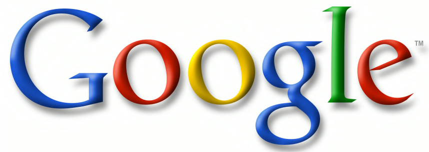

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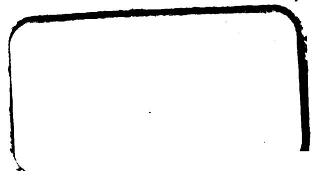

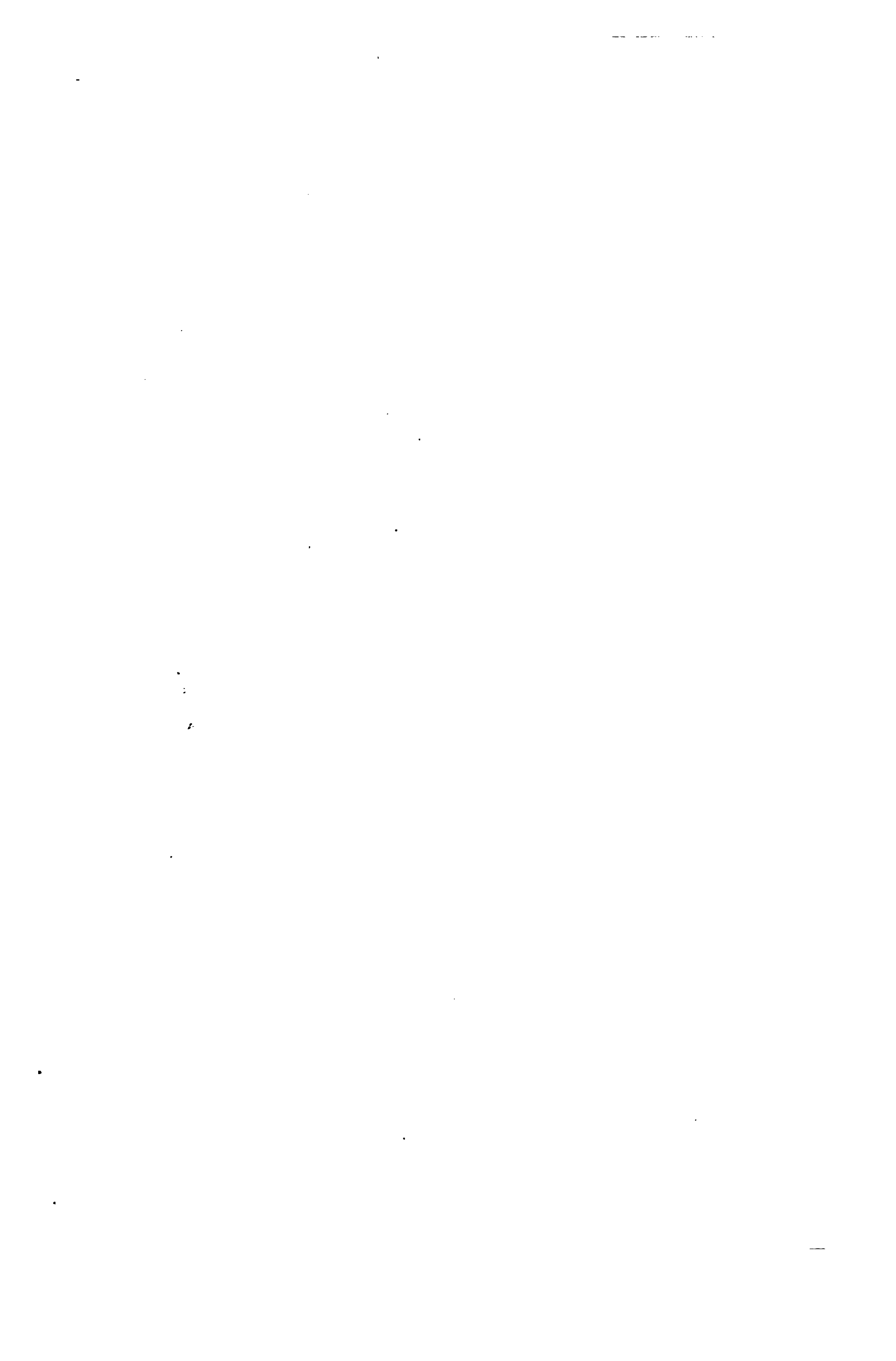

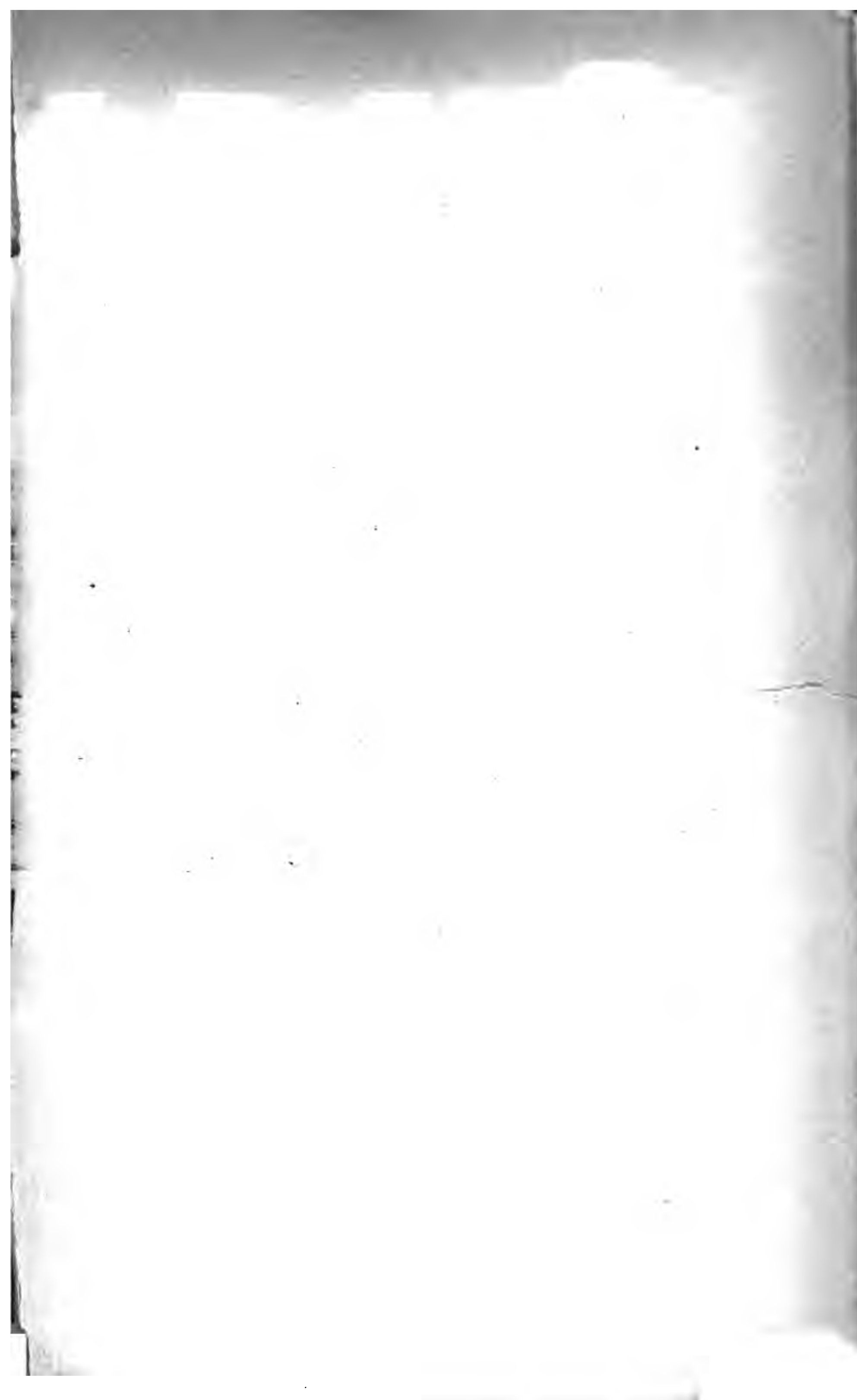

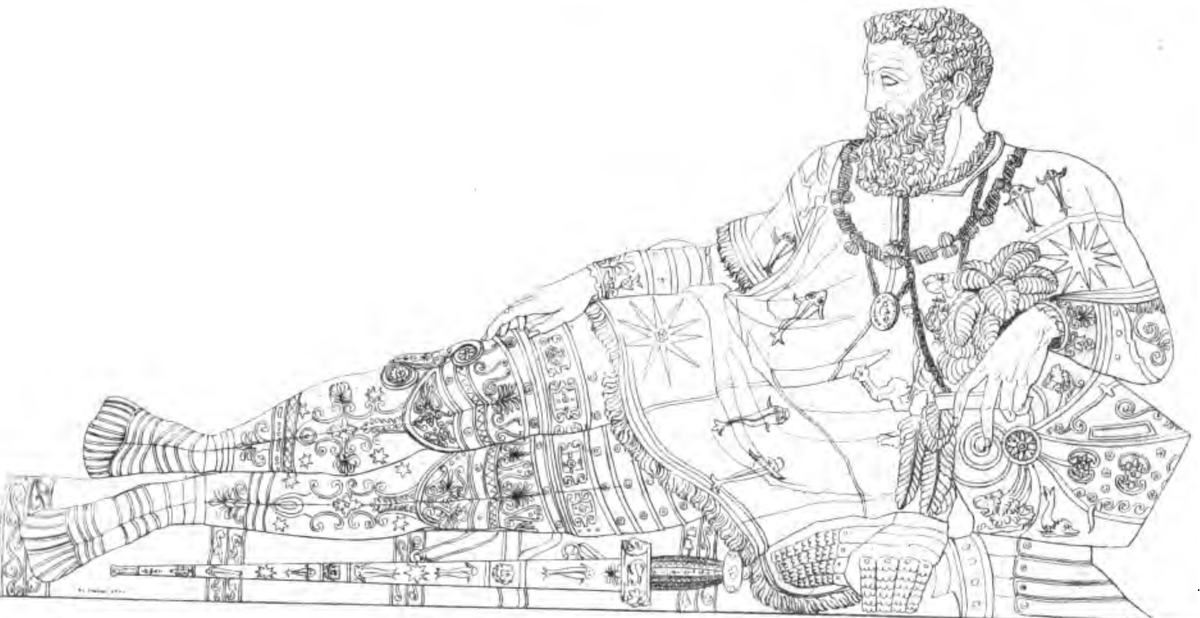

ADMIRAL CHABOT. JEAN COUSIN, SCULPT

REPRODUCED FROM LENOIR'S MUSÉE DES MONUMENS FRANÇAIS

THE RENAISSANCE OF ART IN FRANCE

BY

MRS MARK PATTISON

'*On le peut, je l'essaie, un plus Sçavant le fasse*'—La Fontaine

With Nineteen Illustrations on Steel

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

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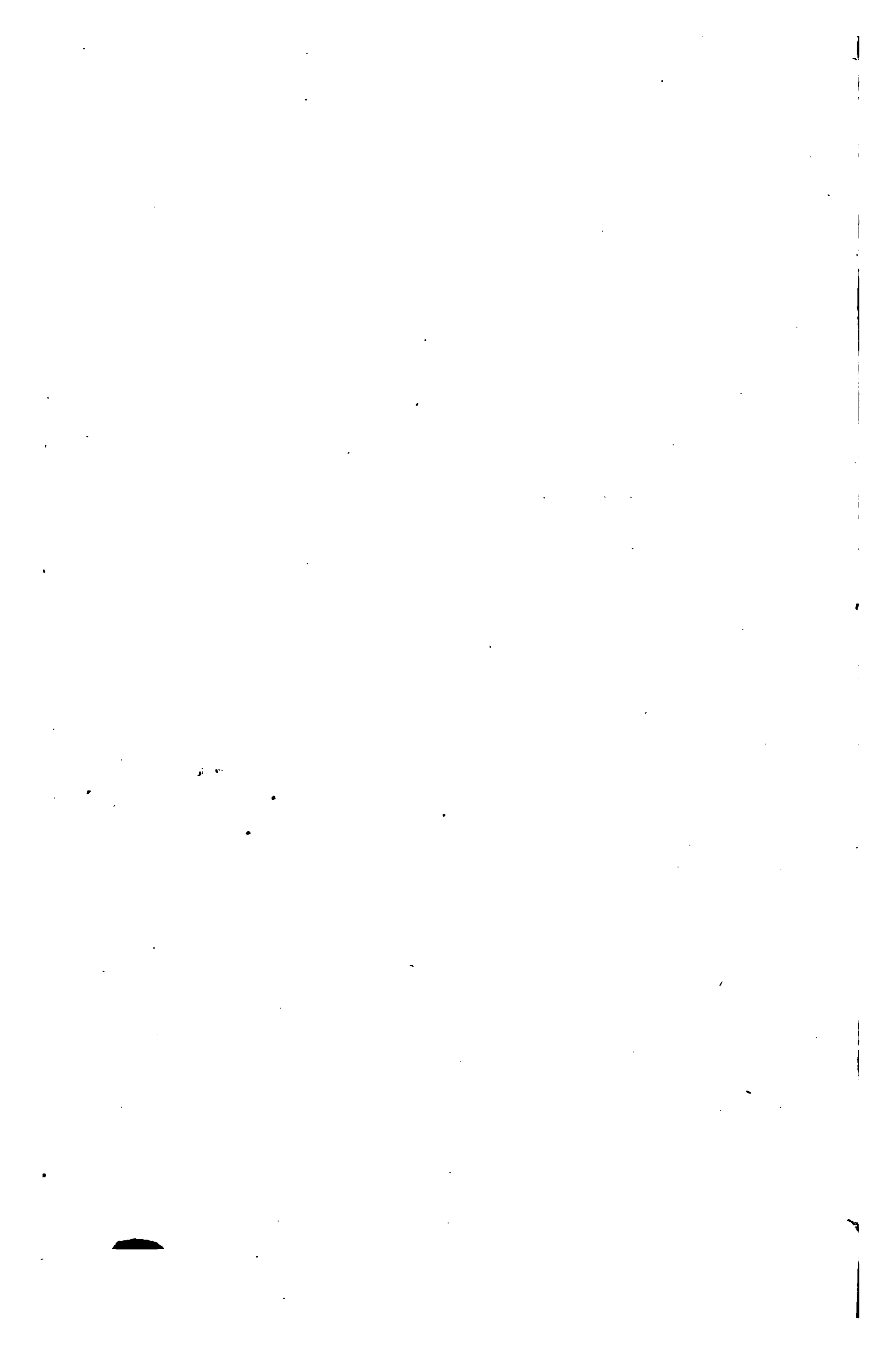


THE RENAISSANCE OF ART IN FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

PAINTING ON GLASS.

Jean Cousin.

Peintre fort gentil et d'excellent esprit, a monstré par les belles peintures qu'il a delaissées à la posterité la subtilité de sa main, et a faist cognoistre que la france se peult vanter qu'elle ne cedde en rien aux gentils esprits qui ont esté aux aultres pays.—TAVEAU.

THE relics which now remain to us of the innumerable glass-paintings which once filled the windows of the churches and *châteaux* of the west of France differ markedly in character from all that is still to be found in the north and east. The glass of the north and east, like the illuminations of Paris and Dijon, shows traces of connection with the schools of Flanders. It is to the west that we must look for a parallel to set beside the paintings of Fouquet and the sculptures of Michel Columbe. The predilections which prevailed among the illuminators of Tours, the predominance of clear pale blues and greens, harmonised by the greys

65′

of furs and armour, are plainly characteristic of the glass of the same district, and may even be detected in the poor reproductions of the Gaignières MSS., where page after page records the vanished glories of the cathedrals and castles of Touraine, of Normandy, and of Poitou.

The story of the sack of the Abbey of Marmoutier, in 1562, is the story of most of the monasteries of France. 'Toutes les vitres de l'eglise qui estoient riches de portraits et peintures furent entièrement toutes cassées et abattues.' The Huguenots led by the Comte de la Rochefoucauld, 'le chef au pillage,' inflicted irreparable injuries on the churches of Touraine. Nothing is left which can now be associated with the names of the many glass-painters who flourished in this district at the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth, century—nothing which can now be ascribed to the names of Vinet, or of Jourdain, or of Vian; and of the work of Robert Pinaigrier, the most celebrated of a family of glass-painters, natives of Touraine, very little is to be found. He was born at about the close, it is supposed, of the fifteenth century. The glass-paintings of the church of St. Hilary, at Chartres, and even the mutilated windows of St. Gervais at Paris and of the village church of Écouen, which still bear his signature, illustrate in a special manner the character of early French sixteenth-century work.

François I. is reported by Brantome to have said of a squarely-built woman that she looked like 'une bateleuse, ou, pour dire plus proprement, une de ces femmes en peinture que l'on porte de Flandres,' and something of this Flemish type of form, broad and short, enters into all Pinaigrier's designs. We find it in his earlier works, in his 'Scenes from the Life of the Virgin,' and in the much-restored 'Visit of the Queen of Sheba' (1531),—all glass-paintings in the church of St. Gervais,—and again the same type appears in the 'Salutation,' executed thirteen years later at Écouen. His colour shows corresponding peculiarities, for rich violets, dark browns, and tones of sombre crimson replenish the scantier resources of the school from which he sprang, and combine to produce an effect of great depth and force.

The predilections and peculiarities which distinguished him at first, he retained to the last. Even when employing, as in the windows of Écouen, the masks and arabesques of the Renaissance, his work shows no renewal of tendency. Like his contemporary Jean Cousin,—by whose side he is said to have laboured in the church of St. Gervais,—Pinaigrier lived late into the century, but unlike Jean Cousin, Pinaigrier never modified his manner or his aims. Cousin became one of the foremost exponents of the new movement, and his glass-paintings at Sens and Fleurigny, at Paris and Vincennes, illustrate the suc-

cessive changes which transformed this branch of art, and brought it into harmony with the tendencies of the day.

'Jean Cousin,' says Félibien, writing at the close of the seventeenth century, 'was one of the most considerable painters of his day, an artist whose reputation does not yet equal his merit.' Perhaps it is due to the very character of his genius that his talent, though recognised, has never become popular, for his work has no charm of grace or *naïveté*, it imposes rather than interests by a certain intellectual quality full of science and self-restraint. After an examination of the few authentic works by him which remain to us, we cease to share M. de Laborde's astonishment that his careful investigation of 'Comptes royales' brings to light but a single instance of the employment of Cousin by the Court. The art for which the Court cared was not the severely restrained work of Cousin, but the product of facile fingers equally ready to paint official pictures of state ceremonies, to decorate triumphal arches, the frame of a mirror, or the panels of a coach. Félibien and others after him have asserted that Cousin lived in honour and intimacy with François I., Henri II. and his sons, but the 'Comptes royales,' which alone could furnish indisputable proof, are silent.

