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Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) and Erasmus Quellinus the Younger (1607–1678), *Flower Garland with the Standing Virgin and Child,* c. 1645–50. Oil on copper, 85.5 x 61.5 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7505.

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In the Artist's Studio. Auguste-Xavier Leprince and the Studio Interior as an Artistic Strategy
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CONTENTS

CONTENTS

Foreword – Time to Look, Read and Explore

Susanna Pettersson
Director General

At the time of writing this text, in the early summer of 2020, the whole world has slowed because of Covid-19. It has been an exceptional experience for the majority of the population. Many public services, such as museums, libraries and archives, as well as concert halls, theatres and cinemas, have been closed during the worst months of the pandemic. Even the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm closed on 20 March for three months.

Closing a function like the Nationalmuseum holds a great symbolic value. It signals severe societal disruption, whereas an open and democratic space communicates the opposite. We have witnessed how museums, both large and small, all around the globe, have closed their doors, and how these arenas for exploration, interpretation and learning have been put on hold. Hundreds of exhibitions have been cancelled or rescheduled.

Museums were quick to arrange alternative ways to access their collections, with existing online resources created a solid basis for this work. One example is Europeana, where thousands of European archives, libraries and museums sharing their collections for "enjoyment, education and research". The material consists of millions of books, music and artworks. The Nationalmuseum has also published over 87,000 images of its collections online, a number that is increasing every year. The aim is to encourage online visitors to explore and enjoy the collections, no matter whether they are an experience seeker or a professional.

Entering the collections through physical and virtual doors is the key. The pandemic has encouraged museums to increase the number of virtual tours and to produce short, bespoke online films about collections and exhibitions. One could even question whether the concept of a museum visit has changed over the year and, if the answer is yes, how? In order to answer those questions, we should pause for a minute to think about the history of the collections, the encounters between the objects and their public, as well as the related knowledge produced by research.

The museum as a public and democratic space, as we understand it from today's perspective, is a relatively recent phenomenon. The majority of European museums were founded and opened to the public in the 19th century, as discussed in the exhibition catalogue *Inspiration – Iconic Works* (ed. Susanna Pettersson, 2020), published in cooperation with the Finnish National Gallery/Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki, for an exhibition featuring the history of museums and the formation of the canon of art history.

This era, the grand century of the founding of museums, was also a time that witnessed the formation of something we know as the visitor's code – how the public that entered the newly opened galleries was expected to behave. Previously, the earliest collections were open to selected audiences and the visits were private in character. When visiting a private manor house or a castle, for instance, the artworks and objects could be studied at close range. A collection's owner could show their latest acquisition to a distinguished guest, while the ritual of experiencing and interpreting included looking, smelling the materials and even touching. These events became popular topics for paintings that celebrated the glory and value of private collections.

Knowledge related to items in a collection was highly appreciated as far back as the Renaissance, with the earliest cabinets of curiosities focusing on *naturalia, artificialia* and *scientifica*. Collections provided keys for understanding the world, creating structure and categories, and contextual information added to the aura of an object. (However, in some cases the stories were pure invention, as in the cases of fabricated treasures such as mermaids or unicorn horns.) Contemporary museums still build upon this contextual tradition.

The intimate relationship between the object and the visitor changed dramatically when collections were introduced to the wider public at the end of the 18th century. Visitors could no longer touch the works or study the objects up close. Objects were displayed in specially designed cases and paintings were carefully placed on the walls, some very high and out of reach. Closer examination became

a privilege, the responsibility of a new museum profession, conservators, who could provide detailed information about the technique, materials – or layers invisible to the naked eye – for research into art history.

From the perspective of accessibility, our digital age is opening up highways for experiences, interpretation and knowledge building. Collections can be explored in detail and high-resolution images can show more than any one of us has seen before: brush strokes, pigments, or small cracks in the paint. This, combined with art historical information and material studies, adds up to the grand historical narrative of art history.

Having said that, there is nothing as powerful as an encounter with an original, authentic object or artwork in a museum environment. These moments are magical now – and they will be magical in the future. Therefore, it is probably fair to claim that the time we are in has opened a lot of exciting doors to our collections, as well as lowering thresholds, although it has also shown that we cannot move our lives to Teams or Skype meetings – we cannot only interact with digital materials. Real museums are needed to experience the collections onsite, and real museums with their specialists are necessary to take a closer look at the collections.

The *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum* vol. 26:1 is a great example of an arena in which you can explore some of the highlights from our acquisitions in 2019. The articles showcase a carefully curated selection of artworks and objects that reflect Swedish cultural heritage, as well as our ambition to strengthen the collections' international aspects. The first category includes articles on Daniel Segher's *Flower Garland with the Standing Virgin and Child* (with its long history in Swedish collections), argent haché, royal tableaux vivants and Elsa Beskow's drawings. The second category includes French master drawings of the 18th century and an article on the Danish Golden Age – an acquisition project that became an exhibition. This issue also features a concluding article by Professor Michael Yonan, an essay on Martin van Meytens' portrait of the Viennese Court Jeweller Johann Michael von Grosser, a work of art that entered the Nationalmuseum's collections almost a hundred years ago.

I wish to thank all my colleagues who contributed to this publication with their insightful articles. This is how we continue the tradition – by looking, exploring and sharing what we have learned. And the good news is that from this edition onward, we will be publishing the *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum* twice a year.

We hope to see you in our galleries, surrounded by our most recent and previous acquisitions!

A Flower Garland by Daniel Seghers

Carina Fryklund, Curator, Paintings, Drawings and Prints before 1700
Lena Dahlén, Paintings Conservator

The Flemish 17th-century flower painter Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) was held in the highest regard during his lifetime and is today seen as an important innovator of the genre. The Nationalmuseum recently acquired the artist's *Flower Garland with the Standing Virgin and Child* (Fig. 1), one of the most highly valued artworks in the renowned collection of the Swedish merchant Henrik Wilhelm Peill (1730–1797) at Österbybruk.[1]

Born at Antwerp in 1590, Seghers moved north with his widowed mother in his youth, living with Protestant relatives in Utrecht, where he began his artistic training. After returning to Antwerp around 1610, he completed his training under Jan Brueghel the Elder, a pioneer of flower painting, and in 1611 he was admitted as a master in the local painters' guild. In 1614 he joined the Jesuit order as a lay brother at Mechelen. The Jesuits sent him to Rome in 1625–27, and subsequently placed him at Antwerp, where he spent the rest of his life painting in the order's teaching house.[2]

Seghers transformed the painted flower garland first introduced by Jan Brueghel the Elder.[3] Having painted his first garland in Rome in c. 1626,[4] he soon developed a distinctive style, more dramatic and colourful than his teacher's. Dynamic compositions such as the Stockholm *Flower Garland*, with festoons elegantly arranged around a painted cartouche, and relying on strong chiaroscuro effects, became Seghers' trademark.[5] A sculpted Virgin and Child painted in trompe l'oeil

Fig. 1 Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) and Erasmus Quellinus the Younger (1607–1678), *Flower Garland with the Standing Virgin and Child*, c. 1645–50. Oil on copper, 85.5 x 61.5 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7505.

Fig. 2 Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) and Erasmus Quellinus the Younger (1607–1678), *Cartouche with Flower Garlands and the Standing Virgin and Child,* signed "D. Seghers. Soctis JESV", c. 1645–50. Oil on copper, 86 x 62 cm. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, GG 111.

seems to protrude from an arched niche at the centre of a cartouche in grisaille with Baroque scrollwork. Draped around the cartouche are festoons with a vibrant assortment of meticulously painted blooms, gathered into four separate bouquets interwoven with swirls of ivy. Flowers and leaves are turned in different directions to expose them to strong light from the upper left, and depth is suggested by the use of shadow as well as the curvature of flower stalks and bristling foliage. A convincing three-dimensional effect is created by contrasting flowers in luminous primary colours with the dark grey, deeply shaded scrollwork.

The image of the Virgin and Child was probably painted by Erasmus Quellinus the Younger (1607–1678), a member of a renowned Antwerp family of sculptors. The two artists worked together from c. 1630 until Seghers' death in 1661, producing at least twenty-nine paintings in a form of collaboration between specialists that was common in 17th-century Antwerp.[6] The Stockholm *Flower Garland* may be dated to the mid- to late 1640s, when Seghers had established his signature style, a date consistent with Quellinus' still Rubensian figure types. It may be compared with the Braunschweig *Cartouche with Flower Garlands and the Standing Virgin and Child* of c. 1645–50 (Fig. 2).[7]

Often signed 'Daniel Seghers Soc[ietatis] JESV', Seghers' paintings were presented as gifts by the Jesuit order to monarchs and dignitaries across Europe, and must be seen within the context of the Counter-Reformation.[8] Their significance lies in the fact that the festoons encircle a trompe-l'oeil image contained within the painting itself, perhaps a reflection of the contemporary custom of draping flower garlands around devotional images for religious feast days. Seghers' works thus proclaimed the legitimacy of images as objects of veneration, fundamental to Catholic treatises on art following iconoclastic riots in the late 16th century. The roses, anemones,

Fig. 3 Infrared reflectogram of Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) and Erasmus Quellinus the Younger (1607–1678), *Flower Garland with the Standing Virgin and Child,* c. 1645–50 (detail). Oil on copper, 85.5 x 61.5 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7505.

carnations, orange blossoms, hyacinths, jasmine and ivy seen in the Stockholm *Flower Garland* had specific connotations, alluding to the respective roles of Mary and Jesus in the history of salvation, thus reiterating the theme represented in the central image. The painted flowers also bestowed value on the image through their intrinsic – rather than metaphorical – significance, floral still lifes being among the most highly prized works of art.

The flowers in the Stockholm *Flower Garland* are recorded with near-scientific accuracy. Yet these painted festoons are, taken in their entirety, purely imaginary. Since Seghers' bouquets are composed of flowers that bloom in different seasons, it must be assumed that, like his teacher, Jan Brueghel the Elder,[9] he did not paint them exclusively from life. While there are no preserved flower studies by Seghers, the repetition of certain floral arrangements and individual flowers, such as the costly red-flamed tulips, over many years would suggest that models – oil sketches, drawings or watercolours – were part of the artist's stock-in-trade.[10] Seghers worked methodically: he knew where to position the garlands and bouquets before the cartouche and central image were put in place.[11] The collaborative nature of his paintings would have been facilitated by the use of painted or drawn models, making it possible to plan compositions efficiently. This may also explain the limited number of pentimenti in Seghers' paintings.

The painting technique of the Stockholm *Flower Garland* conforms to Seghers' known working methods.[12] The painting's support consists of a thin copper panel in one of several standard sizes available in 17th-century Antwerp, with a smooth surface that allowed the artist to paint minute details.[13] After the thin greyish ground layer had been brushed onto the metal support, there followed the dead colouring stage in which the garlands and principal flowers were positioned, the garlands indicated with green paint [14] and the flowers with monochrome, brightly coloured shapes (Fig. 3). These abstract shapes, smaller than the finished flowers, provided a base tone for the paint layer on top. Next, the grisaille cartouche and dark background were painted in.[15]

The final flowers were painted wet-in-wet and rarely built up with more than one paint layer.[16] Seghers' delicate brushstrokes follow the direction in which

Fig. 4 Infrared reflectogram of Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) and Erasmus Quellinus the Younger (1607–1678), *Flower Garland with the Standing Virgin and Child,* c. 1645–50 (detail). Oil on copper, 85.5 x 61.5 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7505.

organic forms flow, suggesting volume. Tulips were modelled by applying grey paint on the shadow side, next to the egg-shaped reddish-orange dead colouring: the dark colour shimmers through the semi-transparent top layer, while the adjacent bright dead colouring provides a base tone for the flowers' sunlit side.[17] The flame pattern was painted free-hand with flowing strokes of red lake, before areas of the underlayer were covered with more opaque white paint (Fig. 4). Pink roses were modelled by applying a dark pink glaze over bright pink dead colouring, the shape of the petals defined by delicate brushstrokes in pink and white, leaving ridges along the contours due to the non-absorbency of the metal support. Dots of red lake in sepals and stems enliven the greens. Different colours were sometimes layered: the purple anemone was built up by applying a transparent blue layer over pink dead colouring; in between the delicate brushstrokes the underlayer remains visible, creating an effect of pink and purple tones (Fig. 5). Another example is seen in the yellow anemones, where yellow was applied over a bright red underlayer, and details such as stamen and pistils were rendered with slightly impasted highlights.[18] After finishing the main flowers, Seghers completed the festoons by adding in-between flowers and greenery painted directly over the grey cartouche or dark background.

Notes:

1. Daniel Seghers and Erasmus Quellinus the Younger, *Flower Garland with the Standing Virgin and Child,* c. 1645–50, oil on copper, 85.5 x 61.5 cm, signed "D. Seghers Soctis JESV" (bottom right), NM 7505. Purchased in 2019 with funds provided by the Wiros Fund. Provenance: Claes Grill (1705–1767), Svindersvik (according to Roger de Robelin B.A.); Henrik Wilhelm Peill (1730–1797) and Anna Johanna Peill (née Grill) (1745–1801), Österbybruk, Uppland; Pehr Adolph Tamm (1774–1856), Österbybruk, Uppland; Hugo Tamm (1840–1907), Fånöö, Uppland; by inheritance in the family; sold (Uppsala Auktionskammare, Uppsala, 11 June 2019, lot 815). Bibliography: Albin Roosval (ed.), *Svenska slott och herresäten vid 1900-talets början,* Stockholm 1923, p. 106; Olof Granberg, *Svenska konstsamlingarnas historia, från Gustav Vasas tid till våra dagar,* vol. 2, Stockholm 1930, pp. 130 and 132; and Claës Tamm, *Österbysamlingen*, Mjölby 2008, pp. 76–77, no. 10.

2. Marie-Louise Hairs, *Les Peintres flamands de*

fleurs au XVIIe siècle, Brussels 1985, pp. 117–195; and Adriaan van der Willigen and Fred G. Meijer, *A Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish Still-Life Painters Working in Oils, 1525–1725,* Leiden 2003, p. 180.

3. David Freedberg, "The Origins and Rise of the Flemish Madonnas in Flower Garlands: Decoration and Devotion", in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 32, 1981, pp. 115–150. Cf. Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Virgin and Child in a Flower Garland,* oil on panel, 185 x 209.8 cm, c. 1616/18, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. 331, for which see Konrad Renger and Claudia Denk, *Flämische Malerei des Barock in der Alten Pinakothek,* Munich 2002, pp. 336–341, ill.

4. Daniel Seghers and Dominico Zampieri, *The Triumph of Love,* oil on canvas, 130 x 110 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 797, for which see Hairs 1985, pp. 129–130, colour pl. 34.

5. Hairs 1985.

6. Cf. Christine van Mulders, "Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel de Oude: de drijfveren van hun samenwerking", in *Concept, Design and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550–1700)*, Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis and Carl van de Velde (eds.), Turnhout 2000, pp. 111–126.

7. Oil on copper, 86 x 62 cm, signed "D. Seghers. Soctis JESV", c. 1645–50, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. 111, for which see De Bruyn 1988, p. 58, no. 133, colour pl. 3. For the Christ Child, cf. also Jan Philips van Thielen and Erasmus Quellinus the Younger, *Flower Garland with a Seated Virgin and Child,* oil on canvas, 148 x 104 cm, signed by Van Thielen and dated 1648, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 544, for which see De Bruyn 1988, pp. 58, 61, no. 112. The collections of the Nationalmuseum include another collaborative work by the same artists, *Flowers Surrounding a Cartouche with a Bust Portrait of the Virgin*, c. 1650–55, oil on copper, 87.9 x 61.1 cm, signed "Daniel Seghers Soctis JESV" (bottom left), NM 1393, for which see Jean-Pierre de Bruyn, *Erasmus II Quellinus (1607–1678): De schilderijen met catalogue raisonné,* Freren 1988, pp. 62, 219–220, no. 164; and Görel Cavalli-Björkman, Carina Fryklund and Karin Sidén, *Dutch and Flemish Paintings III, Flemish Paintings c. 1600–c. 1800,* Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 2010, pp. 311–315, no. 175.

8. Freedberg 1981.

9. Sarah Murray and Karin Groen, "Four early Dutch flower paintings examined with reference to Crispijn van de Passe's *Den Blom-Hof", in Bulletin of the Hamilton Kerr Institute,* 2, 1994, pp. 6–20; and Beatrijs Brenninkmeijer-de Rooij, *Roots of Seventeenth-Century Flower Painting: Miniatures, Plant Books, Paintings,* Leiden 1996, pp. 47–83.

10. So far, infrared reflectography suggests that Seghers copied his flowers free-hand (or used a material undetectable by IRR), rather than by

Fig. 5 Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) and Erasmus Quellinus the Younger (1607–1678), *Flower Garland with the Standing Virgin and Child*, c. 1645–50 (detail). Oil on copper, 85.5 x 61.5 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7505.

tracing them. By contrast with his teacher, he rarely repeated whole compositions.

11. Seghers would have completed his portion of the composition before passing it on to his collaborators: in several preserved paintings the central image was never added and the centre of the cartouche was left blank. See examples from the 1640s and 1650s in Ghent (Museum voor de Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 1886-A), Copenhagen (Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. no. KMSsp231), Oldenburg (Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, inv. no. 134), London (Kensington Palace, Royal Coll., inv. no. RCIN 405617), and Madrid (Museo del Prado, inv. no. 1912).

12. Findings are based on visual and infrared reflectography examination only; no cross-section analysis or XRF spectroscopy was carried out at the time. Technical specifications for IRR: Camera Osiris, InGaAs line array, 0.9 – 1.7µm; Opus Instruments, Norwich, Great Britain; light source, Dedolight DLH652, Tungsten GY9.5 / max. 650 W. All infra-red reflectography carried out by Cecilia Heisser. For a more thorough account of Seghers' technique and materials, see Sven van Dorst, "Daniël Seghers, phoenix of flower-painters", in B*ulletin of the Hamilton Kerr Institute,* 6, 2020, pp. 29–45.

13. Many of Seghers' flower garlands on copper supports have similar dimensions, measuring approximately 86 x 61 cm; see van Dorst 2020, p. 33. See further Isabel Horovitz, "The Materials and Techniques of European Paintings on Copper Supports", pp. 63–92, and Jørgen Wadum, "Antwerp Copper Plates", pp. 93–116, in *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575–1775* (exh. Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix, Arizona; The Nelson Atkins Museum of Art; Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1999), New York and Oxford 1999.

14. Seghers is known to have used mixed greens containing yellow and blue pigments, mainly lead-tin yellow, azurite, and lead white, with some earth pigments. Cf. van Dorst 2020, pp. 33–34, 37–38.

15. The scrollwork cartouche does not continue underneath the dead colouring of the principal bouquets and garlands, and was thus painted *after* the dead colouring had been completed. The grisaille cartouche could have been outlined with chalk before commencing the dead colouring.

16. On Seghers' painting technique and pigments used, see van Dorst 2020.

17. The procedure was described by the painter and art theoretician Gérard de Lairesse in his *Groot schilderboek,* Amsterdam 1707. He recommends painting the garlands first, before positioning the flowers: "When dry, one shall arrange the flowers on it, the most important first, each in their place, indicating these with one singular colour, red, blue, or yellow, of such a shade that one can skilfully paint their day and shadow from life, or from models" (p. 364), quoted from van Dorst 2020, p. 33.

18. Except for the bright yellow narcissus, most of the yellow flowers now appear dull and formless owing to the presence of degraded orpiment, an arsenic-based yellow pigment widely used in the 17th century. Also observed in van Dorst 2020, pp. 36–37.

A Drawing of *David with the Head of Goliath* Attributed to Simon Vouet

Martin Olin
Director of Research

In 1627, Simon Vouet (1590–1649) returned to Paris after fourteen years in Italy, bringing with him his experience of an exceptionally dynamic period in painting, one in which classicism and Baroque tendencies tussled with each other, and knowledgeable and wealthy patrons spurred on artists. In Rome, which had been Vouet's base, the 1610s and 1620s were particularly characterised by the assimilation of Caravaggio's realism and dramatic chiaroscuro. Spanish, French and Dutch artists absorbed these innovations, transferring them to their home countries. Simon Vouet received prestigious commissions during his time in Italy and, in 1624, was appointed president (*principe*) of Rome's academy of arts, Accademia di San Luca.[1]

On his return to Paris, Vouet became a leading force in French painting, with commissions for the king and leading aristocrats, who appreciated his classically tempered Baroque style. His ability to lead the work of a large studio contributed to his success, with the individual contributions of assistants and pupils being harmoniously adapted to the style of the master (or, more correctly, the studio), making it almost impossible to distinguish between them. Several artists in the upcoming generation learned their craft with Vouet, including Charles Le Brun, who would apply his skills on an even larger scale in well-organised and monumental commissions for Louis XIV.

Fig. 1 Simon Vouet (1590–1649), *David with the Head of Goliath*, c. 1620–21. Black chalk and white chalk on brown paper, 333 x 262 mm. Purchase: Hedda and N. D. Qvist Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 16/2019.

Fig. 2 Aubin Vouet (1595–1641), *David with the Head of Goliath.* Oil on canvas, 117.5 x 89.5 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, Bx 1986.4.1.

Fig. 3 Michel Lasne (c.1590–1667) after Aubin Vouet (1595–1641), *David with the Head of Goliath,* 1633–57. Engraving, 229 x 151 mm. British Museum, London, 1873,0809.114.

Whether Simon Vouet had already established a large studio in Rome is an open question.[2] His success should have meant he had some need for assistance; a number of his compatriots were registered in the artist's household in 1624–25, but it is not known whether they were pupils, colleagues, servants or perhaps lodgers. There are really just two painters who can be definitely linked to Vouet's activities: his brother Aubin Vouet (1595–1641) who was five years his junior and worked in Rome for a short period in c. 1620, and his wife Virginia da Vezzo (1597–1638), from c. 1621–22.[3] In both cases, engravings have identified them as the authors of two paintings of Old Testament heroes: in Virginia's case, a *Judith* in a Roman collection and, in Aubin's, a *David*, which was acquired by Musée des Beaux-Arts in Bordeaux in 1986 (Figs. 2–3).[4] Half-figures of saints or biblical characters were popular subjects in this period's art. This also applies to Vouet's Italian works, in which a painting of *David with the Head of Goliath,* produced in Genoa in 1621, is a clear manifestation of the principles of Roman Caravaggism (Fig. 4).[5] The Nationalmuseum has acquired a drawing of the same subject, attributed to Simon Vouet (Fig. 1).[6] The drawing, in black and white chalk on brown paper, shows a young man with dark curly hair, wearing a feathered cap and standing beside a crag, his head turned to the right, gazing out of the picture to the observer's left. He is holding a large sword in his right hand, while

Fig. 4 Simon Vouet (1590–1649), *David with the Head of Goliath.* Oil on canvas, 121 x 94 cm. Musei di Strada Nuova, Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, PB 2201.

Fig. 5 Attributed to Pierre Mignard I (1612–1695) after Simon Vouet (1590–1649), *David with the Head of Goliath,* c. 1630. Etching with engraving on laid paper, 302 x 230 mm. Gift of Alan Stone and Lesly Hill. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., 2006.77.1.

his left rests on the dead Goliath's sketched head; this has been wrapped in a piece of fabric and placed above the crag. The light comes from the left, playing over the muscles of David's exposed torso and the folds of his clothing. The surroundings – a cloud, the crag and what should probably be interpreted as a tree trunk – are drawn with a firm and, for Vouet, characteristic hatching with parallel lines in black chalk.[7] There is a subtle use of white chalk highlights, particularly in the arm of David's tunic or shirt, which has fallen off his shoulder, and the highlights on his collarbone, shoulder, nose and chin.

There are remarkable likenesses between this drawing and Vouet's *David* in Genoa. This is particularly true of the posture, turn of the head and a detail such as the fingers of the right hand. The light is similar, but the hint of outdoors and the crag are not found in the painting; there, the background is almost entirely dark, contrasting with the illuminated, naked shoulder. The biggest differences are in the clothing: in the drawing the stomach is exposed and the right arm covered by the shirt – in the painting it is the opposite. The model in the painting also appears to have a somewhat more compact physique.

However, Aubin Vouet's *David* also has likenesses with the drawing. The lower section of the exposed torso is studied at the same angle and with the same dividing line to the right as the drawing, even if the model is less idealised in Aubin's version, with more relaxed muscles and other realistic elements.[8]

A third presentation of this subject also appears to have associations with the drawing. This is an engraving attributed to Pierre Mignard (1612–1695) after Simon Vouet (Fig. 5).[9] In the engraving, David's right arm is the one that rests on Goliath's head, which is placed high on the left, with the left hand holding the sword. Here, the light falls from the right. The image of the curly-haired model is generally reminiscent of the drawing. The lower area of the stomach is drawn with the same profile to the right, with a distinct break in the line. In the drawing this is partially motivated by the deep shadow, but in both cases it appears somewhat dubious anatomically.

Considering the above-mentioned links to the two paintings dated 1620–21, it is tempting to propose the same dating for the Nationalmuseum's drawing of *David with the Head of Goliath*. Simon Vouet's drawn oeuvre from his time in Paris is both extensive and well-known, but very few drawings have been dated to his time in Italy. There has even been discussion of whether Vouet actually used drawn studies in Rome or, like Caravaggio, sketched straight onto the canvas. The leading expert on Vouet's drawings, Barbara Bréjon de Lavergnée, feels that this is unlikely, but is wary of accepting dates for figure studies that locate them during his time in Italy.[10] Stylistically, the Nationalmuseum's drawing is comparable with Vouet's drawings from the 1630s and, if the attribution to Mignard is correct, then the engraving should also be dated to the period after Vouet's return to France, when Mignard became his pupil. There appears to be no simple answer to the question of the relationship between the various Davids, but the problem actualises issues about the reuse of successful model studies and close cooperation in a studio. Aubin was a highly trusted colleague of Simon Vouet and distinguishing between their works stylistically is almost impossible.[11] How the drawings were used in work at the studio is not clear in Vouet's case and, naturally, is difficult to determine, but is nonetheless interesting as a matter of principle.[12]

Notes:

1. William R. Crelly, *The Paintings of Simon Vouet,* New Haven and London 1962, p. 8.

2. Guillaume Kazerouni, "Un maître bien entouré", in *Simon Vouet (les années italiennes 1613/1627)* (exh. cat.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes / Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie de Besançon, Paris 2008, pp. 191–192.

