teoria di questi maestri; banditore ne era stato il modenese Alessandro Tassoni coi suoi *Pensieri* (del 1620), testa originale e strana, e anche lui uno dei padri della critica letteraria; tutto un libro è dedicato all'argomento, e il Tassoni non solo strappa dal loro piedistallo gli antichi idoli popolari, ma proclama anche l'incondizionata preminenza dei moderni, soprattutto dei contemporanei, anche nel campo dell'arte figurativa, certo non senza una qualche voluta originalità (quale contraddistingue in particolar modo questo periodo). Ne consegue la ribellione contro il valore attribuito a Aristotele, che proprio allora era stato nuovamente dimostrato. Il significato di tutto questo ce lo dice lo zelo con cui il suo esempio fu seguito in Francia e fu poi trasformato in un'interminabile contesa. Che l'origine sia veramente questa, lo dimostra se non altro la circostanza che il celebre poema eroicomico del Tassoni *La secchia rapita* (1615) divenne il modello di tutta una letteratura cui appartengono tanto il *Lutrin* del Boileau quanto il *Rape of the Lock* del Pope, il *Renommist* del tedesco Zachariä e persino la *Aeneis* del Blumauer. L'antico Olimpo, che ancora magnificamente dominava negli affreschi dei palazzi, era divenuto una caricatura realistica, che si lascia indietro tutti i *Borrachos* dell'arte figurativa; con forze più deboli era sulla stessa via il toscano Bracciolini col suo *Schernò degli dei* (1618). Il passo decisivo è fatto in Francia da Charles Perrault, l'introduttore della favola popolare nella letteratura francese; è degno di nota il fatto che egli indichi i suoi veri predecessori e modelli negli italiani Straparola e sopra tutto nel *Pentamerone* del Basile. Il Perrault era fratello di quel Claude Perrault che ha costruito la facciata orientale del Louvre e che si rese famoso come traduttore di Vitruvio e seguace dei maestri italiani dell'architettura, pur essendo in origine medico e naturalista. Charles Perrault, che giunse a bibliotecario e poi anche a membro dell'Accademia francese, aveva dedicato nel 1688 un poema didascalico sulla pittura al Le Brun, sebbene dovesse poi contribuire a scuotere l'autorità del dittatore dell'Accademia artistica. I suoi celebri *Parallèles des Anciens et des Modernes* ripetono più ampiamente l'idea lanciata dal Tassoni; il *Siècle Louis Le Grand* a cui dedicò un vero panegirico è per lui il sommo della perfezione, molto superiore agli antichi, innalzati solamente dal principio di autorità! Deride gli sciocchi aneddoti infantili e pone la insidiosa questione del perché si dovrebbe cercare nei palazzi d'oggi la mitologia antica, mentre proprio i Greci e i Romani tanto lodati non avrebbero affatto preferito al loro l'Olimpo egiziano. Ripete anche

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più energicamente le opinioni eretiche che si erano manifestate nel seno stesso dell'accademia contro l'eroe nazionale Poussin e il suo arcaismo, e non paventa di mettere in dubbio l'utilità dell'accademia Romana, contro la cui ortodossia si erige a difensore del Le Sueur, che non era mai stato a Roma. In tutt'altro modo andavano prima le cose: il Sieur de Chambray nel suo *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne* del 1650 aveva ancora presentato l'antichità come il modello di assoluto valore per ogni vera architettura, e in uno dei discorsi accademici pubblicati dal Félibien lo scultore Van Opstal parlò sul Laocoonte come modello della scultura. A poco giovò che si manifestasse contrario alle nuove tendenze il legislatore dell'arte poetica, Boileau, il quale fece un epigramma assai maligno anche contro il fratello del Perrault, Claude, attirando sulla sua parte lo scherno. In sostanza neppure fu scosso il valore dell'antichità; ma non si poteva tornare indietro e il fenomeno continuò nel campo letterario fino nel secolo successivo, quando La Motte dirigeva i suoi attacchi contro la sacra unità di luogo e di tempo, e contro il verso nella tragedia regolare. Il pubblico sapeva esattamente cosa volevano dire le parole che il Molière mette in bocca ad Angelica (nel *Malade imaginaire* del 1673): *Les anciens, monsieur, sont les anciens, et nous somme les gens de maintenant.*