Breadth, power, and the severity which usually accompanies their union, are the distinguishing qualities of Cousin's work. He shows indeed something of that

true severity vivified by infinite tenderness, as in Michel Angelo, which can only reside in a great nature, and which inspires fear perhaps in the weak or servile, whilst it moves generous spirits to reverence. And just as one would say that he was severe without harshness, so, on the other hand, one would say that his genius had great grasp, but was not versatile. Whether he paints on glass, or draws on wood, or carves in marble, he is the same Cousin, touching everything with fire and dignity, and for the most part with simplicity. In his later days he was to a certain extent infected by the temper of the Italian decadence, and his manner, in consequence, is sometimes strained and pompous, but it is never vulgar.

Cicognara, a man of much culture and taste, but no partial judge of French art, is betrayed into admiration when he criticises him. Pilon offended him, Goujon must be treated with condescension, but when he saw the poor remains of some of Cousin's fragile *chefs-d'œuvre*, gathered amongst the other wrecks of 1789 into the Musée des Monumens Français, he confessed that he learnt from them to what a pitch of perfection glass-painting in France had attained, and how great was the merit of her most celebrated artist. Not only does he attest the justice of Cousin's reputation as a painter on glass, and bear witness to his consummate mastery of that material, but when he stands before the tomb of Admiral Chabot, one of the

first points which arrest his attention is the 'bel tocco del scarpello.' This is the more remarkable, because then, as now, the practised Italian eye demanded that technical finish of the marble which few but Italian fingers have in modern days known how to give.

Cousin was born, it is said, towards the close of the fifteenth century, or in the beginning of the sixteenth. The foundation of his training as an artist had thus been laid long before Andrea del Sarto arrived in Paris, and he was a man whose fame had spread beyond the limits of the Sacristy when the sack of Rome drove Italian artists northwards. His birthplace was Sens, or the village of Soucy in its neighbourhood. In his 'Livre de Perspective,' he signs himself 'Jehan Cousin, Senonais, maître peintre;' and his earliest practice would seem to have been exclusively that of a painter.

Rigollot, in a note to his 'Arts de Dessin,' quotes a document found amongst the deeds of the Abbey of Vauluisant (Yonne), in which is described the erection of the table of the high altar, in the abbey church, by the orders of the Abbot Peter (1502–49). It was decorated with painting and sculpture, 'les peintures (faites) par un nommé Jean Cousin.' The abbey-lands are now the scene of a vast agricultural enterprise, and the abbey buildings, with all that they contained, have completely disappeared.

One only of Cousin's early paintings has come

down to us, a large oil-painting of the 'Deposition,' dated 1523, which is now in the Musée of Mayence. To this city it was sent in 1811, when Mayence, under the First Empire, was the *chef lieu* of the French department of Mont Tonnerre. It is not known where it was preserved prior to being sent to Mayence, but it must have been originally executed for a Cistercian community, as one of the two persons who are introduced on the right as spectators of the scene is habited as a monk of this order. There can be no doubt that the attribution to Cousin is correct, although the picture is unsigned; for I have identified the general grouping and arrangement of the composition (reversed) with a simpler treatment of the same subject, repeated by Cousin in an etching executed at a later date, and signed with his name. This etching has been reproduced by M. Didot, in his 'Recueil des Œuvres Choisies de Jean Cousin,' from an example in his possession, which is a characteristic piece of the master's work—large, ready, and forcible. It is precisely in these qualities that the style of the painting is wanting, for it is laboured; and the handling is hard and difficult, as if the material were imperfectly mastered.

There are, however, parts of great beauty and power. Some of the principal heads recall a late Florentine type, but others, quite different and individual, are characterised by delicacy and sweetness of sentiment, and the conception of the scene, in spite of

all defects of manner, has much solemnity and dignity. The Cross—upright in the centre—dominates the whole space; beneath its wide arms roll out the clear sky and distant landscape; the long lines of the hills sweep out of sight in gently undulating curves; to the left a distant path winds to the mouth of the new tomb,—the hole cut in the rock;—three little figures approach the sepulchre, their pale blue robes floating from them as they hurry towards the spot where the Entombment takes place. All this distance and middle distance with its moving figures is clear, and bright, and calm, in contrast to the passion and grief which encompass the foot of the Cross.

The instruments of the Passion are dashed on the ground in front, as the mourners press close to the body, extended on the long white sheet borne in their hands. The Magdalen casts herself on the feet of Christ in agony of despair, the rest press round, forming themselves into a half-circle which faces us from left to right. The attitude of the Virgin is striking in its expression of deep exhaustion; her grief is past the cheap relief of passion, the luxury of sobs and tears:—the other women may cross their arms, or clasp their hands, or make appeals for sympathy; the Virgin's body is motionless, and her hands drop dead.

The oil-painting has a certain *naïveté* which is absent from the etching, but the etching shows greater command of means and facility in drawing the human

form. A pen and ink drawing, which formed part of the collection of M. Didot, is supposed to preserve the first sketch of the subject: it is too feeble to be by Cousin himself, but may be a copy from him. Like the etching, it shows a standing figure, which, placed in front of the kneeling Magdalen, prevents the direct impression of her awkward but expressive action. Both drawing and etching are also marked by the lengthy proportions which disfigure Cousin's later work, a blemish from which the painting is singularly free; and this fact alone, were the picture undated, would lead us to suppose that it was an early work.

Three years after the date at which the 'Deposition' was produced—in 1526—Cousin was employed by the chapter of the Cathedral of Sens to do some land-surveying: 'Jehan Cousin, peintre demeurant à Sens, est designé pour figurer et pourtraire les lieux contentieux;' that is, he was to define and lay down the boundaries of the estate of St. Valerien and that of Fonchères, a property belonging to the chapter. His ruling was not, however, found sufficiently in accordance with the views of his employers, who therefore called in Jean Hympe, also a painter living at Sens, to whom tradition has ascribed the honour of having been Cousin's master. Jean Hympe having made separate calculations, the final decision was left to him and Cousin jointly, and to them also was entrusted the task of making and placing boundary-marks.

Not long after (October 1530) a far more important affair was committed to Cousin's hands by his early patrons, the monks of Vauluisant. This powerful community had received permission from François I. to put in a state of defence the village of Courgenay,—near Sens,—which depended on their house, and Cousin was by them selected to make the plan of the necessary fortifications. The plan itself has long been lost, but a detailed description of it is still preserved with the other papers of the Abbey in the Archives of the Yonne. During the same year there are also two entries of payments made to Cousin in the building accounts of the Cathedral of Sens.

The Canon Nicolas Richer registers, 'Payé à Jehan Cousin, pour avoir mis à point le petit orlouge de l'église, 110*s*.,' and again, 'Payé à Jehan Cousin, peintre, 110*s*. pour avoir raccoustré et peint ung ymaige de Notre Dame près la porte du cœur, etc.' But the accounts have no mention of any payment made to Cousin for a work which he most certainly executed for the cathedral in the course of the same year,—the great window of the chapel of St. Eutropius.

This window, which has suffered much from injuries and repairs, contains in the centre, eight compartments, in which are represented various scenes from the life of St. Eutropius and his martyrdom. Above these compartments are others filled by figures of Christ and the four Evangelists, right and left of

whom are two prophets, and medallions of the Virgin and the Angel Gabriel. The space below the centre panels is occupied by four little angels, two of whom play musical instruments. The inscriptions are very illegible, but the date, 1530, is perfectly clear. It is to be remarked that the series of the chapter accounts for this year is complete, so that the absence of any mention of a work so considerable as this window can only be explained on the hypothesis that it was not executed for the chapter, but was the gift of some private benefactor. M. Quantin, Keeper of the Archives at Sens, ingeniously conjectures that the private benefactor, in this instance, was the same Canon Nicolas Richer who enters in the building accounts the payments made to Jean Cousin during this year on behalf of the chapter.

The window of the chapel of St. Eutropius represents the work of Cousin at the moment before he separated himself markedly, in point of style and method, from the masters who immediately preceded him. The scale of colour is almost as deep as that which prevails in earlier work in the same building, and only the figures of the angel Gabriel and the Evangelists show any trace of his later manner. There is, indeed, no positive evidence that this glass is his work. Ancient tradition and the testimony of style can alone determine this or similar attributions, for in no single instance has he put his name to a glass-painting.

The few works indisputably his are: 'The Deposition,' to which he has himself established his claim by etching and signing the composition; 'The Day of Judgment,' in the Louvre, which was reproduced as the work of Cousin, by Peter v. Jodde, shortly after the master's death; the cuts in the 'Livre de Perspective;' those of the 'Livre de Portraiture;' one or two etchings which he has signed; one or two more engraved after him by Delaulne and Gaultier; and a book of patterns for lace-work, designed by himself and Dominique Sera.

To this brief list we are able to add that masterpiece of sculpture, the funeral monument of Admiral Chabot, his title to which has been made good by the contemporary testimony of a fellow-citizen.

That Cousin was a 'peintre-verrier' in the strict sense of the word, that he actually occupied himself with the baking and composition of his materials, scarcely seems likely; in all official acts he is described, as he describes himself, simply as 'peintre;' but the glass-paintings ascribed to him by tradition do present certain modifications of previous practice as well as evidence of the spirit and manner of his design. If we examine windows signed by Robert Pinaigrier, the most celebrated French glass-painter of the first half of the century, we find that the obscurity engendered by the scale of colour in which he works is increased—as witness the glass of St. Gervais or of the church of

Écouen—through the quantity of 'leading' rendered necessary by the exceedingly small morsels of glass which he employed. Cousin abandoned this scale of colour; he worked in a clearer, lighter, but not less harmonious key, he sought expedients by which he might reduce the quantity of lead employed, and by various technical improvements succeeded in using his material in pieces of greater size, until finally he adopted *grisaille claire*, which softened, but did not exclude, the full light of a northern day.

In the accounts of the chapter of Sens for 1530, a payment, already quoted, was made to Jean Cousin for having 'raccoustré' a statue of the Virgin. 'Raccoustré' has been liberally translated by M. Didot as 'sculpté,' but the meaning of the word is strictly rendered by 'raccommodé,' that is to say, Jean Cousin set to rights, or mended, the statue in question. He was therefore, even at the outset of his career, acquainted to some extent with the practice of sculpture; and the single entry which occurs of his name in the 'Comptes des bâtiments royaux' strengthens this inference. He is mentioned in 1535 as selling 'une pierre de marbre' for the works of Fontainebleau at the sum of 25 liv., and it is scarcely likely that he would have been in possession of a block of marble if glass-painting had been the sole branch of art which he professed. This is, indeed, a small point, but his habit of describing himself as painter only has caused his

practice as a sculptor to be contested, so that the slightest evidence in its favour is worth notice. The attribution to him,—which dates only from Alexandre Lenoir,—of the tomb of Louis de Brézé, erected at about this date (1535–1540) in the Cathedral of Rouen, has, indeed, little probability. The general style and arrangement would lead us to ascribe the monument rather to Goujon, who was then actually at work at Rouen, than to Cousin, who was still habitually residing in his native town of Sens. He is mentioned in the *censier* taken there in 1537, and Jacotte Couste, daughter of a widow, is described as his wife.

This fact, which has only recently been made public, in the Addenda to M. Didot's volume on Jean Cousin, greatly disturbs the hitherto received account of his domestic relations. According to the family papers, which M. Octave Bouvyer, of Tours,—direct descendant of Jean Cousin by the female line,—has had the kindness to show me, Cousin should have married in 1537,—in the same year in which the *censier* mentions Jacotte Couste as his wife,—Marie Bowyer, daughter of Henri Bowyer, seigneur of Monthard, who became, through the intermarriage of her daughter Marie Cousin with her nephew, Etienne Bowyer, the ancestress of the family now residing at Tours.

The traditions preserved by this family further affirm that at the time of this marriage with Marie Bowyer, Jean Cousin had been twice a widower, his

first wife having been Mdlle. Richer de Thorigny, a woman of good family, being of the house of Christophe de Thorigny, who was councillor, *valet de chambre*, and secretary to François I., and a man of sufficient weight to be sent on state missions to Denmark and Turkey. His second wife, to whom, according to the family papers, Marie Bowyer should have immediately succeeded, was Christine Rousseau, daughter of Lubin Rousseau, 'procureur du roi,' and afterwards 'lieutenant-general du bailliage de Sens.' There are two points in which these statements are plainly wrong. Not only did Jacotte Couste in 1537 fill the place which should have been occupied by Marie Bowyer, but Christine Rousseau, whom the Bouvyer papers also kill to make way for their family ancestress, was alive in 1558, when she assisted with her husband at the marriage of his niece, Antoinette Thomyn, with Jean Herardin, 'sergent-royal au siege presidial du bailliage de Sens.' Here, too, it must be noted that if Jean Cousin was indeed ever admitted to the honour of an alliance with a family of the importance of Richer de Thorigny, it is most probable that such a distinction was reserved for the close of his career, after he had quitted Sens for Paris, and when his reputation and position were well established, for it is little likely that an obscure master-painter could have made such a match.

The marriage with Marie Bowyer was in all like-

lihood the first, for their child Marie Cousin must have been born before 1536, in order to have attained the legal age of fifteen, at the date of her marriage (September 15, 1552) with her cousin Etienne. Marie Bowyer, Cousin's first wife, was not married, therefore, but died, about 1536, at which date Jacotte Couste became his wife, and she in her turn was succeeded, towards 1558, by Christine Rousseau, after whose death Cousin may be supposed to have contracted his fourth and most brilliant marriage with Mdlle. Richer de Thorigny.

The *censier* of 1537, which notes the existence of Cousin's hitherto unknown wife, Jacotte Couste, describes him as 'peintre demeurant à Sens,' and shows him still settled, in spite of occasional absences, in his native town; but a few years later he commenced a work which carried him to Paris. The tomb of Admiral Chabot is one of the finest monuments bequeathed to us by the sculptors of France in the sixteenth century. It was begun about 1543, and during the course of its completion Cousin finally determined to take up his residence permanently in Paris. He took a house in the Rue Desmarets (des Marais), which he held of the chapter of St. Germain, and in the *censier* of 1545 he is cited as follows: 'Maistre Jean Cousin, painctre, pour sa maison et jardin assis en ladicte rue.'

The magnificent tomb of the Admiral was erected in

the Orleans chapel of the church of the Célestins. The attribution of the work to Jean Cousin has of late been contested, but the doubts which have been raised have been rebutted by the fortunate discovery of contemporary testimony. Taveau, a distinguished advocate, and 'procureur au bailliage de Sens,' wrote, about 1592, an historical account of the town, in which a notice of Cousin, one of its most distinguished citizens, naturally found place. After having spoken in high terms of his paintings, but without specifying any, Taveau adds, 'Oultre ce il estoit entendu à la sculpture de marbre, comme le tesmoigne assez le monument du feu Admiral Chabot en la chapelle d'Orleans au monastère des Célestins de Paris, qu'il a faicte et dressée, et monstre l'ouvrage l'excellence de l'ouvrier.'

The general arrangement of this monument is preserved in the engraving with which Millin illustrated the description of the Orleans Chapel in his 'Antiquités Nationales.' The recumbent statue of the Admiral lying on a sarcophagus fills the centre; in a hollow, immediately beneath the base of the sarcophagus, is seen a prostrate figure, probably representing Fortune, for the feet are resting on a wheel; and below this figure projects a lion's head, out of which springs a richly decorated frame, the inner lines making a circle, but the outer forming a square; the four triangular spaces, left where square and circle do not touch, are filled in by ropes and anchors. Two winged figures,

holding, according to custom, the torch symbolically reversed, are introduced at the sides, but the two figures, also winged, which show at either edge above, hold in their hands part of an oar, and are thrusting forwards in vigorous action. These figures are bound together by scrollwork, out of which the lines of the frame are built, and lions' heads, *chabots* (miller's-thumb), and stars are introduced throughout, in allusion to the arms of the Admiral, which figure on a shield, surmounted by a casque with closed visor, which is placed in the centre at the top.

The statue itself, torn from the decorative frame in which it was so skilfully imbedded, is at present in the Louvre. In the Louvre, also, are to be found the statuette of Fortune, and the two torch-bearing figures which were originally placed at the sides. M. Didot is in error in supposing that when the monument was transported by Lenoir to the Musée des Petits Augustins, he followed, in re-setting it, Cousin's intention and design. The engraving which M. Lenoir has given of his own arrangement shows the statue, on a sarcophagus of black marble, supported by four columns, between which appear Germain Pilon's reliefs of St. Paul and Melchisedec decorating a species of altar, on which lies the prostrate form of Fortune, and over it was placed Jodelle's epitaph, from which we learn that 'Leonorius Chabotius, filius pientissimus, hoc indelebile forsitan monumentum posuit.' Isolated upon its

pedestal, the position which the statue of the Admiral now occupies in the galleries of the Musée de la Renaissance is infinitely better calculated to bring out the beauty of the work than the awkward and ungainly combination devised by Lenoir, the lines of which offered no relation to the style or design of the figure which surmounted them.

The elaborate details and fanciful scrollwork which made up the original frame had suffered, no doubt, past restoration before M. Lenoir succeeded in obtaining the principal figures. Their character recalled the curious designs of the title-pages which Cousin prefixed both to his 'Livre de Perspective' and his 'Livre de Portraiture;' and bore considerable resemblance to the borders with which the paintings of a 'Book of Hours' (in M. Didot's collection), executed for the Grand Écuyer Claude Gouffier, are surrounded.

In a monument of great size, such as that of Admiral Chabot, the fantastic intermixture of figures and ornament forcibly challenged attention, and has been frequently censured. 'Il y parait,' says Germain Brice, 'trop d'ornements, ce qui fait une espèce de confusion qui ne plait pas à present.' Millin, at a later date, reports the many unfavourable judgments which had been passed upon the decorations as 'gothiques et barbares;' but whilst himself blaming the too great profusion, pleads in extenuation their perfect keeping and unity of effect. In the lapse of not more than

a century the standard of criticism had been wholly reversed, for the point which Dom Brice attacks is precisely that which receives the unqualified praise of Sauval. 'Tombeau de Chabot,' notes Sauval in the church of the Célestins, 'accompagné d'ornements de bon goût. Perlan l'attribue à maître Ponce; Sarrazin n'est pas de cet avis. Tous avouent que le goût en est fort et superbe.'