3. Crelly 1962, p. 7.

4. Judith engraved by Claude Mellan.

5. Genoa, Musei di Strada Nuova, Palazzo Bianco (Inv. PB 2201). *See Simon Vouet (les années italiennes 1613/1627),* (note 2), cat. no. 27.

6. NMH 16/2019, 33.3 x 26.2 mm, black chalk and white chalk on brown paper, purchase by Hedda and N.D. Qvist's fund, Sotheby's, Paris, 30 October 2018, no. 452.

7. Cf *Simon Vouet, 100 neuentdeckte Zeichnungen aus den Beständen der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek,* (exh. cat.), Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, München 1991, cat. nos. 46, 54.

8. Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Art, inv. 1986.4.1., see *Simon Vouet (les années italiennes 1613/1627)*, (note 2), cat. no. 84.

9. There has also been discussion of whether Vouet could have done the engraving himself. See Jacques Thuillier, "Vouet et la gravure", in *Vouet* (exh. cat.), Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 1990–91, p. 63.

10. Barbara Bréjon de Lavergnée, "Vouet dessinateur en Italie", in *Simon Vouet (les années italiennes 1613/1627),* (note 2), pp. 50, 55 (49–55). The author draws comparisons with Nicolas Régnier, who had established activities in Rome in 1621 with life drawing from nude models, but with no known drawings being preserved.

11. Crelly 1962, p. 12.

12. In another example, Raphael's studio – better known but not without parallels – accepted truths about drawings and studio practices have proven questionable, and consequently that issues of attribution must be reconsidered. Cf. Nicholas Turnes, "Swings and Roundabouts in the Attribution of Drawings to Raphael over the Last Two Centuries", in *Raffael als Zeichner / Raffaello disegnatore,* Marzia Faietti and Achim Gnann (eds.), Florence 2019, p. 145 (137–152).

Henri Toutin's Portrait of Anne of Austria. A New Acquisition from the Infancy of Enamel Portraiture

Magnus Olausson
Director of Collections

When André Félibien, a French architect and historiographer, described the origin of enamel painting as a form of art in its own right, he proudly declared that it was a French invention and that enamel portraiture was an unknown phenomenon prior to 1630. If Félibien is to be believed, this was when a goldsmith, Jean Toutin the Elder, produced the first example.[1] He specifically mentions a clock in enamelled gold that Toutin's son, Henri (1614–1683), completed for the queen dowager Anne of Austria.[2] The Nationalmuseum has recently acquired a unique portrait in enamel of Ludvig XIII's widow, attributed to Henri Toutin (Fig. 1).[3] This was long thought to be the work of Jean Petitot the Elder (1607–1691), but was later attributed to Henri Toutin by one of the foremost French experts in enamel portraiture, Dr Bodo Hofstetter.[4] It belongs to Toutin's later production and can be dated to the period around 1660, showing Anne of Austria in black mourning dress. As a mark of her royal status, she wears a crown and ermine trimmed costume, as in so many other portraits. The queen is depicted against the sky, which not only occurs in Toutin's other portraits, but also those of his colleague Jean Petitot. However, the fascinating element of this enamel portrait is not its content, but rather the fact that it does not appear to be based on any known original, as was otherwise the case.

Technically, the enamel portrait of Anne of Austria differs from Toutin's previous

Fig. 1 Henri Toutin (1614–1683), *Anne of Austria, Queen of France and Navarre (1601–1666),* c. 1660. Enamel, heightened with gold, 42 x 35 mm. Purchase: Hjalmar and Anna Wicander Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMB 2746.

Fig. 2 Henri Toutin (1614–1683), *Portrait of King Charles I (1600–1649), King of England,* 1636. Gold (metal), 74 x 53 x 6 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-4370.

Fig. 3 Jean Petitot the Elder (1607–1691), *Queen Maria Casimire of Poland (1641–1716), in Gold Dress.* Enamel on gold, oval 42 mm. Sold at Christies, London 4 July 2018, lot. 85.

works, not least in the way the paints have been applied. His first confirmed portrait using this new technique, a unique depiction of Charles I, dated 1636, comes close to watercolours on parchment due to the almost transparent colouring (Fig. 2). Instead, in this portrait of the French queen dowager, the colouring is more saturated and, just like his colleague Jean Petitot, Toutin works here using a clearly discernible fine stipple technique.

If the portrait is a rarity, so too is the lavish frame, a piece of jewel art in its own right. This type of naturalist floral and leaf ornamentation in enamel on a gold base was developed by several French specialists in the mid-17th century, with Gilles Légaré (1610–1685), as one of the prominent names.[5] Very few pieces can be directly linked to him. Légaré's idiom and models were not least disseminated through his *Livre des ouvrages d'orfèvrerie,* published in 1663. Just like the frame for Toutin's portrait of Anne of Austria, this one is dominated by white enamel paint on a subtle relief of flowers and leaves. In turn, delicate lines on the white background and touches of colouring provide emphasis, as do diamonds with settings that mark the pistils. All the gems in the frame of this portrait have been preserved except one.

An almost identical frame surrounded a portrait of the Polish queen, Maria Casimire, painted by Jean Petitot the Elder and sold by Christie's in London in the summer of 2018 (Fig. 3).[6] Judging by inventories of noble estates from the time, there were once many mounts of this type, even if they all represent a high level of exclusiveness. Only a handful now remain.[7] It is interesting that the Nationalmuseum's collection, even before the acquisition of Toutin's portrait, included another excellent example with the same provenance,

Fig. 4 Pierre Signac (1623–1684), *Christina, Queen of Sweden.* Enamel, 78 x 64 mm. Purchase: Hjalmar and Anna Wicander Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMB 2316.

Fig. 5 Attributed to Pierre Signac (1623–1684), *Miniature Portrait of King Karl XI of Sweden (1655–1697),* c. 1672–75. 40 x 29 mm. The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, LRK 1115.

i.e. David David-Weill's former collection – a portrait of Queen Christina, in an enamel frame that is at least as lavish, with jewel encrusted marguerites intertwined with ribbon.[8] The portrait was previously attributed to Paul Prieur (c. 1620–after 1683), but was reattributed to Pierre Signac (1623–1684) by Görel Cavalli-Björkman (Fig. 4).[9] Naturally, this does not automatically mean the frame was also produced in Stockholm, but there is now an interesting link between Toutin's studio in Paris, where Pierre Signac was educated, and Stockholm.

It is absolutely apparent that luxury consumption at the Swedish court, where the *boîte à portrait* (a jewelled and enamelled case for miniature portraits) represented the latest fashion, required access to number of specialists. Signac was not the only representative of this expertise in Stockholm; an oft questioned hypothesis is that Jean Toutin the Younger visited Stockholm to enter service with Queen Christina. This information appears in the memoirs written by the artist's nephew, Jean Rou.[10] Even if this cannot be validated by Swedish sources, and Jean Rou had heard this afterwards, which may have led to a misunderstanding, there is still reason to consider the level of truth in this, because members of the Toutin family did indeed work in Stockholm during the Great Power Era.[11] Genealogist Olof Cronberg has discovered that a Jean Toutin is first mentioned as a godfather at

a baptism in Stockholm in 1660. He died in 1671 and is buried in the Maria Magdalena Church.[12] One could ask whether this Jean Toutin is the same person as Jean Toutin the Younger? According to Cronberg, this is impossible, because the same Toutin is listed as godfather when Jean Toutin the Elder's daughter Anne is baptised in Châteaudun in 1616, with Jean Toutin the Younger being born three years later.[13] It is not possible to establish how the two people called Jean are actually related, other than there is plenty to indicate that they are close relatives. It seems as if the Jean Toutin who eventually comes to Stockholm is the same age as his namesake, i.e. was born c. 1585. He was also a goldsmith and had worked in Paris since 1617.[14]

So why did this Jean Toutin come to Sweden? The answer is probably that his son, court jeweller Valentin Toutin (1631–1679) was already working in the Swedish capital. There are mentions of Valentin Toutin's presence in Stockholm since at least 1655.[15] He is first found in the queen dowager Hedwig Eleonora's royal court accounts in May 1662.[16] Toutin then occurs here and there in Charles XI's royal court accounts until 1671.[17] On his death, eight years later, we can see that his countryman, court enamellist Pierre Signac, is named as guardian of the court jeweller's now fatherless children. Incidentally, a few years previously Signac was listed as a lodger with Toutin in his property in Gamla Stan. The entryway to Västerlånggatan 52 is still decorated with a dripstone-style Baroque pearl, a reminder of the previous owner's profession.

Naturally, it is not surprising that Valentin Toutin and Pierre Signac were close. They almost definitely also did business together, as Toutin's estate lists Signac among his customers.[18] The type of luxury goods in demand at the court required a large degree of specialisation and Signac certainly managed to supply some of the enamelled frames and cases on his own, but the gemstone mounts require cooperation with a jeweller such as Toutin. There is thus much to indicate that the jewel-beset portrait of Charles XI, from the old royal treasury collection, now at the Royal Armoury, was the result of a cooperation with Valentin Toutin (Fig. 5).

One could ask whether Pierre Signac was the real reason that Valentin Toutin and his father came to Stockholm? Signac, who had studied at Toutin's studio in Paris, was certainly familiar with the various family members and thus also Henri Toutin. The acquisition of this unique portrait of Anne of Austria has added an important puzzle piece to the Nationalmuseum's collections and, at an individual level, reflects a pioneering stage of European enamel painting.

Notes:

1. André Félibien, *Des principes de l'architecture, de la sculpture, de la peinture et des autres arts qui en dependant avec un dictionnaire des termes propres à chacun des arts,* Paris 1676–90, (1697), p. 307. Jean Toutin the Elder (1578–1644) first worked as a goldsmith in Châteaudun, then moved his business to Paris.

2. Ibid., p. 312.

3. Henri Toutin's enamel portrait of Anne of Austria was acquired at *The Pohl-Ströher Collection of Portrait Miniatures, Part I*, 6 December 2018, Sotheby's London, lot. 28. This work was included in David David-Weill (1871–1952), inv. no. 4282, until 1936 and later in the collections of Charles Clore (1905–1979), London, which were sold by Sotheby's, 10 November 1986, lot 144. The portrait was then believed to be by Jean Petitot the Elder.

4. Dr Bodo Hofstetter has highlighted the similarities with another work from the same period by Henri Toutin, a portrait of the young Louis XIV, see Graham Reynolds, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Miniatures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen,* London 1999, p. 255, cat. no. 350. I am very grateful to Dr Hofstetter, who has generously made his documentation available to the Nationalmuseum.

5. Cf. Priscilla Grace, "A Celebrated Miniature of the Comtesse d'Olonne", in *Bulletin. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Jewelry,* vol. 83, no. 353, Autumn 1986, pp. 10–14. See also Diana Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels. Opulence and Intimacy from the Medici to the Romanovs,* London 2011, pp. 106f.

6. Jean Petitot the Elder: Queen Maria Casimire of Poland, from the collection of Ernst Holzscheiter, sold at Christie's, London, 4 July 2018, lot 85. https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/jean-petitot-the-elder-swiss-1607-1691-6151795-details.aspx, (accessed 9 June 2020).

7. Diana Scarisbrick lists five different examples, cf. Scarisbrick 2011, pp. 129 f. Cf. Michèle Bimbenet-Privat & François Farges, *La boîte à portrait de Louis XIV,* Paris, Louvre éditions et Somogy éditions d'art, collection Solo, Paris 2015. See also Céline Cachaud, "Framing miniatures in the 17th century: The Golden Age of 'la boïte à portrait'", https://theframeblog.com/tag/gilles-legare/, (accessed 9 June 2020).

8. David David-Weill, *Miniatures and Enamels from the D. David-Weill collection,* Paris 1957, p. 482, cat. no. 345.

9. Cf. Görel Cavalli-Björkman, *Pierre Signac. En studie i svenskt emalj- och miniatyrmåleri under 1600-talet,* diss. Stockholm 1972, p. 76, cat. no. 15.

10. Jean Rou, *Mémoires inédits et opuscules de Jean Rou (1638–1711) / publiés pour la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, d'après le manuscrit conservé aux archives de l'État à la Haye par Francis Waddington,* Paris 1857. Cf. Karl Asplund, "Jean Toutin d.y.", *Svenskt konstnärslexikon,* vol. V, Malmö 1967, p. 470. Cf. Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, *Les orfèvres et l'orfèvrerie de Paris au XVIIe siècle,* vol 1 (Les hommes), Paris 2002.

11. Olof Cronberg, "Forska i fantastiska Europa", *Släktforskarnas årsbok* 2017, pp. 64–72. I thank Dr Olof Cronberg for his kindness in bringing my attention to this source.

12. Ibid., p. 80.

13. Ibid., p. 83.

14. Ibid., p. 82.

15. Ibid., p. 79.

16. SlA, Hovstatsräkenskaperna 1662, Huvudbok vol. 4. Here, Valentin Toutin and Pierre Signac are recorded together in the accounting items, indicating that the delivery of the "conterfeÿen" was joint. Thank you to the keeper of the royal palace archives, Mats Hemström, and archivist Ulrica Hofverberg, Swedish National Archives, for their ready assistance.

17. Erik Andrén et al., *Svenskt silversmide. Guld- och silverstämplar 1520–1850,* Stockholm 2000, p. 85.

18. Their cooperation is confirmed in the royal court accounts in the Royal Palace Archives (cf. note 15). See also Fredrik Bedoire, *Huguenotternas värld. Från religionskrigens Frankrike till Skeppsbroadelns Stockholm,* Stockholm 2009, p.151. Bedoire, who describes in detail the Toutin family and their many branches in the successful Skeppsbro nobility, bases his description upon the older idea that Valentin Toutin was the son of Jean Toutin the Elder, which Olof Cronberg has, on good grounds, proven is not possible.

Portraits and Dining Services from the Grill Family

Eva-Lena Karlsson, Curator, Collections and Swedish National Portrait Gallery
Micael Ernstell, Curator, Applied Art and Design

In 2018, the Nationalmuseum acquired two works in pastels by Gustaf Lundberg (1695–1786), showing the couple Anna Johanna the Elder (1720–1778) and Claes Grill (1705–1767). The portraits had formerly hung in the Chinese Room at Godegård, Östergötland, where they were surrounded by eight Chinese paintings on rice paper, depicting landscapes and buildings, as well as a few smaller paintings, also with Chinese subjects. Godegård manor and works were owned by the couple's nephew Johan Abraham Grill (1736–1792) from 1775.[1]

The Grill family had Dutch roots and played an important role in Swedish trade and industry in the 17th and 18th centuries.[2] Claes Grill's father, Abraham (1674–1725), and Abraham's brother Carlos (1681–1736), founded the Grill trading company in Stockholm. This was where Claes was trained, eventually taking over the business, which mainly exported iron, copper and wood products. Grill owned ironworks and shares in mines, as well as docks and vessels. Imports among others consisted of colonial goods. The founding of the Svenska Ostindiska Kompaniet [Swedish East India Company] in 1731[3] caught the attention of the Grill family. Claes and his two brothers, as well as his nephew Johan Abraham, were eventually made directors. The latter also participated in journeys to China as supercargo. The Chinese Room at Godegård was not simply an expression of 18th-century *chinoiserie*,

Figs. 1–2 Unknown designer, *Tureen with the Grill family's coat of arms*. Porcelain, decor in underglaze blue, 10.7 x 27.5 cm (h x l) [tureen], 9 x 23.5 cm (h x diam) [lid], 3.8 x 31.7 cm (h x diam) [plate]. Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 4/2019.

Figs. 1–2 Unknown designer, *Tureen with the Grill family's coat of arms.* Porcelain, decor in underglaze blue, 10.7 x 27.5 cm (h x l) [tureen], 9 x 23.5 cm (h x diam) [lid], 3.8 x 31.7 cm (h x diam) [plate]. Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 4/2019.

Fig. 3 Unknown designer, *Punchbowl with the Grill family's coat of arms.* Porcelain, decor in underglaze blue, 14.5 x 38.7 cm (h x l) [bowl], 3 x 40 cm (h x diam) [lid]. Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 5/2019.

but also carried a personal meaning for its owner.

Naturally, the Grill family ordered porcelain via Ostindiska kompaniet, a total of six dinner services with coats of arms and two with monograms.[4] The Nationalmuseum has acquired a tureen with a lid and plate (Figs. 1–2) and a lidded punchbowl (Fig 3). The Grill heraldic animals, a pair of entwined cranes with crickets (*grillo* in Italian) in their beaks, are shown on a white base with blue underglaze. Other ornamentation consists of flower garlands, palmettos and shells. The pattern has been hypothetically ascribed to Jean Eric Rehn (1717–1793). A single crane stands at the centre of the Grill escutcheon; the unusual image with two entwined birds probably means that this dining service celebrates the alliance between spouses. Two pairs of cousins have been named as possible commissioners: Claes and Anna Johanna the Elder, who married in 1737, or their son Adolf Ulric (1752–1797) and Anna Johanna the Youngest (1753–1809), who married in 1778.[5]

In addition to trade, the family was also active in the applied arts. For example, Anthoni Grill (1639–1703) and Baltzar Grill (d. 1697) were goldsmiths, with the latter also being director of Kungsholms glasbruk. Later generations continued the interest in high quality art and applied arts. For example, Claes Grill ordered one of the foremost examples of Swedish Rococo silver, a ewer and basin produced by Johan Collin (d. 1779) in 1745, probably after a model by Christian Precht (1706–1779). It is likely they were intended for Anna Johanna's dressing table. When these silver objects were donated to the Dutch Reformed Church in Stockholm they were given a new function as christening basin (acquired by the Nationalmuseum in 2006, NMK 110a-b/2006).[6] Claes Grill also owned one of his time's foremost art collections in Sweden, with both older Dutch and contemporary Swedish works.[7]

The artists that Claes and Anna Johanna Grill were in close contact with included Gustaf Lundberg,[8] who dominated Swedish pastels in the mid-18th century. Lundberg had dedicated himself to this technique during his time in Paris, where he arrived in 1717. A few years later, the Venetian artist Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757) also arrived in Paris. She was far from the first person to produce portraits in pastels, but was significant in increasing the popularity of this medium and influenced a number of contemporaneous artists. However, according to Merit Laine, Gustaf Lundberg was the only one who as good as abandoned oil painting for pastels during Carriera's time in Paris, 1720–21. More and more artists in France followed the same path in the fol-

Fig. 4 Gustaf Lundberg (1695–1786), *Anna Johanna Grill (1720–1778)*. Pastel on paper, mounted on panel, 48 x 39 cm. Purchase: Hedda and N. D. Qvist Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMB 2741.

Fig. 5 Gustaf Lundberg (1695–1786), *Claes Grill (1705–1767)*. Pastel on paper, mounted on panel, 48 x 39 cm. Purchase: Hedda and N. D. Qvist Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMB 2740.

lowing decades.[9] This greater competition meant that Lundberg left Paris in 1745 and returned to Sweden.

Lundberg's pastels of the Grills are undated. Because portraits are always staged and more or less idealised, the ages of those depicted are difficult to assess. Their half-length portraits are probably the first examples.[10] After these, copies were executed in pastels, oils and engravings, probably produced in Lundberg's environs.[11] The portraits are not composed as pendants – the wife is seen almost *en face* (Fig. 4), while the husband is shown in profile (Fig. 5). Anna Johanna is wearing a white bonnet with a pink ribbon tied in a bow beneath her chin. A thin fabric rests on her shoulders; it is lifted by a breeze, giving a sense of airiness. Similar compositions are also found in other portraits of women by Lundberg, although these women are generally depicted in half-length and *en savoyarde*, carrying a small box in which a genuine Savoyarde would be expected to keep a marmot for display.[12] Anna Johanna Grill's portrait lacks these elements of role play. The focus is on the face and on her gaze, which is directed straight at the observer. In the profile portrait of her husband too, this outward gaze is clear in the only visible eye. Strict profile is unusual, not only for Lundberg, but generally in portrait painting. Both these pastels are high quality and representative examples of Gustaf Lundberg's work. The artist has succeeded in creating an illusion of immediacy, a visual contact between model and observer.

Alexander Roslin (1718–1793) was also in the Grill family's circle. In 1775, he executed a group portrait of Anna Johanna the Elder with her children, Anna Johanna the Younger and Adolf Ulric. The deceased father of the family is present as a portrait in the portrait; on the wall in the background, Roslin has copied Lundberg's pastel portrait of Claes Grill.[13] Just over a decade later, Roslin painted a self-portrait in which his wife, the artist Marie Suzanne Giroust (1734–1772), is depicted working with a pastel that shows Henrik Wilhelm

Peill (1730–1797) (NM 7141). In the left of the painting there is a small gold box with two barely visible portraits, probably Peill's future wife and mother-in-law, Anna Johanna the Younger and the Elder.[14]

Notes:

1. Ernst Malmberg, "Godegård", in *Svenska slott och herresäten. Ny samling. Östergötland. I. Olivehult och Godegård,* vol. 16, Stockholm 1933, p. 32; Åke Nisbeth, "Godegård", in Åke Nisbeth & Gösta Selling, *Slott och herresäten i Sverige. Östergötland. Första bandet. Adelsnäs – Ljung,* Malmö 1971, pp. 220 ff.

2. For the Grill family, see articles in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon. Band 17,* Stockholm 1967–69, pp. 276–288; for example Bengt Hildebrand and Staffan Högberg, "Claes Grill", p. 281.

3. Much has been written about Svenska Ostindiska Kompaniet. One overview with bibliographical references is Jan Wirgin, *Från Kina till Europa. Kinesiska konstföremål från de ostindiska kompaniernas tid* (exh. cat.), Östasiatiska Museet no. 53, Stockholm 1998.

4. For general information about East India armorial porcelain produced for Swedish commissions, see Wirgin 1998, pp. 117–145. For the Grill services, see Bo Lagercrantz, "Släkten Grills vapenporslin", in *Fataburen. Nordiska Museets och Skansens årsbok 1951,* Erik Andrén (ed.), Stockholm 1951, pp. 87–110; Erik Andrén, "Claes Grills porcelaine", in *Fataburen. Nordiska Museets och Skansens årsbok 1965,* Marshall Lagerquist (ed.), Stockholm 1965, pp. 167–180; Wirgin 1998, pp. 126ff., 138–141, cat. nos. 142f., 145–148.

5. Bo Lagercrantz has dated the service to the 1780s, attributes the model to Jean Eric Rehn and links the commission to Adolf Ulric and Anna Johanna the Youngest in Lagercrantz 1951, pp. 102–106. On stylistic grounds, Jan Wirgin dates the service to c. 1755–60. He also names Rehn as the probable creator of the model, but links the service to Claes and Anna Johanna the Elder in Wirgin 1998, p. 141, cat. no. 148.

6. Bengt Bengtsson, "Den grillska dopskålen", in *Fataburen. Nordiska Museets och Skansens årsbok 1949,* Erik Andrén (ed.), Stockholm 1949, pp. 73–82; Barbro Hovstadius, *Svenskt silver från renässans till rokoko,* Årsbok för Statens konstmuseer 36, Stockholm 1990, pp. 103 f.; Micael Ernstell, "A Silver Ewer and Basin", in *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum,* vol. 13, 2006, Stockholm 2007, pp. 25 f.; Lisa Skogh and Sofia Rudling Silfverstolpe, *Svenskt silver 1500–1850 Nationalmuseum/Swedish Silver 1500–1850,* Nationalmuseums katalog över konsthantverk och design nr 1, Micael Ernstell, Louise Hadorph, Ingrid Lindell, Karin Sidén, Sofia Rudling Silfverstolpe and Lisa Skogh (eds.), Stockholm 2009, pp. 180 f.

7. Olof Granberg, *Svenska konstsamlingarnas historia från Gustav Vasas tid till våra dagar. II. Karl X Gustav – Adolf Fredrik,* Stockholm 1930, pp. 127f.; Lars Sjöberg & Claes P.A. Tamm, *Gyllene tider. Österbysamlingen* (exh. cat.), Österbybruk, publ. by Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 1981; Claës Tamm, *Österbysamlingen. "en rätt artig samling af målningar",* Mjölby 2008.

8. Merit Laine and Carolina Brown, *Gustaf Lundberg 1695–1786. En porträttmålare och hans tid,* Nationalmusei skriftserie N.S. 19, Stockholm 2006, pp. 99 f., 148.

9. Ibid., pp. 56 f.

10. Sixten Strömbom, Evald E:son Uggla & Carl Johan Lamm, *Index över svenska porträtt 1500–1850 i Svenska porträttarkivets samlingar. Band I,* publ. by Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 1935, pp. 319, 321, nos. 1935:24–25.

11. Ibid. A copy in oil after Claes Grill's portrait, executed by an unknown artist, belongs to in the Swedish National Portrait Gallery, inv.no. NMGrh 1056. Two oval copies pastel hung at Godegård, see Malmberg 1933, p. 38, ill. p. 37; Nisbeth 1971, p. 224, ill. p. 225.

12. Laine & Brown 2006, pp. 150–165, pl. 19, ills. 32 f., 48.

13. The painting belongs to the Gothenburg Museum of Art, inv. no. GKM 1027.

14. Magnus Olausson, "Roslin's Self-Portrait with his Wife Marie Suzanne Giroust Painting a Portrait of Henrik Wilhelm Peill", in *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm,* vol. 20, 2013, Stockholm 2014, pp. 17 f.

Four 18th-Century French Draughtsmen

Magnus Olausson, Director of Collections
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Fig. 1 Jean–Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755), *View of the Garden in Arcueil, Facing North with the Orangery Terrace and the Peak of the Forest Park or So-Called "Talus Cone",* 1744–47. Black chalk, white heightening on blue paper, 303 x 518 mm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 55/2019.

For a long time, the Nationalmuseum's holding of 18th-century French drawings bore the stamp of Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770). Tessin's keen eye and close connections with many of the artists of his day were undoubtedly instrumental in lending the collection its distinctive character and strength.[1] This is amply documented when it comes to the works of Chardin, Boucher and Oudry. The last of these was among those who were perhaps closest to Tessin, and whom he personally held in the greatest esteem. He described Oudry as the most kind-hearted and honest of all men, one whose advice you could always rely on because he said what he thought.[2]

Fig. 2 Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755), *View of the Bosquet in the Garden of Arcueil with Promenade and Garden Shed,* 1744–47. Black chalk, stumping, white heightening on paper, 295 x 450 mm. Purchase: Hedda and N. D. Qvist Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 46/2018.

