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REVISTA DE
**HISTÓRIA
DA ARTE**



II | INSTITUTO DE HISTÓRIA DA ARTE
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COLLECTING THROUGH CONNECTIONS

GLASS AND STAINED-GLASS
COLLECTORS AND THEIR
NETWORKS IN THE 19TH CENTURY



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Julius Eugen Rühl (ca. 1855),
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EDITORIAL

THE STAINED GLASS COLLECTION OF KING D. FERNANDO II

Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha came to Portugal in 1836 to marry the Portuguese Queen Maria II, and took the title of King D. Fernando II after the birth of their first son. From a German princely house from which, in the 19th century, several European royal marriages issued, he received a careful education and was throughout his life an art collector and a keen patron of the arts and of heritage conservation.

Among other interests he added to an inherited collection of stained glass panels from diverse origins, periods and themes that he applied to decorate windows and interior doors in a “patchwork” common at the time. The ones he used at the windows of the Great Hall of his master achievement — the Palace of Pena, in Sintra — have always been admired. Less known is the similar set of panels inserted in the windows and doors of a dining room at his Lisbon residence, the Palace of Necessidades, which were taken down in 1916 when that Palace was adapted to house the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and transported to Pena in 1949.

When Parques de Sintra, a state owned company that manages the state properties in the Cultural Landscape of Sintra, a World Heritage site near Lisbon, became responsible for the Palace of Pena in 2007, I was surprised to find, stored in a poor state of conservation, the stained glass panels from Necessidades. Probably with the exception of

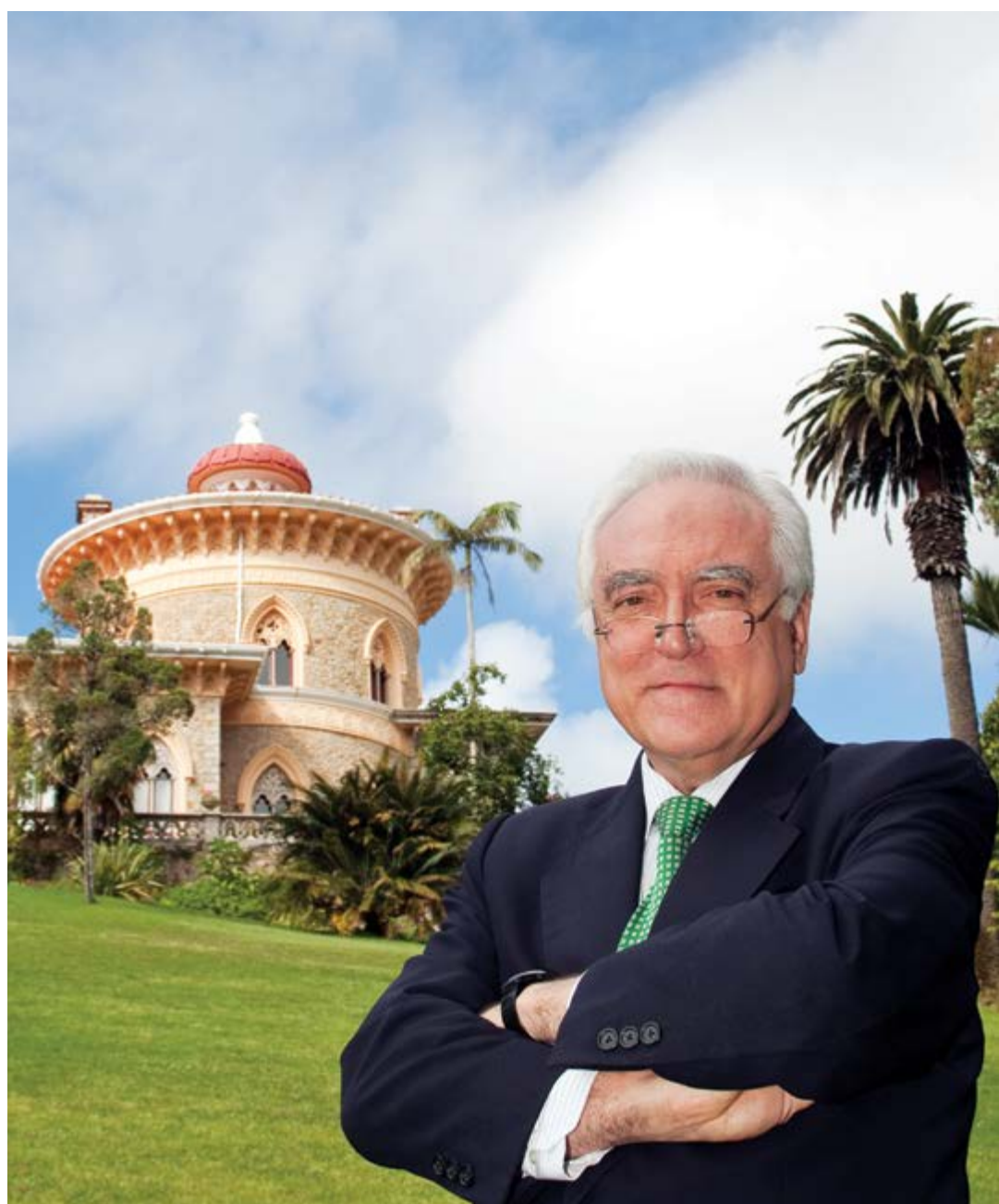
those working in the Palace, these panels were only known to a very few persons but their interest was immediately obvious. Stained glass is rare in Portuguese tradition, monuments and collections.

Their restoration was the purpose of a protocol signed with the Department of Conservation and Restoration of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, and the resulting exhibition at Pena has added to the many interests of this most extraordinary Romantic building, which is the second most visited monument in Portugal. The study of the different panels and their origin should follow.

Being the custodian of his “beloved Pena”, for which he is better known, it is the duty of Parques de Sintra to preserve it for future generations and to stimulate research on the life and achievements of D. Fernando II, in particular on his artistic interests and collections and his contributions towards the restoration of Portuguese monuments. Besides the study of the furniture and works of art existing at Pena and the revision of their presentation, several projects, one of which is the study of his glass collections, are under way. Since he also produced a vast graphic work (drawings and prints), Parques de Sintra has been collecting and restoring major examples, aiming at another exhibition and the shedding of more light on this fascinating King consort.

ANTÓNIO RESSANO GARCIA LAMAS
CEO of Parques de Sintra — Monte da Lua SA
(2006 — November 2014)

INTERVIEW



Professor Doutor António Lamas
The interview will be released on the 1st of April 2015

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WHY
COLLECT?

ROMANTIC ATMOSPHERE AND THE INVOCATION OF THE PAST

MOTIFS AND FUNCTIONS OF EARLY STAINED GLASS COLLECTIONS AROUND 1800

ABSTRACT

The article analyses the motifs of early stained glass collectors in Europe and the functions of their collections in the context of cultural history and neo-gothic architectural settings. The most important stained glass collections as in the Gothic House in Wörlitz or the Franzensburg in Laxenburg near Vienna, in the Löwenburg in Kassel or in the castle of Erbach were first and foremost used for the decoration of neo-Gothic buildings and collection halls. The colourful, faint light conveyed the atmosphere of an utmost effective *mise-en-scène* of venerable history. But the function of these early stained glass collections was not limited to a romantic *staffage* of the English Garden, they were above all patriotic-dynastic monuments. Noble families thereby tried to compensate their privileges lost in the wake of the Napoleonic reorganization of Europe and to manifest their cultural leadership.

KEYWORDS

NEO-GOTHIC | GOETHE | PATRIOTIC MONUMENTS
| WÖRTLITZ | LAXENBURG | LÖWENBURG

RESUMO

O artigo analisa os motivos dos primeiros colecionadores de vitrais na Europa e as funções das suas coleções no contexto da história cultural e configurações arquitetônicas neogóticas. As coleções de vitrais mais importantes, como na Casa Gótica em Wörlitz ou em Franzensburg em Laxenburg, perto de Viena, em Löwenburg, em Kassel, ou no castelo de Erbach, foram, em primeiro lugar e sobretudo, utilizadas para a decoração dos edifícios neogóticos e salões destinados às coleções. A luz fraca e colorida transmitia à atmosfera uma eficaz *mise-en-scène* de história venerável. Mas a função destas primeiras coleções de vitrais não se limitou a um *staffage* Romântico do Jardim Inglês, elas foram acima de tudo monumentos patriótico-dinásticos. As famílias nobres tentaram assim compensar os seus privilégios perdidos na sequência da reorganização napoleónica da Europa e manifestar a sua liderança cultural.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

NEOGÓTICO | GOETHE | MONUMENTOS PATRIÓTICOS
| WÖRTLITZ | LAXENBURG | LÖWENBURG

DANIEL HESS
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg, Germany



I N D E X



E D I T O R I A L



I N T E R V I E W



D O S S I E R



P R I N T

A short glimpse of the stained-glass collection in the famous Romantic monument of the Pena National Palace in Sintra reveals an obvious diversity: Apart from a donor's panel from the monastery of Seligenthal dating from around 1314/1320, a few excellent Swiss and South German panels dating from the 15th and early 16th century catch the eye.¹ Beer panels and similar small pieces were used for the framing of the windows, which were equipped with historical fragments. What kind of concept stands behind this collection? What were the historical and representative purposes? Were the glass-paintings only decoration? Does exclusively the donor's panel in the chapel of the palace created by the glass painter Kellner in Nuremberg in 1840/141 refer to the donor and founder of the Palácio da Pena, the Portuguese King Ferdinand II?

All these questions could only be answered in a direct analysis of the originals in situ and the written sources relating to the collection. As this is not possible for me, I will focus on the question for the ideals the collection of Sintra followed and search for the motifs and ambitions why old stained glass paintings were collected in Europe from 1780. By doing so, I very much hope to contribute some new aspects for putting the historical collection of the Pena Palace into its art-historical context.

The collection of the Dukes of Saxony-Coburg and Gotha Ferdinand's passion to collect stained glass painting reaches back to the German-speaking countries and is at the same time due to his descent from the ancient lineage of the Dukes of Saxony-Coburg-Gotha, and first to the Veste Coburg, a family estate since 1353. Under Duke

Ernst I of Saxony-Coburg-Saalfeld (1784-1844), Duke of Saxony-Coburg and Gotha since 1826, the Duke's building was historically redesigned according to the plans of the architect, theoretician and decorator Carl Alexander von Heideloff (1789-1865).² In 1838 and 1840, for the first time stained glass-paintings serving as window decoration were mentioned. Luther's room and the room of the roses, used as a dining room, as well as the stairwell were equipped with stained glass-paintings as window decorations. These were obviously small panels and roundels found in Coburg around 1840 used as historical decoration. The essential parts of this collection originate from the collection of Duke Ernst II of Saxony-Gotha-Altenburg in Gotha, who in 1791 acquired about 200 stained-glass-paintings from the collection of Paul Carl Welser in Nuremberg.³ In addition also commissioned contemporary works from the Nuremberg stained-glass painter's workshop Kellner were used. Unfortunately, no further sources of documents or pictures about the collection in Coburg are available: at present, the only helpful information is contained in the guide to the Veste Coburg published in 1843, where the inventory and the locations mentioned-above are registered.

From 1826 the castle of Callenberg, the summer residence of the Dukes, was also redesigned and furnished in the neo-Gothic style.⁴ Not less than 224 small panels and roundels collected by Duke Ernst II were integrated into the windows of the redesigned castle chapel in 1845.⁵ In the 1980s they were removed for conservation reasons. In 1845, the historical artefacts were integrated into clear glass structured in rhombus shape. The central window designed and executed by the architect Karl Görgel (1809-1846) also

¹ For the translation of this text I have to thank Anette Kaufmann, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg. The author had the opportunity to see these windows during the Encontro internacional de vitral in Batalha in 1995 and made a first attempt of a historical classification in a manuscript for the collection in Sintra.

² On the history and restauration of Veste Coburg see Schwarz 2003, and on the stained-glass paintings Jeutter and Cleef-Roth 2003, 14-15, 20-35.

³ Most of these stained glass paintings were mentioned by Georg Rathgeber in his description of the painting-gallery in Gotha in 1835. I would like to thank Uwe Gast, Freiburg, and Klaus Weschenfelder, Coburg, for their information.

⁴ See Arnold, Astrid 2002.

⁵ This collection is revealed by Eutter/Cleef-Roth 2003.

FIG. 1 Design for a choir window in the chapel of Callenberg. Carl Görgel, 1844. Coburg, Schloss Callenberg, Sammlung Herzoglicher Kunstbesitz, Inv. Nr. 127
© Reproduction after Jeutter and Cleef-Roth 2003, 26

contained historical pieces which were integrated into a coloured tabernacle design in Gothic style [FIG. 1]. Görgel also passed on a sketch to Earl Eberhard von Erbach-Erbach, in order to receive useful information about glass painters from the Odenwald who might execute the work at low costs. We will come back to the stained-glass collection in Erbach later. In addition to historical stained-glass paintings, the collection of Callenberg castle also included „modern“ pieces such as a small panel dating from 1805 by Michael Sigmund Frank.⁶

As many German princes and sovereigns did at that times, also the Dukes of Saxony-Coburg-Saalfeld and Gotha gave their residences after the end of the Ancien Regime a new character by laying out English landscape parks, redesigning and extending the summer castles of Rosenau — with a small collection of stained glass paintings in some of the tracery windows — and Callenberg as well as the Veste Coburg in a new-Gothic style. After the turmoil in Napoleonic times and in the course of the reorganization of Europe, the old principles of monarchies and sovereigns were to be strengthened and legitimated. Medieval buildings and antiquities epitomized the historical continuity desired. Stained-glass paintings were not only important for conveying a romantic mood, they were also important antiquities to document long family traditions and sovereignty of the ancestors.



⁶ *ibid* Cat. No. 187.

The Gothic House in Wörlitz and the Franzensburg in Laxenburg

In the late 18th century, the influence of the neo-Gothic and romantic style predominant in England also grew on the Continent. First, this style influenced German garden buildings following the English model, later the Gothic Revival culminated in the completion of the Cologne Cathedral thus establishing a specific German National style.⁷ Apart from architects and garden theorists such as Christian Gay Laurenz Hirschfeld (1742-1792) poets like Johann Wolfgang von Goethe contributed to this development. Goethe was completely overwhelmed by the sight of the Gothic cathedral during his stay in Strasbourg and summarized his impressions 1772 in an essay with the programmatic title "About German Architecture".

When the first neo-Gothic buildings as the Gothic House in Wörlitz and the Löwenburg in Kassel were constructed, medieval art objects were increasingly collected for the furnishing of these buildings in the new „patriotic style“. Stained-glass painting played a decisive role for the interior of such buildings, as they provided "a mystical light" very much appreciated at that time. This is evidenced in several texts of Goethe who possessed a small, almost unknown collection of stained-glass himself. During his Swiss journey in 1797, Goethe repeatedly mentioned stained-glass painting focusing especially on the aspect of painting techniques and glass as a material.⁸ In his later work stained-glass painting is mentioned in his poem „Poems are painted window panes“ and in his short characterization of a small decorative chapel of the canon Pick in Bonn. The description of a park chapel in his novel „Elective Affinities“ written in 1809 is of particular

importance.⁹ An element of the English garden described there is a chapel serving the culture of commemoration, in which the artistic arrangement outshines the function of the building. Even the tombstones in front of the chapel are subject to a beautiful and dignified order annoying the parishioners as nobody knew where the corresponding bodies were exactly buried. The chapel built "in old German style and in good proportion" was restored in the „original spirit“. After its completion the chapel offers a serious sight: „A solemn, colourful light streamed through the one tall window. It was filled with stained glass gracefully put together. The entire chapel had thus received a strange tone and a peculiar genius was thrown over it“. Among the ecclesiastical antiquities some chancel stairs were discovered, which now were artistically arranged along the walls serving as resting places. The historical remains are subjected to a new order and awarded a new function. The Dessau-Wörlitz Garden Realm, also known as the English Grounds of Wörlitz, built by Prince Leopold Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau (1758-1817), which Goethe visited several times, served as a model for his description of the romantic park. The Gothic house always has been a particular ornament in the park in Wörlitz **[FIG. 2]**; it contains the oldest and most important collection of stained-glass paintings in the German language area.¹⁰ The priest and scholar Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1802) of Zurich, admired by the young Goethe, essentially contributed to this collection by sending many old stained-glass paintings from Switzerland to Prince Franz from the 1780s. These paintings were integrated into the large tracery windows of the Gothic House, which served as the Prince's private refuge. The princely friend and cabinet

⁷ See Germann 1974, 77-91.

⁸ Goethe, Münchner Edition volume. 4.2, München 1986, 667-669, 688-690, 711.

⁹ On the poem „Gedichte sind gemalte Fensterscheiben“ see Munich edition, volume 13.1, Munich 1992, 180, chapel of canon Pick ibid, volume 11.2, Munich 1994, p. 22, on Elective Affinities ibid, volume 9, Munich 1987, 415 (part 2, in particular chapter 1 and chapter 3).

¹⁰ See Ruoss and Giesicke 2012.



FIG. 2 Wörlitz, Gothic House, the Warfare Cabinet, state in 1994
© Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Freiburg i. Br. (Rüdiger Tonojan)

councillor, August von Rode, gave the following description in 1818: *Franz built the Gothic House and gathered everything that could help to lift his spirit into the former world. Therefore, not only the portraits of his ancestors, ... but preferably the lively presentation of the world of knights and some glances at the governing religious circumstances. Finally, so many valuable works of art of those times.*¹¹ More than 200 stained-glass paintings were integrated into the room programs: the spiritual cabinet is dedicated to themes of the Old and New Testament, whereas in the warfare cabinet motifs from the history of the Swiss Confederation and the liberation wars prevail. The stained-glass paintings were inserted into clear glass animated by blue, yellow and purple glass. The design of the surrounding area was limited to borders and decorative ornamentation of the tracery lights and did not show any painting.¹²

At the end of the 18th century, in Laxenburg, a two-hours horse ride from Vienna, a landscape park in the English style was built under similar conditions, and the neo-Gothic Franzensburg was erected as the heart of this romantic memorial landscape. After converting the park of the castle of Laxenburg into an English landscape garden, from 1792 to 1806 Franz II, the last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, who from 1804 to 1835 reigned as Franz I, first emperor of Austria, decided about Laxenburg's destiny. From 1789 the Franzensburg built on an island of an artificial lake was financed from the private imperial funds. It is a big and picturesque summer house which looks like a Gothic castle. Neo-Gothic architecture, stained-glass painting and landscape garden interacted perfectly as they did in Wörlitz. The Laxenburg park and the neo-Gothic Franzensburg

constitute a further possible source of inspiration for the realization of the interior of the Palacio da Pena in Sintra: From 1791, the father of Ferdinand II of Portugal was active in the Austrian army and had established a new family branch in Vienna. The Laxenburg Park was accessible to the public from 1799 as well as the picturesque Franzensburg after its completion. The members of the Vienna Congress met for festivities here and it is quite conceivable that Ferdinand II visited this park in his younger days.

From 1798, medieval and renaissance art treasures were collected for furnishing the Franzensburg, among them many old stained-glass paintings originating from Heiligenkreuz, Maria am Gestade and several other locations.¹³ Michael Riedl, the secret paymaster and later director of Laxenburg, conceived this collection. In one glass painting, Riedl is impressively portrayed as the planner and creator of the park and the castle **[FIG. 3]**. He also commissioned the production of new objects: For the initial furnishings the decoration painter Johann Karl created in accordance with the technique typical for that period new „glass paintings“ executed in oil colours. This could, however, only be a stopgap solution as such works were ruined within a couple of years by weather conditions. Therefore, Gottlob Samuel Mohn (1789-1825), one of the leading pioneers in glass painting, constructed in Laxenburg in 1813 a furnace to create better stained-glass painting for replacing the former experimental works.¹⁴ The correspondence with Michael Sigmund Frank (1770-1847), a further pioneer in the rediscovery of glass painting, documents that also Mohn appeared to have not been fully satisfied with the colour palette of his creations.

¹¹ Quoted after Alex 1994, 69-70.

¹² See in addition Ruoss and Giesicke 2012.

¹³ See Winkler 2012, and his summarizing paper in: Bürgler et al 1998, 60-72.

¹⁴ See in addition Vaassen 1997, 62-64.

FIG. 3 Franzensburg, Neue Vogtei, Michael Riedl with a plan of Laxenburg and six views of the park with the Franzensburg. Gottlob Samuel Mohn 1825
© Author

Against this background it becomes clear that for the furnishing of the early neo-Gothic buildings first and foremost historical glass paintings were used: The craftsmen of those days were simply not yet able to produce high quality coloured glass. Neither the intensive colourfulness of the Medieval glass could be achieved nor a sophisticated painting technique. Stained Glass painting was considered to be „totally cut off from its roots and as good as lost”, as Michael Adam Gessert expressed in 1839 in his book, one of the first attempts of a written history of stained glass painting.¹⁵ This lost art was still to be rediscovered by all means. In particular, the Nuremberg porcelain painters around Michael Sigmund Frank (1770-1847) intensified their efforts from 1800 onwards.¹⁶ As an outstanding document from this experimental times, the glass painting of St. Magdalena by Joseph Sauterleute in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum must be mentioned **[FIG. 4]**: The inscription reflects the great ambitions of the Nuremberg porcelain painter and tells us that this was „The third attempt to paint on glass by J. Sauterleute in 1826“. In addition to the use of intensive colour glass this panel shows also the painter’s effort to achieve a differentiated painting technique by using black and brown vitreous paint and silver stain.

Still in the same year, a national aspect was added to the competition in rediscovering the old technique when Johann Rudolf Wyss (1781-1830), poet and professor in Bern, pointed out that from no country more stained-glass artists emerged than from Switzerland.¹⁷ Since „quite a while” the interest has been growing in the „representation generally considered to be stiff and old-fashioned and therefore neglected, which now only due to costumes, weapons, genealogy and under





FIG. 4 Joseph Sauterleute, Mary Magdalene. Nuremberg 1826. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. MM 649 (permanent loan of the City of Nuremberg)
© Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Jürgen Musolf)

additional circumstances” received an educational quality. Together with the travelers streaming into the Swiss Alps the demand for old Swiss Panels increased to such an extent that an art trade developed. In addition to the leading role Switzerland played for old stained-glass paintings, this country also became the cradle of the revived art of stained-glass thanks to Johann Jakob Müller (1803-1867) who was said to be one of the most perfect artists in this field. Wyss also pointed to the attempts made by Michael Sigmund Frank for the Institute of Stained-Glass Painting founded by Prince Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein in 1813, he attributed, however, all merits in the international competition to Müller pointing to the greater magnificence of colours of Müller’s works.¹⁸ Thus stained-glass painting took a decisive step on its way to become the national Swiss art heritage.¹⁹ The international competition for the best stained-glass painting continued on the world exhibitions and brought about the most ambitious exhibits such as the minimized copy of the famous Volckamer window dating from 1849, whose creator, the glass-painter Stephan Keller was awarded a prize medal on the World Exhibition in London in 1851.²⁰

The Löwenburg in Kassel and the collection of the Earl of Erbach

The Franzensburg as well as the Löwenburg in Kassel built between 1793 and 1801, were to stage the history and dynasty of their erectors. The Löwenburg may well have served Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege (1777-1855) of North Hesse, the miner, geologist and architect of the Palacio da Pena as a model for the collection in Sintra. Landgraf

Wilhelm IX of Hessen Kassel had commissioned the erection of the Löwenburg and determined the artificial ruin and romantic castle to become his private refuge and later on his mausoleum.²¹ Contrary to Wörlitz, only the lancet windows of the chapel were equipped with stained-glass. They had been acquired for this purpose from churches in North Hesse and were inserted in 1799. The chapel was not only the most spacious but also the most richly decorated room in the entire castle complex.²² The stained-glass paintings gave the chapel the desired religious and intimate aura of a private prayer room and mausoleum. In this chapel, the function of the Löwenburg culminated: In its function as a patriotic monument it served as a fictitious ancestral castle of the house of Hessen. The collected relics of antiquity guaranteed the demonstrated anciennity of the dynasty.

Furthermore, the interior of the Löwenburg also reflected the first conservational efforts in collecting and preserving monuments of arts as „patriotic evidence“. Already in 1768, the director of the princely collection in Kassel, Rudolf Erich Raspe (1737-1794), initiated the foundation of a gothic German antiquity cabinet in response to the negligent way antiquities had been dealt with up to that time. He tried to draw the attention of Landgraf Wilhelm IX to German history and to encourage him to collect the relics of a glorious past in order to make this knowledge available for historical research and to the public.²³ His request to exhibit works of art not simply as beautiful and curious objects, but also as sources of history was first rejected but left some traces, though. Three years after Friedrich II had founded the *Société des Antiquités* in 1777, he enacted an ordinance for the protection of monuments and antiquities in

¹⁵ Gessert 1839, 243.

¹⁶ See Vaassen 1997, 159-162.

¹⁷ See Wyss 1825.

¹⁸ On Oettingen-Wallerstein and Michael Sigmund Frank see Grupp 1917, 83-90, Vaassen 1997, 159-162.

¹⁹ See Hess 2010.

²⁰ Daniel Hess, in: Jutta Zander-Seidel/ Roland Prügel (Ed.): Wege in die Moderne. Weltausstellungen, Medien und Musik im 19. Jahrhundert. Exh. Cat. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg 2014, No. 144.

²¹ See Küster 2012.

²² See Dittscheid 1987, 186, 188, 196; a view of the choir with integrated glass-paintings *ibid*, fig. 374.

²³ Dolf-Bonekämper 1985, 18-26, 36-47.

Hesse. He demanded that no monuments should suffer any damage and that their dilapidation should be reported to the government so that sketches could be made. In addition, the discovery of coins and other antiquities were to be reported to the authorities. Only the sovereign had the privilege to collect and to disregard the conservation standards: In 1824 an official decree was issued empowering the direction of the court to increase the amount of stained-glass windows in several churches.²⁴

Under similar circumstances, another early collection was created: The stained-glass collection of Earl Franz I von Erbach-Erbach in his ancestral seat in Odenwald.²⁵ With the self-conception as a scientist and not only as an amateur, Franz von Erbach contributed to the salvation and preservation of the endangered medieval antiquities with his collection of weapons, armours, stained-glass paintings and coins. His Limes excavations in Odenwald not only resulted in a scientific publication of the finds, but also in the setting up of an English Garden near Erbach where the antiquities were integrated. For the revival of the gothic taste he had installed a neo-gothic knight's hall in his classicistic castle in 1804 [FIG. 5]. Shields with the coats of arms of his ancestors adorned the vaulted ceiling thus symbolizing the love and commitment of historical antiquities by treasuring the family's memoria. Medieval weapons and armours retrieved from dissolved arsenals were installed in this hall. Medieval stained-glass paintings decorated the neo-Gothic wooden lancet windows of the room inspired by a gothic ecclesiastical building: In addition to the cycle from Altenberg/Lahn and Wimpfen dating from the late 13th century or around 1300, the roundels from the Strasbourg workshop of Peter Hemmel

from the late 15th century have to be mentioned. The hall of knights not only served for the revival of knighthood but also for manifesting the anciennity of the noble family of Erbach and to underline its significance and power over the centuries. A comparison between the historical equipment of the knight's hall in Erbach and the the watercolour of the project for the Stag Room of Pena Palace, which adorns the poster of our conference, indicates some parallels which are worthwhile to examine.

Antiquities creating a new family reputation

Many noblemen of his time were driven by the same distinctive historical interest and passion to collect as Franz von Erbach: The commitment of this generation to collect was in the service of the memory and the protection of their descent. The enthusiasm for local traditions and historical evidence was even intensified as a consequence of the revolution and the wars of liberation against Napoleon. Collecting and analyzing relics of the past became a movement beyond of social class. This enthusiasm did not only have its effects on national monuments, but at the same time resulted in the foundation of numerous antiquity societies and museums relating to the history of civilization. The realization and demonstration of the proper historical and cultural basis was to safeguard the old, shattered values and traditions of the Ancien Régime and to preserve them for the new age. The breaking up of the political and religious order of the Holy Roman Empire had resulted in a profound destruction of cultural artefacts, which in the wake of the secularization also lead to the dissipation of the property of churches and monasteries.

²⁴ See Parello 2008, 281-282.

²⁵ See Hess 1997, Glüber 2006, Götz-Mohr and Maderna 2007, Gast 2011, 109-137.



Seite des Einganges zur Rechten.

FIG. 5 Schloss Erbach, Rittersaal, Eastern window front (east wall). Watercolour by Johann W. Wendt in the catalogue of the Erbach Collection around 1805-1807 © Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten in Hessen, Bad Homburg

As a consequence, the salvation and disclosure of historical testimony based on objects, images and scripts began on a broad basis. Such initiatives were not only restricted to individual persons. The new historical awareness was supported and spread in the German speaking area from 1811, mostly in connection with collections and museums dedicated to regional history. A strong net of local societies for history, antiquity and regional studies, brought archeologists, historians, dilettantes, collectors of curiosities, burghers and noblemen together in identity-establishing organizations.²⁶ Conservative-restoring ideas melted with patriotic dreams of a national state. In noble collections the interest in local history and conservation served to maintain the family memory and their prestige in politically and socially insecure times. The nobility tried to invoke the memory of its former political and cultural importance and to safeguard the glorified values of their status and transfer them to the civil society by recollecting the Middle Ages.

Against this background, the historical interest and passion of Hans von Aufseß, the founder of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, has to be seen, whose family like the entire nobility of the empire had lost its old privileges and territories.²⁷ Within short time, he gathered from the objects acquired during the age of secularization from church and monastery estates a remarkable collection of »traditional German antiquities«, forming the basis for his later museum. Stained-glass paintings played an important role and became the starting point of one of the greatest museum collections in the German speaking area.²⁸ First, Aufseß followed the plan to publish an all-German historical magazine. With his »Anzeiger für Kunde des deutschen Mittelalters« he intended to unite all

lovers of art and history, who were to establish later under the protection of the German Federation a museum of German art and history.²⁹ In view of the strong regional interest and the heterogeneous structure of the different associations, where often »dilettantism« governed, the desire for a nationwide union and a stronger scientific approach emerged.³⁰ In autumn 1832, Aufseß moved with his collections to Nuremberg and founded in January 1833 the »Gesellschaft für die Erhaltung der Denkmäler vaterländischer Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst« (the society for the conservation of monuments of patriotic history, literature and art). Not earlier than twenty years later, Aufseß could finally realize his vision of bringing together history societies and founding an overall German museum: In August 1852, the unification of the history societies into the »Gesamtverein der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine« and the foundation of the »germanisches Museums«, as the new museum was first named.

The museum was to establish a general repertory of the entire sources of German history, literature and art until 1650, to make accessible to the public all objects encompassing the archives, library, art and antiquity collections and to publish corresponding catalogues. When planning the foundation of »a great historical-antiquarian national museum« Aufseß did not follow in the first line the goal to collect originals but rather copies and duplicates of objects contained in other collections to register these objects in a most complete and systematic order. The objects were to be put in a »strictly scientific order« to »finally achieve an overall view of the scattered sources for history and antiquity studies«. ³¹ In this way, Aufseß anticipated the documentation in the form of databases, which nowadays have to be

²⁶ See the overviews of Klüpfel 1844 and Wendehorst 2002.

²⁷ See Hess, 2014.

²⁸ See Hess 2012.

²⁹ Hakelberg 2004, 533-537.

³⁰ Klüpfel 1844, 546.

accessible at any time and at any place as a consequence of the increasing digitalization of the European cultural heritage for information and research purposes.

Why collect? Some considerations for a wider understanding of collector's motifs in Sintra

Even if the scientific interest in stained-glass painting was enormous, the historical as well as the newly produced artefacts were first and foremost used for the decoration of neo-Gothic buildings and collection halls. The colourful, faint light described by Goethe conveyed the atmosphere of an utmost effective *mise-en-scène* of venerable history. The stained-glass paintings served like other monuments of art as atmospheric requisites and had in the first place a decorative purpose: The allure of the pseudo-medieval fantasy should emphasize the venerability of the house and the ancestors of the collector.

The main focus of the neo-Gothic stained glass arrangements was not put on a correct historical revival, but on the search for a new harmony of art and nature in the age of Enlightenment. Colourful stained-glass paintings adorned the windows of the neo-Gothic buildings. As they did not fill the entire windows enough space was left, however, to allow a glimpse into the nature outside from the intimate refuge bathed in half-light. For accentuating the colourful light the stained-glass paintings were not only inserted into clear glass windows but were often surrounded with strongly contrasting coloured glass. This *mise-en-scène* had a long-lasting influence on the museums and the world exhibitions of the 19th century and even on the ethnographical room arrangements in museums in the early 20th century.³²

The predominant neo-Gothic ensembles as in Wörlitz, Kassel, Laxenburg and Erbach were not simply a Disney-World of the late 18th and early 19th century: Their function was not limited to a romantic staffage of the English Garden, they were first and foremost patriotic-dynastic monuments. Noble families thereby tried to compensate their privileges lost in the wake of the Napoleonic reorganization of Europe and to manifest their cultural leadership. The decision for the Gothic style can finally also be interpreted as a clear confession to German patriotism. Old buildings were recklessly looted or torn down for decorating neo-Gothic buildings — even Franz von Erbach had nicked many of his important glass paintings by replacing them by white glass — a fact that very much is in contrast to his efforts to preserve historical monuments at that times.

Why collect? After this tour d'horizon a number of questions arise concerning Sintra and its historical setting, which I cannot answer for lack of literature and sources in archives accessible to me. Even if some of the examples given might have had a direct influence on the Pena Palace, it still has to be examined carefully, which motifs and functions were adopted thereby. The fact alone that the carefree eclecticism of architecture unified almost all neo styles of the 19th century to a fantastic ensemble, strikingly differs from the above-mentioned German buildings and collections. Did the stained-glass paintings consequently only serve as a romantic accessory in the Portuguese Neu-Schwanstein? A lot of additional questions arise concerning Ferdinand II as a collector and his creation here in Sintra, and we are all awaiting these answers with great interest.

³¹ Quotation from a circular letter of Freiherr Hans von Aufseß to the directors of the history societies in Germany dated 27 October 1846; see Wendehorst 2002, 47-49.

³² See Wörner 1999, 246-272, Bauer 2005.

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THE STAINED GLASS COLLECTION OF KING FERDINAND II OF PORTUGAL — ASSEMBLING THE PUZZLE

ABSTRACT

Within the vast number of art works collected by King Ferdinand II (1816-1885) throughout his life, stained glass occupies a place of particular prominence. It was in the Palácio das Necessidades that the king concentrated much of this collection of stained glass panels, grouped together and mounted in the windows of the dining room of the palace. Similar assemblages were also mounted in the great hall of Palácio da Pena.

The aim of this project is a better understanding of the origins, acquisition circuits and technological characteristics of the stained glass panels of King Ferdinand II. This collection covers several centuries of the stained glass history — from 14th c. to 19th c. — and the study of these extraordinary panels presents a challenge and grand opportunity to better understand the history of this artistic discipline.

KEYWORDS

STAINED-GLASS | DOCUMENTATION | ICONOGRAPHY | TECHNICAL ART HISTORY

RESUMO

No seio da vasta colecção de obras de arte reunidas pelo rei D. Fernando II (1816-1885) ao longo da sua vida, os vitrais ocuparam um lugar de particular destaque, tendo o rei reunido à data a mais importante colecção de vitral europeu em Portugal. Grande parte dos vitrais desta colecção, que foram agrupados e montados em folhas de janelas para a sala de jantar do Palácio das Necessidades, bem como para o salão nobre do Palácio da Pena.

O objectivo do projeto que aqui se apresenta é uma melhor compreensão das origens, circuito de aquisição e características tecnológicas da colecção de vitrais do rei D. Fernando II, a qual abrange vários séculos da história do vitral — do séc. XIV ao séc. XIX. O estudo destes painéis apresenta um grande desafio e oportunidade de melhor compreender a história desta disciplina artística.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

VITRAL | DOCUMENTAÇÃO | ICONOGRAFIA | TÉCNICAS DE PRODUÇÃO ARTÍSTICA

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I N D E X



E D I T O R I A L



I N T E R V I E W



D O S S I E R



P R I N T

“Que trabalho e que tempo não empregaria S. M. El-Rei o Sr. D. Fernando em pesquisas e investigações, para conseguir juntar vidros suficientes para completar aquelas janellas ? São dificuldades estas que o oiro não vence logo; o prazer do rei é por isso maior.” (Biester, 1860, p. 10)

The stained glass collection of the Portuguese King consort Ferdinand II of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1816-1885) hides an intricate history that is yet to be unlocked. By royal commission, panels from the 14th to the 19th century were put together on window sashes to decorate the Dining Hall at the Palácio das Necessidades, in Lisbon, and the Great Hall at the Palácio da Pena, in Sintra. During the 20th century the panels from Necessidades were sent to Sintra, where they remained in storage until 2011. The conservation and research project initiated in 2010 has been allowing the public display of some of these panels for the very first time (exhibition Stained Glass and Glass Objects — Ferdinand II’s passion) (Martinho e Vilarigues 2011, Rodrigues et al. 2013). Therefore, one needs now to enlarge the knowledge concerning this collection. In order to find out where these panels came from and how they ended up in Portugal, a wide archival, analytical and iconographic research project is being carried out.

The aim of this project is a better understanding of the origins, acquisition circuits and technological characteristics of stained glass panels from Palácio da Pena. The results expected from completion of this research will represent a real asset to the history and preservation of stained glass in Portugal and to the international research. The

work programme will lead to new discoveries in the field of art history and cultural heritage, creating a corpus of information essential to the understanding and appreciation of the art of stained glass.

To achieve these goals, a multidisciplinary team brings together experts in the fields of Art History, Materials Science, Conservation and Technical Art History. A network was built-up within this project, bringing to collaboration Parques de Sintra — Monte da Lua (entrusted with the management of Palácio da Pena), the research unit Glass and Ceramics for the Arts (VICARTE), the Department of Conservation and Restoration from Nova University of Lisboa, and the Ion Beam Laboratory of the Instituto Superior Técnico.

This will contribute to the knowledge of the historical and artistic value of stained glass, essential to a better appreciation and preservation of this legacy, ensuring accessibility to present and future generations.

Research of archive documentation

The project began with the research of documentation in order to understand how such a distinct collection arrived in Portugal in the mid-19th century.

In order to better understand the provenance and the formation of the collection of stained glass windows we lead an investigation in the National Archive of Portugal, Torre do Tombo. This research forms the second stage of archival research and could partly be based on results from the research in the private archive of the Bragança-family in Vila Viçosa (Arquivo Histórico da Casa de Bragança).

The ongoing investigation in Torre do Tombo focuses on the collection of private documents of the members of the royal household (Cartório da Casa Real), which includes the correspondence between the members of the Portuguese royal family as well as letters from members of the vast family of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha based in several parts of Europe (Germany, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain). The collection mainly consists of documents from the 19th century and comprises approx. 260 boxes and 60 books. As the collection is not yet completely archivistically organized, the major part of the documentation had to be reviewed.

Several documents provide important information about the collecting policy of Dom Fernando II. Namely letters from art dealers and receipts inform about acquisitions not only of stained glass, but also of furniture, paintings and silver objects. Only a minor part of this documentation has already been studied and published (Lopes 2013, Xavier 2011, Xavier 2013).

Regarding the stained glass collection the correspondence of Baron of Eschwege, the “architect of Pena”, proved to be extremely fruitful. He played an important role as initiator of the stained glass collection, in mentoring the project and in providing several panels from northern Germany.

Another nucleus which is being investigated in more detail is the official correspondence between the administration of the Royal House and the customs office as well as other public departments and institutions. These documents make part of the general collection of the Royal House (Arquivo da Casa Real), comprising several thousand boxes inventoried in chronological order. They provide conclusive information

about the nature and the arrival dates of objects of art, which were acquired abroad.

In the same documentary context can also be expected more information upon the installation of the stained glass windows in Pena Palace and in the private rooms of D. Fernando II in Necessidades Palace. To solve several issues about the questions of mounting and installation of the windows there will also to be taken into review the archive of the ministry of civil works (Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comércio e Indústria). The review of these two archival collections will be subject of further investigation.

Iconography study and decoding

The study of the iconography of D. Ferdinand’s stained glass collection is absolutely essential to its understanding, since the identification of themes, figures and the way they are treated will allow establishing parallelisms with other works of stained glass of the same period. Such a bridge is indispensable to enchain the aforesaid stained glasses in their historical and artistic context, in what concerns a wider framing related to the stained glass typologies of German, Swiss and Dutch production.

Due to the diversity of themes and figurations, the iconographic analysis have to embrace very different areas, from the heraldic to the study of the garments and drapery, the analysis of landscape and architectonic framing, including interior representations. Finally, the iconography of the saints — especially of those of local character — also play an important role: identification of attributes may be used as fingerprints to recognize the saints and their origin.

The collection gathered by D. Ferdinand II presents pieces of great quality and extremely rich thematic that include scenes of both religious and laic nature.

Among the stained glasses of religious nature are the scenes inspired by the New Testament. The representations of Marian cult are also particularly interesting, including images of the so called Virgin of the Apocalypse of different periods. This allows an analysis of the themes evolution and the establishment of analogies with other examples executed by some of the most famous names of European stained glass, namely the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, author of a representation of the Virgin of the Apocalypse — with which one of the images of the Pena collection bears a clear affinity — and Albrecht Durer, who produced several drawings of the Virgin adapted to stained glass, whose iconography displays similarities with another Virgin form the this collection.

Still within the thematic of religious nature, the representations of the saint Church Fathers, iconographic motif commonly found in fifteenth century German stained glasses, are prominent, since the Pena examples enable this collection to fit in an international panorama.

Equally worth of mention are the occasional scenes of the Old Testament (Book of Judith) and of Christian martyrs (Martyrs of Morocco) which confirm once more the immense diversity of themes.

In addition to the religious scenes, the D. Ferdinand collection stands out too for its several stained glasses with subjects of local character, representing patrons and their respective heraldic, as well as episodes related to the history and/or legend of their respective regions

(deserving of a special reference is the stained glass with the famous incident of William Tell and the apple), and some gallant scenes (like a young noble playing lute to his Lady).

It can thus be stated that the multiplicity of thematic makes this collection absolutely unique in the national panorama.

Analytical characterisation of glass composition

The stained glass panels of the collection under study is being characterized with respect to the composition of glass and the decoration elements as enamels, grisailles, yellow silver staining and others, fundamental for the identification of production centres and techniques.

Due to the historical importance and cultural significance of these stained glass panels non-destructive analysis will be performed in order to obtain abundant information, meaningful from both the historical and technological points of view, while preserving the valuable objects. The selected analytical techniques have already been demonstrated in the field of ancient and historical glass (Brill 1999, Janssens *et al.* 2000 73-91, Jembrih-Simbürger *et al.* 2002 321-328, Vilarigues, Delgado and Redol 2011 246-251, Vilarigues *et al.* 2011 211-217), and include micro-X-ray fluorescence (micro-EDXRF), external ion beam analysis (PIXE, RBS and PIGE) and UV-Vis absorption spectrometry.

From the elemental composition of the glass we can extract information about the provenance and production date, because raw materials used for the production of both glass and painting materials changed in time and according to the production site.

Until now a total of 20 stained glass panels and 30 stained glass fragments have been analysed by EDXRF. The analysis of the stained glass panels were performed in situ (Pena National Palace). Major constituents and minor elements were identified for the chemical characterization of coloured and colourless glass.

According to EDXRF analysis the fragments analysed belong to the groups of potash, mixed alkali and high lime low alkali glass. From the elemental composition of the glass, information regarding the provenance and production date is being studied, since raw materials used for the production of both glass and painting materials changed in time and according to the production site.

The first approach of data analysis consisted in analyzing the CaO/K₂O ratio of the glass in order to differentiate groups. Colourless glass is being used as a first approach in order to try to differentiate production sites and dates. A group of 7 Bierscheiben stained glass panels showed low values of K₂O (1.5-2,7wt%) and high values of CaO (22-26 wt%) with ratio values between nine and twelve. All the other analysed glass panels have ratio values lower than seven. Another three panels, which are classified as German 15th century stained glass, also seem to have characteristic values with a ratio value between four and five. However, regarding the Swiss and the Netherlands panels we could not detect a characteristic ratio. Therefore a multivariate analysis approach is being tested to enlarge the data considered to quantify the similarities and differences between specimens and groups of specimens.

Simultaneously, in order to attest the results obtained by EDXRF, the same 30 stained glass fragments and 2 panels

have been analysed by PIXE. Quantitative results were compared with results obtained by EDXRF. In most cases, when bulk glass can be analysed, the CaO/K₂O ratios obtained by both methods are in agreement.

Finally, UV-Vis spectroscopy performed in coloured stained glass panels and fragments, allowed the detection of the presence of Co²⁺ for blue glass, Mn³⁺ in purple glass, silver nanoparticles for silver staining, copper nanoparticles for red glass. The presence of iron oxide (Fe II, III) is present on yellow glass or as a contaminant in colourless glass.

Historical painting techniques of stained glass

The stained glass collection from Palácio da Pena presents a group of panels produced in different countries and periods (manly Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland). They exhibit a high quality technique, with the presence of grisaille, silver stain, enamels and sanguine red. Between the 14th c. and 19th c., several technical advances allowed increasingly sophisticated methods of depiction, the study of the different painting techniques is under research in what concerns the production, chemical composition and degradation problems, mainly found in the blue enamels and red sanguine.

Research on historical recipes performed in this project allows an accurate reproduction of samples of the several painting materials and techniques. Important issues are approached, such as the evolution of grisaille colours, manufacture of silver stain with tones varying from yellow to red, production of enamels with different colours, red sanguine and also conservation issues concerning these painted surfaces. This work will allow a more accurate

approach on stained glass painting techniques, being an important step for the investigation of this artistic discipline. A detailed knowledge of the materials used by the artists is essential to unveil their techniques and to place their works in context as well as to establish the most adequate conservation procedures. Furthermore, most of the current stained glass painting materials do not reflect the older technology and cannot be used as models to study the degradation mechanisms or conservation treatments.

The production of manuscripts concerning both glass and glass paint reached a crucial point during the 17th and 18th centuries. Antonio Neri with his treatise *L'Arte Vetraria* (1612) and André Felibien with *Des principe de l'Architecture, de la Sculpture, de la Peinture et des Autres Arts qui en dependant* (1676) opened the way to several translations, annotations and experiments throughout Europe, preserving the knowledge of ancient glass painters and combining them with the technologies available.

With the evolution of the production techniques, coloured glasses were slowly superseded by clear glass in which the paint was applied, giving to this form of art a colourful palette. One example is the application of enamels, a tendency that began in the 15th century, which consists of a vitreous paint that melts at a lower temperature than the glass onto which is applied. It is composed by a mixture of a flux, a colouring agent and a binder.

The study and reproduction of blue enamels was accessed based on the information given by the recipes and recent contributions to their study. Recipes of Antonio Neri and Robert Dossie were produced, using pure chemical reagents. Parallel to this work, raw materials such as plant ashes,

quartz pebbles from the Ticino River, and a cobalt ore (skutterudite) from Schneeberg, Saxony, were collected for study and characterization.

Fiber Optics Reflectance Spectroscopy (FORS), with colorimetric analysis, on both blue enamel paintings reproduced and blue enamel paintings present in stained glass panels from the collection of the National Palace of Pena was performed. The goal is to compare morphological and colour characterization. The assessment of the probable chemical composition of the enamel paintings from case studies will be assessed by a chemometrics approach, with a model created with the results of the reproductions achieved.

Preliminary studies of sanguine red technique were performed. Case studies show this technique was applied through different methods: with an application of iron oxide alone, with a mixture of iron oxide and lead oxide, or a mixture of iron oxide with lead oxide and powdered glass. To better understand the processes involved, historical recipes were gathered, in order to make reproductions with pure chemical reagents to compare with the case studies. Their characterization with FORS technique is in progress, as also the use of chemometrics in order to access probable chemical composition of the red paint.

Spreading and sharing information with the public

Various factors such as the spread of new technologies of information and the increasing concern to bring scientific knowledge to its various users and beneficiaries — from professionals to the general public — justify new solutions for the dissemination, sharing and knowledge transfer. Within

this project both traditional and multimedia materials and hands-on workshops are being created, contributing to the dissemination of the results of this research project, which will enrich the experience of the visitors of the exhibition of this stained glass collection. It is worth noting that the preservation of cultural heritage is improved by public display, which enables its appreciation.

The interdisciplinary work under development in this project allows the achievement of relevant results in a pioneering study in our country. It is of strategic interest to raise awareness about the value and importance of the heritage of stained glass in Portugal. A wider and deeper understanding of the origins and technological characteristics of the production of stained glasses will allow a greater appreciation of this heritage.

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WHAT TO
ASSEMBLE?

NEUEBERSTEIN CASTLE AND ITS COLLECTION OF STAINED GLASS

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ABSTRACT

The rebuilding of Neueberstein Castle as a neo-Gothic residential complex was a key project of the grand dukes of Baden. When Leopold came into power in 1830, the Neueberstein was transformed to a museal site, setting a precedent for later collections of national art, and constituting perhaps the most important predecessor for the gallery in the dukes' palace at Karlsruhe, which opened 1846. To feed his passion for stained glass, Leopold undertook journeys to historical sites with a view to acquiring material, he made a legal claim on the glazing as church patron and also bought from David Seligmann, a court agent, financier to the grand duke and a captain of industry in the grand duchy of Baden. It counts as a fortunate coincidence that at precisely this early period there were already glass-painters in Freiburg who had the high artistic aspirations and the technical knowledge necessary to serve Leopold's visions.

KEYWORDS

RENAISSANCE OF STAINED GLASS MANUFACTURING | ROMANTICISM AND NATIONALISM | POLITICAL ICONOGRAPHY | EARLY CULTURAL HERITAGE PRESERVATION | EARLY COLLECTION OF NATIONAL ART

RESUMO

A reconstrução do Castelo de Neueberstein como um complexo residencial neogótico foi um projeto-chave dos Grã-Duques de Baden. Quando Leopold subiu ao poder em 1830, o Castelo de Neueberstein foi transformado num sítio museológico, estabelecendo um precedente para coleções posteriores da arte nacional e que constitui, talvez, o antecessor mais importante para a galeria no palácio dos Duques em Karlsruhe, que abriu 1846. Para alimentar a sua paixão por vitrais, Leopold empreendeu viagens a locais históricos com intenção de adquirir objectos, reclamou direitos sobre os vitrais enquanto mecenas da igreja e adquiriu ainda a David Seligmann, um agente da corte, financiador do Grão-Duque e capitão de indústria no Grã-Ducado de Baden. Deu-se a feliz coincidência de, precisamente neste período inicial, já existirem pintores de vidro em Freiburg, que tinham altas aspirações artísticas e os conhecimentos técnicos necessários para servir as visões de Leopold.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

RESSURGIMENTO DA MANUFATURA DE VITRAL | ROMANTISMO E NACIONALISMO | ICONOGRAFIA POLÍTICA | PRESERVAÇÃO DE ANTIGUIDADES | COLEÇÕES DE ARTE NACIONAL



I N D E X



E D I T O R I A L



I N T E R V I E W



D O S S I E R



P R I N T

After Staufenberg Castle in Baden, Neueberstein Castle was the second fortification that Archduke Leopold von Baden (1790-1852) had rebuilt as a memorial site for the Baden dynasty. These ancient aristocratic seats were transformed into atmospheric residential castles that were furnished with historical works of art and cultural artefacts, allowing the spirit of previous ages to live again. A notable proportion of the artworks were in stained glass, for which Leopold had a particular passion.