The attribution to 'maître Ponce' never found general credence. Félibien, who gave special study to Cousin's life and work, Brice, Millin, all repeat that this monument is by him, and Cicognara unquestioningly accepted it as from his hand. The statue of the Admiral himself, which he saw in Lenoir's Museum, he described in terms so perfectly just that it is impossible to do better than repeat them here. 'La statua,' he says, 'del maresciallo Chabot crediamo di poter giudicarla la miglior opera dello scarpello francese in quest' epoca. Severità di stile, bellezza di forme, natura ed arte associate con felicità, e sopratutto una maravigliosa semplicità che tanto è necessaria nelle opere di questo genere tutto vi si scorge unito a un bel tocco di scarpello che particolarmente nella testa si vide, non indegna di venire al paragone delle più belle teste di Michel Angelo.' It is indeed a 'marvellous simplicity,' which at once makes itself felt on approaching this statue, and the wealth of the detail fails to disturb its influence. The air of melancholy

grandeur which pervades the head has so strong an impress of truth as almost to explain M. de Montaiglon's conviction that Cousin must have modelled it not after the death, but during the life, of the Admiral. The mournful dignity of the expression recalls with moving pathos the pressure of official disgrace and broken fortunes on a man at once so proud and so magnificent.

This sentiment has guided the treatment throughout. The languid stretch of the lower limbs, the listless drop of the hands over the helmet, taken with the masculine energy and pride of the head, mark the indifference, not of apathy, but of discouragement. With a moral conception of deep interest is associated a bodily type of great strength, distinction, and severe beauty. The admirable finish of the features, and of the hands, which, like the head, are bare, the great flexibility of the wrists, and free play of the fingers, lead the eye to divine, beneath the armour,—in which the rest of the figure is enclosed,—the fine lines of a body not less supple than strong. Finally, also, the expressive and energetic touch with which the material is handled might challenge comparison with the best Italian work of the day; the execution is indeed so singularly masterly and experienced that it is with ever-renewed marvel that we look on it, not as the work of a man who was a sculptor by profession, but as that of one who achieved admirable success in many ways, and

was over and above, as Taveau expressly affirms, 'entendu à la sculpture de marbre.'

It was in the course of the year 1544, one of the years in which Cousin was probably engaged on the Chabot monument, that he dated and signed 'I+C+ Invetor' (*sic*), a large etching, a 'Holy Family,' an example of which, belonging to M. Baudicour, has been reproduced by M. Didot. We have also several other etchings by his hand:—the 'Annunciation,' and the 'Descent from the Cross,' both signed, but not dated; an anonymous plate, the 'Conversion of St. Paul,' of which M. Baudicour possessed two different states, the only examples known, evidently the work of Cousin, but differing greatly from the design of the same subject engraved after him by Delaulne; there is also a portrait of a man holding tablets, of which two examples are known, one in M. Baudicour's collection, the other in the Cabinet d'Estampes; lastly, M. Didot attributed to Cousin an etching in his possession, a circular design—Bacchus—dated 1582, and signed 'I.S.,' initials which he suggested should represent Johannes Senonensis. These initials do not, however, occur on any other work by Cousin; and in all variations of his name he never omits the letter C. The design itself is not of marked character; it bears a certain air of general resemblance to the coarser features of Cousin's style; but the handling is heavy and inexpressive.

In the 'Conversion of St. Paul,' and in the 'De-

position,' the subject of which he repeated in the oil-painting at Mayence, Cousin uses the burin with great effect, as far as regards the indication of form and general accent of structure. The touch is large, but neither loose nor coarse. If we place beside this subject that of the 'Holy Family' (both are reproduced in M. Didot's 'Recueil'), it becomes evident that the 'Deposition' was indeed executed by Cousin, but that his share in the 'Holy Family' is limited by the word which follows his name, 'Inventor.' He designed but did not engrave it.

It is impossible that so accomplished a draughtsman should have laid the unmeaning lines which do duty in this Holy Family for heads and hands, lines in which one can only trace signs of an original intention unintelligently misunderstood. All works of this class attributed to Cousin must establish their claim face to face with the 'Deposition,' before they can securely rank as his. The 'Deposition' is the type of his manner as an engraver, just as the statue of Admiral Chabot must always represent him as a sculptor, whilst the 'Eva prima Pandora' establishes his position as a painter, and the 'Sibylle Tiburtine' decides all controversy as to his designs for glass.

The chapel of Notre Dame de Lorette in the Cathedral of Sens, which can still show, all but undamaged, the celebrated glass-painting of the 'Sibylle

Tiburtine,' was built about 1545. M. Quantin has searched the building accounts in vain for any record of Cousin's share in the execution of this window. There is none, and this silence is again explained by M. Quantin, on the hypothesis that this glass-painting was, like that of St. Eutropius, the gift of the person at whose expense the chapel was founded. The benefactor, in this instance, would thus be Nicolas Fritart, the nephew and successor of that very Canon Nicolas Richer to whom the restorations of the chapel of St. Eutropius were due, and both uncle and nephew belonged to the family of Richer de Thorigny, whose daughter Cousin is supposed, later in life, to have married.

The subject of the painting is the appearance of the infant Christ and his mother in glory, to the Emperor Augustus, whose attention is directed to the vision by the Cumæan or Tiburtine Sibyl. Cousin has twice repeated this scene;—the second time in the chapel of the *château* of Fleurigny, a village near Sens. In both these different versions the qualities peculiar to his character manifest themselves with such unmistakable individuality that no signature could add to the certainty with which we accept his work. The subject was a popular one, and of the two renderings due to Cousin, that in the Cathedral of Sens has been ascribed by Le Viel to Il Rosso, but there is absolutely no reason for supposing it to be by any

other than Cousin, and the attribution to Il Rosso, who had, indeed, at the date of its execution been dead some four years, is groundless.

M. Didot was inclined to prefer the window of Fleurigny to that of Sens, as offering the more distinct signs of Cousin's special style. In point of design, the treatment of the window at Sens is greatly superior, and the general harmony and balance of colour,—a feature which is also specially noticeable in the 'Scènes de la Vie de Saint Eutrope'—is preserved with infinitely more delicate skill. The Fleurigny window (badly reproduced in colour by M. Didot) is divided, somewhat awkwardly, into two upright compartments, at the top of which, on the centre line, rests a circle, enframing the group of Mother and Child; that to the right contains the figure of the kneeling Emperor, behind whom hurries forwards the Sibyl, with extended right hand, pointing and looking upwards; the left shows a group of soldiers, and in the distance are tribunes filled with spectators, and completed by architectural detail of the kind that Cousin loved.

The triple division of the Sens window offered a better opportunity for noble arrangement. At ease as to the main lines of his composition, Cousin has thrown a splendid energy into his personages. The Sibyl of Fleurigny is a mere assistant handmaiden, who looks and cries, 'There, there!' The Sibyl of

Sens, standing in the centre before us, uplifts her arm with an air of inspired authority above the kneeling figure at her feet. The attitude of the Emperor, the movement of his outstretched hands, are full of bewildered and awestruck amazement. The expressive character of the action—craning forward with the whole body like a man dazed and feeling his way—is rendered without loss of dignity, and this group is nobly supported by the beautiful figures standing, on either side, wrapt in reverent wonder. Over all, thrones the central motive, the glorious apparition, radiant with heavenly light, and hushed in a quiet not of earth ; yet within the reach of the hopes and fears which trouble the children of men, for the soft pressure of the Infant against His mother's cheek has a loving delicacy of touch full of the charm of human interest and affection.

This noble window sustained a severe injury from a cannon-ball sent through it during the siege of Sens in 1814. The chief portion carried away consisted precisely of the head and shoulders of the principal figure, the Sibyl herself, but M. Tarbé, an eyewitness, mentions in his 'Description of the Cathedral' that the remainder also suffered considerably. The entire composition has been faithfully reproduced by M. de Laborde, and the injured parts were at first refilled by white glass, which was, for the purposes of study, infinitely preferable even to the restoration as

carried out by one so learned and skilful as M. Viollet-le-Duc.

At the probable date of the execution of the 'Sibylle Tiburtine' (1545), Cousin would seem to have been still in the habit, although domiciled at Paris, of returning to his native city from time to time, for on August 12 in that year, Ambroise Luillier, 'lieutenant du baillage de Sens,' enters the name of 'Jehan Cousin, painctre demeurant à Paris,' as designated 'dans le cas où il serait à Sens, comme expert géomètre pour la délimitation de la terre de Thorigny appartenant à Jean Juvenal de Belleville, avec la terre voisine appartenant au chapitre de la Cathédrale de Sens, et aussi pour lever les plans de maisons situées au Grand Courtil, au Champ du Chapitre, et rue Champenoise, en cas d'absence devait être remplacé par Bertrand Aubry, peintre à Sens.'

It would seem, from the terms of this document, that Cousin's visits recurred with a frequency which could be counted on with some certainty by his fellow-citizens; and judging only from the numerous works which we learn, from various sources, to have been executed by him at, or in the neighbourhood of, Sens, one would suppose that he must have spent a part of every year in the town where he had so many connections by marriage, and other ties. His house, which is still shown in the street which bears his name, and which is conjectured to have been built according

to his own plans, contains a gallery connected with the exterior staircase in the inner court, the window of which was decorated with thirty-two medallions, all of which have been removed, and are now in the collection of M. Poncelet at Auxerre. The Church of the Cordeliers, destroyed in 1794, contained three large glass-paintings. Millin writes in 1807: 'Les beaux vitraux des Cordeliers, où il' (Cousin) 'avait peint le crucifiement, le serpent d'airain, et un miracle de la Vierge, ont été brisés et dépiécés.'

The design for the window of the Brazen Serpent is preserved in an engraving after Cousin by Étienne Delaulne. Le Viel tells us that the subject was again treated by Cousin in the Church of St. Étienne du Mont at Paris, but when he saw it, it was much injured, many portions were wholly effaced, and he explains their condition by the 'peu de fusion que la peinture noire a prise au fourneau de recuisson.'

If this painting were indeed by Cousin, it was probably an early work, for Piganiol de la Force says that the church was enlarged and remodelled by the addition of numerous chapels in 1538, and not again touched till 1606. It was in the nave of the chapel of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, that this window was originally placed, whence it was removed at a later date to the door which shut off the little cemetery. Lenoir carried off two windows from St. Étienne du Mont, a 'Last Judgment' and the 'End of the

World,' the execution of which he attributed to Pinaigrier, and the design of the first to Cousin, but he does not mention the Brazen Serpent, the reputed replica of the window of the Cordeliers of Sens.

Another church in the same town, that of St. Romain, had a large window reported by Félibien to have been an entirely different version of the subject of the 'Last Judgment' treated by Cousin in the oil-painting now in the Louvre. The church was sold in 1792 to a M. Cornisset, 'receveur de l'arrondissement.' It was demolished, but the Père Leyre, 'ancien religieux,' saved some portions of the window from destruction, which he stored in a chapel of the cathedral. Hence they were taken and sold by local glass-painters at some date prior to the re-establishment of the archiepiscopal chair. Fragments were bought up by M. Tarbé, who, in his 'Recherches Historiques,' has chronicled the destruction of these churches.

At Soucy, in the sacristy of the village church, M. Deligand has called attention to a nearly life-size portrait of Jean Bowyer, who there held the post of curé before his promotion to a canonry at Sens, and two small figures still remain in the little chapel of Paron, another and a smaller village near Sens. At the *château* of Monthard also, inhabited by Henri Bowyer, father of the Marie who became Cousin's wife, there were to be seen at the close of the last century

fresco decorations by his hand of which there is now no trace.

In 1546, appeared at Paris the Kerver edition of the 'Hypnerotomachia, Le Songe de Poliphile;' the cuts of which were adapted, with much grace and skill, from the noble illustrations of the Italian original. The French translation was written by Jean Martin, secretary to the Cardinal Lenoncourt, and author of the translation of Vitruvius which was published in the year following (1547), accompanied by illustrations attributed to Jean Goujon. Hence, it has been inferred, by Mariette and others, that Goujon was also the adapter of the engravings in the 'Songe de Poliphile.' A slight examination of the book is, however, sufficient to show that this adaptation was most likely the work of Cousin himself. To any one conversant with his manner and mannerisms in the engravings of his own books on Perspective and Portraiture, it will seem that the original frontispiece prefixed to 'Le Songe de Poliphile,' and the additions made to the Italian design in the cut which illustrates the fourth page *recto*, set his seal upon the whole book.

From the year 1547, the year of the accession of Henri II., date the earliest of the important works in glass which are attributed to Cousin in Paris and its vicinity. The reconstruction of the Sainte Chapelle de Vincennes, which had been begun by François I., was continued by his son. The new chapel was, says

Piganiol, 'beaucoup plus belle que n'étoit l'ancienne.' 'Les peintures des vitres de cette église,' he adds, 'sont très estimées.' An engraving of the *château*, by Israel Silvestre, has a note concerning these windows: 'La peinture des vitres est des plus belles de l'Europe; et a esté fait sur les dessins de Raphael d'Urbin.' But Dom Brice says, with equal decision: 'Elles sont de Jean Cousin de la ville de Sens, peintre habile, le même qui a fait un excellent tableau du Jugement Universel, ... les figures ont quelque beauté dans leur bizarrerie;' and Millin combines the two traditions in one by asserting that 'les vitraux de la Sainte Chapelle ont été peints par Jean Cousin d'après les dessins de Raphael.'

When, after the Revolution, Lenoir obtained possession of them, many, which represented different scenes in the Apocalypse, had been totally destroyed by the effects of the weather. Seven only were in a tolerable state of preservation. Of these, the two finest, which Lenoir selected for exhibition—the 'End of the World' and the 'Coming of the Last Day,' were in the sanctuary. Each painting is surrounded by a decorative framework, in *grisaille*, forming an arch above, which sets back the subject. The angles are filled with the favourite monogram of Henri II., and at the base are figured martial trophies, accompanied by the salamander of François I. The same ornaments are found on the windows of the nave,

which contain full-length portraits of both kings, of the Duc de Guise (le Balafré), and the Constable de Montmorency. These four kneeling figures were engraved by Millin, prior to their removal by Lenoir, and he mentions that amongst those already destroyed was the portrait of the Cardinal of Lorraine.

The 'Cabinet d'Estampes' is actually in possession of the two drawings made for the figure of Henri II. On one sheet the king is represented kneeling, on the other is the desk, which stands before him, supported by an angel, and bearing an open book. This division of the subject into two portions is exactly that observed in the window itself, but the design, as carried out in glass, lacks something of the precision which distinguishes the drawing.

When Lenoir's Museum was closed, these windows were replaced in the chapel at Vincennes, but they were afterwards terribly injured by the explosion of the powder magazine, which took place in 1822. The restorations rendered necessary by this disaster have greatly detracted from the beauty and harmony of the colour; the new reds, and still more the new blues, are out of tone: the character of the outlines is, however, preserved, and there are passages in the small compartments, as, for instance, a noble Sibyl sitting in a golden seat, which are perfect examples of Cousin's work at its best.

Henri II. made his triumphal entry into Paris two

years after his accession in June 1549, and the engravings illustrating the volume which chronicles the magnificent shows with which the occasion was celebrated are supposed to have been drawn either by Geoffroy Tory or by Jean Cousin. This book, which was published by 'Jacques Roffet, dit le Faucheur,' is perhaps the finest work which issued from the French press during the sixteenth century.

The 'Entrée à Rouen,' which came out in the following year, also contains several cuts of marked nobility of style, such, notably, as the 'Capitaine des Enfans d'honneur à pied,' and there are also certain groups remarkable for the grand simplicity with which the action of processional movement is indicated; but as a whole it is not so fine a work as the 'Entrée à Paris.'

Papillon was the first to claim for Cousin the 'Entrée à Rouen.' 'J'ai vu,' he says, 'quelques belles figures de Jean Cousin, excellemment gravées sur bois, et sans doute de sa main, dans un livre in-4° de forme presque carrée, où il y a nombre de planches de toute la grandeur des pages, pour la description de la magnifique entrée du roi Henri II., and de Catharine de Médicis sa femme, dans la ville de Rouen.' It is not, however, likely that the illustrations were engraved, as Papillon supposes, by Cousin's hand. In the Preface to the 'Livre de Perspective,' Cousin specially complains that his designs were disfigured by unskilful

cutting, and the natural inference from this statement is that he was in the habit of drawing on the block only, and that he left the tedious process of cutting to the workmen, on whose want of skill he so bitterly comments. The character of Cousin's workmanship is, however, even more distinctly manifest in the 'Entrée à Paris,' which Papillon does not ascribe to him, than in the 'Entrée à Rouen.' In spite of this, M. Duplessis in his 'Merveilles de la Gravure,' attributes the 'Entrée à Paris' to Geoffroy Tory, but M. Renouvier, on the other hand, decides in favour of Cousin. He says, 'La composition et le style n'appartiennent qu'à lui.' Certainly both books are by the same hand, and not only do the architectural constructions closely resemble the details with which Cousin always filled in his backgrounds, but the defects and merits of the general treatment are equally characteristic. The occasionally too obtrusive science of brilliant foreshortening is his; and his too, in a peculiar sense, is that accent of martial pride, combined with a sentiment of simple dignity, which distinguishes the Typhœus of the triumphal arch, and recalls the fiery grandeur of the warriors of the Rouen Entry and the untamed nobility of spirit which breathes defiance to fate from the prostrate splendour of Chabot's effigy.

The personification of Paris, 'Lutetia,' as 'Nova Pandora,' in a picture which is mentioned in the

'Entrée à Paris,' seems also specially to connect Cousin's name with the work, for the legend of Pandora furnished the motive of one of his chief works as a painter; and, another figure of Pandora, surrounded by an ornamental framework, which was the mark of the printer Gilles Gourbin, bears a close resemblance to the general features of Cousin's design. For the subject of his picture, he chose, however, not 'The New Pandora, Paris,' but 'Eva Prima Pandora,' a conception in which he found suggestions of profound and poetic morality.

Eve, the fertile mother of nations, the source of all *life*—in her, the manifold forces of Nature herself are embodied. All desirable charm of beauty reigns in body and face. Latent passion lives in the quick compression of the lips, in the swelling curve of the throat; the lines of the supple limbs tell of bodily strength. But this woman rules not the dominion of sense alone, she holds the keys which open the house of wisdom. The fruit of the tree of knowledge was plucked in deliberate choice, not in lustful passion, and the sceptre which she bears in her right hand, the sceptre which speaks her sovereign and author of life, is the broken branch from which the golden apples hang. For her there is neither foul nor fair, but all things are seen with equal eyes.

Stretched at length before us on the ground, she pillows her right arm on a Death's-head, whilst from

her extended left, her instrument, the Serpent, having fulfilled her uses, is permitted to uncoil and pass into the vase at her side, from whose secret recesses he had been summoned. The long and delicate fingers point the way, and, slightly parting, facilitate, by their action, the sinuous movement of the reptile, but the contact is unshrinking. She averts her head, but here is no sickly revulsion from the necessary means by which complete experience has been sought; no instinct of feeble disgust colours the full and complex expression of the face; her eyes are without choice or desire of evil or of good, and the weight which hangs upon their lids is no burden of melancholy regret, born of a weak asceticism, but the profound quiet which is the gift of knowledge. Body and mind alike are poised in calm.