Il cambiamento di posizione è evidente nell'opera di Roger de Piles, che chiude il secolo come letterato ufficiale dell'Accademia. Sebbene fosse tutt'altro che un sovversivo, è lui a pubblicare il poema didascalico del Du Fresnoy e a corredarlo di note. Nel suo dialogo sul colorito (del 1673) mette i Veneziani sopra a Raffaello, e sopra a Tiziano il Rubens, il cui saggio sull'antichità egli include nel suo notissimo *Cours de Peinture*. Anche per lui il Poussin è troppo devoto alle anticaglie: lo vorrebbe più *humanisé*. L'accento alla natura e al naturale è qui un primo timido bagliore di quel modo di pensare che dominerà nell'epoca di Diderot e di Rousseau. Il De Piles non deve esser giudicato alla stregua della sua famigerata *Balance des Peintres*, per quanto essa abbia più di tutte fatto noto il suo nome, e che non è che un tentativo impacciato di determinare in conformità dei suoi scopi il giudizio dei conoscitori. Con lui appare un nuovo tipo, che avrà la massima importanza in avvenire: l'amatore in funzione di conoscitore e di critico, il cui giudizio è reso più sicuro dall'attività di accoglitore, come nel caso del De Piles. Questi, che aveva messo assieme le cose del suo gabinetto soprattutto in Olanda, giudica dell'arte di questo paese con tutt'altro interesse e con altra competenza: apprezza

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non solo Rubens, ma anche Rembrandt; nonostante tutti i pregiudizi spesso retri di cui come francese non si poté liberare, il suo ingegno ci mostra anche una certa comprensione persino per gli *antichi* olandesi, i Van Eyck e finanche Brueghel.

Schlosser's Bibliography (with Additions)

There follows here the purely bibliographical commentary of Schlosser, translated here into English from the Italian edition, with additions (and corrections) by Otto Kurz, enclosed in squared brackets. Further bibliographical additions and ›updates‹ from the French edition of Schlosser (1984) have been included at appropriate points. These are marked with an asterisk: * [] or with *¹⁹⁸⁴, éd. fr. []. The extraordinary quantity of these additions is one testimony to the difficulties facing an ›updated‹ Schlosser today, especially in light of a very rapid expansion of art historical literature in the past thirty years. The Spanish edition of Schlosser (1976) does not contain notable bibliographic additions to this chapter. The French bibliography contains many errors, and some of these may be repeated here, although an effort to verify citations has been made and full names for authors are given.

Schlosser and additions to Schlosser:

For French *Kunstliteratur*, especially of the seventeenth century, see especially André Fontaine: *Les doctrines d'art en France de Poussin à Diderot*, Paris 1909 [repr. anast.: Genève 1970 and 1989], a work that takes Italian writers on art insufficiently into account. Bibliography in Pierre Marcel: *La Peinture française au début de Dix-huitième siècle*, Paris 1909. A specific theme is treated in the dissertation of Kurt Cassirer: *Die ästhetischen Hauptbegriffe der französischen Architekturtheoretiker 1650–1780*, Berlin 1909 [Helmut Lohmüller: *Die französische Theorie der Malerei im 17. Jahrhundert*, Diss., Marburg 1933. Ellen Heuck: *Die Farbe in der französischen Kunsttheorie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Strasburg 1929].

*1984, éd. fr. [Ladislav (Władysław) Tatarkiewicz, »L'esthétique du Grand Siècle«, in: *Dix-septième siècle*, no. 78, 1968, pp. 21–35. Bernard Teyssèdre, »Peinture et musique, la notion d'harmonie des couleurs au xvii^e siècle français«, in: *Stil und Überlieferung, Akten des 21. internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, Bonn 1964 (Berlin 1967), vol. 3, pp. 206–214. Jacques Thuillier, »Académie et classicisme en France; les débuts de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture (1648–1663)«, in: *Il mito del classicismo nel Seicento* (Congr. Bologna, 1962), 1964, pp. 181–209. Manfred Boos: *Französische Kunstliteratur zur Malerei und Bildhauerei 1648 und 1669*, Diss. München 1966 (1964). Helmut Lohmüller: *Die französische Theorie der Malerei im 17. Jahrhundert*, Diss. Marburg, 1933. Helena Zmijewska: »La critique des Salons avant Diderot«, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 76, 1970, pp. 1–144. Zygmunt Ważbiński: *O rozpoznawaniu i wartosciowaniu obrazów. Poglądy siedemnastowiecznych pisarzy i amatorów sztuki* (La littérature artistique du xvii^e siècle à l'usage des collectionneurs), Torino 1975 (esp. Giulio Mancini, Abraham Bosse, Roger de Piles). Rensselaer W. Lee: *Ut pictura poesis: La teoria umanista della pittura*, Firenze, 1974 [originally in: *Art Bulletin*, 22, 1940]. *Critique et créations littéraires en France au xvii^e*, Colloque international, Paris, 1974 (Paris 1977): Henri Coulet: »La métaphore de l'architecture dans la critique littéraire au xvii^e siècle«, pp. 291–309; Jacques Thuillier: »La notion d'imitation dans la pensée artistique du xvii^e siècle«, pp. 361–374; François-Georges Pariset: »Classicisme et jansénisme«, in: *Centre de recherches classicisme Néoclassicisme*, 1975, no. 3. Hans W. Van Helsdingen: »Body and Soul in French Art Theory of the Seventeenth Century after Descartes«, in: *Simiolus*, 1980, 11, no. 1, pp. 14–22 (also: *Simiolus*, 1978–1979, 10, no. 4: »Lakoon in the Seventeenth Century«). Joseph C. Allard: »Mechanism, Music and Painting in XVII century France«, in: *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 1981–1982, 40, no. 3 (the manner in which ideas about music were applied to the theory of painting: Félibien, Le Brun, Poussin, Perrault, R. de Piles). Jacques Thuillier: »Doctrines et querelles artistiques en France au xvii^e siècle: quelques textes oubliés ou inédits«, in: *Archives de l'art français*, XXIII, 1968, pp. 125–217, publishes a treatise on painting (Bibl. Nationale de Paris, Ms. fr. 9155 – suc. suppl. fr. 3809, 17) written by an artist active between 1619 and 1625, under Henri IV.]