Intellectual and Political Contexts

In order to understand the driving force behind the archduke of Baden's architectural obsessions, it pays to examine both his origins and his social connections. In fact, Leopold von Hochberg was not due to take the reins of government, as he was the son of Archduke Karl Friedrich (1728-1811) by his second, morganatic marriage to the considerably younger Luise Karoline (Freiin Geyer von Geyersberg, 1768-1820), who had been a lady-in-waiting to his deceased wife. As a result, Leopold's education was focused from the start primarily on encouraging his artistic leanings. Prince Leopold III Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau — Leopold's godfather and a friend of his father's — played a crucial role in this respect, and the young Leopold came to emulate the older man's finely honed artistic sensibilities his whole life long (Schneider 1965).

At the time, the prince was among the first to adopt the landscaping fashion imported from England, and had a landscape garden created (now the Wörlitz-Dessau Garden Kingdom), which he had decorated with quotations in architecture from various cultures and periods. The

Gothic House, which was erected in several stages using Gothic forms between 1773 and 1813, was reserved for the memorialization of forebears (Ruoss and Giesicke 2012). While the relics of bygone ages gathered there were intended to recall the illustrious past of the prince's forebears, the large traceried windows were filled with stained glass that Prince Leopold had acquired during a stay in Switzerland from the Zürich priest and art collector Johann Casper Lavater. In addition to their antique value, these colourful panels created a kaleidoscopic twilight in the room, blurring the distinction between appearance and reality.

Such spaces given over to the medieval experience must have made a huge impression on the young Leopold. He had first-hand experience of the most beautiful of them, such as the Knights' Hall at Erbach im Odenwald (Hess 1995/96; Gast 2012), or the artful Löwenburg ruins at Wilhelmshöhe bei Kassel (Dötsch 2006; Parello 2008, 216-240, 254-260, 280-283). Leopold may have made the decision to acquire the castle at Eberstein bei Gernsbach and to have it rebuilt in a similar spirit in 1825, during a visit by the crown prince of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. (Schneider 1960, 260). The latter could be deemed the 'lover of the Romantic on the German throne', and he was no less enthusiastic in his love for monuments of 'the homeland'. With the reconstruction of the fortifications of Stolzenfels on the Rhine and Hohenzollern on the Alb as medieval fairytale castles, he became the vanguard of the most important aristocratic protagonists of the Romantic movement in Germany. It is easy to imagine how these two soul-mates — after visiting the castle so picturesquely set above the Murg Valley and

FIG. 1 Daniel Fohr, *View of Neueberstein with Medieval Hunting Party*, 1843. (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle)

imbibing the ‘excellent local vintage’ (meaning the burgundy known locally as *Eberblut*, the vines for which are still cultivated on the southern face of the castle hill) — drifted into architectural reverie (Schneider 1960, 261).

When Leopold finally inherited Neueberstein in 1829, the building, which was medieval at the core, had been prepared as a residence for Leopold’s half-brother Prince Friedrich von Baden (d. 1817) [FIG. 1] (Krimm 2004, Kleinmann 2007)¹. Leopold’s father bequeathed the furnishings to his second son in 1796, on the condition that ‘the castle not be demolished, but that it be retained as a memorial to its former owners the counts of Eberstein (or at least be kept in the state it had under them), and that it never be considered surplus to requirements and sold’ (Krimm 2004, 82).

So why exactly were the margraves (later the archdukes) of Baden interested in Neueberstein? The picturesque situation certainly played a role in the choice of location so near the residence in Baden where the family chose to spend the summer months. Historical reasons may have been no less decisive in the choice however: in the thirteenth century the Eberstein counts were the most powerful family in the north of the Black Forest — construction activity at the castle goes as far back as this period. The Baden family received half of Alt-Eberstein Castle as a gift with the marriage of Kunigunde von Eberstein to Margrave Rudolf I in 1240; on account of increasing debts, the count of Eberstein’s family was compelled to sell half of its county as well as half of Neueberstein Castle to the margrave of Baden. The male line of the Eberstein counts was extinguished in 1660. From a territorial point of view, the Eberstein county lands were an important cornerstone for the Baden margraves, and with its



600-year-long history, the castle was exceptionally suited to being a dynastic memorial that would allow the distant past of the house of Baden to live again (Krimm 2003, 10).

In any event, the acquisition and reconstruction of Neueberstein was only one of Leopold’s several projects for erecting dynastic memorials.² The explanation for this, beyond Leopold’s enthusiasm for all things medieval, lies in his particular familial situation. With Leopold, the younger line of the family inherited the margraveship, a state of affairs whose legitimacy was widely doubted from the start. To make matters worse, the appearance of Kaspar Hauser increased levels of uncertainty among the general public,

¹ Leopold bought the castle for the sum of 15,000 *Gulden* from Christiane Luise von Nassau-Usingen, widow of the deceased Friedrich von Baden.

² In addition to the rebuilding of Staufenberg Castle, Leopold had the mortuary chapel of the most ancient margraves at Lichtenthal Monastery near Baden rebuilt as a princely, atmospheric mausoleum in neo-Gothic style. In a similar manner, the collegiate church at Pforzheim — which had been the burial place for the Protestant line of the margraves since the sixteenth century — was restaged, with a gothicizing monument and genealogical glazing scheme.

which wanted to see a legitimate offspring of the older line inherit; in order for the Hochberg dynasty to have a chance however, Hauser had to be isolated. As a brief climax to the crisis in 1835, Bavaria demanded that Pfalz be returned to it. Against this background, Leopold's need to establish eloquent witnesses to the history of the house of Baden, in order to identify himself as the legitimate heir to power, is all too understandable (Krimm 1995). We will have reason to return to this in connection with research into Neueberstein's pictorial programme. The castle was used as a welcome retreat, to escape from the pressing political problems of the present into a transfigured feudality from the past.

The Artistic Decor of Neueberstein Castle

Reconstruction of the appearance of the castle and its furnishings in the Leopoldine era relies on antiquarian descriptions and the occasional preserved image, since the majority of the furnishings are no longer on site and multiple phases of rebuilding have altered the historicizing character of the site (Overlack 2009).³

For methodological reasons, the furnishing of Neueberstein should be treated in light of the two phases of its reconstruction. For the first, repair phase of 1803-1804, Leopold's father contracted the Baden court architect Friedrich Weinbrenner (1766-1826), who reconstructed the castle area in more sentimentalist vein (Walter 2009, 49-57; Krimm 2004, 82-85). In a careful restaging Weinbrenner melded Gothic decoration with Classicistic architectural elements, thereby creating a style mixture that was reflected in the furnishing. In this way the old mountain keep gained the appearance of a church tower decorated

with pinnacles and console friezes with its own viewing platform. A surviving image of the room on the upper floor [FIG. 2] yields reliable information on the manner in which this space was furnished. The walls were painted with 'old-fashioned' ornamental friezes, including a genealogical series of armorials of the counts of Eberstein. The upper lights of the pointed-arch window contained a wooden tracery framework, assembled to form an attractive pattern and filled simply with plain and unpainted coloured glass. The knights' hall, with its distinctive shallow-lunette vaulting, is also the work of Weinbrenner. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the former interior furnishing, though at the time this room must have been 'impressive and austere', as Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia reported on the occasion of the aforementioned visit he made in 1825 (Schneider 1960, 260).⁴ It seems highly likely that the traceries of the six windows here, like those of the tower room, were simply filled with unpainted coloured glass.

After Leopold inherited the castle in 1829, the building and its furnishing underwent far-reaching alterations. As Konrad Krimm so astutely observes, Neueberstein, as an edifice, was by no stretch of the imagination a mountain memorial — but under its new owner the site was indeed transformed into a memorial castle (Krimm 2003, 9). The new building phase was nevertheless kept within limits: according to plans drawn up by the court architect Heinrich Hübsch (1795-1863) and his master of works Johann Belzer, the ensemble was enriched on the southern flank with a two-storey stable block.

More important however was the artistic decoration of the castle. Acting as advisers to Leopold in this respect

³ The sources for furnishing programme carried out under Leopold must be considered lost: the building records only start in 1850. In the years 2000-2008 the new owner, with the support of the Office for the Preservation of Historical Monuments, set about extensive restoration works, which included the rebuilding of the knights' hall (*Rittersaal*, which had been destroyed in a fire in 1949), together with its vaulted ceiling, and the *Rondell* (turret).

⁴ Extract from a letter from Friedrich Wilhelm to Leopold dated 23 August 1836.

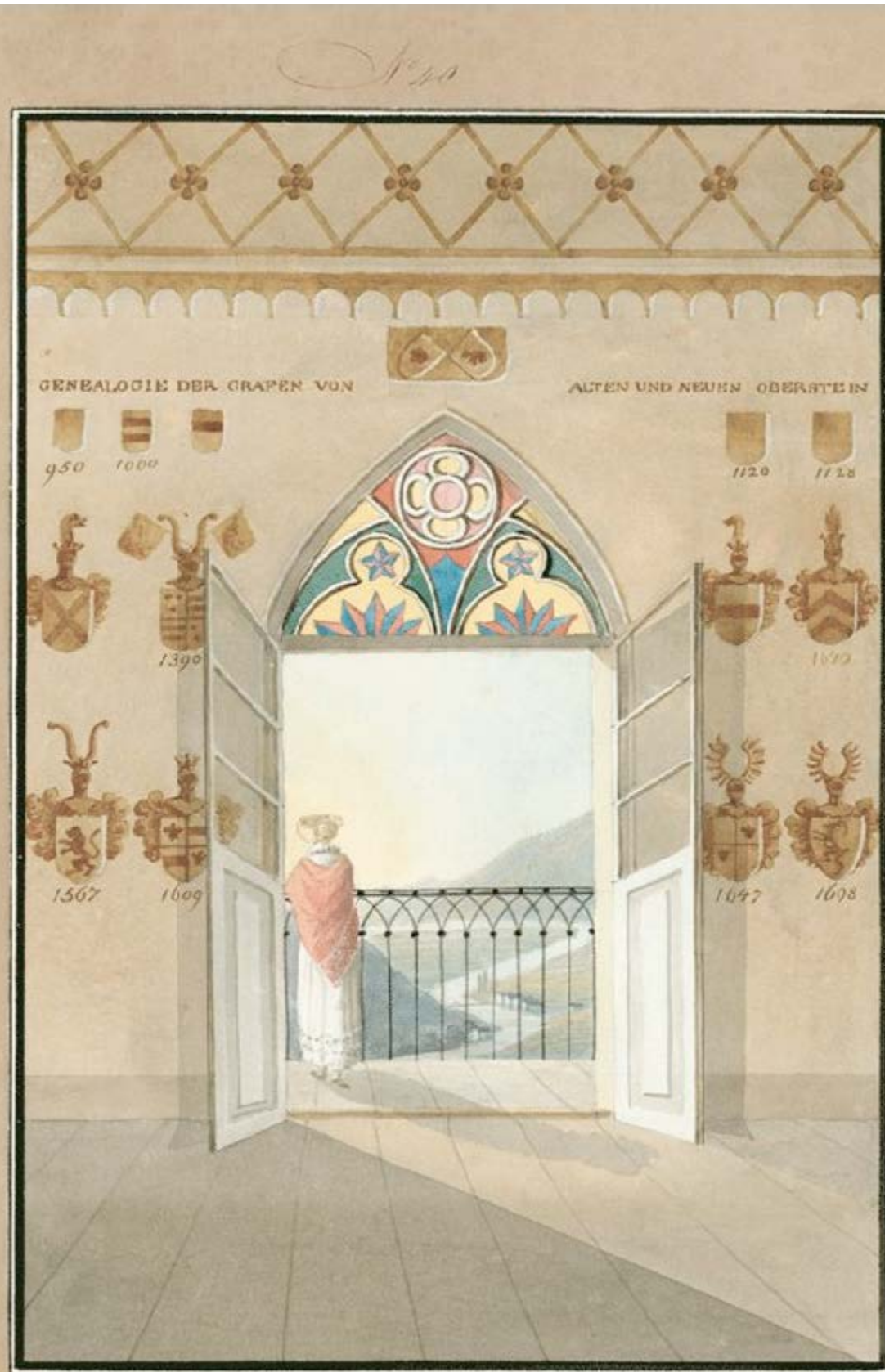


FIG. 2 The Neueberstein turret, watercolour by an anonymous English artist, 1825. (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv)

were the priest and court historian Franz Joseph Herr, who was an illegitimate son of Archduke Karl Friedrich (and so Leopold's half-brother), and Leopold's adjutant Georg Heinrich Krieg von Hochfelden. Together they worked up the pictorial programme around central events in Baden's history and from time to time produced artistic designs for elements that were to be made from scratch. In 1840, Ludwig von Schwanthaler joined their company; he had previously been active as a sculptor and adviser to Ludwig I, king of Bavaria, and enjoyed high renown in German artistic circles. Von Schwanthaler drew up a programme for the whole of Eberstein, which was however only implemented in part (Obser 1921; Krimm 2004, 86-88). The most important part of this was the sculptural decoration on the exterior of the building: Leopold had received from his brothers as a gift the figural Romanesque portal of the demolished abbey of Petershausen, and acquired through von Schwanthaler's agency a no less monumental fifteenth-century Crucifixion group from Bad Herrenalb, a dissolved Cistercian monastery that had originally been founded by the Eberstein counts. This figural ensemble, together with two figures of knights created by von Schwanthaler, was intended to lend the castle a more medieval mien; this stage setting was also designed to evoke a suitable mood in the visitor as soon as he or she entered.

After Leopold's re-formation, the knights' hall resembled in many respects that at Erbach Castle, which Leopold knew first-hand **[FIG. 3]**. Here as there, there were original suits of knightly armour on pedestals, set before crossed halberds with flags. In the centre of the hall stood a life-size likeness of Count Philipp II of Eberstein. The room would have seemed like a medieval throne room to anyone entering: against the rear wall opposite the entrance Leopold had a throne made



FIG. 3 View of the knights' hall at Neueberstein, watercolour by Louis Hoffmeister, c.1853-55. (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle)

to a Gothic design set up, flanked by two 'guards' in armour bearing the ancient and new Eberstein arms. Above was raised the shield of Baden, its *bend gules* on a *field or*. In the traceries of each of the six windows were installed shields with foliage attesting the lineages of the Eberstein counts and the Baden margraves. The scheme was arranged so that

the Eberstein alliance arms were installed across the side windows to the two windows to either side of the throne, which displayed the alliance arms of Friedrich, the first owner of the castle, and Leopold (Beust 1855, 69-77). Through this genealogically driven proof of descent Leopold's oft doubted right of accession acquired a pictorial legitimacy,

which simultaneously was given a theatrical setting, the throne prepared for a ruler in a manner akin to a profane *hetoimasia*.

The archduke contracted the Freiburg glass-painters Andreas (1784-1839) and Lorenz (1783-1849) Helmle to execute the armorial panels (Parello 2000, 36-56, 90-111). In 1823, the two brothers had delivered the first monumental coloured glazing for Freiburg Minster. Within a short period of time, Andreas and Lorenz, with the generous support of Ferdinand Ludwig Benedikt von Reinach-Werth (a former Commander of the Order of the Knights of Malta), succeeded in acquiring the skills of this complex art, which had disappeared completely into obscurity. Following on from this, their attention to detail drove the brothers to establish a close relationship with the glass workshops of the Black Forest that produced the coloured materials they needed and were privy to the technical knowledge they craved. High praise was lavished on the early work of the Freiburg glass-painters in publications that circulated beyond the region (K.W. 1830; Schorn 1832, 97-104). Archduke Leopold, who developed a particular passion for stained glass at an early stage, will have come to know the Helmle brothers' work at the latest at the exhibition of the Badischer Kunstverein, which took place in 1829 in Karlsruhe under his patronage. In any event, the city of Freiburg presented to the archduke a panel depicting the Virgin in a aureole as a gift, on the occasion of his accession to power the following year. Leopold subsequently called in the glass-painters for nearly all the memorial projects for his homeland. Their task was to restore all the stained-glass panels that Leopold had acquired and arrange them meaningfully, combining

them with glass they had executed themselves. They could not expect to be engaged for truly artistic contracts by Leopold: the brothers produced armorial panels in the main. The few figural panels they delivered were usually copies of models that were highly prized as the time, such as Raphael or Dürer.

In 1838, Leopold succeeded in acquiring two important cycles in stained glass, which were installed in the main lights of the windows in the knights' hall, replacing rectangular panels of plain glazing. The cycles consisted of eight figural panels from the parish church at Ottersweier (early Renaissance work of 1518 from Strasbourg) and four panels from Dühren-Sinsheim (dating to 1497) (Becksmann 1986, 19-26, 207-215). The parish church of Dühren had been an integral part of the king's Speyer prebend, established by the Habsburg monarch Albrecht I (1298-1308). Through a process of secularization however the good and rights devolved on the house of the archdukes of Baden. When the parish petitioned in 1819 to have the choir entrusted to its possession, the archduke agreed on condition that he receive the stained glass for his personal antiquities collection. It was not until 1838 that the parish handed over the panels to Archduke Leopold, at his 'express wish'. In return, the parish received a silver chalice to be used in the celebration of the Eucharist, and 40 gold ducats. One year previously, the ministry for the interior had given permission for the sale of the stained glass from Ottersweier to Eberstein Castle; in return the archduke donated 440 *Gulden* to the parish (to establish a school fund) as well as a panel depicting the church's patron, St John the Baptist, executed by the Helmle brothers.

Before installing Leopold's panels, the Freiburg glass-painters subjected them to a conscientious restoration, the exceptional quality of which should be emphasized at this juncture [FIG. 4]. The eight standing figures with donors from Ottersweier were subsequently arranged in the four windows on the long side of the room, whereby care was exercised so that the panels with donors related to the Eberstein counts, such as those of Fleckenstein lineage, were installed in the opening with the appropriate alliance arms in the tracery. All the panels received a suitably evocative frame with a blue-damask diaper. From that point on, the four large panels from Dühren, which bore figures of saints, an Annunciation [FIG. 4a] and a Crucifixion, flanked the throne on the rear wall. With this new glazing scheme in the knights' hall it was no longer possible to gaze down into the surrounding Murg Valley. Regrettably, the knights' hall has no coloured glass today: following the removal of the armorials in the traceries and the blue borderwork as a result of a fire in 1949, the new owner of the castle eventually donated the medieval panels to the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe and the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart during the course of the 2002-2008 refurbishment (Patrimonia 2003).

By contrast, the turret connected to the knights' hall, with its furniture and Gothic ornamental decoration, has retained its original character for the most part, even though the history paintings depicting episodes from Eberstein history by the Freiburg painter Albert Gräfle have disappeared (Krimm 2004, 89-94).⁵ Both the oak-framed casements of the window are decorated with *Kabinettscheiben* (secular panels executed for domestic contexts); in addition to a

group of armorial panels of Swiss cantons, the four panels from the charterhouse at Molsheim (Elsace) are worthy of particular attention. We are here dealing with scenes from an extensive cycle of more than 200 panels from the monastery's cloister, which was created between 1622 and 1631 by the Strasbourg glass-painters Bartholomäus II. Lingg and his sons Lorenz and Bartholomäus III. (Schneider 1952). The four panels displayed in the turret constitute part of a group of hermit panels, with Sts Lucius, Marinus, Spiridion and Onuphrius [FIG. 5]. According to antiquarian testimony, the panels are supposed to have come from David Seligmann, who was later ennobled as the baron of Eichthal (Beust 1855, 78). Seligmann moved in the circles of the Baden archdukes' financiers and was the driving force behind the early industrialization of Baden. On acquiring in 1821 the buildings of the suppressed monastery of St. Blasien in the Black Forest, in which in addition to a gun and machine manufactory he operated a spinning factory, Seligmann also came into possession of a number of very important panels of stained glass from the German early Renaissance, which he sold immediately to Archduke Leopold (Becksmann 2010, 563-598; Parello 2014).⁶

Although the nearby Gothic Room, which was also denoted an oratory, was richly panelled in oak, it did not have any stained glass. Instead the walls were decorated with panels from Bernhard Strigel's Marian altarpiece for the monastery at Salem (executed 1507/08, now in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe), which were a gift from margraves Wilhelm and Maximilian to their brother Leopold. They were assembled here with pictures by Moritz

⁵ According to information from Franz Josef Herr, Gräfle painted *The Wedding of Margrave Rudolf and Kunigunde von Eberstein* (1257); *The Futile Siege of Eberstein by Württemberg and the Imperial Cities* (1367); *The Slaying of Bertold V von Zähringen during the Revolt against the Nobility in Uechtland* (1190); *The Laying of the Foundation Stone of Eberstein Castle*; *The Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Freiburg Minster*; *The Conviction of the Last Staufer, Konradin von Schwaben, and Friedrich von Baden in Naples* (1296).

⁶ The abbot of St. Blasien had acquired these in turn, in 1783, from the suppressed charterhouse in Freiburg and had the windows of his classicizing newly built church decorated with them. The stained glass eventually came to Langenstein Castle, which Leopold's father Ludwig had acquired for his beloved, Katharina von Langenstein; the major part of the collection was put up for auction by the heirs in Cologne in 1897.

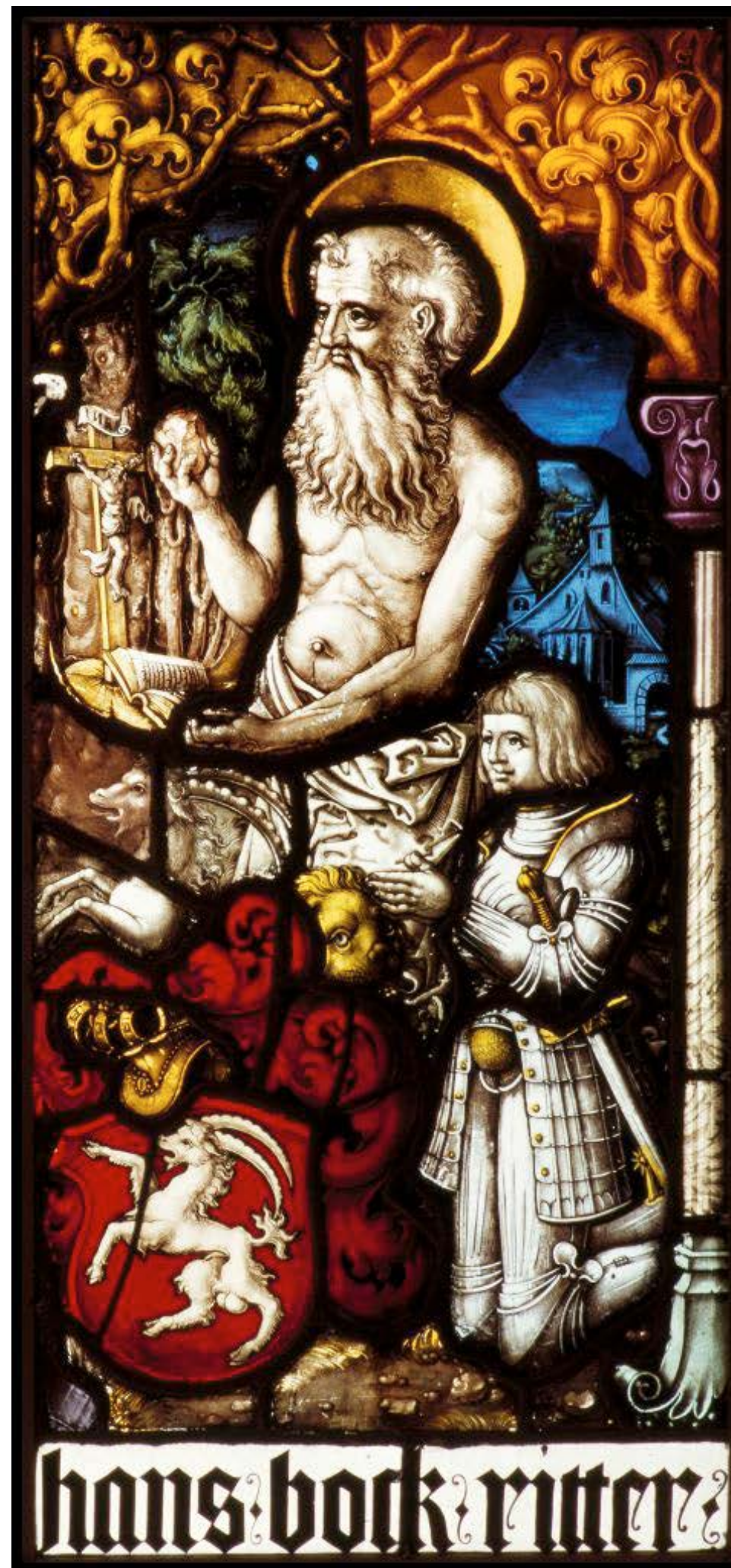


FIG. 4 Donor panels from the knights' hall at Neueberstein: Ursula von Fleckenstein with St Ursula and Hans Bock with St Hieronymus, from Ottersweier, Strasbourg, c.1518, with restorations by Helmle (head of St Ursula), c.1838. (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum)

FIG. 4a Panel from the knights' hall at Neueberstein: Annunciation, from Sinsheim-Dühren, Strasbourg, 1497. (Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum)



FIG. 5 Hermit panel in the turret at Neueberstein, from the cloister of the charterhouse at Molsheim, Alsace. (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum)

von Schwind, who painted the dessus-de-porte with busts of angels (Herrbach-Schmidt 1996).

Two beautiful framed panels with leaded traceries, containing stained glass of the Renaissance period, were set into the balcony doors of the adjoining study. These only passed into private hands in 1995, when the margraves' art collections were sold off. At the bottom were two Swiss

city panels, with four scenes from the Passion of Christ above **[FIG. 6]**. The traceries were filled with floral motifs and damask diaper (Sotheby's 1995). Leopold had the panel depicting the Virgin in an aureole by the Helmle brothers, which had been presented to him on his accession to power by the city of Freiburg, installed in the study window, as well as a family portrait executed by Helmle of Leopold with his



FIG. 6 Casements with leaded tracery from the study at Neuberstein, with a four-part Passion cycle and Swiss panels of the sixteenth century. (Unknown private collection)

three children in front of Zähringen Castle, a birthday gift from Margrave Wilhelm von Baden in 1833.

The neighbouring bedroom was decorated with copper etchings and stained glass. Heraldic panels were again set on a blue-damask ground in four pointed-arch lancets **[FIG. 7]** (Patrimonia 2003, 21).⁷ Among the Swiss panels here there were old armorials of the Baden margraves, which Leopold clearly acquired purposely. Attention should also be drawn to the foliate quatrefoils in the arches of these arrangements: these remnants from the high Middle Ages stem from the choir of the Cistercian nuns' conventual church in Lichtenthal, from where there also survive two donor panels, with Margrave Rudolf I von Baden and his wife Kunigunde von Eberstein, and Rudolf II, of fourteenth-century date. These pieces in particular must have been of great importance to Leopold. Since he was a descendant of Margravin Irmengard von Baden, who founded the convent, he had the donor panels given up to him (Becksmann 1986, 3-9). The archduke subsequently contracted the Freiburg glass-painters to place the pieces in settings according to designs by Krieg von Hochfelden **[FIG. 8]**. Yet it is remarkable that it was precisely these panels that were *not* exhibited at Neueberstein, even though they constituted pictorial proof for the historical ties between the Eberstein counts and the Baden margraves, and do in fact represent the earliest depiction of the margraves. Perhaps the Baden Revolution of 1848-49, during the course of which irregular troops plundered Neueberstein, thwarted Leopold's plans. The sovereign, who had fled into exile, called for help on his old friend Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who had the revolution put down extremely brutally. What bedfellows sensitive Romantic reverie and bloody terror

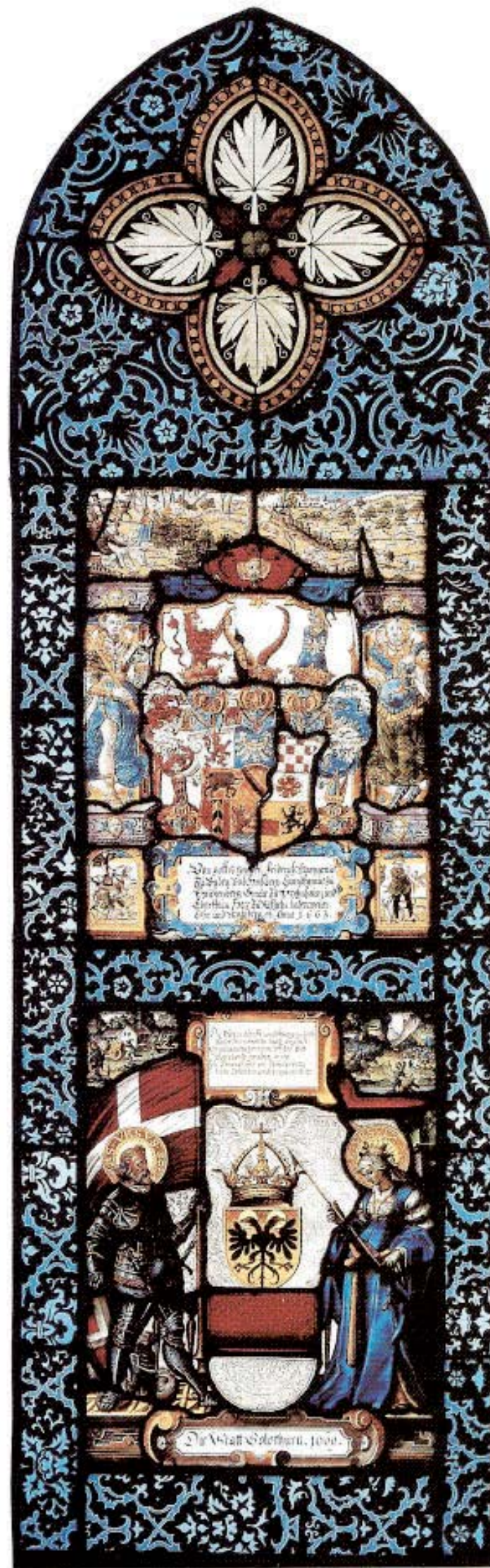


FIG. 7 Lancet from the Leopold von Baden's bedroom at Neueberstein, with seventeenth-century heraldic panels, and fourteenth-century foliate quatrefoil from the convent at Lichtenthal. (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum)

⁷ The coloured glazing of the bedroom came via the art trade to the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe; see Sotheby's 1995, no. 420 and the illustration on p. 145.

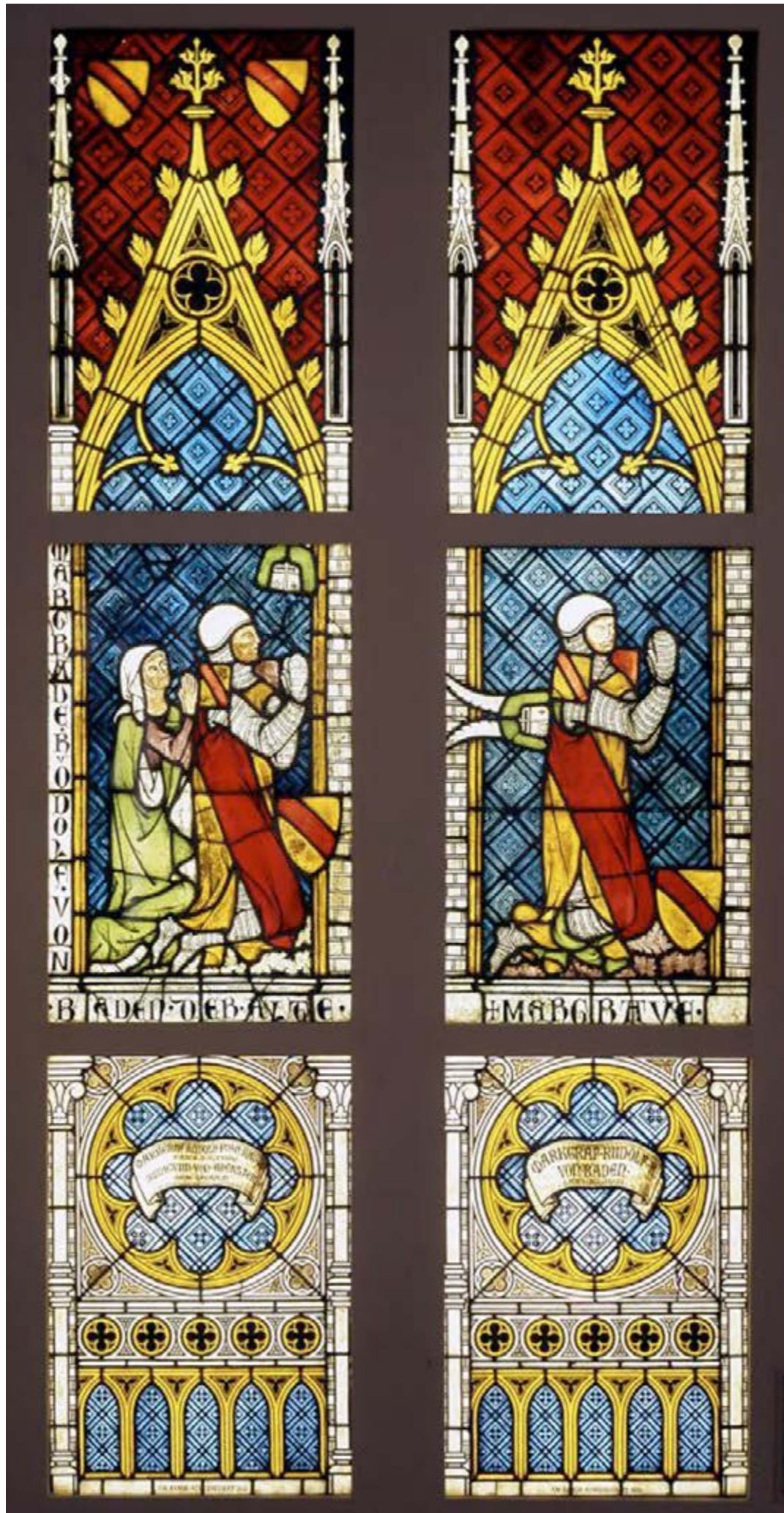


FIG. 8 Donor panels from Lichtenthal: Rudolf I von Baden with his wife Kunigunde von Eberstein, and Rudolf II, early fourteenth century with modern setting of c.1850. (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum)

were! Leopold apparently did not recover from these subversive events and died in 1852.⁸

Leopold's Acquisition Strategies

It is evident that Leopold's outstanding social position was the deciding factor in his acquisition of such important medieval stained glass. If the parochial authorities in Ottersweier and Dühren relinquished their church windows as gifts 'of their own free will', that can only be the official understanding of the situation: one was not supposed to oppose the wishes of the lord of the land. In one of these cases, Leopold was able to call on historical legal precedent that designated him the actual owner of the glass. In other places, the creation of schemes in stained glass proceeded with considerably less sensitivity, as was the case for example with the landgraves of Hessen and the glass acquired for the newly erected Löwenburg at Schloss Wilhelmshöhe. There a ministerial edict of 1824 allowed the court building authority simply to take valuable panels for itself. Occasionally this happened without provision being made for the necessary replacement glass — affected parishes had to celebrate mass in winter without anything filling their window openings (Parello 2008, 27, 280-282). Unlike Hessen to the north, the market in German areas in the south-west was extremely competitive. Of quantitatively greater importance here was the vast number of commodities resulting from the secularization of the former monasteries that passed into private ownership. The new owner of St. Blasien, the industrialist David Seligmann, received several offers for the stained glass of his church. (In Freiburg the authorities wanted to acquire works of art

⁸ These panels, which were later displayed in the castle at Baden, were supposed to have disappeared during the Second World War, but they reappeared in Baden-Baden in 1995 and were finally acquired by the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe.

in order to fill the gaps in the windows of the Minster.) In the end however it was Archduke Ludwig's bid that was accepted, almost certainly because Seligmann hoped to gain further advantages from his business partner of many years standing.

Leopold can hardly have experienced any difficulty in purchasing Swiss panels — the majority of the glazing of Staufenberg Castle consists of such pieces — since the trade in these works flourished in the early nineteenth century, as has been shown (Wyss 1826, 78). On his travels to Italy, Leopold frequently spent time in Switzerland, where he called on art dealers many a time. This is relayed in the entries in his diaries, where he declared himself enthused by the stained glass of the arsenal in Lucerne and enthralled by the stained glass in the abbey church at Königsfelden (Schneider 1958, 413, 429, 434f.). In Milan, he specifically sought out the workshop of a glass-painter who had supposedly developed a new procedure for the production of stained glass — by which Leopold was not however convinced. Yet he did purchase from the same two illustrations after lithographs of Walter Scott's novel *Ivanhoe*.

During his time in power, Leopold succeeded in acquiring a considerable amount of stained glass, in fact more than sufficient to furnish his residences and dynastic memorial. After his death, superfluous pieces were put in storage, constituting a stock on which his son Friedrich was able to draw when he came to furnish Mainau Castle on Lake Constance with stained glass, in the tradition established by his father [FIG. 9] (Patrimonia 2003, 19-88).

It counts as a fortunate coincidence that at precisely this early period there were already glass-painters in Freiburg who had the high artistic aspirations and the technical knowledge necessary to serve Leopold's visions. Their particular accomplishments may be appreciated if one compares their work with the earlier glazing at Staufenburg Castle; this exhibits the previous fashion in which old panels were displayed, arranged with coloured glasses in a kaleidoscopic manner to produce a characterful chromatic light play [FIG. 10] (Parello and Vaassen 2000, 60f.).

Through his targeted acquisition strategy, Leopold succeeded in bringing a huge number of historical works of art to Neueberstein, which together with newly created commissioned pieces formed a noteworthy *Gesamtkunstwerk* to the glorification of the dynasty's past. In this ensemble at Neueberstein one can certainly detect the kernel of the later Residenzmuseum of the Baden archdukes, which opened its doors in Karlsruhe in 1846. Although parts of the latter collection had already been removed from Neueberstein at an earlier point, it is a matter for regret that when the deplorable sale of the Baden margraves' art collections took place in 1995 the Baden-Württemberg region, in collaboration with the Office for the Preservation of Monuments, did not jump at the chance to acquire an edifice that is unique for Baden in its way, and to reconstruct carefully the collection of the Leopoldine era. Located near the cultural centre of Baden-Baden, Neueberstein Castle could have become a beautiful visitor attraction.

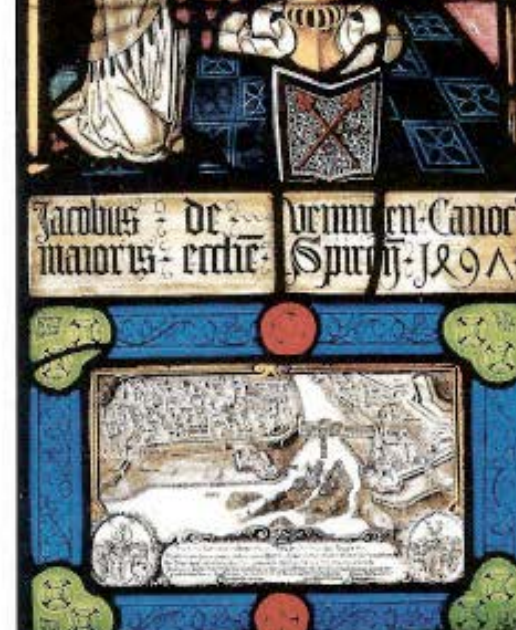
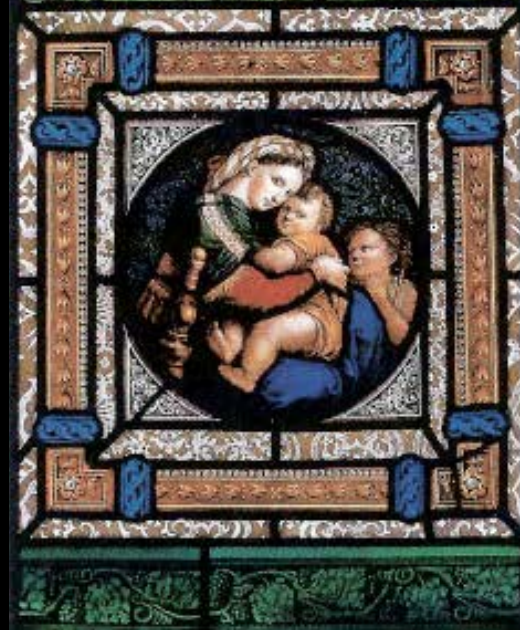
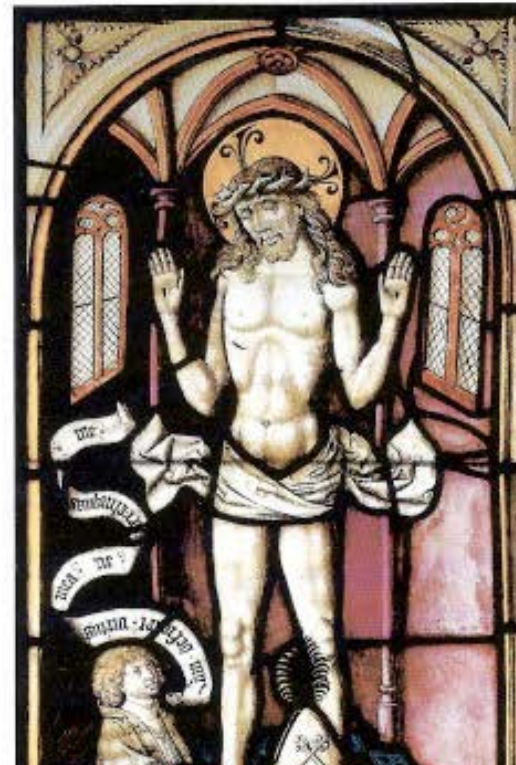
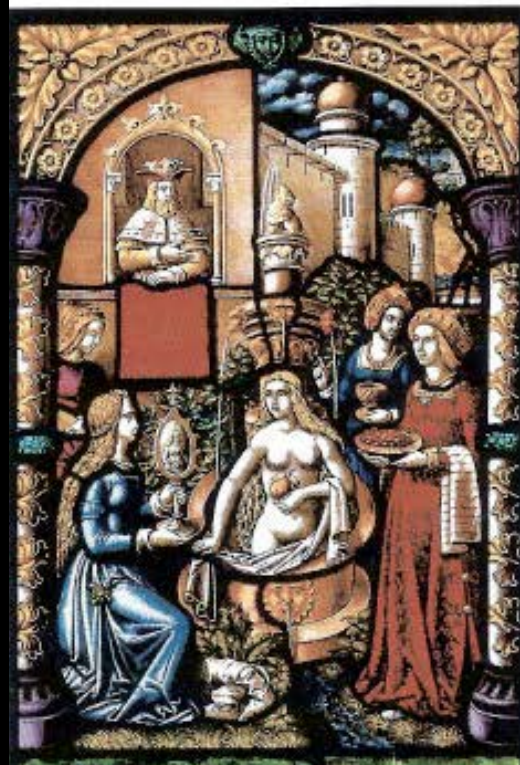
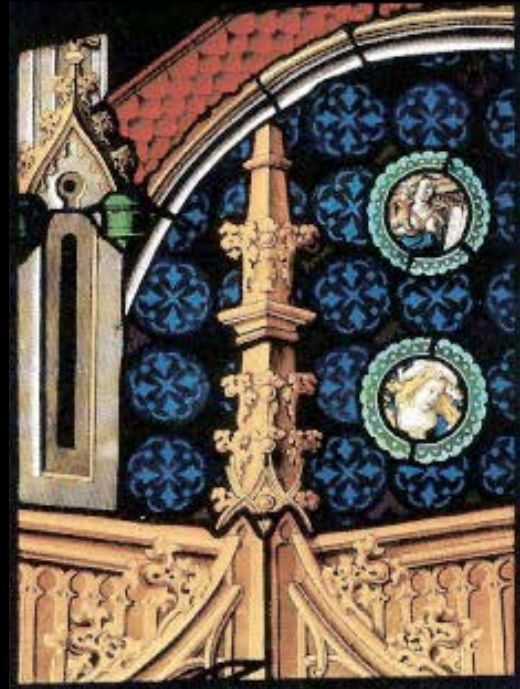


FIG. 9 Casement from Mainau Castle with medieval stained glass from Dühren (Man of Sorrows) and other panels. (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum and Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum)

FIG. 10 Casement from Staufenberg Castle, Durbach: heraldic panel and fragments of the seventeenth century and c.1832. (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum)

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JAMES JACKSON JARVES: COLLECTING VENETIAN GLASS FOR AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

James Jackson Jarves (1818-1888) assembled one of the finest museum collections of Venetian glass in the United States. In advocating for art museums in America, Jarves urged that individuals of means and knowledge should undertake the formation of collections for public benefit. In 1881, Jarves' doctrine was put into practice when he gifted nearly 300 works of Venetian glass to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. With only five percent of Jarves' collection now on display, it is one of the aims of this paper to reassert the legacy of collectors like Jarves. As such, this study also will illuminate an increased interest in the applied arts, the dichotomy between hand-crafted and mass-produced goods, and the revival of the Venetian glass industry.

KEYWORDS

JAMES JACKSON JARVES | VENETIAN-REVIVAL GLASS | METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART | MASS-PRODUCTION | CUT GLASS

RESUMO

James Jackson Jarves (1818-1888) reuniu uma das melhores coleções museológicas de vidro veneziano nos Estados Unidos. Na defesa dos museus de arte na América, Jarves incitou a que indivíduos com meios e conhecimentos deveriam empreender a formação de coleções para benefício público. Em 1881, a doutrina de Jarves foi posta em prática aquando da sua doação de cerca de 300 obras de vidro veneziano ao Metropolitan Museum of Art. Com apenas cinco por cento da coleção Jarves agora em exposição, um dos objetivos deste artigo é reafirmar o legado de colecionadores como Jarves. Como tal, este estudo irá também ilustrar um aumento do interesse nas artes aplicadas, a dicotomia entre bens produzidos em massa e bens artesanais, e o renascimento da indústria de vidro veneziano.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

JAMES JACKSON JARVES | REVIVALISMO DE VIDRO VENEZIANO | METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART | PRODUÇÃO EM MASSA | VIDRO LAPIDADO



...Venetian is unlike all other glass. Its highest merit and greatest value consist in its virtually being incapable of being used for other purposes than to administer to the human craving for beauty, perfections, the supreme aesthetic ideal of the moment, restless, ever-changing, and never-satisfied, because beauty is rooted in the infinite (Jarves 1882, 187).

James Jackson Jarves (1818-1888), American art critic, collector, and Vice-Consul in Florence, assembled one of the finest museum collections of Venetian glass in the United States. In advocating for art museums in nineteenth-century America, Jarves urged that individuals of means and knowledge should undertake the formation of collections for public benefit “rather than simply to acquire and hoard for private pride or enjoyment” (Jarves 1882, 179). He believed that the display of such collections in museums would make art accessible to the wider public, and in turn the country would benefit by actively helping to cultivate the tastes and knowledge of its citizens. Museum collections exercised a powerful influence on the development of style and taste in the late nineteenth century, and they provided an education in the arts — something that Jarves felt the United States desperately needed.

Having survived the Civil War, and amidst labor unrest, unregulated urban growth, and anxieties about identity, the United States transformed into a prosperous new nation, and for the first time, major cities consciously asserted themselves as international tastemakers. New York City, for

example, became America’s cultural capital, and it achieved a heightened level of sophistication in painting, sculpture, and decorative arts. “Not only was there a desire to display wealth and social prestige [in the private sector], but there was a sense of moral obligation to inform and educate the public as to what was good, beautiful, and in correct taste” (Pilgrim 1979, 111).

Adding to America’s cultural capital, Jarves’ doctrine was put into practice in 1881 when he gifted nearly 300 works of Venetian glass to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. In organizing his collection of glass for the Metropolitan, Jarves deliberately set out to add to the young nation’s “aesthetic capital” by making art accessible to the American public (McNab 1960, 91). The collection consists of a wide variety of vessels and decorative forms from the Renaissance, as seen in a delicate tazza from the sixteenth century, to such revivalist glass of the nineteenth century as a deep cobalt goblet from Salviati and Company, richly enameled by Leopoldo Bearzotti around 1868

[FIGS. 1 AND 2]. As such, Jarves believed that of all the people to have made glass, the Venetians, for artistic variety and quality, were the most renowned.

With only five percent of the Jarves collection now on display at the Metropolitan, it is one of the aims of this paper to reassert the legacy of collectors like Jarves whose ambition was to make art accessible to broader audiences. Much of the literature on this American art critic, and in fact most of the works written by Jarves, focus on architecture and fine art, notably his collection of Italian primitives, now in the Yale University Art Gallery. Drawing attention to the decorative arts and to Jarves’ *Art Thoughts*, particularly



FIG. 1 Tazza, Italian, Venice (Murano), second half 16th century, glass, H: 9.5 cm. Accession Number: 81.8.133 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of James Jackson Jarves, 1881

FIG. 2 Goblet, Salviati and Co., Italian, Venice (Murano), enameled by Leopoldo Bearzotti (active 1868-80), ca. 1868, glass, H: 21.3 cm. Accession Number: 81.8.240 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of James Jackson Jarves, 1881

the chapter on “Minor Arts — Ornament and Decoration,” this study aims to illuminate the increased interest in the applied arts, the dichotomy between hand-crafted and mass-produced goods, and the revival of the Venetian glass industry.

Venetian glass, especially that of the revivalist idiom, functions as an important genre of artifacts. They reflect and reinforce many of the ideas and concerns of the 1800s and remind us of the calamities that affected the Venetian Republic at the turn of the nineteenth century. After decades of being under the control of French and Austrian governments, Venice became part of the Kingdom of Italy in 1866. With the glass industry severely weakened, Venetian glass, therefore, stands for the survival *and* revival of a community — a community that emerged enthusiastically to recover the history and glory of its past.