M. Didot has spoken of the 'mélange du sacré et profane' which is to be found in 'Eva Prima Pandora,' and has suggested that Cousin was inspired by the 'Melencolia' of Albert Dürer. M. Didot is here speaking of the ethical and not of the artistic conception of the subject, for the two designs are wholly and evidently dissimilar, and the root of the moral concept also is, in each case, profoundly different.

The 'Melencolia' of Albert Dürer is an essentially Christian conception, an expression of that despairing quietism which has in a greater or less degree been an ever-present element of Christian sentiment. The spirit of the 'Melencolia' is that of disheartened protest

'contra vanam et sæcularem scientiam.' From her lips goes up the cry, 'Væ eis, qui multa curiosa ab hominibus inquirunt.' But the intention which animates Cousin's Eva is derived from a precisely opposite attitude of mind. Every detail helps the complete expression of that deliberate revolt of the human intelligence against self-imposed bonds, which burst forth in the Humanist movement, the embodiment of the activity of the Renaissance in its highest form. The 'Melencolia' of Dürer casts from her the instruments of knowledge: 'Plus profecit in relinquendo omnia quam in studendo subtilia.' But the Eva of Cousin claims, with well-weighed purpose, universal dominion; hers are the realms of earth and sea and sky; all things shall be under her feet,—shall obey the rightful uses of spirit and flesh.

The picture was probably painted during one of Cousin's visits to Sens, for at Sens it first came into notice when Félibien mentioned it as in the possession of a certain M. le Fèvre, who was, says Millin 'parent de Jean Cousin par les femmes;' the Eva, he adds, had remained in the family, and belonged, at the time of his visit, to M. de Bonnaire. 'Jamais il n'a voulu permettre dessiner ce tableau.' This determination has been inherited by succeeding possessors of the painting, and Mme. Chaulay, the present owner, continues to reject all solicitations. 'Look as much as you like; when you have left my house you may see

how your memory will serve you. Write if you like, but draw a line you shall not.'

The object of this resolve is not clear. The issue of an etching, such as M. Didot,—had he been permitted,—would have had executed by a competent master, could in no wise have injured the value of the work, and would have done service to the renown of its author. The little sketch in outline, made 'from memory,' for M. Didot, is less inexact than the illustration given by Millin, but it conveys no idea of the largeness and firmness of the drawing; of the fine style with which the smallest details of structure are accented; of the skill with which the grave dignity and reserve of the sentiment are enhanced by the sombre mystery of the shades, out of which the figure looms; nor do we feel the sudden relief and scope given to the imagination by the rift which cuts through the overhanging gloom of the forest background, and carries the eye over a far-reaching expanse of fertile land, teeming with the life of cities, and washed by the perpetual movement of the sea.

The variety and fulness of the minor passages, as well as the more delicate parts of the modelling of the principal figure, have suffered, not from re-painting, but from ruthless cleaning. The surface has almost everywhere been destroyed, and in one or two places the original design has been completely effaced. The group of genii escaping from the vase to which the

serpent is returning, have all but disappeared, and the faint tones which indicated the distant landscape, and its towers, have been completely taken off. Yet in spite of the injuries which the picture has sustained, the noble and lofty character of the design is still evident, but ruin and decay are close at hand, and when they overtake their prey no record of this work will remain.

The picture is especially precious, because it differs so considerably from any other painting attributed to Cousin's hand; it embodies a more personal sentiment; a more purely individual motive, and even the treatment in itself is correspondingly larger and freer. The cautious manner of the 'Entombment' at Mayence is proper to an early and tentative work, but the 'Jugement dernier' of the Louvre, which evidently shows the practice of an experienced master's hand, also lacks the fire which vivifies both the conception and execution of the Eva. Nor is there any trace of this quality in minor works ascribed to Cousin.

The Artemise of M. Poncelet's collection, a charming portrait, is a delicately manipulated piece of pure French work, but the touch is thin, and the drawing somewhat poorly precise. In the 'Three Women, one of whom gives alms,' of the Brunswick Gallery, claimed for Cousin by M. Laurence Pichat, one fails to perceive any distinctive sign. Besides these, there are also a 'Descent from the Cross,' in the possession

of M. Lechevalier-Chevignard, and a 'Diane de Poitiers,' in the hands of M. Arsène Houssaye. Two paintings on copper,—projects for the 'Jugement dernier,'—are noticed, by M. Didot, as having changed hands at Vivant-Denon's sale, one of which, I suppose, to be identical with No. 25 of the catalogue of the Musée de Reims: 'Jugement dernier. Esquisse de Cousin. Sur cuivre. Du Cabinet Monthelon' (*sic*), 'porté en l'inventaire de 1772, et au catalogue imprimé de l'an X. sous le no. 13,' but none of all these works have the rare poetic interest which attaches to 'Eva Prima Pandora.'

In August of the year after Henri II.'s entry into Paris, 1550, Cousin re-visited Sens, and P. Fauvelet, 'chanoine fabricier,' enregisters two payments made to him on behalf of the chapter. The first, 100 *sols. tourn.* 'pour les portraitz des offrays des deux chappes;' the second, of 4 *liv.* 12 *sols*, 'pour avoir visité par plusieurs foys, et faict ung portraict, avec enseignements pour elever la Table d'or sur le grand autel,' and a further entry, on this occasion, of 10 *sols*, is made for the wine drunk at these visits by the goldsmith, by 'Maître Jehan Cousin,' and others. In October of the same year occurred the King's state entry into Rouen, which was celebrated with great magnificence; and the illustrations of the little book, in which all the curious shows and pageants are recorded, were, as I have already said, probably drawn by Cousin. The public library

of Rouen also possesses a contemporary manuscript ornamented by ten large miniature paintings representing the same ceremonies; a reproduction of these was brought out in 1869 by the 'Société des Bibliophiles Normands;' the originals have been ascribed to Cousin but are most certainly not by his hand.

The year in which the 'Entrée de Henri II. à Rouen' was brought out (1551) finds Cousin still at Sens, for again the chapter accounts record his name: 'Donné à maître Jehan Cousin, peintre, six escus sol, pour avoir fait un portrait d'un fus d'orgues;' and next follows: 'Pour le portrait des offroys d'une chappe . . . à maître Jean Cousin, 55 sols.' He is now also supposed to have been engaged, by Philibert de l'Orme, on the works at Anet, which were being vigorously carried forward by Diane de Poitiers. It has been said that Cousin executed the paintings both in glass and fresco, with which the interior of the *château* was decorated; but of the glass not much remains, and of the frescoes nothing.

Of the glass-paintings in monochrome, De l'Orme himself says: 'Ces vitres que j'ai fait faire au château d'Anet, ont été les premières vues en France, pour émail blanc.' But no mention is made of Cousin's name. Sauval speaks of the *château* as 'admirable par sa chapelle, et par ses vitres d'après Raphael, et autres grands peintres;' but Piganiol de la Force describes Anet without even mentioning the glass. The windows

of the *château*, however, after remaining more than a hundred years in place, were torn out and cast aside. On May 10, 1683, the property passed to M. le Duc de Vendôme, who hastened to replace them by clear glass, and the fate of the dispossessed paintings is unknown. The 'Grand-Dauphin,' says Le Viel, who knew the old windows well, esteemed them highly, and reproached the Duke with his want of taste in this matter for having caused the destruction of things so beautiful.

The windows of the chapel were permitted to remain undisturbed for yet another century, and when the *château* was sold, after the Revolution of 1789, three were safely withdrawn by M. Lenoir from the destruction which followed. They represented 'Christ preaching,' 'Abraham giving her son to Hagar,' and 'The battle between the Israelites and Amalekites.' Lenoir also obtained two smaller subjects from the sacristy. All, he says, were ornamented by arabesques, and accompanied by explanatory inscriptions, which he gives at full length. He reproduces also 'The battle of the Amalekites,' and some of the arabesques from Diane's bedroom. The character of these, and certain obvious mannerisms which stamp the types chosen to figure in 'The Battle,' give colour to the supposition that all these three windows were indeed designed by the hand of Cousin, but nothing now remains even of that which Lenoir was able for a while

to save. After the Restoration, in accordance with a decree of December 18, 1816, these glass-paintings were relegated to the garrets of the Louvre. There the present possessor of the *château*, M. Moreau, has made an anxious and vain search, hoping at least that some fragments might yet remain; not a trace was to be found of these famous windows, and it is said that their destruction was the work of untrustworthy servants, who trampled them under foot to obtain possession of their leaden framework.

At the same time that the works of Anet were pushed forward, great alterations and additions were being made to the church of the Célestins in Paris. In 1550, the building of the cloister was completed, and it was probably at about this date that Cousin painted the window of the Crucifixion, which is mentioned by Sauval, as having been placed, at the expense of the corporation of the King's Writers ('Secrétaires du Roi') in the refectory of the monastery. As late as 1790, the glass was all but intact, and the subject was reproduced by Millin in his 'Antiquités Nationales.' To right and left of the Christ stood St. John and the Virgin, who wore on her girdle a hexagonal medallion, bearing the badge of the Célestins. Beneath were the four Evangelists, the patrons of the Corporation, and still lower were grouped the twelve donors, the King's Writers, who were originally represented at full length in their state robes. Millin explains that these figures

had been recently mutilated: the refectory of the Célestins had become the refectory of the 'compagnie du centre du bataillon des Célestins,' and of the twelve figures of the King's Writers only the heads then remained. The base having been thus destroyed, the gaps were plastered up in the vain hope that the rest might thus be preserved, but when Lenoir reached the spot he was only able to gather up a few broken morsels: 'ce qui en reste,' he says, 'fait regretter ce qui a été détruit.' These fragments also have now disappeared, and of this noble window, which, there seems every reason to suppose, was one of Cousin's greater works, no trace now remains.

In 1551 Cousin is conjectured to have been engaged with Robert Pinaigrier on the windows of the church of St. Gervais at Paris. Sauval, who is the first to describe this glass, attributes the whole to 'the good Pinaigrier.' Three of the windows in the choir, which represented 'The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence,' 'The Transfiguration,' and 'The Samaritan Woman,' were the most esteemed in all Paris, and that of 'Solomon and the Queen of Sheba,' in the Chapel of the Three Pilgrims, was a famous work. Dom Brice, on the other hand, ascribes the whole to Cousin, and asserts, what is evidently wrong, that they were produced about 1586, that is to say, in Cousin's extreme old age. Félibien, however, selects only the three windows of the choir already mentioned, and these, he says, are by

SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN.

PORTION OF WINDOW IN ST GERVAIS. R. PINAIGRIER. FT

Jean Cousin. Next comes Le Viel, who originated the conjecture that the windows were the joint work of Cousin and Pinaigrier; he added, however, to the list that of 'The Reception of the Queen of Sheba by Solomon,' in a chapel, 'autour du chœur à droite;' and on the frontispiece of Solomon's palace he detected the date 1551, which is omitted by Piganiol, and read by others 1531. It occurs also, but accompanied by Pinaigrier's name, on a piece of glass now inserted at the base of the 'Queen of Sheba' window, which has recently returned to its original position after having been remounted and restored, with great taste and care, by M. Joseph Fillon.

All the three windows in the choir, says M. Didot, were destroyed about 1775, but this is probably a mistake; for Lenoir, after mentioning each of those ascribed to Cousin, adds that only one had then been destroyed. Many fragments of old glass are now inserted in various windows of the church, but I cannot identify any with either of the three subjects formerly in the choir, nor is there any window which has the remotest likeness to Cousin's manner, unless it be portions of the 'Queen of Sheba,' beneath which stands Pinaigrier's name, but which is less full in colour, and later in style, than any glass executed by Pinaigrier elsewhere—as, for example, in the chapel of Écouen, and in the Cathedral of Chartres,—and which differs greatly in both respects from three other windows yet

existing in the choir of St. Gervais which are also attributed to him. If, indeed, the 'Queen of Sheba' window is by the hand of Pinaigrier, then I should conjecture that Cousin furnished the design, but that it was carried out by the older master, who was probably, in what concerned the practical conduct of this art, the more skilled workman.

There is, indeed, no reason to suppose that Cousin occupied himself in the actual craft of the art which he so magnificently illustrated; he never describes himself as *peintre-verrier*, which was the usual practice of those who were glass-painters by profession in the strict sense of the term, that is to say, technically accomplished workmen who stained their own glass and managed their own furnaces. In all the documents we possess in which mention is made of him he is entered simply as 'peintre,' and when he brought out his 'Livre de Perspective,' he signs himself *maître-peintre* only.

This book—the illustrations to which, designed by Cousin, were engraved by the printer and publisher, Jean le Royer, aided by his brother-in-law, Aubin Ollivier—came out in 1560, nearly ten years after the date at which the windows of St. Gervais are supposed to have been executed. The printer's mark, as well as the frontispiece and other cuts, is due to Cousin, and by comparison with it we can trace evidence of his hand in the devices employed by many other

publishers. M. Didot has made a special study of this branch of the subject. He has, perhaps, been now and again too ready to put on the list of the master's work, designs whose claim to that honour is questionable, but there are several which he is probably right in ascribing to Cousin, such, for, instance, as the larger mark of Jacques du Puys, and the marks of Brunnen, Ballard, and Maurice de la Porte. As soon, indeed, as we examine the works which issued from the French press during the latter half of the century, we find that the influence of Cousin's style had taken firm hold of the whole body of those who were engaged in the illustration and ornamentation of books, and it is difficult to sift the work of Cousin himself from that of his pupils or imitators.

This widespread influence of his manner,—coupled with the facility with which some of his more marked preferences could be simulated,—is misleading, but it soon becomes clear that the occurrence of a fantastic coiffure, of a pyramid, or of a date-palm, are scarcely sufficient grounds for the attribution to Cousin of drawings which have no other title to his name. Papillon, for instance, asserts that the miniature prints, in a little Testament which was brought out in Paris by Maurice Menier in 1566, just four years previous to the issue of the 'Livre de Perspective,' are by Cousin himself. Some of these prints had been previously used in an edition of Lactantius, published by Étienne Groulleau,

in 1565. Only one set is supposed to be now extant, and that was discovered by M. Didot, in the collection of the late M. de Baudicour. M. Didot confirms the decision of Papillon, but it must be remembered that in all the work which we know to have been produced by Cousin we do not find a single example of the peculiar miniature excellence which distinguishes this series. On the contrary, both in his etchings and in his designs for wood-engraving, the execution and manner is invariably that of a man accustomed to work on a large scale. Whether we take his 'Deposition,' or the cuts of his 'Livre de Perspective,' we find breadth of style, and a corresponding execution, the largeness and force of which has none of the lightness and delicate minuteness of touch necessary to success in very small work.

The frontispiece of the 'Livre de Perspective' demands special notice, because the character of the draughtsmanship seems to fix the epoch of the probable production of the 'Jugement dernier,' now in the Louvre. In both we have the same display of daring feats of foreshortening, the same tendencies of style which evidence an intimate acquaintance with the late development of Italian art. The picture was painted for the Minims of the park of Vincennes, and was originally placed in their church, but when seen by Germain Brice in 1718 it was hanging in the sacristy, whither it had been removed, it is said, for better

security, after having been rescued from the hands of a thief, by the opportune arrival of one of the monks, just as he was making off with his booty.

There have been many and enthusiastic descriptions of this picture, and M. Charles Blanc, in his 'Histoire des peintres de toutes les Écoles,' has devoted to it a page of serious criticism. He has done justice to the infinite variety of type and force and movement, to the masterly drawing of various action, to the ease and directness with which the most difficult passages of foreshortening are attacked and rendered, to the evidence everywhere of Cousin's complete command of the resources of that science of perspective on which he wrote; but M. Blanc, at the same time, has insisted on the defect which cripples the effect of the whole. The painter has aspired to reach the sublime nobility of Michel Angelo, and he has fallen short. The picture should be, and is not, terrible. The cause of the failure is twofold. The restricted dimensions, in which the vast combinations of this exceedingly elaborate composition are confined, dwarf the conception; and the grandiose effect, on which Cousin calculated, is still further lessened by the absence of any depth or mystery in the treatment of the light and shade.

In the upper skies God, the Christ, His Mother, and the Saints, are accompanied by the mighty prophets of old, and the thronging hosts of heaven; below

sweep the countless terrors which afflict the earth; the elect seek the gates of the Church, which stands on the one hand,—a mighty palace, glittering with the spoils of the world;—whilst, on the other, the horrible agonies of the condemned, passing through every grade of maddening anguish, are painfully elaborated. The literal elaboration of every incident of the scene, the dry and precise definition of every detail, the remorseless setting of all before us, in a clear daylight which searches every fold and every corner, detract from the awful solemnity of the general impression. The loss of sentiment involved in this mode of treatment cannot be atoned for even by the interest of the skilful execution, which shows a knowledge of the capabilities of the material, a boldness and mastery of expedients which no other French painter of the day could boast, and which is far beyond the point attained by Cousin himself in 'The Deposition' of Mayence, or even in his 'Eva Prima Pandora.'

Sketches on copper, made, it is supposed, by Cousin himself, for parts of this picture, have been already noticed, but the only complete replica of it would seem to be a small panel noticed by M. Dussieux as forming part of the collection of the Hermitage. The large engraving, executed by Peter v. Jodde early in the seventeenth century, is a brutal travesty of the painting which it professes to represent, and is, besides, defaced by various fantastic alterations

and substitutions. In the left-hand corner, for example, a totally different head is inserted in place of that in which tradition has long recognised the portrait of Cousin himself, and, in order to flatter the reigning powers, the engraver has committed the anachronism of placing Henri IV. in the front rank of those absorbed in the contemplation of celestial glory.

The month of December 1560 saw the accession of Charles IX., but it was not until full three years of his reign were over,—the victories of Vassy and Dreux having for a moment reduced the Huguenots to inaction,—that it was thought safe to venture on a series of those tourneys in the provinces, and triumphal entries into provincial capitals which usually marked the opening of a reign. Sens gave the king a splendid reception, having entrusted the execution of the necessary decorations to Cousin himself, who is said to have received for the work the sum of 720 *liv.* A reference is given by M. Didot for this fact to '"Tarbé, Recherches Historiques," p. 327,' but the reference is wrong, and after careful search through all Tarbé's works I have failed to verify the statement.

From this date, for many succeeding years, there is a complete silence as to the labours and life of Cousin. It is possible that a part of the period was occupied,—since we find him last at Sens,—in the decoration of a *château* in the neighbourhood of that town—the *château* of Monthard, which belonged to

Étienne Bowyer, the husband of Cousin's daughter Marie. The walls of the *château*, according to Lenoir, were covered with valuable paintings from his hand. Of these paintings there is now no trace, but six heads, fragments of the glass which once filled the windows of the *château*, are still in the keeping of Madame Chaulay, the fortunate possessor of the 'Eva Prima Pandora.' They are inserted in an upper window, looking into a passage of her house at Sens. Five of the heads are those of warriors, two are wearing casques, one of which is singularly noble in design; the sixth head is that of a woman who has much of that proud and intelligent spirit which Cousin always bestowed on his female heads.