As a collector of works by Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755), Tessin's focus was exclusively on animal subjects, but this artist in fact had many more strings to his bow. He started out as a portrait painter, but soon came to specialise in what he became most famous for, still lifes.[3] It is as a drawer of landscapes, however, that Oudry perhaps surprises us most. Until very recently, the Nationalmuseum had no examples of the artist's studies from the garden and park of Arcueil, to the south of Paris. His drawings from the estate depict a geometrically laid out garden, combined with elements of more untamed parkland in a state of picturesque decay. In them, the artist records both immediate visual impressions and artistically more worked-up scenes. He is even said to have used a *camera obscura* for a time as a tool in creating his views.

It was in 1740 that Oudry began making excursions to scenic Arcueil. The estate was famous for its beautiful garden and park, set against the backdrop of a monumental aqueduct. Today, most of this has disappeared or changed beyond recognition. The garden, which attracted artists such as Oudry, François Boucher (1703–1770) and Charles-Joseph Natoire (1700–1777), was laid out for the prince de Guise between 1720 and 1730 by the architect Jean-Michel Chevotet (1698–1772). Among the latter's fellow students at the French Academy of Architecture, incidentally, was the Swede Carl Hårleman (1700–1753), and like him, Chevotet specialised in garden design.[4] He transformed Arcueil into an intimate formal garden in a Rococo spirit, with geometrical features such as parterres, pools and trelliswork. Differences in level on the site created

movement and vistas.[5] They also made it necessary to build numerous walls, terraces and flights of stairs, contributing to the special and complex character of the garden. In addition, there was an irregular and more informal area with an element of the picturesque.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Oudry was fascinated by Arcueil. He rented a house on the very edge of the estate, which gave him many opportunities to draw a variety of views. Most of them are believed to date from the years 1744–47.[6] Many have an immediacy about them, making clear that they were drawn outdoors, on the spot. Others seem more carefully elaborated. More than fifty are known, two of which have now been acquired by the Nationalmuseum. Of these, the view to the north, showing the orangery terrace and the forest park rising up beyond it, is one of Oudry's very finest drawings from Arcueil (Fig. 1).[7] The artist has worked on beige paper (probably originally blue) with black and white chalk, softened with a stump (an artist's tool of tightly rolled paper or chamois leather). He then used a brush to add highlights in white gouache, creating fine contrasts between sunlit passages and other areas of the drawing that are in shadow. The figures are considered to be by another hand, perhaps Victoire Chenu or Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (1707–1783), who later (in 1776) engraved and published this view with the title *Ancienne et première vue d'Arcueil.*[8]

While the view from the orangery terrace clearly has the character of a finished drawing, or what Carl Gustaf Tessin called *la manière très finie,* Oudry's other drawing seems to convey his immediate visual impressions. Executed in chalk with faint highlights in white on greyish-blue paper, it shows a more informal part of the garden, a bosquet area with a walk. In the background a garden shed can be seen, with a somewhat dilapidated fence (Fig. 2).[9] Here, Oudry has depicted a pastoral scene that seems quite far removed from the more elegant setting of the first drawing and thus appears to anticipate the parks of the late 18th century.

As already suggested, French drawings from the first half of the 18th century were well represented in Carl Gustaf Tessin's collection. When Per Bjurström embarked on a project to supplement the holding of drawings from France, the aim was for the later part of the century also to be strongly represented at the Nationalmuseum.[10] From around 1970, therefore, the Museum acquired a series of works by draughtsmen born in the 1720s and 1730s, including Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–1780), Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806), Hubert Robert (1733–1808) and Louis-Jean-Jacques Durameau (1733–1796). In the early 1980s, it was the turn of Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734–1781). Le Prince came from Metz, was for a time a student of François Boucher, and travelled in 1757 to Russia. Following his return to France in 1763, he became famous in particular for his Russian and oriental subjects. In 1981 the Nationalmuseum bought the painting *The Cabak, a Tavern outside Moscow,* and in 1983 and 1985 two study drawings for that work were acquired.[11] The studies are genre scenes with several figures, one showing a fight and the other a group of itinerant musicians. Both are drawn with point of brush and ink over sketched chalk lines, and subsequently washed. Their execution recalls that of the drawing of a *Young Woman in Oriental Costume,* added to the collections in 2019, the difference being that here Le Prince has used watercolours – yellow, red and blue – with highlights and flesh passages in white (Fig. 3).[12] The standing model has her left hand on her hip. Her extended right arm is unfinished; behind it, another figure can be made out, thinly sketched in black chalk. It appears to be a young man, sitting or kneeling with his face looking up towards the female model, a part of the composition which the artist seems to have abandoned early on.

Lines of black chalk visible through the right sleeve of the coat suggest that Le Prince began by sketching his model undressed. He then drew the outlines and patterns of the costume with point of brush, often with the short, accentuated strokes characteristic of his style. The folds of the underskirt were subsequently executed with broader brushstrokes in a yellowish brown, highlighted in white. The face and neck have a ground of opaque white, with a delicate pale red tone on the cheek. The light countenance contrasts effectively with the background, which has been given an atmospheric grey wash, perhaps to achieve precisely that effect. The oval shape of the face, with features marked by short strokes of brown ink, like the arrangement of the hair, reflects a Western ideal of beauty around 1770, and there can be no doubt that the drawing was done in France, where there was considerable interest in exotic subjects at this time. From Russia, Le Prince had brought study drawings, costumes and ethnographic material of various kinds that would assist him in his work. While still a student of Boucher, he had understood the importance of prints as a means of reaching a wider market.[13] Le Prince sometimes used professional printmakers, but he also made his own etchings. He developed a special aquatint technique with a fine-grained ground as a medium for reproducing washed drawings and paintings (a method he mainly used for landscapes). In 1764, Le Prince enjoyed success with a series of six etchings of costumes from Russia, titled *Suite de divers habillements des peuples du Nord* (Fig. 4). The models are shown outdoors, in a natural setting, sometimes accompanied by children; below the images there is a descriptive title or a short explanation of the dress shown. Several similar series of subjects from Russia, central Asia and north-eastern Europe would follow. In 1767, Diderot attacked Le Prince for his interest in costume and called on him to resign from

Fig. 3 Jean–Baptiste Le Prince (1734–1781), *Young Woman in Oriental Costume,* 1760s. Pencil, watercolour, white heightening on paper, 310 x 196 mm. Purchase: Hedda and N. D. Qvist Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 54/2019.

the Academy of Painting (to which he had been admitted in 1765) and become an assistant in a fancy-goods shop or a tailor at the opera.[14] This did not prevent the artist's images having an impact, including as models for porcelain figures.

In the drawing acquired by the Nationalmuseum, Jean-Baptiste Le Prince has left the Russian sphere and depicts the costume of an Ottoman woman, as the inscription "femme Turque" on the reverse makes clear. Interest in Turkish dress and settings was a constantly recurring phenomenon in 18th-century France. The fashion for having one's portrait painted à la turque was widespread, giving rise to many variants, from theatrical portraits in more or less "Turkish" costume to more realistic representations in interiors, like Jean-Étienne Liotard's painting of Marie Adélaïde of France in Turkish dress, reading on a divan (1753, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). Was Le Prince, in the Nationalmuseum drawing, perhaps exploring the possibility of expanding his repertoire to include costume studies from the Ottoman Empire, with a view to turning them into prints for commercial distribution? One possible indication of such an intention is his clear recording of the different layers of the outfit: first, the striped trousers, over them an underskirt (?) and the yellow wrap-around dress held in place by the blue sash, and on top, the long, short-sleeved coat.

Like Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié (1735–1784) used to be meagrely represented in the Nationalmuseum's collection. One characteristic of Lépicié's drawings is their very meticulous and detailed execution, which is closely matched by his painting technique. This congruence of technique between different media may perhaps also explain to some extent the high degree of finish often seen in his drawings. It is as if, time and again, he could not help himself making completed works, *dessins finis,* of what were perhaps originally only meant to be preparatory drawings.[15] Because of this, finished

drawings by Lépicié have on occasion, even when they directly relate to specific paintings, been described as "reused" in the paintings, rather than as studies in preparation for them.[16]

Although the drawing recently acquired by the Nationalmuseum does not seem to bear a direct relationship to any specific painting and is not signed, it nevertheless exhibits the same type of high finish (Fig. 5).[17] This is evident, for example, in the extensive use of coloured chalks, *dessin à trois couleurs,* to create volume and depth. The young woman is certainly of a recurring type in Lépicié's oeuvre, primarily found in genre drawings of a warm and quite intimate character, for instance depicting maids and peasant women at work and at rest.[18]

However, it is posited here that this drawing could, rather, be placed in a similar but distinct group, featuring young mothers tending their infants. The young woman's face is for example quite reminiscent of that of the mother in *The Peaceable Marriage*, exhibited at the Salon in 1777.[19] One could even go so far as to claim that the model for the woman in both works could be the same, although the colour of her hair seems light brown, rather than brown, in the drawing. She, or a very similar young woman, also appears in several other works by Lépicié on the subject, such as *Mother Feeding Her Child* (1774, Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh).[20] Although the bosom of the woman in the drawing is not nearly as visible as that of the breastfeeding mother in *The Peaceable Marriage,* her right nipple is nevertheless clearly exposed, rendered by the artist with chalk of a pinkish red hue.

During the second half of the 18th century, the depiction of smiling women with their bosom semi-exposed or exposed had become something of an ideal in French art, underlining the importance and joy of motherhood, and perhaps especially its nurturing aspects, and how the very essence of femininity was defined by it.[21] In portrait busts where the actual infant was not present, the exposed bosom together with the pronounced smile could retain both maternal and sensual implications, as Ronit Milano has suggested.[22] It was not uncommon therefore for women to be depicted in this manner, even though they were not actually engaged in an activity specifically related to motherhood. Although quite revealing depictions of women, with an exposed shoulder or shoulders and décolletage with at least the suggestion of a nipple, recur in Lépicié's works with other genre subjects, such as *Woman Reading* (1769, Cleveland Museum of Art) and *Le Lever de Fanchon* (1773, Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin, Saint-Omer), there is a placidness to the woman in the present drawing which perhaps could be more closely linked to his works on the subject of young nurturing mothers.[23] The maternal ideal was also wholly in line with both Lépicié's own humanistic interests and the overall concerns of the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on the child and the importance of a loving and well-nurtured childhood.[24]

Whether the drawing should be viewed as a study for a painting of a young mother, or simply as a detailed depiction of a young woman representing both a sensual and a maternal ideal, the warm intimacy that she radiates is very pronounced. Her countenance has a pervasive contented air, and in her eyes there is both a contemplative look and the glint of a smile. The drawing is an excellent example of how, seemingly effortlessly, Lépicié could capture the female ideal of his time.

Another recent acquisition of the Nationalmuseum that exhibits a similar intimacy is François-André Vincent's (1746–1816) *Study of a Seated Woman in Profile, Probably Marie-Gabrielle Capet* (Fig. 6). Just like Lépicié's drawing, Vincent's study is characterised by a high degree of finish. In a technique similar to Lépicié's, Vincent builds strongly defined volume through the use of coloured chalks, expertly capturing the nuances of his model's flesh, the gleam of her earring and the folds of her clothing. The drawing is a prime example of why Vincent, in 1768, had won the *Prix de l'Étude des Têtes et de l'Expression,* and later became curator of drawings to Louis XVI and professor of drawing at the École Polytechnique.[25]

Fig. 4 Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734–1781), *Femmes du Peuple. Sheet Six from "Suite de divers habillements des peuples du Nord"*. Etching on paper, 224 x 176 mm. Nationalmuseum, NMG 38/1954
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Marie-Gabrielle Capet (1761–1818) was the student of Vincent's wife, the successful portrait painter Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803). She also lived together with Vincent and Labille-Guiard, evidence of her close relationship to both these artists. In fact, after Labille-Guiard died in 1803, Capet stayed on and cared for Vincent. Capet referred to Vincent as "my father" and was the sole beneficiary of his will after he died in 1816.[26] Some of the foremost works by Labille-Guiard and Capet, as well as by Vincent, also document the relationship between the three artists: for example, two intimate portraits by Labille-Guiard of Vincent and Capet at work; Labille-Guiard's

famous *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* (1785, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), where Capet is one of the students; and perhaps Capet's most famous painting, the posthumous tribute to her teacher's work, *The Atelier of Madame Vincent* (1808, Neue Pinakothek, Munich). In the last of these works, Labille-Guiard is surrounded by her husband and Capet in a similar arrangement to that in which she had earlier portrayed herself together with her pupils Capet and Marie-Marguerite Carreaux de Rosemond (1765–1788).[27]

The Nationalmuseum drawing further underlines the special bond that existed between the three artists. In the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, there is a drawing of a woman signed by Labille-Guiard which, both in style and conception and in terms of the resemblance of the sitter, is extraordinarily close to the present work (Fig. 87). Both Joseph Baillio and Perrin Stein have suggested that the drawing in New York does indeed depict Capet, a view that is now universally accepted.[28] In fact, that drawing is so close to the present work that they must have been made at the same time. Both drawings are executed from approximately the same perspective, showing the seated woman from behind and in profile, wearing the same clothing and the same earring. The woman in the two drawings also closely resembles other drawn portraits by Vincent which we know for certain are of Capet.[29] It seems very unlikely, therefore, that Vincent's drawing should depict any other model than Capet. Labille-Guiard's biographer, Anne-Marie Passez, has also suggested that she and her husband would draw portraits together of the same sitter.[30] That they would give each other professional help and advice is also shown in Capet's aforementioned studio portrait of Labille-Guiard, where the latter is actually working on the preparatory drawing for her portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien (1716–1809) and Vincent is shown pointing at and commenting on it. Before the existence of the present work was known, Perrin Stein commented that, given the sparsity of known drawings by Labille-Guiard and the closeness in execution of her drawing of Capet to Vincent's style and technique, one could be tempted to attribute that work to the latter artist, had it not been for her signature.[31] However, as she also points out, Labille-Guiard's craftsmanship was well on a par with her husband's, and the fact that a drawing so typical of Vincent's style could have been authored by Labille-Guiard and bear her signature may simply bear witness to the extent to which these artists could influence each other.[32] Furthermore, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art there is a study by Labille-Guiard of her pupils Capet and Carreaux de Rosemond for her self-portrait, which in both technique and likeness of the sitter also bears a close resemblance to the two drawings of Capet in profile.[33]

In the Nationalmuseum drawing, as in the corresponding drawing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Capet's warm smile and exposed shoulder capture the prevailing feminine ideal of the time and, as she was depicted in the same technique and the same informal manner by both Labille-Guiard and Vincent, it also bears witness to the shared and confiding intimacy of this exceptional artists' household, which was so central to French 18th-century painting. The five drawings that have recently been acquired all show that it is both possible and important to fill the gaps in a historical collection. Both Oudry and Vincent had Swedish contacts and were therefore already represented in the Museum's collection, but the choice of works represented the taste of Carl Gustaf Tessin and Johan Tobias Sergel (1740–1814) , respectively. The new acquisitions reflect other sides of these artists' oeuvre. The virtuoso examples of work by Le Prince and Lépicié do further justice to the vibrant art of drawing in 18th-century France.

Notes:

1. Cf. Per Bjurström, *French Drawings: Eighteenth Century,* vol. II, Stockholm 1982, pp. XXV–XXVI.

2. Riksarkivet, Ericsbergsarkivet, Fredrik Sparres samling, vol. 10, Memorandum attached to a letter from Tessin to Fredrik Sparre, dated 20 June 1752: "Le peintre Oudry, qui demeure aux Tuileries est le plus honnête homme de la terre. Il est en état de vous indiquer les meileurs Artistes et de vous mettre au fait des Manufacture. Voiés le assiduement: sa probité est reconnue et il est de mes amis, et j'ai la vanité de croire que mon nom vous servira de passeport." See also Magnus Olausson, "Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Nature morte de chasse avec le basset Pehr", in *Un Suédois à Paris au XVIIIe siècle: La collection Tessin* (exh. cat.), Xavier Salmon (ed.), Musée du Louvre, Paris 2016, p. 88.

3. Bjurström 1982, nos. 1079–1084.

4. Cf. draft letter from Carl Hårleman to Jean-Michel Chevotet, n.d. [c. 1721], concerning measurements from the Royal Chapel at Versailles: "Je supple très humblement mon ami Chevotet ... de vouloir me faire la grace de prendre au juste les mesures de ce profil particulièrement la distance du socle B au chambranle A ...", cited in Ulla Ehrensvärd, *Vasasamlingen: Arkitekturritningar från 1600–1800-talen,* Stockholm 1984, p. 38.

5. Chevotet may have worked together with fellow architects Pierre Contant d'Ivry and Jean-Baptiste Chaussard (Chevotet's brother-in-law); see Marie-Geneviève Lagardère and Gérard Vergison-Rozier, "Promenade historique dans les jardins d'Arcueil", in *À l'ombre des frondaisons d'Arcueil: Dessiner un jardin du XVIIIe siècle,* Xavier Salmon (ed.), Musée du Louvre, Paris 2016, pp. 43 ff.

6. Ibid., p. 133.

7. Purchased at Artcurial, Paris, Maîtres anciens et du XIXe siècle, 27 March 2019, lot 245.

8. *À l'ombre des frondaisons d'Arcueil: Dessiner un jardin du XVIIIe siècle,* Xavier Salmon (ed.), Musée du Louvre, Paris 2016, p. 120.

9. NMH 46/2018, purchased at Karl & Faber, Munich, *Old Masters,* 4 May 2018.

10. Per Bjurström, *Kännare, Nationalmusei årsbok,* 51, 2005, pp. 16, 118–134.

11. Pontus Grate, *French Paintings II: Eighteenth Century,* Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 1994, no. 174 (NM 6727); Per Bjurström, *French Drawings: Nineteenth Century,* Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 1986, nos. 1825 (NMH 163/1983, *A Fight*) and 1826 (NMH 2/1985, *Itinerant Musicians*).

12. Purchased at Christie's, Paris, 27 March 2019, lot 95. In the 19th century this drawing was part of the collection of the Sackville (later Sackville-West) family at Knole in Kent, later belonging to a trust fund associated with the estate.

13. Rena M. Hoisington, "Etching as a vehicle for innovation: Four exceptional peintres-graveurs", in *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century*

Fig. 5 Nicolas Bernard Lépicié (1735–1784), *Young Woman with Bonnet,* 1770s. Pencil, red chalk, white heightening and stump on beige paper, 397 x 299 mm. Purchase: Hedda and N. D. Qvist Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 53/2019.

Fig. 6 François-André Vincent (1746–1816), *Study of a Seated Woman in Profile, Probably Marie-Gabrielle Capet*, c. 1789. Black and red chalk with white heightening, 515 x 400 mm. Purchase: Hedda and N. D. Qvist Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 4/2020.

France (exh. cat.), Perrin Stein (ed.), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2013, pp. 77–86.
14. Rosalind P. Blakesley, "Jean-Baptiste Le Prince", in *Print Quarterly,* XXII, 2005:3, pp. 340–341.
15. See for example Daniel Prytz, "Consummate Preparatory Studies and Finished Works of Art – 18th-Century French Drawings", in *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm,* vols. 24–25, 2020, pp. 37–44. Ph. Gaston-Dreyfus, *Catalogue raisonné de l'Oeuvre peint et dessiné de Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié (1735–1784)*, Paris 1923.
16. See for example the description of the drawing of a bearded man sold at Christie's, New York, 25 January 2005, lot 139, of which there is also a later version, *Bildnis eines sitzenden alten Mannes,* c. 1774, in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. no. 1208, https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/bildnis-eines-sitzenden-alten-mannes (accessed 25 May 2020). These highly finished drawings directly relate to a painting sold at Sotheby's, London, 16 July 1980, part of lot 25, and again at Christie's, London, 9 December 2019, lot 185.
17. Nicolas Bernard Lépicié (Paris 1735–1784), *Buste de jeune fille portant un bonnet,* Christie's, Paris, sale 16827, 27 March 2019, Dessins Anciens et du XIXème incluant des oeuvres de la collection Jean Bonna, lot 103, provenant de la collection Jean Bonna, David Lachenmann, Zurich. N. Strasser, *Dessins Français du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: Collection Jean Bonna,* Geneva 2016, no. 86.
18. Gaston-Dreyfus 1923.
19. Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié (Paris 1735–1784), *L'Union paisible,* Christie's, Old Master & British Pictures (Evening Sale), London, 2 December 2008, sale 7632, lot 24. Gaston-Dreyfus 1923, no. 187 (as location unknown). Emile Dacier, *Catalogues de Ventes et Livrets de Salons Illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin,* Paris 1909–21, IV, p. 43. Salon, Paris 1777, no. 13, "L'Union paisible. Tableau ovale de 22 pouces de large, sur 18 pouces de haut".
20. Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié, *Mother Feeding Her Child ("Le Devoir Maternee" or "La Bouille")*, 1774, Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh, inv. no. 1972.7.
21. Ronit Milano, *The Portrait Bust and French Cultural Politics in the Eighteenth Century,* Brill's Studies on Art, Art History and Intellectual History, vol. 242, no. 8, Leiden and Boston 2015, especially ch. 2: "Decent Exposure: Bosoms, Smiles and Maternal Delight in Female Portraits", pp. 59–91. Amanda Kristin Strasik, *Reconceiving Childhood: Women and Children in French Art,* 1750–1814, thesis, University of Iowa, Iowa City 2016. Carol Duncan, "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art", in *Art Bulletin,* vol. 55, no. 4, December 1973, pp. 570–583.
22. Milano 2015.
23. Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié, *Woman Reading,* 1769, Severance and Greta Millikin Collection, Cleveland

Fig. 7 Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), *Study of a Seated Woman Seen from Behind (Marie-Gabrielle Capet),* 1789. Red, black, and white chalk on toned laid paper, 520 x 480 mm. Gift of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 2008. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2008.538.1.

Museum of Art, inv. no. 1964.288. Although the woman in the Nationalmuseum drawing is quite close to the one found in *Le Lever de Fanchon,* the feeling expressed by the former – even though her eyes are turned upwards – is actually closer for example to *Brustbild einer niederblickenden Frau mit Kopftuch,* Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. no. 1277, https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/brustbild-einer-niederblickenden-frau-mit-kopftuch (accessed 25 May 2020). See also Duncan 1973 for her description of the ideal maternal woman, "pretty, modest and blushing", and how this fits the woman in the present drawing.

24. See note 7 and the lot essay for the sale of Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié, *L'Union paisible,* Christie's, Old Master & British Pictures (Evening Sale), London, 2 December 2008, sale 7632, lot 24.

25. François-André Vincent (1746-1816), *Étude de femme de profil,* Artcurial, Paris, Old Master & XIXth Century Art, 4 February 2020, lot 245. Perrin Stein, "Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, Study of a Seated Woman Seen from Behind (Marie-Gabrielle Capet)", in *The Wrightsman Pictures,* Everett Fahy (ed.), New York 2005, pp. 265–267, cat. no. 72. For the group of head studies of young women – "Les grandes Têtes féminines" – to which the present work certainly belongs, see: Jean-Pierre Cuzin, *Vincent entre Fragonard et David,* 2013, pp. 110–112, 444–445, cat. nos. 412D–427D.

26. Stein 2005. Séverine Sofio, "Gabrielle Capet's Collective Self-Portrait: Women and Artistic Legacy in Post-Revolutionary France", in *Journal 18,* issue 8 *Self/Portrait* (fall 2019), http://www.journal18.org/4397 (accessed 25 May 2020). For Labille-Guiard and Capet, see for example Laura Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard: Artist in the Age of Revolution,* Los Angeles 2009, and Arnauld Doria, *Gabrielle Capet,* Paris 1934.

27. Sofio 2019.

28. Stein 2005. Joseph Baillio, *The Winds of Revolution* (exh. cat.), Wildenstein, New York 1989, p. 40, no. 31. Cuzin 2013, p. 258.

29. See for example François-André Vincent, *Portrait of Marie-Gabrielle Capet,* 1790, Chicago Art Institute, inv. no. 2013.1041. Suzanne Folds McCullagh (ed.), *Drawings in Dialogue: Old Master Through Modern, The Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection* (exh. cat.), Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago 2006, p. 88, cat. 57 (ill.). François-André Vincent, *Portrait of Marie-Gabrielle Capet,* Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts, Stanford University, Palo Alto, inv. no. 1982.137. Stein 2005, p. 266, fig. 1. Cuzin 2013, pp. 444, 446, cat. nos. 412D, 425D.

30. Stein 2005, n. 5. Anne-Marie Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, 1749–1803: Biographie et Catalogue Raisonné de son oeuvre,* Paris 1973, p. 51.

31. Stein 2005.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid. Perrin Stein and Mary Tavener Holmes, "A *trois crayons* study of Marie-Gabrielle Capet and Marie-Marguerite Carreaux de Rosemond for Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's Self-Portrait with Two Pupils (1785)", in *Eighteenth-Century French Drawings in New York Collections* (exh. cat.), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1999, pp. 189–190, no. 82.

François-André Vincent and Johan Tobias Sergel. On a New Acquisition – *Alcibiades Being Taught by Socrates,* 1777

Magnus Olausson
Director of Collections

Fig. 1 François-André Vincent (1746–1816), *Alcibiades Being Taught by Socrates*, 1777. Oil on canvas, 98.5 x 129.5 cm. Purchase: Hedda and N. D. Qvist Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7517.

Fig. 2 François-André Vincent (1746–1816), *Portrait of Johan Tobias Sergel,* 1774. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, 323 x 205 mm, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1974. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1974.46.

François-André Vincent (1746–1816) is one of the early Neoclassicists in French painting.[1] He was the son of the Swiss miniaturist François-Élie Vincent (1708–1790). Through his father's friend, the Swede Alexandre Roslin (1718–1793), he was introduced around 1760 to Joseph-Marie Vien (1716–1809). And it was through Vien that Vincent acquired not only a taste for Greek antiquity, but also an admiration for 17th-century Bolognese artists such as Guido Reni (1575–1642) and Guercino (1591–1666). It was between these poles of austere Classicism and full-blooded Baroque that Vincent would later move in his mature painting. He won the Grand Prix de Rome as early as 1768, but was not able to travel to Italy until 1771. Vincent arrived in Rome in October of that year to join the large circle of artists and architects at the French Academy in the Palazzo Mancini.