During the Renaissance, the production of Venetian glass was a successful enterprise; yet unfavorable economic and political conditions in Europe led to its decline in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Republic lost its independence to the French in the spring of 1797 when Napoleon conquered Venice. This was followed by several months as a democratic municipality and the first period of Austrian rule, when the Veneto was ceded to the Hapsburgs in the Treaty of Campo Formio, 17 October 1797 (Dorigato 2003, 172). Next came the annexation of Venice to the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy in 1806 and a second Hapsburg occupation from 1814-1866, briefly interrupted by the Venetian rebellion of 1848-1849. Following the Third Italian War of Independence, Venice became part of the Kingdom of Italy.

The fall of the Republic confirmed the end of Venice’s political and social balance, and it also led to the collapse of the city’s economic prosperity (Mentasti 2010, xiii). Between Austrian and French rule, the local market, including the glass industry, was increasingly impaired. This was in part a result of the abolishment of the glassmakers’ guilds by Napoleon, particularly of the *Arte dei Vetrai* in 1807. The guilds had protected and promoted the craft from both an organizational and commercial standpoint (Barovier 2004, 9). To further the blow, heavy customs tariffs were imposed on the import of raw materials, a measure designed to protect the Austrian and Bohemian industries so that foreign competitors could prosper (Barovier 2004, 10). By 1820, there were only 16 glassworks active on the Venetian island of Murano, and only five were producing blown glass (Dorigato 2003, 172). The number of furnaces dwindled as did the glassblowers technical expertise. The glassmaking industry survived, only partially, due to the production of glass beads for European colonies — objects that the art critic John Ruskin believed to be “utterly unnecessary” as there was “no design or thought employed in their manufacture” (Ruskin 1867, 166). The production process was monotonous and alienated the maker from his work and his product.

The second half of the nineteenth century, however, saw the recovery of Venetian glass. Antonio Salviati, a lawyer from Vicenza, was the entrepreneurial force behind the revival of glassmaking in Venice. Interested in the restoration of the mosaics of Saint Mark’s, Salviati set out to know the few glassmakers in Venice still able to make glass tesserae to replace those in the Basilica. Upon meeting the Muranese

glass artist Lorenzo Radi, Salviati set up a mosaic workshop in 1859 giving him the task of manufacturing mosaic tiles and himself that of marketing. Radi's work with not only mosaics but also chalcedonic glass fascinated Salviati, thus inspiring his "Grand Vision" — a dream of once again firing up the furnaces of Murano so that blown vessels could be sold to connoisseurs and collectors in shops throughout the world (Barr 1998, 19). According to Sheldon Barr, the ramifications of Salviati's exposure to Radi's creations resulted in nothing less than the revitalization of the entire blown-glass industry (Barr 1998, 19).

Continuing his promotion of Venetian glass, Salviati exhibited his workshop's mosaics at the International Exhibition of 1862 in London to much acclaim, and he received immediate commissions for such prominent buildings and monuments as Westminster Abbey, Saint Paul's Cathedral, Windsor Castle, and the Albert Memorial (Rudoe 2002, 308). Salviati's glass also caught the attention of the archaeologist Sir Austen Henry Layard, excavator of the ruins of the Assyrian city of Nineveh. Like Salviati, Layard was interested both in the revival of historic glass and in the contemporary use of mosaics. After the Vento became part of the Kingdom of Italy in 1866, foreign investment was permitted, and soon Layard and others, such as the historian William Drake, became shareholders in Salviati's company (Osborne 2002, 18).

In Venice, meanwhile, the antiquarian Abbot Vincenzo Zanetti founded a school for glassmakers in 1861 with the support of the island's mayor Antonio Colleoni. An associated museum, the *Museo Artistico Industriale del Vetro* (later the *Museo Vetrario*), opened in 1864 (Rudoe 2002,

308). An important drive for the revival of glassmaking in Venice was the foundation of the *Museo Vetrario*. Its intention was to promote traditional Murano techniques and to provide artists with direct access to examples of Roman and Venetian glass (Edwards 1997, 40). This collection of historic glass was assembled by Zanetti, and it included examples of ancient glass found throughout the Roman Empire, notably at a time when archaeological discovery was popular. The collection also comprised Renaissance glass donated by local Venetian families (Osborne 2002, 15).

The opening of the museum, and the rising interest in Venetian glass, prompted Salviati to turn his attention to blown glass, and with the financial support of Henry Layard and two of Layard's associates, Lachlan Mackintosh Rate and William Drake, he founded Salviati & Company in 1866. It had storefronts on St. James's Street, London, and Campo San Vio, Venice (Rudoe 2002, 308). Such support is a reflection of the renewed interest in Murano glass shown by foreign markets.

The Venetian glass industry prospered once again, and the city became a tourist destination. Wealthy travelers stayed in its majestic hotels and many English and American expatriates made Venice their permanent home (Mentasti 2010, xix). This most certainly was brought about by industrialization and the subsequent growth of family fortunes. As a result, numerous other glassworks were opened in the last two decades of the nineteenth century thanks to the growing interest and success of the Venetian style. As production increased, Salviati glass was found in shops in London, Paris, and New York. Tiffany & Company,

for example, stocked Salviati glass in its Fifth Avenue store in New York City (Osborne 2002, 19).

Exposure in America increased in 1881 when New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art received the Jarves collection of Venetian glass. Jarves, originally from Boston, Massachusetts, moved to Paris in 1851 and settled in Florence the following year. It was in Europe that Jarves became passionate in his desire to fill American museums with European art. Upon moving to Florence, he began collecting the Italian primitives for which he is most known.

Aside from his own personal interests, Jarves was instrumental in advising other American collectors in their purchases of Italian art. In 1880, for example, Jarves persuaded Cornelius Vanderbilt, a trustee of the Metropolitan, to purchase from him a collection of old master drawings and present it to the Museum (Rudoe 2002, 312). These arrangements put Jarves in contact with the Museum's Director, Louis Palma di Cesnola. On March 30, 1881, he wrote to Cesnola from Florence regarding his collection of Venetian glass:

**My dear Sir,
I have been preaching to others to give to the Museum,
& now I would like to practise, in a humble way...what I wish
I was able to do on a large scale. Recalling to you what I
wrote Mar. 15th regarding the collection of about 200 pieces
of old Venetian glass, & the offer of a gentleman to buy
it for 50,000 francs to give to the Museum, I would now
state that I propose to make it my own personal gift...
(Steegmuller 1951, 276).**

The glass was accepted, and as an expression of gratitude, on motion from Vanderbilt, Jarves was elected as a Patron of the Museum (Steegmuller 1951, 276).

On July 3, 1881, Jarves wrote to tell of the packing and dispatch of the glass from Livorno, and by this time the collection had grown significantly. Correspondence between Jarves and Cesnola indicates that between January and July 1881, it grew from 80 to 280 pieces (Rudoe 2002, 312). When Jarves writes of the collection in *Harper's New Monthly*, he discusses its breadth:

Chance at first threw in my way a few specimens of the earlier Venetian glass. These suggested the idea of attempting to obtain a sufficient number to fairly illustrate the various types which have given celebrity to Venice in this line from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth inclusive, representing, as far as possible, its mediaeval rise, its best and most nourishing period of the later Renaissance, its gradual changes and decline at the extinction of the Republic by Napoleon I, and the revival of the art in our own time (Jarves 1882, 177).

Through his correspondence with Alexander Nesbitt, then a keeper at the South Kensington Museum in London and author of the *Catalogue of the Collection of Glass Formed by Felix Slade* (1871) and *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Glass Vessels in the South Kensington Museum* (1878), Jarves was able to procure some glass for his collection from Abbot Zanetti, founder of the *Museo Vetrario*. These objects consisted of "a selection of the most interesting and oldest pieces, of the duplicates and types therein preserved"



FIG. 3 Bowl, Venezia-Murano Company, Italian, Venice (Murano), ca. 1881, glass, H: 9.8 cm, Diam: 28.9 cm. Accession Number: 81.8.254 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of James Jackson Jarves, 1881

(Jarves 1882, 177). Zanetti further writes that they “were collected by me during ten years past and are genuine and faithful representations of the Muranese ancient work” (Jarves 1882, 187).

With regard to glass of the revivalist idiom, in June Jarves wrote to Cesnola, “there are about 50 pieces of the modern Salviati glass...” (Rudoe 2002, 312). Like many of the decorative arts of the nineteenth century, revivalist glass followed the aesthetic of the historicist style, in this case capturing the glory of Venice’s past. As a result, Venetian revival glass looked to Roman and Medieval models as well as Renaissance and Baroque forms. The imitation of ancient vessels is evident in a bowl from the Jarves collection made by the Venezia-Murano Company, ca. 1881 **[FIG. 3]**. A comparison with an unusual Roman gold-band mosaic drinking cup, made from fused canes of blue, green, brown, and white mosaic glass

surrounding bands of gold leaf, reveals and underscores the area’s long history of excellence in the production of glass **[FIG. 4]**.

Not wanting to neglect the important contributions of his own day, Jarves intended that the revivalist glass would form a nucleus of the collection. Although Venetian glass of the nineteenth century imitated earlier styles, glassblowers profited from advances in glass chemistry, and they were able to produce more dramatic and richer colors. They also captured the nineteenth-century desire for overembellishment, therefore giving insight into the era’s sense of style and taste. Glassblowers, for example, incorporated elaborate and difficult zoomorphic forms into their work including dolphins, dragons, seahorses, and serpents **[FIGS. 5 AND 6]**. Overall, the Jarves gift reveals a diverse array of styles and provides a strong representation of the revivalist idiom.



FIG. 4 Gold-band mosaic glass scyphus (drinking cup), Roman, Early Imperial, late 1st century B.C.-early 1st century A.D., glass (cast and cut), H: 11.5 cm, W: 25 cm, Diam: 18 cm.
Accession Number: 91.1.2053
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891

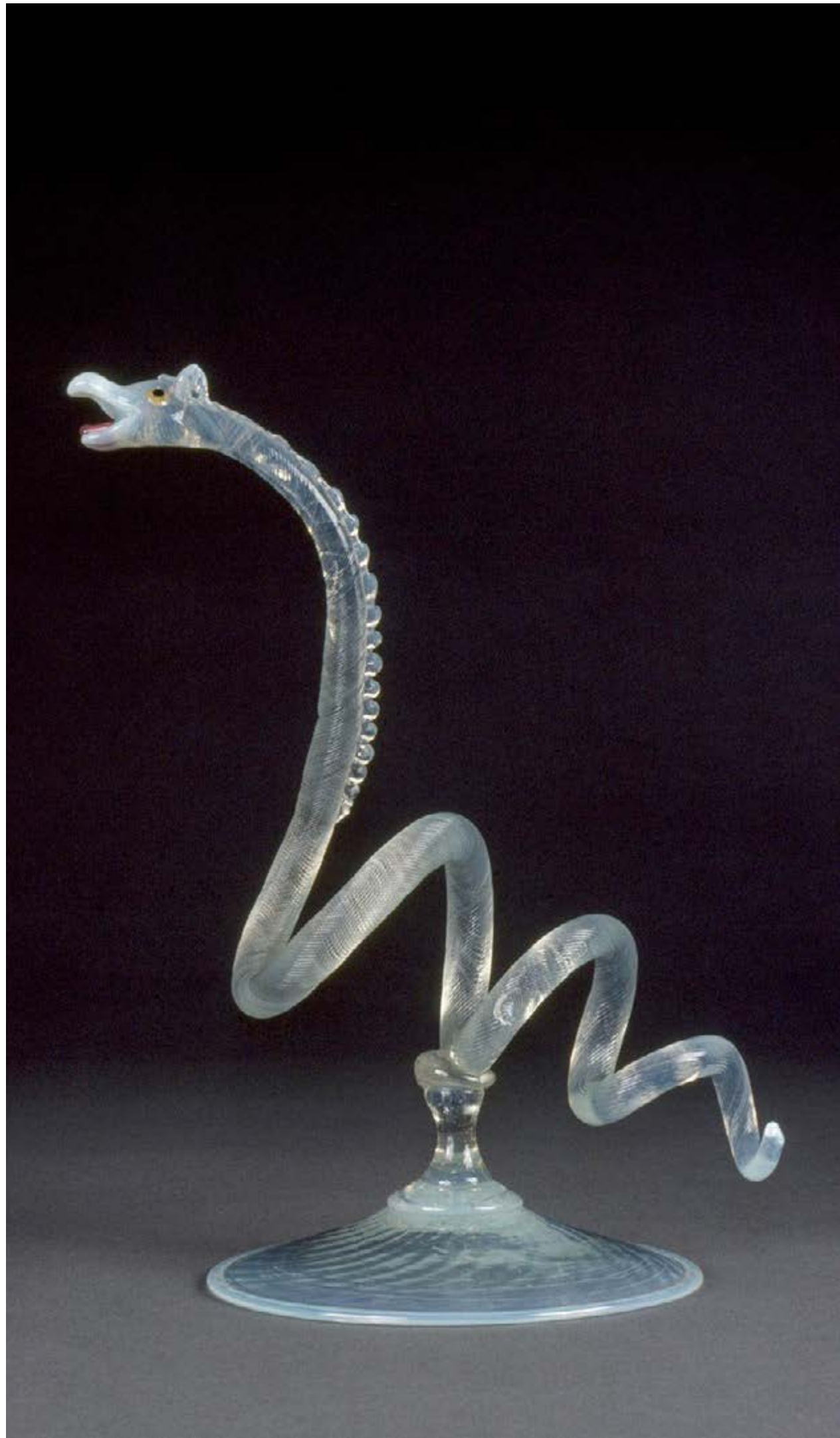


FIG. 5 Vessel in the shape of a sea horse, Compagnia di Venezia e Murano (C.V.M.), (1877-1919), Italian, Venice (Murano), 1885, glass, H: 26.7 cm, W: 16.9 cm, Diam: 12.7 cm.
Accession Number: 2002.3.21
The Corning Museum of Glass

FIG. 6 Serpent or dragon, Salviati, Italian, Venice (Murano), about 1870-1880, glass, H: 20.9 cm.
Accession Number: 52.3.34
The Corning Museum of Glass

The Jarves collection also acts as a starting point for future gifts of Venetian glass to the Metropolitan, an institution whose foundation contributed to the preservation and awareness of America's past, present, and future. Desiring a cultural expression of their new power, wealthy Americans developed "a taste for European art and enthusiastically imported it to provide a stamp of sophistication and respectability for themselves" (Weinberg 1976, 1). In turn, many of these works came to form the core collections in American museums such as the Metropolitan. Following Jarves' lead were Henry G. Marquand, an American financier, philanthropist and collector, and Edward C. Moore, artistic director of Tiffany & Co.'s silver studio and chief designer. Their collections of European glass, and other works of art, entered the Museum in 1883 and 1891 respectively. Such actions point to the admiration of Venetian glass from a connoisseur and collector's standpoint.

In Britain, however, reformers were passionate about the medium and its production for additional reasons. The Venetian revival involved more than the recovery of the glassmaking industry and the creation of beautiful works of art. For British reformers, John Ruskin and William Morris, the enthusiasm for early Venetian glass had a moral basis (Reflections of Venice 1986, 3). Both Ruskin and Morris felt it "represented the only legitimate approach to the manufacture of glass and that unless there was a return to these principles which had governed Venetian glass in its heyday, nothing beautiful could ever be produced" (Klein 2000, 183). As Dan Klein duly notes: "Venetian glass for them was a philosophy, not just a decorative style" (Klein 2000, 183). British reformers deplored the tastelessness

of mass-produced glass, and they believed that artistry and grace could grow only from the workman's respect for his materials. Creative physical labor, that is the worker's intimate familiarity with his craft, was one of Ruskin's basic principles (Osborne 2002, 17).

In Ruskin's influential text, *The Stones of Venice*, he writes of an excursion to Murano and the prevailing glass industry. Here he belittles mass-production, and much of the glass of the Victorian era, stating that: "Our modern glass is exquisitely clear in its substance, true in its form, accurate in its cutting. We are proud of this. We ought to be ashamed of it" (Ruskin 1867, 168). He goes on to say that "...all cut glass is barbarous: for the cutting conceals its ductility, and confuses it with crystal" (Ruskin 1867, 392). He continues by arguing against its perfection and precision — glass was meant to be blown into imaginative forms, "the more wild, extravagant, and grotesque in their gracefulness...the better" (Ruskin 1867, 392). Taking these ideas into consideration, he asks buyers of cut glass to choose whether they will make the worker a man or a grindstone (Ruskin 1867, 168). Ruskin, therefore, finds humanity in Venetian glass, and he praises its imperfections, its inventiveness, and its ability to connect the artist with his craft.

Jarves, an acquaintance and follower of Ruskin, whose books *The Stones of Venice* and *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* influenced the beginning of his studies, found truth in Ruskin's writings and added further to his discussion (McNab 1960, 97). Jarves found that the modern age "holds to cheapening and multiplying articles, rather than to their artistic worth. Hence its productive energies tend to substitute mechanical for aesthetic excellence,

and to employ machinery in place of fingers. Everywhere we meet lifeless repetitions of the emasculated ancient, or wearisome ones of modern invention, *manufactured*, rather than MADE..." (Jarves 1869, 322). We again return to the estrangement of the worker from the product and a decrease in artistry.

Like Ruskin and Jarves, when Charles Locke Eastlake (1836-1906), nineteenth-century architect and furniture designer, came to the subject of modern glass in his famous treatise, *Hints on Household Taste*, he dismissed British and Bohemian glass in favor of the superior virtues he perceived to be found in Venetian glass (Edwards 1997, 37). He also advocated that it had the ability to advance public taste, and it served as an example of what constituted good art (Eastlake 1874, 137). Eastlake, therefore, encouraged the purchase of Venetian glass proclaiming that even the smallest example "should be acquired whenever possible, and treasured with the greatest care" (Eastlake 1874, 136). Venetian glass illustrated good design and skill that was absent in cut glass. Overall, both Eastlake and Ruskin considered cut glass contrary to the medium's nature; it was devoid of fluidity and creativity (Edwards 1997, 40). On a humorous note, the Egyptologist and architect Somers Clarke deplored the prevailing fashion for cut glass, noting that it was nothing more than "a massive lump of misshapen material better suited to the purpose of braining a burglar than decorating a table..." (Clarke 1903, 108). All of the above provides a glimpse of the era's issues surrounding taste, design, and individuality.

Jarves gives his own opinion on the subject in his book *Art Thoughts*. In his chapter on the minor arts, he takes a

less-biased view of mass-produced glass but certainly favors the hand-crafted product in the end. On cut, engraved, and colored glass, he believes that it excels in "transparency, polish, outline, and lucidity of design, — mere mechanical excellences; and we meet, as in all other ornament, a wearisome repetition of the same patterns and styles, each the exact counterpart of the other, to satisfy the modern desire to have sets of objects" (Jarves 1869, 335). This idea of sets also was mentioned by William Morris who attacked the makers of cut glass, and criticized the working methods of the British glass industry, which demanded that each glass should be identical (Klein 2000, 183).

Yet from an economic standpoint, table services, homogenous in all pieces, from various-sized glasses to other vessels, were relatively inexpensive and less intricate than the handcrafted product, and they perfectly satisfied the demand of the emerging middle class (Mentasti 1992, 12). Ironically, Jarves' father Deming, was the founder of the Boston and Sandwich Glass Company, an enterprise that flourished from the mass-production of cut and pressed-glass tableware such as the pitcher and vase seen in figures seven and eight [FIGS. 7 AND 8]. By the mid-nineteenth century, Deming Jarves estimated that American factories had up to two million dollars invested in pressing machinery and molds alone (Scoville 1944, 204). Production required unskilled labor and as a result tableware was offered at a moderate price. Venetian glass was often too expensive and fragile to meet the needs of the general public while the pressed-glass wares were inexpensive, offered in a variety of colors and patterns, and satisfied the demands of the middle class (Frelinghuysen 1986, 246).



FIG. 7 Pitcher, Boston & Sandwich Glass Company (New England, Sandwich, Massachusetts, United States, 1825-1888), ca. 1843-67, blown and cut glass, H: 22.9 cm, Diam: 14 cm. Accession Number: 67.7.20 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Funds from various donors, 1967

FIG. 8 Celery vase, attributed to Boston & Sandwich Glass Company (New England, Sandwich, Massachusetts, United States, 1825-1888), 1827-35, pressed glass, H: 18.6 cm, Diam: 11.6 cm. Accession Number: 1986.237 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Greenwood Gift, 1986

According to Jarves, however, modern cut- and pressed-glass failed in comparison with the older and lighter forms of Venetian glass in its clarity, depth of color, variety, and creative *tours de force* (Jarves 1882, 185). In 1882, he wrote:

The highest aim of the Venetian artist was to overlook prosaic utility entirely in his glass; to invent something so bizarre, ethereal, light, imaginative, or so splendid, fascinating, and original in combinations of colors and design, as to captivate both the senses and understanding, and lead them rejoicing into far-away regions of the possibilities of an ideal existence; in fine, to bind the material captive to the intellectual in art, even when administering to the vanities of life and grosser calls of nature (Jarves 1882, 187).

Whether or not he was influenced by the production methods and output of his father's glass firm, Jarves strongly believed in the principles and beauty behind Venetian glass.

In conclusion, it hopefully has become evident that the Jarves gift of Venetian glass serves as not a static collection but as an active portal into nineteenth-century art, industrialization, taste, and criticism. It also is an indispensable study of the era's reception of glass and the dichotomy between hand-crafted and mass-produced goods. Finally, it is a way to remember the passion of early museum donors such as James Jackson Jarves and those that followed in his pursuit of bringing beauty and knowledge to the American public.

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HOW TO
DISPLAY?

STAINED GLASS AND THE (RE-) CREATION OF AN IDEAL PAST.

THE MAYER VAN DEN BERGH COLLECTION IN ANTWERP AROUND 1900

ABSTRACT

The Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp, Belgium, contains a fine collection of stained-glass panels, mainly Southern Netherlandish roundels from the Early Modern period. As an internationally active private collector in the late nineteenth century, Fritz Mayer van den Bergh (1858-1901) maintained close contacts with art dealers, museum professionals and other private collectors from various European countries. In the eventual museum, the collector's mother Henriëtte van den Bergh (1838-1920) integrated the stained-glass panels into the decorative scheme of its historicizing interiors. This article explores Fritz and Henriëtte Mayer van den Bergh's collecting and display strategies, traces their underlying motivations, and reconstructs the function historical stained glass served within the overall conception of the museum. It will distinguish the Catholic social networks and neo-Gothic philosophy of the Mayer van den Bergh family as their major incentive. The appendix provides a complete catalogue of the Mayer van den Bergh collection of stained glass.

KEYWORDS

PRIVATE COLLECTING | INTEGRATED DISPLAY | HISTORICISM | BELGIAN NEO-GOTHIC MOVEMENT | CATHOLIC REVIVAL

RESUMO

O Museu de Mayer van den Bergh em Antuérpia, na Bélgica, contém uma bela coleção de vitrais, principalmente rondeis do sul da Holanda, do início do período Moderno. Como colecionador privado ativo ao nível internacional no final do século XIX, Fritz Mayer van den Bergh (1858-1901) manteve contatos próximos com negociantes de arte, profissionais de museus e outros colecionadores privados de vários países europeus. A mãe do colecionador, Henriëtte van den Bergh (1838-1920), integrou os painéis de vitral no esquema decorativo do interior historicizante deste museu. Este artigo explora as estratégias colecionistas e de exibição de Fritz e Henriëtte Mayer van den Bergh, localiza as motivações subjacentes e reconstrói a função que os vitrais históricos terão servido dentro da conceção geral do museu. Irão destacar-se as redes sociais católicas e a filosofia neogóticas da família Mayer van den Bergh como os seus principais incentivos. O apêndice fornece um catálogo completo da coleção de vitrais Mayer van den Bergh.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

COLECCIONISMO PRIVADO | EXPOSIÇÃO INTEGRADA | HISTORICISMO | MOVIMENTO BELGA NEOGÓTICO | REVIVALISMO CATÓLICO

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I N D E X



E D I T O R I A L



I N T E R V I E W



D O S S I E R



P R I N T

Introduction

The Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp, Belgium, is well known for its outstanding collection of late medieval and Early Modern fine and decorative arts, most notably perhaps for Pieter Bruegel the Elder's famous *Dulle Griet (Mad Mag)*. But the museum also owns a fine and well-preserved collection of 44 stained-glass panels, most of them Southern Netherlandish roundels from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, brought together by Fritz Mayer van den Bergh (1858-1901) between the early 1880s and 1901.¹

After the premature death of the collector, his mother Henriëtte van den Bergh (1838-1920) created the Mayer van den Bergh Museum to fulfill the dream that both mother and son had nourished. The museum presents paintings, sculptures, antiques and decorative arts side by side and in close relation to each other. From the very first, the stained-glass collection was integrated into the existing windows, thereby functioning as a distinctive element within the historicizing exhibition rooms. Although the arrangement of the objects was frequently altered over the years, the museum emanates the personal atmosphere of a turn-of-the-century private collection until the present day, with the majority of the stained-glass windows still being an integral part of the museum display.

The Mayer van den Bergh collection of stained glass lends itself to examining the artistic taste, methodological approach and underlying motivations of its owners. As such it can serve as a representative case study of the practice of gathering and using stained glass in the private context in late-nineteenth-century Europe. This article therefore

focuses on Fritz and Henriëtte Mayer van den Bergh's collecting and display strategies of historical stained glass. On the basis of archival material and the earliest published museum catalogues, it will map where Fritz acquired stained glass and examine the objects' presentation in Henriëtte's museological concept. It will then trace the family's motivations and aims by means of analyzing their social networks, political and religious convictions. By doing so, it is the intention to shed new light onto the function of stained glass in the conception of the museum, and on the role the family's personal, philosophical and ideological world-view played therein.

Fritz and Henriëtte Mayer van den Bergh

Fritz Mayer was born in Antwerp in 1858 as the oldest son of Emil Mayer (1824-1879) and Henriëtte van den Bergh. Fritz' father was of German origin and one of Antwerp's foremost businessmen who had established the Belgian branch of the Cologne family business in spices and pharmaceuticals in 1849. Henriëtte was the daughter of the eminent Antwerp businessman and politician Jean van den Bergh (1807-1885), who had played a leading role in the Antwerp city council during the 1860s, as a Catholic alderman for the Meeting Party (Heylen and D'hondt 2009).

Fritz Mayer grew up in a wealthy, aristocratic and cultured environment, with Henriëtte being the greatest influence on his emerging love for the arts (de Coo 1979, 7-8). Destined for a diplomatic career, he studied Literature, Philosophy and Law at Ghent University from 1877 onwards. But when his father died in 1879, he abandoned his studies and moved back into the Antwerp family residence in the Lange

¹ 30 silver-stained roundels and unipartite panels from the Mayer van den Bergh Museum are published, according to the criteria of the *Corpus Vitrearum*, in Berserik and Caen 2007, 14-35. A complete catalogue of the collection is published here for the first time, see appendix.

Gasthuisstraat 21, the neighboring house of the present-day museum. He dismissed the career plans and left the business to his younger brother Oscar. From that moment on, he dedicated himself entirely to his passion for art collecting, enthusiastically assisted by his mother. On frequent travels they visited museums, auctions, art dealers and collectors all over Europe. Their shared interest strengthened their already tight personal bonds enormously. Fritz would never marry, but in 1887 he added Henriëtte's last name to his, from now on calling himself Mayer van den Bergh.

With the help of his mother Fritz Mayer van den Bergh was able to build up a most varied collection of more than 3.000 works of fine and decorative art from all periods, but with a marked preference for late medieval sculptures and early Netherlandish paintings, furniture, textiles as well as stained glass from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. To extend his collection and his knowledge about it, Fritz established connections with national and international connoisseurs, art historians, dealers and other collectors. Among these were for instance Max Friedländer and Wilhelm Bode in Berlin.

Fritz Mayer van den Bergh's sensitive and intelligent character reflected itself in his collection. A subtle esthete and an "Artiste dans l'âme" (Catalogue 1933, v), he adored the art from the Middle Ages, "when the artists sought to represent the soul rather than the body", and he was fascinated by the piety and mysticism they emanated. His study in the parental home, where a part of his collection was kept during his lifetime, resembled "a small and delicate sanctuary that allowed the visitor to forget the time" (Delbeke 1904, 8-9).²

Putting an abrupt end to his prolific collecting activity, Fritz Mayer van den Bergh died in 1901 after a horse riding accident. After his death it was Henriëtte who arranged for the preservation of the collection. She commissioned the Antwerp architect Joseph Hertogs to design the museum building in the style of a sixteenth-century townhouse. The museum officially opened in December 1904. In 1906, Henriëtte bequeathed the collection and building together with an endowment to a Board of Trustees (*Raad van Regenten*), thus guaranteeing its preservation as a private museum (Baisier and Müller 2013, 157). Until her death in 1920, Henriëtte played an important role in the management of the museum and the edition of the first catalogues. Her effort to preserve the collection for the future reflects the strong emotional attachment with which both mother and son dedicated their lives to the arts.

International Connections and an Eye for Quality. Methods of Collecting

With the extensive historical archives preserved in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum — comprising more than 1.100 letters, invoices and receipts,³ as well as a book documenting the acquisitions made between 1879 and 1901 — researchers have at their disposal an exceptional basis for investigations into the collector's networks and collecting strategies. The collection of stained glass is well-documented by archival material. From the 44 items, the provenance and circumstances of acquisition of 23 pieces can be identified on the basis of the collector's correspondence and notes. Additionally, the archive provides useful information about many more sellers and

² "Ce qui le captivait surtout c'était l'art ancien. Les tableaux et les sculptures du moyen âge, où l'artiste cherche à peindre et à modeler l'âme plutôt que le corps, l'architecture ogivale, les miniatures gothiques, tout cet admirable poème de prière, de piété, mysticisme et de souffrance le jetait dans des ravissements. [...] Son cabinet de travail révélait l'homme: c'était un délicieux petit sanctuaire où les œuvres d'art les plus variées et les livres de choix faisaient oublier à l'heureux visiteur la fuite des heures."

³ Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, *Stukken betreffende de collectievorming*. Archival documents will in the following be referred to as: addresser, date, MMB.A. + archive number. All letters, invoices and receipts cited here are addressed to Fritz Mayer van den Bergh.

prices of stained-glass objects of which the identification is not possible.

Fritz Mayer van den Bergh acquired stained glass at auctions as well as from art and antique dealers, private persons and even directly from religious institutions in Belgium and abroad. Most of the frequented dealers, agents and collectors from which he purchased historical stained glass also provided him with other art works, such as paintings, sculpture or furniture.

The first identifiable acquisition of stained glass was at the auction of the renowned Antwerp collection Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries (1884-1886). At the sale of the section “Antiques et objets d’art” in 1885, Mayer van den Bergh acquired three lots of mainly religious and heraldic stained-glass panels for 286 Belgian francs, among which the *Sermon on the Mount*, *Sheltering strangers*, *Joseph of Arimathea*, and several coats of arms of the former Antwerp clerics Marcus Cruyt, Gaspar Nemius and Balthazar Cruyt. The collector’s correspondence reveals that he paid great attention to the state of conservation of the desired objects. After the successful acquisition of the three lots, the Antwerp art dealer Charles Van Herck (Mayer’s intermediary at the auction) informed him that three other pieces had not been purchased because they were “modern” and “entirely broken”, respectively.⁴

It was not until the early 1890s that Fritz Mayer van den Bergh significantly extended his stained-glass collection. Interestingly, his increased attention to stained glass coincides with his changing taste after he resold a great part of his so far gained antiques collection at two auctions in 1891 and 1892 (de Coo 1979, 12). Not only was this

the moment when he shifted his focus to old paintings, sculptures and decorative arts, but also when Fritz and Henriëtte started to develop plans to create a private museum.

In these years, Mayer van den Bergh acquired in rapid succession an “early-sixteenth-century glass panel in grisaille representing Saint Roch” from Madame Wéry in Tongeren for 120 francs,⁵ the *Saint Barbara* from the rectory of Herk-de-Stad through the intermediary Germain Jaminé from Hasselt for 200 francs,⁶ the *Saint Cornelius* from Henri Van Severen, an art and antiques dealer from Sint-Niklaas for 150 francs,⁷ a “painting on glass representing the Madonna at the tomb of Christ” from Steyaert in Bruges for 55 francs,⁸ and two roundels representing the *Nativity* **[FIG. 1]** and *Daniel opposes the verdict against Suzanna*, together with three seventeenth-century fragments at the auction of the collection Camille Van Langenhove-Biebuyck in Aalst for 200 francs.⁹ Other unidentifiable panels were bought, especially between 1890 and 1896, from Pierre Peeters, owner of an “atelier de sculpture religieuse” in Antwerp,¹⁰ Paul Dangis in Chokier,¹¹ and from many other dealers and collectors in Antwerp,¹² Brussels¹³ and Ghent.¹⁴ At the same time Mayer van den Bergh had nine panels repaired in the Antwerp atelier of Auguste Stalins and Alfons Janssens.¹⁵

At the international level, Mayer van den Bergh acquired stained glass in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands and Germany. The first was the so-called *Wappenscheibe von Thomas von Schauenstein*, purchased from Jacob Storz in Chur in 1889.¹⁶ Together with four other Swiss panels today in the collection, this piece demonstrates that Mayer van

⁴ Letter Marie Van Herck (daughter of Charles Van Herck), Antwerp, 3 June 1885: “[...] le No 671 était moderne, le 674 et 677 étaient entièrement brisés.” MMB.A.0013. (The pieces that had not been acquired were a small panel representing the *Christ Child* and two sixteenth-century roundels with the *Death* and the *Assumption of the Virgin*, cf. Auct. Cat. Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Vol. VIII, 54-57). Cat. nos. 7, 9, 10, 13, 38, 42.

⁵ Book of acquisitions, 14 May 1890: “Vitrail grisaille commencement XVI S. à St. Roch, acheté chez Mme Wéry à Tongres — 120 fr.” Although catalogued in 1933, this roundel with the inscription “SANCTE ROCHE ORA PRO NOBIS” and a diameter of 28 cm (with border) is not in the museum today.

⁶ Book of acquisitions, 5 January 1891: “Vitrail médaillon en grisaille repr. Ste. Barbe comm. XV S. par l’intermédiaire de Jaminé de Hasselt — 200 fr.” and receipt Germain Jaminé, Antwerp, 5 January 1891: “[...] médaillon représentant Sainte Barbe provenant de M. le curé de Herck.” MMB.A.0188. Cat. no. 19. In 1890, Mayer van den Bergh had purchased from Germain Jaminé a “Renaissance door”.

⁷ Book of acquisitions, 14 November 1891: “Vitrail rond représ. St. Corneille acheté chez Van Severen à St. Nicolas — 150 fr.” Cat. no. 22. Mayer van den Bergh also bought liturgical garments and tapestries from Van Severen in 1892 and 1898.

⁸ Receipt Steyaert, Bruges, 31 May 1893: “[...] tableau en verre représentant la mère au tombeau de Christ la somme de f. 55.” MMB.A.0365. The panel is not in the collection today and was thus certainly resold.

⁹ Invoice Louis De Maeyer, Aalst, 14 June 1894. MMB.A.0457. Auct. Cat. Van Langenhove-Biebuyck 1894, lot no. 539. Cat. nos. 6, 11, 30-32.



FIG. 1 *Nativity*, Southern Low Countries, Early 16th century, Ø 20,3 cm, inv. no. 636, Photograph: Ulrike Müller, © Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp

¹⁰ Letter Pierre Peeters, Antwerp, 30 July 1890, confirming the sale of a “glasraam”. MMB.A.0152.

¹¹ Letter Paul Dangis, Brussels, 10 June 1896, confirming the sale of a “petit vitrail”. MMB.A.0656. Dangis also supplied, among others, Gothic paintings and ivories in 1896.

¹² Book of acquisitions, 12 March 1891: “9 vitraux anciens du commencement du XVI S. (médaillons) chez Eva Krug — 350 fr.” and receipt Eva Krug, Antwerp, 12 March 1891. MMB.A.0365.

¹³ Letter Burny, Brussels, 14 June 1893, confirming the sale of a “petit vitrage”. MMB.A.0371.

¹⁴ Book of acquisitions, 27 September 1891: “2 vitraux forme médaillon achetés à Gand chez Willems — 70 fr.”

¹⁵ Invoice Stalins & Janssens, “Atelier de Peinture sur Verre”, Antwerp, 31 December 1891, for repairing “2 oude medaillons”, “4 pannelen met medaillons” and “drÿ oude glasraamen” for 60 fr. MMB.A.0251.

¹⁶ Letter Jacob Storz, Chur, 6 March 1889. MMB.A.0092. Cat. no. 29.

den Bergh's focus on Netherlandish roundels was by far not exclusive. This is also confirmed by the thirteenth-century French *Annunciation* which would later receive a prominent place in one of the exhibition rooms dedicated to Gothic art [FIG. 5].¹⁷ This panel, acquired with the collection Carlo Micheli from Paris in 1898 (de Coö 1965), originates from the south rose window of Notre Dame de Paris from where it apparently was removed at the time of Alfred Gérente's restorations in 1861 (Perrot 1989). A roundel purchased from Geoffroy in Marseille¹⁸ and two roundels representing *Children playing* and a *Female figure* acquired from the Parisian collector de Lannoy in exchange for three ivory plaquettes testify Mayer van den Bergh's good connections to French dealers and collectors. Upon his request, de Lannoy moreover declared that both panels were "ancient and have not been retouched".¹⁹

The small oval *Annunciation* was acquired from the Dutchman François van Waegeningh in 1892. This "antiquaire-expert" who seems to have run, together with his father Gerard, two businesses in art and antiques in Nijmegen and Breda, repeatedly sold paintings, sculptures and antiques to Mayer van den Bergh. Bought as a fifteenth-century panel and still catalogued as such in 1933 (Catalogue 1933, 91), it is today considered a nineteenth-century work after a painting by Albrecht Bouts.²⁰

In Munich, Julius Böhler was a reliable dealer not only in paintings and sculptures, but also in stained glass.²¹ Finally, Mayer van den Bergh's friend Alexander Schnütgen, the canon, collector and founder of the Schnütgen Museum of Christian Art in Cologne, offered him a roundel with the

Annunciation, because he knew that Fritz attached "great importance to the acquisition of such objects".²²

The analysis of the collecting strategies, criteria and networks allows us to draw a profile of Fritz Mayer van den Bergh as a well-connected, discriminating and conscientious collector. He paid great attention to artistic quality and conservation state, and he approached his collecting activity in a systematic way, selecting and documenting stained-glass objects with the same care as other art works in his collection. His exclusive focus on small-scale panels from the early modern period confirms that he already nourished plans to integrate them within a historicizing (museum) space.

Historical (Re-) Construction and Musealization. Display Strategies

The 1933 museum catalogue and a number of photographs of its interior from approximately the same period provide valuable information about the original display of the stained-glass collection. When the museum was opened in 1904, the exhibition rooms were dedicated to different (art) historical periods in which paintings, sculptures, furniture and the surrounding decorative elements such as chimney pieces, beam ceilings, gold leather hangings as well as stained glass formed a consistent, esthetically appealing unity. Originally, the entire collection of stained-glass panels was integrated into the existing windows in five of the nine exhibition rooms (rooms II, III, IV, V, and IX) as well as in the vestibule, upper corridor and staircase. Today, 38 of the 44 panels are still on display in the museum's windows, most of them however in different locations.²³

¹⁷ Cat. no. 1.

¹⁸ Book of acquisitions, 15 June 1899: "Acheté à Marseille chez Geoffroy Rue de la Pyramide un vitrail rond en grisaille du commencement du XVIe — 50 fr."

¹⁹ Letter de Lannoy, Paris, 10 May 1895: "Je garanti à M. le Chevalier Mayer que les deux vitraux que je lui ai changé pour trois plaques [...] sont anciens [...] le vitrail rond jeu d'enfants du XV siècle et le vitrail rond buste de femme commencement du XVI siècle, et que ces vitraux n'ont subi aucun retouche." MMB.A.0558. Cat. nos. 3, 26. On 4 May 1895, Mayer van den Bergh sold "4 vitraux ronds, 1 poignard, 1 fragment de retable représ. une crédence, 1 couronne de lumières gothiques en fer forgé" to "de Lannoy de Paris — 1.200 fr." The identity of this Parisian collector, resident in 48, Rue de Londres, is unclear. He may be the "E. de Lannoy" from Paris whose collection of Old Master paintings and antiques was auctioned in Antwerp in October 1899. He is however not to be confused with "Lannoy, marchand de tableaux à Paris, 139, Boulevard Haussmann" from whom Mayer van den Bergh, according to an entry in his book of acquisitions, purchased "un portrait de prélat par Jordaens" on 31 July 1899, or with the Belgian "Delannoy", from whose collection five stained-glass roundels can be traced in public museums in Louisville, Kentucky and Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, cf. Husband 1991, 82, 85, 109.

²⁰ Book of acquisitions, 4 May 1892: "Vitrail médaillon représentant l'Annonciation milieu du XV S. acheté à Van Waegeninghe jeune — 60 fr." Cat. no. 43. The art and antiques dealer François Van Waegeningh later settled in The Hague, cf. Auct. Cat. Van Waegeningh 1923.

²¹ Receipt Julius Böhler, Munich, 2 October 1899: "[...] bestätige Ihnen [...] den Empfang von fr. 2200 für 1 Bild Maria Tod, kleines Porträt, 1 Bronzemörser + eine Glasscheibe."

In the beginning of the twentieth century, visitors entered the museum not through today's main entrance, but through a door in the first exhibition room leading to the Mayer van den Bergh's neighboring family home. In the second exhibition room one could find the first set of eight fifteenth- and sixteenth-century stained-glass panels: the *Nativity* [FIG. 1], *Sheltering strangers, Saint Barbara, Allegory of Patience* [FIG. 2], *Tobias' return, Saint Martin, Children playing* and a *Coat of arms*.²⁴ They were exhibited together with the late-thirteenth-century *Christ-Saint-John-Ensemble*, Lucas Cranach's *Saint Catherine* and *Saint Barbara* (then forming a triptych with the *Maria lactans* by the Master of Frankfurt), the retable with the *Madonna and the Saints Catherine, Barbara, Mary Magdalene and Agnes* [FIG. 3], and other sixteenth-century Flemish sculptures, paintings and furniture [FIG. 4].

The *Salle III* was an intimate room dedicated to late medieval devotional images, altarpieces (the *Adoration* by the Master of 1518), statues of saints and lamenting angels, textiles, chandeliers and other liturgical equipment. Within this atmospheric setting, the thirteenth-century French *Annunciation* took pride of place as the only stained-glass window in the room [FIG. 5].²⁵

Returning through the inner courtyard, one reached the vestibule. This area exhibited an eclectic mix of old and modern. Neo-Gothic architecture and decorative elements such as the ornamental frieze above the door were complemented with three sixteenth-century stained-glass panels: *Saint Joseph of Arimathea, Daniel and Suzanna* and *Christ's Sermon on the Mount* [FIG. 6].²⁶ For the vestibule, Henriëtte had commissioned two representative modern

stained-glass windows: the *Coat of arms of the Mayer van den Bergh family* [FIG. 6] and the large *Coat of arms of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke* above the door, the latter a work of the Antwerp artist Frans Proost.²⁷ The two modern panels were not catalogued in 1933 and thus certainly conceived as decorative elements rather than museum objects. Especially the *Coat of arms of the Mayer van den Bergh family*, of which the present whereabouts is unknown, indicates Henriëtte's determination to symbolically inscribe her family into Antwerp's glorious history, revived and eternalized through her museum.

On the first floor, the tour continued in the fourth room, the "Salle Gothique". Together with Quentin Massys' *Crucifixion* triptych and Vrancke van der Stockt's *Lamentation*, four fifteenth- and sixteenth-century stained-glass panels — *Saint Agnes* [FIG. 7], two *Calvaries* and the today lost *Saint Roch* — mirrored the devotional intimacy, mysticism and piety so admired by Fritz.²⁸

Representing the typical seventeenth-century Flemish collector's cabinet, the large *Salle V* or *Library* displayed Baroque paintings, gold leather and furniture ("Rubens chairs") as well as Mayer van den Bergh's collections of prints and drawings, Renaissance lead plaquettes, books and local antiques [FIG. 8]. The room's particular atmosphere of local pride and piety, encyclopedic knowledge and vanity is enhanced by the here-presented roundels *Saint Cornelius, Saint Margaret, Saint Mary Magdalene* and *Saint John the Evangelist*,²⁹ and the representative Swiss heraldic panels.³⁰

The *Grande Salle VI* — dedicated to the Bruegel family and their contemporaries — and the rooms VII and VIII, decorated in the eighteenth-century style, did not

MMB.A.0975. Between 1894 and 1900, Mayer van den Bergh regularly bought (and resold) objects of fine and applied art from (and to) Böhler.

²² Letter Alexander Schnütgen, Cologne, 7 July 1894: "Da ich für dieses [Glasscheibchen] keine unmittelbare Verwendung habe, weil alle meine Fenster mit Glasmalereien ausgestattet sind wäre ich nicht abgeneigt, dasselbe gegen ein anderes Kunstwerk einzutauschen [...] weil Sie gerade auf die Erwerbung solcher Scheiben Wert legen. Dasselbe hat 24 cm Durchmesser, stellt die Verkündigung in prachtvoller Zeichnung und Färbung dar, ist wohl kurz vor 1500 am Niederrhein entstanden, von absolut tadelloser Erhaltung." MMB.A.0469.

²³ Currently not on display are the cat. nos. 4, 5, 25, 30, 31, 42.

²⁴ Cat. nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 19, 23, 33, 35.

²⁵ Cat. no. 1.

²⁶ Cat. nos. 11, 37, 38.

²⁷ Cat. no. 44.

²⁸ Cat. nos. 2, 4, 8.

²⁹ Cat. nos. 22, 25, 26, 34.

³⁰ Cat. nos. 17, 18, 24, 29, 36.



FIG. 2 *Allegory of Patience*, Southern Low Countries, First half of the 16th century, Ø 20,2 cm, inv. no. 654, Photograph: Ulrike Müller, © Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp



FIG. 3 Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, *Salle II* on the ground floor (today Baroque Hall), First half of the twentieth century, Photograph: anonymous, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent, BRKZ.TOPO.1062.E.06



FIG. 4 Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, *Salle II* on the ground floor (today Baroque Hall), First half of the twentieth century, Photograph: anonymous, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent, BRKZ.TOPO.1062.E.07

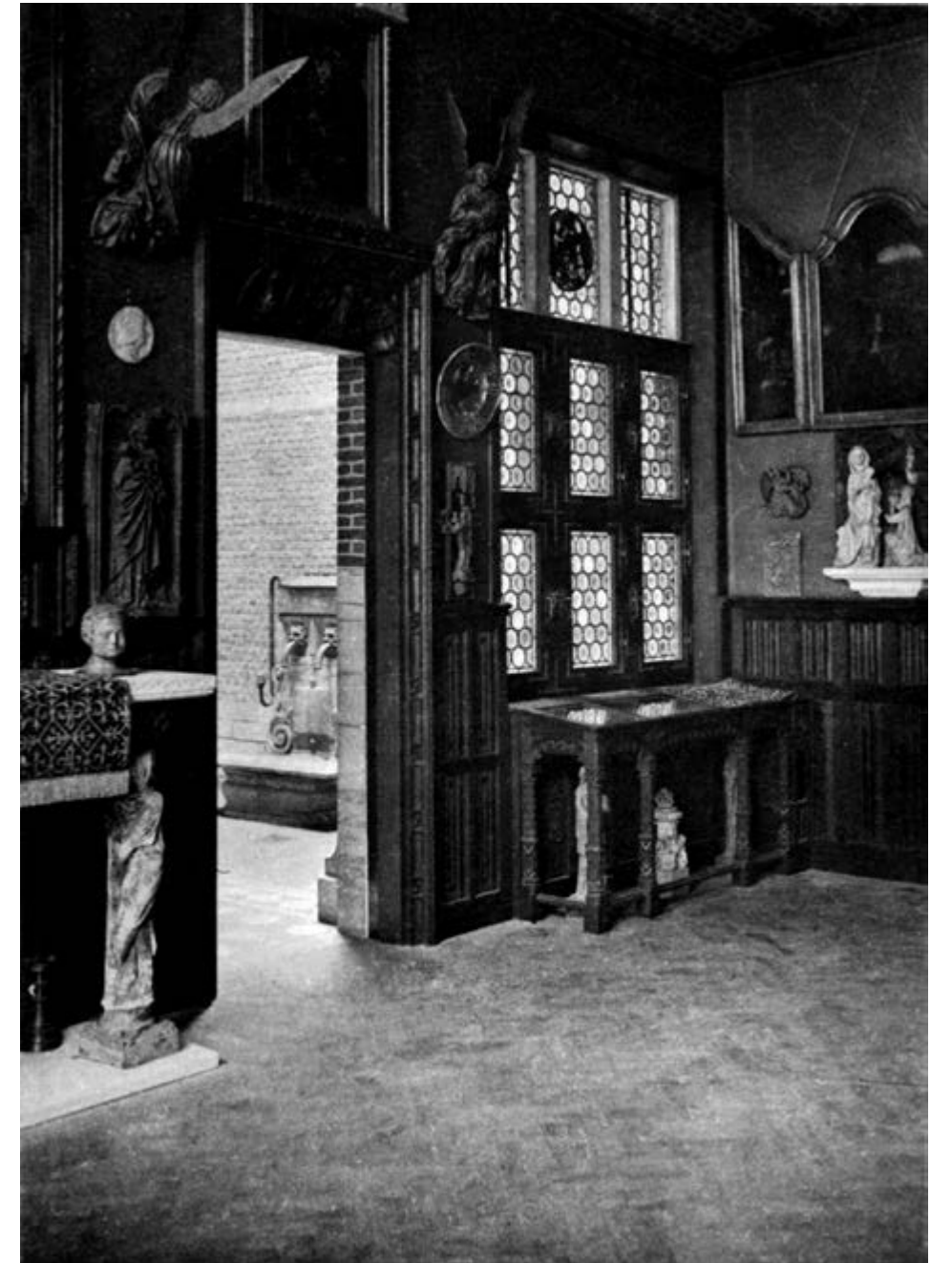


FIG. 5 Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, *Salle III* on the ground floor (today not a part of the museum anymore), First half of the twentieth century, Photograph: anonymous, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent, BRKZ.TOPO.1062.E.09

incorporate any stained-glass panels. The allegedly fifteenth-century *Annunciation* was displayed in the eclectic *Salle IX* on the third floor, next to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sculptures, Baroque paintings, porcelain and metalwork, and the tapestry series of *Astrea and Celadon*.³¹ The remaining panels — the *Charlemagne*, *Allegory of Death*, *The Damned in Hell* and *The Triumph of Amor*,³² the coats of arms of Antwerp clerics and the fragments with inscriptions³³ — were spread over the windows in the upper corridor and staircase.