Another work which must have occupied his later years is his 'Livre de Portraicture,' of which two editions, the editions of 1571 and 1589, are cited by M. Brunet, but as to these he seems to have made a mistake, for no one else has ever seen them. The first edition is probably the edition of 1595, issued by Jean le Clerc with an address to the reader, in which he speaks of Cousin as 'feu Monsieur Cousin, homme recognu très capable par ceux qui honorent ce bel art,' and a privilege granted by Henri IV., dated 'Mantes, July 13, 1593.' In the following century fifteen editions were issued, the first five by Jean le Clerc, the last eight by Guillaume Bé. The privilege of the edition of 1595 is repeated in that of 1618,

together with the 'avis au lecteur' prefixed to that issued by Jean le Clerc. The book has continued in request even to the present day, but the engravings, in each succeeding issue have been inferior to those in that which preceded it, and by a process of slow degradation they have arrived, in the three editions brought out at Paris during the present century, at the lowest possible pitch.

Even the cuts in the edition of 1595, the earliest which I have been able to see, are already so coarse and vulgar that hardly a trace of Cousin's work is discernible, and it is clear that the principal value of the book must always have resided in the geometrical calculations which the engravings illustrate, and by means of which Cousin has elaborately worked out set rules for the accurate foreshortening of the human body in the most varied positions. Nothing is left to the eye; the position of every line is determined by a series of exact calculations, which leave no curve untouched. It differs greatly in this respect, as M. Renouvier has pointed out, from a similar work previously brought out by Albert Dürer. The books have, however, been sometimes supposed to be practically the same, and a manuscript note occurring on a copy of 'La vraye Science de Pourtraicture,' in the Douce collection of the Bodleian Library, states that 'this work was' actually 'published in English, in folio, as Albert Dürer's, with his portrait, 1666.'

From 1571 to 1582, a period which includes the year of the St. Bartholomew, and the greater part of the reign of Henri III., the only indication of Cousin's existence is in a brief mention made by Guy le Fevre de la Boderie in 'La Galliade,' which came out in 1578.

Cousin's name occurs at the close of a long list of worthies—

> Maître Aubin inventif, Abel, et de Courlenge,
> Et Cousin qui entr'eux mérite grande louenge.

In this same year (1582) Cousin dated one of a series of five portraits still preserved by his descendants the Bouvyers, now settled at Tours in the 'Rue Néricault des Touches.' Three of these five portraits have suffered terribly and the dated portrait, that of Jean III. Bowyer, is in a pitiable state; the same may be said of that of Étienne II. Bowyer, the owner of Monthard, and as for the companion portrait of his wife, Marie Cousin, to which a double interest attaches, the whole of the surface has been entirely removed, leaving but a ghostly wreck behind. The dated portrait of Jean III. Bowyer, son of Marie Cousin, and Cousin's grandson, is also accompanied by that of his wife, Savinienne des Bordes. This portrait, which must have been executed at about the same time as that of Jean III., is much better preserved, and is clearly a thorough but rather uninteresting piece of work, hard and precise in accent, and which leaves much to be desired on account of the meagre stiffness

of the drawing, and the corresponding poorness of quality in the colour.

M. Lobet has said, all these portraits are 'fermes, naïfs, et vrais comme ceux de Clouet,' but, in truth, they have no touch of that brilliant suavity or exquisite delicacy which are the distinguishing charms of François Clouet's work. It is not until we come to the fifth portrait, that of Jean II. Bowyer, sometime *curé* of Soucy, and afterwards Canon of Sens Cathedral, that the feeling of disappointment which arises on the first sight of these paintings in some degree passes away. It has suffered, but less than the others. There is a power and energy, a completeness of knowledge in the rendering of the head, which recalls the character of Holbein, with a combined distinctness and subtleness in the general accent which is peculiarly French. The expression and pose are frank and dignified, the modelling of the face and the drawing of the hands thorough and expressive. The vigorous tones of the flesh, and the deep black of the Canon's gown and cap, are relieved by the popular green background, and the touch throughout carries with it that full body of colour and line which is conspicuous in the 'Jugement dernier.'

A privilege accorded on September 7 of the following year (1583), to Jérome de Marnef, for the publication of 'Le Livre de la Lingerie, composé par maître Dominique de Sera, Italien,' describes the book as

containing several excellent new patterns, 'tant de point coupé, raiseau que passements, de l'invention de maître Jean Cousin, peintre à Paris.' In 1584, his name again occurs in Jean Descaurres' 'Œuvres morales et diversifiées en histoires pleines de beaux exemples.' And in the year succeeding (1585) Loys le Roy alludes to him in his 'De la Vicissitude des Choses.' Under the head of 'peintres' we find the name of Albert Dürer, 'qui a escrit en Allemagne de la peinture comme Jean Cousin en Français.'

The fact of these references being made to him would seem to show that during the latter part of his life Cousin must have enjoyed a great reputation. He must at this time have been over eighty years of age; he stood almost alone, watching the rapid extinction of those brilliant forces which had carried his own genius to success. François Clouet was dead, De l'Orme was dead, and Bullant, and Lescot; Goujon was dead, and Ronsard; Palissy, like Cousin, was drawing near the grave.

The first posthumous edition of Ronsard's works was prepared immediately after the poet's death by his friend and executor Jean Galland; it was brought out by Gabriel Buon in 1586 and 1587, and contained three portraits, that of Ronsard, of Henri II., and Henri III. These three portraits are attributed by Papillon to Cousin, and if by him, were amongst the last, if not the last, work of his hand. If we may

trust a letter, dated 'Juin 20, 1588,' purporting to be addressed to 'Messire Jean Cousin, peintre-verrier, par Jehan Rabel, son élève, maître peintre à Paris,' Cousin's health had begun to break down. The letter, the authenticity of which seems doubtful, is as follows: 'Messire et très honoré maistre, c'est avec grand douleur et appitoiement que j'apprens l'estat maladif en lequel se trouve votre santé. Je suis assuré que prompte vous adviendroit garison, et confortement, si mes vœux et indignes prières avoient accueil d'en haut.' Félibien's statement that he had not been able to find out the date of Cousin's death, but only that he was living in 1589, having attained a great age, gives at least indirect confirmation to the facts which the letter of Jean Rabel contains.

The end was nigh at hand. When Henri IV. signed, in 1593, the privilege for Cousin's 'Livre de Pourtraicture,' the publisher Le Clerc took credit to himself 'ayant mis en lumière les œuvres de *feu* M. Cousin.' In 1595, two years after the date of this privilege, the *censier* of St. Germain-des-Prés contains an entry of the names of 'Claude Alexandre et de sa femme ayant les droits des héritiers, hoirs et ayant cause de M. Jehan Cousin, pour une maison et appartenances assises à la rue des Marets.' This is the house and garden before mentioned as in the occupation of Cousin in 1545, at the time when he probably had removed to Paris from Sens, to devote himself to the

construction of Admiral Chabot's tomb; in this house he most likely died, but the exact place, as well as the exact date of his death, is uncertain. Jacques Taveau, his contemporary and fellow-citizen, was himself in ignorance of both. In the manuscript, to which reference has already been made, the place, the day of the month, and the year, are left in blank. Cousin is stated to have died 'à . . . , le . . . jour de . . . , MDLX . . . , plus riche de nom que de biens de fortune, qu'il a toute sa vie négligés, comme tous les hommes de gentil esprit, faisant profession des arts et métiers et qui s'y sont arrêtés.' In addition to his house at Paris, he is supposed to have possessed some property at Sens, for in 1654, Charles-Armand de Bascharmé, painter to the king, and his wife, Marie Cousin, residing in Paris, sold to a certain Sebastian Prunay du Chambourdin, residing in Sens, a ruined house situated in the village of Soucy, which belonged to the wife, Marie Cousin, as sole heir of her father, Louis Cousin, 'de son vivant bourgeois de Melun.' It is possible, of course, that this Louis Cousin was in no wise related to Jean, or that he was but one of a collateral branch of the same family; but it seems likely that Jean Cousin may have had a son as well as a daughter by one of his various marriages, and that the son inherited the house at Soucy, in which, according to tradition, his father was born, and the site of which, now occupied by a little one-storied cottage flanked

by a couple of towers, is still shown as the birthplace of Cousin.

Almost from the moment of Cousin's death, there are chance references to descriptions of works by him, which have one by one perished. Félibien mentions a *château* at Sceaux (demolished in 1805), the walls of which, like those of Monthard, were covered with Cousin's paintings; Le Viel speaks of works in glass at Moret, besides those the destruction of which has already been noticed; Lenoir cites, as having been in the hands of the Chevalier de Boufflers, a manuscript 'History of Fortune,' consisting of sixty drawings, accompanied by a set of as many explanatory poems, each surrounded by a decorative framework, or cartouche. Amongst the various subjects, says Lenoir, 'on remarque une jeune fille nouvellement fiancée, qui se présente devant la Fortune pour la consulter sur son sort futur. La Fortune debout, la baguette magique à la main, et placée devant une table garnie des ustensiles d'un faiseur de tours, renverse d'un coup de baguette ses gobelets mystérieux, du dessous desquels on voit sortir plusieurs petits Amours.' This drawing was, he adds, not one of the least interesting of the collection, which unfortunately had then already disappeared, and of which no trace has since been found.

So much of Cousin's work having been lost or injured, a wide field has been left for conjecture as to

its merits: his reputation has been a fertile subject for controversy, and is by turns absurdly exaggerated or unduly depressed. On the one hand, he is sometimes deprived of what is most certainly his due;—M. Gonse, for instance, has shown gratuitous scepticism on the question of Cousin's execution of Admiral Chabot's tomb. On the other hand, enthusiasts attribute to him much which he clearly did not, and even cannot, have executed. M. Merle, speaking of the decorations of Chambord, states that Jean Cousin was one of those 'à qui ces travaux furent confiés,' although not a single curve or line of the existing ornament shows any indication of his peculiar style, and all other testimony is silent. Papillon, who ought, however, to have some weight, goes the length of asserting that 'presque toutes les estampes des livres imprimées à Paris sous les regnes de Henri II., Charles IX., and Henri III. sont des dessins de Jean Cousin, ou de sa gravure sur bois'; and although Fournier is more moderate, contenting himself with the limited statement that 'Jean Cousin . . . . . a fait d'excellents ouvrages dans ce genre,' the most recent writer on this subject, M. Didot, goes even beyond Papillon in the liberality of his attributions.

An inscription which precedes a collection of ornamental designs in the possession of M. Destailleurs runs as follows: 'S'ensuivent les dessins de M. Guido et Jean Cousin, désigneurs d'environ toute

l'œuvre de Stephanus, excepté une grande partie désignée de son fils et quelques autres, L. Penni et autres.' Coupling with this inscription a more guarded statement of M. Renouvier's, to the effect that Cousin furnished Delaulne with many designs, M. Didot hastily decides that the greater part of Delaulne's engravings are from drawings by Cousin. There are, indeed, evident traces of what M. Renouvier has called 'une parenté' between Cousin and Delaulne, in many of the works of the engraver—notably, for instance, in the series of 'Combats,' and in the 'Story of the Unicorn,' but this kinship of manner seems to be no more than the natural result of unconscious imitation on the part of Delaulne. On two engravings he has acknowledged his obligations to Cousin; both the 'Brazen Serpent' and the 'Conversion of Saul' bear Cousin's name; on the 'Diana and Actæon' series Delaulne inscribes that of Lucca Penni; and elsewhere he has not neglected to pay his debt to Maître Guido and to his own son. It is clear, therefore, that the inscription on M. Destailleurs' collection of drawings is a simple *résumé* of facts which Delaulne himself had recorded, but because he has, on several occasions, engraved the designs of others, we are not justified in ascribing the greater part of his work to that master, to whom we only know for certain that he was twice indebted for a subject.

As regards Cousin's work as a sculptor, M. Alex-

andre Lenoir has been the original source of many hasty and ill-considered claims. Even if we leave as an open question Cousin's right to the tomb of Louis de Brézé, there still remains with Lenoir the responsibility of the attribution to Cousin of the ivory St. Sebastian, a work of the seventeenth century, now to be seen in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Sens; of the bronze bust of François I., and the bronze medallion of Charles V., now in the Louvre, but no longer under Cousin's name; and of the 'Venus and Cupid,' which is still erroneously entered as his, in the Catalogue of the 'Musée de Cluny.'

Glass-painting forms, however, the leading line of Cousin's activity, and his leading claim to notice. It is in his capacity as a designer on glass, as a practical reformer of methods previously employed, as the presiding genius who carried the profession abreast of the novel currents which had set in with unparalleled force and rapidity, that his name is usually quoted.

Lenoir, who had larger opportunities of examination and comparison than can possibly now be obtained, describes, what he conceived to be, Cousin's method of working in glass with great minuteness, and gives a list of the materials from which the colours employed were derived. The flesh-tints, he says, made of oxides of iron, are laid on in broad hatchings, as simple as those which one would use in making a sketch on paper; for the draperies Cousin employed

'chaux métalliques' of gold, silver, and copper, and after the first baking he went over the whole a second time, working the shadows up with oxides of iron, after which the work was again subjected to the action of fire.

Amongst the methods then employed with the object of reducing the number of joints necessary, Lenoir, following Le Viel, professes to describe an invention of John of Bruges. Glass-painters were, he says, long inconvenienced by the impossibility of executing the embroidered ornaments of their draperies on one and the same piece of glass. 'Lorsque Jean de Bruges . . . . trouva le moyen de fixer, à une certaine épaisseur du verre, la couleur teignante, pour les morceaux de draperies qu'il voulait orner d'une broderie ; c'est-à-dire qu'il avait l'art, par un coup de feu dirigé à propos, d'arrêter à un quart environ de l'épaisseur du verre la couleur, au lieu de la laisser pénétrer d'outre en outre, de manière qu'il n'y avait que la superficie de colorée, et que le fond du verre restait pur et intact. Après avoir dessiné sur ses pièces les ornemens dont il voulait enricher ses vêtemens, il les creusait, à l'aide de l'émeri, et de l'eau, en façon d'intaille, jusqu'à ce qu'il eût atteint le verre blanc, et enlevé la partie colorée ; c'est alors qu'il formait sa broderie, soit en introduisant dans les creux . . . une nouvelle couverture d'or ou d'argent, ou un émail quelconque qu'il passait au feu pour obtenir l'effet qu'il désirait.'

The chemicals used by Jean Cousin agree, in the main, with those now in use. The invention attributed by Lenoir to John of Bruges, and which seems a somewhat obscure process, is explained by Mr. Holiday as follows: 'It is evident,' he says, 'that it consisted in an elaborate use of "flashed glass." Some colours which would be too dark in glass, if used of the ordinary thickness, are "flashed" on to white glass, the rod being first dipped into white and then into a colour-pot, and the two being blown together, so that the white sheet has a thin, unequal coating of the colour. Ruby is so made, but old Ruby seems to have been dipped alternately into white and red, as it exhibits layers. This flashed surface can be bitten off with acid; and by staining portions of the white spaces so exposed with silver, one can get three colours on one piece of glass. Lenoir's vague "coup de feu," by which the colour was "arrêté" I take to be a little invention, a pretence of explaining what he did not understand. Cousin, no doubt, flashed white glass with coloured, as I have described, and then, as Lenoir says, ground this surface down to the white with emery powder (or, as we do it, with acid), and then *painted* the white with enamel colours. These elaborate devices are, in my opinion, foreign to the spirit of the material, but without seeing some specimens I could not, of course, venture on a judgment; so much which purists call debased is so beautiful that even a far-fetched process like the above,

if invented by a man of genius, may be justified by its results.'

It is not possible to inspect glass which is actually in position, closely enough to determine with precision where and to what extent the process, explained by Mr. Holiday, has been employed by Cousin. It is, however, probable that the magical 'shot' effects, in which Cousin shows us,—as in the windows of Sens and Fleurigny,—coloured stuffs gleaming with interwoven golden patterns, are produced by this device: a gem-like radiance is obtained in these passages which break up and spread the more positive values of the unbroken colours in their neighbourhood.

But the tendency of Cousin's practice in general was certainly not in the direction of enlarging the resources by which full effects of deep and gorgeous colour might be attained. The work of his predecessors, the work of those who, like Pinaigrier, belonged to a somewhat earlier epoch, shows in this respect a compass hardly to be extended, and a depth of tone not to be surpassed. The task which it fell to Cousin to perform was the transposition of already existing harmonies into another key, into a key which accorded with the prevailing sentiment of the epoch. The strong and forcible colour of earlier masters took in his hands an infinite transparency, a clearness hitherto unknown. This was the quality in Cousin's glass which called forth especial remark from Cicognara; he

says, 'I suoi chiari e oscuri sono inventati ed eseguiti colla preziosità dei disegni i più gentili, non offuscando il vetro che quanto basti a toglierne la lucida trasparenza come se fosse lievemente arruotato' (ground).

The special character thus acquired stands in direct relation to the general tone and scale of colour which marks all French art produced during the latter half of the century. The impressions by which Cousin's work is biassed, correspond with those which take shape under the hands of Léonard Limosin, which give a sharper edge of refinement, an accent of more delicate choice, to the latest period of Palissy's pottery, and which seem to attain their most abstract form in the colourless passion which quickens the threading lines, the magic fantasies, of the ware of Oiron. The *grisaille* glass-paintings of Anet were the ultimate expression by Cousin of the same predilections.

It is true that De l'Orme himself claims the credit of having suggested their employment at Anet: 'Les vitres,' he says, 'que j'y ai fait faire sont les premières qui ont étés vues en France pour l'émail blanc.' This statement is, however, in all probability one of those boastful exaggerations which De l'Orme was in the habit of making. The windows of Écouen, executed some ten years before those of Anet, were also, if we may judge from fragments still remaining in the church, of 'émail blanc,' though possibly not produced by precisely the same technical process. Some suggestion

as to the means to be employed may have come from De l'Orme, but any prolonged examination of Cousin's coloured glass will show that he was inevitably tending towards the production of monochrome effects. The tones become clearer and clearer, the stain more and more delicate, until at last the sunshine passes, softened but not obscured, through moving groups and delicate lines of ornament which reveal themselves to us in a flood of crystal light.

Tradition says of Cousin that he was a *réformé*. Félibien quotes this, and adds, 'I never heard anything else but good of him, so I do not believe this malicious accusation.' But to be Huguenot in France in the sixteenth century was not mere fanatical singularity, but to share the desire for ecclesiastical and social reform felt by all thoughtful and deeply-cultured men. There are traces everywhere in Cousin's work which show that he was a man both thoughtful and of a culture far deeper than was common to the *peintre ymagier* of his day. He makes us feel to a remarkable extent the strength and dignity of his personal character, and in this respect does in some small measure recall that mighty spirit, the great Michel Angelo, whom he admiringly emulated and to whom he has been with unpardonable exaggeration sometimes compared.