For the drafts of Nicolas Poussin (d. 1665) for a treatise about painting: Bellori: *Vite*, p. 288f., where a fragment is included (p. 300). Published separately in French by Pierre-Marie Gault de St German: *Mésures de la célèbre statue de l'Antinous, suivies de quelques observations sur la peinture*, transcrites du manuscrit original de N. Poussin, Paris 1803. Translated in: Guhl-Rosenberg: *Künstlerbriefe*, II, 220, which also contains a series of important theoretical letters by Poussin. [Anthony Blunt: »Poussin's Notes on Painting«, in: *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1938, pp. 344–351. *Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin*. Publiée d'après les originaux par Ch. Touauny, Paris 1911 (*Archives de l'art français*, Nouv. per., t. V)]. Somewhat slight are the observations in: Otto Grautoff: *Nicolas Poussin*, München 1914, I, 404.

*1984; éd. fr. [*Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin*, ed. Charles Jouanny, Paris 1911 (*Archives de l'art français*, nouv. pér., vol. V (facs. reprint: Paris 1968). Paul Alfassa: »L'origine de la lettre de Poussin sur les modes«, in: *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1933, pp. 125–143. Luigi Grassi: »A proposito del concerto dello stile nel Poussin«, in: *Commentari*, III, 1952, pp. 224–225. Nicola Ivanoff: »Il concerto dello stile nel Poussin e in Marco Boschini«, in: *Commentari*, III, 1952, pp. 51–61. Jan Białostocki: »Poussin et le ›traité de la peinture‹ de Léonard«, in: *Actes du colloque Poussin* (ed. A. Chastel, Paris 1958), 1960, I, pp. 133–140; by the same author (Białostocki), »Das Modusproblem in den bildenden Künsten: Zur Vorgeschichte und zum Nachleben des ›Modusbriefes‹ von Nicolas Poussin (von 1647)«, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXIV, 1961, pp. 128–141. Tatiana Kamenskaya: »Fragment inédit d'une lettre de Poussin au Musée de l'Ermitage, essai de commentaire«, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXII, 1963, pp. 345–348. Nicola Ivanoff: »La parola ›idea‹ nelle Osservazioni di Niccolò Pussino sopra la pittura«, in: *Il mito del classicismo nel Seicento* (Congr. Bologna, 1962), 1964, pp. 91–99. Nicolas Poussin: *Lettres et propos sur l'art, textes choisis et présentés par Anthony Blunt*, Paris 1964. Rudolf Zeitler: »Il problema dei ›modi‹ e la consapevolezza di Poussin«, in: *Critica d'arte*, LXIX, 1965, pp. 26–35. Carl G. Goldstein: »The meaning of Poussin's letter to De Noyers«, in: *Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1966, pp. 233–239. Udo Kultermann: *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte*, Wien/Düsseldorf 1966, pp. 47–56 (»Poussin et l'Académie«). Hans W. Van Helsdingen: »Historier« en »peindre«. Poussin's opvattingen over kunst in het licht van de discussies in de franse kunsthistorie in de tweede helft van zeventiende eeuw, Diss. Utrecht 1971 (résumé in English). Sergej Michajlovič Daniël': »O ›teorii modusov‹ Pussena« (La théorie des modus de Poussin), in: *Sovetskoe Iskustvoznanie*, 1979, no. 1, résumé in English. Richard F. Verdi: *Poussin's Critical Fortunes: The Study of the Artist and Criticism of his works from c. 1690 to c. 1830 with particular reference to France and England*, London 1976.]