Associated with this circle was a whole group of artists of other nations, among them the Swedish sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel (1740–1814). It seems that Sergel got to know Vincent at the very start of the French-man's stay in Rome. One indication of this is that Vincent, together with the French architect Pierre-Adriaen Pâris, made the acquaintance of the Swedish architect and surveyor to the king's household, Fredrik Adolf Ulrik Cronstedt, who was in Rome from 1771 to 1772.[2] Cronstedt was among Sergel's immediate circle, and it therefore seems highly likely that the Swedish sculptor had already become Vincent's friend by then.[3] There was another reasonfor the Frenchman's preference for Scandinavian artists, and that was that, as we have seen, Vincent, a Protestant, had from early on enjoyed the patronage of the Swedish-born portraitist Roslin.[4]

The earliest definite evidence we have of Vincent's friendship with Sergel is from 1774. That year, Vincent made two portrait drawings of his Swedish friend, which provide an unusually lively picture of the Roman artistic scene. Here, Sergel

is wearing a tricorne and a queued wig. He is dressed in a long, fashionable coat with buttoned slits. One of these washed drawings shows Sergel sitting at a spinet, somewhat strangely as we do not know whether he in fact played this instrument (Fig. 2).[5] In the other portrait, he is standing next to an unknown man, who is seated at the same instrument (Fig. 3).

Vincent and Sergel both appear in a figure frieze, an unusual etching by Moricaud Franconville after a drawing by Jean Baptiste Stouf (Figs. 4–5).[6] Most of the figures depicted here were scholarship holders at the French Academy in Rome, like the sculptors Boizot, Julien, Sénéchal and Stouf himself, and the painters Le Bouteux, Suvée and Ménageot. There were also a few fellow artists from other countries, such as Rigaud, Tischbein and Sergel. The Swede was something of a central figure in the group. This was due not only to his warm and generous disposition, but also to the fact that he had been in Rome for many years. Sergel had arrived in the city four years before Vincent and was thus well established there.

Of all the artists portrayed in Franconville's etching, Sergel and Vincent seem to have developed a particularly close friendship, no doubt a result of their kindred spirits. Alongside their studies, they devoted themselves to depicting their fellow artists and friends in a series of slightly caricatured situational images. In terms of technique, they are so similar that for a long time staff at the Nationalmuseum attributed several of Vincent's drawings to Sergel. Now Jean-Pierre Cuzin has been able to show that Vincent is in fact the author of several of the caricatured drawings in Sergel's collection.[7] On the other hand, Cuzin still considers a portrait showing Vincent with a lofty expression and aristocratic profile, rapidly drawn with a few sweeping strokes of ink from a reed pen, to be a work by Sergel.[8]

It was not unusual, as such, for artists to exchange drawings. Sergel owned two counterproofs by Vincent, for example,

Fig. 3 François-André Vincent (1746–1816), *Johan Tobias Sergel and an Unknown Man Playing Cembalo,* 1774. Red chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, 344 x 200 mm. Purchase: Axel and Nora Lundgren Foundation. Nationalmuseum, NMH 49/2014.

Fig. 4 Moricaud Franconville (active 18th Century), inventor Jean-Baptiste Stouf (1742–1826), *Foreign Scholarship Holders in Rome, 1*, 1770s. Etching, one of eight sheets mounted together. Purchase 1876 (J.T. Sergel). Nationalmuseum, NMG 176/1876.

Fig. 5 Moricaud Franconville (active 18th Century), inventor Jean-Baptiste Stouf (1742–1826), *Foreign Scholarship Holders in Rome, 7*, c. 1772. Etching, one of eight sheets mounted together. Purchase 1876 (J.T. Sergel). Nationalmuseum, NMG 182/1876.

Fig. 6 François-André Vincent (1746–1816), *Battle with a Centaur*. Black chalk on paper. Contre-épreuve, 408 x 457 mm. Nationalmuseum, NMH 1678/1875.

one depicting a struggle with a centaur (Fig. 6),[9] the other showing Achilles driving his enemies down into the river Scamander (Fig. 7).[10] Vincent signed the first of these sheets in 1775, suggesting that it may have been a farewell gift from the Frenchman when he left Rome. In the case of Sergel and Vincent, however, the practice of exchanging drawings was clearly part of the reason why, for a time, their respective manners of drawing were confused.

When Vincent drew his two portraits of Sergel, the sculptor was in the process of carving the marble for *Diomedes*. In the course of its creation, this work was one of the most admired contemporary sculptures in Rome. The Greek hero, exuding energy, must have made a strong impression on Vincent as well – not least, the classical profile of Diomedes with a Greek helmet, all borrowed from ancient images of Pallas Athena/Minerva (Figs. 8–9). Presumably Vincent, too, saw the marble before it was shipped to Thomas Mansel Talbot (1747–1813) in Wales in June 1775. The Frenchman himself left Rome that

Fig. 7 François-André Vincent (1746–1816), *Achilles Pursue His Enemies into the River Scamander.* Black chalk, heightened with white, on paper, 493 x 380 mm. Nationalmuseum, NMH 1690/1875.

Fig. 8 Johan Tobias Sergel (1740–1814), *Diomedes, Two Sketches of Helmet and Head in Profile.* Pen and brown ink on paper, 278 x 107 mm. Nationalmuseum, NMH 1019/1875.

Fig. 9 Johan Tobias Sergel (1740–1814), *Diomedes, Sketch of Helmet and Head in Profile.* Red chalk on Italian paper, 277 x 200 mm. Nationalmuseum, NMH 1026/1875.

October to return to Paris. Perhaps the memory of Diomedes was still fresh in his mind as he started sketching a new composition, showing the young, vain and amoral Athenian general Alcibiades being taught by Socrates. In his recently published monograph of Vincent, Jean-Pierre Cuzin has drawn attention to the similarity between the helmeted head of Alcibiades and Sergel's representation of Diomedes.

In both human and artistic terms, then, there was an affinity between the two artists. This was also a major consideration when the Nationalmuseum decided to acquire a replica of Vincent's well-known painting *Alcibiades Being Taught by Socrates* (Fig. 1), made the same year as the original was exhibited at the Salon (1777).[11] There, the work was shown together with *Belisarius* [8] (Fig. 10), one of the first paintings made by the artist following his return to Paris. The latter represents the lessons Vincent had learnt from Roman Baroque, with its warm colours, while the cooler, more sculptural depiction of Alcibiades draws its inspiration from Raphael and Classicism. In the rendering of the philosopher, however, there are lingering traces of the Italian *seicento*.

The story of the close friendship between Pericles' relative, the beautiful, gifted and ambitious Athenian general Alcibiades, and the philosopher Socrates is told by the latter's pupil Plato. According to Plato, the two protagonists were each other's opposites, a fact that clearly contributed to the attraction which one exercised over the other. The demanding Socrates would eventually be let down by the fundamentally selfish Alcibiades, however. The tale of the general and the philosopher had a

Fig. 10 François-André Vincent (1746–1816), *Belisarius*, 1776. Oil on canvas, 99 x 131.5 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier, 837.1.94.

clear moral and became so popular that Vincent made several replicas, of which the one recently acquired by the Nationalmuseum was the first.[12]

Comparing the replica with the first version, we are struck by how well Vincent has managed to capture the character of the original, both technically and artistically. One might expect a risk of repetition and hence a stiffer, drier execution, but that is not the case. Rather, the artist is surprisingly successful in recreating the freshness of the painting, for example in the ornament of the helmet, and in the shadows and lights. One difference, however, is that Alcibiades' shimmering purple cloak has been given a pale red tone in the replica. Although Vincent has accentuated the pastosity of the lights, for instance on Socrates' forehead, he does so in more marked relief in the original. Apart from these differences, the first and second versions are unusually similar in execution.

Vincent was *agréé* by the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture as early as 1776, when *Belisarius* was among the works he presented. Despite his success at the Salon the following year, he would not be admitted as a full member until 1782. Soon, however, a rival appeared who would quickly leave Vincent in the shade – Jacques Louis David (1748–1825). Despite this, they never became enemies. Artistically, though, they were very different indeed, a difference which several art historians saw as a shortcoming in Vincent. Only in our own day has he, at last, been rehabilitated as a pioneer of Neoclassicism. One of the foremost examples of his achievement in that respect is his composition *Alcibiades Being Taught by Socrates*.

Notes:

1. The authoritative work on François-André Vincent is Jean-Pierre Cuzin, *François-André Vincent 1746–1816: Entre Fragonard et David,* Paris 2013.
2. Cuzin 2013, p. 28.
3. Magnus Olausson, "The launching of Johan Tobias Sergel in Sweden", in *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* 1990, vol. 14:2, p. 79.
4. Cuzin 2013, p. 14.
5. Cf. Cuzin 2013, p. 56.
6. Nationalmuseum, NMG 176–183/1876.
7. Cuzin 2013, pp. 73, 387–388.
8. Ibid., p. 308.
9. This sheet is signed "Vincent f. 1775". See also Per Bjurström, *French Drawings,* vol. II, Stockholm 1982, cat. no. 1245.
10. Cf. Bjurström 1982, cat. no. 1246. This drawing has been questioned by Cuzin, although that seems unreasonable, given its direct provenance from Sergel. See Cuzin 2013, p. 512, for further discussion.
11. It is regarded by Cuzin as the first replica by Vincent (cf. Cuzin 2013, p. 417, cat. no. 312P). The original was acquired by the painter François-Xavier Fabre and has long been in the Musée Fabre in Montpellier (inv. no. 837.1.95).
12. Cuzin 2013, p. 417.

Argent haché – Acquisitions from a Unique Collection

Micael Ernstell
Curator, Applied Art and Design

Fig. 1 Caspar Liendenberg (d. probably 1768), *Tureen with lid and plate,* 1768. Silver plated brass, 21 x 30 x 17.5 cm [tureen] (h x l x w), 33 x 25 cm [plate] (l x w). Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 86/2019.

Fig. 2 Eric Nyström, *Sugar Sprinklers,* 1780–90. Silver plated brass, 19 x 7 cm (h x diam). Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 87–88/2019.

Fig. 3 Unknown designer, *Plate,* 1760 –1800. Silver plated brass, 2.8 x 25.3 cm (h x diam). Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 83/2019.

The Nationalmuseum has acquired a number of rare, Swedish-made objects in silver-plated brass, a technique called *argent haché,* dating from the end of the 18th century. Production in Sweden was limited, and few objects have survived to the present day, so this important element of Swedish design history has been missing from the Museum's collections, although they have included a few objects of European origin.

Research into the Swedish production of *argent haché* has been lacking, but one person who made a major contribution was the antiques dealer Lars-Yngve Johansson (1941–2018), who was well-established in Sweden and renowned for his expertise. His interest in the subject and decades of collecting *argent haché* are important. He trained as a goldsmith and silversmith and was truly able to appreciate and see the quality of different kinds of metalwork. After his death, his unique collection was sold at Bukowskis auction house, and the Nationalmuseum succeeded in acquiring some of the objects at an auction in the spring of 2019.[1]

Objects in *argent haché* were produced in Sweden in the latter half of the 18th century, with early producers in Stockholm being Simon Pantaleon, from 1757, and Fredrich T Lemair, from 1762, both of whom had moved from France.[2] For the Nationalmuseum, Swedish production is of primary interest, though few objects remain, both stamped and unstamped. Knowledge about who made the objects and, in some cases, their hallmarks has been limited. However, thanks to one connoisseur's patient collecting and his expertise, this ignorance can now be dispelled and his knowledge presented to a wider audience.

The acquired objects include a tureen and plate produced in Stockholm by Caspar Liendenberg in 1768 (Fig. 1).[3] He started working in 1745, but according to the Assay Office's records, started stamping silver plated brass in 1766.[4] The tureen has many stamps, thus contributing a great deal to knowledge in this area. In 1762, the Board of Trade issued an ordinance on hallmarks for *argent haché,* with the most important element being the ability to clearly distinguish between these objects and those made from silver. The ordinance used the same principles as the provisions for work in gold and silver that were issued in 1754. The stamps for silver plated brass show the chemical symbol for copper and

Fig. 4 Unknown designer, *Wine Cooler,* 1750–1800. Silver plated brass, 15.8 x 19.3 x 14.5 cm (h x l x w). Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 89/2019.

Fig. 5 Erik Nordgren (1792–?), *Teapot*, 1817–47. Nickel silver, so-called paktong, blackened wood, 19 x 30 x 13 cm (h x w x d). Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 84/2019.

a crescent moon. The tureen has such a stamp, as well as a year stamp, "6" for 1768. This system came into use in 1763, using numbers rather than the letters that were used as year stamps on gold and silverwork. The tureen also has a special FÖRSILV (silvering) stamp, and the master's own stamp, LIEDENBERG. The silver has worn away in places, which is one reason why so many other objects in this material have been disposed of over the years.

A pair of elegant sugar sprinklers are from the same collection and were produced by Eric Nyström, who worked in Stockholm between 1783 and 1814 (Fig. 2).[5] Two unstamped objects were also acquired because to their links to Sweden. A plate bearing the coat of arms of the then wealthy Grill family, that was probably produced in Sweden (Fig. 3).[6] A wine cooler that almost certainly is of foreign provenance, but bears the initials of the wealthy industrialist Charles de Geer (Fig. 4).[7]

One interesting item in Lars-Yngve Johansson's collection was Erik Nordgren's teapot, which the museum was also able to acquire (Fig. 5).[8] He worked in Jönköping from 1817 to 1847. The teapot is made from nickel silver, also called paktong, which is a copper alloy with nickel, and often zinc. Nickel silver's name comes from its silvery appearance, despite it containing no silver. It was first discovered in China and in western Europe items were called "baitong" (Mandarin) or "paktong" (Cantonese), which can be translated as "white copper". The silver-coloured metal was used to imitate sterling silver. The earliest documented record of paktong in Europe is from 1597, with German imitations of paktong being produced from c. 1750. The German manufacturing process was introduced in England in 1830, and exports of paktong from China gradually ceased. We now have proof that it was also manufactured in Sweden.

In 2019, the Nationalmuseum was delighted to acquire another object in Swedish *argent haché.* This is a coffee pot with a classicised design that was typical of the time, with a straight handle in blackened wood. It is unstamped but has a distinctively Swedish idiom (Fig. 6). The coffee pot was donated by cultural historian Åke Livstedt, who had generously donated many and diverse objects over several decades.

Notes:

1. Lars-Yngve Johansson's expertise lives on through the book published in association with the auction: Antonia Barkman and Carl Barkman *Argent Haché. Lars-Yngve Johanssons Samling av försilvrad mässing: historik, teknik, tillverkare, stämplar,* Bukowskis, Stockholm 2019. This publication is an important contribution to the subject, particularly as it clarifies the history of Swedish production and masters, stamps, etc. This article is primarily based on that publication. There are also older articles in the field: Marshall Lagerquist, "Argent haché – En illusion av gediget silver", in *Rig – Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, vol. 34, Stockholm 1951:1, https://journals.lub.lu.se/rig/article/view/8573/7713, (accessed 25 May 2020).
2. Barkman and Barkman 2019, p. 22.
3. Ibid., p. 35.
4. Ibid., p. 22.
5. Ibid., p. 38.
6. Ibid., p. 34.
7. Ibid., p. 33.
8. Ibid., p. 17.

Fig. 6 Unknown Swedish designer, *Coffeepot*, 18th century. Silver plated brass, blackened wood, bone, 24 x 27.5 x 19.5 cm (h x w x d). Gift of Åke Livstedt. Nationalmuseum, NMK 78/2019.

A Late Gustavian *Secrétaire en armoire* by Gustaf Adolf Ditzinger

Anders Svensson
Assistant Curator

This late Gustavian writing desk once belonged to Duke Fredrik Adolf (1750–1803), (Figs. 1–4). It was made by Gustaf Adolf Ditzinger (1760–1800), c. 1787–89 in what was formerly Georg Haupt's (1741–1784) workshop in Stockholm and was subsequently part of the neoclassical décor at the duke's *Lustschloss*, Tullgarn. This type of furniture, with its vertical drop-front desktop and cupboard doors below, was known in France as a *secrétaire en armoire* and in Sweden as a *sekretär* (secretary).

Sweden of the 1780s increasingly regarded secretaries and bureaus with slanted fronts as old-fashioned, with a vertical drop-front desk being preferred.[1] This change was driven by Haupt, who introduced several French types of writing furniture, with the *secrétaire en armoire* being the most common in France. A variant on high legs that had one or more drawers in the apron, called a *secrétaire en cabinet,* was also brought to Sweden by Haupt. This type seems to have been the one of the two that were most in demand.[2] In about 1800, the secretary became a common type of furniture in Sweden, thus replacing the sloping-fronted bureaus that had been the most popular.[3]

In 1776, Ditzinger, then aged 16, was taken on as an apprentice by Haupt and received his entire schooling there. [4] The workshop was relatively small, with only eight workbenches listed in the estate inventory, of which seven were fully equipped. Georg Haupt ran the workshop

Fig. 1 Gustaf Adolph Ditzinger (1760–1800), *Secretary (Secrétaire en armoire),* Produced in what was formerly Georg Haupt's workshop, 1787–89. Birch, ebony, mahogany, sycamore and other woods, Carrara marble, gilt bronze, 146 x 126 x 62 cm (h x w x d). Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 113/2019.

Fig. 2 Gustaf Adolph Ditzinger (1760–1800), *Secretary (Secrétaire en armoire),* Produced in what was formerly Georg Haupt's workshop, 1787–89. Birch, ebony, mahogany, sycamore and other woods, Carrara marble, gilt bronze, 146 x 126 x 62 cm (h x w x d). Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 113/2019.

for 14 years, before his sudden death in 1784. After Haupt's death, Sara Catharina Haupt (1759–1830), as the widow of a guild master, was able to continue running the workshop.[5] At this time, Ditzinger registered as a student at the preparatory school at the Academy of Fine Arts where, among others, young cabinetmakers were taught drawing.[6] In 1786, Ditzinger took over as foreman for Sara Catharina Haupt[7] and, three years later, in 1789, he married Sara and was able to take over the workshop in his own name.[8]

The secretary has several different types of wood veneer, but mahogany is the most prominent. The drop front, cupboard doors and the sides have friezes in paler wood and large fields of mahogany veneer. The use of mahogany increased at the end of the 18th century and, as tastes changed, intarsia became less and less fashionable in the 1790s.[9] The secretary's friezes in paler wood have strapwork with a shadow effect achieved through parallel veins of white and black ebony. This shadow work is common on Haupt's furniture.[10] The strapwork also has many similarities with the strapwork found on many pieces by Haupt.[11] The top of the upper section has a frieze of intricate fire-gilded bronze ornamentation, contrasting with the dark ebony background. The lobed acanthus leaves and the laurel leaves combine in an arabesque, with the laurel-wreathed head of the god Apollo visible in the middle. In Antiquity, Apollo was the god of light, the arts and poetry, and was a popular subject in art, sculpture and the applied arts in the latter half of the 18th century.

The corner fleurons are what most clearly link Ditzinger to the secretary. These are shaped like lotus flowers and are on the outside of the desktop and on the cupboard doors. Fleurons of this type are found on corners of the revolving front on Ditzinger's masterpiece, a cylinder secretary with an upper cabinet, produced in 1788.[12] However, they were not on the drawing for his masterpiece, nor were they in the sketch by Louis Masreliez (1748–1810)

Fig. 3 Gustaf Adolph Ditzinger (1760–1800), *Secretary (Secrétaire en armoire),* Produced in what was formerly Georg Haupt's workshop, 1787–89. Birch, ebony, mahogany, sycamore and other woods, Carrara marble, gilt bronze, 146 x 126 x 62 cm (h x w x d). Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 113/2019.

Fig. 4 Gustaf Adolph Ditzinger (1760–1800), *Secretary (Secrétaire en armoire),* Produced in what was formerly Georg Haupt's workshop, 1787–89. Birch, ebony, mahogany, sycamore and other woods, Carrara marble, gilt bronze, 146 x 126 x 62 cm (h x w x d). Purchase: Axel Hirsch Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMK 113/2019.

upon which the drawing for the masterpiece was based.[13] The corner fleurons are again found on the small inbuilt book cabinets by Ditzinger from 1791 in the divan in Gustav III's pavilion at Haga.[14] The corner fleurons on the secretary contribute to it being attributed to Ditzinger, despite it being unsigned.

Tullgarn Palace was built in the 1720s and, after Gustaf III's *coup d'état* in August 1772, it was bought by the Estates as a *Lustschloss* for the duke.[15] Interior design work began in the 1780s and progressed in stages, with Fredrik Adolf being very involved.[16] He had an interest in art and was an honorary member of the Academy of Fine Arts.[17] The estate inventory from Tullgarn Palace states that the secretary was located in the big drawing room (also called the Red Salon) in the western corner of the first floor of the palace.[18] When the secretary arrived at Tullgarn Palace, probably soon after its completion, the furniture known as *secretaire en armoire* had existed in France since the 1760s. In Haupt's own production, there are details to show that such a piece was produced in the early 1770s.[19] Fredrik Adolf's secretary can thus be regarded as a high class, but hardly innovative, furthering of the development of the furniture type known as *secretaire en armoire.* Some of this development, however, involved the ornamentation, where intarsia was losing its status to the advantage of pure mahogany.

Notes:

1. Bengt Nyström, *Svenska möbler under femhundra år,* Stockholm 2008, p. 139.
2. Lars Ljungström, *George Haupt: Gustav III:s hovschatullmakare,* Kungl. husgerådskammaren, Stockholm 2006, p. 56.
3. Nyström 2008, p. 96.
4. Torsten Sylvén, *Mästarnas möbler: Stockholmsarbeten 1700–1850,* Stockholm 1996, p. 93.
5. Ljungström 2006, p. 17.
6. Sylvén 1996, pp. 22 and 93.
7. Sylvén 1996, p. 93.
8. Riksarkivet, Jakob och Johannes kyrkoarkiv, Lysnings- och vigselböcker, 1774–1793. Ref. SE/SSA/008/E1/1.
9. Marshall Lagerquist, "Gustaf Adolf Ditzinger", in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon,* https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/17556, (accessed 7 July 2020).
10. Ljungström 2006, p. 51.
11. Ljungström 2006, p. 144.
12. Sylvén 1996, p. 89.
13. Louis Masreliez's sketch can be found in the Nationalmuseum's collection (NMH Eich 586/1890).
14. Information from Lars Ljungström, PhD, Senior Curator, The Royal Collections, on the inventory form, NMK 113/2019, for the Nationalmuseum Board meeting, 29 august 2019.
15. L. Stavenow, "Adolf Fredrik", in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon,* https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/5574, (accessed 7 July 2020).
16. Göran Alm, *Franskt blev svenskt: den franska konstnärsfamiljen Masreliez i Sverige under 1700-talet,* Lund 1991, p. 103.
17. L. Stavenow, "Adolf Fredrik", in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon,* https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/5574, (accessed 7 July 2020).
18. Riksarkivet, Stockholm: Kungligt arkiv, K 384, Hans Kungl. Höghet Hertigens af Östergötland Fredrik Adolf, boupptecknings handlingar. Ref. SE/RA/710003/03/012/K 384.
19. Ljungström 2006, pp. 102 and 144.

In the Artist's Studio. Auguste-Xavier Leprince and the Studio Interior as an Artistic Strategy

Magnus Olausson
Director of Collections

Fig. 1 Auguste-Xavier Leprince (1799–1826), *The Artist's Studio,* 1826. Oil on canvas, 73 x 92.5 cm. Chazen Museum of Art, Madison, WI, 1982.58.

Fig. 2 Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761–1845), *Gathering of Artists in the Studio of Isabey,* 1798. Oil on canvas, 72 x 111 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF 1290 bis.

Interiors of artists' studios became a popular subject in the early 19th century. They varied considerably, from representations of a purely documentary character to apotheoses centred on an individual artist. Perhaps the most famous example of the latter is Louis-Léopold Boilly's (1761–1845) *Gathering of Artists in the Studio of Isabey,* from 1798 (Fig. 2). This ambitious composition has been called "a Pantheon of friends",[1] and it is certainly the case that in it we find most of the prominent artists, writers and intellectuals of Paris at this time, 31 individuals in all.[2] Apart from their host, Jean-Baptiste Isabey (1767–1855), the artist Boilly is also among the figures, placed discreetly in the background. The painting was a clear statement about the role, self-image and new social aspirations of the artist. Not only the choice of friends of Isabey, but the room itself spoke volumes. It represented the latest in interior design, the work of Percier & Fontaine.[3] It has even been claimed that the room did not yet exist in this form when the painting was shown at the Salon in 1798.

Boilly later repeated the theme of the studio, both as a social space and as a setting for a family portrait. *Artists in the Sculptor Houdon's Studio,*[4] and a variant showing the famous sculptor surrounded by his family,[5] are two examples, but none of these paintings was as ambitious in scale as his *Gathering of Artists in the Studio of Isabey.* That was and remained the painting that many other French artists were forced to measure up against.

One of those artists was Marie-Gabrielle Capet (1761–1818), with her *Atelier of Madame Vincent* (Fig. 3). Capet was a pupil of Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), who was married to François-André Vincent (1746–1816). All three figure prominently in this painting. Madame Vincent is shown at her easel in the centre together with her

husband Vincent, painting the portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien (1716–1809), the old director of the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture, here in the ceremonial robes of a senator. Vien had once taken up the cause of women artists, among them his own wife Marie-Thérèse Reboul (1738–1806), who had been elected to the Academy as early as 1757. Mlle Capet herself is the closest figure on the left, and the only one who meets the spectator's gaze. In this commemorative portrait painted in 1808, five years after Madame Vincent's death, the artist is writing herself into the apostolic succession.[6] She had lived with her teacher and the latter's husband, and had gone on to look after the widower Vincent. A clear social and professional strategy was important to any individual artist wishing to make their mark. This particular painting differs, though, from other male-centred studio images in that the figure placed centre stage is a woman and not a man in a world dominated by men.

Fig. 3 Marie-Gabrielle Capet (1761–1818), *The Atelier of Madame Vincent,* 1808. Oil on canvas, 69 x 83.5 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, FV 9.