For the museum, Henriëtte thus devised an elaborate display concept in which the stained-glass panels alluded to their original devotional, representative and decorative function in an early-modern domestic setting. Herein, certain historical inconsistencies — such as the display of sixteenth-century stained glass within a seventeenth-century interior, completed with nineteenth-century decorative elements — were not considered as disruptive. After all, the prevailing aim was to create a historical and esthetically appealing atmosphere rather than to reconstruct an authentic historical space.

Flemish Movement and Catholic Revival. Motivations and Aims

In turn-of-the-century Antwerp, Fritz and Henriëtte Mayer van den Bergh were not the only ones attracted to stained glass and its use within historicizing interiors. In fact, in the second half of the nineteenth century Flanders experienced a revival of interest in this traditional art.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Flanders had been the center of a great production of stained glass, but in the

Baroque era the art had fallen into decline due to changing tastes. With the rise of the early Romantic Movement in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Britain, great amounts of Netherlandish stained glass were purchased by English collectors and integrated into neo-Gothic mansions and churches (Berserik and Caen 2007, xvii-xxv, Caen 2009, 331-342). With the neo-Gothic fashion, the taste for stained glass then gradually spread on the continent.³⁴ In Flanders, the interest in and the number of publications on the subject for specialist as well as lay audiences considerably increased after 1860 (f.i. Lévy 1862, Van Cauwenberghs 1891), and authors such as Herman Druyts praised especially the decorative and atmospheric qualities of stained glass (Druyts 1875, 1-2).³⁵

Another important collector of stained glass in Antwerp was the historian and archeologist Frans Claes (1860-1933). In November 1904, one month before the inauguration of the Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Claes opened his private museum *De Gulden Spoor* (*The Golden Spur*) in the Sint-Vincentiusstraat (Denucé et al. 1932, 168, Müller 2013, 27-28). Next to his extensive collection of archeological and art objects related to the history of Flemish guild life, Claes owned a number of stained-glass panels. As in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum, these were integrated into the museum's period rooms. The windows in the historicizing *Guild Halls* on the ground floor, for example, incorporated several nineteenth-century stained-glass panels with moralizing images and inscriptions in vernacular borrowed from Jacob Cats' famous seventeenth-century emblem books. Claes, whose taste was strongly coined by the Flemish movement, certainly preferred the moralistic imagery and vernacular

³¹ Cat. no. 43.

³² Cat. nos. 15, 20, 21, 27.

³³ Cat. nos. 9, 10, 12-14, 16, 28, 30-32, 39-42. The majority of the panels originally displayed in the corridor and staircase retained their original locations until today.

³⁴ Other collectors of stained glass in nineteenth-century Flanders were f.i. Jean d'Huyvetter (1770-1833) from Ghent, the architect Louis Minard (1801-1875) from Ghent and the artist Walter Vaes (1882-1958) from Antwerp.

³⁵ Van Cauwenberghs' treatise on the history of glass painting was also published in the Antwerp periodical *De Vlaamsche School* in 1878 and thus certainly known to a broader, art-interested public.



FIG. 7 *Saint Agnes of Rome*, Low Countries or Germany (?), Mid-15th century, Ø 18,6 cm, inv. no. 632, Photograph: Beeldarchief Collectie Antwerpen, © Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp



FIG. 6 Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, *Vestibule*, First half of the twentieth century, Photograph: anonymous, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent, BRKZ. TOPO.1062.E.04



FIG. 8 Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, *Salle V (the Library)* on the second floor, seen from *Salle VI (La Grande Salle)*, First half of the twentieth century, Photograph: anonymous, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent, BRKZ. TOPO.1062.E.14

texts for ideological purposes. The panels moreover formed an ideal frame for the meetings of several flamingant cultural societies that regularly took place in *De Gulden Spoor*, of many of which Claes was a leading member: the *Vlaamsche Oudheidkundige Kring (Flemish Archeological Circle)*, *Antwerpsch Oudheidkundig Genootschap (Antwerp Archeological Society)*, *De Club der XII*, the artists' circle *De Scalden* and *De Kunst in het Openbaar Leven (The Art in the Public Life)*, an association that promoted the conservation of historical buildings in Antwerp. In Claes' museum, stained glass played a meaningful role in the creation of a particular atmosphere in which the totality — “arts, customs, language and religion” — mirrored and represented the beauty of “his beloved Flemish community” (Denucé et al. 1932, 10-11).³⁶

Fritz Mayer van den Bergh and Frans Claes certainly shared the same interests and moved in similar social and cultural circles. Mayer van den Bergh was for instance an honorary member of *De Scalden* since the group's foundation in 1889, and he and his mother patronized many of its members, among which Frans Proost.³⁷ In 1894 Fritz and Henriëtte were actively involved in the organization of the Antwerp World Fair for which the sixteenth-century city center *Oud Antwerpen (Old Antwerp)* was reconstructed (de Coo 1979, 15-16), and in 1897 he joined *De Kunst in het Openbaar Leven*, which had emerged out of the 1894 event. The collector's sympathy with the Flemish movement is moreover apparent from his only publication, a book with translations of German legends from the Rhine area into Dutch, lavishly illustrated by yet another *Scalden*-artist, Edmond Van Offel (de Coo 1968).

Besides the flamingant sympathies, religious motivations were a similar — if not stronger — driving force in the shaping of the Mayer van den Bergh's socio-cultural ideals and artistic taste. In contrast to Claes, Mayer van den Bergh had a strong preference for stained glass representing religious subject matters such as Saints, biblical scenes and allegories of Catholic virtues.

The first Board of Trustees that managed the museum after the collector's death — summoned by Henriëtte and consisting of a group of close friends of the family — can function as an indicator of the Mayer van den Bergh's political and religious ideals. The museum's first director was the lawyer and Catholic politician August Delbeke (1853-1921). Acquainted with Henriëtte's father Jean van den Bergh from the Antwerp Meeting Party and one of his followers in the provincial council, Delbeke was known for his ultramontane and conservative aspirations (Heylen 2012). Another board member was the neo-Gothic painter Jozef Janssens. The author of the collector's posthumous portrait,³⁸ Janssens was a sought-after portraitist of Catholic Churchmen and politicians and a painter of idealizing religious murals (Römer 2013). The artist was a member of the Catholic Guild of Saint Thomas and Saint Luke, the Flemish neo-Gothic artists' circle around Jean-Baptiste Bethune and Arthur Verhaegen in which particular importance was attached to appropriate and authentic restorations of medieval architecture and stained glass (Caen et al. 2008).

In line with their Catholic values, the Mayer van den Bergh family furthermore demonstrated a great social responsibility and charitable commitment. Fritz was appointed a knight of

³⁶ “Een warme liefde voor eigen schoon zweeft in de atmosfeer van het machtige huis, om 't even of het gaat om de kunst, de zeden, de taal of den godsdienst van zijn vóór alles geliefde Vlaamsche gemeenschap.”

³⁷ Cat. no. 44.

³⁸ Jozef Janssens, *Portrait of Fritz Mayer van den Bergh*, 1901, Oil on Canvas, inv. no. 1871.2.

Malta in 1901 (de Coo 1979, 109). After his death, Henriëtte founded, in addition to the museum, several charitable institutions, among which the *Sint-Henricusstichting* and the *Sint-Fredericusgesticht* (*Saint Henry-* and *Saint Frederic Foundations*) for the care of the injured and the elderly, both named after Fritz' titular Saints (Baisier and Müller 2013, 157).³⁹

Just as Henriëtte's social projects, the establishment of the museum — equally dedicated to her beloved son — can thus also be understood as an act of philanthropy, reflecting the family's religious ideals and values as well as their socio-cultural involvement.

Conclusion

Fritz and Henriëtte Mayer van den Bergh collected and arranged stained glass with the same care as other objects of fine and applied art. For his acquisitions Fritz could draw on an extensive national and international network. He always paid great attention to the objects' authenticity and state of conservation. Despite his systematic approach, he most likely considered the stained-glass panels not so much as objects of (art) historical inquiry (as for instance his paintings), but rather as decorative elements. Henriëtte integrated the stained-glass collection into the museum display to enhance the historicizing atmosphere of the exhibition rooms.

The Mayer van den Bergh's cultural, artistic and charitable activities as well as their social networks all point to the preeminent role that the Catholic ideals in the sense of the neo-Gothic philosophy played in the family's self-understanding. This mindset informed Fritz' collecting

activity and Henriëtte's decisions concerning the installation of the museum, in which the historicizing (re-)construction of an ideal past was combined with a fervent plea for a revival of the Roman Catholic values and virtues. In the museum, decorative and ideological functions did not contradict, but instead complement one another in the pursuit of the total work of art. The museum's holdings of stained glass can thus exemplarily stand for the collection as a whole, mirroring Fritz' and Henriëtte's romantic ideals, neo-Gothic philosophy and Catholic values in their artistic taste, method of collecting and display strategies.

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³⁹ The collector's birth name was Fredericus Henricus Godfridus Emil Constant Mayer.

Appendix

Catalogue

1. *Annunciation*, France, 13th century, Ø 40 cm, inv. no. 631, Provenance: acquired in 1898 with the collection Carlo Micheli, Paris. Notre Dame de Paris, Southern Rose Window.
2. *Saint Agnes of Rome*, Low Countries or Germany (?), Mid-15th century, Ø 18,6 cm, inv. no. 632, Provenance: unknown.
3. *Two boys and two girls playing*, Southern Low Countries, 15th century (?), Ø 22,5 cm, inv. no. 633, Provenance: acquired in 1895 from de Lannoy, Paris.
4. *Calvary*, Southern Low Countries, Early 16th century, Ø 21,3 cm, inv. no. 634, Provenance: unknown.
5. *Coat of arms with three birds*, Low Countries, Late 15th – early 16th century, Ø 21,7 cm, inv. no. 635, Provenance: unknown.
6. *Nativity*, Southern Low Countries, Early 16th century, Ø 20,3 cm, inv. no. 636, Provenance: acquired in 1894 from the auction Camille Van Langenhove-Biebuyck, Aalst (lot. no. 539).
7. *Sheltering strangers (one of the Seven Acts of Mercy)*, Low Countries, Late 15th – early 16th century, Ø 20,9 cm, inv. no. 637, Provenance: acquired in 1885 from the auction Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Antwerp (Vol. VIII, lot. no. 686-3).
8. *Calvary*, Southern Low Countries, 15th century, 41,5 x 32 cm, inv. no. 643, Provenance: unknown.
9. *Two angels holding the coat of arms of Balthazar Cruyt*, Southern Low Countries, Mid-17th century, Ø 22,7 cm, inv. no. 638, Provenance: acquired in 1885 from the auction Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Antwerp (Vol. VIII, lot. no. 681-2 or 686-4). Former convent of the Norbertine nuns, Antwerp (founded by Balthazar Cruyt in 1649).
10. *Two angels holding the insignia and motto of abbot Marcus Cruyt*, Inscription: *SPES MEA I DNO M C*, Southern Low Countries, Mid-16th century, Ø 22,8 cm, inv. no. 639, Provenance: acquired in 1885 from the auction Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Antwerp (Vol. VIII, lot. no. 682-3).
11. *Daniel opposes the verdict against Suzanna*, Southern Low Countries, Pseudo Ortkens workshop, Early 16th century, 18 x 19,7 cm (oval), inv. no. 645, Provenance: acquired in 1894 from the auction Camille Van Langenhove-Biebuyck, Aalst (lot. no. 539).
12. *Coat of arms with three pentagrams*, Southern Low Countries, 18th or 19th century (?), Ø 24,8 cm, inv. no. 641, Provenance: acquired in 1885 from the auction Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Antwerp (Vol. VIII, lot. no. 681-5).
13. *Coat of arms of bishop Gaspar Nemius*, Inscription: *1636 ATTENDE TIBI ET DOCTRINAE*, Southern Low Countries, Antwerp, 1636, Ø 25,8 cm, with border 29,7 cm, inv. no. 642, Provenance: acquired in 1885 from the auction Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Antwerp (Vol. VIII, lot. no. 686-1).
14. *Coat of arms with three eagles, a rose and a bishop's staff*, Southern Low Countries, 16th century, Ø 21,9 cm, inv. no. 644, Provenance: unknown.
15. *Charlemagne with a kneeling male donor*, Southern Low Countries, First half of the 16th century, Ø 21,2 cm, inv. no. 646, Provenance: unknown.
16. *Fragment with inscription in Gothic letters in a cartouche: TE LISTRIS EEN CREPEL IS GHENESEN. VA[N] PAULUS*

- DES WOL DAT VOLCK MYEDS DESEN. HEER GODLYCK EEN HEBBEN GHEDAEN. MAER PAULUS KEER DE DOER SYN VOERMAEN. 1549, Southern Low Countries, 1549, 10,5 x 13,5 cm, inv. no. 647, Provenance: unknown.*
17. *So-called "Wappenscheibe" of Obervogt der Reichenau Marx (Markus) Empser, Inscription: MARX EMPSER DIESER ZEIT OBERVOGT IN DER REICHENOW 1564, Switzerland or Germany, 1564, 36,5 x 26 cm, inv. no. 648, Provenance: acquired in 1898 with the collection Carlo Micheli, Paris. 1839 from the collection Debruge-Duménil, Paris.*
18. *Coat of arms of Andareas von Salis, Inscription: 1587 · ANDAREAS VON SALIS · BURGER · ZU · KUR, Switzerland, Chur (?), 1587, Ø 14 cm, inv. no. 649, Provenance: unknown.*
19. *Saint Barbara with a kneeling female donor, Inscription: S BARBARA ORA PRO NOBIS, Southern Low Countries, Leuven, early 16th century, Ø 22,5 cm, inv. no. 650, Provenance: acquired in 1891 from the rectory of Herk-de-Stad through the intermediary Germain Jaminé, Hasselt.*
20. *Personification of Death, Southern Low Countries, early 16th century, Ø 22,3 cm, inv. no. 651, Provenance: unknown.*
21. *The Damned in Hell, Southern Low Countries, Late 15th – early 16th century, Ø 22,4 cm, inv. no. 652, Provenance: unknown.*
22. *Saint Cornelius with a kneeling male donor, Southern Low Countries, Leuven (?), early 16th century, Ø 22,3 cm, inv. no. 653, Provenance: acquired in 1891 from Henri Van Severen, Sint-Niklaas.*
23. *Allegory of Patience, Inscription: SATAN; PATIENTIA; MORS; NIDICHEYT; IO BAPTISTA, Southern Low Countries, First half of the 16th century, Ø 20,2 cm, inv. no. 654, Provenance: unknown.*
24. *So-called "Bauernscheibe", Inscription: JACOB HAGGS AMAN ZUE SULG UND DOROTHEA DÖNERIN SEIN ELICHE HAUSFRAW 1625, Switzerland, 1625, 31 x 20,5 cm, inv. no. 655, Provenance: unknown.*
25. *Saint Margaret of Antioch, Southern Low Countries, First half of the 16th century, Ø 22,4 cm, inv. no. 656, Provenance: unknown.*
26. *Female figure or Saint Mary Magdalene, Southern Low Countries or France (?), First half of the 16th century, Ø 21,9 cm, inv. no. 657, Provenance: acquired in 1891 from de Lannoy, Paris.*
27. *Triumph of Amor, Southern Low Countries, First half of the 16th century, Ø 23 cm, inv. no. 658, Provenance: unknown.*
28. *Fragment with inscription: D, PEETRVS ANCHEMANT, CANONIC S, MICHAELIS ORD PRAEMONSTRAT PERSONA IN DEOERNE A° 1611, Southern Low Countries, 1611, 15 x 13 cm, inv. no. 659, Provenance: acquired in 1885 from the auction Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Antwerp (Vol. VIII, lot. no. 681-4). Former church of Saint Michael or abbey of Saint Michael, Antwerp.*
29. *So-called "Wappenscheibe" of Thomas von Schauenstein, Inscription: THOMAS VON SCHAUWENSTEIN VNND EHREN VELS ZU HALDENSTEIN FREYHERR UNND RITTER A° 1614, Switzerland, Felix Schärer (Zurich), 1614, 44 x 33,5 cm, inv. no. 660, Provenance: acquired in 1899 from Jacob Storz, Chur.*
30. *Woman Smoking, Low Countries, 17th century, 13,1 x 8,3 cm, inv. no. 661, Provenance: acquired in 1894*

- from the auction Camille Van Langenhove-Biebuyck, Aalst (lot. no. 539).
- 31.** *Man Smoking*, Low Countries, 17th century, 12,9 x 7,3 cm, inv. no. 662, Provenance: acquired in 1894 from the auction Camille Van Langenhove-Biebuyck, Aalst (lot. no. 539).
- 32.** *Fragment with inscription in a cartouche: JOANNES LOYENS ENDE MARGRIT VAN DEN ENDT SYN HUYSVROU DAT 1666*, Southern Low Countries, 1666, 18,5 x 15,5 cm, inv. no. 663, Provenance: acquired in 1894 from the auction Camille Van Langenhove-Biebuyck, Aalst (lot. no. 539).
- 33.** *Tobias' return*, Southern Low Countries, Mid-16th century, 24 x 19,4 cm, inv. no. 664, Provenance: unknown.
- 34.** *Saint John the Evangelist*, Southern Low Countries, First half of the 16th century, Ø 25,8 cm, inv. no. 665, Provenance: unknown.
- 35.** *Saint Martin*, Inscription: *MERTINS DE MVNCK E. IACOPS A° 1643*, Southern Low Countries, after Jan van der Straet/Johannes Stradanus, 1643, 26,8 x 19,8 cm (oval), inv. no. 666, Provenance: unknown.
- 36.** *So-called "Standesscheibe von Glarus"*, Inscription: *1596*, Switzerland, 1596, 31,5 x 22 cm, inv. no. 667, Provenance: unknown.
- 37.** *Christ's Sermon on the Mount*, Southern Low Countries, Late 16th – early 17th century, 18,4 x 14,3 cm (rectangular with rounded top), inv. no. 668, Provenance: acquired in 1885 from the auction Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Antwerp (Vol. VIII, lot. no. 682-5).
- 38.** *Fragment from a descent from the cross: Saint Joseph of Arimathea*, Southern Low Countries, circle of Bernard van Orley (?), First half of the 16th century, 15,8 x 6 cm, inv. no. 669, Provenance: acquired in 1885 from the auction Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Antwerp (Vol. VIII, lot. no. 682-6).
- 39.** *Fragment with inscription in Gothic letters: 1463 WILL VAN BERG WYN IN VLAS... 1464 JAN DE BEENHO... PEET CLAES*, Southern Low Countries, 1464, 17 x 17 cm, inv. no. 1292, Provenance: unknown.
- 40.** *Fragment with inscription: 1496 JAN VA BERGE JAN DE CONINCK 1497 JAN DE SCHOT WILLEM DE VOS*, Southern Low Countries, 1496-1497, 10 x 17 cm, inv. no. 1293, Provenance: unknown.
- 41.** *Fragment with the pedestal of a Renaissance column*, Southern Low Countries, 16th century, 17,5 x 13,5 cm, inv. no. 1294, Provenance: unknown.
- 42.** *Two angels holding the coat of arms of Balthazar Cruyt*, Southern Low Countries, Mid-17th century, Ø 22,6 cm, inv. no. 1295, Provenance: acquired in 1885 from the auction Van der Straelen-Moons-Van Leries, Antwerp (Vol. VIII, lot. no. 681-2 or 686-4). Former convent of the Norbertine nuns, Antwerp (founded by Balthazar Cruyt in 1649).
- 43.** *Annunciation*, Southern Low Countries (?), after Albrecht Bouts, 19th century, 22,2 x 15,1 cm, inv. no. 1360, Provenance: acquired in 1892 from François van Waegeningh.
- 44.** *Coat of arms of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke*, Inscription: *WT JONSTEN VERSAEMT*, Southern Low Countries, Frans Proost (Antwerp), Early 20th century, 114,5 x 111,5 cm, inv. no. 1951, Provenance: Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp.

ARCHIVAL RESOURCES

ANTWERP, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Historisch Archief, *Aankoopboek*.
ANTWERP, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Historisch Archief, *Stukken betreffende de collectievorming*.

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THE ASSEMBLAGE OF A DISTINCT GLASS COLLECTION

THE CREATION AND DISPLAY OF THE GLASS AND STAINED-GLASS COLLECTION OF FERDINAND II OF PORTUGAL

ABSTRACT

Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1816 1885), king-consort of Portugal from 1836, assembled a large collection of glass and stained glass in his two major residences: the Necessidades Palace, in Lisbon, and Pena Palace, in Sintra. The assemblage exposes the primordial need to highlight the importance of remembering the past, hence revealing the collector's integration in contemporary preservationist culture. Nonetheless, the choice of the objects that should be gathered is also motivated by a certain common trend and sensibility of his time. This paper focus on these two aspects of the collection, while exploring its formation and display and comparing it to other important 19th century glass collections.

KEYWORDS

FERDINAND OF SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA | 19TH CENTURY PRESERVATIONIST CULTURE | GLASS OBJECTS | STAINED-GLASS | COLLECTING PRACTICES.

RESUMO

Fernando de Saxe-Coburgo-Gota (1816 1885), Rei-Consorte de Portugal a partir de 1836, reuniu uma grande coleção de vidro e vitrais nas suas duas residências principais: o Palácio das Necessidades, em Lisboa, e o Palácio da Pena, em Sintra. A formação da referida coleção expõe a necessidade primordial de destacar a importância de recordar o passado, revelando, portanto, a integração do colecionador na cultura preservacionista sua contemporânea. Todavia, a escolha dos objetos recolhidos também é motivada por uma certa tendência comum e por uma sensibilidade da época. O tema deste artigo foca estes dois aspetos da coleção, ao explorar a sua formação e exibição, e comparando-a com outras importantes coleções de vidro do século XIX.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

FERNANDO DE SAXE-COBURGO E GOTA | CULTURA PRESERVACIONISTA DO SÉCULO XIX | OBJECTOS DE VIDRO | VITRAL | PRÁTICAS COLECCIONISTAS

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I N D E X



E D I T O R I A L



I N T E R V I E W



D O S S I E R



P R I N T

Introduction

Scattered and forgotten for decades, the collection of stained-glass and glass objects of Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1816-1885) has only recently been rescued from obscurity¹. It is however a remarkable testimony of 19th century collecting practices for this type of artistic works. By combining historical and contemporary objects, the assemblage exposes, on the one hand, the central need to highlight the importance of remembering the past. Hence it unveils the collector's integration in contemporary preservationist culture, as it was being developed in Germany since the end of the previous century². Nonetheless, on the other hand, the collection is also shaped by a certain common trend that influences the decision over the choice of the objects that should be gathered. Ultimately, when looking at 19th century glass and stained-glass collections, one remarks that the collected objects tell more about the collector than of the context from where they had been extracted. The collection of Ferdinand is revealing of his Germanic background, his family and social relations, as well as his new social/political role in Portugal.

Ferdinand collecting himself

Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1816-1885) became King Ferdinand II of Portugal after marrying Queen Maria II (1819-1853) and fathering a male heir in 1837. Despite coming from a family who took leading governmental roles in 19th century Europe, his preparation for the post as well as his personal inclination towards political affairs have been questioned (Leitão 1940, 60-64; Lopes 2013, 78-79, 133-134).

In contrast, his interest in collecting and supporting the arts has been widely acknowledged as his major contribution to Portuguese society (Teixeira 1986, 184-246, 253-301). Despite the validity of the discussion, Ferdinand did introduced in Portugal the preservationist ideas that were being developed in German contexts, not only by collecting historical objects, but also by stimulating the restoration of historical buildings, supporting the organization of exhibitions and sponsoring artistic and archaeological associations³.

The first glimpse of Ferdinand's collecting practices can be seen in Pena National Palace. After buying the ruins of a 16th century monastery on the hills of Sintra in 1838, Ferdinand promptly decided to adapt and enlarge the existent architectural structure for a summer residence. Contrary to other revival palaces built in the beginning of the century, such as Löwenburg, Stolzenfels or even Babelsberg, the architectural references that were used for Pena do not lie solely on a national past. It is a collection of architectural and ornamental elements which relate more to the collector's biography than to the search of a historical ideal. There are, of course, multiple references to the past (both German and Portuguese), especially medieval imaginary, such as the Wall, the Drawbridge, the Royal Tower or the Knight's Hall, but also Manueline elements, such as armillary spheres, or Moorish wall decoration. However, Pena Palace also integrates other references, namely at the Stalls, which derive from an Indian pavilion⁴, and at the main entrance, referring to a type of entrance gate common in English architecture, such as the one of Hampton Court Palace. Ferdinand was then collecting references from places that were somehow related to him or to the post he then

¹ In 2010 the company *Parques de Sintra – Monte da Lua SA*, responsible for the management of Pena National Palace, and the *VICARTE* research unit established a protocol for the restoration and study of the stained-glass and glass collection of Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. In 2011, the group of stained-glass panels that had been removed from Necessidades Palace in Lisbon in the first half of the 20th century were displayed for the public for the first time.

² For more on preservationist culture and the development of historical consciousness during the 19th century there is the study conducted by Susan A. Crane (Crane 2000).

³ Ferdinand II was behind the first major restoration projects of the monasteries of Batalha, Alcobaça and Tomar, he supported the *Sociedade Arqueológica Lusitana* from 1849 and the *Real Associação dos Arquitectos e Arqueólogos*, presided over the *Congresso Literário e Antropológico* in 1880 and the Committee of Honour of the *Exposição de Arte Ornamental* in 1882 (Teixeira 1986, 253-301).

⁴ The authors would like to thank António Nunes Pereira for drawing our attention to this reference.

occupied: Germanic genealogy and upbringing, the head of State of the Portuguese empire and his family relations to the new royal house of England⁵. Pena Palace reveals the collector's identity and glass was to become an intrinsic part of this discourse.

The stained-glass window commissioned by Ferdinand for the 16th century chapel of Pena Palace is probably the most rhetorical set of the entire collection **[FIG. 1]**. The panes, produced by the Nuremberg workshop of the Kellner around 1840-1841 (Martinho and Vilarigues 2011, 13; Teixeira 1986, 310-311) and intended to be placed where in the 16th century a stained-glass window once stood, depict key figures related to the memory of the place: Our Lady of Pena (whose worship at the site dates back to the Middle Ages), Saint George (one of the patrons of Portugal), King Manuel I (who commissioned the construction of the monastery) and Vasco da Gama (whose second return from India had motivated the construction of the monastery) alongside the coats of arms of Portugal, Saxony, the Cross of the military order of Christ and the armillary sphere (the latter two belonging to the iconography of the Portuguese sea voyages). The site-specific design of the window discloses significant features of the collecting practices of the King. First, it directly refers to the acquisition and restoration of the ruin by Ferdinand, therefore unveiling his preservationist attitude. Second, it uses a medium — stained-glass — with a feeble tradition in Portugal, but with an enduring existence in Central European contexts, therefore referring to the King's background. And finally, it integrates references to the historical memory of the nation that he adopted through marriage. The depiction of Portuguese historical

figures in his new residence enclosures Ferdinand within the ancestors of the Portuguese royal family. Stained-glass thus materializes the appropriation by the collector of both the ruin and its history.

Projecting a room for Pena Palace

Although never undertaken, the project for the Stag Room at Pena Palace reveals the central role that glass was to play in this building⁶. Designed by Julius Eugen Rühl in ca.1855, the project for the Stag Room at Pena Palace consists of a Knight's Hall (*Rittersaal*) combined with a Hunting Room (*Hirschsaaal*), which were room types that were becoming essential in revival projects of the beginning of the 19th century in Germany **[FIG. 2]**. Löweburg, Stolzenfels, Erbach palaces as well as the Veste Coburg had their *Ritter-* and/or *Hirschsaaalen*, but the combining of the two typologies in a single room is quite uncommon. Nonetheless, both converge towards chivalrous ideals. On the one hand, the *Rittersaal* with its display of armory and heraldry (both as flags and stained-glass) in a gothic revival structure report to the warrior function of medieval knights. On the other hand, the *Hirschsaaal* with its heads of stags recall that hunting became one of the main attributes of nobility during the early modern age until the dawn of the 19th century⁷, therefore replacing the previous bellicose activity. By combining these two aspects, the project reveals an awareness of an ideal of knighthood and nobility which is about to be lost and that must be preserved. Susan A. Crane, who has studied the connections between the development of a historical consciousness in early 19th century Germany and collecting practices, stated that the “the representation

⁵ Ferdinand was a first cousin to both Queen Victoria and Prince Albert and, in March 1836, during his voyage to Lisbon, Ferdinand spent a week in London (Lopes 2013, 66-68).

⁶ It is still unclear why the room was not executed. The death of the Queen in 1853, the subsequent investment on works on other parts of the palace (Teixeira 1986, 320) and a growing awareness that too much money was being spent in the construction (Lopes 2013, 194) were probably the strongest arguments.

⁷ Bénédicte Pradié-Ottinger refers to hunting as of the attributes of power, because “La vénerie repose sur un rituel qui converge vers le détenteur du pouvoir: au Moyen âge le seigneur, sous l’Ancien Régime le roi, à l’époque républicaine le maître d’équipage” (Pradié-Ottinger 2002, 44-45, 135, 143).



FIG. 1 Window of the Chapel of Pena
National Palace, Sintra — © PSML/L.Pavão



FIG. 2 Project for the Stag Room of Pena Palace, Eugen Rühl, ca. 1855
— © PSML/EMIGUS

Stolzenfels, on the other hand, presents a distinguishable element that would become fundamental to the Sintra project. In a watercolour of the *Stolzenfels Rittersaal* by Caspar Scheuren, dated from 1845⁹, one can see, at the far end of the room, a cupboard where a group of glass objects is displayed. In Rühl's project, the same kind of objects takes pride of place in the centre of the room. Glass objects are, in fact, of paramount significance to the idea of German identity. As it has been pointed out by Axel von Saldern:

“the nineteenth century, and in particular its last third, witnessed a revival of ideas and costumes that were supposed to recall to German minds the glory and the colorful pageantry of the past, its days of joyous turbulences and knighthood, of Imperial reign and heavy drinking. Hardly any other object was more apt to symbolize this Teutonic splendor than the giant Humpen¹⁰, decorated all over in brilliant polychrome enamel and displaying the symbols of the «Reich», genre scenes of robust character, or armorial devices proudly representing distinguished families.” (Saldern 1965, 230)

The use of glass and stained-glass in the decoration of the Stag Room would therefore reveal the collector's identity, although it is not clear if Ferdinand intended to report to a certain class identity rooted on ancient Teutonic families or, instead, he was looking for participating in the development of a historical consciousness of his original *Vaterland*¹¹. From one point of view, this identity question could have been the motive that led Ferdinand II to gather a wide collection of glass and stained-glass, nonetheless there are other factors

of communal or ethnic history through historical objects was [...] taking the role of memorializing a collective consciousness of history that compensated for the sense of the loss of the past” (Crane 2000, 37). As we shall see, glass will play a central role within these revival projects, which may be explained by the willingness of the collector to materialize a collective consciousness of history.

The project for the Stag Room is, in fact, indebted to German precedents, such as the examples presented above, of which two deserve a special reference. There are unavoidable similarities between Rühl's project and the *Rittersaal* of the Erbach Castle⁸. In both cases, openings with stained-glass alternate with groups of armors. Stained-glass was used as a reference to medieval architecture and to the importance of family coats of arms to feudal societies.

⁸ Uwe Gast published a couple of watercolours of the room in his article “*Glasmalerei-Sammlungen um 1750-1850 – Formen und Funktionen*” (Ayers et al 2012, 13-26).

⁹ “Der Rittersaal der Burg Stolzenfels mit zahlreichen Figuren, nach 1845”, Rheinische Landesbibliothek, accessed on June 30, 2014, <http://www.dilibri.de/rlb/content/pageview/19360>.

¹⁰ Humpen is a type of glass tankard with enameled decoration mostly produced between 16th and 18th centuries in the Holy Roman Empire.

¹¹ The authors would like to thank Prof. Susan A. Crane for drawing our attention to the complex relation between class heritage and national identity during the 19th century.

that must be taken into consideration. In fact, the project for the Stag Room was never undertaken and the collections that were gathered seem to take independent routes.

The stained-glass collection

Comprising more than 400 items (including religious and armorial panes, *Bierscheiben*, pieces of glass with figurative decoration and small fragments of larger panels), Ferdinand's collection of stained-glass is a singularity within the Portuguese territory, where the use of this material has little tradition. Despite being the most important collection of its kind in the country, the circumstances in which it arrived in Portugal are still unclear. Apart from the commission of the window for the chapel in 1840-1841 and the acquisition of three pieces of stained-glass — through the mediation of Moritz Meyer in Dresden in 1864¹² —, no information about the rest of the collection is known. There are, however, references to the acquisition of old glass in Brunswick in 1852¹³ and to the customs duties paid in 1863¹⁴ and 1864¹⁵ for the arrival of glass work (*vidro em obra*) in Lisbon, but these references are too vague in order to be attributed to stained-glass.

There is also no evidence that the objects that were assembled were intended for the Stag Room. The first unquestionable news about the stained-glass collection only dates to the mid-1860's, whereas the project for Stag Room dates back to ca.1855. Between 1853 and 1861, Ferdinand's life was affected by multiple personal events that might have weakened the preservationist impetus of earlier projects. In fact, the death of Queen Maria II in 1853 and of his elder son, King Pedro V, in 1861, and the

consequent secundarization of his role in the state protocol may suggest a collecting attitude less concerned with rhetorical projects, but more centralized in connoisseurship. In fact, the first architectural designs for Pena, where references to German, Portuguese and Moresque iconic buildings are so evident, give way to more discrete projects, such as the refurbishment of this palace in the 1860's, when most of the furniture was acquired at a shop in Lisbon, or the construction of a pseudo-Alpine chalet as a refuge for himself and his second wife, the *mezzosoprano* Elise Hensler (1836-1929).

The historical stained-glass collection was eventually divided by the two main residences of the King. At the Necessidades Palace, in Lisbon, a selection of the oldest objects was installed around 1864 to decorate three windows on the King's dining room (Teixeira 1986, 197)¹⁶, being symmetrical display of the panes the only guideline of the composition. The central window was composed of three columns of individual panes separated by two bars of small pieces of coloured glass, while the side windows were composed of three horizontal levels, each comprising a full length pane and a side bar of small *Bierscheibe* [FIG. 3]. The transom windows were filled with armorial panes, being the empty spaces occupied by pieces of coloured glass. This patchwork effect was also used at Pena Palace, where panes from the 16th to the 19th century were put on the windows of the Great Hall¹⁷, possibly during the 1860's when a major campaign of refurbishment of the room was conducted¹⁸. Like in Lisbon, the panes were tightly organized and coloured glass was used in abundance, possibly to enhance the colours of the objects [FIG. 4].

¹² There is a receipt for the acquisition of “2 Stück sehr schöne alte Glasfenster, Scheiben in den prachtvollsten bunten Farben” in AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, *Livro de Documentos de Despeza*, Setembro 1864.

¹³ AHCB, Núcleo D. Fernando, *Livro de Documentos de Despeza*, Junho 1853.

¹⁴ “Nota dos direitos e mais despesas relativas aos objectos abaixo declarados, despachados neste Alfandega com destino para Sua Magestade ElRei o Senhor D. Fernando: (...) 1863.Outubro.13 — 9 Caixas vindas de Gibraltar pela Fragata de Guerra Italiana “Maria Adelaide” contendo 8 Placas / vidro em obras/ pezando 48 Kilos. Dto 1K: 160 = 7\$680(...)” in AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, *Livro de Documentos de Despeza*, Janeiro 1864.

¹⁵ “Nota dos direitos e mais despesas relativas aos objectos abaixo declarados, despachados neste Alfandega com destino para Sua Magestade ElRei o Senhor D. Fernando: (...) Julho.1 — Vidro em obra 10 kilos. Dto 1K/160 = 1\$600 (...)” in AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, *Livro de Documentos de Despeza*, Novembro 1864.

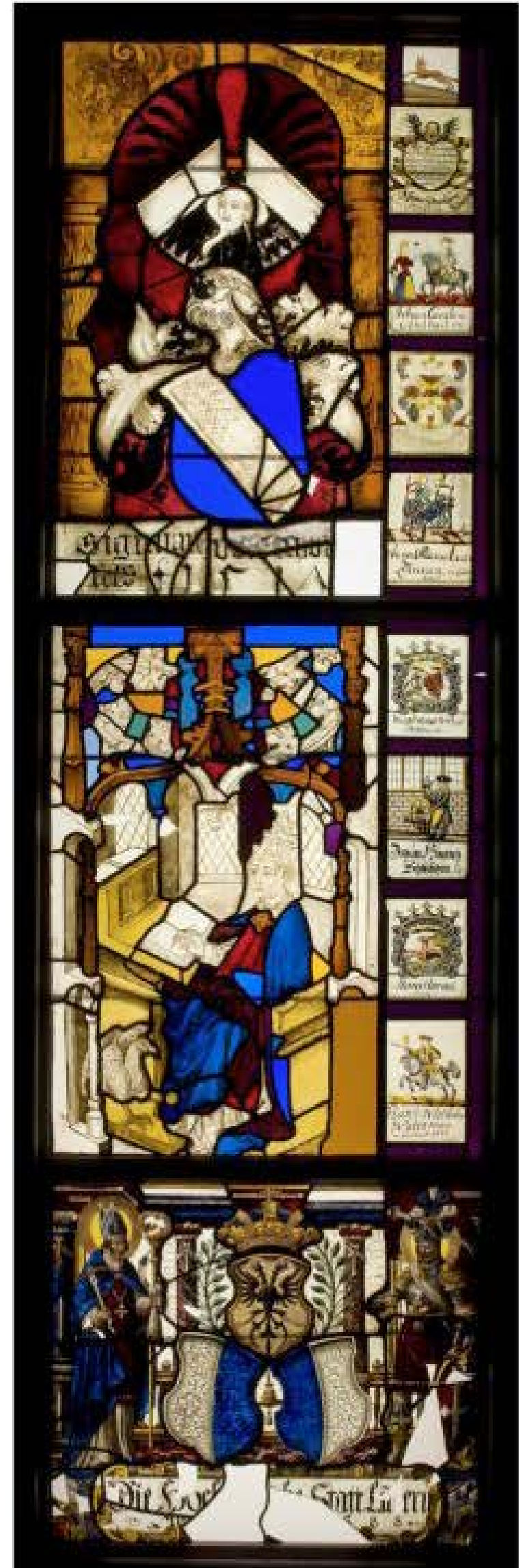
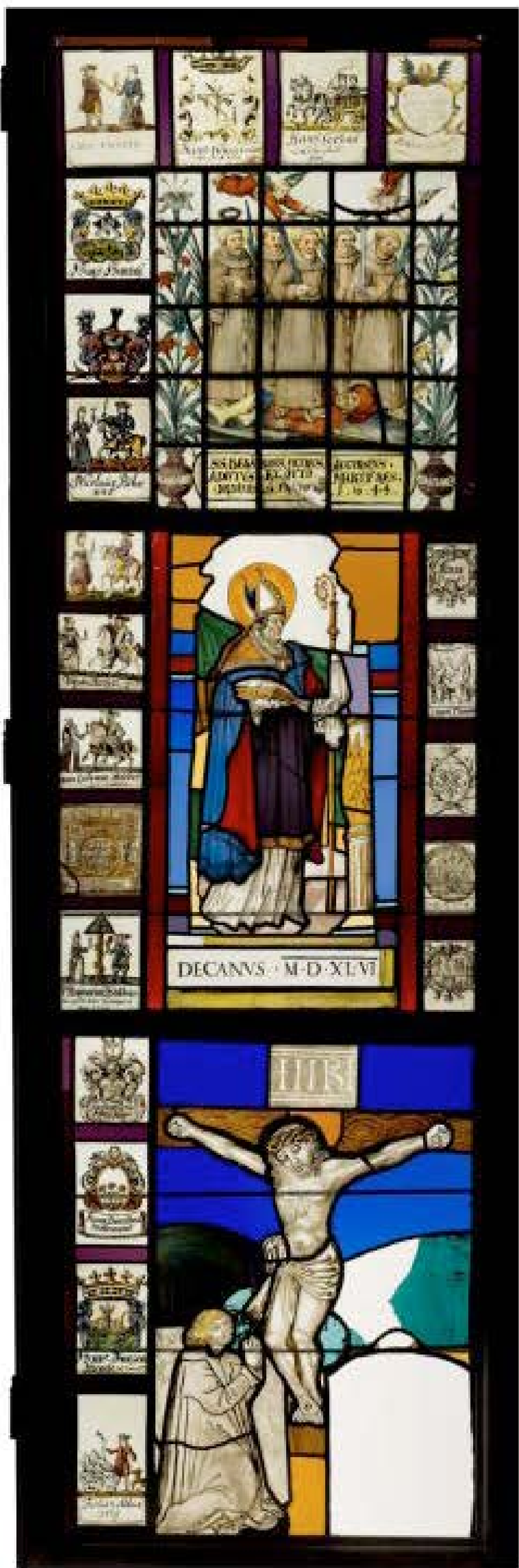
¹⁶ The set was removed during the 20th century. Today it is displayed at the Stag Room of Pena National Palace, in Sintra (Martinho and Vilarigues 2011, 13).

¹⁷ A large number of the panes used for the windows of the Great Hall are, most probably, 19th century reproductions of 17th and 18th century examples. The meaning of the concept of “authenticity” for historical objects in a 19th century collection was discussed by Crane 2000, 121-123.

¹⁸ In 1867, Ferdinand made a large acquisition in Lisbon of furniture and textiles for the decoration of the Great Hall (AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, *Livro de Contas Pagas com Recibos Separados*, maço 403).

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FIG. 3 Two pairs of window sashes from Necessidades Palace, today in Pena National Palace, Sintra — © PSML/L.Pavão





The decision of mounting stained-glass panels in the Great Hall of Pena Palace, which is the main room of the house, directly derives from German and Swiss contexts (Hediger 2010, 167-179) and no Portuguese precedent exist. In fact, it seems that at Pena the collector still has the intention of exhibiting his Central European roots. Not only was this room chosen for displaying part of the collection, but the objects themselves also contribute for this discourse. The most northwestern window of the room is almost entirely filled with revival panes depicting iconic moments of Central

European medieval history, such as *Heinrich I receiving the royal insignia*, the *Union of Kalmar*, *Alfred the Great as harpist in the Danish camp* or the *Swiss confederacy oath in Rütli* (Gaspar 2011).

The main feature of the whole collection is its chronological and thematic diversity. Despite the absence of 13th century items, there is a small but representative set of religious themes from the late Middle Ages. The oldest panel, representing Lady Agnes of Bavaria, dates back to 1314-1320 and it was part of a window from the Seligenthal monastery,

FIG. 4 The Great Hall of Pena National Palace, Sintra — © PSML/EMIGUS

in Landshut, and which today is dispersed throughout several locations, namely London and Munich¹⁹. An interesting group is the one composed by three panes from the 15th or early 16th century depicting Saint Ambrose, Saint Gregory and the Virgin of the Apocalypse which seem to have had the same origin, but which is yet unknown. From the 16th to the 18th centuries there are exemplars from the most common types produced in Switzerland, the German territory and the Low Countries, such as six *Kabinetscheiben*, twelve complete armorial representations in both quadrilateral and circular surfaces, fourteen objects representing biblical stories and allegorical themes, circa fifty small pieces of glass depicting animals or flowers and approximately one hundred and twenty *Bierscheiben*. And finally, the 19th century with the historical panes in the Great Hall of Pena Palace, as well as with many filling pieces for incomplete panes, contribute to create a very syncretic set of objects. This taste for syncretism can also be found in the composition of the collection of tridimensional glass.

The collection of tridimensional glass

As in the previous case, it is unknown when Ferdinand started to collect glass objects. The earliest known receipt dates back to 1852²⁰, but there is documentation for sixty-five glass objects acquired between 1862 and 1864²¹. The intense acquisition of objects within such a short period allows one to wonder again about the collector's motivation: could it be a desire to conclude the Stag Room or was it simply an effect of fashion? Bearing in mind that the project for the Stag Room was probably abandoned during the 1850's²², one should also note that the popularity

of collections of glass objects was spreading during the middle of the century and great collectors emerged during this period: Felix Slade (1788-1868), Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), Alfred-Émilien O'Hara, count of Nieuwerkerke (1811-1892), and Alfred, duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1844-1900), to mention just a few. The way these collectors displayed their glass objects do not seem to have any relation to the revival projects designed by Rühl or Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841)²³. Hence trying to explain Ferdinand's glass collection only through an affirmation of Germanic past is to ignore a significant trend among art collectors of the time. Although Rühl's project presents an important reference to German preservationist culture, the glass collection that the King eventually assembled is not limited to German enameled glass.

Ferdinand collected more than 200 glass objects, but the assembled pieces and the way he displayed them do seem to follow a common practice among contemporary collectors. One of the shared characteristics is the diversity of the set. Ferdinand's collection comprised Venetian, Bohemian, German, English, Iberian, and ancient Roman pieces. Another common characteristic is the isolation of glass from other artistic works. Like Ralph Bernal (Bohn 1857), Richard Wallace (Higgott 2011, 30) or Alfred of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (Netzer and Leibing 1986, 4-7), Ferdinand designated special places for his glass objects. While paintings, ceramics and silverware were scattered throughout the domestic space, glass kept its autonomy: at Pena Palace, inside a showcase in a hallway; and at the main residence in Lisbon, the Necessidades Palace, in a room entirely dedicated to this collection: the *Sala dos Vidros*, i.e. the Glass Room.

¹⁹ In 1998, Daniel Hess made a report about this panel where he identified it as part of the window of the Seligenthal monastery (Hess 1998, 1).

²⁰ In 1852 Baron von Eschwege bought lead came for the window of the chapel of Pena Palace and several pieces of old glass [*vidros antigos*] in Brunswick. It is not clear if these *vidros antigos* refer to stained-glass or tridimensional objects (AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: *Livro de documentos de despesas*. Junho de 1853).

²¹ In the Archive of the Personal Office of the King: AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: *Livros de documentos de despesas*. Setembro, Outubro e Dezembro 1862, Fevereiro e Abril 1863, Janeiro, Setembro e Novembro 1864; *Documentos Avulsos*, maço 402 e envelope 1863-1867, 5ª Sala; *Contas e documentos de Sua Magestade a Países Estrangeiros*, maço 3.

²² See note 6.

²³ More information about the displays created by Nieuwerkerke are available in Higgott 2011, 23-27.



FIG. 5 Humpen, Germany, 19th century, PNP256 — © PSML/L.Pavão

The final common feature is the way the objects were displayed. Despite the absence of visual records from the Glass Room at Necessidades Palace or from the showcase at Pena Palace, an 1886 description of the former survived. The display seems to follow a geometrical order organized according to symmetry and the sizes of the objects, instead of concerns with production or artistic style. Therefore, on one of the top shelves, an ancient roman cinerary urn was sided by two revival Humpen **[FIG. 5]**, while on the lower shelf a Venetian *tazza* was sided by two Bohemian jugs followed by a German Humpen on each side²⁴.

The explanation for the spread of similar collecting practices involving glass may be found on the network of collectors and a flourishing art market which looked for supplying the increasing demand. Not only were these collectors buying the same kind of objects and displaying them in similar ways, they were also buying in the same places. Some of the art dealers who sold objects to Ferdinand were also supplying objects to some of the most renowned collectors.

The little information we retrieved from the receipts from the Archive of the Personal Office of the King allowed us to acknowledge, as above mentioned, that a set of sixty-five objects was acquired between 1862 and 1864²⁵. There are receipts from the dealers H. Stampa, João José Dantas, António Rafael and Sebastião Ferreira d'Almeida in Lisbon, A. S. Drey in Munich, Tito Gagliardi and Antonio Rusca in Florence, Alfred Beurdeley and Durand in Paris, and Moritz Meyer in Dresden (Appendix I).

The period when these acquisitions took place not only saw the formation of important private collections, but it

²⁴ AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: *Apontamentos sobre as preciosas colleções de Sua Magestade El-Rei O Senhor D. Fernando no Real Palacio das Necessidades*, maço 43, 1886.

²⁵ See note 19.

also saw the formation and expansion of some important public collections around Europe, namely in England, such as the South Kensington Museum (today's Victoria and Albert Museum) and the British Museum. This is a very important fact, because most of the receipts of Ferdinand's acquisitions concern art dealers whom were also providing works of art to those collections (South Kensington Museum Division 1867, Martinho and Vilarigues 2012). Some of the objects we find in today's Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), and which were acquired during about the same period of Ferdinand acquisitions, are very similar in style to the latter's set (see Appendix II). The V&A objects were mostly acquired in auctions from collectors, like Ralph Bernal (1783-1854), James Bandinell (1783-1849) and Jules Soulages (1803-1857), but others were purchased separately (South Kensington Museum 1867 and 1878). With no further information besides the price, it is not possible to be sure if similar objects could have been provided by the same art dealers. However, the fact that the South Kensington Museum director at the time, Henry Cole, was dealing with Antonio Rusca, Tito Gagliardi and A. S. Drey can be an evidence of a common trend, for these same art dealers are the ones mentioned in Ferdinand's receipts (Wainwright 1999, 171-175, and 2002, 45-61; Martinho and Vilarigues 2012).

The apparent relation between the art dealers and the collectors seems to be an important matter. As far as our knowledge on the subject allows us to understand, the collectors — whether with or without communication among each other — seem to be acquiring objects with similar typology or taste to a restrict group of dealers of antiquities. In another words, it almost seems that the list of dealers of

antiques is available to all these 19th century collectors. And would there be any possibility?

The travellers of the 19th century were often guided by travel books, like the series of *A Handbook for Travellers* by John Murray, which curiously had a list of advertisements and correspondence mentioning the names of Tito Gagliardi, from Florence, and Mortiz Meyer, from Dresden, in a large set of editions (see, for instance, the following exemplars: France, Greece, Germany and Denmark) (Murray 1843, 1872, 1873 and 1875). The fact is that Ferdinand II acquired a great part of his own glass collection during his journeys around Europe (Martinho and Vilarigues 2012). Jules Soulages²⁶ appeared to have done something similar before him, since Soulages formed his collection as a result of repeated tours through Italy, chiefly during the period between 1830 and 1840 (Robinson 1856). We know that Henry Cole possessed one of Murray's handbooks, that he travelled in order to purchase artworks for the South Kensington Museum and that he added the name of Antonio Rusca in pencil to the section on dealers in his copy of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, edition of 1853 (Wainwright 1999, 171-185). These facts suggest that the information was reaching these collectors by means of some sort of "handbook of dealers of antiques" or a "travel guide". Although we have no proof that Ferdinand could have had a copy of Murray's handbook or any other alike document, this opens the possibility that the reason why the King chose to purchase so many glass objects abroad was perchance because he was being guided by advice of a book of the same sort.