Roland Fréart de Chambray: *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne, avec un recueil des dix principaux auteurs qui ont écrit des cinq Ordres, sçavoir Palladio et Scamozzi, Serlio et Vignola, D. Barbaro et Cataneo, L. B. Alberti et Viola, Bullant et De Lorme comparez entre eux*, with plates, folio, Paris 1650 *[repr. anast.: Genève 1973]; 2nd ed. 1702 (by Claude Perrault); English ed. by John Evelyn, London 1664: (»To which is added an Account of Architects and Architecture«; contains also L. B. Alberti: *De Statua*), reprinted 1680; 2nd ed. 1707 (with dedication to Sir Christopher Wren; with the »Account« enlarged), 1723 (together with Henry Wotton: *Elements of architecture*), 1733. [Geoffrey Keynes: *John Evelyn, a Bibliography of his Writings*, Cambridge 1937, pp. 164–109]. Also by Fréart: *Idée de la perfection de la peinture démontrée par ses principes de l'art, et par des exemples conformes aux observations que Plin et Quintilien ont fait sur les plus célèbres tableaux des anciens peintres, mis en parallèle à quelques ouvrages de nos meilleurs peintres modernes, Léonard de Vinci, Raphael, Jules Romain, et le Poussin*, Le Mans 1662 *[facs. reprint: Farnborough 1969]; in English by John Evelyn, London 1668; in Italian by Anton Maria Salvini, published by Moreni, Firenze 1809. Wilhelm Fraenger: *Die Bildanalysen des de Chambray: der Versuch einer Rationalisierung der Kunstkritik in der französischen Kunstlehre des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Diss., Heidelberg 1917. Jean Bullant: *Règle générale d'architecture de cinq manières de colonnes*, with woodcuts, folio, Rouen 1674, Paris 1664 and 1668. A summary of French architectural theorists (Bullant, Delorme, Du Cerceau), of those of Germany, of the *Kunstbüchlein* and of the *Säulenbüchlein* of the sixteenth century; see him also in: Albrecht Haupt: *Baukunst der Renaissance in Frankreich und Deutschland*, Berlin 1916 (*Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*), pp. 101 ff. and 351 ff.

*1984; éd. fr. [Paola Barocchi: »Ricorsi italiani nei trattatisti d'arte francesi del Seicento«, in: *Il mito del classicismo nel Seicento* (Congr. Bologna, 1962), 1964, pp. 125–147.

Anthony Blunt, ed., *Pierre le Muet: Manière de bien bastir*, Farnborough: Gregg, 1972 (facsimile reprint of ed. 1647).]

[kurz, 1964: Antoine Desgodets: *Traité des Ordres d'Architecture*, 1711 (manuscript); cf. Wolfgang Herrmann: »Antoine Desgodets and the Académie Royale d'Architecture«, in: *Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, 23–53.]

Hilaire Pader: *La Peinture parlante*, Toulouse 1653, 1657. Also by Pader: *Songe énigmatique sur la peinture universelle*, Toulouse 1658; cf. Fontaine, *cit.*, pp. 33 ff., and Philippe de Chennevières: *Hilaire Pader, peintre et poète toulousain*, Bruxelles 1861. For the provincial writers of the same period (Nicolas Catherinot: *Traité de la peinture*, Bruges 1687, *Traité de l'architecture*, Bruges 1688; Le Blond de Latour: *Lettre à un de ses amis touchant la peinture*, Bordeaux 1669 *[repr. anast., Genève 1972]; Dupuy de Grez: *Traité sur la peinture*, Paris-Toulouse 1699, etc.), cf. Fontaine, pp. 83 ff.

*1984; éd. fr. [Jacques Restout: *La Réforme de la peinture*, Caen: Briard, 1681; repr. anast., Genève 1973.]

Julius Caesar Boulenger: *De Pictura, Plastica, Statuaria libri duo*, Lyon 1627. The brief work by this learned archeologist is found also in the *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum* of Gronovius, 1697, vol. 9; in English: London 1657.

Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy: *De arte graphica* (written 1641–1665), Paris 1667; 2nd ed. in Latin and in French, with the dialogue on colours and extensive notes by Roger de Piles, Paris 1673, and then 1684, 1688, 1751, together with the didascalical poem by Watelet, Paris 1760 and following. Also in the works of De Piles, Amsterdam 1767; together with the didascalical poem of de Marsy, ed. C. A. Klotzius (Christian Adolph), Leipzig 1770. A new edition, Paris 1824, with the title *Le Guide de l'artiste et de l'amateur*, in German: Berlin 1699 by Samuel Theodor Gericke (*Kurzer Begriff der theoretischen Malerkunst*, with the original Latin text), then by Joseph Widtmaisser von Weitenau: *Pictoriae artis Pandaesia*, Wien 1731; in Dutch by Johannes Verhoek, Amsterdam 1733 [also: 1722]; in English by John Dryden, with a preface which contains the parallel of poetry and painting, London 1695, 1716, 1750 (with biographies of English painters: Lely, Kneller, Hogarth), London 1769; by William Mason, especially notable for the notes by Reynolds and with many additions (the Paragone of Dryden, a letter by Pope), York 1783; further translations by James Wright, London 1728 [the existence of this translation has been doubted] and by James Wills, London 1754, by Walter Churchey: *Poems*, London 1789; *[Italian tr.: Traduzione del poema sopra i precetti della pittura (de arte graphica) di Ch.-A. Du Fresnoy, fatta in versi toscani da Paolo Foncet de Bardonache, 2nd ed. with a »ristretto della vita di Du Fresnoy«, Roma 1775] in Italian, Roma 1713 and 1776 (anon. G. R. A.) and by Innocenzo Ansaldi, Pescia 1783. Du Fresnoy is treated in a dissertation by Paul Vitry: *De C. A. Dufresnoy poemate*, Paris 1901. [Władysław Folkierski: »Ut pictura poesis ou l'étrange fortune du *De Arte Graphica* de Du Fresnoy en Angleterre«, in: *Revue de littérature comparée*, XXVII, 1953, pp. 385–402].