A turn also of haughty independence seems to individualise his position as compared with that of other

artists of the same day. Although his reputation was great, and seems to have far outstripped that enjoyed even by François Clouet, Cousin seems never to have been taken into the Court service, nor to have been employed on any of the royal works. M. Didot has indeed tried to find a sign of Court favour in the supposition that he executed the decorations of Rouen and Sens for the triumphal entries of Henri II. and his son, Charles IX. But from the preface to the volume, in which the rejoicings at Rouen are set forth at great length, it is plain that the artists to whom work was entrusted on these occasions were selected, and paid, by the town council of the city in which the ceremony took place. The King and the Court had no voice in the preparations made for their reception, and it is therefore impossible to argue that Cousin must have stood high in the royal favour from the fact of his being concerned in the pageants of Rouen and Sens. Throughout Cousin's long life his work was dedicated, as he himself in clear and forcible French dedicated his book, 'neither to king nor princes, as is customary, but to the public.'

CHAPTER II.

ENGRAVING ON WOOD.

A cette époque de la renaissance des lettres anciennes, le même mouvement se faisait sentir dans les arts du dessin. Des hommes de talent, à la tête desquels se fit remarquer Jean Cousin, imaginèrent d'enrichir ou d'illustrer les ouvrages des écrivains de leur temps par des gravures en bois.—VIOLLET LE DUC.

THE title page of Antoine Verard's edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses, 'La Bible des Poëtes,' printed at Paris in 1493, has an ornamental border. The foliating lines which curve along the margin, enclose two wide-winged angels, whilst from the folds of an opening flower issues the half-length figure of a woman. The two angel forms are not without a certain conventional grace, an empty grace devoid of any touch of character or feeling, but the woman is an impression received fresh from life, given back to us with a distinct individuality. The interest of the designer has centred on this portrait, and its lines are impregnated with the keen flavour of actual existence, so that the image stands out from the mannered prettiness of the attendant angels, though it shows no trace of the author's initiation into the inner mysteries of art, and

is but a bit of direct reproduction which may or may not contain the promise of a deeper intelligence to come.

Twenty-four years later (1517), Robioni brought out at Lyons an edition of the Epistles. This edition was illustrated copiously with small rude wood-cuts, each of which is divided into three compartments, containing pictures of the beginning, middle, and end of the story told on the pages below. The loves and grief of Menelaus, Paris, and Helen; of Hero and Leander; of Theseus and Ariadne, succeed each other in these quaint triptychs. The cutting is so rude, the size is so minute, that the work is not attractive, and if we set beside it the performance of the Italian designer who enriched the pages of the edition of the 'Metamorphoses' published at Venice in 1497 by Zoane Rosso, it seems very barbarous. Yet the first composition, in the story of Paris and Œnone, has a shade of pathos, and all the three groups in the cut which tells the fortunes of Ulysses and Penelope reach a certain dignity of manner, the power of which is the more noticeable when felt through the clumsy rudeness of imperfect execution dealing with a scale in which successful attainment is possible only to the finest and most delicate workmanship.

These archaic woodcuts were again and again repeated in other editions, but French art was advancing so rapidly in a new direction that they soon lost the

typical character that belonged to them. Prior to the commencement of the sixteenth century there were indeed few books published in France the cuts of which are worthy notice. A volume such as Verard's edition of the 'Metamorphoses' was an exception, and from the presses of Simon Vostre, of Gilles Hardouin, of Godart, and Regnault, there issued during the closing years of the fifteenth century a series of works which show few signs of improvement, but with the opening of the sixteenth century a new impulse communicated itself to every branch of art.

The 'Office de la Vierge,' published at Paris by Simon de Colines in 1524, and signed by Geoffroy Tory, shows on every page evidence of the complete change which had taken place. In the style and subject of the borders which cover the margins, and of the illustrations which they enclose, there is that mingling of things, *tant anciens que modernes*, to which our attention is especially directed by a sentence in the printer's privilege prefixed to the volume. As we trace on succeeding pages the salamander of François I. and the ermine of Queen Claude, wreathed about by the symmetrical involutions of delicate arabesques, we call to mind the bands of ornament which wind about the slender shafts of Chambord and of Blois, for at Blois and at Chambord, as in these pages, we see the fusion of the old and new.

No skill could refine upon the exquisite exactness

with which the arabesque ornaments of the margins are cut, but everything is in pure outline, even the illustrations on the pages are blank within the indicating lines. The labour of a trained hand is needed so that they may be worked up into rivalry with the illuminated manuscripts, the fashion of which was being gradually driven out. It was but by slow degrees that the engraver came to rely wholly on the resources of the tools proper to his craft, to fill in agreeably the picture on the page; as yet the mingling of old and new affected the very technic of the art, and if we turn to the illustrations themselves, we find that the matter of Sacred Story has been approached with a corresponding duality of sentiment. 'Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves' is the text employed to explain and comment the solemn presentment of the Crucifixion, and the space about the picture is divided into compartments, each of which contains a lively illustration of the line of Vergil which it accompanies. The bees fly busily about their hive, the sheep are shorn, the birds build their nests, and the oxen sluggishly draw the plough, behind which stalks the ancient driver; yet while each of these four sketches is a direct translation from nature animated by a naïve spirit of inquiry, the tone which pervades every line of the centre subject is subdued by a sentiment of religious subjectivity.

The illustrations to the 'Hecatongraphia' of Gilles

Corrozet, printed by Denis Janot in 1541, show even more unmistakable signs of the influence which had then been exercised on French work by the movement of the Renaissance. The proportions of the figure, which in the cuts to Robioni's Ovid are always markedly short, and sometimes altogether broad and squat, have lengthened out, and are distinguished by that pliancy of line which invariably adds a certain charm to all work of the day.

These compositions in the 'Hecatongraphia' are not throughout by the same hand, and some show an unmistakable superiority over others. The drawing of the dog in 'l'Insuffisance,' for instance, is worth notice, and the draped female figure in 'Plus par douleur que par force,' is noticeable in that it presents in pose, in employment of line, in artistic accent, a remarkable likeness to the work of Jean Cousin. It therefore seems probable that now already had begun that co-operation between the artist and the workman which ultimately led to the production of works which, like the 'Entrée de Henri II. à Paris,' must for ever rank among the triumphs of wood engraving.

Some of the illustrations to the 'Hecatongraphia' have been, I think, mistakenly put down to the score of Cousin himself by M. Renouvier; but M. Didot, on the other hand, who was in general only too liberal in his attributions where Cousin was concerned, in this instance withholds his assent. He sees, however, in

one of the cuts of another work published two years later (1543) by the same Denis Janot evident signs of Cousin's hand.

The book in question is a translation into French verse by Gilles Corrozet, of the Table of Cebes. The cuts by which it is illustrated retain for the most part the characteristics of an earlier art, and on the first occurs the letter F, which is supposed to be the initial of the engraver, J. Ferlato, mentioned by Papillon as having been at work during the youth of Jean Cousin. But one small composition is distinguished by the more elegant proportion in parts, and the more scientific arrangement in the whole, which was gradually gaining ground. This cut, which represents a banquet, and has been reproduced by M. Didot in his 'Recueil des œuvres choisies de Jean Cousin,' contains nine figures, seven of whom sit at table served by their attendants who bear in meat. The drawing and composition has no doubt a certain merit, but none of that distinction and style which is appropriate to Cousin's work, and which often atones for the lack of more seductive quality. It may be his, or it may be quite as likely the work of some follower of the school of Fontainebleau; the real point of interest about the design is that its style marks the moment when this branch of art came into contact with the new movement and finally broke with older traditions.

If we pass from the 'Tableau de Cebes' to the 'Entrée de Henri II. à Paris,' printed by Jacques Roffet dit le Faucheur in 1549, we measure at a glance the width of the stride which was made during these six years. It is impossible to deny to Jean Cousin a real co-operation in, if not the main conduct of this advance. He himself tells us in express terms that he designed the illustrations of his 'Livre de Perspective,' and if we compare these cuts with those in the triumphal entry of Henri II., it seems evident that the drawings in both instances have been executed by one and the same hand.

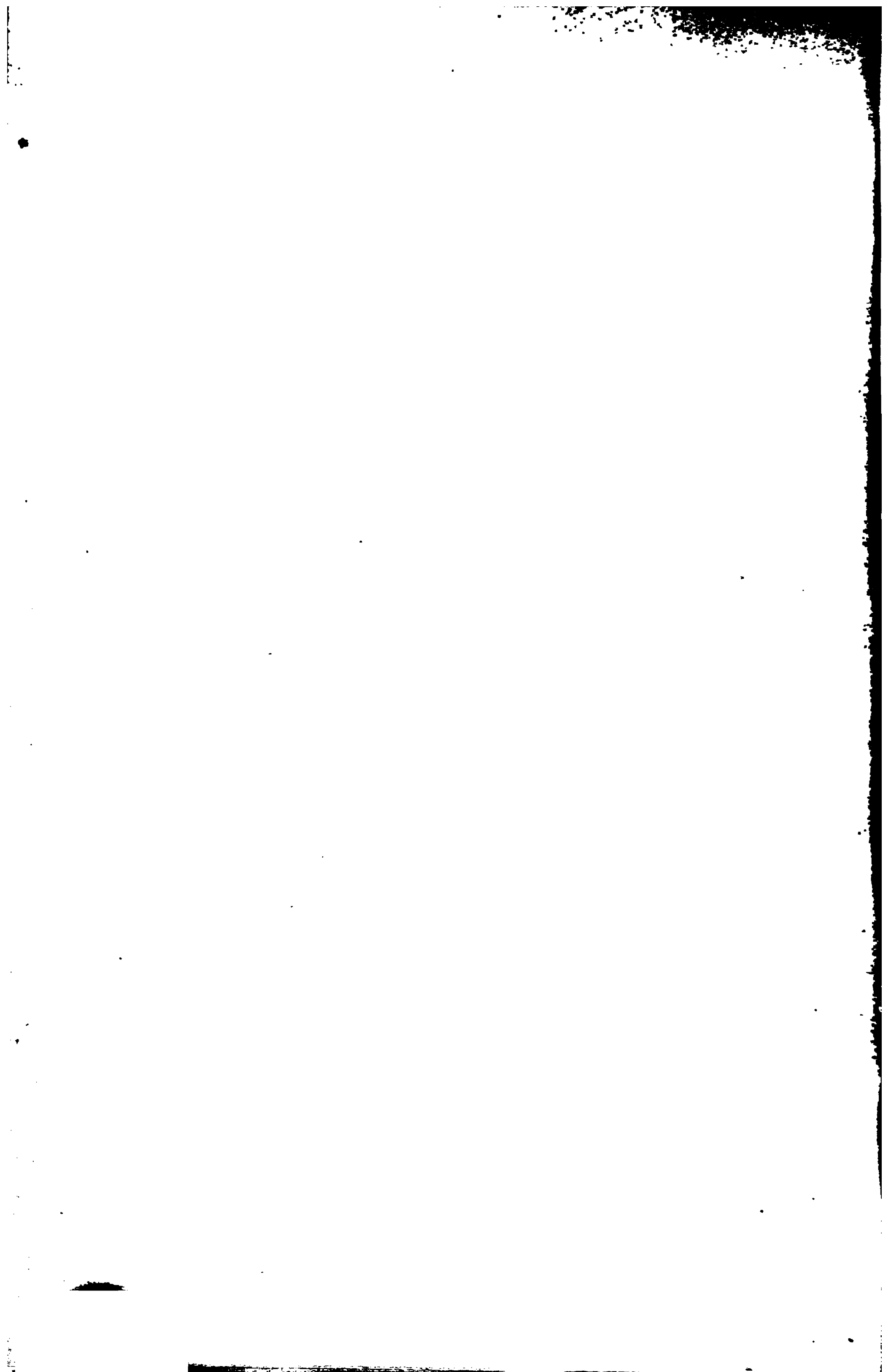
The 'Entrée de Henri II. à Paris' is justly accounted the capital work of French wood engraving in the sixteenth century. It stands pre-eminent, unrivalled even by the beautiful volume which relates the events of the same king's triumphal entry into Rouen, a ceremony which took place in the following year. An edition of the 'Entrée à Paris' was brought out by Dallier simultaneously with that of Roffet, but it is inferior to it in beauty and elegance, although both editions seem to have been illustrated by the same cuts. The engraving of these cuts is unusually fine, and contrasts in this respect with the work in other volumes dedicated to the memory of other triumphal entries which took place at about the same date, but this extreme fineness of execution aided in the rapid deterioration of the impressions, and probably Roffet,

having secured for his own edition the first and best, made over to Dallier the already fatigued and worn blocks. It is at least certain that the cuts which illustrate the volumes published by Dallier are all inferior in sharpness of outline to those which figure in the perfect copy of Roffet's edition, which was one of the gems of the collection of the late M. Didot.

The illustrations of this book are remarkable for the great sense of beauty which rules the laying of every line of the design, for a grand simplicity of general outline, and for the exuberant fancy which spends itself in complex ornament, the variety of which is subordinated to the sway of certain dominant lines. The classical Renaissance constrains in its fast embrace the wild passion of the Gothic imagination, and of this union there issues a product which combines for us two sides of art. Let us take, for example, the architectural decorations, the 'Arc Triumphal d'ordre Corinthien' on the way coming to St. Jacques de l'Hôpital, or the processional groups of figures which succeed each other on the page, marching solemnly four abreast; or turn to the noble drawing which sets forth all the majesty of slow command in the captain of the company of twenty-six young men. In each we find the same distinction, the same dignity of abstract line, coupled with the same brilliant elegance of detail, put in with the delicate touch and the rare spirit of a French artist.

LE CAPITAINE DES ENFANS D'HONNEUR À CHEVAL.

ENTRÉE D'HENRI II. À ROUEN.



In the following year appeared the illustrated account of the 'Entrée à Rouen,' printed by Jean le Prest for Robert le Hoy and Robert and Jean dits du Gord, a volume which for beauty of design and execution ranks second only to the 'Entry into Paris.' In both we find traces of the same hand. The engraving of the cuts in the 'Entry into Rouen' is coarser than that in the 'Entry into Paris,' but this very coarseness serves to bring into notice the great power of abstraction possessed by the draughtsman, who presents to us so vast a variety of matter by means so simple.

The march opens with a troop of illustrious captains of Normandy, and the pageant passes onwards with a fine processional rhythm. The character put into their faces, the readiness and spirit of their tread, the skill with which the limbs have been arranged, are points worthy of notice not only in this group, but in all the single page cuts which, like this one, mostly represent companies marching abreast on foot. The band of trumpeters, and the band who hold aloft wreaths of laurel, precede the fifth band, who carry ancient arms and ensigns, and usher in a group, bearing in their arms young lambs, imitating the fashion of ancient victors who triumphed, rendering homage and offering up oblations and sacrifices to the gods.

The plaintive tenderness which accents this group

vanishes as we turn the page in the clash of arms and the tramp of the vigorous march past of 'la figure des soldats.' Then come decorative passages of detail, next the pictures of the elephants, and the picture of the captives; but to these suddenly succeeds one of the most lovely bits of harmonious movement in the book —the graceful company of Flora and her nymphs. The fool and fifers step briskly to the front and contrast with the slower grace and dignity of the advancing goddess and her attendant maids. The flowered beauty of pastoral freshness passes quickly, and the burdened car of Happy Fortune rolls heavily forwards: enthroned on it sits a personage who represents the king, two young princesses are at his feet, and two boys, yet younger princes, are seated side by side in front. This, of all the important two-leaved cuts, is the one which has most happily succeeded in execution.

The composition in which Fame figures, seated aloft in her triumphal chariot—a beautiful woman, grave with a touch of sweetness—clutching the chains which bind the limbs of Death, although large and dignified in treatment, is hardly equal to 'The Car of Happy Fortune.' The procession closes with a band of men at arms followed by two captains—one on foot, the other mounted. These two last figures are so noble in design that they seem worthy to be fixed for us in eternal bronze.

In the cuts which succeed to the figures of the procession and which depict the stations on the path by which it passed, there are various points which seem to indicate the co-operation of Cousin in the work, and the ornamental work shows the same predilection for complexity of involved detail, coupled with the same clear perception of the value of abstract leading lines, that characterise the frontispiece of Cousin's own book.

The work which next appears from a French press, decorated by wood engravings, and taking rank as a work of art, is 'Le Songe de Poliphile.' 'Le Songe de Poliphile' is a reproduction of the 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphile,' printed at Venice by Aldus in 1499. The engravings in the original volume have been attributed to the hand of Mantegna, but the illustrations of the French reproduction, published by Jacques Kerver at Paris in 1554, are adapted, not copied, from those contained in the Italian edition, and the modifications and variations which have been introduced entitle 'Le Songe de Poliphile' to be considered as a work of independent merit.

These alterations and modifications are not tricks played by a wandering fancy, but the result of the action of an imaginative intelligence on matter which it has absorbed, and recast in accordance with its own needs and those of the age to which it owes its allegiance. The Italian fifteenth-century 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphile' becomes 'Le Songe de Poliphile' of

sixteenth-century Paris; on every page are signs of the influence of another mind and of another age. And again, in these brilliant French engravings it is plain, I think, that Cousin is the draughtsman who in them resumes and gives expression to the tendencies of his day, as he indeed was eminently fit to do. But a comparison of the early Italian work with the late French version can alone enable us to appreciate the differences which make an original of what might have been but a copy.

All the Italian compositions depend one upon another, like detached portions of some lengthening frieze; complexity of detail is steadily avoided, the rendering lines are few, and the simplicity of the symbols selected adds greatly to the monumental character of the general design. The quality of such work as this afforded to the early wood engraver certain distinct advantages. His attention, undisturbed by multiplicity of detail, was left free to concentrate itself in the intelligent reproduction of a design every line of which contained the briefest possible abstractof matter absolutely necessary to the intelligible setting forth of the subject represented.

The French illustrations assume an exactly opposite character. The sculpturesque intention of the earlier work is replaced by an evident desire for pictorial effect. The definite little selected groups of leaves which stood in the Italian original as a sufficient indica-

tion of the abundant foliage of the Hercynian wood, are transformed into weighty waving masses, just as the stiff curls of the hero who wanders in its paths have been broken up into delicately disposed groups. Even so the trunks of the trees, which once formed a barrier impervious to the eye, have been detached from each other, and grouped so as to leave intervening spaces which give a pleasant suggestion of forest glades leading into interminable distance. Poliphile himself has changed in figure,—has shot up into that lengthened slimness which should correspond to the current type of elegance; his pose has altered in expression, he holds his gloves elegantly in his left hand, whilst with his right he skilfully tucks up his long garments behind him. When he falls asleep, his arms, instead of being naïvely folded, are arranged with careful forethought, and one supports the head, whilst the other is extended on the drapery which is gathered beneath it.