If on one hand Antonio Rusca, Tito Gagliardi and A. S. Drey were related with Ferdinand and the South Kensington

²⁶ One of the collectors from whom Henry Cole acquired objects, after the former's death. Some of the glass objects acquired, and now in the asset of the V&A have similarities with the glass objects form Ferdinand II collection.

²⁷ ANTT, DGFP, Arrolamento dos Paços Reais, *Arrolamento do Palácio Nacional da Necessidades*, Verba nº 809.

Museum, on the other hand both Louis-Auguste-Alfred Beurdeley (1808-1882) and Tito Gagliardi are documented to be selling works of art to Ferdinand II and Alfred-Émilien O'Hara, count of Nieuwerkerke (Mann 1981, 305; Higgott 2011, 72). In December 1865, Alfred Beurdeley sold to Nieuwerkerke a footed bowl of *lattimo* and blue filigree (Acc. No. C521, The Wallace Collection), that was later acquired by Sir Richard Wallace (Higgott 2011, 72). This glass object bears a striking similarity with the two footed bowls of the same filigree pattern that were at the Glass Room in Necessidades Palace in 1910 (MNAA 1002 vid and 1003 vid)²⁷ **[FIG. 6]**. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to ascertain if these two objects were already in the possession of Ferdinand II or if they were acquired by the Portuguese royal family after his death. In addition, the receipts of the twelve glass objects that Beurdeley sold to Ferdinand in June 1863 do not provide undoubted descriptions which allow a correspondence with those two glass pieces. However, Beurdeley also sold to Ferdinand a large beaker with white and blue filigree and lion masques (Acc. No. MNAA1066, National Museum of Ancient Art) **[FIG. 7]**, which is almost identical to a beaker that the South Kensington Museum obtained from the collection of Ralph Bernal (Acc. No. 1864-1855, V&A).

Despite the fact that the descriptions are not as detailed as one wished, the receipt of Beurdeley offers valuable information regarding the provenance of some of the objects. As an example, “2 coupes sur piedonche à filets blancs (verre de Venise)” that were bought for 250 francs and “un gobelet à pied peu élevé en verre agathé hauteur 12c/” (possibly, today in the National Museum of Ancient

Art in Lisbon, MNAA959) **[FIG. 8]** had been in the collection of Louis Fould (1794-1858)²⁸, which went for auction in June 1860 in Paris (*Catalogue...* 1860). Louis Fould was an important collector who amassed Egyptian, Classical and Renaissance artistic objects, but his gatherings were dispersed after his death (Darcel 1860, 266-293), which was (as it is today) rather common. In fact, Beurdeley sold to Ferdinand works of art which had such diverse provenances as the collection of Louis Fidel Debruge-Duménil, the Soltikoff Collection and the Norzy Collection²⁹.

Due to the intricate construction of the network of collectors and dealers during the 19th century, the relationship between Ferdinand's collection and other collections from the high society of the time can only be established, to our present knowledge, by the comparison of glass objects in style and typology (see Appendix II).

One of those collections belonged to Ferdinand's first cousin once removed Alfred, III Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha — particularly in the Venetian and à *façon-de-Venise* set of objects (Martinho and Vilarigues 2012). Parallels between this collection and the one assembled by the lawyer Felix Slade, who bequeathed his collection to the British Museum, has already been established. Besides, it also comes to our knowledge that Sir Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum from 1866, played a key role in the organization of Slade's collection and that he maintained connections with Prince Albert (Theuerkauff-Liederwald 1994, 14-16). Therefore, it might be that the collecting practices of Ferdinand, Alfred and Slade,

²⁸ Receipt from A. Beurdeley, 23 June 1863 in AHCB, Núcleo D. Fernando, Doc. Avulsos, (Maço 402).

²⁹ Receipt from A. Beurdeley, 23 June 1863 in AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, Documentos Avulsos, maço 402.



FIG. 6 Footed bowl, Venice or Low Countries, 16th-17th century, MNAA1002 — © A. Rodrigues

FIG. 7 Beaker, Venice or Low Countries, 17th century, MNAA1066 — © A. Rodrigues

or even Albert, are connected in some way we have not yet been able to properly understand³⁰.

Slade, who died in 1868, was known to be a distinguished collector of books, prints and glass. His will was to leave his art treasures to the nation and a large amount of his fortune was left for the purpose of funding fine arts at Cambridge and Oxford Universities, as well as University College, in London (Macdonald 2004, 269; Vv.Aa. 1871, Preface). Like other collectors from his time, Slade gathered a set of Venetian glass works of relevant “*artistic and decorative character*”, because they attracted his attention, as well as the attention of friends like Mr. George S. Nicholson and Sir Charles Price. From Felix Slade own words, one may know that glass was not cared for in a recent past, but by about the middle of the 19th century, collectors were starting to realise the importance of this artworks (Vv.Aa. 1871, Preface). The art patronage of both Ferdinand and Slade arises the question whether the Portuguese King was merely following the fashion of his time or, instead, creating in Portugal, the same way Slade created in England, an unrivalled collection rescued piece by piece, that he thought it might ‘*furnish pleasure and instruction to future generations*’ (Vv.Aa. 1871, Preface)³¹.



FIG. 8 Goblet, Venice or à façon de Venise, possibly 17th century, MNAA959
— © A. Rodrigues

Final remarks

Looking at all these similarities, King Ferdinand II’s collection seems quite like a mirror of the 19th century glass collecting practise. If the original project for the Stag Room reveals the King’s intention to preserve the past through historical objects, the selection of the objects would eventually be determined by wider influences, in particular the common taste and sensibility of his collecting time, which can almost be regarded as a collecting fashion. However, the result is always an assemblage that mirrors the collector’s own identity. And to recall Jean Baudrillard, to whom “the image of the self is extended to the very limits of the collection [...] for it is invariably *oneself* that one collects” (Baudrillard 1994, 12), we are inclined to conclude that the formative years, family and social networks, as well as travels shape indelibly the collection of Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

³⁰ About the connections between the Saxe-Coburg and Gotha collections of Coburg and Windsor, see Bosbach and Davis 2006.

³¹ The communal aim of the private collection in the 19th century has been mentioned by Crane 2000, p.148. Cristina Ramos e Horta also showed how the collection of ceramics of King Ferdinand II could be visit by contemporary artists for appreciation and study (Horta 2014, 85ff).

ABBREVIATIONS

AHCB: Arquivo Histórico da Casa de Bragança, Vila Viçosa.
 ANTT: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.
 MNAA: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
 PNP: Palácio Nacional da Pena, Sintra
 V&A: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

SOURCES

AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, *Livro de Contas Pagas com Recibos Separados*, maço 403.
 AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: *Apontamentos sobre as preciosas collecções de Sua Magestade El-Rei O Senhor D. Fernando no Real Palacio das Necessidades*, maço 43, 1886.
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Appendix I

List of receipts at the *Arquivo Histórico da Casa de Bragança*, in Vila Viçosa, regarding the acquisition of glass objects for Ferdinand II of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

Reference	City	Dealer	Date of receipt	Object
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: <i>Livro de Documentos de Despeza</i> . Agosto 1853	Lisbon	H. Stampa	4 th August 1853	"Por 1 Par Vasos Vidro 27000 [reis]"
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: <i>Livro de Documentos de Despeza</i> . Setembro 1862	Lisbon	João José Dantas	August 1862	"2 garrafas e hua Bandeija Vidro da Boemia 4500 [reis]; 1 Callix Com gravura e hum Copo grande e outro piqueno da Boemia 90000 [reis]"
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: <i>Livro de Documentos de Despeza</i> . Outubro 1862	Lisbon	João José Dantas	11 th October 1862	"Hum Callix grande azul hu dito piqueno verde hu vidro redondo com gravuras hu frasco esmaltado de cores tudo da Boemia pelo preço 22500 Tres frascos com tres quina Cada hum lapidados da Boemia preço 13500"
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: <i>Livro de Documentos de Despeza</i> . Dezembro 1862	Lisbon	António Rafael	18 th November 1862	"1 Pipa de vidro 4\$500"
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: <i>Livro de Documentos de Despeza</i> . Abril 1862	Lisbon	João José Dantas	29 th April 1863	"hum prato de Vidro de Veneza por 27000"
Núcleo D. Fernando II <i>Contas e Documentos de Sua Magestade a Países Estrangeiros</i> <i>Maço 3</i>	Paris	Durand	9 th June 1863	"1 Verre de Bohême grave avec couvercle [?] — 25"
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, <i>Documentos Avulsos</i> , maço 402	Paris	Alfred Beurdeley	11 th June 1863	"Une coupe verre de Vénise à couvercle à filets blancs — 400, 2 coupes sir piedonche à filets blancs (verre de Venise) Collection Louis Fould — 250, Un seau avec mascarons verre de Vénise, sur larouse [?] pour des mascarons en relief (...) — 350, Um grand seau en verre de Vénise dit Vetro Ghiacciato Collection Cralopp [?] — 350, (...) un gobelet à pied peu élevé en verre agathé hauteur 12c/ Collon Louis Fould — 150, (...) Une coupe rubis verre de Vénise (...) XVe siècle — 600, un petit gobelet avec filets à la pointe de diamante — 70, une petite coupe verre de Vénise avec coubercle, filigranée sur piedonche avec lossange — 150, un vase de forme cylindrique avec bord légèrement évasé, il est travaillé de 2 cannes alternant; l'une en bleu céleste l'autre rouge opaque, séparées par trois cannes de verre vianc mat, le tout disposé en spirale, avec masques de lions dorés V ^{te} Soltikoff n ^o 841 — 350, 2 petites buires opales, verre de Vénise (Coll ^{on} Fould) — 200, une bouteille, olive, verre de Vénise — 100"
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, <i>Documentos Avulsos</i> , envelope 1863-1867, 5 ^a sala	Florence	Tito Gagliardi	10 th July 1863	"1. Grand Calice en Verre de Venise: francs 80; 2 Bocals en Verre de Venise a 60 francs chaque"
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, <i>Contas e Documentos de Sua Magestade a Países Estrangeiros</i> , maço 3	Florence	Antonio Rusca	10 th July 1863	"N ^o 5 pezzi di Vetro cioè [?] Calicetto com coppa rossa F ^{chi} .200 Boccia trinata com mascheroni F ^{chi} .200 Tazza a righe dorate F ^{chi} .300 Tazza trinata in bianco e giallo F ^{chi} .80 Tazza a venturina com fondo rosso F ^{chi} .120"

Reference	City	Dealer	Date of receipt	Object
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II, <i>Documentos Avulsos</i> , maço 402	Munich	A. S. Drey	20 th August 1863	"3 diverse geschliffene Gläser mit Figuren, 1 venetianer Glas hoch, schöne Faden [?]"
AHCB, Núcleo de D. Fernando II: <i>Livro de Documentos de Despeza</i> . Janeiro 1864	Lisbon	Sebastião Ferreira d'Almeida	30 th January 1864	"Três vidros antigos por 6\$750"
Núcleo D. Fernando <i>Livro de Documentos de Despeza</i> . Setembro 1864	Dresden	Moritz Meyer	10 th September 1864	"1 Copo grande de Cristal com as Armas da Russia Thlr60 1 Dito mais pequeno de dito representa um triumpho romano. Thlr35" "Venetianer Gläser: 1 Leuchter, auch als Trinkgefäss zu benutzen, mit kleinen Glasflügen. 1 Trinkgefäss, die seltenste Form, mit Flügeln; 1 Pokal mit Deckel, um den Pokal herum dia prachtvellsten Glasverzierungen; 5 Figuren, klein, auf's Feinste ausgeführt, Könige und Königinnen vorstellend. Höchst selten Exemplare. 1 Schaale mit buntfarbigen Verzierungen, ein seltnes Cabinetsstück; 1 grosse Schaale (venetianisch Faden-Glas); 1 Pokal (vielleicht einziges Exemplar), etwas beschädigt, aber der Art, dass es den Werth nicht verringert; 1 Garnitur von bunten Achat-Glas, bestehend au seiner tulpenförmigen Mittelvase und zwei grossen Seitenvasen. In keiner Sammlung mehr zu finden. 1 besonders schön verzierter Pokal; 1 dergleichen mit Flügeln; 1 dergleichen ohne Flügel; 1 schöne Schaale auf Fuss mit reichen Verzierungen Turiner Arbeit der seltensten Art."

Appendix II

Objects from King Ferdinand II's collection with similarities to other objects in the collections of South Kensington Museum, Veste Coburg, The Wallace Collection, and the British Museum. All were acquired about the same period of time.

King Ferdinand II	South Kensington Museum	Veste Coburg	The Wallace Collection	The British Museum
MNAA 946 vid		HA 240		
MNAA 947 vid	Nr. 184-1879			
MNAA 962 vid	Nr. 5547-1859			S.431
MNAA 964 vid				
MNAA 966 vid	Nr. 1866-1855	HA 535		1880,0513.2
MNAA 967 vid				
MNAA 970 vid		HA 284	C515	
MNAA 974 vid		HA 287		
MNAA 976 vid		HA 357, HA 514		S.674
MNAA 977 vid		HA 356		
MNAA 988 vid				
MNAA 989 vid		HA 372, HA 373, HA 374		
MNAA 992 vid				1878,1230.268 (shape)
MNAA 994 and MNAA 995 vid		HA 308	C536 (similar style)	
MNAA 996 vid		HA 289, HA 343	C543 (shape)	
MNAA 999 vid		HA 532		
MNAA 1002 vid				
MNAA 1003 vid			C521	
MNAA 1004 vid	Nr. 1883-1855			
MNAA 1038 vid		a.S.611		S.642
MNAA 1045 vid	Nr. 1914-1855	a.S.614		
MNAA 1047 vid	Nr. 1810-1855			
MNAA 1060 vid	Nr. 9021-'63			
MNAA 1061 vid	Nr 1903-1855; 1903a-'55; 1903e-'55;			
MNAA 1068 vid	1903f-'55; 1903g-'55;			
MNAA 1066 vid	Nr. 1864-1855			1855,1201.157
MNAA 1070 vid	Nr. 1608-1855			
MNAA 1074 vid		HA 24 (similar. style)	C539 (similar style)	
MNAA 1086 vid	Nr. 1901-1855			S.874
MNAA 1088 vid	Nr. 1811-1855 (similar style)			
MNAA 1093 vid	Nr. 408-1854		C542	
MNAA 1095 vid				
MNAA 1096 vid		HA 685, HA 633, HA 696, HA 697,		
MNAA 1097 vid		HA 677		
MNAA 1100 vid				
MNAA 1101 vid				
MNAA 1102 vid				
MNAA 1103 vid		HA 690		
MNAA 1104 vid				
MNAA 1105 vid				
MNAA 1117 vid		HA 226		
MNAA 1123 vid		HA 485 (lid)		
MNAA 1124 vid	Nr. 1814-1855 Nr. 18221855	HA 495; HA 493, HA 492		S.592
MNAA 1128 vid		HA 554, HA 555		1871,1004.8
MNAA 940-943 vid / PNP 274/5	Nr. 691852 Nr. 671852			
PNP 257	Nr. 1517A-1855			
PNP 261	Nr. 1844-1855			
PNP 272	Nr. 5509-1859			

FORGING THE RENAISSANCE

ON THE USE OF GLASS PIECES IN SPITZER'S (IN)FAMOUS COLLECTION

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ABSTRACT

The figure of the *marchand* and *collectionneur* Frédéric Spitzer (1815-1890) shines with particular intensity in the empyrean spheres of 19th century collecting.

Among the various sections making up his famous collection, the admirable group of glass pieces that he skillfully assembled has a place of honor. As a wise businessman, Spitzer was an interested witness of a renewed attention paid to the *industrie du verre* and carefully observant of its *mise en scène* for both national and international expositions — and as seen in focused pages in periodicals — practically dovetailing toward an aesthetic (and commercial) goal in his Parisian *hôtel particulier* in 33, rue de Villejust.

The picture emerging from this study enriches the complex tale of the phenomenon of 19th century collecting in which the sometimes (in)famous “Spitzerian” microcosm is revealed as paradigmatic of an European scene characterized by a closely woven network of players: *marchands*, collectors, *connaisseurs*, museum curators, art critics and craftsmen.

KEYWORDS

HISTORICISM | 19TH CENTURY COLLECTION | ART MARKET | STAINED GLASS WINDOWS | FAKES

RESUMO

A figura do comerciante e colecionista Frédéric Spitzer (1815-1890) brilha com particular intensidade nas esferas imperiais do colecionismo do século XIX.

Entre as diversas partes que compõem a sua célebre coleção, o grupo admirável de peças de vidro habilmente reunido por Spitzer tem lugar de honra. Como sábio empresário, foi testemunha do interesse e da renovada atenção dada à indústria do vidro, bem como um observador atento da *mise en scène* de ambas as exposições nacionais e internacionais — e como pode ser visto em páginas focadas no tema em publicações periódicas — adotando uma perspectiva estética (e comercial) no seu palácio particular na Rue de Villejust, 33, em Paris. O quadro que emerge a partir deste estudo enriquece o conto complexo do fenómeno do colecionismo do século XIX, no qual o microcosmos Spitzeriano, por vezes infame, é revelado como paradigmático dentro da cena europeia caracterizada por uma rede de intervenientes finamente tecida: comerciantes, colecionadores, *connaisseurs*, curadores de museus, críticos de arte e artesãos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

HISTORICISMO | COLEÇÃO DO SÉCULO XIX | MERCADO DE ARTE | VITRAIS | FALSIFICAÇÕES



I N D E X



E D I T O R I A L



I N T E R V I E W



D O S S I E R



P R I N T

Celebrated by Édouard Garnier in the pages of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*¹, the glass collection of Frédéric Spitzer must be read, studied and interpreted in light of his formidable unifying encyclopedic and taxonomic project² that was arranged in the Parisian *hôtel particulier* in rue de Villejust (now rue Paul Valéry), **[FIG. 1]**, formerly owned by Charles Frédéric Jules, Baron de Nagler, Grand Chamberlain of Prussia³. In addition to being a peephole onto a world of unfolding private and social life, this “machine à voir” (Poulot 2008) was a museum space in which the different artistic expressions gave life to an “encyclopédie tangible et très complète de la production artistique des seize premiers siècles de notre ère⁴”. It was unanimously recognized that the completeness of such an ensemble was comparable for consistency and quality only to the illustrious collections of the South Kensington Museum and the Musée de Cluny.

Among its peculiarities was its indissoluble integration into the home of the owner, who had entrusted the set up of the rooms with the image of his tastes and personality. In perhaps a too radical way, we could say that Spitzer planned the mansion to provide more than mere access to an art gallery. Instead, he also planned to offer a progressive sensorial experience realized through an actual itinerary indispensable to the understanding of the spaces of the entire museum and of its underlying philosophy, proceeding — just like then-contemporary decorative and industrial arts exhibitions — through a sequence organized first by type, then by chronology or by artistic school. An inescapable point-of-reference, in other words, even for a city like Paris, capital of the

art market and a crossroads of immense economic and political interests.

In the 1885 *Livre des collectionneurs*, the name of Spitzer as a glass collector is cited as a *hors pair* personality **[FIG. 2]**, together with other French and Belgian *curieux de verrerie*. Among the Parisian collectors the names of Édouard André, Alexander Petrovich Basilewsky, Edmond Bonnaffé, Jules Charvet, Aimé Desmottes, Paul Gasnault, Émile Gavet, Victor Gay, Albert Goupil, Julien Gréau, Mme Jubinal de Saint Albin, Alfred de Liesville, Lebeuf de Montgermont, Patrice-Salin, Adolphe de Rothschild, Charles Schefer and Charles Stein appear. This growing interest in collecting vitreous pieces might explain the reason why the decorative arts market registered a significant increase in their monetary value, as is confirmed by the previous Soltykoff (1861)⁵ and Castellani (1869) sales⁶.

«Coupes, vases, cornets, calices, ampoules, bouteilles en verre de Venise de XV^e, XVI^e et XVI^e siècles» (Maze-Sencier 1885: 1, 298) **[FIG. 3]** cut fine figures in the display cabinets in Spitzer’s home, together with German glass pieces (serie XXVIII), stained-glass windows (serie XXVIII) and reverse paintings on glass (serie XXX)⁷. The goal of completeness — his collection was made up of about a hundred pieces — probably guided the collector’s choices in the individuation of types, together with various formal, chromatic and technical qualities, that is, painting on enamel, *graffito*, filigree and opalescent milk glass. Even the set up of the pieces from the “Arabian” world (namely from Damascus and Alexandria of Egypt) has to be considered in this matrix. Placed (not by chance) nearby Venetian (Murano) or Bavaria (the German and Bohemian glass pieces)

¹ The vitreous materials (glass, ceramics and painted enamels) were the object of research of Édouard Garnier (1840-1903), who was able to examine the examples housed in public and private collections (Bing, Spitzer, Mannheim and Stein, among others). He was the author of the studies of the glass objects in the Spitzer collection, and later was involved in the writing of the catalogue. Garnier 1884: 293-310; Garnier 1891, 75-87. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Starleen K. Meyer for her sensitive and evocative English translation of my Italian original.

² In this sense, completely analogous were the Soltykoff, Nieuwerkerke, Basilewsky, Wallace and Ferdinand Rothschild (Waddesdon Manor) collections. On this theme and on the recovery of the *Ars Vittraria*, Higgott 2011, 19-22.

³ On this theme, Cordera 2015 (forthcoming).

⁴ Letter to the Ministre de l’Instruction publique, des Beaux Arts et des Cultes, Paris, Paris 26 March 1893. Paris, Archives Nationales, F/21/4036. On the multi-faceted figure of Spitzer as a *marchand* and a *collectionneur*, Cordera 2014.

⁵ The Soltykoff glass collection could have contained 76 examples, coming from the Debruge Duménil collection. The Spitzer collection was ideally associated with such illustrious collections, also for the identical aspirations «à offrir à l’historien des témoignages du goût [...] et fournir à l’artiste des types et des modèles mais encore réunir des objets en assez grand nombre [...] qu’on pût étudier dans sa collection les diverses applications de l’art à l’ornementation des productions de l’industrie [...]» (Dubois 1858, p. 7).

⁶ Reitlinger 1963, 2: 452-456.

⁷ Of this last type of object, Spitzer was among the most important collectors,

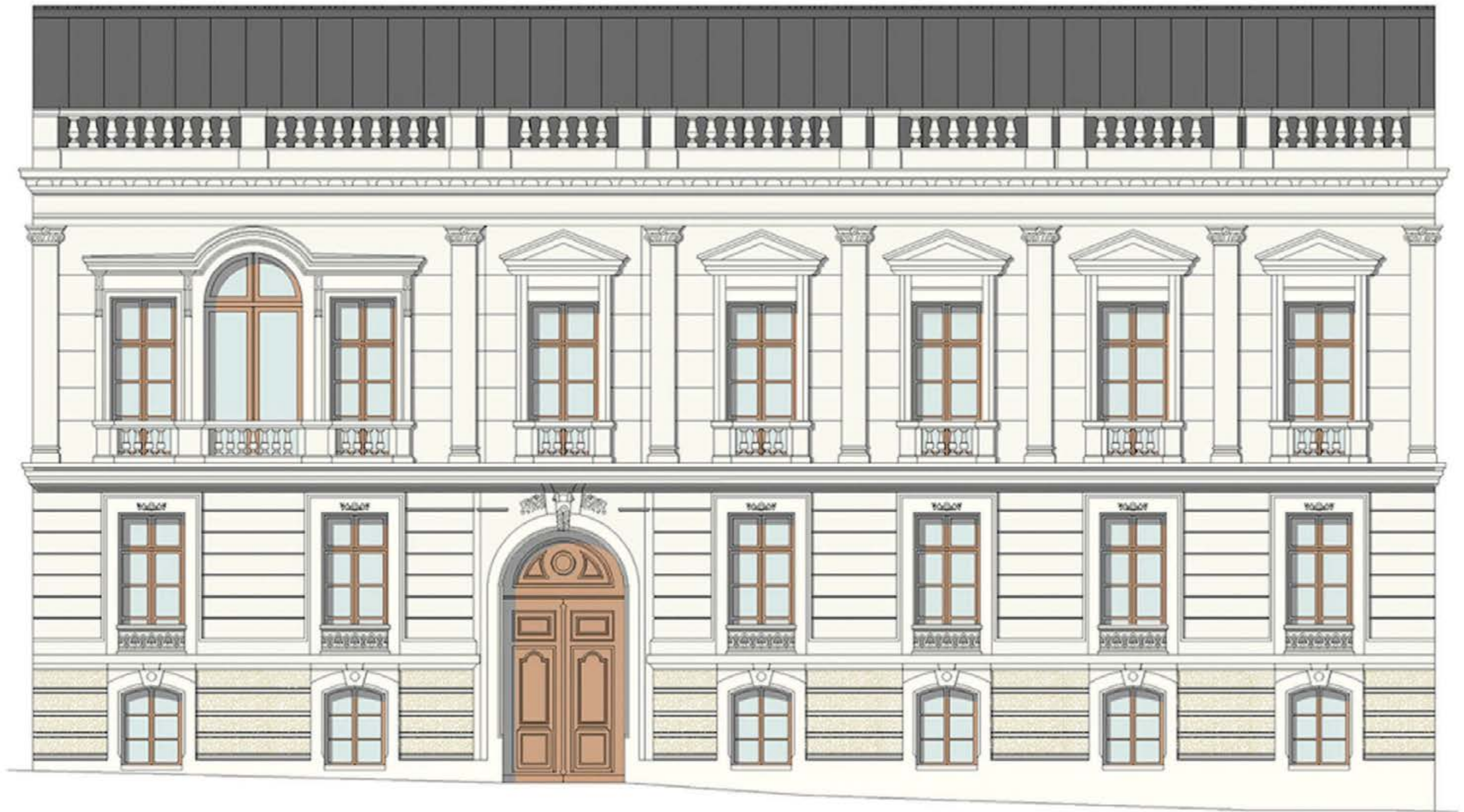


FIG. 1 P. Cordera and E. Albricci,
Hypothetical reconstruction of the Parisian
hôtel particulier of Frédéric Spitzer. Façade
facing rue de Villejust (drawing by E.
Albricci). Copyright © 2014 Paola Cordera



VERRERIES



DANS l'ensemble si complet des industries d'art dont les merveilleux produits composent les diverses collections formées par M. Spitzer, une de celles qui se trouve représentée dans ses plus belles manifestations est sans contredit l'industrie du verre. C'est là surtout, dans ces vitrines qui renferment les pièces les plus remarquables de ce que le temps a respecté parmi les œuvres si fragiles sorties des ateliers de Damas, d'Alexandrie, de Murano ou des montagnes de la Bavière, que l'on peut étudier sous ses différents aspects, du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle, cet art privilégié qui, dès ses débuts, semble déjà avoir atteint à un haut degré de perfection, et dont les hypogées de l'ancienne Égypte et les chambres sépulcrales de Cære ou de Vulci nous ont montré des spécimens qui ne le cèdent en rien à ce que nos modernes verriers ont produit de plus complet en ce genre. Et cependant, quoique ce soit, de tous les arts, un de ceux qui paraissent avoir le moins souffert dans la grande conflagration où l'ancienne civilisation s'effondrait et disparaissait avec ce qui restait de l'Empire romain, un de ceux où il y ait eu le moins d'efforts à faire pour renouer la chaîne du nouveau à celle des temps passés, il est bien difficile, dans l'état actuel de la science, de reconstituer son histoire pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge. Il n'existe pas, en effet, de documents matériels connus, d'œuvres indiscutables, auxquels on puisse assigner une date précise aussi reculée, et ce n'est qu'en s'appuyant sur des textes plus ou moins obscurs que l'on arrive à suivre la filiation de cette belle industrie, à Constantinople d'abord, puis en Égypte et en Syrie ensuite.

Mais, à partir du XI^e ou du XII^e siècle, la lumière se fait, et s'il est encore à peu près impossible de déterminer d'une façon certaine les caractères des verres qui remontent à cette époque, nous avons du moins des preuves de la situation florissante où se trouvait alors l'art de la verrerie dans les provinces orientales. Nous nous bornerons à citer à l'appui

FIG. 2 La verrerie (Garnier 1891, 3: 75)

COLLECTION SPITZER

Verreries PL.V



VERRERIES VENITIENNES

Fin du XV^e siècle

FIG. 3 Verreries Venitiennes. Fin du XV^e siècle. Verrerie, plate V (La Collection Spitzer: Antiquité, Moyen-Âge, Renaissance. Paris: Maison Quantin, 1891, 3)



FIG. 4 Phototypie Berthaud Frères, *Collection Spitzer. Verrerie*, plate XLIX, 1893 (Bonnaffé and Molinier 1893)

glassware in the center of the *planches* XLIX and L of the sales catalogue [FIG. 4], the emphasis on these pieces then gaining growing consensus in the world of collectors in the second half of the 19th century again attests Spitzer's shrewdness and his unequalled foresight first and foremost as a *marchand* and as a collector⁸.

Spitzer's *corpus vitrearum* shone, almost like the crowning of the museum itinerary, in the last rooms of the museum: one dedicated to the Renaissance, the other to the dramatic arms gallery. Even if the photographs of the Musée Spitzer

only partially convey the display of the architectonic space, the plates illustrating the sales catalogue succeed at least partially in rendering the ways in which the works would have been placed on the shelves in the display cabinets: in measured symmetries and skillful arrangements⁹.

Extraordinarily able in the «art du groupement, l'art des rappels, l'entente des effets de clair-obscur» (Müntz 1890, IV), there is no doubt that Spitzer could have imagined the polychrome exuberance of the vitreous pieces — majolica and *faïences*, gilded metals and jewels in addition to the

together with Alessandro Castellani and Vittorio Emanuele Tapparelli d'Azeglio.

⁸ A not secondary role in this sense probably was played by his friendship with the Baron Charles Davillier (1823-1883) and the interest of this collector for Iberian culture and for the Hispano-Moorish *faïences*. On this topic, see «Collectionner l'Autre et l'Ailleurs: de la curiosité à la reconnaissance?», Journée d'études organisée par Dominique Poulot (Hicsa — Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne) et Mercedes Volait (Laboratoire InVisu — CNRS/INHA), Paris, June 24, 2014.

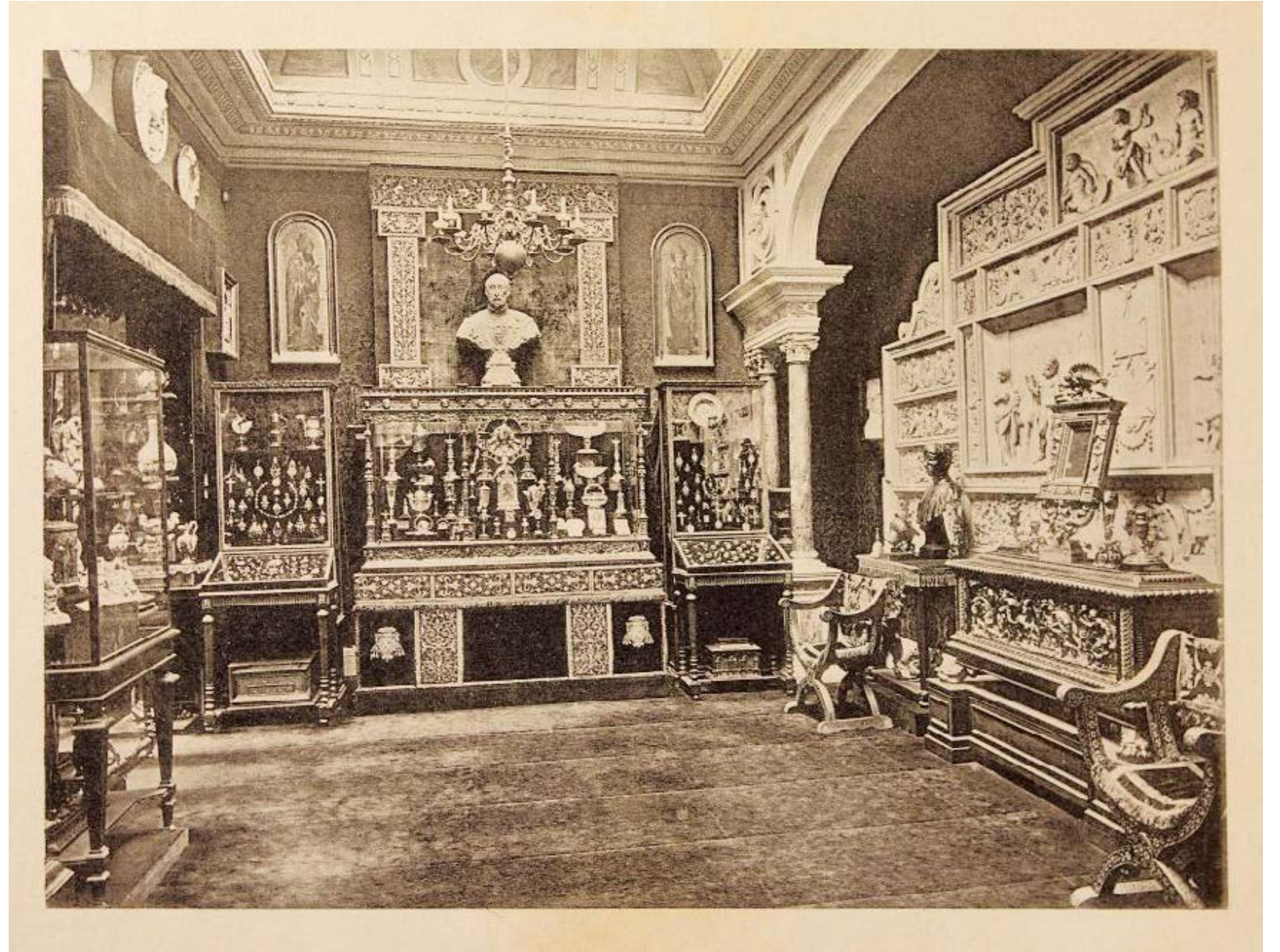
⁹ Bonnaffé and Molinier 1893.

FIG. 5 Paris, Musée Spitzer, Renaissance Room, 1890 (Bonnaffé 1890)

glassware *stricto sensu*, as found in both the Baron Alphonse de Rothschild and the Émile Gavet collections — as a counterpoint to the metallic glints bouncing off of the arms and armor in the subsequent room. In this way, the aesthetic values of the single materials and the overall effect of the whole were highlighted at one and the same time. Even criticism less benevolently disposed toward Spitzer was ready to recognize the significance of the collection as an integral whole, more than the value and importance of the individual pieces.

The accentuated theatricality of the ensemble, of which, in all probability, Spitzer was the main designer, was to be even more emphasized by the skylights inserted into the ceiling directly over the objects in the Renaissance room [FIG. 5]. Adopted by Spitzer in the room dedicated to enamel work — but also by Alexandre Charles Sauvageot¹⁰ and Prince Alexander Basilevsky in their own galleries¹¹ — this solution probably seemed particularly ingenious in that it permitted the homogenous fall of light filtered through a glass ceiling with white and gold-edged coffers.

This system, already applied at the beginning of the 18th century in the gallery of the Duke of Orléans in the Palais Royal of Paris, was perfectly in line with the innovative suggestions coming from new museum displays in which particular attention was paid to the illumination and to the exposition set up, as seen, for example, in the Louvre Museum of Paris, the Alte Pinakothek of Munich, the Glass and Ceramics Gallery of the British Museum and in the National Gallery of London. The (probably red) fabric on the floor was perhaps a way to avoid the inconvenience of the light rays that, cascading from above, would have been



reflected upwards, thereby compromising the aesthetic vision of the whole. Furthermore, it probably contributed to creating a kind of “display cabinet environment” in which the “magnetic” characteristics of each single piece were translated and put in relationship with the architectonic scale.

The provenance of the individual pieces of the Spitzer collection is generally vague or full of lacunae, even if this may not derive from the difficulty of historic witnesses. «[...] l'indication des provenances fait-elle défaut aujourd'hui pour certain nombres d'objets, et il nous faut attendre du hasard la reconstitution de leur état civil» (Müntz 1890, II). As a matter of fact, references to unknown *obscurs villages*

¹⁰ Alexandre-Charles Sauvageot (Paris, 1781-1860) was a musician and art collector. The famous painting by Arthur Henry Roberts *Vue intérieure d'une des pièces de l'appartement de Monsieur Sauvageot, 56 fbg Poissonnière*, 1857 (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MI 861) celebrated Sauvageot himself in his dining room surrounded by his collection of medieval and Renaissance art objects.

¹¹ Alexander Petrovich Basilevsky (1829-1899) was a Russian diplomat and art collector in Paris in the second half of the 19th century. Celebrated for Early Christian and Byzantine objects, his collection was reorganized in the *hôtel particulier* at 31 rue Blanche. Put up for sale in 1885, it was acquired *en bloc* by the Tsar Alexander III. Dating to about 1870, a watercolor executed by the Russian

adventurously discovered in England, Germany and Russia were constantly made. This incompleteness, which officially could be ascribed to the rapidity with which the collection was formed, seems more due to an undisputed acute opportunism (when not a deliberate mystification), rather than to a supposed defective memory or to the material impossibility of meticulously registering the provenance of individual acquisitions.

Such considerations appear even more pertinent in light of the by now documented network of artists and craftsmen working for Spitzer. Taking up the hypothesis formulated by Rudolf Distelberger (Distelberger 2000), Charles Truman (Truman 2012) has imagined a number of artists (namely Reinhold Vasters and Alfred André among others) at the center of truly an (in)famous network of ‘forgers’ working for Spitzer who, bolstered by the consensus derived from his expertise as guarantor of the authenticity of the objects sold, acted instead as author and coordinator of the fraudulent release on the antique market of heavily refurbished objects sold as authentic originals.

Spitzer probably reserved for himself the role of intermediary, perhaps even suggesting to the artists/artisans working with him particular interventions of re-composition and assembly of objects that often were available on the art market only in a fragmentary state. In their hands, the objects were assembled into an (imaginary) unity. In all likelihood, he also probably commissioned such pieces. In this context must be seen the research of Juanita Navarro and Suzanne Higgott highlighting how some glass pieces formerly in the Spitzer collection have to be considered hybrids, that is, the re-composition and assembly of glass

fragments into a whole (invariably ringed) in order to offer to clients an exhaustive reading of the single pieces and, consequently, to facilitate the admission of the pieces onto the antique market¹².

The few pieces for which provenance can be established — coming from the collections of Albert von Parpart of Cologne¹³, the prince of Liechtenstein¹⁴, Debruge Duménil, Soltykoff and Saint Seine¹⁵ — belonged, obviously, to those famous collections that could give luster to Spitzer’s collection, thereby implicitly attesting to the indisputable quality of his pieces and conferring on them a kind of “noble seal of approval.” This *modus operandi* was influenced by that *goût Rothschild* that Spitzer, an assiduous frequenter of the prestigious house and eager for continuous social affirmation, invariably had taken into account. In other words, the aura of the individual *objets d’art* was amplified by the prestigious provenance, and reverberated throughout his entire collection. The elegiac tones of the comparison made shine, almost by symbiosis, the (artistic, but also strictly venal and market) value of the pieces of the collection and, consequently, the collection as a whole.

Together with others, Spitzer’s glass collection was part and parcel of an age that can be identified truly as an apogee of a cognitive journey that researched glass under the guise of theoretical treatises¹⁶, in addition to *ex-novo* productions¹⁷ and of its exhibition/promotion, even for the public-at-large in the setting of then-contemporary expositions. At the same time, it was intended to be an incentive for the then-contemporary production. The weave of research, rediscovery and, last but not least, new

painter Vasilij Vereschagin shows him in the background of his own collection, while intent on reading (Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, inv. 45878). On his collection: Kryzanovskaya 1990. On the theme of the set up of collectors homes, Emery and Morowitz 2004.

¹² Navarro and Higgott have identified pieces of this type at the Victoria & Albert Museum of London (inv. 698-1893) and the Musée Curtius of Liège (inv. B/1057). Similar pieces belonged to the contemporary collections of Alessandro Castellani (1823-1883) and of Alfred Beurdeley (1808-1882). Navarro and Higgott, 2013-2014.

¹³ Bonnaffé and Molinier, 1893, n. 1997.

¹⁴ *Idem*, n. 1992.

¹⁵ *Idem*, n. 1979.

¹⁶ Among others, see Lenoir 1856; Salviati 1867.

production had to collaborate in the success of these artistic adventures.

In this context, the *exposition rétrospective* of the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs taking place in Paris in 1884 assumes particular importance. For this exhibit, ample space was given to the *arts du feu* (*faïences*, ceramics, porcelain, Limoges enamels and *verreries* of all kinds). *Sans precedents* was the space dedicated to stained glass windows set up “dans son ensemble et d’une façon générale” in a room arranged according to the instructions of the architect, Lucien Magne (1849-1916)¹⁸, a consultant for Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) and later the *deus ex-machina* of the Musée du Vitrail that opened the following year¹⁹.

Already widespread in England in the middle of the 18th century, the interest in such objects — to be interpreted in the climate of revivals prevalent in Europe that especially were focused on highlighting Gothic culture in its various local declinations²⁰ — enjoyed renewed favor on French soil after the secularization of ecclesiastical goods following the storms of the revolution. Consequently, an important market was forming in Europe, and important sales were held, for example, in Norwich and London in 1804 and in Cologne in 1824. To purely historical interests were joined ornamental evaluations, that is, the possibility that the windows offered for the creation of particularly evocative spaces, in a way not dissimilar from that intended by Alexandre Lenoir for the Musée des Monuments Français with the windows from Saint Denis (1795-1816). Analogous criteria most probably guided the forging of the collection of the *vitrier* Louis Huin (1756-1821) and the following analytical study and

reproduction of the French medieval stained glass windows undertaken by Ferdinand de Lasteyrie (1810-1879)²¹. As the collections of Heinrich Friedrich Karl Reichsfreiherr vom und zum Stein (Baron vom Stein) in Nassau and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Weimar attest, even the German world, to which Spitzer always remained tied, manifested interest in collecting these kinds of objects and in their theatrical display.

With similar intent, Count Hermann Ludwig Heinrich von Pückler-Muskau had acquired five 15th century stained glass windows coming from the Carmelite church of Boppard-am-Rhein in Rheinland-Pfalz²² [FIG. 6]. After they were restored at the Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg at an unknown date after 1878²³, Spitzer acquired these very objects to complete his Parisian *galerie d’armes et d’armures*, “formidable vaisseau long de 17 mètres sur 8 mètres de hauteur” (Bonnaffé 1881, 289).

Particular importance had to be given to this *galerie* and to the *Cabinet de Travail* since they were built between 1877 and 1880 as part of the refurbishment of the mansion in rue de Villejust in the years just after Spitzer had bought the building. Even if the documentation for these interventions presents today a number of lacunae, they probably were originally intended to help the mansion be a worthy framework for the collector’s stage: thus, the gallery of arms and the *Cabinet de Travail* probably were planned to accommodate the stained glass windows, harmoniously. On Renaissance tables the objects were «coquettement couchées sur un vieux velours génois» (De Beaumont 1882, XXV: 472) and protected by glass cases [FIG. 7]. The tables were positioned along the sides of the armory, especially

¹⁷ Soon the practice of *ex-novo* production joined that of the restoration of figured stained glass of the 12th century, as masterfully interpreted in the 1839 *Passion* window by Louis Steinheil and Rebouleau for the Saint-Germain l’Auxerrois church in Paris. This and other sites were to contribute in a fundamental way to the development of the production. On this subject, see Pillet 2012.

¹⁸ Magne 1885; *Idem* 1886.

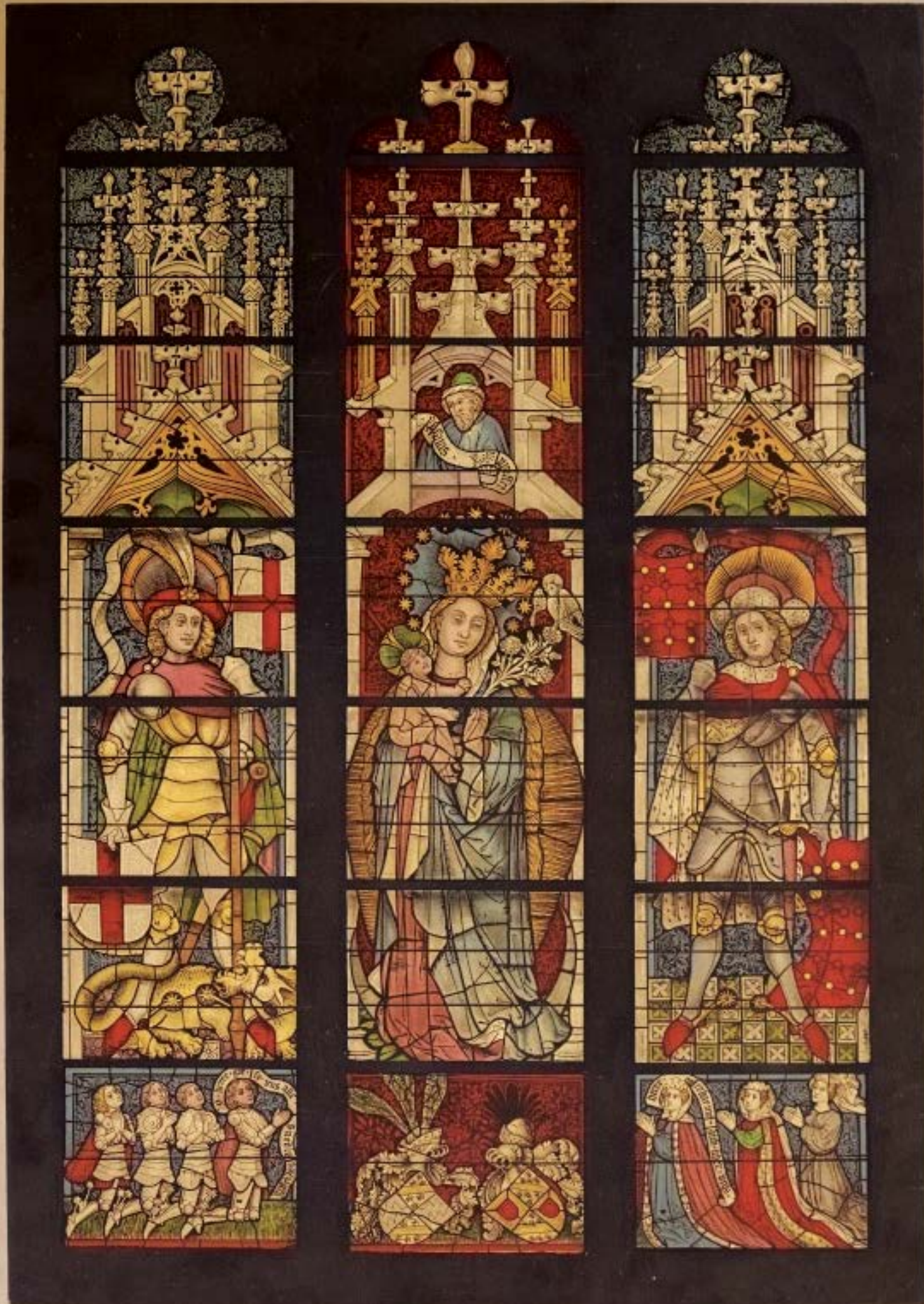
¹⁹ On the success of stained glass in the 19th century, see Emery and Morowitz 2003. The authors have noted that, in addition to constituting a remarkable witness to the renewed interest for these kind of objects in such a context, these items were studied and exhibited as fragments (even where it would have been possible to do differently), as already had happened on the occasion of the Universal Exposition held in Paris in the 19th century.

²⁰ Think of the re-use of 13th century windows from the cathedrals of Lincoln and Canterbury at the end of the 18th century.

²¹ De Lasteyrie du Saillant 1853-1857.

²² For a discussion about such a *Corpus vitrearum* and the location of its dispersed objects, Hayward 1969, 75-114. On the *Glasmalereisammlung* of Count von Pückler-Muskau, Bednarz and Fitz 2010, 383-396.

²³ These objects, known by Spitzer through photographs, had to have been acquired between 1878 and 1881. In Boppard-am-Rhein in 1878 (Prusser 1878, 12), “douze vitraux gigantesques” were described in the gallery of arms in 1881 (Bonnaffé 1881, 289). On their acquisition, possibly using the intermediation of the collector and art dealer Charles Mannheim, see Datz 2006, 128-129. Accessed October 1, 2014. <http://ubm.opus.hbz-nrw.de/volltexte/2013/3514/pdf/doc.pdf>.