[kurz, 1964: Du Fresnoy: *De arte graphica*. In Italian: Roma 1713 (anon. G.R.A.), 1750, 1774, 1775 (two different eds.), Pescia 1782, Milano 1802, Lucca 1813 (according to Fabia Borroni Salvadori, »Il Cicognara«: bibliografia dell'archeologia classica e dell'arte italiana, Firenze 1954–1967, I/2, 66 f.).]

See also: *Du Graphe, or De Arte Graphica de Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy*, modern translation from Latin into French by Philippe-Joseph Salazar, Paris 1990.

*1984; éd. fr. [Grégoire Huret: *Optique de portraiture et peinture*, Paris 1670. Cf. Hans W. Van Helsdingen, »Grégoire Huret's »Optique de portraiture et peinture«, in: *Opstellen v. H. van de Waal*, 1970, pp. 90–100.

Christopher Maclachlan: »Dreyden, Truth and Nature«, in: *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 1980, 20, no. 2. In particular Dreyden's *Parallel Between Painting and Poetry*, 1695 (prefixed to the translation). Lawrence Lipking: »The Shifting Nature of Authority in versions of *De arte graphica*«, in: *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, XXIII, 1964–1965, pp. 487–504. Jacques Thuillier: »Les Observations sur la peinture de Charles-Alphonse du Fresnoy«, in: *Walter Friedlaender zum 90. Geburtstag*, Berlin 1965, pp. 193 ff., publishes a manuscript of 1649; the second part, »Sentiments de C. A. Dufresnoy« had been published by Roger de Piles the year Dufresnoy died (1668), as an appendix to the *Art de la peinture*.]

Henry Testelin: *Sentiments des plus habiles peintres sur la pratique de la peinture et sculpture mis en table de préceptes*, fol., Paris 1680 and 1696 *[facs. of the ed. 1696: Genève 1972]; in German by Joachim von Sandrart: *Anmerkungen der fürtrefflichsten Mahler unserer Zeit über die Zeichen- und Mahlerey-Kunst*, Nürnberg 1699, also in the edition of Sandrart, Nürnberg 1773, vol. VI.

*1984; éd. fr. [Testelin: the *Mémoires pour servir à l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture depuis 1648 jusqu'en 1664* (Bibl. Nationale de Paris, ms. suppl. fr. 1339 has been published by Antoine de Montaiglon, Paris 1853; repr. anast. of 2 vols. in one: Genève 1973).]

Charles Le Brun: *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les Passions proposée dans une conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*, with figures, many editions, in part abbreviated; Amsterdam and Paris 1698; Paris 1718, 1727; Amsterdam 1702, 1713; in German, Augsburg 1704, 1732; in English, by John Williams, 1734 [facs. ed. 1980]; with the title, *Bowles's Passions of the Soul*, London, undated [Carrington Bowles; 1759, 1780, 1785]; in Dutch, Amsterdam 1703, 1728; in Italian (with also the French text), Verona 1751. *[The »Conférence (...) sur l'expression générale et particulière« is reprinted in Henry Jouin: *Charles Le Brun et les arts sous Louis XVI*, Paris 1889.] Nel 1806 at Paris there was published a *Dissertation sur un traité de Ch. Le Brun concernant le rapport de la physionomie humaine avec celle des animaux*; in English by Blanquet, with lithographs, London 1827. [The original drawings are in the Louvre; see Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel: *Inventaire générale des dessins de l'école française*, vol. VIII, 1913, pp. 66–78. For Le Brun's physiognomical studies, see Ernst Kris, in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N. F. VI, 1932, p. 198].