The same treatment is applied to all the other figures of the story, their proportions are modified. Instead of the square-headed, broad-featured Lombard forms, we see heads which revert to a light and classic type, bound by a narrow fillet firmly confining the hair, and profiles cut out sharply with a pseudo-Greek accent of line. Dramatic gesture is introduced; the very wolf, whom Poliphile encounters, springs off with hungry vigour; the details are every-

where enriched, and the task of their perfect elaboration rendered less easy of fulfilment by means of added complications of chiaroscuro.

Similar changes of feature are to be found also in the architectural designs which occupy so prominent a position in both volumes. The French designer has in every instance adhered to the original principles of their construction, just as he preserves and accentuates the main lines of every composition which he adapts; but he puts in richer and fuller detail, and occasionally adds spirited passages of ornament,—such as the Medusa's head, on the step of a pyramid—whilst to elevations, the proportions of which in the Italian edition correspond precisely with those of the figures to which they serve as a background, he imparts a greater elegance and height.

The technical skill displayed in the execution of these designs, though it is decidedly in advance of that possessed by the Italian engraver, seems to have been wholly inadequate to their just rendering. The effort to give the effect of full light and shade results frequently in mere confusion; the leading lines are lost in a maze of unintelligible hatching, for the values are not felt, and the spaces which should have been left in pure breadth of light are obscured by shadow. The engraver is not only unable to control and keep in proper relation the various degrees of tone, but the execution of the decorations on the title page also

betrays an inability to cope with any delicate intricacy. The whole design has an air of force and character, but in the finer parts, where sensitive skill is required, the handling is so coarse that all distinction of accent is lost. It must, however, be remembered that even when the perfection of the cut itself left nothing to be desired, the rude processes by which the block was then printed from became a sure source of evil.

Whilst the main advance was being made under the very direction, perhaps, of Cousin himself, the French press incessantly produced other works, illustrated by other men, with varying degrees of power. Amongst the most remarkable of these works are two volumes which issued from the press of Jean de Tourmes at Lyons. The first, 'L'Ovide figuré,' published in 1557, contains designs illustrating the 'Metamorphoses,' each of which is accompanied by a short piece of description in French;—the second, a folio Bible, published in 1559, goes by the popular name of 'Bible du Petit Bernard.'

Who Le Petit Bernard was, and why he was called Le Petit, no one knows. Papillon, writing in 1766, suggests that he was a M. Salomon Bernard, author of the designs contained in a volume of 'Hymnes,' printed by De Tourmes in 1560, and mentioned in the preface as one of the best painters of the day. Between these designs and those with which the folio Bible is illustrated there exists a resemblance sufficiently striking

to justify the attribution of the original drawings in both instances to one and the same person; and accordingly it is assumed that Salomon Bernard was identical with the artist whose name has come down to us associated with De Tourmes' folio Bible and 'L'Ovide figuré.'

Fournier, a distinguished engraver and type-caster, who published, at Paris in 1578, a volume on the origin and progress of the art of wood engraving, was the first to put on record a tradition which assigns Le Petit Bernard to Cousin, as a pupil. On this point, again, all evidence is wanting, except that furnished by the style of Bernard's work, which seems to show traces of the action of Cousin's genius upon another, and differing strain of real, though less original, talent. Both in the illustrations of Ovid and in those of the Bible we find that Bernard, unlike his reputed master, preferred to work on the minute scale of a miniaturist, and the quality of his genius betrays just that instinct for dainty deftness of touch and light skill which was requisite for success in this scale. The happy source of his invention would seem to have been inexhaustible, and, coupled with his readiness in design, fitted him expressly to work as a book illustrator. He has been supposed to have engraved, after Raphael, the thirty-six illustrations of Jane de Marnef's beautiful miniature edition of 'Les Amours de Cupido et de Psiché,' issued at Paris in 1546;

but all the works certainly due to his hand were published not at Paris, but at Lyons. At Lyons, he seems to have lived, for he was there employed in 1540 on the state entry of Hippolyte d'Esté, Cardinal of Ferrara, and again in 1548 he shared in the preparations for the reception of Henri II.

Of 'L'Ovide figuré' many editions appeared, and the engravings which it contains have the charm of a toylike prettiness and elegance. The borders, which surround each page, are remarkable for a display of grotesque invention, but their accent is so wholly different from that which marks the main designs that it seems doubtful whether both can be from the same hand. The seductive elegance, which distinguishes the illustrative compositions, disappears from the decorative work, and is replaced by a German bluntness and vigour, which calls to mind the illustrators employed by Gilles Hardouin at an earlier period. Several passages show also a vein of comic coarseness not to be traced elsewhere in work attributed to Le Petit Bernard, and which seems scarcely compatible with the temper of an artist who has shown in the treatment of Scriptural subjects something like elevation of thought.

The illustrations of the Bible are of varying merit. A few are adaptations from other designers. The 'Agony in the Garden,' for instance, is based on an engraving by Albert Dürer, in the series of his 'Little Passion,' and some seem to have been drawn from a

source common to draughtsmen of the day. This is notably the case with that composition which represents the Israelites purifying themselves and washing their garments—a design modifications of which I have seen on more than one enamelled ewer or dish. The great mass, however, would seem to be due to Le Petit Bernard himself; the engraving is skilful, hardly any of the compositions, one or more of which occur on almost every page, drop below an average level of elegance, and one or two are of remarkable merit.

After turning the leaves of the history of Tobit, of Judith, of Esther, of Job, with a growing sense of weariness at the incessant succession of so much neatness, of so much cleverness, the full-page illustration of the 'Vision of Ezekiel' awakes us. The aspect of the angels who appear above the prostrate figure of the Prophet, the broad action of the parallel extended hands, the solemn repetition of the main lines of the design, show unusual imaginative power. It is in such a passage as this that the influence of Cousin's genius seems to elevate the more popular sweetness of Le Petit Bernard. Possibly the greater size of this cut has helped it; for it is certain, at least, that nowhere else does he succeed in so forcibly arresting the attention. His compositions in the Revelations, of the 'Woman on the Beast,' of the 'White Throne and the Dead,' and of the 'Man on the White Horse,' before whom flies a batlike angel, have something of

this same inspiration, but they hardly reach the dignity of his 'Vision of Ezekiel.'

Whilst De Tourmes was bringing out his Bible, Jean le Royer was preparing to publish another folio at Paris, 'Le Livre de Perspective, de Jehan Cousin, Sennonois, maistre painctre à Paris.' Of this book there is but one edition, that which appeared in 1560. It has now become extremely rare. The frontispiece which precedes the title page and most of the numerous illustrations occupy the full page, and we learn from the preface that the cutting of these designs was begun by Aubin Ollivier, brother-in-law of Jean le Royer, and master-die-sinker at the Royal Mint, but that the work was finally taken in hand and finished by Le Royer himself.

To bring out a scientific work of great size and solid character which contained illustrations for the accurate reproduction of which patient and exact skill was required, then, as now, was considered a hazardous enterprise. Le Royer, in his 'printer's preface,' deprecates any hasty judgment being passed upon him for having ventured, at the outset, to publish a work of such pretensions. Cousin, he says, had himself brought the work to him; and Le Royer, fired by zeal for the public good, had accepted the offer, taking heed rather to the advantage which 'la république' might derive from his labour than to the ends of personal profit and advantage.

The diligent pains bestowed on the printing and the engraving are evident; nevertheless a still higher degree of accurate precision is needed, which should not only render, in the rough, main lines and general effect, but which should convey the finer shades of accent. Touches are missed which should have given expression and character to the averted turn of a head, or to the light pressure of a finger among the leaves of a laurel crown. It is easy to see in the woodcut where the graver has gone astray, and how the thin edge of the wood has broken up where intricate hatching or minute repetition of line has been required. In all such passages the skill of the workman has failed, and the original finish of the drawing is blotted out.

The frontispiece, which is the most characteristic design in the book, consists of an architectural framework, on which is based a brilliant display of scientific drawing. Nude studies of men, in postures which present the most difficult examples of fore-shortening, are combined with geometrical instruments into one large decorative design. The whole is wrought up into full relief, brought to a point of completeness not touched in the illustrations of any of the works previously brought out in France. To the frontispiece succeeds a title page remarkable for an air of sentimental elegance which contrasts with the bold and uncompromising vigour which stamps the tricks of skill decorating the preceding page. The technical

execution of this design is distinguished by a precision and delicacy of touch which decidedly surpasses the work of the frontispiece.

It would seem indeed as if the title page, and also the illustration called 'Paysage,' had been engraved by a hand different to that employed on the first cut. In the foreground of the 'Paysage' the designer has placed a group of figures ascending some steps to the left. The group consists of a woman leading children by the hand, one of whom is frightened by the play of a little dog, a dog of the breed (half-terrier, half-poodle) beloved by Henri III. The woman bears herself with dignity; the action of the children is full of life and animation; the more finely complicated parts of the work are handled with a skill which is lacking in the treatment of such similar passages as occur in the frontispiece, and the very style of the execution is slightly different.

The workman of the frontispiece brings into considerable prominence his dexterous shaping of lines, so as to indicate in one turn the modelling of form and the play of light and shade upon the surface, and this method, which reached the last stage of mechanical adroitness in the hands of Claude Mellan, who engraved his 'Head of Christ' by a single line, if employed to any great extent, always ensures a strong impression of mannerism which is extremely disagreeable and monotonous. It is used by the engraver of

the title page with good effect, and it affords an opportunity for the display of just the kind of skill which one would suppose Aubin Ollivier, the master die-sinker, to have possessed. It seems likely therefore that he, who first commenced to cut the illustrations of this book, was the engraver who has left his mark on the first page, and that to Jean le Royer, who tells us that the greater part was afterwards executed by his hand, should be ascribed the more artistic rendering of the later pieces.

After the publication of Cousin's 'Livre de Perspective,' no specially important illustrated work appeared until the 'Cosmographie Universelle,' by André Thevet, was brought out by Pierre l'Huillier in 1575. A less remarkable volume by the same author, 'Cosmographie du Levant,' had been published by De Tourmes in 1554, and both these works contained a great number of illustrations which have been, but, I think, without justice, attributed to Cousin.

Even in the engravings where the resemblance to his work is most striking—as, for instance, in the cut of the Hippodrome, at Constantinople, where we see the obelisk and distant pyramid, which are always favourite objects with him—we find that the drawing of the figures which people the foreground shows a want of intention and style which looks like the hand, rather of an imitator than of an inventor. If the designs were indeed by Cousin, then he did not draw them on the

block, but left them to the interpretation of the popular engraver, Pierre Raëfe, of Paris, whose name is written, at full length, on the engraving of the 'Antiquities of Athens.'

The engravings which illustrate the celebrated Bible of Jean le Clerc, brought out in 1596, have far more title to be considered as Cousin's work. Yet after careful examination I think it will be seen that all the best, like 'The Feast of Ahasuerus,' bear the unmistakable stamp, not of the manner of Cousin, but of the school of Fontainebleau, which has, indeed, a superficial resemblance to the style of some of his later work.

The publication of this 'Bible Historiée' worthily closes the series of illustrated works produced in France during the sixteenth century. The triptych cuts which decorated 'L'Ovide figuré' of Robioni pretended to little more than rough outline, with slight indication of the shade. The illustrations of 'L'Entrée à Paris,' and of 'L'Entrée à Rouen,' were more complicated in design and richer in detail, but the dangerous risks of full chiaroscuro are still avoided.

A further step was taken in the 'Songe de Poliphile.' The new tendencies were still more marked; restrained gesture passed into dramatic action, and the old simplicity of outline was confused by the forcible, but as yet unsuccessful, effort to give full relief. Next we must take into account the work of Le Petit

Bernard. Endowed with fertile fancy, with genuine taste in design, and with exquisite sensitiveness of touch, he gave to the method he employed a precision and delicacy unknown to the earlier engravers of the century. It remained, however, for the engraver of the 'Livre de Perspective' to make final proof of the same means as applied to larger work. Mechanical improvements and mechanical excellences might hereafter be attained, but from an artistic point of view the interpretation of parts of the design on the title page, and of several subordinate passages in this work, leaves little to be desired.

Wood engraving was, however, destined before the close of the century to be displaced from the position which it had acquired. The more costly and tedious but more certain process of engraving on copper gradually gained popular favour and esteem. In 1584, when André Thevet brought out his two folio volumes of 'Vrais portraits des hommes illustres,' he abandoned the method of which he had availed himself for the illustrations of his two previous works, 'La Cosmographie du Levant,' and 'La Cosmographie Universelle.' In the preface to his last work he announced that he had been at the pains of bringing the best engravers from Flanders, and congratulated himself that by the grace of God he was the first to bring into vogue at Paris 'l'imprimerie en taille douce,' as already practised at Lyons and Antwerp.

Great facility in execution, and the rapidity with which it was possible to multiply impressions from the block, long continued to maintain in credit the process of wood engraving, in spite of its serious disadvantages. The carelessness and the unskilfulness of those who practised it was always a subject of annoyance. De Lorme himself remarks in his 'Nouvelles Inventions à bien bâtir' that he is forced to complain 'à tous propos des tailleurs de mes planches;' and the execution of the illustrations of Thevet's two earlier works is so slovenly that it is impossible to get from them any accurate impression of the original designs.

The portraits which illustrate his third publication are engraved in line on copper. All ages and countries were laid under contribution to make up the number of the personages who figure on the pages of the work. The rulers of Greece and Rome, the fathers of the Church, the chiefs of savage tribes, are gathered together into a common crowd, together with the princely warriors of the Middle Ages and the poets and humanists of the day. In many cases this book has preserved for us reproductions of authentic portraits which have since disappeared. The execution shows the possession of excellent technical training, and one engraver at least gives evidence of very considerable power. The portrait of Mellin de St. Gelais is distinguished by an intelligent delicacy of execution which contains the promise of the future silvery triumphs of French

line-engraving. The very accent and colour of a portrait by François Clouet are rendered with admirable felicity: the tender care with which the sharply-cut features have been modelled is successfully reproduced, and the high-toned sobriety of a very definite intellectual type is well brought out.

But the engravers of this book were not Frenchmen. Paris, it is true, had long possessed a distinguished representative of the art of engraving on copper in the person of Étienne Delaulne. But Delaulne, popularly known as Maître Stephanus, had been twice forced, by the religious persecutions which raged in his native country, to seek safety and quiet in a foreign land. Once he had returned to Paris, but only to be driven forth afresh; and when Thevet was in need of skilful artists to engrave his portraits, he had to seek them not in France, but in Flanders.

CHAPTER III.

ENGRAVING ON METAL.

Jean Duvet dit Drouot.

> O dur Tumbeau de ce que tu en cœuvres
> Contente-toy avoir n'en puis ses œuvres.
>
> C. MAROT.

JEAN DUVET, whose name is only preserved from oblivion by the capricious industry and curiosity of a few collectors of prints, was an artist whose powers of invention were of the highest order. The brief prefatory notice which is attached to the list of his works in the Catalogue Robert-Dumesnil sums up nearly all we know concerning him: it tells us that he was a goldsmith, and that he dwelt in the ancient town of Langres, the Roman Langonum, past which flow the waters of the Marne. He was born in 1485, and belongs therefore to the advanced guard which, on the threshold of the century, heralded the coming of that greater company to whom fell the honours of final triumph. The daily work of his profession prepared him to handle the burin with confidence, for the practice of the goldsmith's art naturally trained men

up to the prosecution of engraving, just as the technic of glass-painting educated the Limousin artists to work in enamel.

M. de la Boulaye has published in his 'Étude sur Jean Duvet' all those passages in the records of the city or the accounts of the Cathedral of Langres, in which reference is made to his name. It first appears amongst those of various artists, called together by the town council in April 1521, to devise and prepare various shows in celebration of the triumphal entry of François I.; and Duvet was also one of the goldsmiths with whom the magistrates bargained 'de la façon du present que l'on entendoit faire au Roy.' On his arrival the King visited the Cathedral of St. Mammes, for whose remains Duvet was actually engaged in preparing a magnificent reliquary, which he completed in 1554, and a full description of which is preserved in the Inventory of the Treasure of the Cathedral. In this year also his name occurs on a list of the inhabitants from whom various objects were requisitioned to prepare for the chance of war; again in 1527 Duvet, then residing in the quarter of St. Didier, paid 25 *sols* as his contribution to the sum raised in the city towards the ransom of François, then a prisoner in Spain; and on his arrival at Dijon, in 1529, the King bought of him a bowl, damasquined in gold and silver. The royal treasurer, in his note of the purchase, speaks of Duvet as 'demourant à Dijon,' but no trace of his

name is to be found in the records of that city, so that it is probable that he only visited the town on this occasion, for we again find him at Langres in 1533, when he was employed on the second triumphal entry of François I., made by that king in company with his wife, Eleonora of Austria.

In 1544 Duvet was one of the company of city notables who proclaimed the peace of Crépy, and in 1552 we find that he had left his old house, for in this year he is taxed in the quarter Des Moulins, instead of in that of St. Didier. At about this date also he appears to have been received, together with his wife Jeanne, into the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament, for about half-way down the list of members received between 1547 and 1572 occurs 'Jehan Duvet, dict Drouot orphebvre; Jeanne sa femme.' Here the passages found by M. de la Boullaye come to an end, unless, indeed, as is probable, Duvet were the Jean Drouot who in 1562 assists at a general deliberation of the citizens of Langres concerning the Octroi; for Duvet was certainly alive in 1561, the year in which an issue (perhaps the second) of his Apocalypse appeared; and on two occasions he is entered in the city records, not as Jean Duvet, but as Jean Drouot, his profession being in one case specified, so that there can be no doubt as to the person meant.

Duvet has signed much of his work, and several pieces are dated. The first, an Annunciation, executed

in 1520; the last, a titlepage prefixed to a set of twenty-four illustrations of the Apocalypse, published in 1561. A series of this work, described by Robert-Dumesnil, is preserved in the 'Bibliothèque des Estampes,' at Paris.

This series is complete, having not only the title-page, but the 'Privilegium Regis,' which is wanting to the set in the Print Room of the British Museum. This privilege was granted in 1556, but the date, which is to us of the greatest importance, occurs on the titlepage. Duvet has here represented himself seated at a table, on which lie two tablets, and one of them bears the inscription, 'Joh. Duvet auri-fab Lingon. Anno^r 70 has hist. perfecit 1555.' If, then, Duvet were seventy years old in 1555, when he executed this series of designs, he must have been just thirty-five when he engraved the Annunciation, which bears date 1520.