VITRAIL
TRAVAIL ALLEMAND. XV^e SIÈCLE

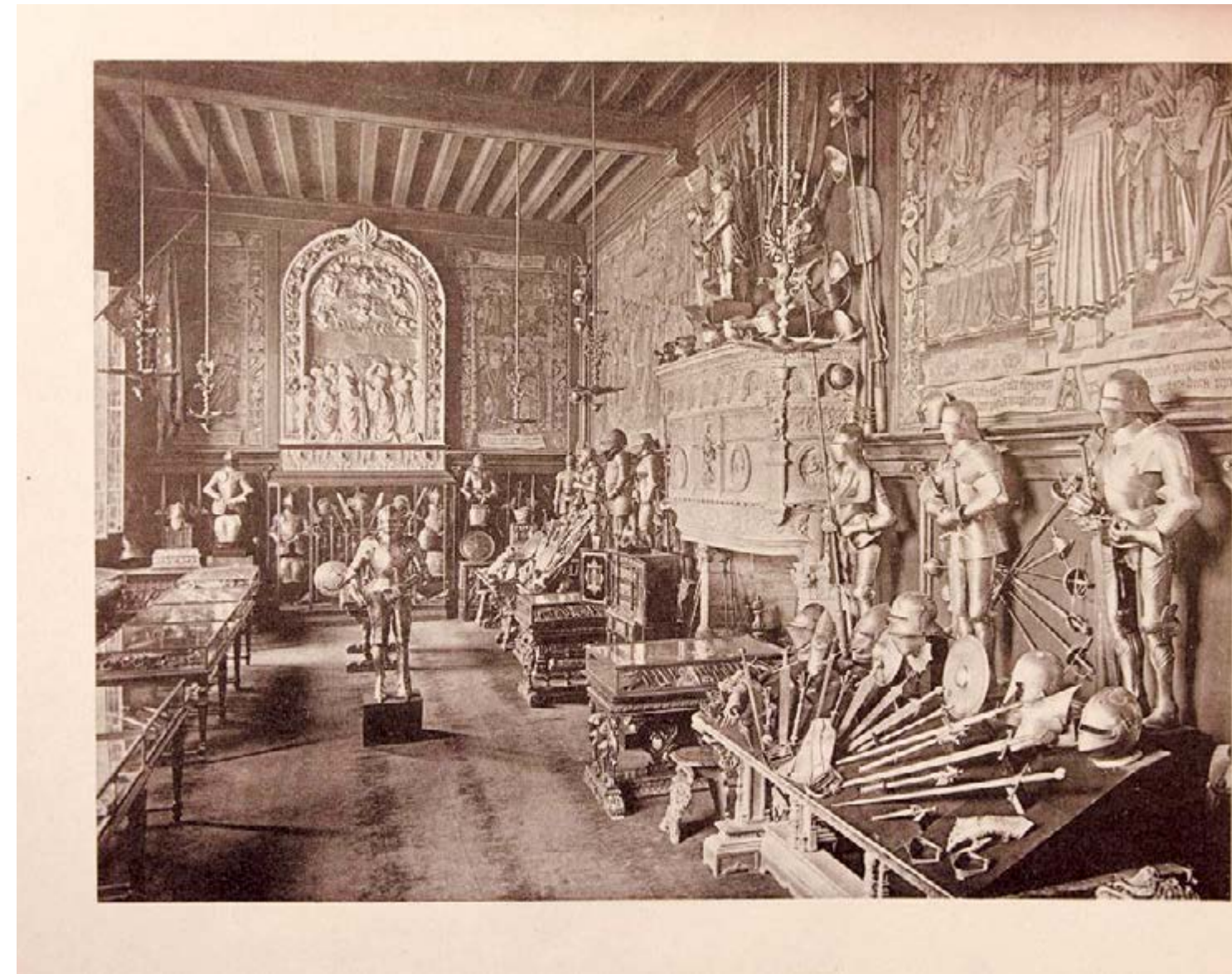


FIG. 7 Paris, Musée Spitzer, Arms Gallery, 1890 (Bonnaffé 1890)

FIG. 6 *Vitrail. Travail allemand XVe siècle.* Vitraux, plate II (*La Collection Spitzer: Antiquité, Moyen-Âge, Renaissance.* Paris: Maison Quantin. 1891, 3)



VITRAIL
TRAVAIL FRANÇAIS - XVII^e SIÈCLE
(12.12.16)

FIG. 8 *Vitrail. Travail français XVII^e siècle.*
Vitraux, plate III (*La Collection Spitzer: Antiquité, Moyen-Âge, Renaissance.*
Paris: Maison Quantin. 1891, 3)

next to the windows, in order to receive the light filtered by such monumental palimpsests. The overall theatrical results probably were perfect for parties and high society *rassemblements*.

As opposed to this room in which the many colors of the light filtering through the stained glass windows prevailed and contrasted with the dull gray of the metals, in the *Cabinet de travail* the *grisaille* windows were set up²⁴ [FIG. 8]. This room was intended to be a kind of resplendent antechamber to the sacred space of the museum where friends and companions were generously welcomed carefully following a scrupulous ritual that they knew well, but which was obscure to the un-initiated. As a matter of fact, the *calmes et doux* grey tones of the *grisaille* were considered appropriate for harmonizing with «les meubles de la Renaissance, les orfèvreries, les bronzes, les faïences, les tapisseries» (Bonnaffé 1890) constituting a programmatic synthesis of the collections in such a room. The French Renaissance glass windows were desired in order to slash the semi-obscurity of the room with an ingenious contrast of light and dark in which the preciousness of the gilded oak ceiling interacted with the gleams off of the panoply of arms and the reflections off of the Hispano-Moorish ceramic plates hanging on the walls.

If the practice of adorning private homes was already known in Paris — as is demonstrated by the modern windows set up next to antique ones in the homes of the writers Émile Zola and Pierre

²⁴ This kind of room, always present in the hagiographic description of collectors' homes, was realized under the direction of Spitzer, himself, as part of the project of the building's renewal in 1877. Moreover, it was given a glassed-in space, set up like a green house, as the then-contemporary bourgeois life style dictated. On this last subject, see Long 2007.

Loti — quite theatrical was the way in which they were exhibited by Spitzer, perhaps influenced by the way in which the windows in the then-contemporary English *ateliers* were displayed in the Stained Glass Gallery at the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations of 1851²⁵. Heretofore, not enough importance has been given to the fact that Spitzer, himself, was documented in London right during the entire crucial period of the spectacular epiphany of the Enlightenment *Encyclopédie* and to the relevance this legendary event might have had on his following career as a collector and on the *mise en scène* of his Parisian hôtel²⁶.

Untiring voice of the “Spitzerian” epic together with Edmond Bonnaffé, Émile Molinier never lost a chance to celebrate the incomparable wisdom shown by Spitzer in such a display, but above all when seen in light of the difficulty of setting up such wares inside the exhibition spaces: museums and collectors’ houses²⁷. The fact that these windows displayed religious subjects and that they had been stripped from a sacred (Christian) space, far from seeming dissonant — still more in the home of a Jewish collector — emphasized even more, perhaps also thanks to the contrast, the sacredness of the museum space, considered as a sort of shrine and as a mystic place of pilgrimage for aristocrats who were enthusiasts of the decorative arts. Their practical and decorative uses, values and functions were thereby masterfully synthesized, almost as if they transformed into concrete form the ideals promulgated by Viollet-le-Duc to support the principle of the unity of the arts and the elimination of the distinction between “pure” art and “decorative” art.

Similar ornamental values and opportunities for use, together with the legibility of the whole, probably encouraged the practice of integrating heterogeneous

pieces to form a new whole, as would seem demonstrated by recent scientific research on and traditional stylistic analysis of the Spitzer windows²⁸. His *microstoria* is revealed as paradigmatic of a cultural stage marked by an interwoven international network of art dealers, collectors, connoisseurs, museum curators, art critics and craftsmen not infrequently acting within the antiques market with fraudulent intent (namely deliberately introducing negligible replicas or *mariages* validated as old, valuable masterpieces).

Such an approach was made possible by the extraordinary manual, imitative and mimetic abilities of the experienced craftsmen and those practicing the industrial arts to eliminate every stylistic dissonance in a whole that was to be harmoniously contextualized. This aspect interweaves closely with the question of the serial production of objects for which the past constituted an inevitable model and fundamental presupposition for the successive developments of *ex novo* glass production.

For all intents and purposes, the *Musée Spitzer* and its collections — promoted within a dramatic, overarching and unified project — can be considered a model of 19th century collecting focused on constructing a home exemplary for its unity of style and the stylistic consonance among the structure, the furnishings and the artistic collections. This kind of model, progressively abandoned in the subsequent lifestyle culture (at least among the most illuminated personalities in Europe), was eventually reflected in the following century in the creation of museum exhibits (or, *Epochemuseum*) and in the homes of the yankee millionaires on the other side of the Atlantic.

²⁵ «The principal stained glass gallery in 1851 [...] may have been a ‘discrete display’ [...] but it grabbed the attention of reviewers and artists alike, and set a precedent for future displays of the medium at later International Exhibitions, museums and art galleries across the world» (Allen 2012, 4).

²⁶ On this, see Cordera 2014, 55-71.

²⁷ «Les vitraux forment toujours dans les musées une série encombrante. On ne sait où les mettre; dans les salles contenant des objets d’art, ils suppriment la lumière et parsèment les oeuvres qui les avoisinent de paillettes lumineuses qui sont parfois d’un effect pittoresque, mais font la terreur des gens d’études [...] Leur placement est donc un véritable problème et c’est pour cela que beaucoup d’amateurs ont renoncé à les collectionner autrement que comme les accessoires d’un ameublement d’un style plus ou moins somptueux [...] M. Spitzer dans l’incomparable musée réuni rue de Villejust avait su tourner la difficulté: les fenêtres du hall qui lui servait de cabinet de travail avaient été pourvues de beaux vitraux du XVI^e siècle [...] La salle d’armes reçut une ornementation plus sévère [...] C’est donc une série très restreinte de vitraux que nous avons ici à étudier. Mais cette série, par l’importance des pièces qui y figurent, nous a paru néanmoins de nature à motiver une notice particulière destinée à assigner à ces monuments leur place dans l’histoire d’un art qui a jeté au moyen âge, en France et en Allemagne, un si grand éclat» (Molinier 1893, 113-114).

²⁸ Fragments of these stained glass window are preserved, today, in the Detroit Museum of Art, the Ochre Court and Seaview Terrace in Newport (Rhode Island), the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne and at the Glasgow Museums. On this subject, see “Boppard Conservation Project”. Accessed April 27, 2014. <http://boppardconservationproject.wordpress.com/about/>.

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WHO
GATHERS?

COLLECTING AMERICAN GLASS

LOUIS COMFORT TIFFANY AND THE GILDER CIRCLE IN 19TH-CENTURY NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

Louis Comfort Tiffany's collaborative "American glass movement" was one of nationalism and promotion from both the artist's and the collector's perspectives in a country newly unified and finding its footing in a world of industrialization. The partnerships that Tiffany formed with fellow artists and collectors were largely born out of his association with the Richard Watson Gilder Circle, a group of creative individuals working in and concerned with the arts. The experimentation undertaken by Gilder Circle members, including architect Stanford White, painter and glass artist John La Farge, and painter Cecilia Beaux, in accordance with Tiffany's technological and creative advancements in the medium of glass and avid collectors such as Henry and Louisine Havemeyer, altered the American artistic landscape and fostered new avenues for social and professional connections at the end of the 19th century.

KEYWORDS

STAINED GLASS | AMERICA | LOUIS COMFORT TIFFANY | GILDED AGE | COLLECTORS

RESUMO

O "movimento [colaborativo] de vidro americano" de Louis Comfort Tiffany foi um dos movimentos de nacionalismo e promoção, tanto da perspectiva do artista como do colecionador, num país recém-unificado e que tentava marcar a sua posição num mundo industrializado. As parcerias que Tiffany formou com outros artistas e colecionadores foram grandemente derivadas da sua associação com o Círculo de Richard Watson Gilder, um grupo de indivíduos criativos que trabalhavam e se dedicavam às artes. A experimentação levada a cabo por membros do Círculo de Gilder, incluindo o arquiteto Stanford White, o pintor e artista de vidro John La Farge, e a pintora Cecilia Beaux, conjuntamente com os avanços tecnológicos e criativos de Tiffany, usando vidro como o seu meio artístico, e com os ávidos colecionadores, como Henry e Louisine Havemeyer, alteraram a paisagem artística americana e promoveram novos caminhos para conexões sociais e profissionais, no final do século XIX.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

VITRAL | AMÉRICA | LOUIS COMFORT TIFFANY | ÉPOCA DE OURO | COLECCIONADORES

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I N D E X



E D I T O R I A L



I N T E R V I E W



D O S S I E R



P R I N T

Louis Comfort Tiffany

Louis Comfort Tiffany's career was defined in terms of the people he "collected." Tiffany (1848-1933), who began his artistic life as a painter and found success as a glass and luxury goods designer, employed his colleagues and collaborated with his supporters, both physically in terms of his design and glass projects, and mentally, in terms of their moral and artistic support. As an artist/designer he knew that whatever was produced in his studios was a group effort; yet, because each window, lamp, or piece of jewelry would bear his name, the design and execution of the work would have to meet the Tiffany standard of innovation.

Tiffany saw only one means of effecting this perfect union between the various branches of industry: the establishment of a large factory, a vast central workshop that would consolidate under one roof an army of craftsmen representing every relevant technique: glassmakers and stone setters, silversmiths, embroiderers and weavers, casemakers and carvers, gilders, jewelers, cabinetmakers—all working to give shape to the carefully planned concepts of a group of directing artists, themselves united by a common current of ideas (Bing 1970, 146).

Producing stained glass and jewelry designs through his companies Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company and Tiffany Studios, the artist catered to wealthy Americans who were interested in collecting the best objects available. These projects ranged in size and scale from a single stained glass window to an entire interior design. Many

of Tiffany's clients were business entrepreneurs, artists, writers, and socialites who, through their commissions, helped to make the Tiffany name synonymous with luxury glass. The artist's major projects included the stenciled and glass accoutrements for writer Mark Twain's Victorian house in Hartford, Connecticut; the interiors of John Taylor Johnston's home in New York City, who was best known as the founding president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the renovation of numerous White House room interiors for President Chester Alan Arthur; as well as the glass collection of Henry Osborne Havemeyer and Louisine Havemeyer, and the stained glass windows of the William C. Skinner House in New York City. **[FIG. 1]**

In America, things happen differently. The same democracy that serves as a basis for the entire social structure of the country has to the same extent penetrated the world of art. Neither accident of birth nor choice of one career over another confers any aristocracy. No caste system could long endure in an environment where all roads can lead to honor and fame. When an American artist holds an honored place in public esteem, it is in no way due to his choice of painting or sculpture; but rather because he has given shape to a new concept of Beauty—and any tool may have been used, with equal brilliance, to serve this distinguished cause—it makes no difference whether it is called brush, chisel, or something else (Bing 1970, 125).

Tiffany's network of colleagues rose out of his association with Richard Watson Gilder, editor of *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, a popular periodical that catered to

America's middle and upper classes. The magazine, a leader in publishing artwork and literature by Americans, was the first to give bylines to all contributors, including etchers, engravers, and illustrators, and was at the forefront of printing press technology. Gilder's leadership of the magazine was unparalleled in the latter decades of the 19th century, his promotion of the arts tireless, and his vast array of social connections were largely unparalleled in New York City.

It was from Gilder's artistic salon that Tiffany's connections grew. The artists that Tiffany met at Gilder's Friday night gatherings were challenging conventional notions of design and artistic styles to create an American movement, promoting members to potential clients, and often purchasing each other's works. Such Gilder Circle members as sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, architect Stanford White, painter Cecilia Beaux, glass designer and painter John La Farge, and writer Mark Twain were part of Tiffany's collected network. Cecilia Beaux served as artistic director of Tiffany Studios, lending her keen eye for painterly detail to the designer's glass projects. Likewise, Augustus Saint-Gaudens was a friend and promoter, while also working closely with John La Farge on numerous glass projects. However, the social gatherings were not reserved exclusively for visual artists; instead, the informal Gilder Circle meetings were attended by writers, actors, musicians, politicians, and a myriad of other artists working in diverse media, each a potential collaborator, friend, or promoter of Tiffany (Yahr 2009).



Tiffany's innovations

Louis Comfort Tiffany's collaborative American glass movement was one of self-promotion in a country newly unified following the end of the Civil War in 1865. The Reconstruction period that followed the end of America's years of defense mentality, was a time of growing industrialization, of a country seeking to reestablish a sense of stability and a progressive vision for the future.

Stained glass was not a new artistic medium in the late 19th century. Glass had been used to provide decoration and

FIG. 1 Dining Room, Mark Twain House, 351 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Hartford County, CT. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS CONN, 2-HARF, 16--6.

to display important visual narratives within churches and cathedrals throughout Europe from the Medieval period through the Renaissance and beyond. Most of the imagery found within these earlier periods of stained glass history was comprised of brown or black paintings drawn directly on pieces of glass. The painted glass pieces were then fired in order to literally burn the painted images onto the glass, which were subsequently assembled with lead rods to hold the entire piece together (Pepall 1981, 50). In order for the stained glass to be held in place, often high up along the side of a building, each work of glass was attached to the wall with iron bars. The extent to which a piece or window of glass was painted was largely determined by the artist and the client; a visual characteristic of the stained glass medium that changed drastically over the course of time in accordance with changes of taste. As Tiffany's contemporary and critic Cecilia Waern opined on the topic of the artist's glass projects in the magazine *The Studio* in 1897, he "conforms to the wishes of the customers and [the artist's studio] adapts itself to any problem presented as adroitly as a clever milliner" (Waern 1897, 157). She goes on to note that "It is eclectic, of course, this Tiffany style" a declaration that summarizes Tiffany's incorporation of stained glass traditions into his own experimental method of working (Waern 1897, 157).

Tiffany, having seen and studied the various ecclesiastical windows of the great cathedrals of Europe during his travels in the later 1860s and early 1870s, was in search of new ways of creating visual effects in the medium of glass (Frelinghuysen 2006, 4). His goal was to produce imagery, including landscape scenes, architectural elements, figures,

flora and fauna by exploiting the versatility of glass as a material, rather than relying on the painting of glass to produce the desired motifs. Seemingly simple, this was Tiffany's revolutionary innovation within the world of artistic glass production.

Many of Tiffany's early glass commissions were ecclesiastical, including the stained glass windows for the interiors of Madison Square Church, a project completed in collaboration with Gilder Circle member Stanford White, a window for St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church, and the chapel interior of the Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine, all three of which were originally in New York City. The chapel interior of the Cathedral Church was displayed at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, which was subsequently purchased by Mrs. Celia Whipple Wallace of Chicago before returning to the artist's holdings in 1916. Tiffany also completed stained glass windows for the First Presbyterian Church in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the First Church of Christ in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and Saint Peter's Chapel on Mare Island in California, among numerous others. These ecclesiastical commissions allowed the artist to build his reputation and transformed each church into a destination location, sites to be seen by a wide range of audiences. Large-scale stained glass windows were not common to early American churches, nor were they common to patrons who had not traveled extensively outside of the country. Tiffany provided a groundbreaking adventure, a literal translucent and transcendent sight that few Americans had ever seen before. **[FIG. 2]**

Apart from Tiffany's work in the medium, John La Farge had been experimenting with glass in the 1870s and was the



FIG. 2 Louis Comfort Tiffany, Saint Peter's Chapel, Mare Island, California. The Jon B. Lovelace Collection of California Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America Project, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

first to press thin layers of different colored glass together, fusing the layers with heat, to produce what became known as opalescent glass (Pepall 1981, 52). Much like an opal, a gemstone that looks milky, opalescent glass is marbled and semitransparent in its finished look. A member of Gilder's Circle, La Farge frequented the Friday night gatherings that were held at the Gilder home, where he would often meet Tiffany, each sharing his experiments, but also knowing that they would compete against each other for commissions (La Farge 1893, 9-10).

Although Tiffany was not the first to produce opalescent glass for artistic use, he surpassed La Farge in the creation of shading techniques using opalescent glass, the incorporation of stones, gems, and objects into the glass panels to provide texture and dimension, as well as the process of assembling glass pieces using lead lines to define a scene ("American Progress" 1881, 485). Tiffany essentially eliminated the need to paint directly onto glass by utilizing the medium to its fullest potential. Moreover, the artist's meticulous process of choosing just the right shade or the best-suited piece of glass for a textured visual effect set Tiffany apart from his colleagues. He was known for keeping glass sheets organized according to a code, with upwards of two tons of glass in five thousand colors and hues stored in his studio at any given time (Waern 1898, 16). Often complicated shapes and pieces of varying thickness were used by Tiffany to form scenes consisting of landscapes that resemble paintings or figures that look as if they will step out of the glass window, full of life and personality. There were no attempts by Tiffany to hide the leading; rather, it was a vital part of his glass creation process, forming the outlines of all major scene

FIG. 3 Louis Comfort Tiffany, designer and Fredolin Kreischmann, engraver, Tall Vase with Lily Pads and Wild Carrots, 1895-1898, The Walters Art Museum, acquired by Henry Walters, www.thewalters.org. Creative Commons License.

components. “In its [Tiffany glass] rejection of all forms of the past it took an essential step toward the future and opened the way for a recognition of the new conditions prevailing in an industrial society” (Schaefer 1962, 328). In order to successfully produce his glass projects, from large-scale windows to luxury goods including lamps, Tiffany was in need of glass suppliers, designers, and artists to help him fulfill his commissions. **[FIG. 3]**

Collected partners: glass works

The American glass movement was not only largely indebted to the artists who brought creative and imaginative scenes to life, but also to the glass companies that physically produced the colorful sheets of glass, in high volume, that artists needed to complete their creative works. The first of Tiffany’s partners was Thill’s Empire State Flint Glass Works in Brooklyn, New York, where the artist worked from 1875 to 1877 developing drapery glass in which hot glass is molded and manipulated to look like drapery folds (“The Secrets of Tiffany Glassmaking”). Following his work at Thill’s, Tiffany established a glasshouse in Venice, Italy, which was a short-lived endeavor, as it burned in an 1878 fire (Veith 2006, 226).

As the 1870s came to a close, Tiffany established an essential and productive partnership with the Heidt Glass House in Brooklyn, New York. La Farge and Tiffany both experimented with the creation of opalescent glass around 1880 at the Heidt furnace (Veith 2006, 226). In March of 1881, Tiffany and Louis Heidt, the owner of Heidt Glass House signed an exclusive agreement in which Heidt agreed to produce glass for Louis C. Tiffany and Company alone, with



Tiffany being the only customer privy to the experiments and process-based information held at the Heidt Glass House (Tiffany and Heidt 1881). According to the agreement,

Whereas Louis Heidt desires to manufacture glass for decorative purposes for the firm of Louis C. Tiffany & Company, and has proposed to said firm to manufacture said glass exclusively for them and not for any other persons engaged in the same business, they on their part to communicate to him certain processes in the manufacture of glass known to them and to make experiments through him looking toward the discovery of new processes (Tiffany and Heidt 1881).

In return for this exclusivity, Tiffany agreed to purchase at least two-hundred dollars worth of glass every month from Heidt, the length of the agreement being upwards of ten years (Tiffany and Heidt 1881). The agreement was, for Tiffany, a way to cut off his competitors without addressing them directly. La Farge had secured a patent on the “Colored-Glass Window” in February of 1880 for the creation of opalescent glass sheets at the same time that both artists were working out of the Heidt furnace. One year later, in February of 1881, Tiffany secured his own patent for the “Colored-Glass Window,” the difference between the two being that Tiffany’s patent covered the assembly process. He also received additional patents in 1881, one for “a new background surface for opalescent glass tiles to add brilliance and iridescence,” and another for “a process of improving the metallic luster as it is being given to one surface of a window or mosaic” (Veith 2006, 226). Within one month of receiving his official patents Tiffany signed the

exclusivity agreement with Louis Heidt, hence preempting La Farge’s use of the Heidt Glass House to create or further experiment with opalescent glass.

Tiffany’s relationship with Heidt lasted until 1883 when the artist decided to diversify his interests in glass producers. Tiffany found the partner he was looking for in Kokomo Opalescent Glass of Kokomo, Indiana. In the early 1880s, America saw a natural gas boom and news traveled quickly of the availability of the fossil fuel in rural locations. Numerous industrialists and entrepreneurs attempted to capitalize on the availability of the fuel source, filing claims for land and establishing companies to sell natural gas. One such entrepreneur was Charles Edward Henry, a French-born glass chemist who had been running his own art glass company in New Rochelle, New York when he heard about the natural gas discovery in Kokomo. Henry turned his efforts away from producing glass novelties, left New Rochelle, where it is likely that he first met Tiffany, and moved to Kokomo where he established the Opalescent Glass Works in the fall of 1888. The company was particularly important for Tiffany’s glass production, as Kokomo produced large glass sheets in vibrant colors, the exact type of glass that the artist needed to complete his interior designs. One of the first shipments from Henry’s newly established glass works was to Tiffany (Indiana Historical Society, “Kokomo Opalescent Glass Company, Inc.”). In November of 1888, the artist received six hundred pounds of blue and white opalescent glass (Doros 2013, 29).

Even after Henry’s death in 1892 and a change in ownership, the glass works sent Tiffany mottled, opalescent, rippled, and marbled sheets for use in his glass designs. In 1893 alone, Tiffany was one of the company’s best clients,

purchasing more than 10,000 pounds of glass in various colors and types (Indiana Historical Society, “Kokomo Opalescent Glass Company, Inc.”).

While Tiffany was working with Kokomo, he set out to build a relationship with a glass works closer to his studio in New York City. He founded the Corona furnace between late 1892 and early 1893 to produce the various types of glass necessary to complete his projects, in particular Favrile glass, which Tiffany had begun utilizing in his luxury goods designs in the 1890s. He obtained a patent on Favrile in 1894, which consists of an iridescent sheen, and was typically used by Tiffany to create luminous vases (University of Michigan Museum of Art). The furnace’s location in Queens provided an easy distance for any large or small pieces of glass to travel, a major issue with relying solely on the Indiana-based Kokomo Opalescent Glass, as any cracks or breaks that occurred while the glass was in transit resulted in a loss of inventory for the artist.

Arthur J. Nash, the superintendent of the Corona furnace was an important figure in Tiffany’s collected network. The artist relied heavily on his oversight of the furnace, including daily operations and high-quality output. After a short time in operation, the furnace was renamed the Stourbridge Glass Company (Nash hailed from Stourbridge, England), an effort to separate the Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company name from the functionality and existence of the glass producer. In October of 1893, a fire, for the second time in Tiffany’s career, damaged the furnace upon which he was relying for large quantities of glass. The furnace, uninsured and facing upwards of twenty-thousand dollars in damages, had to be rebuilt, which was accomplished with the help of a loan from Tiffany’s father, Charles Lewis Tiffany, the man behind

the successful Tiffany & Co. luxury goods stores (Veith 2006, 227). Once the furnace was rebuilt and reestablished in the production of glass, a foundry and metal shop were added to increase the capabilities of Stourbridge to produce leading, as well as various parts for small-scale goods. These additions were followed by a second change of name, to Tiffany Furnaces in 1902. Tiffany Furnaces remained in operation until 1924 when Tiffany removed his name from the glassworks and turned the business over to A. Douglas Nash. Yet, even with the change in ownership, Tiffany protected his artistic process, output, and collected network, remaining an interested party until the company’s closure in 1930 (Veith 2006, 227-231).

Havemeyers

At the end of the 19th century, industrialists had grabbed a hold of the available resources and established companies that altered the economic landscape of America through steel, railroads, banking, shipping, oil, and even, in the case of Henry Osborne Havemeyer, sugar. The Havemeyer sugar empire was built on America’s capitalism and Henry was an unforgiving captain of industry, so much so that his Sugar Trust was deemed a “conscienceless octopus reaching from coast to coast” (Kimmelman 1993).

Henry and Louisine Havemeyer were avid collectors of art, amassing a robust array of paintings, sculptures, and objects inspired by their travels and their own network of artists and art dealers. The couple was directly linked to Richard Watson Gilder through the Society of Art Collectors, a New York City-based committee of men and women that counted Gilder and the Havemeyers as members, dedicated to stimulating “the appreciation of American Art

at its true value” (Society of Art Collectors 1904). In Gilded Age America, the prevailing notion was that a collection of European artwork would legitimize social status, wealth, and education. Collecting American works was considered to be a risky endeavor, as the country was establishing an artistic identity based on a unique dichotomy, tied to longstanding European traditions of art academies and ateliers, yet based in “experimentation, intense scrutiny of aesthetic ideals, and proliferation of new styles in the world of art” (Frelinghuysen 1999, 4). The Havemeyers’ support of their contemporaries through art collecting, and their focus on Tiffany glass in particular, was unprecedented in post-Civil War America.

Additionally, the Havemeyers employed numerous artists of the Gilder Circle, including Tiffany, to create interior designs for their New York City home at 5th Avenue and East 66th Street. Architect Charles Haight built the impressive structure and Tiffany, along with collaborator Samuel Colman, who was also an art advisor to the couple, created the interior environments, with each room being inspired by a different foreign location or motif. The Havemeyers’ drawing room was a spectacle of Gilded Age decoration, a combination of Moorish design, the textures and patterns of Byzantium, and the striking simplicity of Japanese artwork (Feld 1962, 103).

Completed in 1891, the drawing room vibrantly displayed Tiffany’s mixture of interests. The highlight of the room was a fire screen comprised of an abstract, colorful design of rectangles, circular patterns, and a combination of vertical glass rods in alternating columns of purple and white, reminiscent of bamboo stalks. Upon the vertical rods are circular forms that give the scene the look of dew on a windowpane. The colors, patterns, and textures found within

the fire screen are reminiscent of North African textiles and Native American weavings.

The Havemeyer house also included numerous windows designed by Tiffany, one in rich amber, white, and blue interlocking geometric patterns, and a second arabesque-like window yellow and amber in color. Included in the house was a chandelier with opalescent bits of glass and another with rounded domes of yellow glass in various sizes, an air return grill, unique lighting fixtures, a mosaic frieze, and an elaborate S-patterned gilt balustrade complete with opalescent glass pieces, all which show the diversity of Tiffany’s glass work. One of the most elaborate of Tiffany’s designs for the Havemeyer residence is a mosaic that greeted visitors in the house’s entrance hall, a two-dimensional tête-à-tête between full-feathered male peacocks that comes to life through interspersed three-dimensional pieces of glass (Bullen 2005, 390-398).

The Havemeyers were trendsetters in their embrace of eclectic furnishings while understanding and supporting the artistic process unique to Tiffany and Colman. The grandiosity of the Havemeyers’ home, furnishings, and overall interior design was also a sign of wealth and status within New York City society. Further, the Havemeyer home was a repository for their vast art collection, which included numerous Impressionist, Post-Impressionist and Realist paintings, drawings, sculptures, works by Old Masters, Asian art, and decorative arts, including an abundance of Tiffany Favrile objects.

The Favrile works were offered directly by the collectors to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, itself a symbol of America’s cultured class and a definer of taste, in 1896. In a letter from H. O. Havemeyer to Museum President



FIG. 4 Louis Comfort Tiffany, Vase, 1893. Favrite glass. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of H. O. Havemeyer, 1896, www.metmuseum.org. Open Access for Scholarly Content.

Henry G. Marquand, Henry outlines the importance of the glass objects as among Tiffany's finest, highlighting the personal relationship between artist and collector, explaining, "Since the Tiffany Glass Co. have been making Favrite glass Mr. Louis Tiffany has set aside the finest pieces of their production, which I have acquired for what I consider to be their artistic value. Their number now is such that I am disposed to offer the collection, which is one of rare beauty, to the Metropolitan Museum of Art" (Feld 1962, 101). The gift of Favrite objects was also in keeping with the tenants of the Society of Art Collectors, to encourage the appreciation of American art and to support American artists through the collection of their works. The Metropolitan was the recipient of numerous Havemeyer collections, from fifty-six of Tiffany's innovative Favrite works (Frelinghuysen 1993, 99) to a vast array of paintings, sculpture, and drawings that continue to reside in the hallowed halls of one of the nation's largest museums, the fourth phase of which was designed by Charles McKim, William Mead, and Gilder Circle member Stanford White. **[FIG. 4]**

Staying power

It is not only the Metropolitan Museum of Art that houses a vast collection of glass works by Louis Comfort Tiffany and his patrons. The turn from the 19th century to the 20th century brought with it a case of "Tiffany fever," a feeling that in order to be part of the America's upper echelon one must own a Tiffany creation (Lynes 1954, 172-173). Together with his glass works partners and his staff of artists, designers, and craftspeople, Tiffany was able to produce his windows, screens, lights, and various other goods in quantity. With his collected network in place to aid in marketing via



word-of-mouth, commissioning interior designs, and largely supporting his studio output, Tiffany prospered. Today, Tiffany glass has found its way into numerous museum collections, including those that represent Gilded Age America in both style and environment, two essential elements within Tiffany's own design philosophy. The Driehaus Museum in Chicago, Illinois, the Charles Hosmer Morse Museum of American Art in Winter Park, Florida, the Evergreen Museum and Library on the campus of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, and the Lucknow Estate, known as the Castle in the Clouds, in Moultonborough, New Hampshire, represent just a small cross section of museums with Tiffany glass objects both large and small. Each museum provides a 21st-century connection to Louis Comfort Tiffany's collected network, each a part of the artist's vast reach and staying power.

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WHERE TO
COLLECT?

SALES, STATUS, SHOPS AND SWAPS

AN OVERVIEW OF WAYS OF COLLECTING GLASS IN THE 19TH CENTURY WITH SOME CASE STUDIES FROM PARIS AND LONDON

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the networks for collecting glass in the 19th century. Its emphasis is on the collecting of historic Venetian glass during the third quarter of the century, when collectors' interest in such glass grew at an unprecedented rate. After surveying the development of interest in Venetian glass during the 1850s and 1860s, the paper considers the ways in which several collectors, primarily in Paris and London, assembled their collections. Two case studies are then discussed in more detail: the formation of the collections of the English marine artist Edward William Cooke (1811-1880) in London and Alfred-Émilien, comte de Nieuwerkerke (1811-1892) in Paris. Cooke's diary and Nieuwerkerke's receipted invoices provide rare evidence of the ways in which they assembled their collections. More than forty glasses from Cooke's collection are now in the British Museum, while Nieuwerkerke's art collection, acquired from him *en bloc* by Richard Wallace in 1871, is in the Wallace Collection.

KEYWORDS

COLLECTING | VENETIAN GLASS | 19TH CENTURY

RESUMO

Este artigo explora as redes de colecionismo de vidro, no século XIX. Enfatiza o colecionismo de vidro veneziano histórico durante o terceiro quartel do mesmo século, quando o interesse dos colecionadores cresceu a uma taxa sem precedentes. Após o levantamento do desenvolvimento do interesse em vidro veneziano durante os anos de 1850 e 1860, o documento considera o modo como os colecionadores, principalmente em Paris e Londres, reuniram suas coleções. Dois casos de estudo são então discutidos em maior detalhe: a formação das coleções do artista de marinha Inglês Edward William Cooke (1811-1880) em Londres e de Alfred-Émilien, Conde de Nieuwerkerke (1811-1892), em Paris. O diário de Cooke e as faturas pagas de Nieuwerkerke fornecem provas raras das formas pelas quais são criadas estas coleções. Mais de quarenta vidros da coleção de Cooke estão agora no Museu Britânico, enquanto a coleção de arte de Nieuwerkerke, adquirida em bloco por Richard Wallace em 1871, se encontra na Wallace Collection.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

COLECCIONISMO | VIDRO VENEZIANO | SÉCULO XIX



This paper explores the networks for collecting glass in the 19th century. Its emphasis is on the collecting of historic Venetian glass during the third quarter of the century,¹ when collectors' interest in such glass grew at an unprecedented rate.

Venetian glass of the so-called 'Golden Age', dating approximately from the second half of the 15th to the first half of the 17th century, were especially highly prized by collectors. After this period, the market for and production of Venetian luxury blown-glass were adversely affected by the fashion for a different aesthetic supplied by foreign manufacturers, and production went into deep decline after the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797.

The demand among collectors for Venetian-style glass of the 'Golden Age' evolved within the prevailing broader context of interest in the medieval and Renaissance periods. A significant initial stimulus for this was the volume of works of art that entered the market or museums following the upheavals of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.

In Britain, public exposure to historic Venetian glass began to increase during the 1850s. Important landmarks included the sale of Ralph Bernal's art collection in London in 1855, with more than 100 lots of Venetian glass; the exhibition of the Soulages collection at Marlborough House in London in 1856, with 90 examples, and the groundbreaking Art Treasures of the United Kingdom exhibition, held in Manchester in 1857. A lavish book, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom from the Art Treasures Exhibition Manchester*, included an authoritative essay on 'Vitreous Art' by Augustus Wollaston Franks in which Venetian glass featured strongly.

In Venice, Paris and London, interest in both historic Venetian glass and contemporary Venetian glass inspired by it developed at a breathtaking rate during the 1860s.

The revival of interest in historic Venetian glass and the revitalization of the city's artistic blown-glass industry at this time owed much to developments in Venice. In the early 1860s, the abbot Vincenzo Zanetti helped establish a glass museum and a school of design for glass-makers on Murano, in the hope of stimulating a revival of the industry there. Students, inspired by the museum's collection, often revived and reinterpreted earlier techniques and styles.

In France and Britain, publications and exhibitions made Venetian glass more accessible to an interested public. In France in 1861, Vincenzo Lazari published an article on 'Les Verreries de Murano' in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and *Le Cabinet de l'Amateur* included an article entitled 'Histoire de la Verre Vénitienne'.

In London in 1862, more than 60 historic examples were displayed in the Special Loan Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum), while the display from Antonio Salviati's Venetian company at the International Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations included glasses inspired by historic precedents.

Contemporary Venetian glass was also shown at the first Esposizione Vetraria Muranese in Venice in 1864.

In Paris in 1865, the Musée rétrospectif exhibition included almost 200 historic examples.

Writing in Britain that year, J.C. Robinson observed: 'In our own day ... a new and different appreciation ... has begun to prevail. The ancient glass wares of Venice, neglected and despised during the last hundred and fifty years, have

¹ At this time, it was unusual for a distinction to be made between Venetian glass and glass made elsewhere in the Venetian style (*façon de Venise*).

become a favourite category with amateurs of art; they have fallen into the domain of the collector, whilst artists and manufacturers are also gradually becoming alive to the admirable taste in design, and the extraordinary and infinitely varied developments of technical skill manifested in them.' (Robinson 1865, 181)

In 1866 Zanetti published his *Guida di Murano e delle celebri sue fornaci vetrarie*, drawing attention to the revival of glass-making on the island. Salviati had a resounding success at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1867 and was able to move his London shop to larger premises in 1868. This remarkable decade of achievement culminated in 1869 with the second Esposizione Vetraria Muranese to be held in Venice.

This is the context within which the collecting of historic Venetian glass is explored here.

The significance of Venetian glass within a collection varied. It might be a component in a broader collection of medieval and Renaissance works of art in the 'Kunstkammer' tradition, as was the case with Alfred-Émilien, comte de Nieuwerkerke, the Rothschilds and Alexandre Basilewsky in Paris or Sir Richard Wallace in London and Baron Ferdinand Rothschild at Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire. Alternatively, it might receive special emphasis within a less diverse collection, such as those formed by Duke Alfred of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha at Veste Coburg, or his cousin, Ferdinand II of Portugal. It might, though, be acquired in the context of a more specialized collection, such as Felix Slade's in London.

By what routes did collectors acquire Venetian glass? This varies from collector to collector and unfortunately it is rare

for much information about their methods and sources to be known today. For example, we know little more about the formation of the collection of Jules Soulages, an early French collector of Renaissance works of art, than that it was acquired in Italy in the 1830s, during visits made primarily for that purpose.²

There are, however, some notable exceptions, collectors about whose methods of collecting more detailed information is available.

The earlier 19th-century Parisian collector Alexandre-Charles Sauvageot (1781-1860) specialized in collecting Renaissance objects such as glass, sculpture and ceramics, which he began collecting from 1826/7. In 1856 he donated many works from his collection to the Louvre, including Venetian and Bohemian glasses. Sauvageot recorded his purchases in a notebook, also in the Louvre. In this notebook, Sauvageot wrote brief descriptions of the items, the prices paid, which might include the cost of restoration, and sometimes named the source dealer or sale. Occasionally, a glass described in the notebook can be identified.³ Having neither time nor patience to search for objects, Sauvageot made a point of buying from the best sales or directly from dealers with the best reputations. He was buying before Renaissance works of art became fashionable and prices increased significantly, but nevertheless, as one of the dealers who sold to him remarked, 'Il nous achetait toujours plus cher qu'un autre, parce qu'il voulait être le premier à voir les objets.' (Sauzay 1861, x). Arthur Roberts's painting, *Intérieur du cabinet de M. Sauvageot* (1856), shows the collector in his dining room shortly before the transfer of his collection to the

² Robinson 1856, iii-iv. The Soulages collection is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

³ For example, in 1834 Sauvageot recorded the purchase and restoration price of one glass that is unidentified (*1359 bis verre à long pied 2 anses uni forme évasée cassé 5f rest. 3f 8*) and the cost of a glass that has been identified as Louvre OA 1020 (*1362 bis 1 verre forme coquille double, avec goulot et 2 ailes en émail bleu 35*). Françoise Barbe kindly provided this information.

Louvre. The room is densely packed with a mass of diverse objects, from the walls hung with Palissy-style ceramics and darkened by monumental furniture to the table laden with a sumptuous assortment of Renaissance earthenwares, glasses and mounted rock crystals.⁴

The English collector Felix Slade (1790-1868) was described by Hugh Tait as ‘... the first great connoisseur and collector of glass ...’. (Tait 1996, 70). Slade bought much of his glass in London. He bequeathed around a thousand glasses to the British Museum, the majority Venetian, together with nearly nine thousand prints and some other items.⁵ In the catalogue of Slade’s glass collection that was in preparation at the time of his death (Franks 1871), there is provenance information for a few pieces. The catalogue records that Slade acquired glasses that had been in the Debruge-Duménil, Bernal, Soltykoff and Préaux collections, all sold during the 1850s and 60s, as well as from the d’Azeglio and Sandes collections.⁶ He sometimes bid at sales himself, such as at the Bernal sale in London in 1855 and at the Soltykoff sale in Paris in 1861.⁷ Slade, who had a close circle of collector friends and ‘... the reputation of delighting in discussing his treasures with friends and acquaintances as he showed them around the house ...’ (Tait 1996, 75), recorded receiving some of his glasses as gifts and bequests.⁸

Ferdinand II of Portugal (1816-1885) assembled a wide-ranging art collection, but the glassware, both vessel and stained glass, was his overriding passion. Much of the vessel glass, especially the Venetian and Germanic wares of the 16th to 18th centuries, was housed in the Necessidades Palace in Lisbon, in the dedicated *Sala dos Vidros*.

Ferdinand bought historic glass as early as the 1850s, but his enthusiasm grew in the 1860s. Receipts record several purchases made during his trip around Europe in 1863 and in 1864 he ordered a series of objects, including 16 Venetian glasses, in Dresden. The majority of his purchases may have been made from antique dealers in Lisbon.⁹ Surviving receipts from Ferdinand’s European tour in 1863 include one from Tito Gagliardi’s Florentine shop, dated 10 July, for the purchase of maiolica and a large glass goblet, and one written in Paris on 11 June, from the dealer A. Beurdeley at the Pavillon de Hanovre, for maiolica and five Venetian glasses, including ‘2 coupes sur piedouche à filets blanc’ from Louis Fould’s collection.¹⁰ Both were prominent dealers. Gagliardi had an outlet in Paris by 1867 and Beurdeley was very active on the Parisian art market (see p. 127 below).¹¹ In 1855 the king was already planning the redecoration of the Stag Room at the Pena Palace at Sintra to incorporate the display of his glassware. A decorative scheme by Eugen Rühl was not completed, but designs reveal that the glass would have been shown alongside heraldry, armour and hunting trophies.

Two contemporary collectors will now be considered in detail as case studies: the English marine artist Edward William Cooke (1811-1880) and Alfred-Émilien O’Hara, comte de Nieuwerkerke (1811-1892), as *surintendant des Beaux-Arts* the most powerful figure in Napoléon III’s Second Empire art establishment. They shared a predilection for Venetian and *façon de Venise* glass. Much information about the formation of their collections is available as Cooke kept a diary and Nieuwerkerke retained the receipted invoices for his purchases.

⁴ Louvre, inv. M.I. 861.

⁵ Griffiths 1996, 116. Tait 1996, 75.

⁶ For example, cat. 361 (British Museum, inv. S.361) was formerly in the Debruge-Duménil and Soltykoff collections and cat. 387 (British Museum, S.387) in the Bernal collection.

⁷ Annotated copies of the sale catalogues in the Wallace Collection Library record Slade as buying Venetian glasses and two German enamelled glasses at the Bernal sale (Lugt 22290, 5.3.-30.4.1855, lots 2730-2732, 2735, 2749, 2755, 2804, 2818, 2820, 2832, 2853, 2855) and Venetian glass at the Soltykoff sale (Lugt 26136, 8 April -1 May 1861, lots 804, 808, 809, 813, 815, 817).

⁸ Franks 1871, cat. 904, was presented to Slade by the collector John Henderson. Franks 1871, cats 419 and 651, were bequeathed to Slade by Sir Charles Ruge Price and cat. 856 was bequeathed by G. S. Nicholson. These last had been Slade’s early mentors at a time when Venetian glass was ‘... but little cared for in England; ...’ (Slade’s ‘Preface’ to Franks 1871).

⁹ Martinho and Vilarigues 2011, 8, 27.

¹⁰ The receipts are in the Arquivo Histórico da Casa de Bragança at Vila Viçosa. Gagliardi’s receipt is illustrated in Teixeira 1986, 240 (the date given incorrectly) and Beurdeley’s in Monge 2006, 135.

¹¹ A receipt from Gagliardi to Nieuwerkerke dated 29 June 1867 in the Wallace Collection Archives, file AR2/28R/4, gives his address as 22 rue de la Victoire, Paris. Another one is dated 20 March 1866 in ‘Paris’ (loc. cit.). For Gagliardi and Beurdeley see Westgarth 2009.

Cooke in London and Nieuwerkerke in Paris were forming their collections most actively in the mid-1860s, when interest in Venetian glass was at its height. They shared characteristics and opportunities that enabled them to use a range of strategies to extend their collections. Both mixed in affluent cultured and artistic circles, giving them access to important private collections and a kinship with likeminded collectors, which might lead to exchanges, gifts or perhaps early notification of proposed sales. Foreign travel afforded them buying opportunities. Both bought at auction and received speculative visits from dealers.

In London and Paris, auctions and dealers were important sources for glass collectors. Dealers did not specialize in glass, but sold a wide range of *curiosités* in their shops, often acquiring their stock from auctions. A collector might visit the shop or an enterprising dealer might call on a potential customer. Surviving invoices and receipts show that certain dealers, such as Beurdeley in Paris and Durlacher in London, were firmly established on the collectors' circuit for purchases of glass and other items.

Edward Cooke provided an exceptional record of the ways in which he acquired his glass collection in the diary that he kept from the late 1820s until 1879.¹² Cooke was a gregarious man with an insatiable intellectual curiosity and wide-ranging interests, reflected in his life-long passion for collecting a diverse range of objects. His two great enthusiasms, though, were ferns and Venetian glass. His activity as a collector of Venetian glass reached its apogee in 1864-5. Cooke acquired his glasses by diverse means: visiting curiosity shops and dealers at home and abroad, during extensive travels in pursuit of subjects for his paintings; at auction; as gifts and,

perhaps more unusually, through exchanges. As a result, he encapsulates the varied means by which a collector might augment his collection.

Cooke's artist father probably sparked his interest in 'curiosities', and as a young man he was already fascinated by collections. Cooke achieved early professional success and was soon mixing in high society and attending *conversazione*, gatherings of like-minded people. At meetings of the Fine Arts Club, which took place in members' homes, he had the opportunity to see selections from other collections, as when on 23 July 1863 he went '... to Fine Arts Club meeting at Marchese D'Azelio's. Met many friends and saw superb collection ...'. Cooke also exhibited items from his own collection. A diary entry for 23 July 1867 indicates the scale of the displays at these gatherings: 'Chaffers came with two men and packed 72 pieces of old Venetian glass for the Fine Arts Club meeting tomorrow ...'.

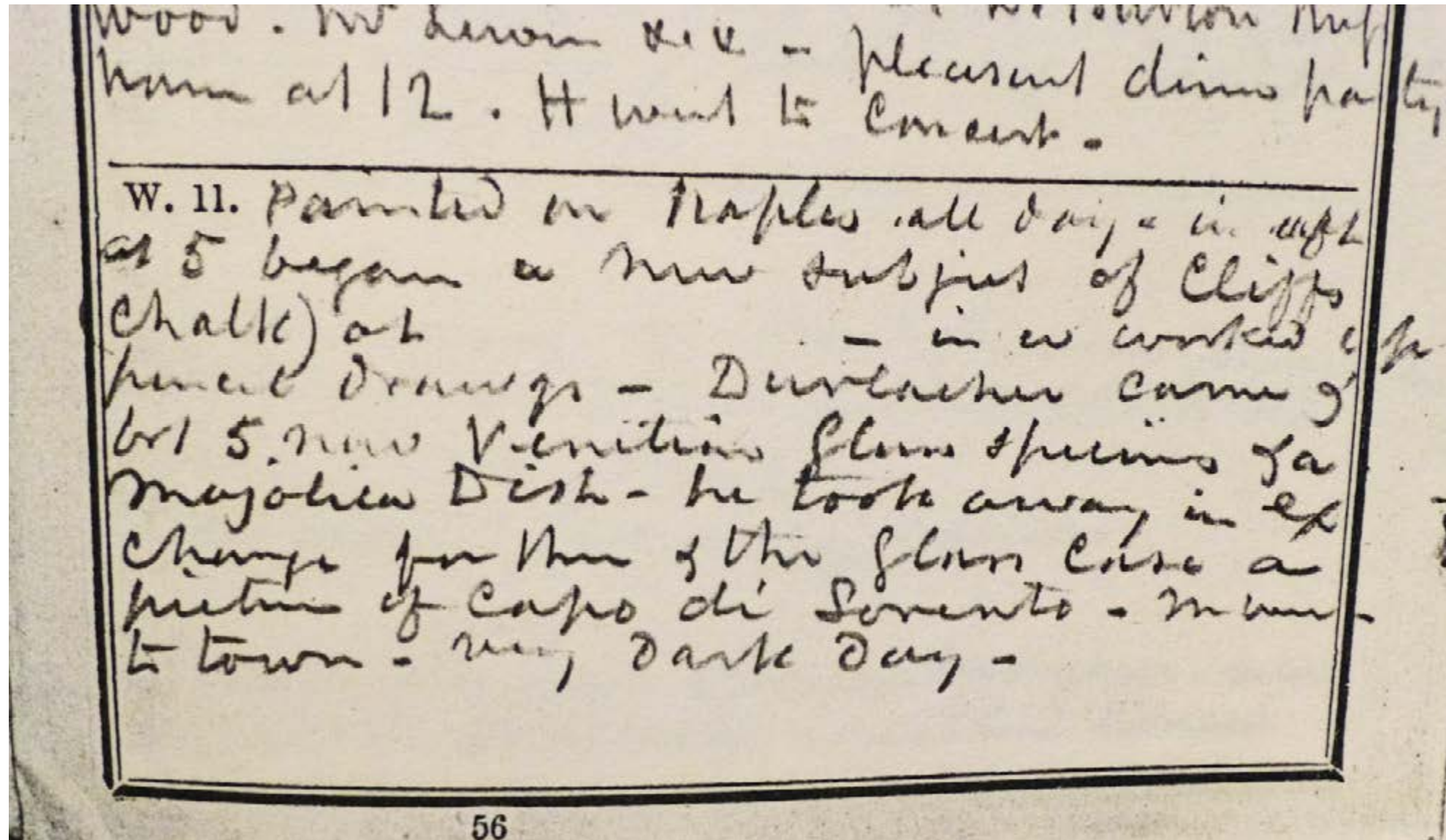
The first reference to Cooke buying glass was when he was in Baden Baden during his honeymoon (11 July 1840), so the '... 2 Bohemia glass scent bottles ...' may have been for his bride. In 1850, on his first visit to Venice, Cooke noted on 7 October that he 'Bought glass objects.' However, the first firm indication of Cooke's interest in Venetian glass is in his diary entry for 29 November 1858, when he was passing through Paris on a journey home from Venice: 'Went to Roussels, bought bronze cup and Venetian glass &c ...'. By late February 1864, though, he was in thrall to collecting glass, as his diary entry for the 24th illustrates: 'Left 2 Ruby vases at Falcke's to be cleaned ... called at Miers, Zimmerman & Durlachers, bought 3 pieces of Venice glass.'¹³

¹² Munday 1996 is the definitive biography of Cooke. The transcripts of Cooke's diary, made by Munday from the originals then owned by Cooke's great-grandson, Lt Col Conrad Reginald Cooke, were kindly made available to me by Martyn Gregory. For ease of comprehension, abbreviations used by Cooke have not been retained in this paper.