A desire to put oneself on the artistic map was of course key to the creation of a number of studio interiors, and that is also true of Auguste-Xavier Leprince (1799–1826). When he painted *The Artist's Studio* in 1826 (Fig. 1), he had no doubt seen Horace Vernet's (1789–1863) representation of his atelier on the rue des Martyrs, produced four years earlier.[7] Like Vernet, he uses anecdotal elements to add drama to the combined artistic workplace and social space. Corresponding to Vernet's scene of two artists fencing with their paintbrushes is the young artist in a blue painter's smock on the stairs in the background, who has grabbed a partisan (a type of pole arm) and is engaged in "combat" with an older colleague armed with an artist's stump and another who is using a canvas as a shield. The painting includes no fewer than seven easels and nine painters with spectators. The focus is not on a single artist, in other words, but on several different ones. The studio was in a property called "la Childebert", after its address at 9, rue Childebert, close to what is now the boulevard Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the sixth arrondissement of Paris. Here Auguste-Xavier Leprince shared a studio with his brothers, Robert-Léopold (1800–1847) and Gustave Leprince (1810–1837).[8] All three are probably to be seen in this interior. The young artist brandishing a partisan on the stairs may possibly be the youngest brother, Gustave, who was 16 at the time. The artist at the easel in the foreground to the far left is now considered to be Auguste-Xavier himself.[9] Preliminary studies are preserved in the Musée Magnin in Dijon, including for the group of figures to the left (Fig. 5) and for another in the background (Fig. 6).[10] A distinguishing feature of both the studies and the finished painting is the individual character of the people represented, showing that they were intended to be identifiable. They presumably included not just some of the main artists of the neighbourhood, but also no doubt prominent officials and collectors. Here Leprince demonstrates his eminent ability as a figure painter. He became famous in his day as one of the leaders in that field, and also appears to have been engaged by several fellow artists, such as the landscapists Alexandre-Hyacinthe Dunouy (1757–1841) and André Giroux (1801–1879), to paint staffage. This was why the young Corot drew particular attention to Leprince's capacity as a "figurateur".[11]

The same year that Auguste-Xavier Leprince painted this studio interior with himself at the easel, he died at the age of

Fig. 4 Auguste-Xavier Leprince (1799–1826), *Studio Interior with Artists Working,* 1820. Oil on paper mounted on cardboard, 25.5 x 34.5 cm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7509.

only 27. In just a few years he had managed to fit in a surprising amount, ever since his successful debut at the Salon in 1819. The very next year he had tried his hand at the subject of a studio interior, possibly the one he later depicted on the rue Childebert. In the oil sketch recently acquired by the Nationalmuseum (Fig. 4), we see a corner of a studio with a warming stove, evoking associations with the large interior.[12] The number of painters is the same, nine. They seem to be sketching from a live model or from plaster models available in the studio. Could these in fact be the same young men, now neatly dressed in frock coats, who we later see in blue artists' smocks? This study was no doubt painted from life. It subtly captures the light in the studio and the concentration of the young painters. Artists engaged in study turn up from time to time in Leprince's sketch albums, now in the Louvre, though there they are generally shown in the open air. By a fortunate coincidence, the Nationalmuseum has been able to supplement its acquisition of this studio interior with a study drawing of one of the artist's friends. It shows a young man in a painter's smock working with great intensity at his easel (Fig. 7).[13]

The ambitious studio interior with some thirty figures which Leprince painted the year he died was a commemorative por-

Fig. 5 Attributed to Auguste-Xavier Leprince (1799–1826), *The Artist in His Studio.* Oil on canvas, 38.3 x 36.7 cm. Musée Magnin, Dijon, 1938F4.

Fig. 6 Attributed to Auguste-Xavier Leprince (1799–1826), *Studio Interior.* Oil on canvas, 33.5 x 25 cm. Musée Magnin, Dijon, 1938F3.

trait of the three brothers and their immediate circle, designed to impress, but also with an element of humour. In contrast to that painting, the Nationalmuseum's small, sketchy oil study on paper is to be regarded as a kind of reportage image. Here, individual features are unimportant. What has caught the artist's interest, rather, is the actual situation, the creative moment. This smaller painting shows the intensity with which the young artists are engaged in their study, with pencil and drawing board at the ready. It is thus truly documentary and comes as close to the creative process as many of the intimate study drawings in the artist's sketch albums.

Notes:

1. Sylvain Laveissière, "L'Atelier d'Isabey: un Panthéon de l'amitié", in *Boilly: un grand peintre français de la Révolution à la Restauration* (exh. cat.), Annie Scottez-De Wambrechies (ed.), Musée de Lille, Lille 1988, p. 52.

2. A comprehensive study of the painting can be found in the recently published monograph and very extensive catalogue of Boilly's work, written by Étienne Bréton and Pascal Zuber, *Louis Léopold Boilly 1761–1845, vol. I,* Paris 2019, pp. 171–187.

3. Cf. Iris Moon, *The Architecture of Percier and Fontaine and the Struggle for Sovereignty in Revolutionary France,* London 2016, p. 73–74. Bréton and Zuber (2019, pp. 178 f.) also comment on this.

4. Musée Thomas Henry, Cherbourg-en-Contentin, inv. no. 835.94.

5. Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris, inv. no. PE 63.

6. Heather Belnap Jensen, "Picturing Paternity: The Artist and Father–Daughter Portraiture in Post-Revolutionary France", in *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789–1914,* Temma Balducci, Heather Belnap Jensen and Pamela J. Warner (eds.), Farnham 2011, pp. 38 f.

7. Cf. *Horace Vernet 1789–1863* (exh. cat.), Académie de France, Rome, and École supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris 1980, p. 68. Like many other artists, such as Théodore Géricault, Vernet had a studio "in this new quarter called Nouvelle Athènes. This became a new cultural melting pot in Romantic Paris" (see Thierry Cazeau, "Les artistes dans la Nouvelle Athènes", in *Paris romantique 1815–1848* (exh. cat.), Jean-Marie Bruson (ed.), Petit Palais, Paris 2019, pp. 363–374.

8. Alex Privat d'Anglemont, "La Childebert", in *Paris anecdote,* Paris 1854, p. 197. The street no longer exists, having been swept away in Baron Haussmann's redevelopment of the city in 1866.

9. According to the museum's own catalogue, the

Fig. 7 Attributed to Auguste-Xavier Leprince (1799–1826), *An Artist Seated at an Easel,* 1820s. Pencil on paper, 136 x 110 mm. Purchase: Hedda and N. D. Qvist Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 10/2020.

painter at the easel to the far left is now considered to be Auguste-Xavier Leprince (see *Les Peintures françaises, catalogue sommaire illustré,* Emmanuel Starcky and Hélène Isnard (eds.), Paris 2000, p. 129).

10 . The finished painting belongs to the Chazen Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA (inv. no. 1982.58, gift of Harry and Margaret P. Glicksman, Juli Plant Grainger, John S. Lord and Earl O. Vits Endowment Funds and Norman Bassett Foundation Fund).

11. Paul Galassi, *Corot in Italy: Open-Air Painting and the Classical-Landscape Tradition,* New Haven and London 1991, p. 62, n. 85.

12. Purchased at the Salon du Dessin at the Galerie Terrades, Paris, in November 2019. The gallery in question had in turn acquired the painting from Ader, Hôtel Drouot, 19 December 2018, lot 178. According to available information, the work belonged to the artist's estate and was sold as lot 140, "Intérieur d'un atelier de peintres", in his estate sale (Notice des tableaux, dessins [...] *dont la vente, par suite du décès de M. Xavier Leprince, artiste peintre, aura lieu le lundi soir, 12 mars 1826 [sic] et jours suivantes* [...], Paris 1827). The same studio setting served as a backdrop to the exoticising figure studies Leprince made of a bearded man in oriental costume (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 2003.42.39, The Whitney Collection, Gift of Wheelock Whitney III, and Purchase, Gift of Mr and Mrs Charles S. McVeigh, by exchange, 2003), and of a young man in Greek dress (Sotheby's 18 October 2001, London, *The Greek Sale,* lot 4).

13. Purchased from Stephen Ongpin Fine Art, London, spring 2020, as "19th Century French School".

Italian Subjects from the Golden Age of Artistic Travel

Carl-Johan Olsson
Curator, Paintings and Sculpture

Fig. 1 Thomas Fearnley (1802–1842), *Palermo and Monte Pellegrino*, 1833. Oil on canvas, 32 x 51 cm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7500.

Fig. 2 Martinus Rørbye (1803–1848), *Palermo Harbor with a View of Monte Pellegrino,* 1840. Oil on canvas, 29.2 x 46.9 cm. Gift of the 1990 Collectors Committee. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, M.90.78.

Fig. 3 Thomas Fearnley (1802–1842), *View of Palermo,* 1833. Oil on cardboard mounted on panel, 24 x 37 cm. Bequest from Louise and Johs. G. Heftey, 1931. Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo, NG.M.01627.

The Nationalmuseum has acquired three paintings of Italian subjects by Carl Morgenstern and Thomas Fearnley, both of whom spent several years travelling in Italy during the 1830s. Fearnley's painting depicts a view towards Palermo and Monte Pellegrino, while both works by Morgenstern are of the same view, from the Grotta dei Cappuccini over Amalfi. One of these was executed on site in Italy and the other at home in his studio in Frankfurt, three years after he returned. Both Fearnley and Morgenstern offer a particular gaze on the atmospheric landscapes of southern Italy. Their paintings are more occupied with the potential of the aerial perspective than those of Danish artists such as Martinus Rørbye and Constantin Hansen, who also travelled through Italy in the mid-1830s. The Nationalmuseum's newly acquired studies in oils are good examples of this and, subsequently, Morgenstern's more elaborate version of the view of Amalfi illustrates what is involved in the transition from a painted experience to an artistically enriched and developed presentation of the same subject.

There is justification for the claim that artistic travel from northern Europe to Italy peaked in the 1830s and then, in the 1840s, declined and became less imperative as the rise of romantic nationalism encouraged landscape and genre painters to turn their gaze on their home countries instead. Artists who had spent time in Rome in the 1810s and 1820s, painting oil studies, had returned home to share their experiences. In Denmark, Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg was made professor at the Academy of Fine Arts and, when his now famous Italian scenes were used in his teaching, they made a great impression on the students.[1] Among Norwegian artists, Johan Christian Dahl had significant influence, accepting and teaching younger talent in Dresden.[2] One of these was Thomas Fearnley, who travelled to Italy after studying under Dahl.

During Fearnley's initial period in Italy, which he spent in Rome, he generally

painted in a studio; mainly Nordic scenes, as Dahl had done during his stay in the country. It was on a summer journey to the south, in 1833, that he first became seriously interested in Italian landscapes and depicting them in oils. Even before his arrival in Italy, Fearnley had possessed a rare talent for painting a scene as an atmospheric synthesis, balancing the relationship between its parts while also analysing them as a whole, in relation to light, air and distance. The most successful of Fearnley's early oil studies have a striking naturalistic sharpness, without being dependent on precise details.[3] During his summer journeys (1833 and 1834) in southern Italy, he further developed this ability.[4] Examples of this include views from Capri and the Amalfi coast, as well as subjects from Sicily, which the artist visited in May and June 1833. As Torsten Gunnarsson says, Fearnley's studies from Italy are often characterised by a personal way of relating to familiar subjects.[5] While other artists are happy to depict them in what has become the conventional manner, Fearnley often used his own experience of the place as his foundation.

In this regard, the Nationalmuseum's newly acquired *Palermo and Monte Pellegrino* is in many ways typical of Fearnley (Fig. 1). Not least considering the way he has approached this famous mountain. Monte Pellegrino is one of the most common Sicilian subjects and is often painted from a viewpoint that has become a convention, almost making its outline emblematic, such as in Martinus Rørbye's *Palermo Harbour with a View of Monte Pellegrino from 1840* (Fig. 2).

The mountain is also central in Fearnley's work and is easily identifiable, even if the angle is not the same as in Rørbye's. However, what makes Fearnley's depiction different to many others, providing a more personal hallmark, is the less hierarchical relationship between the elements in the painting. First, it is not apparent that he has based his composition around the mountain. In Fearnley's view, the foreground stretches out, becoming one of the main attractions of the painting. The field and olive groves are, in principle, a subject in themselves, but are supplemented by the meticulous depiction of the mountain and Palermo in the background, in way that also makes them meaningful content.

Fig. 4 Thomas Fearnley (1802–1842), *Palermo and Monte Pellegrino,* signed 1833 (detail). Oil on canvas, 32 x 51 cm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7500.

The study is special in many regards, and there is reason to ask what Fearnley's intentions were. To begin with, we can see that it is dated 21 June 1833, so the artist can be assumed to be claiming that the work was executed over a single day. However, several areas have been worked on with an attention to detail that is quite unusual in oil studies. Compared to a study dated 16 June, from another point outside Palermo, the differences are striking (Fig. 3); that study is painted with broader, faster brush strokes and the primary purpose appears to have been to capture the cloud formations and the play of light on the landscape.

The city is shown in detail, but more suggestively than in the Nationalmuseum's new acquisition, in which shining cupolas and individual buildings can be distinguished without great effort. Additionally, the agricultural scenery in the foreground of the Nationalmuseum's painting is executed in detail. Is it really possible this was painted on a single day? Taking a closer look, everything indicates that this actually is the case. Fearnley has worked with a small brush using rapid movements and almost entirely *alla prima.* The detailed image below shows how elements such as buildings and vegetation blend in an almost plastic manner. Close examination of the brushwork and the execution of details shows that much has been done in a flowing, rapid process in which every tiny element can be traced. (Fig. 4). This is the same as the study in Nasjonalmuseet in Oslo, but while that one is largely equivalent to a person's range of vision and focuses on the clouds and light, in the Nationalmuseum's new acquisition he has focused on one area at a time.

The Nationalmuseum's painting, to a greater degree than Nasjonalmuseet's "captured" fleeting view – which can be regarded as a form of observation – represents more extended observation with the intention of registering the place rather than capturing the atmospheric conditions. Even if Fearnley never intended to

Fig. 5 Thomas Fearnley (1802–1842), *Terrace near Amalfi,* 28 July 1833. Oil on paper mounted on canvas, 39.5 x 55.5 cm. Gift of Elisabeth and Hunting Master of the Court Thomas Fearnley's heirs, 1933. Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo, NG.M.01749.

exhibit or sell it, we can establish that it is more polished, in a manner approaching that of studio painting, which is why it has probably been regarded on similar basis to such works.

From Sicily, Fearnley continued along the coastline to the Amalfi coast. On 28 July, he took himself to a point just above the town of Amalfi. At the Capuchin monastery of San Francesco, he found his way into the Grotta dei Cappuccini and its cooling shade, where he sat to paint the view now in Nasjonalmuseet in Oslo (Fig. 5). A few years later, a German, Carl Morgenstern, would paint a study of exactly the same view and then a number of more thoroughly worked paintings. The Nationalmuseum has now acquired that study and one of the studio paintings.

Morgenstern's study from the cave is distinguished by its unusual colours, sharp and pale as if to show the strength of the sunlight (Fig. 6). The impression is almost reminiscent of a bright view immediately after removing one's sunglasses. Carl Morgenstern was the fourth generation of artists in his family and was schooled in Munich, where landscape painting had a high status in the 1830s. After growing up in Frankfurt am Main, Morgenstern travelled to Munich to study and lived there between 1832 and 1834. He developed into a skilled landscape painter and his depictions of nature are characterised by a rustic naturalism, often with a dark green-grey colour scale.[6]

Carl Morgenstern arrived in Italy in the autumn of 1834, initially staying in Rome. The transition from Bavaria's nature was difficult and he perceived conditions in Italy as negative – he found the light too strong, the colours too monotonous and garish, and he complained about the high horizons and the intense colour of the sea. It was to take about a year for him to become accustomed to this.[7] The Nationalmuseum's newly acquired oil study from Amalfi was probably executed in 1835, when Morgenstern travelled along the coast south of Naples. Here it seems as if what he first perceived as difficult has instead become a genuine asset. Compared to Fearnley's painting of the same subject, Morgenstern appears to have picked up on precisely the qualities in the landscape's colours that initially troubled him. The result is a picture in largely yellow-violet tones, which, in some ways, can be regarded as an unusually subjective and personally poetic interpretation of the subject. Morgenstern made a number of studies in these pale, sharp colours; these can be regarded as fairly original in relation to most of what other artists were painting in Italy at this time.

In 1840, a few years after returning to his hometown of Frankfurt am Main, Morgenstern painted the same subject on a canvas slightly larger than the paper he used in Amalfi five years earlier (Fig. 7). The perspective is exactly the same, the difference being that much of what is visible of the cave in the study has been removed in the studio version. The other differences are primarily in the execution of the details, where the areas painted using "stenographic" brushstrokes in the study have now been completed with careful attention to detail. For example, the central terraced area, where Morgenstern had minimally articulated its shapes in the study, then presenting them in a richness of detail in the studio version. Otherwise, the biggest differences between the paintings are the light and the colours. The colours in the studio version, like other Italian subjects painted by the artist after returning home, have been changed to those of the more conventional image of Italy, perhaps for commercial reasons or at the request of a client. The addition of figures on the terraces in the foreground is another adaptation for the audience in the north who, at this time, could not get enough of Italian folklife.

Fig. 6 Carl Morgenstern (1811–1893), *View towards Amalfi from Grotta dei Cappuccini,* 1835. Oil on paper mounted on canvas, 38.5 x 52 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7447.

The view of Amalfi from the cave at the Capuchin monastery was an incredibly popular subject at that time, particularly among German artists. However, neither Fearnley nor Morgenstern made a big feature of the cave itself, which was otherwise common, as was placing monks in it as staffage. Many artists painted or sketched at this location, but Franz Ludwig Catel is believed to have been the first to achieve popularity with this subject. He visited Amalfi in 1812 and then painted a great number of versions of the view, of which one is the oil study now found at the Fondazione Catel in Rome, dated c. 1818–25.[8] The subject's popularity continued until the mid-19th century, as demonstrated by artists such as Johan Heinrich Schilbach[9], Friedrich Nerly and Carl Wilhelm Götzloff.[10] The cave attracted visitors until the end of the 19th century, when it collapsed. The monastery has now been converted into a hotel.

Notes:

1. See for example Carl-Johan Olsson, "Familiar subjects and new perspectives – Painting on the move in the Golden Age", in *Danish Golden Age* (exh. cat.), Cecilie Høgsbro-Østergaard (ed.), Copenhagen 2019, pp. 217–229.

2. Dahl was in Italy for almost twelve months, 1821–22. It is generally believed that this is where he experienced a breakthrough in his painting technique, working on oil studies.

3. There are excellent examples of this from Fearnley's time in Munich. One of the foremost is the *Tyrolean Landscape* from 1832 in the Nationalmuseum's collection (NM 5020).

Fig. 7 Carl Morgenstern (1811–1893), *View of Amalfi with the Capucines Cloister,* signed 1840. Oil on canvas, 46.2 x 66 cm. Purchase: Sara and Johan Emil Graumann Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7518.

4. For more information about Fearnley's travels in Italy, see for example Ernst Haverkamp, "Thomas Fearnley", in *Nature's Way – Romantic landscapes from Norway,* Jane Munro (ed.), Cambridge and Oslo 1993, pp. 22–26.
5. Torsten Gunnarsson, *Friluftsmåleri före friluftsmåleriet,* Uppsala 1989, pp. 212 ff
6. See Mareike Hennig, "das ist ganz recht, wir sollen nicht immer zuhaus hocken", in *Carl Morgenstern und die Landschafstmalerei seiner Zeit* (exh. cat.), Sophia Dietrich, Manfred Grosskinsky, Christian Ring, Birgit Sander (eds.). Frankfurt am Main 2011, pp. 43–67.
7. "ich will u. muβ ees doch zu Etwas bringen", quote from Christian Ring, "Carl Morgenstern in Italien (1834–1837)" in *Carl Morgenstern (1811–1893) und die Landschaftsmalerei seiner Zeit* (exh. cat.), Sophia Dietrich, Manfred Grosskinsky, Christian Ring, Birgit Sander (eds.). Frankfurt am Main 2011, p. 69.
8. Andreas Stolzenburg and Hubertus Gassner (eds.), *Franz Ludwig Catel – Italienbilder der Romantik,* Hamburg 2015, pp. 376–379.
9. See for example a drawing from 1825 in Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, with a perspective that is practically identical to Morgenstern's (Inv. HZ 749).
10. Daxer and Marschall, *Carl Wilhelm Götzloff – View from the Grotto at the Monastery of San Francesco, Amalfi,* 1830, https://www.daxermarschall.com/en/portfolio-view/carl-wilhelm-gotzloff/, (accessed 8 May 2020).

The Danish Golden Age – an Acquisitions Project That Became an Exhibition

Magnus Olausson
Director of Collections

The Nationalmuseum's relationship with Danish art from the first half of the 19th century goes back more than a hundred years.[1] When the Museum closed for renovation in 2013, this was one of the areas that was made the subject of a thorough review. It soon became very clear that there were major gaps in our holding of works from the Danish Golden Age. A century of collecting by the Museum had produced a rather modest total of 40 paintings from this important period in Danish art. Consequently, in 2014, an active acquisitions campaign was launched. From that point until the reopening in October 2018 and through to the middle of the following year, the originally unassuming collection of Danish Golden Age paintings more than tripled in size, thanks to acquisitions from art dealers and auctions in New York, Paris, London, Munich, Copenhagen and Stockholm. This was the combined result of a number of major financial gifts and a clear expression of intent by the Museum.

The process began with a review of the photographic documentation of Danish visual art that can be accessed digitally through the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts. This excellent resource enabled us to rapidly go through a wide range of material, including early archive images from the major commemorative exhibitions held under the auspices of the Danish Art Society (Kunstforeningen). Between 1895 and 1915, these displays presented the entire oeuvre of artists such as Christoffer

Fig. 1 Johan Wilhelm Gertner (1818–1871), *Bertel Thorvaldsen in His Studio,* 1840. Oil on paper mounted on canvas, 31.5 x 23.5 cm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7508.

Fig. 2 Ludvig August Smith (1820–1906), *A Woman Braiding Her Hair,* 1839. Oil on canvas, 74 x 60 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7317.

Fig. 3 Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg (1783–1853), *"Una Ciociara"– Portrait of a Roman Country Woman,* 1816. Oil on canvas, 52 x 46,5 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7334.

Wilhelm Eckersberg (1783–1853), P. C. Skovgaard (1817–1875), Dankvart Dreyer (1816–1852) and Christen Købke (1810–1848). In this way, much of what had not been visible for a century in the literature, on the art market or in exhibitions was made available to us. The aim of our review was not to confirm the 20th century's view of what artists and works were to be considered iconic. We wanted to look at Denmark's Golden Age with new, fresh eyes. Our concern was to discover neglected artistic achievements, and to identify the contexts in which artists operated and the artistic results that followed from them. Closely allied to this was an endeavour to rehabilitate the Danish-German artists, an undertaking for which several leading Danish art historians had already laid the foundations.[2]

The first work to be acquired was Constantin Hansen's (1804–1880) fine little view of *The Piazza by San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome* (NM 7143), from 1836. The purchase was made possible by a bequest from the pharmacist Ulla Bella Sandberg, who left her entire estate to the National-museum.[3] Hansen has long been generally regarded as one of the core group of Danish Golden Age painters. The same cannot be said of Ludvig August Smith (1820–1906), who was admitted to the Danish Academy of Fine Arts at the age of just 14. *A Woman Braiding her Hair* (Fig. 2) was painted by him when he began taking private lessons from Eckersberg in 1839, and is a variant of his teacher's own version, now in the Louvre.[4] Although students like Smith were given a similar angle from which to study the model, it often proved a more difficult one, which may have been part of the point of the exercise. Smith made an excellent job of his assignment. Compared with his teacher's nude study, he gave the young female model (Cathrine Nielsen) a more sculptural character by making her more heavily built. The colours are darker and more saturated. As a consequence, the contrast between light and dark on her naked skin is also more accentuated in the work of the 19-year-old student. Despite

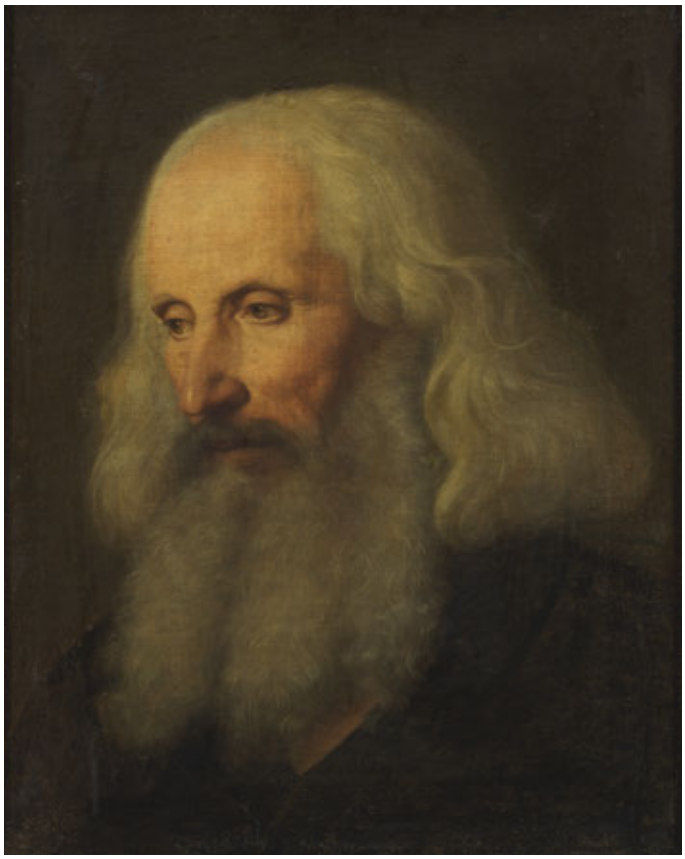

Fig. 4 Albert Küchler (1803–1886), *Study of an Elderly Man.* Oil on canvas, 48 x 37 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7528.

Fig. 5 Albert Küchler (1803–1886), *Study of a Woman from Behind*, 1845. Oil on paper mounted on cardboard, 15 x 15 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7522.

his many qualities, Ludvig August Smith has, down to the present time, been held in little regard as an artist of the Danish Golden Age, and remarkably he is not yet represented in the collections of several of the major Danish museums.