*1984; éd. fr. [John Montgomery Wilson: *The Painting of the Passions in Theory, Practice and Criticism in later eighteenth-century France*, Diss. Iowa Univ., 1975; New York 1981]

André Félibien: *Des Principes de l'architecture, de la sculpture, de la peinture et des autres arts, qui en dépendent, avec un Dictionnaire des termes propres à chacun de ces arts*, Paris 1676, 1690, 1697, 1699 [facs. ed. of 1699: Farnborough 1966]. Also by André Félibien: *L'Origine de la peinture et des plus excellents peintres de l'antiquité* (dialogue), Paris 1660. Félibien published also the *Conférences de l'Académie Royale pendant l'année 1667*, Paris 1669 (Amsterdam 1706, in English, London 1740); reprinted in the edition of Félibien's complete writings, Trévoux 1725, 6 vol., in 12° *[cf. Hans W. Van Helsdingen: »Remarks on a text borrowed by Félibien«, in: *Simiolus*, IV, 1970, pp. 109–114.]. See Henry Jouin: *Les Conférences de l'Académie Royale*, Paris 1883, and: *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie de Peinture et Sculpture (1648–1793)*, ed. Antoine de Montaiglon, Paris 1875–1892, 10 vol.

[facs. ed., Paris 1972]; further: Henri Lemonnier: Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'architecture, Paris 1911–1929, 10 vol., and André Fontaine: Conférences inédites de l'Académie Royale des Peintres et Sculpteurs, d'après les manuscrits des archives de l'École des beaux-arts, Paris 1903.

*1984; éd. fr. [Manfred Boos: Franzosische Kunstliteratur zur Malerei und Bildhauerei 1648 und 1669, München 1966, Diss. München 1964. André Félibien: Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes avec la vie des architectes, Trévoux 1725; ed. facs. with a note by Anthony Blunt (Farnborough 1967); other facs. eds. (of the ed. Paris, 1666, 1672, 1679, 1688), Genève 1972. René Demoris, »Le corps royal et l'imaginaire au xvii^e siècle: ›Le portrait du roy‹ par Félibien«, in: Revue des Sciences Humaines, Lille 1978, pp. 9–30 (the history of the question). Claire Pace, »Dessein and coloris: The Growth of Félibien's *Entretiens*«, in: Journal of European Studies, 1980, 10, no. 1, pp. 48–61. Bernard Teyssède: L'Histoire de l'art vue du Grand Siècle, Paris 1965, *passim*.]

[kurz, 1964: Jean Lafond: »Félibien est-il notre premier historien du vitrail? Les *Principes de l'architecture* et l'*Origine de l'art de peinture sur verre*«, in: Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français, 1954, pp. 45–60.]

Charles Perrault: Parallèles des Anciens et des Modernes en ce qui regarde les Arts et les Sciences, Paris 1688, 1692, Amsterdam 1693, 2 vol. [facs. repr., München 1964, intro. Hans Robert Jauß and presentation Max Imdahl]; cf. the general representation of the issues, in: Hippolyte Rigault: Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes, Paris 1856. Also by Rigault: Le Cabinet des beaux-arts, ou Recueil d'estampes gravées d'après les tableaux d'un plafond, où les beaux-arts sont représentés avec l'explication de ces mêmes tableaux, Paris 1690. The *Mémoires de ma vie* by Charles Perrault have been published by Paul Bonnefon, Paris 1909. [Salomon Reinach: Amalthée, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, vol. I, 1930, 1–14 (*Charles Perrault, critique d'art*. First in the *Revue archéologique*, 1909, II, 203–215)].

*1984; éd. fr. [Charles Perrault: Oeuvres choisies, ed. Jacques-Albert-Simon Collin de Plancy, Paris 1826. Antonio Hernandez: Gründungszüge einer Ideengeschichte der französischen Architekturtheorie von 1560 bis 1800, Diss. Basel 1965; Basel, 1972.]

Claude Perrault (brother of Charles Perrault): Ordonnances des cinq espèces de colonnes selon la méthode des anciens, Paris 1676, 1683, 1733, and reissued by François-Augustin Renard (Paris, 1845–1846; 1854) under the title: *Architecture décimale*; in English, by John James, London 1708. His adversary is François Blondel, by whom was published in 2 vol. at Paris from 1675 to 1683 the *Cours d'architecture* (resulting from his teaching at the new *Académie Royale de l'architecture*: new ed. Paris 1698); cf., about him and about Perrault, Cornelius Gurlitt in his *Geschichte des Barockstils*, II, 1, 153 ff., where this contrast is illustrated in a broad and instructive fashion. Important is also the *Cours d'architecture* by Augustin Charles Daviler, Paris 1691, 2 vol., (the second vol. contains a *Dictionnaire d'architecture*); second ed. 1693–1696; new ed. with notes by Pierre-Jean Mariette, Paris 1738, 1756, 1760 * [*Cours d'architecture. Revu et augmenté de plusieurs desseins et préceptes conformes à l'usage présent et d'un grand nombre de termes et de remarques par* (Le Blond, after the posthumous notes of Davilier). *Suivie de l'Explication des termes d'architecture*. Paris 1693 f. There is also an ed. of 1710; repr. anast.: Genève 1973]; in German, by Leonhard Christoph Sturm, Augsburg 1725; Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, 195. The work is important also for French garden architecture.