As Cooke's enthusiasm intensified the dealers were quick to respond. Between December 1863 and December 1864 Cooke recorded about 40 speculative visits from the dealers Attenborough, Davis, Durlacher, Falcke, Jacobs, Myers, Neill, Wareham, Waters, Webster, Whitehead, Wilson and Wright, some of them among the principal London 'curiosity' dealers of the time. The quantity of Venetian glass that Cooke bought in 1864 is remarkable. He often acquired several pieces at a time, but it may be that his largest single purchase occurred on 29 June 1864, when 'Mr and Mrs Falcke came at 9 and brought a van with the glass case and 111 pieces of old Venetian glass — they unpacked and set it up by 3 o'clock.'

Sometimes Cooke paid in cash, as on 3 December 1864 when, 'Falcke's men brought 2 Ruby cups which I bought 15/...'. More usually, though, he made exchanges. The following examples are typical: 20 February 1864, '... Mr Falcke came and exchanged several pieces of Venetian glass for a Drawing of Dieppe and a small old picture ...'; 11 May 1864 [FIG. 1], '... — Durlacher came and brought 5 new Venetian glass specimens and a majolica Dish — he took away in exchange for them and the glass case a picture of Capo di Sorento.'

Cooke's interest in glass soon led to an acquaintance with Felix Slade. On 9 January 1864 Cooke recorded, 'Mr Blore drove over and took me to Mr Felix Slade's ... Saw the truly superb collection of Venetian Glass and Roman and Greek Glass and some of his fine Etchings. Took luncheon there and walked back with Mr Blore.' On 21 April 1864, '... Mr Felix Slade called and saw glass. He drove me to Christie's saw China and pictures of Mr Herbert's ...'. A couple of months



later (6 June 1864) Cooke 'Went with C. Landseer to Mr Slade's, looked at his glass and antiques. Lunched and left at 3.' Shortly before his death, Slade gave Cooke a gift, the latter noting on 10 February 1868, 'Mr Slade sent me a beautiful Venetian glass knife ...'. Several years later, on 8 February 1875, Cooke was given another gift that probably included glass: 'Mr Willett gave me a curious Japanese vase, a large Venetian Tazza and a v. vase, also Holly cuttings ...'. It seems likely that 'Mr Willett' was the Dutch collector

FIG. 1 Edward William Cooke's diary entry for 11 May 1864. Photocopy of original diary courtesy of Martyn Gregory, London

¹³ London dealers, presumably Isaac or David Falcke, Abraham Myers, Godfrey or Simon Zimmerman and Henry Durlacher. See Westgarth 2009.

Abraham Willet (1825-1888), whose collection is in the Willet-Holthuysen Museum in Amsterdam.

Visiting curiosity shops was a highlight of Cooke's extensive foreign tours.¹⁴ During several lengthy stays in Venice he encountered people such as 'Brown' (probably Rawdon Brown), Charles Eastlake, Austen Layard, the Gambier Parrys and the Ruskins, with some of whom he visited dealers. October 1864 was frenetic with visits to their shops: purchases, including glass, were made from Richetti, Biachi, Barbieri and Dina.¹⁵ Cooke described the mechanics of the transactions. For example, on 12 October he noted: 'Out before breakfast went in gondola to Ricchettis — bought 17 pieces of glass. Went to Blumenthals' for cash. In afternoon Ricchetti bought them home and I paid him.' On 3 November, departure day, 'Vincenzo (his gondolier) got a large Bacchetta and we saw the four cases on board the Atlas ...' and Cooke '... went to Rieti's and bought 3 Naps worth of 7 pieces of old glass. Packed them and took them to the Agent and got Bill of landing ...'. Even short stops on the journey home provided irresistible shopping opportunities. In Florence in November 1864 he made several visits to Riblet's, one of them on the 5th, when Cooke, '... went to 2 Antiquarians, the second Ribblet. Selected about 9 or 12 pieces of old glass Venetian ...'. Soon after, he was in Paris where, over the course of five days (15-19 November 1864), he visited a number of dealers and bought at least 8 glasses, three of them Venetian.

The rapidly increasing collection necessitated additional display cases and on 17 December 1864, 'Philpot brought me the two brass glazed cabinets bought yesterday at Falcke's sale — in evening filled them with Ven. glass, Ivory, silver

and other objects ...'. Soon more display space was required and the scale of the glass collection is demonstrated by the length of time it took to wash it. On 18 February 1865, 'Men finished cabinet, fixed shelves and cleaned up by 2 o'clock. Mary all day washing the glass specimens ... I filled in the whole of the shelves with the largest specimens of Venetian Glass ... and put the rest into the 2 other cases.' A few weeks later, on 6 March, Cooke recorded the pleasure he took from sharing his collection with a likeminded friend, the leading contemporary Venetian glass-making entrepreneur Antonio Salviati: 'Dr Salviati his Son and Daughter and Sig. Gagliadotte came at 7 to dinner. Had great fun, shewed them the Venetian Glass.'

Cooke was a regular attendee at Christie's sales but his purchases there in the spring of 1865 are especially noteworthy. On 22 March he 'Went to Christies', attended sale of Eastwood's glass bought 30 lots of the best specimens and brought them home safely.' Another great opportunity was provided by the sale, in April, of Earl Cadogan's collection — but Cooke nearly forgot to take home a purchase, as his diary entry for 8 April records: '... at luncheon paid Christies' account and got an opal cup forgotten yesterday ...'. This was perhaps a rare Bohemian glass attributed to the Buquoy glasshouse, Nové Hradý, Gratzen, in the British Museum.¹⁶

After 1865 the intensity of Cooke's glass collecting subsided, undoubtedly largely due to his leasing, at the year's end, land near Groombridge, in Sussex, where he was able to indulge his love of horticulture and where he built a house, Glen Andred, moving into it on 1 July 1868. After taking the land lease, Cooke continued to buy glass and

¹⁴ For an outline of Cooke's foreign travel see Munday 1996, Appendix 4, 'The Itinerary 1824-1879'.

¹⁵ For Richetti and Guiseppe Dina see Westgarth 2009.

¹⁶ Lot 994, bought by Cooke for £10-10s, British Museum reg. no. 1873,0329.38. See Thornton, Meek and Gudenrath forthcoming 2015, notes 10, 25, 27 and Fig. 10, left.

welcome visitors to see it. However, in preparation for his move, on 7 May 1868 he deposited 512 glasses at the South Kensington Museum.¹⁷ He took part of the collection to Glen Andred and continued to make occasional additions to it. The majority of the glass deposited at South Kensington remained there until shortly before the posthumous sale of Cooke's glass collection at Christie's on 15 and 16 June 1880. The sale comprised 550 lots of Venetian glass with 60 lots of other glass. More than 40 glasses from Cooke's collection are now in the British Museum.¹⁸

The comte de Nieuwerkerke's glass collection was part of a broader collection of over 800 examples of medieval and Renaissance works of art and arms and armour, much of which he acquired in Paris between 1865 and 1870. Descriptions and depictions of Nieuwerkerke's collection evoke a rich and diverse assemblage of objects arranged in a dense but carefully constructed display.¹⁹ Following the fall of the Second Empire, in 1871 Nieuwerkerke was obliged to sell his collection to fund his emigration to Italy and Richard Wallace acquired it from him *en bloc*. It is now part of the Wallace Collection. Nieuwerkerke also provided Wallace with over 300 receipts from more than 75 dealers and collectors, itemizing over 800 purchases made between 1865 and 1870. These are in the Wallace Collection Archives. Their survival alongside the collection has enabled the formation of Nieuwerkerke's collection to be studied in depth and many of the objects to be identified in the receipts.

As *directeur général des musées nationaux* from 1849 and, from 1863, *surintendant des Beaux-Arts*, Nieuwerkerke wielded great influence at the epicentre of the Second Empire French art establishment. His status was enhanced

by his long-lasting liaison with princesse Mathilde Bonaparte (1820-1904), cousin of Napoléon III.

The receipts show that Nieuwerkerke acquired more than 30 glasses from 14 suppliers between 1865 and 1868. While the majority were Parisian dealers, some were collectors. The glasses he bought were mostly Venetian or *façon de Venise* but included a Bohemian *humpen* and two considerably more expensive Islamic mosque lamps. Descriptions of the glasses are often general, but identification is sometimes possible. Most commonly, identification results from a written description matching an extant glass.²⁰ However, there are other means by which the dealers' paperwork has enabled the identification of objects. On his receipt dated 19 January 1867 E. Lowengard drew the 'deux verres de Venise' purchased by Nieuwerkerke **[FIG. 2]**, allowing their likely identifications as a pilgrim flask and a vase **[FIG. 3, on the left in FIG. 2]** in the Wallace Collection.²¹ Nieuwerkerke sometimes bid at auction himself, as he did at the Roux of Tours sale held in Paris from 17-20 February 1868.²² He received an auction room invoice (*Bordereau d'Adjudication*) from the *commissaire-priseur* for the sale, Charles Pillet **[FIG. 4]**,²³ giving the lot numbers of two glasses, which are described in the sale catalogue in enough detail to enable their identification as two beautiful goblets in the Wallace Collection. Nieuwerkerke paid the very high price of 2,000 francs for one of them, an exceptional 16th-century French *façon de Venise* glass enamelled with the Crucifixion **[FIG. 5]**. The other, for which he paid 490 francs, is a delicate and flamboyant Venetian or *façon de Venise* glass, probably dating to the mid-17th century.²⁴ Pillet charged a 5% commission

¹⁷ Victoria and Albert Museum Archives, Art Museum Loans index, Register C (archive reference MA/31/3), pp. 115-124, 400-402, 405. This provides details of the items lent to the South Kensington Museum by Cooke in 1868 and removed from the museum in April 1873 and May 1880.

¹⁸ Augustus Wollaston Franks bought a few pieces from Cooke in March 1873, including that mentioned in note 16, but the majority was acquired at the Christie's sale of Cooke's collection in 1880.

¹⁹ For accounts of Nieuwerkerke's collection and descriptions and depictions of its display, see Gaynor 1985, Higgott 2011, 23-7 and Higgott and Wenley in de Teneuille and Laporte 2000.

²⁰ For example, the *humpen* is Wallace Collection inv. C563, Higgott 2011, cat. 52.

²¹ The receipt is in the Wallace Collection Archives, file AR2/28R/5. The glasses are Wallace Collection invs C524 and C540 (Higgott 2011, cats 13 and 29 respectively).

²² Archives de Paris, file D48E³ 59, *procès-verbal*, showing Nieuwerkerke as the buyer, on 19 February 1868, of the glasses that were lots 125 and 115, with their respective *article du procès-verbal* nos, 323 and 326.

²³ Wallace Collection Archives, file AR2/28R/6.

²⁴ Wallace Collection C518 and C552 (Higgott 2011, cats 7 and 41) respectively.

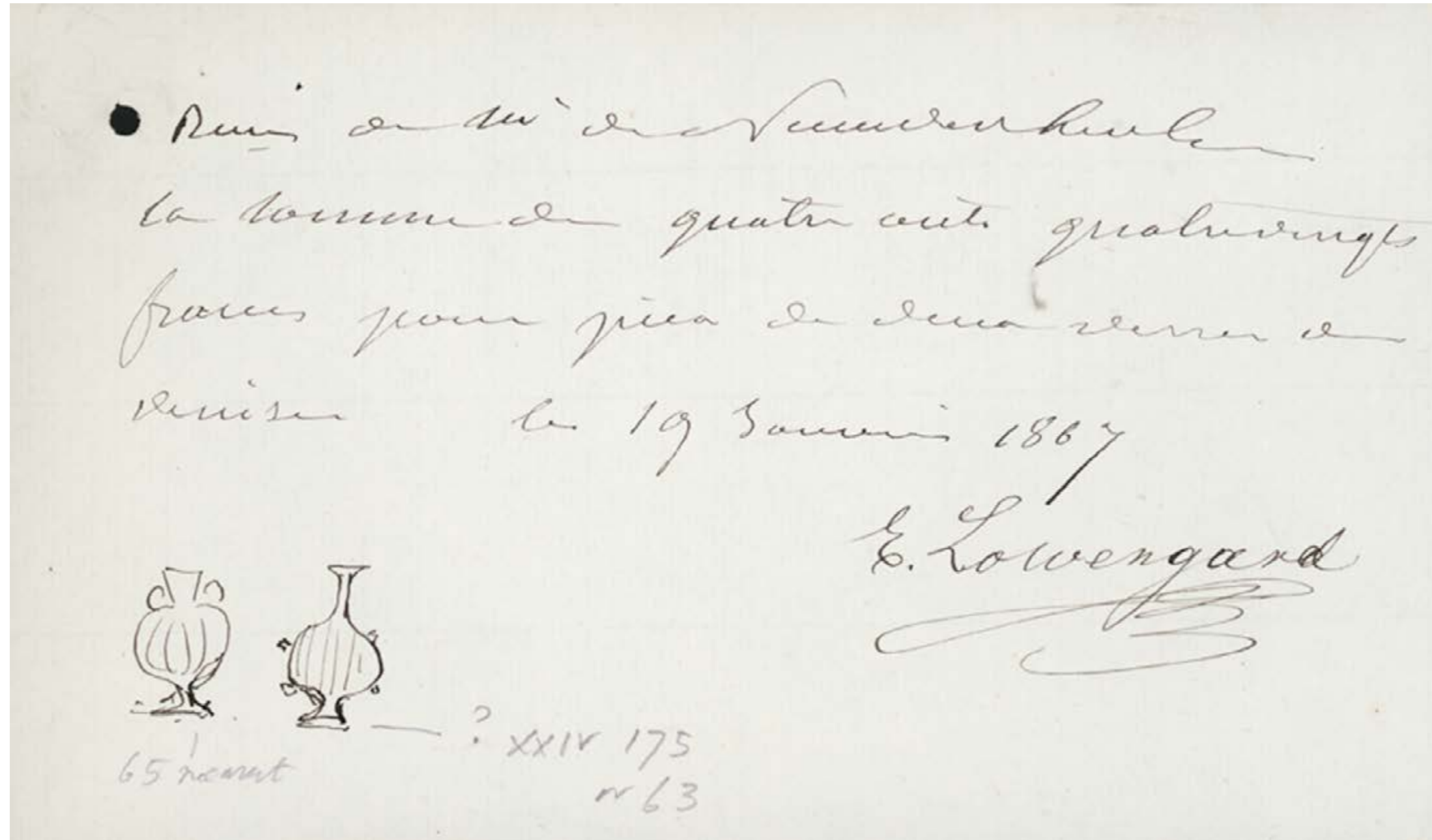


FIG. 2 Receipt from E. Lowengard to Alfred-Émilien, comte de Nieuwerkerke, dated 19 January 1867. It is annotated in pencil with Wallace Collection work of art numbers. Wallace Collection Archives. © The Wallace Collection, London

on the price of the two pieces, bringing the total cost to 2,614.50 francs.

The only dealer from whom Nieuwerkerke bought glass each year from 1865 to 1868 was A. Beurdeley. On 16 September 1865, Beurdeley sold him a mosque lamp.²⁵ He was a good source of Venetian glass, selling several to Nieuwerkerke between 1865 and 1867. Receipts record Nieuwerkerke buying Venetian glasses from Beurdeley in multiples and show that he sometimes paid somewhat retrospectively: for example, a receipted invoice dated 23 October 1866 confirmed receipt of 1,000 francs for 'des verres Venise' acquired by Nieuwerkerke on 9 January.²⁶ Another dealer from whom Nieuwerkerke bought Venetian

glass in 1865 was Frédéric Spitzer, whose receipt dated 13 November 1865 was for 'Plusieurs verres de venises' and a Limoges enamel for 3,000 francs as well as '3 verres de venises' with another item for 1,500 francs.²⁷

By comparison, Nieuwerkerke's payment of a considerably higher sum for a mosque lamp acquired from H. Delange in 1866 indicates their relative scarcity. He paid 3,150 francs, settling 2,150 francs on account on 26 December 1866 and the balance on 15 January 1867.²⁸ Demand for Islamic art increased substantially among European collectors during the 1860-70s, with mosque lamps becoming the most highly prized artefacts, especially among Parisian collectors.²⁹

²⁵ Wallace Collection Archives, file AR2/28R/1. Nieuwerkerke bought the mosque lamp with a staff of office, a bag clasp and a sword, for the cumulative total of 5,900 francs. The mosque lamp is Wallace Collection inv. C512. See Higgott 2011, 44, n. 3).

²⁶ Wallace Collection Archives, file AR2/28R/1.

²⁷ Wallace Collection Archives, file AR2/28R/6.

²⁸ Wallace Collection Archives, file AR2/28R/3.

²⁹ Higgott 2011, 42.



FIG. 3 Vase. Venice or *façon de Venise*, late 16th-first half 17th century. The Wallace Collection, inv. C540. © The Wallace Collection, London

FIG. 4 Receipted *Bordereau d'Adjudication*, dated 19 February 1868, for the comte de Nieuwerkerke's purchases from the Roux of Tours sale. Wallace Collection Archives. © The Wallace Collection, London

Bordereau d'Adjudication

Vente Salle 3 rue

Doit M. de Nieuwerkerke

Rue

A M^o CHARLES PILLET, Commissaire-Preneur à Paris, successeur de M. BONNEFOYS DE LAVIALLE
Rue de Choiseul, 11.

Numero de catalogue	Articles du procedé verbal	Le 19 février 1868	v.	c.	v.	c.
925	323	Calice Verre enl'aita' IV-96			2000.	
927	326	Vase de bronze			490.	
					249.	
					124/10	
					667/10	
		L. Co. Tassin				
947	126	2 bustes en	680.			
			31/10			
			667/10		667/10	
					3276.	

A reporter.....



FIG. 5 Goblet. France (*façon de Venise*), mid-16th century. The Wallace Collection, inv. C518. © The Wallace Collection, London

Dealers were keen to secure Nieuwerkerke's patronage, often taking potential purchases to his residence in the Louvre.³⁰ This seems to have been the case for his purchase of the mosque lamp from Delange, since the receipt is written on Nieuwerkerke's official writing paper, headed 'Cabinet du Sénateur, surintendant des Beaux-Arts, Louvre'. Nieuwerkerke's headed paper was also used when, on 17 March 1867, a fellow collector, baron Schwiter, sold him two outstanding 16th-century items, a Venetian-style diamond-point engraved glass footed bowl and cover and an Iznik dish, as well as a Venetian glass lamp for 150 francs.³¹ The dealer Carrand *fils* was an early visitor in 1868. On 4 January Nieuwerkerke's official headed paper was used to record his payment to Carrand of 1,200 francs for the pilgrim flask enamelled with the arms of Christof Philipp von Lichtenstein and Wilhelm von Rappoltstein of Alsace, made in Venice c. 1523-6 and now in the Wallace Collection.³²

This paper has discussed a range of methods through which collectors acquired historic glass in the 19th century, with particular emphasis on the collecting of Venetian glass in the third quarter of the century. In addition to visiting dealers' shops and attending auctions at home, a collector's access to potential acquisitions could be significantly enhanced through travel, social networks and status.

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³⁰ See Gaynor 1985, 374.

³¹ Wallace Collection Archives, file AR2/28R/6. The bowl and cover are Wallace Collection C529, the lamp probably C538 (Higgott 2011, cats 18 and 27 respectively), the Iznik dish C199.

³² The receipt is in the Wallace Collection Archives, file AR2/28R/2. The glass is Wallace Collection C517 (Higgott 2011, cat. 6).

A COLLECTION FOR EDUCATION

THE GLASS COLLECTION OF THE MUSÉE DU CONSERVATOIRE DES ARTS ET MÉTIERS DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

ABSTRACT

During the early 19th Century, the Conservatoire des arts et métiers set up in 1794, worked to improve the national industries through up-to-date collections and chairs of higher technical education. This paper tells of the links between the various professors of chemistry or ceramics and the collections they developed. The acquisitions followed the pattern of the Universal exhibitions and also reflect the personal links between the manufacturers and the Conservatoire staff.

KEYWORDS

CONSERVATOIRE DES ARTS ET MÉTIERS | TECHNICAL
EDUCATION | TECHNICAL MUSEUM | GLASS TECHNOLOGY COLLECTION

RESUMO

Durante início do século XIX, o Conservatório das Artes e Ofícios, criado em 1794, trabalhou para melhorar as indústrias nacionais através de coleções actualizadas e cadeiras de ensino técnico superior. Este artigo fala sobre as ligações entre os vários professores de química ou cerâmica e as coleções que eles desenvolveram. As aquisições seguiram o padrão das Exposições Universais e refletem também as ligações pessoais entre os fabricantes e os funcionários do Conservatório.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

CONSERVATÓRIO DAS ARTES E OFÍCIOS | EDUCAÇÃO TÉCNICAS | MUSEU
TÉCNICO | COLEÇÃO DE TECNOLOGIA DE VIDRO

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Created in 1794 during the revolutionary era by the National Convention¹, the *Conservatoire des arts et métiers* is the heir of a pedagogical project characteristic of the 18th century ideas on education.

To teach by the mean of a collection of artefacts and machinery, to spread innovative ideas through a public of craftsmen, industrialists, and workers is the goal of this revolutionary institution. No diplomas, but a strong emphasis on demonstration and experiments as much as links with the industrial world were its ambition during the first half of the 19th century.

As a bicentenary institution, much literature has been published for the various anniversaries, and in 1994 a prosopographical dictionary of the professors was issued². However the history of the collections and their display is still a “black hole” only recently investigated³. Archives are scarce and research is in the making therefore this paper takes the opportunity to display some ideas on the glass section, a minor but interesting part of the general collection.

As material for this paper I have used biographical notes on the different professors, inventories and catalogues of the collection and archive materials from the *Conservatoire* and the *Manufacture de Sèvres*. I will follow a simple chronological canvas from 1819 till 1868.

First lessons, first collections ?

In the 1818 catalogue⁴, published by Gérard-Joseph Christian, director of the *Conservatoire* from 1816 till 1831, glass is nowhere mentioned. It is more a guide than a catalogue, as it describes the various rooms, some open to the public

others private, and gives a few details on the artefacts. There is little interest for chemistry, still economical lighting and heating have a place, but the objects described are more concerned with mechanics, agriculture or looms and textile machinery. However we will see that some glass objects were already in the collection, but did not bear an inventory number⁵.

In 1819, three chairs were established: industrial economy (Jean-Baptiste Say), mechanics applied to the arts (Charles Dupin) and chemistry applied to the arts. This latter was given to the chemist Nicolas Clément, known as Clément-Desormes⁶ (1778-1841).

Nicolas Clément held the chair from 1819 till his death in 1841. He had certainly been appointed for his scientific works but also for his reputation as a manufacturer. His interests and publications were on sulfuric acid, on carbon monoxide, and on the nature of heat. He was well introduced in the scientific societies of his time.

In 1822, he became general agent of the *Compagnie de Saint-Gobain*, the important plate glass manufacture, and worked on the improvement of the soda manufacture at the Chauny plant. He was also employed by another soda company, in Lorraine in 1826.

There is no published version of his lessons but a manuscript copy given to the *Conservatoire's* library in 1844⁷ gives us a few clues. The complete transcription covers two years from October 6th 1824 till May 4th 1825 and from September 28th 1825 till April 14th 1826. A total of forty-five and forty-seven lessons are divided roughly in two parts. Of course, it reflects Clément's interests in lighting and heating, in steam engines, and, for the manufacturing

¹ The National Convention was the first French Assembly elected by universal male suffrage. It succeeded to the Legislative Assembly and founded the First Republic after the insurrection of August 10th 1792. It governed France from 1792 till October 26th 1795.

² Fontanon and Grelon, 1994. A third volume is currently under preparation by the same authors.

³ A good source on the history of the collection is *La Revue du Musée des arts et métiers*, published between 1992 and 2010 with a large number of articles on the collections. See also Dufaux, 2014.

⁴ *Catalogue*, 1818.

⁵ It is the case of objects given after the 1801 *Exposition nationale des produits industriels*, in particular glasses from the Montcenis Manufacture (Le Creusot). They bear the inventory number 5916 and were only catalogued in 1853. See Caude, 2009, 128. See also Archives du Musée, 12°141: list of items requested by Molard, director of the *Conservatoire* from the Exhibition held in the Louvre galleries.

⁶ Thépot, « Nicolas Clément Désormes », I, 337-339.

⁷ *Chimie*, 4 volumes.

part, lessons are mostly spent on metallurgy, soda, and acids, but also on sugar, brewing, and distillation. Only two lessons are devoted to glass manufacturing. Baudot's journal gives us a real glimpse of the content, with in forefront of each lesson, the report that a list of figures were written on a placard in front of the assembly. The general tone is not that of a scientific lesson, but more a general presentation of facts and figures about the economy of this industrial branch. Details of glass components are given of course but Clément-Désormes insists much more on the economical side (especially the cost of qualified labour) rather than on technological processes. Some comparisons are made with England and Scotland, where Clément-Désormes travelled — the author of the journal recalls that he was accused of anglophilia. There is no clue of any objects or collections being shown (whereas in other parts it is noted for example that the Professor had samples of paper circulating in the assembly to demonstrate the use of chore as whitening agent). In general these lessons are more a plea for discarding old habits and traditions in favor of new machinery and of a positive attitude towards innovation.

Early interests in glassmaking : Eugène Péligot

After the death of Clément-Désormes, Eugène Péligot⁸ (1811-1890), who became his assistant the preceding year, is elected to the chair. He will have a long career at the *Conservatoire* from 1841 till 1889. He also teaches at the *Ecole Centrale* from as early as 1835 and will also be head of the assay laboratory at the Mint, a very discreet but important function.

Péligot is one of the many students of Jean-Baptiste Dumas (1800-1884), a prominent chemist and a powerful member of the scientific cream of his period.⁹ As well as simply trusting all the highest positions in the scientific elite, he was also a charismatic man, and his students, Péligot for one, but also Louis Pasteur, have been extremely devoted to him all their life.

Among the numerous scientific subjects treated by Eugène Péligot, some on fundamental subject like uranium, others more connected to the industrial preoccupations of his time like distillation, sugar, etc., he also wrote two books on glass manufacturing. The first is a published version of his lessons on glass, selected from the general program of his chair : *Douze leçons sur l'art de la verrerie*¹⁰, then a revised and enriched version: *Le verre, son histoire, sa fabrication* in 1877.¹¹ He also took part in the jury of numerous exhibitions, for instance he wrote the report on glassmaking in 1862 (London Universal Exhibition) and in 1867, with Georges Bontemps, the report on plate and window glass (Paris Universal exhibition).

In terms of the collection, it is interesting to note that the first objects relating to glassmaking (except for a few models of polishing machinery for lenses and mirrors and for the British products collection) are a large donation from Georges Bontemps in 1842. It comprises more than fifty tools, pots, moulds, fabrication steps and finished pieces (inv. 02787 till 2807).

Unfortunately the *Conservatoire* hasn't kept any correspondence for this period and we don't know the motivation behind this gift. Georges Bontemps

⁸ Roth "Eugène Péligot", II, 372-381

⁹ For instance, he was professor at the *Ecole Polytechnique*, professor at the Faculty of Medicine and at the Faculty of Science. He trusted the presidency of numerous scientific societies. It is also to be noted that he was the son-in-law of Alexandre Brongniart. He was briefly Minister for Commerce and Agriculture in the government of Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (1850-1851) and in a position to place at the head of the *Conservatoire* a man according to his wishes to reform technical higher education. He became senator after the creation of the Empire.

¹⁰ Péligot, 1862.

¹¹ Péligot, 1877.



FIG 1 Several objects from this early donation by Bontemps are still figuring prominently in the Materials section of the *Musée des arts et métiers*. In particular, a step by step presentation of the making of a crystal jug ©ALC/Musée des arts et métiers/CNAM-Paris.

(1799-1883), director of the Choisy-le-Roy glass factory was a well introduced man and was certainly interested in the technical education of his time. Both Pélégot and Bontemps were members of the *Société d'encouragement à l'industrie nationale*, an instance created in 1801 by the chemist Jean-Antoine Chaptal¹², then Minister of the Interior, as a twin institution to encourage innovation,

together with the *Conservatoire*. It is at that time presided by the inescapable Jean-Baptiste Dumas.

In 1845, Eugène Pélégot was sent to Austria on behalf on the Parisian chamber of commerce to review the exhibition of national products in Vienna, and to visit different sites.¹³ He devotes a large section of his report¹⁴ on glass. His observations are again more of an economical nature,

¹² Benoit, Emptoz and Woronoff, 2006.

¹³ Girard, 1890. Girard signals that Pélégot made this trip to Vienna with the directors of the Saint-Louis glassworks, Marcus and Seiler and the Baccarat glassworks, Toussaint, but the report insists more on remarks and guidance given by these to Pélégot while writing his report and comparing his notes with those from a previous trip made by these directors.

¹⁴ Pélégot, 1846.

FIG. 2 A Bohemian cup in filigree glass, 1845, inv. 3096-014.
©Charlotte Compan, Musée des arts et métiers/CNAM-Paris.

which is certainly due to the interests of his patrons, the glass products of Bohemia being for a large part subject to very important tax fees or to an import ban. He is particularly interested, by the colored glass, noting the considerable advance of the Bohemian glassmakers on the subject. He notes the difference of quality on filigree glass, the French examples from Saint-Louis, Baccarat or Maës et Clémandot (verrière de Clichy) being superior. He also tells about seeing French samples being copied in the workshops, alleging the fierce international competition on these products.

Forty pieces of Bohemian glass (inv. 3096) are noted in the inventory for that same year 1845 and it is tempting to think that they were probably brought back by Pélégot, though again no archives can confirm this assumption. The inventory indicates as origin Clech and Lizé about whom we haven't found anything. It is mostly cut glass: goblets, ewers and a few colored pieces, thirty-one are still remaining today.

During these early years of Pélégot's teaching there is also a large acquisition of glass and ceramics objects (more than a hundred artefacts) from a certain Jean-Baptiste Lacroix – also unknown. Finally in a balance act against the acquisition of Bohemian pieces, fourteen pieces from Launay Hautin, which held the common depot of Baccarat and Saint-Louis (inv. 3043), are brought into the collections. It is mostly colored and tripled or quadrupled glass.



A comparison with the *Musée céramique and vitrique* established by Brongniart at the Sèvres manufacture¹⁵ would be very interesting and from a superficial study we know that the two collections are close, demonstrating thereby that they were both intended for a public of manufacturers or technicians.

We have no testimony for the lessons of Pélégot but a marginal note in the inventory: « *brisés au service du cours de Chimie appl.* » (broken during the lesson of chemistry applied to the arts), confirms their effective use during the lessons. It is the case for vases and goblets as well as chemistry glasses. We can imagine that some objects were brought in front of the audience and could have been broken by improper handling.

Part of the attraction for the *Conservatoire* chair was the access to a laboratory which could be used by manufacturers, both in essay and control. Again, the lack of archives is a handicap and we are really unable to tell that story but our intuition is that it must have played a key role in the meeting with industrials. Pélégot was a very experienced chemist — a large number of his publications are reports of his analyses — and his prestigious role as head of the laboratory at the Mint would establish him as a reference. In the 1845 report, he mentions some essays and analyses made in his laboratory.

The first chair of Ceramics: Jacques Ebelmen

During the 1840's the number of chairs grows steadily and in 1848 a special chair for ceramics is opened, despite the opposition from the body of *Conservatoire* professors who are pleading for general courses.¹⁶ Jacques Ebelmen¹⁷

(1814-1852), a chemist and mining engineer, is chosen to hold it. Between 1848 and 1852, he gives lessons but his main function is administrator of the Sèvres Manufacture where he has been chosen as an heir to the famous mineralogist Alexandre Brongniart (1770-1847). He seems to have been kept more than busy with the Manufacture but we are lucky that his personal papers have been preserved at the Manufacture's archives.

Just as Eugène Pélégot, Anselme Payen — the second chemistry professor at the *Conservatoire* —, or Arthur Morin, professor of mechanics, Ebelmen is also an engineer keen to sustain the industrial development and to encourage « applied science ». Of course he is a member of the *Société d'encouragement*.¹⁸

The revolution in 1848 brings down the Louis-Philippe regime and with it changes in the *Conservatoire*. In particular as Jean-Baptiste Dumas is (briefly) Minister of Commerce and Agriculture in the Louis Napoléon Bonaparte's government. His interest and ambition is that of renovating technical higher education.¹⁹ He chooses Arthur Morin, already professor of Mechanics applied to the arts since 1839, who shares his views and is also close to the future Emperor. Morin will be the administrator, then the director until his death in 1880²⁰.

Under his guidance administrative practices are renewed and new qualified staff is brought in for the administration and the library. The buildings at rue Saint-Martin are renovated and enlarged, the *Conservatoire* roughly gaining his permanent figure at that time, under the architect Léon Vaudoyer. In a letter to the Minister²¹, Morin stresses that the galleries are rarely opened and that a lot of collections

¹⁵ Slitine, 2013.

¹⁶ A few years later it is again worded by the old Boussingault : « *M. Boussingault pense que l'institution du Conservatoire n'est pas destinée à l'enseignement de telle ou telle profession, mais à répandre les principes généraux d'amélioration applicables à la plupart d'entre elles : si chacune des grandes industries chimiques avait un enseignement spécial, les cours généraux de chimie appliquée du Conservatoire seraient réduits au rôle de simples cours de faculté.* » Archives CNAM 2AA/2 séance du 10 avril 1861.

¹⁷ Emptoz « Ebelmen », I, 480-491.

¹⁸ The society had committees (in particular a committee for chemical arts) and was mostly active through a policy of encouragement with prizes and subsidies on the industrial arts.

¹⁹ He is also one of the founders of the *Ecole centrale des arts et manufactures* in 1829. See also Belhoste, « Jean-Baptiste Dumas », 53-64.

²⁰ Fontanon, « Arthur Morin », II, 311-321.

²¹ Archives CNAM, 2AA/2 October 6th 1849.



FIG. 3 A cristal cut and polished crystal jug from a « Birmingham fabric », probably Osler (inv. 2016), brought back by the secret mission of the Conservatoire in England in 1819 ; selected by Ebelmen for the collection. © Charlotte Compan/Musée des arts et métiers — CNAM, Paris

are used only by the director or the teachers, the institution losing its view of spreading technology and concentrating more on science.

His attention to the galleries is the start of a new era for the now called *Musée industriel*. A precise inventory, asked repeatedly by the Ministry to its predecessor, the physicist Claude Pouillet, is finally issued. This inventory known as the first log is retrospective and based on receipts (unfortunately not kept). It goes back to the first years of the *Conservatoire*.

In this renovation movement, some collections, considered as obsolete are put aside. It is the case of

the *Salle des produits anglais*, a commercial collection bought after a secret mission of the Conservatoire in 1819.²² Professors are being called to select the pieces they would like to preserve and display in a new thematic arrangement²³. A series of painted panes of glass (inv. 1926) and of crystal glasses and jugs bought in Birmingham (inv. 2016) are chosen by Ebelmen, the new professor of ceramics.

On the basis of the inventory, Morin designs a thematic cataloguing of the collections with twenty-two sections named from A to V.

²² Corcy, « La salle des produits anglais du Conservatoire des arts et métiers ».

²³ Archives CNAM, 2AA/2, March 19th 1850.

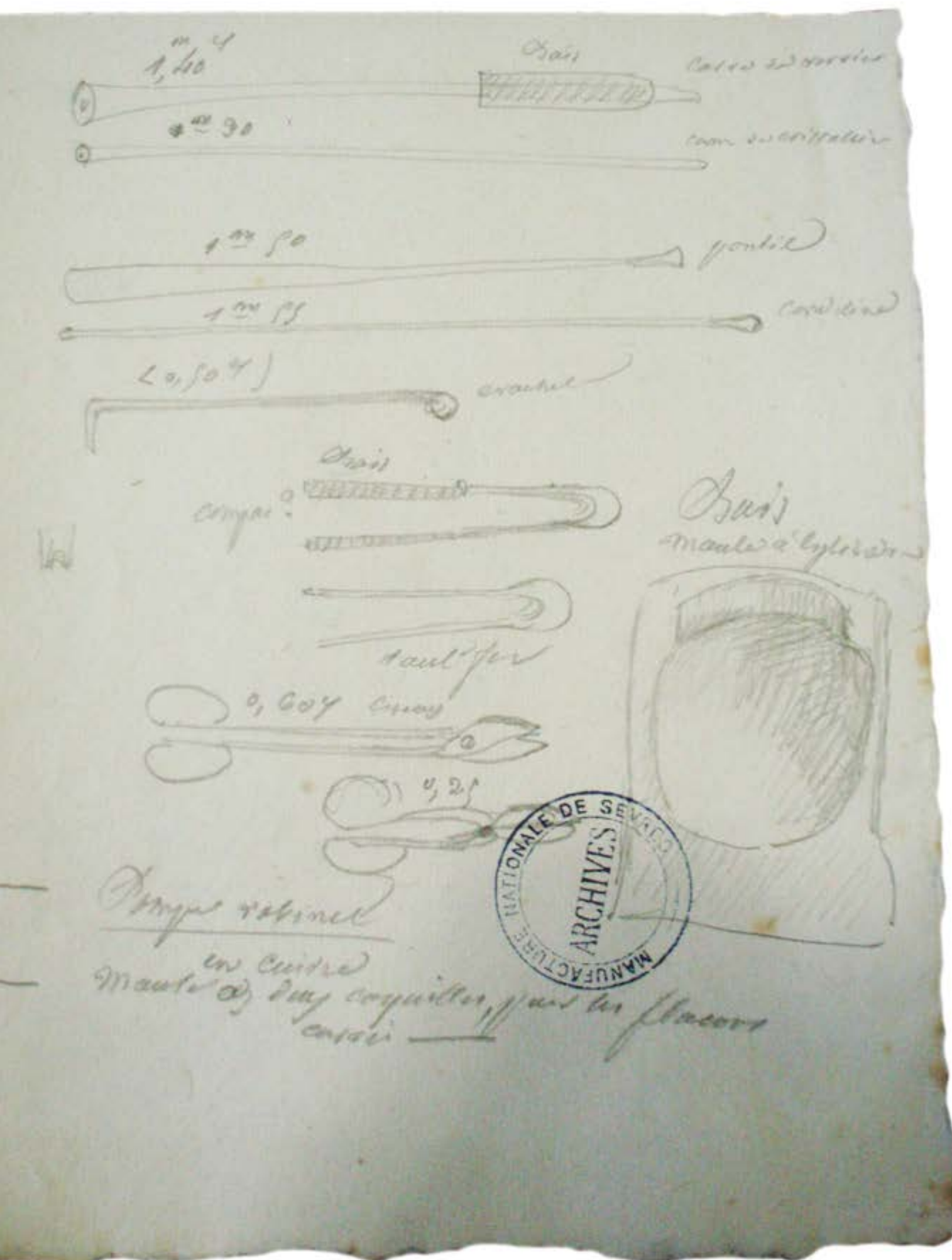


FIG. 4 Drawing by Ebelmen of the glassmaker's tools given by Bontemps in 1842. *Archives de la Manufacture de Sèvres*, U17, liasse 52, document 4 © ALC

The 1851 catalogue and the following editions (1855, 1859, 1864, 1870, 1876, 1882)

It is of course Jacques Ebelmen who is in charge of the O section, devoted to ceramics and glassmaking, the *Sèvres Manufacture's* archives still holding his preliminary notes and sketches.²⁴

It is difficult to get an idea of the organisation of the rooms as the catalogue brings together ceramics and glass objects with distinctions made in terms of technology rather than in terms of museum display.

In this section O, glass collections are described between Op and Oy, with an appendix.²⁵ It lists a total of 316 items, with sometimes a large collection of artefacts assembled under a single item number.

The first subsection Op, under the heading *technologie*, comprises raw materials, tools, and molds. It comprises also the step by step fabrication details and a sample of French pieces in colored or decorated glass, all listed by their technique in a very didactic way.

Oq *généralités* has the largest number of items (more than two hundred), with the Bohemian glass bought in 1845 and the more recent donations by the Saint-Louis, Baccarat, and Plaine de Walsh glassworks. Or *verres d'objectifs, verres à vitre, cylindres, tubes et tuyaux* is a small division on window glass and glass specialities (optics themselves would be treated as part of the physics collection). Os *vases et instruments de chimie* shows a large collection of glasses used for chemistry experiences. Ot *pierres gemmes artificielles, objets*

²⁴ Archives Sèvres Manufacture, U17.

²⁵ Morin, 1851. See <http://cnum.cnam.fr/CGI/redir.cgi?M7739>

façonnés à la lampe d'émailleur, verre filé et verre tissé is concerned with artificial gems and lampworked objects. The last sections and the appendix describe a few samples of coloured glass for stained glass and mirrors as well as objects showing defects.

It is worth taking a closer look to the important donations by Saint-Louis and Baccarat in 1851. As we have correspondence minutes²⁶ for these years we know that in a letter to Pierre-Antoine Godard-Desmarets, the administrator of Baccarat, Morin indicates that Saint-Louis has already given a comprehensive collection and that he wishes that Baccarat shall keep her donation up to date with future gifts.²⁷

Eighty pieces by the Manufacture of Saint-Louis (inv. 5919-6000), encompassing a wide range of techniques, press molded pieces, venetian decorated crystal, mainly colored glass with tripled or quadrupled cut glass have been kept. The gift of ninety-six pieces by Baccarat (inv. 6001-6096) is very close in the variety of techniques and quality of objects. Documented by a precise list and terminology, these vases and glass artefacts of all sorts are a French answer to the large number of foreign glass and ceramics bought at the London Universal Exhibition of the same year where neither Baccarat nor Saint-Louis had participated.

In the catalogue we also notice a number of pieces that must have been standing at the *Conservatoire* for a long time but hadn't been listed. In this miscellaneous list are found mirrors given by Pajot-Descharmes, and diverse products, some probably coming from the various *Expositions des produits de l'industrie nationale*, held since 1798 at the Louvre.



FIG. 5 Goblet in quadrupled glass (inv. 6053), gift of Baccarat in 1851. © Service de l'inventaire/Musée des arts et métiers — CNAM, Paris.

²⁶ Archives CNAM, 5AA/2, January 20th and April 28th 1851.

²⁷ « tenir cette collection au courant des progrès nouveaux de votre art » Archives CNAM 5AA/2, April 28th, 1851.



FIG. 6 A piece of glass brocade by Dubus-Bonnell (inv. 5863), 1839 © Charlotte Compan/Musée des arts et métiers – CNAM, Paris.

It is interesting to note that Ebelmen was also able to organise a transfer of pieces between the *Conservatoire* and the *Sèvres Manufacture* galleries, according to his interest but also to get rid of similar objects.

But Jacques Ebelmen died prematurely in 1852; his successor at the Manufacture, Henri Regnault, refused to teach the lessons at the *Conservatoire*, so Eugène Péligot started again his glassmaking lessons in the program of applied chemistry.

In 1855, a second version of the Catalogue was published, with all the recent additions in particular the glass acquisitions made at the Crystal Palace in 1851 among which pieces of Bohemian glass from the Buquoy glassworks (inv. 4630 till 4640) and from the Count of Harrach glassworks (inv. 4808-4809), or more than thirty pieces of English glasses from Osler (inv. 4726-4735) and sixteen from Apsley, Pellatt & Cy (inv. 4736-4751).

Towards a new chair

However successful were Peligot's lessons, the Chamber of Commerce, probably under the pressure of local manufacturers, insisted for the re-creation of a specific chair devoted to ceramics and glass.

In 1868, Jean-François Persoz, professor of dyes and textile printing, died. As his chair was entirely subsidised by the Chamber of Commerce, an arrangement was made to please different industrial branches, and a new chair was set up under the name *Chimie appliquée aux industries de la teinture, de la céramique et de la verrerie* (chemistry applied to the industry of dyeing, ceramics and glassmaking). The chemist Victor de Luynes²⁸ (1828-1904) was appointed. He

chose to alternate from one year to another on these two very different subjects. Under his guidance, until 1905, a new era for research and collection started.

Conclusion

Despite the lack of archives, the collections assembled or catalogued by the professors in the first half of the 19th century do tell us a lot about the interests of the manufacturers and the taste of an era. As these professors were strongly engaged in the scientific and economic societies of their time.

Through its role in education and innovation, as a laboratory, as a learned society of professors with links with the scientific and industrial world, the *Conservatoire* was able to shine in many directions despite the fact that it didn't deliver diplomas until the next century.

Its popularity is certainly due to the public of craftsmen, manufacturers, and skilled workers who could benefit from an updated information and therefore hope for a better position.

The galleries of the *Musée industriel*, should rightly be considered as an instrument in the design set for the *Conservatoire* by his founder, Henri Grégoire²⁹ in 1794 : "(to) enlighten ignorance that knows not and poverty that has no means of acquiring knowledge"³⁰.

²⁸ Emptoz « Victor de Luynes », II, 151-158

²⁹ Henri Grégoire (1750-1831), also known as Abbé Grégoire was a priest and a prominent political actor during the French Revolution. He was elected at the National Convention in 1792 and wrote the civil constitution of the clergy. On his role at the *Conservatoire*, see Salomon « Henri Grégoire », I, 586-595.

³⁰ Original french text : « Il faut éclairer l'ignorance qui ne connaît pas, et la pauvreté qui n'a pas les moyens de connaître. »

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WHICH
PROVENANCE?

FROM THE CATHEDRAL TO THE COLLECTOR

THE JOURNEY OF A MEDIEVAL STAINED GLASS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

Normandy is today one of the areas of France that retains the largest group of ancient stained glass. At the beginning of the XIXth century, an important number of windows moved to the art market and Rouen was particularly affected by this phenomenon. The example of Rouen cathedral is well documented and allow to follow the journey of a medieval stained glass, from the windows of the church to the collector. The painted glass was removed from its original location after a restoration, then stolen by the glass painter in charge. He transformed an hagiographic stained glass into a small royal portrait, much more adapted to the market requirements. Then ready to be sold, this work went to the parisian market, in the hands of art dealers who had connections with americans collectors. This communication will retrace the journey of this stained glass, which became the property of the famous William Hearst.

KEYWORDS

STAINED-GLASS | RESTORATION | PANNEAU D'ANTIQUAIRE | ROUEN

RESUMO

A Normandia é hoje uma das áreas de França com o maior grupo de vitrais antigos. No início do século XIX, um importante número de janelas foi colocado no mercado de arte e a Catedral de Rouen foi particularmente afetada por este fenómeno. O exemplo da Catedral de Rouen está bem documentado e permite seguir o percurso de um vitral medieval, desde as janelas da igreja até ao colecionador. O vidro pintado foi removido do seu local original depois de um restauro, então roubado pelo pintor de vidro responsável pelo mesmo. Este transformou um vidral hagiográfico num pequeno retrato real, muito mais adaptado às exigências do mercado. Deste modo preparado para ser vendido, o trabalho foi levado para o mercado parisiense, por mãos de comerciantes de arte com ligações com colecionadores americanos. Esta comunicação pretende reconstruir a viagem deste vitrais, que se vieram a tornar propriedade do famoso William Hearst.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

VITRAL | RESTAURO | PAINEL DE ANTIQUÁRIO | ROUEN



I N D E X



E D I T O R I A L



I N T E R V I E W



D O S S I E R



P R I N T

The 19th century was a turbulent period for the cultural heritage in France, and in particular, for stained glass windows. After the French revolution in 1789, many churches were closed and abandoned, sometimes sold or even destroyed. At the beginning of the 19th century, an important number of stained glass windows were placed on the art market and Rouen was particularly affected by this phenomenon (Lafond 1960, 5-16). In the city, called « la ville aux cent clochers » (Hugo 1832, 223-224), many churches and parishes were removed after 1789, and a big part of the stained glass heritage with them¹.

However, the revolution was not the sole cause of the dismemberment of painted windows: the execution of restoration work was also responsible for the loss of a lot of stained glass. An example of this is the Rouen cathedral, which is well documented and allows us to follow the continuous journey of a medieval stained glass, from the windows of the church to the collector.

In 1463, the canons of the cathedral decided to renew the windows of the two sides aisle in the nave. They called on Guillaume Barbe's services, and he made 17 stained glass windows between 1463 and 1469 (Callias-Bey 2001). His works can be classified into two categories: "images", which were figures of saints inserted into a white glazing, and legendary windows depicting the lives of the saints and episodes from the *Passion*. These were paid for by external donors: in 1465, the "receveur" of the city paid 20 "escus d'or" for the making of a new glass in the chapel of saint Romain, called the *Petit Saint-Romain*, at the end of the south side of the nave².

Guillaume Barbe painted a quadruple lancet window with four registers depicting the life of the patron saint of Rouen: the miracle of the flood, the miracle of the "Gargouille" (a monster who lived in the swamps near Rouen; a gargoyle), the miracle of the holy oils, the privilege of Saint Romain (who gave him the right to free one prisoner every year) and the gift of the charter by Dagobert.

Until the 19th century, the window, as well as its neighbors in the southern aisle of the church, suffered a lot of damage due to the proximity of houses near the cathedral, that caused an important flow of water and humidity (Langlois 1823, 121-127).

In the 1820's, the glazing of the cathedral was in a very worrying state. Mostly comprised of medieval stained glass, the church suffered from lack of maintenance and of poor quality repairs.

In 1822, a fire started in the arrow, causing it to fall. This led to the development of a plan to remove all the windows in the south aisle, a project which fortunately never succeeded. Though the fire had little impact on the state of the glass, the architect's reaction to the fire reflected the lack of interest for medieval stained glass at that time. From 1823 to 1838, several campaigns were successively conducted by the glaziers Joseph Gourre and René-François You (called You Renaud), for the replacement of molten lead and glass damaged by the heat³. The restorations consisted in the removal of damaged panels and the filling of the empty spaces with white glass, and parts taken from other windows. The *Petit-Saint-Romain* was then amputated of its lower section, which was used to fill the gaps in a nearby window. This was completed with civilian grisaille

¹ Rouen was called « la ville aux cent clochers » according to the formula of Victor Hugo in his *Feuilles d'Automne*. « Ami, c'est donc Rouen, la ville aux vieilles rues, aux vieilles tours, débris des races aux cent clochers carillonnant dans l'air, le Rouen des hôtels, des églises, des bastilles dont le front hérissé de flèches et d'aiguilles déchire incessamment les brumes de la mer ».

² Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G 2136, 11-13 mai 1465.

³ Rouen, Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, 4 N 504. Gourre, Joseph, « Restauration des vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen, devis estimatif », 6 janvier 1823. You Renaud, « Mémoire des réparations, fournitures et façons faites aux vitraux des chapelles de la contre nef du côté vers le sud de la cathédrale de Rouen », 1838.

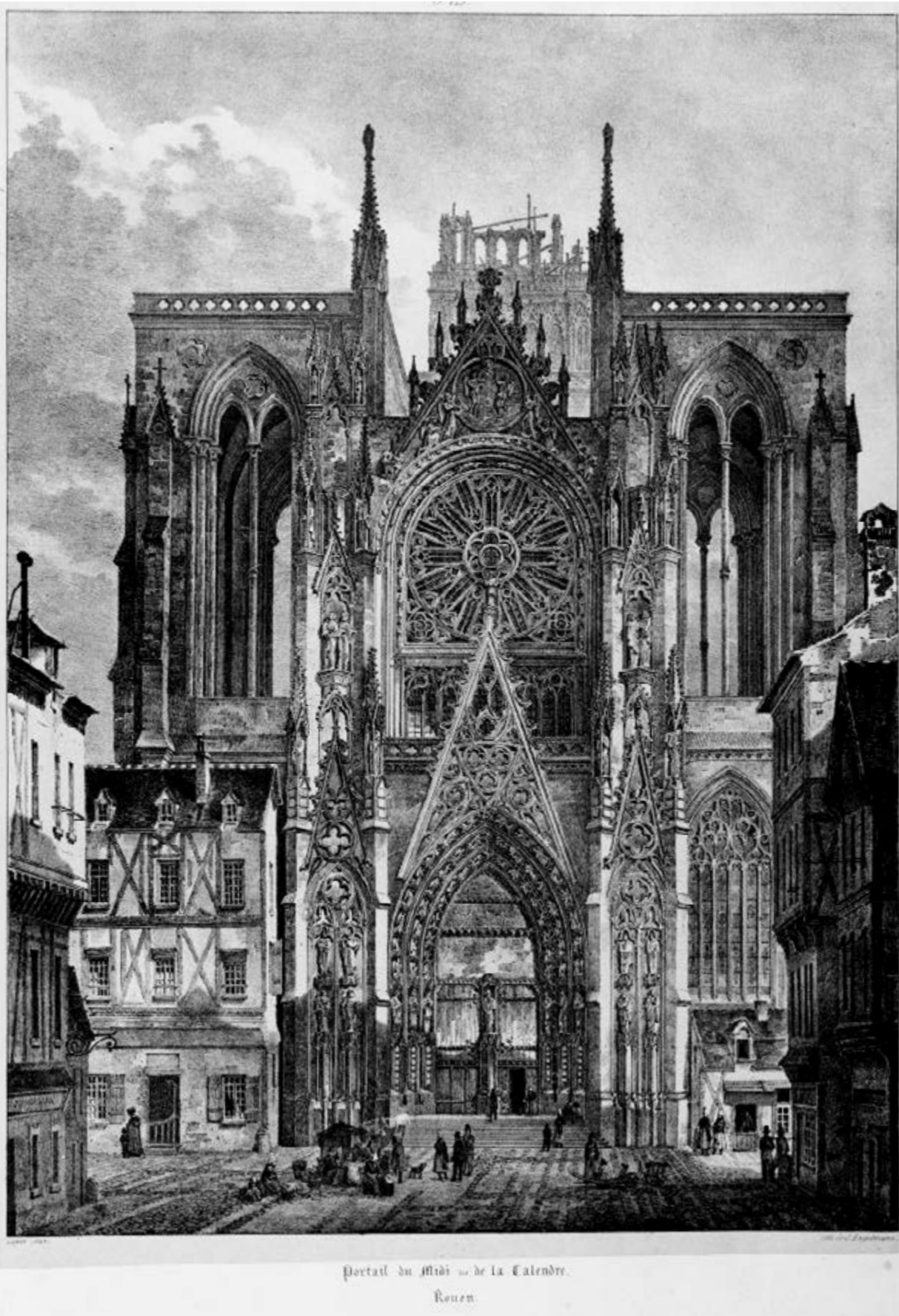


FIG. 1 Rouen, cathedral Notre-Dame, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, lithography by G. Engelmann, 1878.

panels, made originally for the archbishopric of Rouen (Loth 1879)⁴.

Many voices rose against these practices and urged the minister of cult to properly restore the church. The diocesan architects, Louis Desmarests and Jacques-Eugène Barthélémy joined these claims and officially certified the deplorable state of the cathedral. In 1858, the department reacted and launched a major project to restore the building, led by L. Desmarests and J-E. Barthélémy, and the stained-glass part was assigned to the glazier Jules Boulanger. The whole project was supervised by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, then architect in charge of Historical Monuments. Famous for his many restoration and renovation works, he wanted to apply his doctrine of 'unity of style': the building had to be returned in the state it was in at the time of its creation. "Restaurer un édifice, ce n'est pas l'entretenir, le réparer ou le refaire, c'est le rétablir dans un état complet qui peut n'avoir jamais existé à un moment donné" (Viollet-le-Duc 1869 : 14). The architecture of the building and the monumental arts inside had to form a coherent whole. This vision derived from deep nationalism: medieval art, and especially gothic art, was seen as the only French art, far from the excesses of classicism. This position was highly contested but nevertheless prevailed — all later additions to the main construction had to be destroyed. The most famous result of Viollet-le-Duc's doctrine is the window of Notre-Dame-du-Jardin, enlarged in the 16th century, destroyed in 1863 and then rebuilt in the 13th century style. This stained-glass by the famous glazier Engrand Le Prince, no longer fitted the shape of the window, and was consequently removed, stored in boxes and stolen (Hérolt 2001, 41-51). Today, the various panels of this

⁴ According to the testimony of François de Guilhermy. De Guilhermy, François : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, N.a.fr. 6107, f°142, *Description des localités de la France*. These grisaille panels are today in the windows of the archbishopric of Rouen.



FIG. 2 Clerk attempting at the coronation of saint Romain, from the copy of the *Petit-Saint-Romain*, by Jules Boulanger, 1879-1884.



FIG. 3 Saint Romain and King Dagobert, from the copy of the *Petit-Saint-Romain*, by Jules Boulanger, 1879-1884.

window are partially preserved in Philadelphia's Museum of Art, in Écouen's Musée national de la Renaissance, in Rouen's Musée des antiquités de la Seine Maritime and in private collections worldwide (Burnam 2012)⁵.

For the rest of the stained-glass in the building, and especially for the windows in the side aisle, the architects and the glass painter classified the works into two categories: "to be restored" and "to be replaced"⁶. For the first, it was about cleaning the stained glass, inserting

bouche-trous, and replacing lead. The second part however, only applied theoretically to two windows of the nave: the *Petit-Saint-Romain* and a neighbouring window representing figures of saints overcome by Christ carrying the cross (Blondeau 2014, 74-75, 79-81). Corroded by moisture, these windows were considered too degraded to stay in the building and were disposed of. They were however part of the stained glass windows program painted between 1460 and 1470 for the nave, and their removal created a gap in the

⁵ Philadelphie, Museum of Art, Inv. 45. 25. 165 and 45. 25. 166. Écouen, Musée national de la Renaissance, Inv. Ec.292a, Ec.292b and Ec.292c Rouen, Musée des antiquités de la Seine-Maritime, Inv. 2008.3.9

⁶ Paris, Archives nationales, sous-série des Cultes, F 19 7854. « Devis général, sommaire et approximatif des travaux à faire pour la restauration complète de la cathédrale de Rouen, dressé par MM. Barthélémy et Desmarets, architectes diocésains ».

program and spoiled the unity so desired. The two architects' solution was to make a copy of the two stained-glass windows. The glazier Jules Boulanger therefore made a copy and, to fill the gaps, copied other windows of the cathedral to create a more coherent piece of work. The Boulanger copies, which were now more presentable, were inserted into the walls of the cathedral while the originals were placed in storage and quickly disappeared. In 1911, when Jean Lafond completed an inventory of this depot, he noticed that the original of the *Petit-Saint-Romain* was stolen: it was, in fact, already on the art market in the hands of a Parisian antique dealer (Blondeau 2010, 71-74).

But selling such a monumental stained glass is not easy. In order to adapt to the market requirements and to make it more attractive for customers, this work of art was in need of important remodeling. Stained glass, consisting of pieces of glass embedded in lead, is a malleable medium. Thus, like the cuttings in illuminations, the *Petit-Saint-Romain* was completely dismantled and rebuilt, creating a new composition: a fake, with authentic fragments. Thus, the life of the first archbishop of Rouen was transformed into a royal portrait. The photographs of the Boulanger copies identify precisely which parts were reused: a witness of the Gargouille's capture by a prisoner becomes the future Dauphin, one of the canons at the coronation of Saint Romain becomes King Charles VII, and the King Dagobert becomes Saint Catherine (Ritter 1926, LXXX, LXXXII-LXXXVI). The author of this reconstruction used other ancient fragments as well: a wheel and a palm, symbols of the martyrdom of Saint Catherine and some scrolls in the background, probably from one of the neighboring windows



in the nave. He also added some new elements: halos, crowns and scepters. The quality of this work suggests that the author was Jules Boulanger himself. He had a facilitated access to the storage of the cathedral, and his other stained glass windows show how skillfully he was able to copy the style of the 15th century. Indeed, many of his restorations are in fact very good reconstructions and excellent copies, like the majority of restorations during 19th century, where there was less care for the conservation of old works of art than

FIG. 4 Witness, miracle of the Gargouille's capture, from the copy of the *Petit-Saint-Romain*, by Jules Boulanger, 1879-1884.

for the restitution of coherent iconographic compositions (Pillet 2010, 85). Moreover, the fate of the removed and unused parts of the windows following a restoration was an issue that had never been the subject of legislation in the 19th century. Besides the fact that the glaziers were often themselves collectors, it was not uncommon for parts of lesser quality and value to be used for teaching exercises for apprentices (Luneau 2006, 108). In this case however, the high quality of the stained glass indicated that its primary purpose was to be sold.

The topic chosen for this window: a royal portrait, is a reminder of panel painting. In the 19th century, royal portraits were popular, very appreciated by collectors, and the windows of Rouen provided several examples of this. In fact, another royal portrait came from this set — it had been created for the nave between 1460 and 1470 (Blondeau 2014, 67-96). It was a work of lower quality precision, using a fragment of a face close to Guillaume Barbe's production, framed by modern elements (Hindman 2010, 142-143).

There is another example of the success of pictures of royals: the theft of a portion of two painted panels in the church Saint-Godard in Rouen. Here, the *modus operandi* was quite different: between 1857 and 1867, the glazier Gaspard Gsell, in charge of the restoration of Saint-Godard windows, switched a panel from the life of Saint Romain with a copy that he inserted in the church's window. This panel, after falling into private collections, is now in the Louvre and the copy is still *in situ*, in Rouen (Hérolt 1999, 35-45). The fact that only the episode featuring King Dagobert has been copied is indicative of the success royal images had when sold on the art market. Out of context, Dagobert, dressed in 16th Century fashion, is not easily identifiable; when the panel arrived in the museum collections, it also came under the name of Charles-Quint. Without the presence *in situ* of the copy in Saint-Godard, it would have been impossible

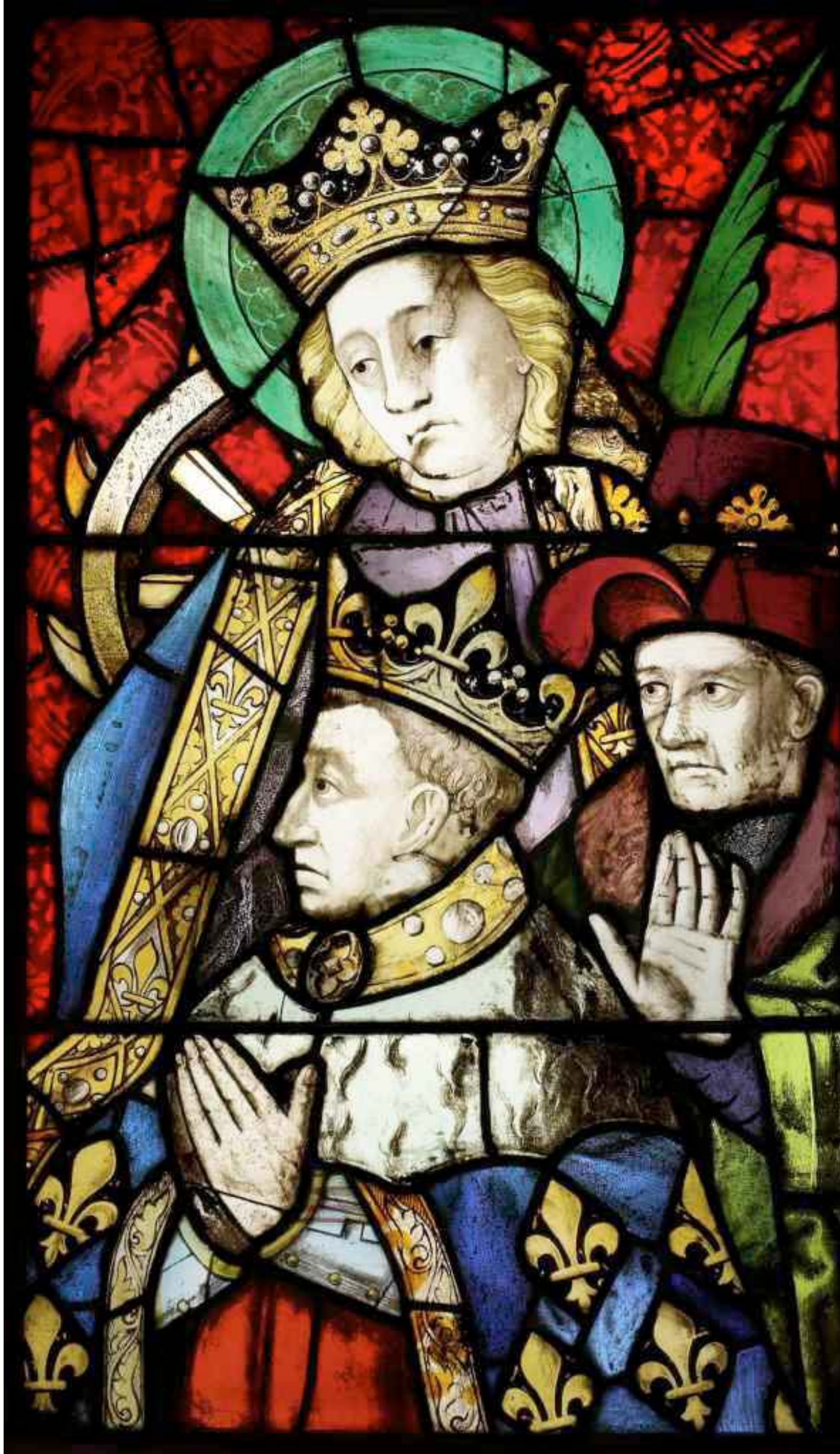


FIG. 5 King Charles VII and the dauphin presented by saint Catherine, fragments from the *Petit-Saint-Romain*, by Guillaume Barbe, 1465, reused in a panneau d'antiquaire made by Jules Boulanger, 1879-1884 ©SamFoggLtd.

FIG. 6 royal portrait, fragment from a stained-glass window, by Guillaume Barbe (?), XVth century, reused in a panneau d'antiquaire ©LesEnlumines.

to identify this king. The issue was similar for the window of Guillaume Barbe: without the photographic documents published in 1926, it would have been impossible to trace this stained glass, believed to be lost, and Guillaume Barbe could have been wrongly acclaimed as the author of a royal portrait (Ritter 1926, LXXX, LXXXII – LXXXVI).

The two legendary stained glass in the south aisle of the cathedral were not the only ones to be relegated to the storage; the figures of saints and a picture of the life of saint Catherine, indicated “to be restored” in the glazier’s estimate, were disposed of there as well (Blondeau 2014, 73-86). They were replaced at an unknown time by modern windows – creations and copies – while today, very few original panels that remain are illegible and drowned in abusive restorations (window 44, cathedral of Rouen). Between 1911, when the first inventory was made by Jean Lafond, and 1931, when the boxes were opened for an exhibition of ancient religious art, many of these stained glass had disappeared, replaced in the crates by stones.

In regards to the royal portrait, after its creation by Jules Boulanger (?), it arrived on the Parisian art market and passed into the hands of Henri Daguerre, art dealer and collector, then into Seligmann’s house, where a branch had just opened in New York (Fletcher 2004, 64-65). In 1925, Arnold Seligmann sold the stained glass to the famous press tycoon William Hearst. Publisher, editor and political figure, William Randolph Hearst was an art collector: over the years, he purchased huge amounts of antiques and art to be used for his several residences, the most famous being Hearst Castle, on the Californian coast. However, these purchases, for the most part, were kept in several warehouses in New York until Hearst began to worry about inheritance taxes and the decline of his fortune after the Depression: he began to sell off his panels in the course of his lifetime (Caviness 1989, 57-58). The purchase of the royal portrait corresponds to the end of construction of



his castle in San Simeon, California: we may think that it was stored there. The Hearst collection was the largest holding of stained glass in the United States, outside of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Caviness 2012). In 1951 when he died, the panel was sold to an American couple (Fletcher 2004, 64-65). From Alabama, the fake portrait made a stop in Europe where, in 2004, it was sold by the antique dealer Sam Fogg. It is now owned by a US collector, who also bought the other portrait from the south aisle of the Rouen cathedral.

This escape of many panels on the art market renders their identification very difficult. It was discovered that another man's head probably also came from the south aisle of the cathedral, very close to Guillaume Barbe's work (Hindman 2010, 140-141). Recently, a head painted by Engrand Le Prince was also uncovered in the collection of André Marie in Rouen (Chéron 2008, 59-64). This stained glass probably belonged to the window of Notre-Dame-du-Jardin, of which various fragments are scattered among museums in France and the United States, and several private collections. If many stained glass windows came into the art market after the suppression of twenty churches in Rouen during the revolutionary period, it is distressing to note that these works of art which currently supply the art market are supposed to still be property of the French state. As paradoxical as it may seem, the history of vandalism sometimes overlaps with the history of art restorations: in the name of the doctrine advocated by Viollet-le-Duc, the replacement of originals by copies was applied in Rouen, thus facilitating the transfer of several major works from the monumental cathedral to the everyday collector.

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NEW OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE STOKE POGES WINDOWS

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ABSTRACT

The Stoke Poges windows in the Detroit Institute of Arts have long intrigued scholars of stained glass, especially the question of their earliest provenance and the identification of the workshop responsible for making them. This paper explores the strong possibility that they were imported from Germany in the nineteenth century rather than made in England by continental glaziers in the sixteenth century.

KEYWORDS

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS | STAINED GLASS | STOKE POGES,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE | WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST | JEFFRY WYATVILLE

RESUMO

As janelas Stoke Poges no Instituto de Artes de Detroit têm, desde há muito, intrigado os estudiosos de vitrais, especialmente a questão da sua mais antiga proveniência e a identificação da oficina responsável pela sua execução. Este artigo explora a forte possibilidade de que eles foram importados da Alemanha, no século XIX, em vez de fabricados na Inglaterra por vidreiros do continente, no século XVI.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

INSTITUTE DE ARTES DE DETROIT | VITRAL | STOKE POGES,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE | WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST | JEFFRY WYATVILLE



Among the highlights of post-medieval glass in the Detroit Institute of Arts (DIA) are six large, rectangular panels of full-length figures that once featured prominently in an annex to the Church of Saint Giles in Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire. **[FIG. 1]** Located to the west of London, Stoke Poges is perhaps better known as the final resting place of the poet Thomas Gray, and it is believed that the graveyard of Saint Giles, where he is buried, provided the inspiration for “Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard” (1751). Dating to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the windows are notable for their monumental conception, the quality of their glass, the fine application of paint, and the extensive use of silver stain and stipple shading — all distinctive features of Lower Rhenish glass. Two panels represent the Virgin holding the Christ child; the rest portray saints Adrian of Nicomedia, Anthony the Abbot, Barbara, and Wenceslaus. **[FIGS. 2–4]** Each panel measures approximately 180 by 59.5 cm.¹ Two non-figural panels comprised of architectural motifs were also associated with this grouping in the nineteenth century at Stoke Poges. **[FIG. 5]**

Five of the panels came into the DIA collection in 1958. Little can be established about their provenance prior to the middle of the nineteenth century. What is sure is that by 1929 the original group of eight panels had been removed from the church annex. On March 9, 1926, Colonel Albert George Shaw, then owner of the nearby Tudor manor house, entered into a contractual agreement with the Stoke Poges Parochial Church Council to remove the “Flemish stained Glass Windows” from the church annex, which was technically a freehold of the manor’s owner. In exchange, the church was

given property title to the annex (“vestibule”), which was “situated on land belonging to Colonel Shaw.” The right to removal was valid for five years and made on the condition that Shaw “refill the spaces formerly occupied” with “suitable glass to the reasonable satisfaction of the Council and at his own expense.”²

By 1929, a year after the famous Ashridge sale, Shaw had consigned the eight panels as a set to Sotheby’s, where they were purchased for 2,500 GBP by Lionel Harris of the Spanish Art Gallery. Harris was most likely bidding on behalf of French & Company, as the panels very quickly entered the extensive collection of the newspaper magnate and insatiable art collector William Randolph Hearst, one of their most valued clients.³ Sotheby’s catalogued them as “fine early German stained glass” and was silent on their provenance before Colonel Shaw.

The panels remained together in storage at Hearst’s warehouse in Bronx, New York, until his massive liquidation sale starting in 1941 at Gimbel Brothers. The pair of architectural panels was the first to go at a bargain basement price. *Saint Adrian* was purchased by the industrialist John Woodman Higgins in 1943.⁴ The remaining five windows eventually made their way to Detroit in 1958 as part of a larger transfer of objects between the DIA and Hearst’s estate.⁵ With the closing of the Higgins Armory Museum at the end of 2013, the DIA found itself in a position to acquire *Saint Adrian*, thus reuniting the figures for the first time in sixty-one years. The whereabouts of the architectural panels remain unknown.⁶

On the basis of nineteenth-century sources, scholarship has maintained that the panels were moved to the church

¹ Detroit Institute of Arts nos. 58.93–94; 58.111–112; 58.155; 2014.30. The *Corpus Vitrearum* entry remains the standard reference. See Raguin et al. 2001, 201–210.

² Agreement between Colonel A.G. Shaw and Rev. A.T. Barnett, 9 March 1926, Stoke Poges Parish Records, PR 198/6/15/2, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire.

³ See Sotheby’s 1929, lot 49. I am grateful to Karen Bucky and to Autumn Lorraine for generously scanning for me the copies held respectively in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library and in the Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, The Art Institute of Chicago. The date recorded for the sale between Hearst and French & Company is June 7, 1929, and by June 17, 1929, the panels are delivered to Hearst’s storage complex on Southern Boulevard in Bronx, NY. See Hearst Album 104, #37, 27–30. It is curious that Hearst did not buy from Harris directly, as they had an established relationship by this time. For further discussion of French & Company’s close relationship to Hearst, see Bremer-David 2003–2004. My account of the history revises the one put forth in the *Corpus* entry: “Colonel Shaw of Stoke Poges Manor consigned the panels to the dealer, P.W. French & Co., New York, in 1929 and they were auctioned by Sotheby’s in London, 16 May 1929.” See Raguin et al. 2001, 150–51.

⁴ Hammer Galleries 1941, 330 #66–1. Higgins, who, in 1931, had established the Museum of Steel and Armor in Worcester, MA, to house his collection of armor, was primarily interested in stained glass for the atmosphere it added to his display of arms and armor. According to Jeffrey Forgeng, formerly Paul S. Morgan Curator at the Higgins Armory Museum, *St. Adrian* most likely appealed to Higgins because he is shown in a full suit of



FIG. 1 Gallery View of the Stoke Poges Windows in the Decorative Arts Courtyard, Detroit Institute of Arts
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annex from the nearby Tudor manor house when it was demolished in 1789. Whether they were commissioned for a chapel in the manor house and made by Continental glaziers of mixed origins active in England, or whether they were imported in the seventeenth or eighteenth century from Europe remains a point of discussion, but there is general agreement that they were in Stoke Poges by the late eighteenth century and transferred to the church upon the manor's demolition. This paper explores the strong possibility that the panels were instead

imported to England in the first half of the nineteenth century, most likely from the area around Cologne, during the vogue for Rhenish glass in England that peaked between 1815 and 1835, and that the annex was purpose built to house them.⁷ The first part surveys the written sources, including some previously unpublished, while the second part submits to close analysis the windows' nineteenth-century architectural setting, taking into account issues raised by the condition and physical makeup of the panels.

armor. Jeffrey Forgeng, conversation with author, May 2013.

⁵ For further discussion of the Hearst material in the DIA, see Gallagher 2004, 54-65, esp. 62.

⁶ *Saint Adrian* (formerly Higgins Armory Museum, 2728) was part of the Higgins Armory auction on May 7, 2014 at Thomas Del Mar Ltd in London. See Thomas Del Mar 2014, lot 316. For further discussion of the panel, see Caviness 1978, 78-79, and Raguin 1987, 70.

⁷ This investigation builds on You 2011. I am grateful to Peter Martin for supporting my instinct to question the provenance of the glass and suggesting that we further explore its nineteenth-century setting. Together we visited the church and the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies in late spring 2014 with the plan of co-authoring this paper. He was regrettably prevented from doing so, but his contributions are noted in the footnotes.



FIG. 2 Saint Adrian, DIA 2014.30 (*left*) and Saint Anthony Abbott, DIA 58.93 (*right*)
©Detroit Institute of Arts 2014



FIG. 3 Virgin as Queen of Heaven, DIA 58.94 (*left*) and Saint Wenceslas, DIA 58.111 (*right*)
©Detroit Institute of Arts 2014

The Nineteenth-Century Sources

The earliest mention of the panels is a nineteenth-century county history of Buckinghamshire, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, by the physician and antiquarian George Lipscomb. The entry on Stoke Poges is in volume four, which was published in 1847. Lipscomb mentions the glass towards the end of his lengthy entry, singling out the pairings of Saint Adrian and Saint Anthony in one window, and St. Wenceslaus and the Virgin as Queen of Heaven in another:

The cloisters of modern erection, contiguous to the north side of the Church, contain many beautiful specimens of painted glass, collected out of the ruins of the old Mansion at Stoke; and exhibit full length portraits of Saints, Martyrs, &c, of which the most remarkable are in a window towards the west, in which is a whole length figure of a man in armour, his sword drawn in his hand. At the top: "Sante... ora pro." Another effigy has a book open, with this legend: "O Pater Sanct. Antoni ora." In another window, the Virgin and Child, and "Regina Deorum ora p..." A male figure girt with a sword: and a devotee praying.⁸

The "old Mansion at Stoke" refers to the Tudor manor house north of the church, which was completed in 1555 by the Hastings family and mostly torn down by John Penn in 1789 in favor of a late Georgian mansion, Stoke Park, he had built elsewhere on the estate.⁹ By Lipscomb's time, only one wing of the Tudor manor house remained and Stoke Park's imposing Doric columns, designed by James Wyatt, dominated the landscape.

Lipscomb's assertion that the windows were "collected out of the ruins of the old Mansion at Stoke" has encouraged scholars in the field of stained glass to assume that they were in Stoke Poges as early as the sixteenth century, and that they were possibly the products of foreign glaziers working in England. As much as the panels retain dominant stylistic traits of Rhenish glass, they also exhibit some characteristics associated with Lowland artists working in French lands. The small heads and long bodies of *Saint Barbara* and the *Virgin with Christ Child Holding a Top* [FIG. 4] recall the figures of Arnoult de Nimègue, a South Netherlandish glass painter who was active in Rouen from about 1500 to 1510. Given the mixture of stylistic features and the dominance of immigrant glaziers in England during the early years of the sixteenth century, the authors of the *Corpus Vitrearum* thought it "not inconceivable that the windows had been commissioned from foreign artists for a manorial chapel."¹⁰

Standing against the compelling evidence of mixed workshops of glaziers in sixteenth century England is the unreliability of the source upon which most arguments about dating and provenance depend. The genesis of the *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* was admittedly quite complicated. Volume one came out in 1831, but due to lack of financing, the remaining three volumes only appeared in print in 1847. Indeed, Lipscomb, who died on November 9, 1846, did not live to see the finished product. Nor could he claim sole authorship, despite having poured his heart and soul into it. In 1824, Lipscomb inherited Reverend Edward Cooke's life's work for a history of Buckinghamshire that Cooke himself had planned to write. Lipscomb, who was,

⁸ Lipscomb 1847, vol. 4, 568.

⁹ There is conflicting information regarding the demolition of the manor. Following Lipscomb and John Penn, I maintain the demolition occurred in 1789. James Sheahan, whom the *Corpus* authors cite, places it at 1799. See Sheahan 1862, 871. cf. Lipscomb 1847, vol. 4, 558, and Penn 1813, 59.

¹⁰ Raguin et al. 2001, 202; for an extended discussion of the stylistic issues, 203–205. For more on the activity of foreign glaziers, see Marks 1993, 205–228.



FIG. 4 Saint Barbara, DIA 58.155 (left) and Virgin and Child Holding a Top, DIA 58.112 (right)

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coincidentally, the executor of Cooke's estate, graciously acknowledged his use of the rector's "valuable and important materials" in the preface to his *History and Antiquities*, but there were some who felt Cooke was not given his full due.¹¹ The author of Lipscomb's obituary in *Gentleman's Magazine* emphasized that, "Mr. Cooke, had his life been spared, was eminently qualified to have produced an able history, from the strength and simplicity of his style, and the clearness and nervous precision of his diction."¹² Another obituary, which appeared in the *Records of Buckinghamshire*, cautioned that "the works of our most eminent historians are not faultless, and to pronounce Lipscomb's work to be strictly accurate and in every minute detail without errors, would be saying too much for it."¹³ In short, the reliability of *History and Antiquities* was already being called into question at the time of its publication, and it is worth asking if Lipscomb ever saw the Stoke Poges windows in person.

A more comprehensive and informed treatment of the windows is found in the last volume of *A History of Design in Painted Glass* (1881-94) by the designer and stained glass authority Nathaniel Westlake. They fall under his discussion of foreign glass in England and he describes the glazing with close attention to iconography, quality, and color scheme:

In a small annex on the north side of the Church of Stoke Pogis [sic] there are some excellent figures, which I take to be of German origin, and probably of the middle of the sixteenth century. Amongst them there are two figures of Our Lady, crowned: both carry the Divine Infant...There are

¹¹ Lipscomb wrote: "the still more valuable and important materials supplied by the indefatigable labors of the late Reverend Edward Cooke, A.M. and LL.B. Rector of Haversham; which he avowed to have formed the basis of that superstructure which it had been his endeavor to raise." Lipscomb 1847, vol. 1, preface, n.p.

¹² *The Gentleman's Magazine* 1847, 90. I am indebted to Peter Martin for bringing to my attention the contested authorship of Lipscomb's work.

¹³ Gibbs 1878, 38.

also very good figures of St. Barbara or St. Margaret, with a tower, she has bare feet; St. Eloi, who holds his anvil and hammer...St. Anthony, with his rosary, Φ staff, and pig. The figure of a Saint, with a sword and alms-bag...I am not sure who it is intended to represent — perhaps St. Martin or St. Wenceslaus.

In addition to the six glass panels, we learn of “some good canopies of unusual design with enameled brown pink ground, which were probably at one time over the figures.”¹⁴ This is the first mention of two architectural panels once associated with the group [FIG. 5].

Westlake is uncertain of the glass’s exact origins — he thinks it is “probably from the north-west of Germany” — but there is no question in his mind that the panels are representative of a “great deal” of imported German glass in England. As he noted, “the student would have to travel hundreds of miles in Germany to find such a selection of examples as he can study at Shrewsbury, South Kensington Museum, and Stoke Pogis [sic].”¹⁵ This mention of the Stoke Poges panels in the same breath as the Altenberg and Mariawald windows is an implicit endorsement not only of their quality, but their status as imported pieces.

In spite of Westlake’s insightful and more reliable observations, Lipscomb’s *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* remained the standard of reference for later publications. An 1896 account of Stoke Poges repeated his claim that the windows in the church annex originated in the Tudor manor house: “In the cloisters [annex] there is some very remarkable

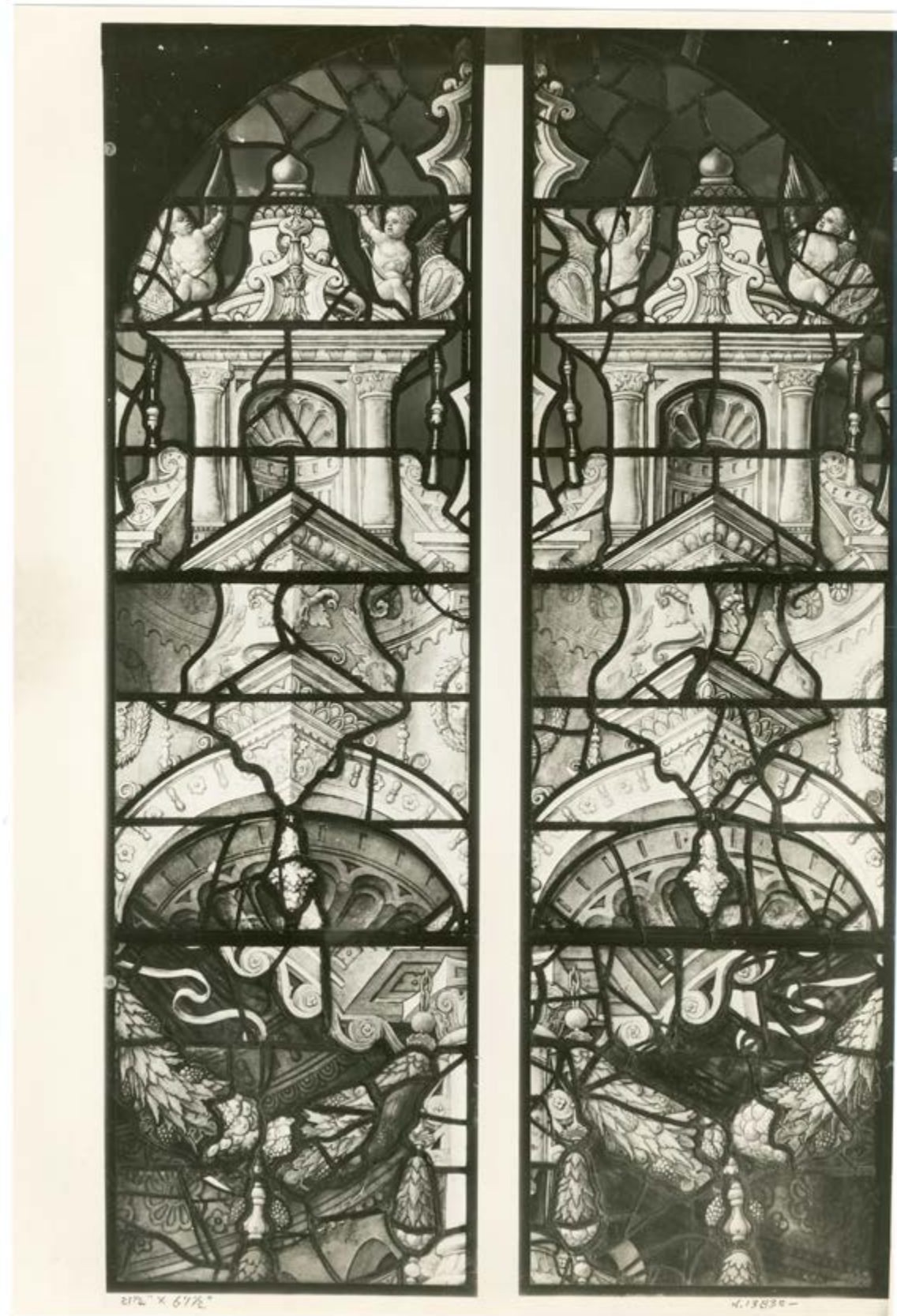


FIG. 5 Architectural Canopies, French & Company Photo Archive, The Getty Research Institute
© The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (71.P.1)

¹⁴ Westlake 1894, vol. 4, 63–64.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

glass, part removed from the manor house, part collected by the late Mr. Coleman, and placed together here.”¹⁶ The authors of the *Corpus Vitrearum* entry also followed Lipscomb in recounting the history of the glass.

The Physical Evidence

There are many reasons to believe that the Stoke Poges glass panels were salvaged during secularization in Germany and brought to England in the early decades of the nineteenth century, a period of antiquarian and gothic revival. Not only was there a ready supply of glass from post-secularization Cologne, an ardent demand for “ancient glass” in England, and ample evidence of a burgeoning trade in stained glass between the Rhineland and the United Kingdom in this period, there is the glass itself to consider. The condition of the panels, their alteration history, and the physical space they occupied, offer valuable clues about their past.

Let’s look closely at their nineteenth- to early twentieth-century siting in the church annex. What is variously meant by Lipscomb’s “cloister of modern erection” (1847), Westlake’s “small annex on the north side” (1894), and Shaw’s “private vestibule” (1926) is technically a Tudoresque porch built in brick and battlemented, with a gothic ceiling, the whole so curiously shaped that it was described as an “excrescence” in the revised edition of *Buckinghamshire* from the *Buildings of England* series.¹⁷

[FIGS. 6-7] Judging by early Gothic Revival features such as the prominent bosses, ribbed ceiling vaulting, battlements, and ogee-headed windows, one can assign the build date of this demi-octagonal structure with east and west wings to the second decade of the nineteenth century, probably

around 1825. Its existence is documented in an 1833 plan of St. Giles and churchyard (where it is labeled a “cloister”), thus establishing 1833 as a *terminus ante quem*.¹⁸ **[FIG. 8]**

We know that by 1926 the annex functioned as a private passageway into the church for members of the manor house. A clause in the Shaw-Stoke Poges agreement permitted Shaw and his descendants to maintain the privilege of accessing the church in this way. Yet, its original function remains unclear. The mostly demolished Tudor manor house presumably was disused from at least 1789 until 1911, when the remnants were incorporated into a new structure by the architect William Howard Seth-Smith.¹⁹ This chronology suggests that the modest space was not designed as a passageway for its residents. Instead the proportions, scale, and overall design of the annex, particularly the large size of the windows (about 1.8 m) in relation to the height of the ceiling (about 2.8 m), strongly support the possibility that it was designed and built specifically to display the panels. It is easy to imagine how they once might have dominated the space. With the baseline of the fenestration only two feet above ground, the viewer would have been able to admire and experience the glass up close and almost at eye level.

The fenestration, ceiling vaulting, and castellated exterior of the annex recall the aesthetic sensibilities of Jeffry Wyattville, who was by the 1820s an enthusiastic practitioner of the Gothic and Tudor-Gothic styles. He was particularly fond of details such as flattened ogee-headed windows and arches, prominent ribbed vaulting schemes, and decorative crenellations, deploying them widely in the 1820s, most notably at nearby Windsor Castle. While the shape

¹⁶ Stoke Poges 1896, 16.

¹⁷ Pevsner et al. 1993, 652.

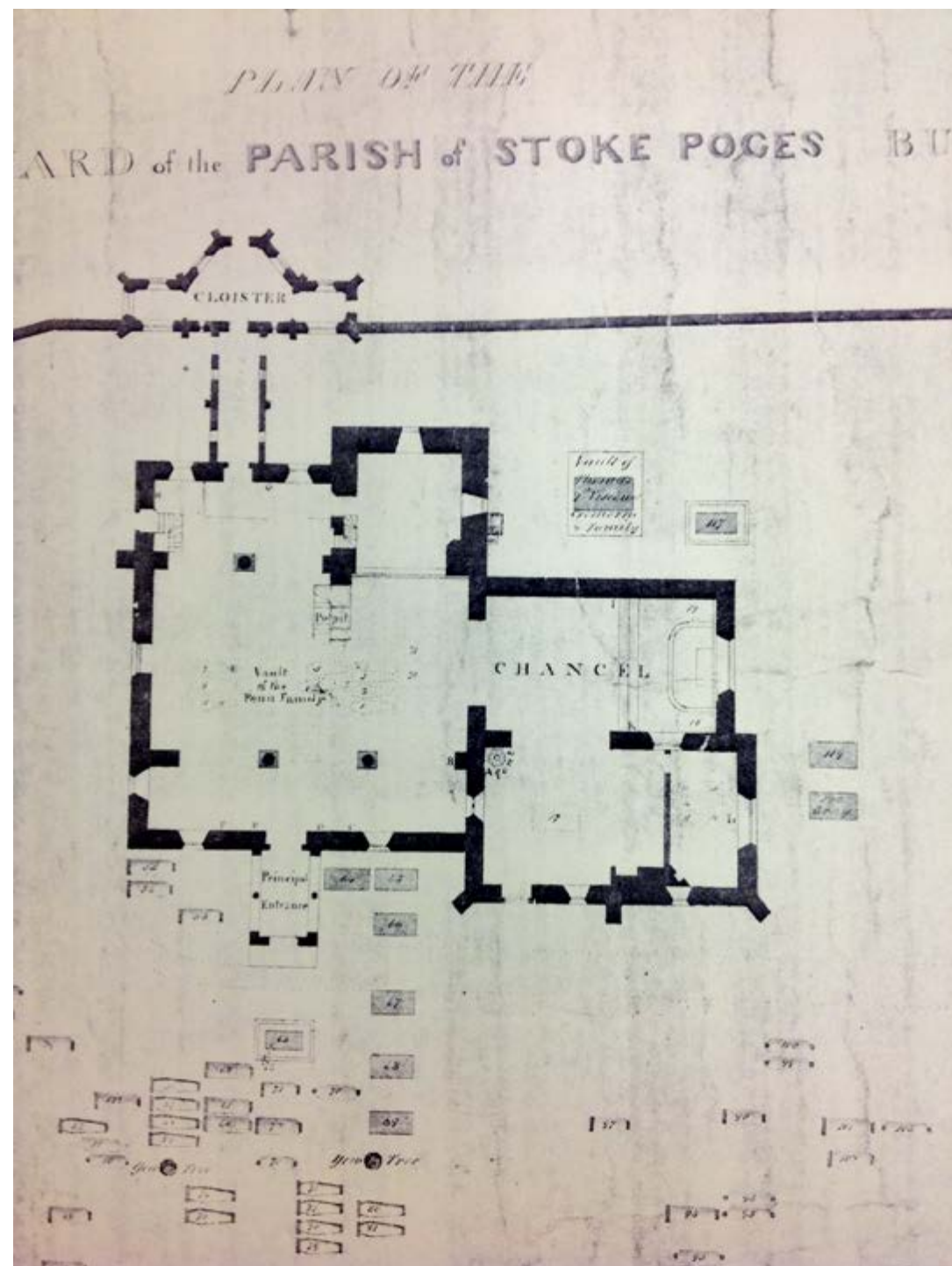
¹⁸ The plan was made by W. Osborn and inscribed to Hon. Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, who was appointed rector of Stoke Poges in 1833. A framed version hangs in the church, while a photocopy (PR 198/28/10) can be found in the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies. The date of 1825 was first suggested by Neil Jackson, who accompanied me and Peter Martin to Stoke Poges on June 1, 2014.

¹⁹ In 1862 Sheahan indicated that what remained of the Tudor manor had been occupied up to that point by a gamekeeper. Sheahan 1862, 871. It remains unclear who commissioned the 1911 renovation.



FIG. 6 Interior of the Annex, Church of Saint Giles, Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire (Peter Martin 2014)

FIG. 7 Exterior of the Annex, Church of Saint Giles, Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire (Yao-Fen You 2014)



of the annex windows at Stoke Poges brings to mind the purpose-made tracery lights he designed for the chapel at Ashridge Park to showcase the Mariawald windows [FIG. 9], the ceiling vaulting is very much in the manner of what he was doing in the 1820s at Windsor Castle, where St. George's Hall, the Private Dining Room, and the Guard Chamber are characterized by a flattened ogee-headed ceiling with prominent ribbing.²⁰ [FIG. 10] Whether or not Wyattville was responsible for the design of the annex, one cannot help but note that the preference for this distinctive feature



came at the expense of the objects' integrity. The top edges of the panels were clearly modified to accommodate the windows' ogee-arched contours. The profiles of the panels had again been made rectangular by the time of their sale at Sotheby's in 1929, presumably to make them more salable.²¹

Although there is no conclusive evidence, it is not inconceivable that Wyattville not only had a hand in the design of the annex, but played a part in bringing the glass itself to Stoke Poges. As Peter Martin has emphasized, Wyattville had a connection to the stained glass trade in his close friend William Wilkins, an architect and collector of stained glass.²² Both are known to have supplied Rhenish glass to their clients. The extent of the important roles they played in the movement and circulation of glass in the nineteenth century remains to be discovered, but recent scholarship by Martin indicates that the forty-five Mariawald panels installed at Ashridge Park were acquired through

FIG. 8 Detail from Photocopy of Plan of Church and Churchyard by W. Osborn, inscribed to Hon. Rev. Sidney Godolphin, 1833. Stoke Poges Parish Records, PR 198/28/10, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (Yao-Fen You 2014, reproduced courtesy of the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies)

FIG. 9 Jeffrey Wyattville, Plan for Ashridge Chapel Window, 1815 (Peter Martin 2012)

²⁰ See also figs. 145–147 in Linstrum 1972. The Wyattville hypothesis was initially suggested by Peter Martin and I am grateful to him and to Neil Jackson for encouraging me to pursue it.

²¹ See the illustrations of the windows in Sotheby's 1929.

²² Martin 2012, 129–142.



FIG. 10 After Joseph Nash, "Guard Chamber-Mast of Victory, with Bust of Lord Nelson," Views of the Interior and Exterior of Windsor Castle by Joseph Nash, 1848 Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2014

the initiative of the architect himself. If so, there is reason to suspect that Wyatt provided both the glass and the installation plan at Stoke.²³

The attribution of the church annex to Wyatt is all the more persuasive considering his strong family connection to Stoke Poges. In 1790, Edward Penn had engaged Wyatt's uncle, James Wyatt, to design Stoke Park, which remains one of Wyatt's most fully documented commissions.²⁴ The commission eventually extended beyond the mansion to include the monument to Thomas Gray, erected in 1799, and the Vicarage, built 1802-4. Wyatt also designed Pennsylvania

Castle, Penn's home on the Isle of Portland, Dorset, which was completed in 1800.

An entrepreneur, Wyatt was in the habit of soliciting business from his deceased uncle's loyal clients, including, very likely, John Penn, who survived Wyatt by twenty-one years and would not have been immune to his nephew's overtures.²⁵ A possible scenario is that Wyatt, while at Windsor in the 1820s, took the opportunity to interest Penn in some spare Rhenish windows from his inventory and propose a purpose-designed space for them at Stoke Poges, only 11 km away. As Martin has observed of architects

²³ *Ibid.*, 251.

²⁴ The long and fruitful collaboration between Penn and Wyatt is documented in Fergusson 1977.

working prior to 1834, “he was a contractor, a supplier not only of design services but also of goods and antiquities.”²⁶ This theory would corroborate a date of 1825 for the annex.

Another clue that the annex was purpose built to house the windows resides in the hitherto unpublished architectural panels. **[FIG. 5]** Because these were not reproduced in the 1929 Sotheby’s catalogue, the light they shed on the panels’ origins has been overlooked. Originally placed in a rounded arch opening on the east end that is now bricked over, they comprise a patchwork of tracery components, presumably from the canopies that once surmounted the glass. Judging from the photographs, it is clear the architectural panels are a nineteenth-century invention in conception and form, even if the constituent glass pieces appear original. Their composite nature strongly suggests that all of the Stoke Poges panels were salvaged and brought to England during the antique and gothic revival. If they had been transferred from the Tudor manor house that Penn was so eager to demolish, one would expect them to be far more intact.

The glass generally is in a very good state of preservation for its age, but it has undergone substantive repairs and alterations in addition to the modifications along the top edges. With the exception of *Anthony Abbot*, which is the best preserved of the group, the panels contain extensively replaced passages and parts recycled from what must have been other panels in the series. The entire bottom third of *St. Barbara*, for example, beginning with the lower edge of the blue lining of her cloak is a stopgap taken from another, presumably male, figure in the same series.²⁷ Indeed, Westlake’s 1894 hand-drawn illustrations of Adrian, Anthony, and Wenceslas indicate that a majority of the replacement pieces were already in place by the end of the nineteenth

century. Discrepancies in the iconographic program also indicate the panels were part of a larger program or programs. It seems highly unlikely, for example, that a series of seven images of saints would include two representations of the Virgin and Child.²⁸ Again, if the glass had originally come from the Tudor manor, one would expect a more resolved iconography and more panels to have survived.

Conclusion

Whether or not Wyattville played a role in bringing the glass panels to Stoke Poges, their physical make-up and iconographic discrepancies, as well as their nineteenth-century installation, strongly suggest they were victims of secularization. At the very minimum, we should revise our assumption of a continuous record of ownership from the time of their creation in the early decades of the sixteenth century to the first published record of them in 1847, and continue to investigate their provenance. Further avenues of research include consulting early nineteenth-century German auction catalogs held in Cologne and elsewhere, as well as the account books of J. C. Hampp at the Fitzwilliam Museum. Following Martin’s suggestion, one could also dig deeper into Wyattville’s dealings in Rhenish stained glass, examining his connection to known agents such as William Stevenson and Edward Curling.²⁹ A better understanding of the history of the restoration of the panels prior to their sale at Sotheby’s in 1929, especially when and where it was undertaken, would also be helpful in localizing the works. Now that the six figural panels have been reunited, the DIA plans to conduct non-destructive analysis in hopes of piecing together some of that crucial restoration history.

²⁵ In his diary entry for 18 September 1813, Joseph Faringdon noted that on the death of James Wyatt, his nephew “wrote 15 letters to different persons soliciting their interest to get something that His uncle enjoyed.” By 1814, Wyattville had inherited the Ashridge Park contract from his uncle. Linstrum 1974, 15.

²⁶ Martin 2012, 129.

²⁷ See restoration chart 26/a in Raguin et al. 2001, 210.

²⁸ This was noted by Raguin. See Raguin et al. 2001, 202.

²⁹ Martin 2012, 201-205.

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