Danish Golden Age painters and Italian peasant life

The same year as Smith's powerful nude study was acquired (2016), six key works by Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg were also purchased. This was a happy coincidence, particularly as regards his representation of a Roman woman, known as *Una Ciociara* (Fig. 3). It was painted in 1816, the last year of his four-year stay in Rome. Technically, this is one of the high points of Eckersberg's artistic output. From the detailed notes in his diary, we know that it took him two weeks to complete, that he hired the costume the model is wearing, and how much he paid for it. The artist later took the painting back to Denmark with him, using it in his teaching and getting his students to copy it.[5] After it had been shown at the commemorative exhibition in 1895, *Una Ciociara* ended up in a Swedish private collection, before being sold in the late 20th century to an American collector. As a result, this central work ended up outside the literature.

Una Ciociara defined a style which Eckersberg's pupils sought to emulate, and laid a foundation for their fascination with Roman peasant life. This is true, for example, of Albert Küchler (1803–1886), who converted to Catholicism and continued to paint on becoming a monk. Street scenes became his speciality. The Nationalmuseum already had a rich, but overlooked, collection of preliminary drawings for some of his most famous paintings. Now it has also acquired two paintings, one a

Fig. 6 Jørgen Sonne (1801–1890), *Italian Woman. Study,* 1830s. Oil on cardboard, 22 x 18 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7523.

Fig. 7 Thorald Læssøe (1816–1878), *The Courtyard of Boller Manor, Jutland, Denmark,* 1846. Oil on canvas, 16.5 x 13.5 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7525.

character head of an elderly man (Fig. 4), the other a small study of a woman from behind (Fig. 5). The latter is dated 1845 and is a remarkable anticipation of Vilhelm Hammershøi's (1864–1916) paintings of half a century later.

Jørgen Valentin Sonne (1801–1890) was not a student of Eckersberg, but nonetheless devoted himself to Romantic, genre-like scenes of peasant life during his ten-year stay in and around Rome. He is chiefly associated with battle paintings, but it is as a painter of everyday life that he surprises us. Sonne's preliminary studies of landscapes and settings are unusually fresh, painted with great artistic freedom. A separate figure study of an elderly woman was acquired by the Nationalmuseum as recently as the summer of 2019 (Fig. 6). It was part of the artist's preparations for his *Scene from the Roman Carnival*, painted in 1840 and now in the Randers Art Museum.[6] In the finished painting, the same elderly woman can be seen in the shadows of the arcade in the foreground.

Sonne's artist friend Thorald Læssøe (1816–1878) is another of the long-neglected figures of the Golden Age, despite being a very accomplished painter of landscapes and architectural subjects. The Nationalmuseum received his magnificent *View towards the Forum Romanum from the Colosseum* as a gift as early as 1940. It was probably painted as a commission for the Danish royal collection in 1848 and belonged to Christian VIII. Despite its evident qualities in terms of both its rendering of the setting and its many narrative elements, the painting was rarely or never shown. The Museum has recently added several works by this artist to its collection, including a small painting showing the courtyard of Boller Manor in Jutland (Fig. 7). The scene is dominated by a large tree in the centre of the composition and the gateway to the right of it, with the date of the work, 1846, on its keystone. This is a virtuoso painting, yet its subject matter is a kind of non-subject. In the vicinity of Boller is Horsens Fjord. In a contemporary painting, Læssøe has depicted a bay of

Fig. 8 Lorenz Frølich (1820–1908), *The King Svafrlami Forces Durin and Dvalin to Promise Him the Tirfing Sword,* 1839. Oil on canvas, 47 x 53 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7530.

Fig. 9 Lorenz Frølich (1820–1908), *A Ditch,* c. 1850. Oil on paper, 27.5 x 34 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7400.

the fjord with a water surface as calm as a millpond and several sailing ships in the distance. Here, the viewer encounters a completely different mood. It is as if the artist has wanted to freeze the moment and capture a sense of dreamy, elegiac otherworldliness. This is a tendency that becomes increasingly clear in late Golden Age painting, but which the history of art has long sought to ignore.[7]

The late Golden Age

The traditional view among Danish art historians since the days of Emil Hannover (1863–1923) had been that the Golden Age ended in 1848, when the first armed conflict between the Danish- and German-speaking populations reached a peak and three major artists happened to die –Rørbye, Købke and Lundbye. Yet the majority of painters of this epoch went on working. It therefore made little sense to suddenly set 1848 as an end point, when 1864 seemed a more natural one – the year the idea of a unitary state finally died and Denmark's self-image was completely transformed by its heavy defeat at the hands of Prussia. Lorenz Frølich (1820–1908) is one of many artists who had a considerable output after 1848. He has long been famous primarily as a figure often depicted by his painter friends, and as a gifted illustrator of fairy tales. At the age of just 19, he painted a subject from Norse mythology, a work recently acquired by the Nationalmuseum: *King Svafrlami Forces Durin and Dvalin to Promise Him the Sword Tyrfing* (Fig. 8). Very different from this is another of the Museum's acquisitions, Frølich's small painting of a ditch across a wetland (Fig 9). This is a worked-up composition painted in the studio, but based entirely on direct studies in front of the motif.[8] In the final version, the artist fully exploits the artistic effect of the water surface and the lines in the vegetation. The perspective, with its high horizon and large flattened area in the foreground, helps to make this a painting that is ahead of its time.

At the turn of the last century, Wilhelm Marstrand (1810–1873) was regarded as perhaps one of the leading painters of the Golden Age, alongside Eckersberg, Christen Købke and Thomas Lundbye. This was due not least to his considerable deftness as a draughtsman, always combined with a large dose of humour. His genre-like *Auction Scene,* painted in 1835, has long enjoyed the status of an iconic work, and in 2018 it was acquired for the Nationalmuseum's collections (Fig. 10). Here, Marstrand pokes fun at high and low among the Copenhagen population of his day. Early on, this narrative element became the artist's signature feature. In his

Fig. 10 Wilhelm Marstrand (1810–1873), *Auction Scene,* 1835. Oil on canvas, 80 x 117 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7477.

work, pictures of peasant life from Rome can be compared with corresponding scenes from Leksand in Sweden. Towards the end of his life he became a productive portraitist, painting with broad brushstrokes and a sometimes garish palette. Marstrand's image of his two youngest daughters in the garden of their home on Rosenvænget in Roskilde also represents the late Golden Age (Fig. 18). The family had moved there in the fateful year of 1864. The portrait of the two daughters, painted in the deft manner typical of the artist, was done the following summer, one of his most productive years.[9]

Vilhelm Kyhn (1819–1903) is another of the most long-lived artists of the period. Paradoxically, despite most of his work being done after 1848, he has always been regarded as a painter of the Golden Age. The simple reason, probably, is that he stubbornly clung to an outdated ideal of landscape. Kyhn first trained as a printmaker, a fact that is particularly evident in his drawings, such as *View of a Forest* from 1847 (Fig. 11). Some of the same graphic sharpness, combined with colouristic elements, is found in another of the Museum's recent acquisitions, a landscape, probably from northern Zealand, painted in 1848 (Fig. 12). This is one of the best works from Kyhn's youth, with its sensitive treatment of light in a landscape with great depth of field.

Fig. 11 Vilhelm Kyhn (1819–1903), *View of a Forest,* 1847. Pen and black ink, on paper, 166 x 179 mm. Purchase: Ulf Lundahl Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 44/2019.

Fig. 12 Vilhelm Kyhn (1819–1903), *Landscape with Oaks,* 1848. Oil on canvas, 25 x 35 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7470.

Exoticism

Martinus Rørbye (1803–1848) was one of Eckersberg's most cherished pupils. It might be imagined, therefore, that he would long have been on the Museum's "wish list" of important acquisitions, but not until 2004 was the first painting by him purchased, a portrait of Rørbye's mother (Fig. 19). Our acquisitions campaign added another three paintings to the collection, of which *Loggia, Procida* (Fig. 13), from 1835, is one of the artist's most central works. So happy was he with the result that he took the picture with him when he later worked on the same motif during his second visit to Italy.[10]

Following his stay in Italy, Rørbye travelled to Athens and Constantinople, a trip prompted perhaps by his admiration for Horace Vernet (1789–1863) and Orientalism, whose acquaintance he had made during a visit to Paris in 1834. Rørbye was one of the most widely travelled Danish artists of the Golden Age. Another was Niels Simonsen (1807–1885). After studying for several years in Munich, Simonsen had gone in 1839 to Algeria, recently colonised by the French. Presumably, like Rørbye, he was drawn to his destination by the French artist Vernet, with his paintings of scenes from North Africa.[11] This view from the outskirts of Algiers is probably a studio work, yet retains the freshness and sharp light of an oil study (Fig. 14).

Neglected artists – the German connection

Niels Simonsen remained an outsider of the Danish Golden Age, a fate he shared with Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann (1819–1881). She came from a Pomeranian family but was born near Warsaw and trained in Düsseldorf. Jerichau-Baumann came to be associated with the Golden Age painters through her marriage to the sculptor Jens Adolf Jerichau (1816–1883). She was regarded as something of a cuckoo in the nest in Denmark until the year after the country's defeat, 1865, when she painted *A Wounded Danish Soldier.* Finally, she found acceptance. Both the subjects she chose, which were often exoticising, and her painting technique of broad brushstrokes and dramatic lighting distinguished her from the other artists of her day in Denmark. The Nationalmuseum has long since owned several works by her, but an early painting, a nude study possibly made in preparation for a penitent Mary Magdalene (Fig. 15), has now shed light on an additional aspect of her work.

Germanness was seen at this time as an alien element, despite a close kinship in both family and cultural terms. Many German-speaking Danish artists trained at the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen.

Fig. 13 Martinus Rørbye (1803–1848), *Loggia, Procida*, signed 1835. Oil on paper mounted on canvas, 32 x 47,5 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7402.

The most famous of them was Louis Gurlitt (1812–1897), several of whose key works have been acquired by the Museum.[12] His political views were shared by Ditlev Blunck (1798–1853), who in the First Schleswig War, from 1848, volunteered on the German side. As a direct result of this, his name was expunged early on from Danish art history.[13] Before that, Blunck had been very successful, winning all the medals of the Danish Academy and going on to study in Rome, where he became one of the artist in the circle around Thorvaldsen. It was in that city, in the 1830s, that he painted a portrait of an artist friend, probably the German painter August Bromeis.[14] We are fascinated here by the sharply drawn figure and penetrating gaze of the subject, against the backdrop of a patterned green wallpaper (Fig. 16).

Born within a few years of Blunck was his friend Wilhelm Bendz (1804–1832). He was one of the great hopes for the future among the new generation of artists, but died young. As a result, his output was unusually small. The Nationalmuseum was therefore delighted to be able to acquire, in the summer of 2019, Bendz's expressive and intimate little portrait of the Countess Sophie Vilhelmine Moltke, née von Levetzau (Fig. 17).[15] It is not only the format that reminds us of a portrait miniature, but also the precise technique of the painting, whose lustre has been heightened by the choice of zinc as a support. Bendz painted his likeness of Countess Moltke in April 1831. He died of typhus in Vicenza in November of the following year.

Fig. 14 Niels Simonsen (1807–1885), *A Road outside Algiers,* c. 1840. Oil on paper mounted on canvas, 21.9 x 34.1 cm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7485.

An exceptional portrait

Much of the Golden Age had revolved around that titan of Danish art, the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844), despite his physical absence owing to the many years he spent working in Rome. In 1838 he made a triumphant return to his native country. The young artist Johan Vilhelm Gertner (1818–1871) got to know Thorvaldsen early the following year, through the stage designer Aaron Wallich.[16] Once Gertner had gained the sculptor's confidence, he was invited to the Nysø estate, where the great man was living at the time. It was the property of Thorvaldsen's admirer, Baroness Stampe.[17] It was probably during this period that Gertner painted the small portrait that now belongs to the Nationalmuseum (Fig. 1). Thorvaldsen is seated in a mahogany armchair in front of the relief he was working on, *The Entry into Jerusalem.* This is emphasised by the wooden tub of damp clay with a towel behind him. On the stand next to the sculptor we see his self-portrait with the goddess of hope. In the Thorvaldsen Museum there is a drawing by Gertner of that very subject, made at Nysø in November 1839.[18] This is consistent with a claim by Thorvaldsen's servant that Gertner produced a portrait of the sculptor at Nysø that included this detail.[19] It is possible to infer, therefore, that the Nationalmuseum version was painted in 1839–40. This is perhaps the finest portrait Gertner made in this small format, with its sharp focus. As clear evidence of its precision, we can even see the sculptor's famous snake ring on his right hand.[20]

Acquisitions become an exhibition

In parallel with the acquisitions campaign, planning was under way for a major exhibition on the Danish Golden Age. The

Fig. 15 Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, (1819–1881), *Study of a Woman.* Oil on canvas, 69 x 55 cm. Purchase: Ulf Lundahl Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7526.

Fig. 16 Ditlev Blunck (1799– 1853), *Portrait of a Man*, c. 1830. Oil on canvas, 61 x 48 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7521.

Fig. 17 Wilhelm Bendz (1804–1832), C*ountess Sophia Vilhelmine Moltke, Née Levetzau,* 1831. Oil on zinc, 16.5 x 13.5 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7524.

Nationalmuseum wanted to demonstrate what had been achieved by its acquisitions, but also to offer a different picture of the period from that given in an exhibition 55 years earlier. In 2016, a delegation from the Museum therefore visited colleagues in Copenhagen. The response was positive, not least from the National Gallery of Denmark (Statens Museum for Kunst), which was keen to collaborate on an exhibition of the Danish Golden Age. (Later, the Petit Palais in Paris also joined the project.) We felt that this was both a brave and a generous gesture by our Danish counterparts, but how would they respond to a wish to reassess iconic artists and the traditional dating of the period? It turned out that our colleagues at the National Gallery of Denmark were asking themselves the same questions – was the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm prepared to explore this period with an open mind? Thus, somewhat hesitantly, we began to feel our way forward. In the end, the works of art themselves would provide the answers. At the same time, the foremost authority in the field, Kasper Monrad, who was a member of the joint working group, provided suggestions for a number of themes. These were based on different subjects and phenomena, rather than a monographic approach. We did not want to stage an exhibition that was just about Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg and his followers. But what about Danish art after 1848? The majority of Golden Age artists, after all, had a long career after the First Schleswig War. For the Nationalmuseum, this was an important question that had to find a satisfactory answer. To begin with, we were able to establish that this end date had never been quite as set in stone as was perhaps imagined, since important works by Frederik Vermehren (1823–1910), P. C. Skovgaard, Julius Exner (1825–1910) and Constantin Hansen from after 1848 constantly appeared both in surveys and in the display collections of Danish museums. As the concept of the Danish Golden Age had always been a construct, the dating of the period could therefore be subjected to a reappraisal that also took dynamic factors into account. Did the disaster of 1864 not in fact represent a greater upheaval for Denmark's self-image and unitary culture, and one that also left clear traces in painting? Had the idyllic motifs not begun to have a different ring to them even before 1848? After in-depth discussions with our Danish colleagues, we agreed that there was every reason to reassess the old dating of the period and regard it as ending, rather, in 1864. The consequence of this was an expanded concept of the Golden Age, which now also included a late Golden Age, with other, distinct characteristics.

Another question that was examined was the old hierarchy of different art forms, in which drawing and printma-

Fig. 18 Wilhelm Marstrand (1810–1873), *Ottilia and Christy Marstrand, the Artist's Daughters,* 1865. Oil on canvas, 80 x 64 cm. Purchase: Wiros Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7467.

Fig. 19 Martinus Rørbye (1803–1848), *Frederikke Eleonora Cathrine Rørbye, Née de Stockfleth, the Artist's Mother,* 1848. Oil on canvas, 31 x 23 cm. Purchase: Sara and Johan Emil Graumann Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7025.

king have always taken second place to painting. In portraiture especially, it emerged that drawings had come to be seen as having a value in their own right and as a form of art to be considered on its own terms. This was particularly true of works by Købke and Lundbye, but also by other artists from the same circle, who depict their sitters in a searching, intimate manner. The subjects do not seem aware that they are being portrayed, often giving the impression that these images had no other intended audience than the artists themselves.

Another type of hierarchy that had been firmly established concerned both the status and the subjects of works of art. During the 20th century, studies had gradually been given a value of their own, but often at the expense of the finished works. In the exhibition, we decided that we would not fight shy of including salon-type paintings. One example was Georg Emil Libert's (1820–1908) large studio painting *Landscape with a Ruined Castle, Hammershus on the Island Bornholm*, executed in Copenhagen in 1845 (Fig. 20). The sense that this was a work inspired by the Düsseldorf school probably explained in part why, ever since it was given to the Nationalmuseum in 1940, it had hung in the museum store. And that was despite it once having belonged to the Danish royal collection and Christian VIII.

Subjects previously given little space, such as satire and humour, intimacy and

Fig. 20 George Emil Libert (1820–1908), *Landscape with a Ruined Castle, Hammershus on the Island Bornholm,* 1845. Oil on canvas, 162 x 221 cm. Gift of Director A. Stangenberg. Nationalmuseum, NM 3862.

sensuality, Norse mythology and the influence of science on pictorial art, now received attention. These were some of the 37 different themes that were presented in the exhibition, all of them accompanied by brief introductory panels. In addition, visitors could listen to both Swedish and Danish specialists on the audio guide, giving their own personal interpretations of individual works.

Tragically, in the midst of our preparations, Kasper Monrad (1952–2018) passed away. For many years he had been a truly inspiring colleague, demonstrating right up to the end that he was prepared to reassess old "truths". It was natural, therefore, that our exhibition and catalogue on the Danish Golden Age should be dedicated to this great specialist in the field.

Notes:

1. For a background, see Magnus Olausson, "The Danish Golden Age and the Nationalmuseum", in *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm,* vol. 23, 2016, pp. 19–30.

2. Kasper Monrad, *Hverdagsbilleder: Dansk guldalder – kunstnererne og deres vilkår,* diss., Copenhagen 1989, pp. 92–96, 208 ff. Cf. Steen Bo Frandsen, "Enden på et uønsket slægtskab: Mellem dansk og tysk i Helstatens tid", in *Under samme himmel: Land og by i dansk og tysk kunst 1800–1850* (exh. cat.), William Gelius and Stig Miss (eds.), Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen 2000, p. 29.

3. See Carl-Johan Olsson, "Scandinavian Oil Studies and a Portrait", in *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm,* vol. 21, 2014, pp. 30–34.

4. *Den nøgne guldalder: Modelbilleder. C.W. Eckersberg og hans elever* (exh. cat.), Annette Johansen, Emma Salling and Marianne Saabye (eds.), Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen 1994, pp. 108–111.

5. One copy can be seen on the wall in Wilhelm Bendz's well-known *Interior from Amaliegade with the Artist's Brothers,* Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen, inv. no. 31.

6. *Jørgen Sonne 1801–1890* (exh. cat.), Thorvaldsens Museum and Aarhus Kunstmuseum, Copenhagen 1988, p. 63, cat. no. 25.

7. Peter Nørgaard Larsen, "Backwards into the future: The late Golden Age", in *Danish Golden Age,* Nationalmuseum exh. cat. no. 682, Cecilie Høgsbro Østergaard (ed.), Copenhagen 2019, p. 300.

8. Frølich gave a preliminary study for this painting to his friend and fellow artist P. C. Skovgaard. It is now in the Skovgaard Museum in Viborg (inv. no. 16.390). Cf. https://www.daxermarschall.com/en/portfolio-view/lorenz-frolich/, (accessed 4 September 2020).

9. *Kunstforeningens Marstrand Udstilling,* Charlottenborg, Copenhagen 1898, cat. no. 447: "Two Little Girls: Portraits of the painter's daughters Ottilia and Christy. Full length. Landscape background. Painted in the summer of 1865." At the time of the exhibition, the painting belonged to one of the subjects, Marstrand's daughter Ottilia Borup.

10. Carl-Johan Olsson, "Familiar subjects and new perspectives: Painting on the move in the Golden Age", in *Danish Golden Age,* Nationalmuseum exh. cat. no. 682, Cecilie Høgsbro Østergaard (ed.), Copenhagen 2019, p. 228.

11. Birgitte von Folsach, *I halvmånens skær: eksempler på skildringer af Den Nære Orient i dansk kunst og litteratur omkring 1800–1875* (exh. cat.), David Collection, Copenhagen 1996, pp. 70–75, 120–125.

12. Olausson 2016, p. 27.

13. Not until 2017 was he given a monographic exhibition, *Ditlev Blunck: En annorlunda guldåldermålare,* at the Nivaagaard Collection.

14. The Nationalmuseum bought this portrait by Ditlev Blunck at Bassenge in Berlin (lot 6114) in June 2019. The sitter was not identified at the time, but a Danish scholar who has studied Blunck, Karin Sondergaard Winther, has suggested the German painter August Bromeis (1813–1881), based on a portrait drawing Blunck made of him in 1836 that is preserved at the Casa di Goethe in Rome (personal communication from Sandra Espig, Bassenge, 30 May 2019). Cf. the image on Wikipedia, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/August_Bromeis#/media/Fichier:Porträt_August_Bromeis,_gezeichnet_von_Detlev_Conrad_Blunck,_Rom_1836.jpg, (accessed 4 September 2020).

15. *Wilhelm Bendz 1804–1832: Et ungt kunstnerliv* (exh. cat.), Marianne Saabye (ed.), Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen 1996, p. 145, cat. no. 79.

16. Cf. C. F. Wilckens, *Züge aus Thorvaldsens, Künstler- und Umgangsleben,* Copenhagen 1875, p. 41.

17. Ibid., pp. 43–44.

18. Thorvaldsens Museum, inv. no. D361. The same museum's own version of Gertner's portrait painting has the inventory number B430.

19. Wilckens 1875, p. 44.

20. Thorvaldsens Museum, inv. no. N190.

Akseli Gallen-Kallela's Nude Studies

Susanna Pettersson
Director General

Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931) is one of Finland's most famous artists and commonly referred to as a master of Realism and Symbolism. He was also a courageous interpreter of the Finnish national epic Kalevala, and worked in a variety of art forms, including painting, graphics, illustrations, textiles and architecture, and even designs for military uniforms. This article explores Gallen-Kallela's early work, *Nude Study* (1885), suggesting that his early nude studies, which have been excluded from the master narrative of Gallen-Kallela's art, created a solid basis for his understanding of the human body, later central to many of his works.

The Nationalmuseum's acquisition, *Nude Study*, was painted in 1885, while Akseli Gallen-Kallela was studying at the Académie Julian, a private art school in Paris. He had moved to the city in the autumn of 1884 to continue his art studies, following his graduation from the Finnish Art Society's Drawing School in Helsinki, Finland, and private training from the artists Adolf von Becker (1831–1909) and Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905).

Académie Julian was a meeting place for foreign students, many of them from the Nordic countries. Gallen-Kallela's teachers were the French artists Tony Robert-Fleury (1837–1911) and William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825–1905). A normal day at school began at 8 am and the students worked until 5 pm, as described by Gallen-Kallela in his letters to his mother.[1] He was

Fig. 1 Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931), *Nude Study,* 1885. Oil on canvas, 54 x 35 cm. Purchase: Sara and Johan Emil Graumann Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 7512.

Fig. 2 Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931), *Boy with a Crow,* 1884. Oil on canvas, 86 x 72 cm. Finnish National Gallery/Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki, A II 912.

motivated to study but had difficulties with the teachers' traditional way of looking at and appreciating art.[2]

The young Gallen-Kallela had already taken his first steps as a painter before moving to Paris. One of his first radical paintings, *Boy with a Crow* (Fig. 2), now in a collection of the Finnish National Gallery/Ateneum Art Museum, shows a little boy standing on grass, looking intensely at a crow that he aims to tame by putting salt on its tail (Fig. 2).[3] The background in the painting is minimalistic, just green grass. The lack of farmhouses, trees or other references that could connect the boy to a place, makes the painting very special; even the horizon has been removed as unnecessary. Bouguereau judged Gallen-Kallela's *Boy with a Crow* as being too "harsh".[4]

Looking at the Body

Before coming to Paris, Gallen-Kallela had studied anatomy by drawing from plaster casts and making regular visits to the hall of anatomy at the University of Helsinki, where he had an opportunity to study the human bodies close up.[5] In Paris, all of this changed, with live models replacing plaster casts and dead bodies.

As the early photographs from Académie Julian demonstrate, the models stood on a small stage and the aspiring artists positioned themselves close to their subject. Some even placed their palettes on the model's feet. In a photo taken the same year that the Nationalmuseum's *Nude Study* was completed, Gallen-Kallela can be seen sitting in one of the first rows, close to the model (Fig. 3).

In his *Nude Study,* Gallen-Kallela was able to capture every detail of the female body, as well as the almost timeless atmosphere (Fig. 1). The model's face is calm and her gaze is directed towards the wall behind the students. The fine daylight from the study hall's skylights emphasises her unveiled body. Despite the intimacy and closeness between the artists and the model, it is worth noting that Gallen-

Fig. 3 Unknown photographer, *Group Portrait of Akseli Gallen-Kallela (Close to the Model´s Knee) with his Colleagues at Académie Julian in Paris,* 1880´s. Akseli Gallen-Kallela's photo collection, Gallen-Kallela Museum, Espoo, Kot. 1.a/9.

Kallela was among more than 40 other art students in the same room, painting the same subject from different perspectives.

Gallen-Kallela himself was pleased with his painting and even signed it twice – on the top left and the bottom right. In January 1886, in a letter to his mother, he wrote that his studies at the academy were going very well and claimed the other students thought he was the best of them all, while Gallen-Kallela's older colleague and teacher Albert Edelfelt disagreed. He found the young artist to have plenty of ambition, but thought that he spent more time "philosophising" with his Norwegian colleague Carl Johannes Dørnberger than he did painting.[6] Indeed, there are indications that after the first weeks and months at Académie Julian, Gallen-Kallela became increasingly disinterested in painting from live models.[7] His desire was to be part of a renewal, rather than repeating everything his teachers had already done before.

Fig. 4 Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931), *Nude Study 1*885. Oil on canvas, 55.5 x 38 cm. Gösta Serlachius Fine Arts Foundation, Mänttä.

Fig. 5 Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931), *Demasquée*, 1888. Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 54.5 cm. Finnish National Gallery/Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki, A I 562.

Gallen-Kallela's nude studies from 1885-87 include several examples painted in earthy colours, with some in collections like the Gösta Serlachius Art Foundation in Mänttä, Finland, the Finnish National Gallery/Ateneum Art Museum and now also the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.[8] Typically, Gallen-Kallela's nude studies interested private collectors who already had some of his work in their collections and wished to supplement the collections with exceptional choices (Fig. 4).