*1984; éd. fr. [Wolfgang Herrmann: *The Theory of Claude Perrault*, London 1973. Vitruvius, C. Perrault, tr. André Dalmas: *Les Dix Livres d'architecture corrigés et traduits*, Bruxelles 1979 (repr. anast. of 10th ed. of 1684). Louis Savot and François Blondel: *L'Architecture française des bâtiments particuliers*, Paris 1632 and 1635; this work contains a bibliography of architecture. Pierre Bullet: *L'architecture pratique*, Paris 1691; repr. anast.: Genève 1973. Wolfgang D. Bronner: *Blondel-Perrault. Zur Architekturtheorie des 17. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich*, Diss., Bonn 1971.]

Roger De Piles: *Cours de Peinture par principes* (at the end, the *Balance des Peintres*), Paris 1708, 1710, 1720, 1766, 1791 *[repr. anast., ed. 1708: Genève 1969]; in English (tr. by a Painter), London 1743; in German: *Einleitung in die Malerei aus Grundsätzen*, Leipzig 1760; in Dutch (with the dialogue *L'Aretino* by Lodovico Dolce), Amsterdam (1756). The same (anon.): *Les premiers Elemens de la Peinture pratique, enrichis de figures de proportion mesurées sur l'antique*, Paris 1684 *[repr. anast.: Genève 1973], new enlarged ed.: Paris: Charles Antoine Jombert, 1766. Also by De Piles: *L'idée du Peintre parfait*, prefixed to his *Abrégé de la Vie des peintres*, Paris 1699 (see Book VII) *[repr. anast. of ed. 1699: Genève 1970]; in English, without the name of the author (who was wrongly held to be Félibien), London 1707; also in Italian: *Idea del perfetto pittore per servire di regola nel giudizio che si deve formare intorno le opere dei pittori*, Torino 1769, Venezia 1771, 1772. Also De Piles (published anon.): *Dialogue sur le coloris*, Parigi 1673, 1699; in English by John Ozell, London 1711; *[*L'art de peindre traduit en français, enrichy de remarques et augmenté d'un dialogue sur le coloris*, Paris 1673, a translation of Du Fresnoy's poem; repr. anast.: Genève 1973]; [in Dutch (Amsterdam 1722). By De Piles: *Conversations sur la connoissance de la peinture, et sur le jugement qu'on doit faire des tableaux. Où par occasion il est parlé de la vie de Rubens, & de quelques-uns de ses plus beaux ouvrages*, Paris 1677; repr. anast.: Genève 1970]. *[*Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux peintres, ded. to le duc de Richelieu*, Paris 1681; repr. anast.: Genève 1973 Also by De Piles: *Recueil de divers ouvrages sur la peinture et le coloris*, Paris 1755, Amsterdam 1767 e 1775. De Piles published also, under the name of François Torteбат an *Abrégé d'Anatomie accommodé aux Arts de Peinture et de Sculpture* (with plates after Vesalius engraved by Fr. Torteбат), Paris 1667, [1733, 1765, 1826; in German: Berlin 1706. For the qualities of De Piles as a writer, see Seymour Slive: *Rembrandt and his critics*, The Hague 1953, p. 123]. About De Piles: Mary Pittaluga, in: *L'Arte*, XX, 1917, pp. 337 f. [Léon Mirot: *Roger de Piles*, Paris 1924 (with bibliography). John Steegman: »The ›Balance des Peintres‹ of Roger de Piles«, in: *Art Quarterly*, XVII, 1954, pp. 255–261].

[kurz, 1964: Susanne Heiland: »La Balance des Peintres«, in: *Festschrift Johannes Jahn*, Leipzig 1958, pp. 237–245; Bernard Teyssèdre: »Une collection française de Rubens au xvii^e siècle: Le cabinet du duc de Richelieu, décrit par Roger de Piles«, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1963, II, pp. 241–300.]

*1984; éd. fr. [De Piles: *Cours de peinture* contains the *De imitatione statuarum* of Rubens and De Piles's *Balance des peintres*). Jacques Thuillier: »Doctrines et querelles artistiques en France au xvii^e siècle: quelques textes oubliés ou inédits«, in: *Archives de l'art française*, xxiii, 1968, pp. 125–217; here published is the *Lettre d'un François à un gentilhomme flammand* of Roger de Piles, followed by the *Réponse d'un gentilhomme Flamand* – by Hubert Gamard?: *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France*, ms. 1881 (Fons Duplessis 1073). About Roger de Piles: Bernard Teyssèdre: *L'Histoire de l'art vue du Grand Siècle. Recherches sur L'Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres par Roger de Piles (1699) et ses sources*, Paris 1964; also by Teyssèdre: *Roger de Piles et les débats sur le coloris au siècle de Louis XIV*, Paris 1965.