Nude Studies and Career History

Gallen-Kallela quickly became a dream topic for art historians in Finland: talented, active and responsive to national needs. As Marja Lahelma has indicated, even early on, there was a need to pigeonhole Gallen-Kallela as a "national" artist.[9]

It is worth looking at how Gallen-Kallela's nude studies were presented in the most important early research into his artistic career. In 1936, Professor Onni Okkonen (1886–1962) claimed that studying in Paris was no more than "technical training" for Gallen-Kallela, with the real Gallen-Kallela being rooted in the Finnish culture, landscape and people,[10] thus nurturing the idea of a national artist with national motives. In 1961, Okkonen published even a more extensive art historical analysis of Gallen-Kallela's art, which developed his arguments and suggested that the time spent in Paris was important for Gallen-Kallela's artistic development, but

he did not see much quality in the model studies from that period (Fig. 6).[11]

Okkonen's neglect of academic nude studies becomes clear in close examination of Okkonen's richly illustrated books about Gallen-Kallela. The first one, published in 1936, had images of 191 paintings, drawings and graphic works, but included none of the nude studies from the academy.[12] The same was true in 1961, when Okkonen published a book with 946 pages and 477 images about Gallen-Kallela's life and art. Sketches and drawings of nudes as preparation for other works were incorporated, but works from the academy were eliminated from the narrative.[13]

Okkonen's assessment reflects how works of art were classified at the time; the focus was on the core production of an artist. Works showing how the artist developed during his years at the academy belonged to the margins. However, from today's perspective it is fruitful to analyse the early nude studies in relation to the later works, such as Gallen-Kallela's *Demasquée* from 1888 (Fig. 5). It is legitimate to claim that painting live models was more than exploring just the bodies, skin and muscles. It was, tedious or not, a way to learn to see people, to confront the nakedness of the sitter.

The Use of the Nude Body

Gallen-Kallela painted female nudes in various roles, from that of innocence to mysterious and seductive characters. *Sauna* (1889), for example, presents us with a realistic view from Keuruu, Finland, where a young girl is taking a sauna together with the rest of her family. *Aino Myth* (1891) depicts the mythological figure of Aino from the Kalevala, painted in a realistic manner, the naked body belonging to Gallen-Kallela's new wife, Aino Slöör. Naked female bodies carry a strong symbolic meaning in *Ad Astra* (1894 and 1907) and the frescoes for the Juselius mausoleum (1903), which were later destroyed in a fire, to mention just a few examples.

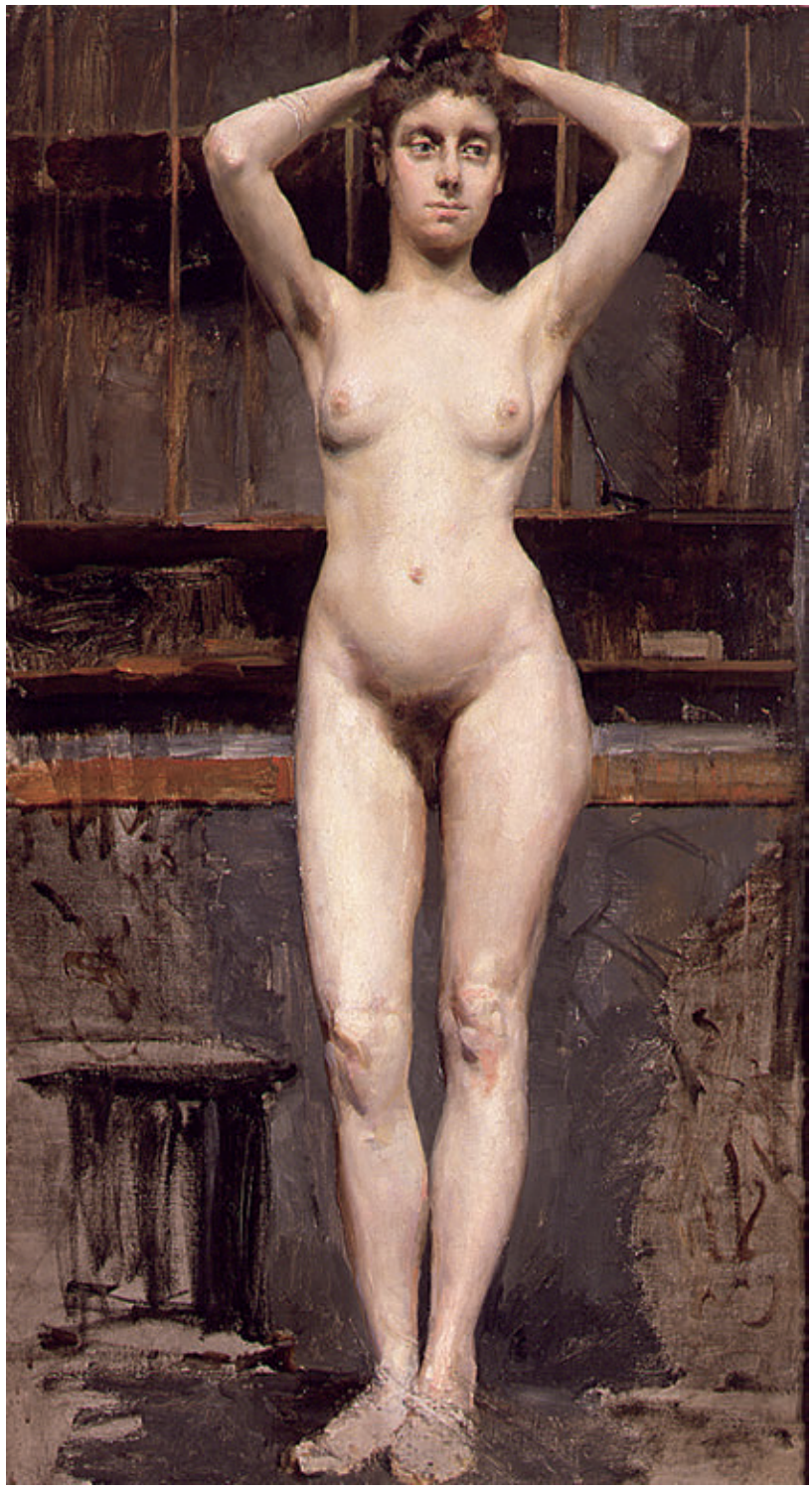

Fig. 6 Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931), *Nude Standning Model,* c. 1886–87. Oil on canvas, 80.5 x 44.5 cm. Gösta Serlachius Fine Arts Foundation, Mänttä.

However, one kind of a culmination of model studies can be seen in Gallen-Kallela's painting *Demasquée* (1888), which he painted while he lived in Paris.[14] It was commissioned by Herman Frithiof Antell, a Paris-based Finnish collector, who had insisted on a painting of a naked woman, strong and seductive, and got one.[15] However, the painting is not just a wealthy collector's erotic daydream for, as Marja Lahelma reminds us, "the woman is portrayed as a fringe member of society, yet not as a passive victim".[16] The painting is, indeed, far from presenting weakness. As Janne Gallen-Kallela-Sirén points out in his 2001 study of Gallen-Kallela, many earlier interpretations focused solely on the nudity of the model (whose name was Carmen), and thus missed the model's confident and fearless gaze.[17] The painting challenges the viewer to meet the eyes that have been unmasked.

Gaze is also vital when looking at Gallen-Kallela's nude studies. Despite their academic nature, the works are highly intimate and show us the models close up. They are portraits of the process of looking and observing, as well as depictions of modelling as a profession. They capture the moments of contemplation, the ritual of painting and repetition – and becoming confident with one of the artist's key tools, the human body.

Notes:

1. Onni Okkonen, *A. Gallen-Kallela, elämä ja taide,* Porvoo & Helsinki 1961, p. 85; Kirsti Gallen-Kallela, *Isäni Akseli Gallen-Kallela, I osa.* Porvoo 1964, pp. 68–69.
2. Okkonen 1961, pp. 84–85.
3. Akseli Gallen-Kallela, *Kallela-kirja I. Iltapuhdejutelmia,* Porvoo 1924, pp. 169–171.
4. Gallen-Kallela 1924, p. 171.
5. Timo Martin & Douglas Sivén, *Akseli Gallen-Kallela, elämäkerrallinen rapsodia*, Sulkava 1984, pp. 16–17.
6. Marja Lahelma, *Artists of the Ateneum. Akseli Gallen-Kallela.* Finnish National Gallery/Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki 2018, pp. 14–15. Gallen-Kallela's closest circle of friends also included Louis Sparre, the Frenchman Henri de Vallombreuse, the American Victor Wilbour and the Finnish artists Eero Järnefelt and Emil Vikström.
7. Martin & Sivén 1984, p. 25.
8. Maritta Pitkänen, *Kultaisen polun kulkijat. Akseli Gallen-Kallelan, G. A. Serlachiuksen ja Gösta Serlachiuksen yhteisiä vaiheita,* Gösta Serlachiuksen taidesäätiö, Mänttä 2008: https://www.kansallisgalleria.fi/fi/search?authors[]=Akseli%20Gallen-Kallela&category=artwork (accessed 19 August 2020).
9. Lahelma 2018, p. 9.
10. Onni Okkonen, *Akseli Gallen-Kallelan taidetta,* Porvoo & Helsinki 1936, pp. 12–14.
11. Okkonen 1961, pp. 84–85.
12. Okkonen 1936.
13. Okkonen 1961.
14. Okkonen 1961, pp. 153–154; Janne Gallen-Kallela-Sirén, *Minä palaan jalanjäljilleni. Akseli Gallen-Kallelan elämä ja taide,* Keuruu & Helsinki 2001, pp. 88–92.
15. Susanna Pettersson, "Keräilijä Herman Frithiof Antell. Koti Pariisissa, matkalla Japanissa", in *Japanomania pohjoismaisessa taiteessa 1875–1918,* Gabriel P. Wesberg, Anna-Maria von Bonsdorff & Hanne Selkokari (eds.), Ateneumin taidemuseo, Kansallisgalleria, Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, arkitektur og design, Statens Museum for Kunst & Mercatorfonds Helsinki, Oslo & Copenhagen 2016, pp. 112–119 [114].
16. Lahelma 2018, p. 23.
17. Gallen-Kallela-Sirén 2001, pp. 88–92.

Royal Tableaux Vivants

Eva-Lena Karlsson
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Fig. 1 Johannes Jaeger (1832–1908), inventor Georg von Rosen (1843–1923), *Tableau, The Arrival at Wartburg, from Saint Elisabeth, presented at a soirée at Musikaliska Akademien,* 1887. Photography, 24.5 x 33.5 cm. Purchase: Frank Bensow Fund. Nationalmuseum, Swedish National Portrait Gallery, NMGrh 5195.

Ballets, plays and masquerade balls with historical or allegorical themes have been staged at royal courts since the early modern period, with artists creating many elements of these events. Leonardo da Vinci and Inigo Jones, for example, as well as David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, helped in the organisation of such festivities. Preserved artwork from the 16th century onward is in existence, in the form of costume sketches, scenery and portraits of participants in costume. In the 19th century, *tableaux vivants* gained popularity from the royal court to the citizenry, with no clearly defined border between these and costume parties. At the start of the century, participants often imitated famous artworks, and later the tableaux became more theatrical, both in their choice of subject and their design. Here too, established artists were commissioned for the composition, with contributions from people such as John Everett Millais, Hans Makart and Georg von Rosen.[1]

In the mid-19th century, the introduction of photography brought a new medium for art and representation and was also used to document celebrations at the royal court. Reproducibility, combined with improved printing technology, allowed images to be more widely disseminated. They became available as illustrations in journals and albums, but were also sold as individual photographs.[2] The tableau thus lost it exclusivity, no longer being only for the invitees.[3] At the same time, the photo and tableau had a reciprocal influence on each other. Arranged scenes with historical or literary subjects rapidly became popular subjects in photographs; there was also a significant influence from history painting and, to some extent, portraiture.[4] Oscar Gustav Rejlander and Julia Margaret Cameron are examples of this, as their tableaux were created for the camera and were art works in their own right.

A Swedish example of tableaux that were immortalised through photography comes from the soirées that were held at Musikaliska Akademien (the Academy of Music) in Stockholm in February 1887. Participants included associates of the royal court and the then Crown Prince Gustaf (V), his consort Victoria and the princes Carl and Oscar. Four scenes with historical narratives were presented: the first two were based on paintings, *Gustav Vasa i Västerås* (Gustav Vasa in Västerås) by Geskel Saloman and *Bellman i Sergels ateljé* (Bellman in Sergel's Studio) by Johan Fredrik Höckert, with both performances arranged by Saloman. These were followed by a Gustavian era comedy, authored by royal secretary Isidor Lundström.

The second section of the soirées was a performance of *Die Legende von der heiligen Elisabeth* by Franz Liszt with a string orchestra, piano, organ and harp, as well as a choir and soloists. For this, history painter Georg von Rosen had created six tableaux vivants: *The Arrival in Wartburg, Miracle of the Roses, The Departure to the Crusade, The Flight from Wartburg, Feeding the Poor* and *In the Monastery*. Two photographs, now acquired by the Swedish National Portrait Gallery, show the first and the third scenes (Figs. 1–2).[5] The tableaux' leading role, Elisabeth of Thuringia, was played by Crown Princess Victoria. Crown Prince Gustaf appeared as the saint's spouse Ludwig, Landgrave of Thuringia.[6] His brothers, Carl and Oscar, played Elisabeth's first intended spouse, Hermann of Thuringia, and a crusader.

The purpose of these charity performances was to raise funds for H.M. the Queen's Home for Nurses, *Sophiahemmet*. Queen Sophia had instituted a school for nurses in 1884, inspired by the work of Florence Nightingale, among others. Three years later, in December 1887, the foundation was laid for Sophiahemmet's hospital, school and nursing home in Stockholm. That the chosen music was an oratory to Elisabeth of Thuringia is explained by the saint's close association with charity and medicine, as the patron saint of the sick and for the love of others. Landgravine Elisabeth had founded hospitals in the 1220s, in Gotha, Wartburg and Marburg. Another likely reason is that Sophia was a descendant of Elisabeth of Thuringia. After the soirées, a folder was published with photos of the Elisabeth tableaux.[7] This was also sold to raise money for Sophiahemmet.

Court photographer Johannes Jaeger was best known for his cityscapes and interiors, but also worked with other subjects and counted the royal family among his clients.[8] Georg von Rosen was a natural choice as stage manager and director of the historic tableaux. He was not only an established history painter, but was also employed as a professor and director at the Academy of Fine Arts. Count von Rosen had been made a chamberlain in 1879 and had previously produced portraits of members of the royal family.[9] He sometimes worked from photographs, such as for a posthumous portrait of Karl XV.[10] The crown prince and his consort were well acquainted with the artist and their social circles overlapped. One example was when von Rosen was commissioned to work on the décor of the Breakfast room at Tullgarn Palace, which was conducted in consultation with Victoria and Gustaf, as well as the ladies and gentlemen of the court.[11] It can be supposed that Georg von Rosen contributed to the design of the costumes in the Elisabeth tableaux. In a letter from the autumn of that year, Chamberlain Johan Casimir De la Gardie says that Crown Princess Victoria thanks von Rosen for "the outline sketches sent for the costumes" intended for another performance, to be staged at Tullgarn.[12]

Von Rosen's history painting is dominated by scenes from the Middle Ages and 16th century, although there are no works with direct links to the legend of Saint Elisabeth. During his studies, and during later travels in Germany, Belgium and Italy,[13] he had the opportunity to study old cities and art collections. Von Rosen's early role models were German and Belgian history painters who preferred to depict dramatic scenes, paying great attention to the detail of settings, costumes and objects. This was

Fig. 2 Johannes Jaeger (1832–1908), inventor Georg von Rosen (1843–1923), *Tableau, The Departure to the Crusade, from Saint Elisabeth, presented at a soirée at Musikaliska Akademien,* 1887. Photography, 24.5 x 33.5 cm. Purchase: Frank Bensow Fund. Nationalmuseum, Swedish National Portrait Gallery, NMGrh 5196.

an approach that proved very useful when creating tableaux vivants.

The royal court's interest in historical tableaux ebbed during the 20th century, but did not entirely disappear. One late example is that of Gustaf VI Adolf's seventieth birthday in 1952. Nine of the king's grandchildren performed in a tableau based on Fredrik Westin's painting, *Bernadotteska familjetavlan* (Painting of the Bernadotte Family), 1837.[14] The costumes and staging carefully followed this display of the first generations of Bernadottes on the Swedish throne.

Films, particularly historical costume dramas, largely took over the subjects of history paintings and tableaux. Staged pictures have lived on in contemporary photography, in other forms and with new content, such as in the work of Cindy Sherman and Yasumasa Morimura.[15]

Notes:

1. Sara Stevenson, "Tableaux, Attitudes and Photography", in Sara Stevenson and Helen Bennett, *Van Dyck in Check Trousers. Fancy Dress in Art and Life 1700–1900* (exh.cat.), Scottish National Portrait Gallery – National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh 1978, pp. 45 f., 48, 50; Ines Rödl, "'Zwitterwesen zwischen Mahlerey und Theater'. Vergangenheit in Fotografie und Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert", in *Licht und Leinwand. Fotografie und Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert* (exh.cat.), Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg – Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Berlin 2019, p. 135.

2. At a famous British fancy dress ball, *The Devonshire House Ball*, organised to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, James Lafayette set up a temporary photo studio at the party – a high quality predecessor of contemporary party photographs. Some participants had portraits made in costume on other occasions, in other photo studios. A selection of 286 photogravures, by Walker & Boutall, were published in the *Devonshire House Fancy Dress Album*, see the website of the National Portrait Gallery (London): https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/set/515/Devonshire+House+Fancy+Dress+Ball+Album, (accessed 13 March 2020). See also Helen Bennett, "The Royal Family", Sara Stevenson and Helen Bennett, *Van Dyck in Check Trousers. Fancy Dress in Art and Life 1700–1900* (exh.cat.), Scottish National Portrait Gallery – National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh 1978, p. 73; Terence Pepper, *High Society. Photographs 1897–1914,* (exh.cat.), National Portrait Gallery, London 1998, pp. 16–25.
3. Rödl 2019, p. 142.
4. Stevenson 1978, p. 63. For the mutual influence of painting and photography, see for example *Tableaux Vivants. Lebende Bilder und Attitüden in Fotografie, Film und Video,* (exh. cat.), Sabine Folie and Michael Glasmeier (eds.), Kunsthalle Wien, Wien 2002; Bettina Brandl-Risi, *BilderSzenen. Tableaux Vivants zwischen bildender Kunst, Theater und Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert,* Rombacher Wissenschaften Reihe Scenae Band 15, Freiburg im Breisgau – Berlin – Wien 2013; Rödl 2019, pp. 132–151.
5. I am indebted to Kerstin Hagsgård, Curator at the Royal Collections, for helping me to identify the scenes in Jaeger's photographs.
6. This was not the only occasion on which the crown prince and crown princess were photographed in historical costumes. The Bernadotte Library has a portrait by photographer Gösta Florman, in which Gustaf plays the role of Gustav II Adolf. Also Victoria is depicted in 17th-century-style fancy dress in a contemporaneous double portrait. See Magnus Olausson and Eva-Lena Karlsson, *Kungar i svart och vitt* (exh.cat.), Swedish National Portrait Gallery, Gripsholm Castle, in collaboration with the Bernadotte Library and the Royal Collections, Stockholm 2006, pp. 34f. ill.; Margit Fjellman, *Victoria. Sveriges drottning*, Stockholm 1980, p. 47 ill.
7. *Minne af de under beskydd och medverkan af D.D. K.K. H.H. Kronprinsen och Kronprinsessan anordnade soiréer till förmån för H. M. Drottningens Hem för sjuksköterskor Februari 1887. Legenden om den Heliga Elisabeth. Sex taflor komponerade till lefvande bilder af Grefve Georg von Rosen. Fotograferade efter naturen af Johannes Jaeger K. Hof-fotograf. Säljes till förmån för Hemmet för Sjuksköterskor,* Stockholm 1887. For a variety of practical reasons, including the light, tableaux vivants were not photographed as they took place, but on another occasion. Rödl 2019, p. 136.
8. Rolf Söderberg and Pär Rittsel, *Den svenska fotografins historia 1840–1940*, Stockholm 1983, pp. 58–63.
9. Karl XV (1873, privately owned), Oscar II (1875, Konung Oscar II:s stiftelse), Crown Prince Gustaf (V) (1883, owned by Queen Victoria in 1919) and his son Gustaf (VI) Adolf (1885, owned by Queen Victoria in 1919). Erik Wettergren, *Georg von Rosens konst,* Sveriges Allmänna Konstförenings publikation XXVII, Stockholm 1919, pp. 37 f., 92 f. ill., 107 ill., 147, 149, 157, 159 f., nos. 81, 88, 120, 130.
10. Olausson & Karlsson 2006, p. 30.
11. Fjellman 1980, p. 70.
12. The Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Stockholm, Georg von Rosen's letters, letter from Johan Casimir De la Gardie to Georg von Rosen, Tullgarn 19 Oct. 1887.
13. Wettergren 1919, pp. 11f., 15, 22, 31, 41.
14. Westin's painting Nationalmuseum, Swedish National Portrait Gallery, inv.no. NMGrh 1706.
15. For contemporary artists who work with staged tableaux, see for example Folie and Glasmeier 2002.

Elsa Beskow's Illustrations for *The Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman* (1897, c. 1947)

Daniel Prytz
Curator, 18th-Century Painting, Drawings and Prints

***"Once upon a time** there was a little, little old woman, who had a little, little house ..."* With this traditional turn of phrase begins the equally untraditional and influential classic of Swedish children's literature, *Sagan om den lilla, lilla gumman* (The Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman), created by one of the pre-eminent Swedish children's book illustrators and authors, Elsa Beskow (1874–1953). It was her first book and was originally published in 1897 (Fig. 1).

Elsa Beskow has described how she drew inspiration for the book from, among others, the English designer and illustrator Walter Crane (1845–1915), whose work she had seen at an exhibition organised by the Swedish Association for Art (Sveriges allmänna konstförening, SAK) in Stockholm in 1896.[1] Among the works on display were Crane's original illustrations for classics of children's literature such as Nathaniel Hawthorne's (1804–1864) *A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys* (1892, original edition 1851), a few of which were acquired at the time by the Nationalmuseum.[2] Beskow was perhaps especially impressed by Crane's own children's book *Flora's Feast* (1889). On seeing the originals for this work, she realised that Crane's style, and general sense of design, closely matched what she herself had had in mind as she sought to realise her long-held dream of creating a children's book of her own.[3] Although unquestionably influenced by Crane's use of line, Beskow's illustrations are more intimate compared with the

Fig. 1 Elsa Beskow (1874–1953), *"Once upon a time there was a little, little old woman who had a little, little house", Illustration for The Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman, revised edition 1950,* c. 1949. Watercolour, pencil, pen and ink, on paper, c. 320 x 310 mm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 5/2019.

Fig. 2 Elsa Beskow (1874–1953), *"And a little, little cat that said meow", Illustration for The Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman, revised edition 1950,* c. 1949. Watercolour, pencil, pen and ink, on paper, c. 320 x 310 mm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 7/2019.

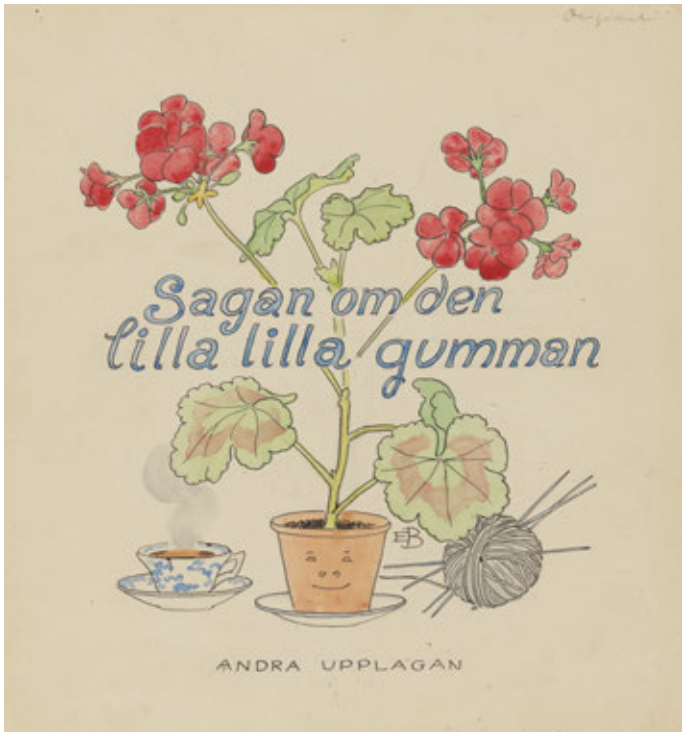

Fig. 3 Elsa Beskow (1874–1953), *The Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman, title page for the second Swedish edition 1909, reused in the revised Swedish edition 1950,* c. 1908. Watercolour, pencil, pen and ink, on paper, c. 265 x 235 mm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 4/2019.

Pre-Raphaelite-inspired, quasi-mediaeval appearance of his work.[4]

Beskow's book is an adaptation of an old Swedish nursery rhyme, in which the artist harmoniously integrates the pictures with the handwritten words.[5] Beskow's maternal grandmother had been very keen on fairy tales and nursery rhymes, and *The Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman* was one of the ones she told most frequently. According to Beskow, however, the direct model for the old woman was a lady who sold Easter twigs in Östermalmstorg square in Stockholm. At the time, Beskow was teaching drawing at Anna Whitlock's school in Stockholm. To be able to focus on other work in between her classes, which were quite scattered, she rented a studio at Johannesgatan 10, not far from the school. Beskow has described the conception of the book in this small studio as a happy and enjoyable time.[6] Her interpretation of the subject has a cheerful charm and joy which create a rare and special childlike feeling, perhaps in particular through her narrative use of various sound effects such as *Moo* and *Meow*, which was unusual for those times (Fig. 2). According to the artist's own account, the circles of geranium and clover for example, which frame the different scenes, can be likened to windows through which the reader, or viewer, peeks into the world of the little, little old woman and, by extension, the world of childhood.[7]

Both Beskow's choice of subject and her specific artistic approach to it could, to some extent, be viewed in the light of ideas from both the National Romantic and the Arts and Crafts movement. The nursery rhyme, in this case one considered specifically Swedish and squarely placed in an idealised Swedish countryside, is framed in a contemporary artistic aesthetic and medium, the children's book, perfectly suited to fostering good citizens through the propagation of good art.[8] Yet there is nothing really didactic about the book. Rather than defining the scenes and settings of the narrative in an overly literal, in-your-face manner, Beskow's illustrations instead capture their essence, with a few choice details suggesting a larger world, always leaving a door, or window, open for the child's own imagination. A characteristic of Beskow's art which Tove Jansson (1914–2001), for one, has praised.[9]

As a young woman artist presenting quite a pioneering children's book for consideration by the publishers Wahlström and Widstrand, she naturally

Fig. 4 Elsa Beskow (1874–1953), *"Shoo kitty!!!!", Illustration for The Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman, revised edition 1950,* c. 1949. Watercolour, pencil, pen and ink, on paper, c. 320 x 310 mm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 14/2019.

Fig. 5 Elsa Beskow (1874–1953), *"And the cat ran to the forest never to return. But perhaps he still came home in the end. E.B." Illustration for The Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman, revised edition 1950,* c. 1949. Watercolour, pencil, pen and ink, on paper, c. 320 x 310 mm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NMH 15/2019.

felt some trepidation. But to her surprise they liked her work, and although the original recompense was quite small for the time, she was pleased that the book would soon be published.[10] It quickly became very popular. The work was reprinted several times, internationally as well as in Sweden, and over the years the editions saw a number of changes. For example, the title page was revised for the second edition because the artist had married and changed her surname from Maartman to Beskow.[11] But she also took the opportunity to edit and make additions to the actual illustrations, including some that could underline the little old woman's both jaunty and diligent disposition: a steaming teacup, a ball of thread and a flower pot with a smiling face (Fig. 3).

The original ending of the tale – "Shoo kitty!!!!" (Fig. 4) – was perhaps somewhat abrupt, and at the prompting of the publisher, who remembered the end of the nursery rhyme differently, she later added a further page describing the final fate of the cat: "and the cat ran to the forest never to return".[12] In the additional illustration, the cat is perched on a branch high up in a typical Swedish pine tree (Fig. 5). Here the cat, and its enigmatic expression, are at the same time quite reminiscent of John Tenniel's (1820–1914) classic illustration of the Cheshire Cat in Lewis Carroll's (1832–1898) *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865).[13] Further evidence, perhaps, of how Beskow drew inspiration from English children's book illustration.

Unfortunately, Beskow's drawings for the original edition were lost at an early stage. They had been transferred to lithographic stones which, because of all the reprints, eventually became completely worn, resulting in increasingly poor reproduction of line and colour.[14] Probably as a result of Bonniers taking over the publishing rights in the late 1940s, Beskow was commissioned to create new illustrations based on the old printed ones, but now edited and adapted for the photographic printing process.[15] These illustrations, together with the original for the title page of the second edition which was preserved and reused in the reworked edition, were recently acquired by the Nationalmuseum.

Although Beskow was more or less obliged to redo the illustrations, this also

meant that, in her twilight years, she had an opportunity to artistically revisit her breakthrough work one last time. Interestingly, Beskow later described how she had never felt that the lithographer who had transferred her original drawings to the printing blocks in 1897 had really managed to capture the likeness of her work.[16] In the new illustrations, she changed the appearance of the cat drawn as part of the initial letter of the title on the cover, for instance. In addition, her experience as a mother and grandmother in the years since the original publication of the book had led her to believe in the need for comforting words at the end of a fairy tale or nursery rhyme. She therefore modified the end of the story even further. A line was added that could possibly put at ease the minds of those who were still wondering where the old woman's cat disappeared to: "But perhaps he still came home in the end. E.B.".[17]

The fact that the reproductive technique was now photographic meant comparatively less detail in the lines and colour hues from the outset, something that was clearly taken into account by Beskow when redoing the illustrations.[18] This gave them a slightly simplified, but at the same time perhaps more immediate expression which, incidentally, was quite well matched to the kind of children's book illustration that was fashionable in the mid 20th century.[19]

Elsa Beskow compared the instant critical and public success that *The Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman* received upon its release in 1897 to the cat's step up onto the stool in the story: it was to be her first step on a new path, with a clear intention of continuing upwards.[20] Which, in turn, resulted in one of the most distinguished careers in Swedish children's book illustration, encompassing numerous other classics such as *Tomtebobarnen (Children of the Forest,* 1910), the original illustrations of which are also in the collections of the Nationalmuseum.[21]

Notes:

1. Elsa Beskow, "Sagan om en bilderbok", in *Svenska Dagbladet*, 22 September 1952, reprinted in *Natanael och Elsa Beskow – Studier och minnesbilder,* Stockholm 1954, 1965, 2nd ed., pp. 65–67. Stina Hammar, *Elsa Beskow: En biografi,* Stockholm 1958, pp. 164–174.

2. Beskow 1952; Hammar 1958. Nationalmuseum inv. nos. NMH 46–54/1896, *Meddelanden från Nationalmuseum nr. 21. Statens konstsamlingars tillväxt och förvaltning 1896: Underdånig berättelse afgifven af Nationalmusei intendent,* Stockholm 1897, Gustaf Upmark, Handteckningssamlingen, pp. 9–10, A. Köp [Acquisitions], Sept. 18: "En samling aqvarellerade teckningar. 9 st., af den nu lefvande engelske konstnären Walter Crane, utförda för verket »The Wonder Book». Inköpt å utställning i Stockholm." [A collection of watercoloured drawings, 9 in number, by the now living English artist Walter Crane, made for "The Wonder Book". Acquired at an exhibition in Stockholm]; https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1315311/FULLTEXT01.pdf, (accessed 15 May 2020) Erik Gustaf Folcker, "Konst. Walter Crane. Med 11 bilder", in *Ord och Bild*, vol. 5, 1896, no. 9, pp. 425–432; http://runeberg.org/ordochbild/1896/0473.html, (accessed 15 May 2020).

3. Beskow 1952.

4. Ibid. That she should have been able to achieve this intimate effect, despite drawing direct inspiration from Crane, is something that surprised even Beskow herself.

5. Ibid.; Hammar 1958.

6. Beskow 1952.

7. Ibid.; Hammar 1958.

8. Hammar 1958. In this respect, Beskow's work both precedes and reflects, for example, selected writings by Ellen Key (1849–1926), published just a few years later, in particular *Skönhet för alla* ("Beauty for All", 1899) and *Barndomens århundrade* ("The Century of the Child", 1900), as well as the thinking behind the creation of the "Saga Library" (*Sagabiblioteket*, 1899–1954), instigated by the teachers Emil (1853–1910) and Amanda (1854–1935) Hammarlund, which achieved a very wide distribution in Swedish elementary schools during the first half of the 20th century. Charlotte Christensen, "Elsa Beskow, Swedish illustrator (1874–1953)", in *Dictionary of Women Artists: Vol. I: Introductory Surveys; Artists A–I,* Delia Gaze (ed.), Chicago and London 1997, pp. 254–255.

9. Tove Jansson, "Sagan inom verkligheten – Den ärliga Elsa Beskow", in *Bonniers Litterära Magasin (BLM),* vol. 28, no. 5, May–June 1959, pp. 419–420; Boel Westin, *Tove Jansson: Ord, bild, liv,* Stockholm 2007, p.; Petter Karlsson, *Muminvärlden & verkligheten: Tove Janssons liv i bilder,* Stockholm 2014, p. 111; Sven Sandström, "Vänlighetens och lekens slott", in *Bonniers Litterära Magasin (BLM),* vol. 28, no. 5, May–June 1959, pp. 421–423.

10. Beskow 1952; Elsa Maartman, *Sagan om den lilla, lilla gumman,* Stockholm 1897.

11. Beskow 1952; Hammar 1958.

12. Beskow 1952; Hammar 1958.

13. Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* part of a two-volume set with *Through the Looking Glass,* New York 1946 (original edition 1865).

14. Beskow 1952; Hammar 1958.

15. Beskow 1952; Hammar 1958; Elsa Beskow, *Sagan om den lilla, lilla gumman,* Stockholm 1950.

16. Beskow 1952.

17. Ibid.; Hammar 1958.

18. Beskow 1952; Hammar 1958.

19. Beskow 1952; Hammar 1958.

20. Beskow 1952.

21. Tomtebobarnen has also been published in English with the titles *Elf Children of the Woods* and *The Little Elves of Elf Nook.* Nationalmuseum inv. nos. NMH 1–31/1974. *Elsa Beskow 1874–1953: En minnesutställning* (exh. cat.), Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 1974, *Elsa Beskow: Vår barndoms bildskatt* (exh. cat.), Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 2004, here, the illustrations for the *Tale of the Little, Little Old Woman* were exhibited with the cat. nos. 11–21 (although the fact that the original illustrations from 1897 were lost, and that the works on display were done in the 1940s, was never mentioned).

Martin van Meytens's Portrait of Johann Michael von Grosser: The Business of Nobility

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The Nationalmuseum has in its collection an impressive portrait of the Viennese court jeweler Johann Michael von Grosser (c. 1700–1784) (Fig. 1).[1] Painted by the Swedish-born artist Martin van Meytens (1695–1770), the portrait was acquired at auction in 1922 using funds from Sophia Gieseke's donation.[2] The painting has been displayed infrequently. It is one of the most impressive and sensitive portraits in Meytens's oeuvre, a testament to what this somewhat underrated artist could achieve.[3] My goal in this essay will be to illuminate this picture through current knowledge of Grosser's life, but I shall also make a broader argument about the relationship between nobility, commerce, and material culture in eighteenth-century Europe. If this painting presents to us the image of a court craftsman, it also tells a story about how objects created social status in a mercantilist economy.

Grosser first appears in court records in 1736 as a *Kammerjuwelier*, but neither his place of birth nor date of birth is known.[4] This possibly indicates modest origins, and given his later engagement with Lower Austria, it is probable that he was born there. On 27 February 1764 Grosser was raised to the Austrian nobility, entitling him to the name "von Grosser," and with this came with a newly designed coat of arms (Fig. 2).[5] This was just the first of several steps up the social ladder. In 1768, Grosser was advanced by Emperor Joseph II to a Knight of the Empire (*Reichsritter*),

Fig. 1 Martin van Meytens (1695–1770), *The Court Jeweller Johann Michael von Grosser.* Oil on canvas, 189 x 116 cm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 2356.

Fig. 2 Von Grosser coat of arms. Austrian State Archives, Vienna.

a more impressive title that implied service to the entire realm. On 4 March 1769 he was granted the title *Edler*, or nobleman, by Empress Maria Theresa herself. Less than a month later, on 25 April 1769, he became a *Landmann* in Lower Austria, which indicates he owned property in the region and was entitled to serve in its regional councils. We know from a detailed court record that on 17 May 1769 Grosser requested that the imperial house relieve him of his responsibilities as jeweler, which was granted.[6] This adds a wrinkle to his story and hints that Meytens's portrait may have more to do with Grosser's social ambitions than his jewelrymaking.

Grosser enjoyed strong connections to Vienna's merchant community. He married Eleonora Rigotti, daughter of a prominent local tradesman, Hieronymus Rigotti.[7] The Rigotti family hailed from Mori, Trentino, now part of Italy but then under Austrian control. Hieronymus's primary trade was in Mediterranean comestibles: fruit, oils, grapes, and fish, but also raw materials like cotton and sugar.[8] Rigotti's financial success was such that he purchased a large house on the Graben, a prominent square in central Vienna.[9] Possibly due to this relationship with Rigotti, Grosser's name began to appear as a "k. k. privilegierter Großhändler," wholesaler to the royal-imperial court.[10] This would have granted him access to raw materials that he could sell for profit, just like his father-in-law.

Grosser's residences in Vienna further reveal his social and commercial ambitions. In 1750 he purchased a house at Untere Alléegasse 22.[11] This street, no longer extant, was located immediately beside Fischer von Erlach's Karlskirche in a neighborhood that was a magnet for noble residents and their attendants. Grosser lived there until 1758, when he sold his house to a glovemaker and moved to a larger residence at Kohlmarkt 6. Despite its unglamorous name, which means "charcoal market," this was and

Fig 3 Martin van Meytens (1695–1770), *The Court Jeweller Johann Michael von Grosser* (detail of cameo). Oil on canvas, 189 x 116 cm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 2356.

Fig 4 Pieter Pietersz. Lastman (1583–1633), *Dido's Sacrifice to Juno,* signed 1630. Oil on oak, 73.8 x 106 cm. Purchase 1857, transferred 1865 from Kongl. Museum. Nationalmuseum, NM 500

remains one of Vienna's luxury commercial avenues.[12] Grosser's house abutted the palatial residences of the high-ranking Esterházy, Pálffy, and Caprara clans. The imperial Hofburg was just down the street in one direction, while his father-in-law's house was mere steps in the other.[13] We learn further from a court diarist that Grosser extensively renovated and beautified this house.[14] But it was not simply as a jeweler that Grosser lived there: he opened a private bank that became one of Vienna's earliest stock exchanges.[15] At his death, Grosser left his survivors an immense inheritance.

This is the life of a court craftsman who was also an entrepreneur. Commercial interests perhaps explain the bronze statuette of Mercury shown in Meytens's picture, who appears here as the patron deity of commerce. Modeled after Giambologna's famous rendition, it was well known in later centuries through small-scale reproductions.[16] But if the statue tells us something about Grosser's life, other elements in the painting do as well. Grosser is shown in a palatial setting, sitting before a jewelry cabinet, on which rest pliers used to insert precious stones into settings. The portrait is an intriguing mixture of courtliness and craft. One might ask whether the jewelry shown corresponds to any known examples in Viennese collections. None do, with one significant exception: the cameo shown as part of a pearl necklace (Fig. 3). This is an ancient carved gem, which were

extraordinarily popular among European elites both as tangible remnants of classical antiquity and as bodily decoration.[17]

In the Grosser portrait, the cameo serves as more than a generic reference to antiquity. It corresponds to an object recorded in a catalogue of classical gems by Scottish engraver James Tassie, who cites the German gemologist Philipp Daniel Lippert's identification of its subject as *Dido's Sacrifice to Juno*. In this scene from Virgil's *Aeneid*, IV:56–62, Dido makes a series of sacrifies to the gods to prevent Aeneas, whom she loves, from departing Carthage. The subject is not excessively common in European art, but the Nationalmuseum has a painting representing it, by Pieter Lastman (Fig. 4). Lastman stays close to Virgil's text: Dido at center, her sister Anna and others gathering around an altar with a sacrificial cow. These same elements appear in the Meytens, but the identification raises additional questions. The first is whether such a cameo was in Vienna at the time the portrait was made. Tassie's book offers a clue by mentioning that such a gem was in the collection of Robert Murray Keith the Younger, the British ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire between 1772 and 1792. Keith's collecting activities have not been studied and it cannot be confirmed that Grosser knew him, but if the cameo depicted was Keith's, it entered his possession some time after the painting was made, as Meytens died in 1770. Intaglios of this gem and others similar to it survive today (Fig. 5). It is telling that Tassie describes Keith's cameo as made of carnelian, which corresponds to the color that Meytens uses for the cameo in the portrait. The presence of the Dido cameo in this painting, alongside other references to classical antiquity, associate Grosser with the realm of antiquarianism. The jeweler here assumes the outward form of the learned gentleman-scholar.

That brings us to a heretofore unexamined aspect of the picture, namely the rug draped across's Grosser's worktable

Fig. 5 Dido's Sacrifice to Juno, glass intaglio. Collection of Robert Wellington, Canberra.

(Fig. 6). It is not, as one might expect, an imported specimen from Asia, as its appearance does not correlate with the forms of Asiatic textiles. It is a flat rug, constructed without pile, a type known generically as a kilim. Yet what Meytens has pictured here does not correspond to kilim weaving techniques. Typically in Asian kilims, weft threads would be woven across the warp in lines of varying lengths, a technique analogous to tapestry weaving. This made round or curved forms difficult to create, which explains why circles are found infrequently in Asian rug designs. Yet in Grosser's rug, rounded shapes are visible, most prominently in the modified quatrefoil shapes patterned across the red-ground course, and also in the floral forms near the rug's center.[18]

Looking more closely, it becomes clear that weft threads are wrapped around the warp rather than passed through them and woven across the carpet diagonally. Angled weaving like this was never used in Asian carpets. The appearance of other areas suggests an embroidery-like layering of threads on the rug's surface. The yellow-ground band immediately next to the fringe is one such area; the black and tan courses there appear superimposed onto the rug. The colors and shapes found in Meytens's painting likewise do not indicate an Asian pedigree. Green is a rare color in Asian rugs, and the ornamental language

Fig. 6 Martin van Meytens (1695–1770), *The Court Jeweller Johann Michael von Grosser* (detail of rug). Oil on canvas, 189 x 116 cm. Purchase: Sophia Giesecke Fund. Nationalmuseum, NM 2356.

depicted follows no known iconographical traditions from Asia. Instead, it seems derived from Greek art, recalling acroterial scrolls and based in the meander pattern common in Greek architectural ornamentation. These formal and pictorial qualities, taken together, indicate that this is a European rug.

This conclusion becomes likelier when we recognize that the region of Austria where Grosser became a landholder, the Waldviertel district, was renowned for a specific kind of textile production that appears to be what Meytens shows. The rug is made of long ribbons of cloth, which in Austrian dialect are called *Bandl*. Ribbonmaking was a longstanding cottage industry in the Waldviertel, dating back at least to the 14th century, indeed so closely associated with it that the area around the town of Groß-Siegharts became known as the *Bandlkramerlandl*, the land of ribbon sellers.[19] Ribbons had multiple everyday uses: they could tie things together, decorate hair and clothing, and could be woven into rugs or wall coverings. Since ribbonmaking was free from guild supervision, ribbons could be made cheaply and profit margins were high, which made them an excellent investment.[20]

In the early eighteenth century, the Waldviertel ribbon industry grew through the calculated intervention of the Austrian nobility. The most significant patron was Johann Ferdinand Christoph von Mallenthein, lord of Groß-Siegharts between 1682 and 1728, who worked to make the region into the primary Habsburg textile district.[21] Despite its regional character, it enjoyed interaction with the southern Netherlands and northern Italy, which put weavers there into contact with the latest trends.[22] The industry reorganized several decades later under the aegis of an ambitious entrepreneur named Johann Peter Wührer.[23] On 10 December 1760, Wührer petitioned for an imperial authorization to produce ribbons in the Waldviertel for six years, which was granted him.[24] When he requested additional court support a few months later, he bragged about the high quality of the region's ribbons, noting that they matched the quality of Dutch weaving while improving on their beauty.[25]

Under Wührer's support the region's ribbon industry flourished. They were in high demand, and their economic vitality contributed to textiles becoming by far the largest sector of the industrial economy in eighteenth-century Austria.[26] With financial support from the Viennese elite, including in 1762 from the Empress herself, Wührer expanded the ribbon industry with new machinery, including special machines for making *Deckengarn*, a kind of heavy embroidery thread used for tassels, braiding, and carpets. This kind of yarn was often shipped to Hungary, where it was much prized.[27] By 1773, the industry's success was such that ribbon makers were able to sell their wares without intermediaries, and after court approval in 1785 essentially in a free marketplace.[28] Ribbon vendors became a common sight in the streets of Vienna, where they sold their wares directly to the city's households. An early representation of them appears in Jakob Adam's *Abbildungen des gemeinen*

Volkes zu Wien of 1777/1780, which shows a Bandlkrämer or ribbon seller carrying spools of ribbon and a measuring stick. (Fig. 7).[29]

I would argue that this context is important for understanding the Grosser portrait. If we accept that the rug shown in Meytens's paintings is a carpet made of *Bandl*, then we might understand why it is included. The region that came under Grosser's authority was deeply involved in the textile trade, but it also was searching for legitimacy through imperial support. Grosser was in a highly advantageous position to advocate for the Waldviertel's needs. The painting, then, directly connects Grosser to this region through its industry, which suggests both that he wished to raise the prominence of ribbon-making while also associating himself with it. I think it important to note how ribbons appear in this portrait: in a rug whose bold patterning and coloring indicate the advanced state of the region's artistry. This is a luxury good, and Meytens's painting may have been intended to associate ribbonwork with other luxury goods like jewelry. This would have raised the profile of a rather humble textile and made a case for its mercantile potential.

This brings us to some broader conclusions. In much of Europe, noble status in theory implied a separation from marketplace concerns, but in reality, this was rarely the case. The French historian Pierre Serna has noted that the social changes of eighteenth-century Europe demanded nobles reimagine themselves to remain relevant to the increasingly commercial nature of society.[30] Grosser played this social change to his advantage. He was not born noble, but acquired it through court service associated with a craft. Being a jeweler fostered regular contact with the Habsburg Empire's wealthy, which enabled Grosser to raise his standard of living. And when he attained a sufficiently high level of social clout, he devoted himself to commercial activity fully. In other words, nobility was a pathway for him to make money, and it was

Fig. 7 Jakob Adam (1748–1810), *Bändelkrämer. From Abbildungen des gemeinen Volkes zu Wien,* 1777–80. Etching. Wien Museum, Vienna.

through engaging with different kinds of objects that he forged this path.

On a final note, knowledge of Grosser's commercial activities perhaps allows a firmer dating of the picture, which is unsigned. Since Grosser wears no insignia or coat of arms, the portrait certainly predates his ennoblement in 1764. Given that discussions between Wührer and the Habsburg court about the ribbon industry took place between 1760 and 1762, we might plausibly date this picture to that time based on the likelihood it was intended to broadcast the region's commercial potential. If that is the case, then Meytens's portrait is more than just a picture of an artisan; it reveals traces of a life deeply embedded in commerce, one in which the potential of objects for defining identity is given an unusual twist.

Notes:

1. For assistance and insights of many kinds, my thanks to Carolina Brown Ahlund, Mikael Ahlund, Lauren Kellogg DiSalvo, Kerstin Droß-Krüpe, Linda Hinners, Katherine Iselin, Emese Pásztor, Szabolcs Serfőző, Claudia Wagner, and Robert Wellington.

2. Görel Cavalli-Björkman, *Fröken Giesekes kärlek till konsten,* Statens Konstmuseer, Stockholm 1996, p. 90.

3. Agnes Husslein-Arco and Georg Lechner, *Martin van Meytens der Jüngere,* Vienna 2014; and Birgitta Lisholm, *Martin van Meytens d. y.: hans liv och hans verk,* Malmö 1974, pp. 63 and 105.

4. Franz Karl Wißgrill, *Schauplatz des landsäßigen Nieder-Österreichischen Adels,* Vienna 1797, 3:408.

5. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna. AVA Adel RAA 157.21 Grosser, Johann Michael, k.k. Kammerjuwelier, Adelsstand, privilegium denominandi, 1764.02.27; https://www.archiv-informationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=2380729 (accesed 20 August 2020) See also Wißgrill 1797, 3:409.

6. Walter Pillich, "Kunstregesten aus den Hofparteienprotokollen des Obersthofmeisteramtes von 1637–1780, Teil IV." *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 17/18 (1964–1965), p. 669.

7. Marion Dotter, *Italienische Kaufleute im Donauhandel in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Thesis, University of Vienna 2017, p. 123.

8. Rigotti, Hieronymus, The Danube trade: Sources on Austrian Economic History 17th/18th-Centuries: https://www.univie.ac.at/donauhandel/en/normdata-krems/detailedresults/?set=persons&personenId=5636 (accessed 20 August 2020)

9. Dotter 2017, p. 38; and Marion Dotter, "Zwischen Oberitalien und Wien: Die Migration und Transformation italienischer Kaufleute in Wien in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts", in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 59, Vienna 2018, pp. 15–50.

10. Wißgrill 1797, 3:408.

11. Karl Hofbauer, *Die Wieden*, Vienna 1864, p. 63.

12. Felix Cseike, *Wien Innere Stadt*, Vienna 1993, p. 105.

13. Cseike 1993, pp. 190-191.

14. *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisters 1742–1776,* vol. 5, 1758–1759, pp. 24–25. [11 April 1758]. Wißgrill 1797, 3:408, also mentions that Grosser had the house "herrlich neu gebauet."

15. Leopoldine Hokr, "Johann Michael II. von Grosser und die Machinenspinnerei in Niederösterreich", in *Das Waldviertel,* vol. 46, 1997, p. 35. This article primarily concerns the son and namesake of the person represented in Meytens's painting. See also Hokr, *Gross Siegharts–Schwechat–Waidhofen/Thaya: Das Netzwerk der frühen Niederösterreichischen Baumwollindustrie,* Bern 2007, pp. 75–93.

16. Charles Avery, "Mercury – A Flight of the Renaissance Imagination," in *Sculpture Review,* vols. 43–45, 1994–97, pp. 14–17, esp. 16–17.

17. Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben*, Berlin 2007, pp. 264–265, 274–277.

18. Peter Davis, *Antique Kilims of Anatolia,* New York 2000, pp. 33–35.

19. Ignaz Jörg "Zur Geschichte der Weberei im „Bandlkramerlandl"" *Das Waldviertel,* Neue Folge, 1956, p. 68.

20. Hokr 1997, p. 25.

21. Jörg 1956, p. 68.

22. Andrea Komlosy, "Austria and Czechoslovakia: The Habsburg Monarchy and its Successor States." *In The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers, 1650–2000,* Lex Heerma van Voss, et al (eds.), Farnham 2010, p. 45.

23. For more on Mallenthein, see Hokr 1997, pp. 35–36.

24. Leopoldine Hokr, "Bandel in Handel und Wandel," *Das Waldviertel,* vol. 38, 1989, pp. 124–134.

25. Hokr 1989, p. 124; and Elfriede Hanak, *Niederösterreich: Traditionelles Handwerk, Lebendige Volkskunst,* Vienna 1995, pp. 207–219.

26. Komlosy 2010, p. 51.

27. Hokr 1989, pp. 128–129.

28. Hokr 1989, p. 134.

29. Wolfgang Kos (ed.) *Wiener Typen,* Vienna 2013, p. 27 & 59.

30. Pierre Serna, "The Noble." *In Enlightenment Portraits,* Michel Vovelle (ed.), Chicago 1997, pp. 31 & 44–45.