Further: Nicolas Ivanoff: »Roger de Piles et Marco Boschini«, in: *Arte antica e moderna*, XXXIII, 1966, pp. 101–106. Luigi Grassi: *Teorici e storia della critica d'arte*, II, Roma 1973, pp. 139 ff.]

*1984; éd. fr. [De Piles: Jacques Thuillier, *op. cit.*, in: *Archives de l'art française*, xxiii, 1968, pp. 125–217, publishes with commentary the »58^e conférence de l'Académie Renaudot«, entitled *De la peinture*, and included in the *Second Centurie des Conférences*, ed. Theophraste Renaudot, Paris 1636, pp. 69–72; further Paul Lacroix, ed. (anon., »Le Banquet des Curieux«, in: *Revue universelle des arts*, IV, 1856, pp. 46–65, »Le Songe d'Arsite à Philandre«, in: *ibid* (232, 255), three pamphlets in the context of the »querelle du coloris«: (1) *Le banquet des curieux*; (2) *Response au banquet des curieux* (the author could be the abbé Faydit): opus. at the Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Paris, 8^e B. 11184; (3) *Le Songe d'Ariste* (Bibl. Nationale de Paris, V. 2639). The author announces his intention to publish *Des peintures convenables aux basiliques et palais du Roy*, Paris 1600. By De Laval rather than Renè François: *Essay des merveilles de Nature*, Paris 1621. W. Gerald Studdert-Kennedy and Michael Davenport: »The Balance of Roger De Piles: A Statistical Analysis«, in: *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 32, 1974, no. 4, pp. 493–502. James Henry Rubin, »Roger de Piles and Antiquity«, in: *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 1975, 34, no. 2, 157–163 (his judgement about the artistic quality and the utility of ancient art for his time).

François Lemée: *Traité des statues*, Paris 1688, 12°. [François Lemée: *Traité des Statuës*, (Paris, 1688), ed. Diane H. Bodart and Hendrik Ziegler, 2 vol., Weimar 2012]

Abraham Bosse: *Traicté des manières de graver en taille-douce*, Paris 1645 and 1664; new enlarged ed. 1701, 1745 (Cochin le Jeune), 1758 (?). [For the publication date of this last ed., see Arthur M. Hind: »A note on C. N. Cochin's second version of A. Bosse's *Traicté des manières de graver*«, in: *Burlington Magazine*, XI, 1907, 390–391. Reprint of the original ed. with an Italian translation: Luigi Servolini: *Abraham Bosse e il suo Trattato della Calcografia*, Bologna 1937]. In Dutch: Amsterdam 1662; in German by Georg Andreas Böckler: *Kunstbuchlein handelt von der Radier- und Etzkunst*, Nürnberg 1652, 1745, 1761, and by Carl Gottlieb Nitzsche: [Die Kunst in Kupfer zu stechen, sowohl vermittelst des Aetzwassers als mit dem Grabstichel] Dresden 1765. Also by Bosse: *Sentiments sur la distinction des diverses manières de peinture, dessin et gravure et des originaux d'avec leurs copies*, Paris 1649. Also Bosse: *Le Peintre converti aux précises et universelles règles de son art. Avec un raisonnement abrégé au sujet des tableaux, bas-reliefs et autres ornemens que l'on peut faire sur les diverses superficies des bastimens, et quelques advertissements contre les erreurs que de nouveaux écrivains veulent introduire dans la pratique de ces arts*, Paris 1667. Eugène Bouvy: »L'art et la science d'Abraham Bosse«, in: *Gazette des beaux-arts*, X, 1924, Sept. – Oct., pp. 213–218. [Luigi Servolini: »Il classico trattato della calcografia di A. Bosse«, in: *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, XIV, 1939, pp. 20–31].

[kurz, 1964: Abraham Bosse: *Traicté des manières de graver*. There exists a Japanese translation by Shiba Kokan (1737–1818); see Horst Gerson: *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Haarlem 1942, p. 548, and Charles Ralph Boxer: *Jan Compagnie in Japan*, 2nd ed., The Hague 1950, 111 (where one reads of the strange error of the Dutch work of a certain Bois).]

*1984; éd. fr. [A. Bosse: *Traité des manières de graver en taille-douce sur l'airin par le moyen des eaux fortes et des vernix durs et mols: ensemble des facond d'en imprimer les planches et d'en construire la presse et autres choses concernant les dit arts*, Paris 1779, facs. ed. of 1745. There exists an Italian translation of Bosse's *Traité*, after the ed. of 1645, at the Biblioteca

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Fig. 4 Cornelis Visscher the Elder, after Pieter van Laer, *Landscape with Morra and Card Players: The Small Lime Kiln*, Inscribed, upper left: »P. di Laer Pinxit Rome«, 1650–1660, etching, 287 mm × 383 mm, London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum, URL: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1861-1109-128