A certain lack of individual character would lead us to place this plate, even if it were undated, among Duvet's earlier work. It is not, perhaps, the first, but one of the first, which he engraved. Everybody begins by imitation. Duvet seems to have begun by imitating German masters, and when he had trained his hand to rival their precise and vigorous methods, he entered on a second epoch, during which the study of Italian work chiefly occupied him.

During the first period both Holbein and Dürer seem to have engaged his attention, but chiefly Dürer.

In the engraving of the Annunciation the influence of Dürer in respect of technic is not to be overlooked. The scene itself is brought before us with unwonted pomp. The background is occupied by a royal palace, the windows of which are filled with spectators; to one of the pilasters beneath clings a child, beside whom stands an attendant, and all are watching the majestic descent of the angel Gabriel, who comes surrounded by a band of little fluttering angels breathing through their flutes and bowing their violins with dainty energy.

The Virgin kneels with an air of state and receives the heaven-sent messenger with proud humility. Her hands are delicately treated; the pose of the figure is slightly self-conscious, but the lines are disposed with the same sense of beauty which makes itself felt in the form of the angel before her, in spite of an eminently realistic accent. For there is no trace by which we might here divine the master of the Apocalypse. The restraint imposed by imperfect mastery of the tools employed combines with emulation of the exact method of German technic to enhance the positive and unsuggestive character of the general impression. In addition to this the national instinct for symmetrical *mise en scène* substitutes an air of worldly ceremony for the breathing of divine glory, and overpowers the individual bent of Duvet's genius, which aspired by nature after the unseen, and caught in its moments of perfection a style of mystical grandeur.

The impressions of this plate are never in what is called a good state, and in this respect it resembles other pieces which are also similar in style of execution, and should, therefore, in all probability be referred to the same time—the time when the demands made upon Duvet's attention by the exigencies of mere workmanship did not permit him to concentrate his powers of invention.

In this class I should propose to place four other designs: 'The Judgment of Solomon,' an unfinished 'Deposition,' 'The Virgin surrounded by Cherubs in the Clouds,' and 'Christ with the Woman of Samaria.' All these are marked by the same careful effort after the technic of a foreign school. There is the same endeavour to bring about continuous and equal ruling of level lines, or neatly regulated cross-hatching, in the attempt to come up to the standard of a system which is afterwards entirely put aside. In his mature work Duvet substitutes for it an entirely different procedure. Instead of regular spaces of cross-hatching he gives a rapid scribbling-in of curt incessantly succeeding lines laid one above another, and repeated in the same sense by other layers wherever added force and broader depth of shade are required; or if an outline tells weakly against the light, instead of toning down the too brilliant background till sufficient support is obtained, he reinforces the bordering lines with vigour.

This change takes place simultaneously with change

in style. In 'L'Amour, un homme et une femme,' and in 'The Virgin bearing the Infant Christ, with her feet on the sun and moon,' there is to be traced the stimulus gained by the study of Italian design, and the development of a freer and more flexible technic.

Duvet never, indeed, became precisely what is meant by an accomplished artist; in all his work we look rather for the signs of the fervid passion of poetic insight, or of the temper which preferred to rest in a burdened mood of brooding aspiration, than for evidence of acquired science and accomplishment. But though he was in nowise a complete and learned master, yet he gathered much fruit from the inevitable teaching of daily work, and continually strengthened in those points on which he at the first showed signs of weakness. His 'Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,' an undated print, which may perhaps be taken next in order, shows far greater knowledge of all that may be learnt in art than he displayed in the Annunciation, whilst the habits of his profession still assert themselves markedly in various passages.

In Duvet's earlier drawings the tendency to fill in all vacant spaces with goldsmith's work comes constantly to the front. The feet of the angel Gabriel in the Annunciation rest on a broad stool carved and wrought throughout into elaborate relief, and the details of a poor and mannered composition of 'Christ with the Woman of Samaria' are enriched in the same fashion. Water

weeds twine about the vase placed in front of the group, and the very bucket which the woman drops into the water is chased as if it were a ewer destined for a king's table. In 'The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,' one of Duvet's most perfect works, this preference is shown, but it does not predominate; the naked body of the saint is treated with a strong sense of beauty, just coloured by some graceful reminiscence of the design of the noble schools of North Italy; but the delicate decoration, of chased arabesque, which covers the column to which the martyr is bound and the pilaster on the right, recalls by its low relief and symmetrical involutions true French characteristics in Renaissance ornament.

As Duvet advanced in life all indication of special habits fell away from his work, or left only here and there just so much of accent as might be a source of quaint charm in his less serious moments. His attention, concentrated by the absorbing interest of his own inventions, was no longer liable to be disturbed by inappropriate external impressions or attracted by the foreign current of other men's energy.

The 'Marriage of Adam and Eve,' which stands at the head of Robert Dumesnil's list, is to be counted of the work executed by Duvet at this turning moment of his career. It is one of the finest works of his later manner, executed possibly when he was about fifty years of age (*circa* 1535). It is not only a brilliant

print, but fully redeems the noblest promise of his earlier work. He has thrown aside the old familiar plan of the subject which had been rendered tame by frequent repetition. The ancient apple-tree stands no more in the centre, with man and woman to right and left as supporters. The Creator himself, robed in the flowing garments of a great High Priest, occupies the middle place; he takes the hands of these creatures of his breath, and, bowing his mitre-crowned head with a prophetic smile, joins in fateful marriage the father and the mother of the destined race.

Duvet's treatment of the nude, as shown in these two figures of Adam and Eve, though defective in sense of form, is wholly noble and adequate in sentiment. Both figures stand well, and are possessed by an air of size and dignity. The body and limbs of the man have a sinewy grandeur, those of the woman are lissom and pliant. The face of Eve has much beauty, which is enhanced by the treatment of the long waving hair, and in both cases the forms and movement are welded by a harmonious sentiment which finds its crowning expression in the turn and type of the head and countenance, so that every line or touch leads us up to the final impression of unity and fitness.

On either side of these three figures angels press close, and one at Eve's left hand tramples under foot the Devil of whose cunning she is ordained to be the victim. High above, against the topmost margin of

the picture, the heavily-laden branches of a symbolical apple-tree appear, whilst the rest of the page is filled with a vision of the teeming hosts who should issue from the union of the fated pair. Princes, warriors, saints crowd thickly round in a dense mass, and the individual character of every one of this thronging crowd of faces innumerable has been realised with vivid clearness of sight.

The actual variety of type is in itself admirable, but yet more admirable is the grandeur and breadth of style for which some of these heads are conspicuous. In several we get in perfection that peculiar cast of feature in which Duvet especially delighted, and which recals for us the large and voluptuous beauty of heads on the coins of Syracuse; with this difference, however, that the slumberous heaviness which overspreads the work of the Sicilian artist is here pierced by intense mental excitement—godlike repose is replaced by human passion.

The brilliant print of the 'Crucifixion,' a fine impression of which is possessed by the British Museum, also exhibits the more special qualities of Duvet's work in an equal degree.

The arrangement of the composition itself impresses us, again, with the distinct character of a strongly-felt original conception. In every part we are conscious of the artist's perfect clearness of vision; every smallest accessory has its place and meaning, has been seen

thus, as it stands, and in no other wise. The sky is left white, and against it, in the background, rises rich architecture,—the palace of Joseph of Arimathea. Near at hand, to the right, are gates opening into the trim and quiet garden where the new tomb in the rock stands empty, with young trees springing from its roof.

But all this is seen only when the eye recoils exhausted by watching the seething mass of various passions and emotions which are gathered about the foot of the cross. Great compass of range in depicting the different aspects of human feeling distinguishes this presentment of the familiar scene. Here is the numbing sorrow which knows no tears, the oppressive grief of those who will not weep, the serious and respectful regret of the just man; finally the hysteric agony of the Magdalen contrasted with the indifferent, half-selfish curiosity of the two excellent women who, well cloaked and decently hooded, accompany Nicodemus on the left.

Aloft, over all, hangs the dead body on the centre cross, which is thrust forward, apart, and in front of those on which the two malefactors are crucified. Beside the cold insensibility of death, in the bright centre of the broad daylight serenity of earth and heaven, the artist sets life, with its infinite capacity for anguish stretched to the uttermost. Out of this calculated dissonance between the dramatic action and the surrounding circumstance there comes a keener

pathos as of a cry in sharp distress. A more acute impression of pain is conveyed than could have been realised by the opposite method of treatment. Had the aspect of nature been attuned to perfect harmony with the human sorrow which it enframes, we should have been in a measure prepared and brought into such a state of expectant sympathy as would have rendered the burden easier to be borne; as it is the effect is heightened till it comes upon us with a shock.

If we turn from dwelling on the sentiment and pictorial quality of the design to examine the workmanship, we find an advance made in this respect which is much beyond the point reached in earlier work. The drawing in parts reaches a completeness which shows that every day had been forced to yield its teaching, and that constantly quickened attention had perfected the correspondence between execution and intention. Henceforth, in the years to come, though we find Duvet ever working with the fresh zeal of a learner, we must always recognise that the period of apprenticeship is past.

The full-length portrait of the young Henri II., which forms a companion to the print called 'Royal Majesty,' has been supposed to have been executed at the death of the King, and it has also been cited in confirmation of the theory that Duvet passed part of his life at Paris. It is, however, more probable that he worked after some popular portrait, than that he had

an opportunity of studying the King's features for himself; and the character of the execution, taken with the youth of the face, would incline one to conjecture that both the pieces were produced in honour of the King's accession, rather than as a tribute to his memory.

In motive these two prints are more nearly allied to the common aims of French art at that day than is usually the case with Duvet's inventions. The general character is decorative. The young King is represented standing between two supporting figures of Renown and Justice. Renown is at his left hand, and Justice on his right. As these three figures stand erect side by side on the same level, and reach an almost equal height, nothing but an exquisite instinct in design could have obtained the desirable predominance for the figure of the King, and at the same time have escaped all appearance of formality in arrangement. As it is, the royal personage commands the eye at once, distinguished in his whole bearing by an air of authority which tempers the attractive beauty which clothes alike his figure and those of his companions. He wears splendid armour, on the wrought inlay of which the goldsmith has spent his utmost skill, for the form and finish of each piece might have satisfied even the demands of Marshal Strozzi, the great critic of the day in matters such as these.

An affection for classic precedent shows itself in some of the details of the appointments, in spite of the

realism which accents every part; and the knees of the Prince are bare, even as the knees of imperial Roman statues are bared. Yet it would be impossible to suppose that this king had been reared in the august palaces which of old lined the banks of the Tiber. The mysterious smile which plays about the corners of the mouth and lends a dubious meaning to the glance has a significance bred of another, a later, and a more complex civilisation. The self-doubt and the self-questioning of Christian rule have disturbed the directness and assurance of classic purpose.

The accession of Henri II. gave no check to the artistic activity which his father had so hotly stimulated, and the magnificent tastes of his mistress, Diane de Poitiers, required the service of a world of artists. Her pleasure or caprice have fashioned themselves in every material, and her classic name lent itself so kindly to the suggestive allusions of masque and allegory, that it brought her of itself additional renown and popularity. The crescent and the bow, the attributes of the daughter of Zeus, never failed to bring to mind the Diana in whose hands then rested so much of sovereign authority. Even where the intention of direct homage was not apparent there seemed to be in the very selection of subjects, such as the fate of Orion, or the death of Actæon, an implied compliment to the reigning favourite's resistless powers. Étienne Delaulne brilliantly reproduced the designs of

Luca Penni, and these same designs were made even more popular by the ateliers of Limoges. Duvet engraved a series of compositions which have been supposed to contain allusions to the life of the Duchess, because, though we find no trace of the circumstances of classic myth, yet in one of the plates usually comprised in this series a woman appears whose head is surmounted by the suggestive crescent.

No satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered of the meaning of these six designs. If they refer to the actual circumstances in the history of the Duchesse de Valentinois, the connection between the facts of the allegory and the facts of her life is quite successfully veiled. A king, who may be readily taken to stand for Henri II., is another personage actively engaged in the events of this strange drama, but the chief part is evidently assigned, not to any of the human actors, but to a unicorn,—the beautiful unicorn of fable, armed with the one precious, potent, and far-projecting horn.

In the first of the series the wooded banks of a broad river form the background to the scene. These banks are lined on both sides with animals waiting to drink. The unicorn stands in the centre, and, bending down to the left, dips his horn into the water. Of this plate at least, taken by itself, the meaning is evident. To the horn of the unicorn was of old ascribed the special properties of an antidote, and he is here exercising its virtues in favour of his brother beasts, just as

in 'Poison and Antidote' Duvet has shown him aiding a bear and lion to escape the noxious exhalations of the dragon who attacks them. The drawing of the animals is spirited, and shows that free delight in the *naïveté* of their unconscious movements which was common to the artists of the day, and which brings to mind the horses of Léonard Limosin, or the dogs of Cousin and Delaulne.

Although hardly equal in interest to the rest of the set, this design is very quaint and original in treatment. The subject is, perhaps, the opening prelude to the drama which commences in the next plate, in which Diana appears, sitting enthroned under a canopy, with the king at her side, and her dogs at her feet. An obsequious huntsman approaches, offering a present. He is followed by two others, who are surrounded by a band of hounds. In the background rises a palace, near which runs a river. Everything is pervaded by an air of magnificent and luxurious ease.

In the third plate events have suddenly taken an unexpected turn. The King, perhaps Diana's royal companion—with an attendant band of mounted knights, has attacked the unicorn, who, furiously turning on his pursuers, succeeds in putting them to flight. Goaded to fury, the angry beast drives his piercing horn through the bodies of his fallen adversaries. The beautiful youth, who appeared following the huntsman into the presence of the enthroned Diana,

falls, grievously wounded, on the right. Many gaze, stricken with paralysing fear, two throw heavy stones, whilst the King ignobly quits the field, and flies for safety to the distant palace.

Eventually the huntsmen, by dint of numbers, get the better of their prey, for in the fourth plate the unicorn is in bonds. But he leads his captors, and has brought them into the presence of a woman of rare beauty, at whose feet he falls exhausted. His body is bound in many bands, his feet are fastened together, and the confining loops pass into the hands of a hunter, next to whom are ranged the mounted King and apparently his troop of attendants. At the back of the lady, under a little fenced and covered sanctuary, blossoms a single monster lily; she herself holds a viol in her hands, and laments with horror the condition of the noble beast. The King, who is here much younger than before, looks at her with admiration and curiosity; whilst lifting his hand, he points to the figures of three dead men hanging on a gallows in the middle distance.

With the fifth plate comes another abrupt change. A magnificent triumphal car fills the scene; on this car sits, not Diana, but the beautiful woman to whom the unicorn conducted the band of hunters; the King is her companion, in front of them lies the unicorn; on his back a Cupid is mounted, two others on foot slowly urge forward the motley team of wild animals who, marching heavily, set in motion the ponderous chariot

rolling behind them. The King stretches out his arms, uplifting a woven wreath of oak-leaves, over his companion's head, who, sitting low before him, plays her viol, and sings, whilst around her cluster three more Loves, one of whom supports before her the music from which she reads.

Finally, in the sixth plate, we meet the same three actors, the unicorn, the King, and the lady of the lily, but they have dismounted, and have formed into a triumphal procession, the unicorn, who is evidently the hero of the situation, being led between the King and the lady. In front of him, children bear a torch, formed of three lights, inserted within circling rings; a troop follow, bearing palm-branches, and from above descends a flying Love, who bears over the head of the unicorn the chaplet of oak-leaves, which in an earlier plate the King had held over that of the lady.

It seems impossible to say what the unicorn can be intended to symbolise. Some have suggested that it should be taken to stand for the kingdom of France, but this is scarcely probable, for, in the third plate we find the King, who must necessarily be supposed to represent Henri II., joining himself to the band of hunters who are bent on compassing the death or captivity of the animal. The disappearance from the scene of Diana, who occupies so prominent a position in the first plate, is also puzzling, and at present we have no clue to the mystery.

Print-collectors in the early days, when as yet the initials J. D. stood for an unknown name, impressed by the interest and importance of these six designs, surnamed the mysterious engraver 'le maître à la licorne.' All the set possess the charm of poetical and imaginative quality; and nowhere else, except in certain of his illustrations to the Apocalypse, does Duvet show himself so entirely free from all foreign preoccupation. The first is remarkable for the effective grouping of the various beasts who crowd the banks of the river; for the fine sense of structure, as well as texture, displayed in modelling their forms; and for the knowledge of animal character evidenced in each characteristic pose.

But the second print, that in which we find the beautiful Diana, is far more complete; the charm and dignity of the principal figures, the perfect freedom with which the long and noble lines of the limbs are laid, the individual character of each face and movement, enhance the attraction which comes of the brilliant general effect and picturesque disposition of the subject. The same completeness of presentment and thoroughness of workmanship characterise the rest of the work. The bits of architectural enrichment are always graceful and original in design; the dogs and other animals who play a conspicuous part in the story are equally noticeable; the lily, which rises behind the lady of the unicorn, might have blossomed

in holy quiet before the Virgin of an Annunciation by Angelico, and every bunch of leaves is selected with the same happy instinct for forms which are fit and beautiful.

Throughout, Duvet shows a real originality of conception, and catches from the subject a tinge of livelier colour than would seem to have been proper to the usual bent of his temper. A lighter grace of fancy flits over the scene, and brightens up the weight and dignity even of the *naïve* Cupids who walk or fly with a certain grandeur of movement which is not without a touch of clumsiness.

But though these designs are rich in invention, and are distinguished by a noble sensitiveness in the rendering, they do not dwell with us as do the profounder imaginings into which Duvet seems to have put his most secret and passionate energies. They do not recur to our after-recollection, with the same force and distinctness of realisation, which shapes for us vivid pictures of his vision of the marriage of Adam and Eve; or even of his noble conception of 'The Deposition'; still less do they prepare us for the fervour of mystical passion which he has breathed into his illustrations of the Apocalypse. The noble powers of invention which Duvet displays, throughout this long series of five-and-twenty compositions, entitle him without doubt to take rank quite apart from other artists of his time and nation; and these

powers are allied to workmanship which is perfect of its kind.

Completeness of workmanship has been a distinguishing property of French hands in all time, and in the tale which it tells of evenly-balanced powers, of steady sight, of quick wit, of fingers under certain control and direction, we generally find also lines of fine limitation. The energy which habitually applies itself over every visible surface, in justly apportioned distribution, cannot suck up its forces into such inner concentration of withdrawal as alone can enable it to command, with absolute insight, the mysterious issues of the spirit. The possession of this power of concentrating the vision on the unseen is the rarest gift given to men: wherever it is found, it distinguishes its possessor.

Sustained attention and unslackening industry will often bring to bear, on the outside world, a stream of persistent energy, which ultimately fashions itself into an imposing result; and this industry and this intention will generally be found to have achieved, in a high degree, all desirable and admirable mastery of technic, and to be in possession of justly prized knowledge and accomplishment. These precious acquisitions may be wanting to him who has the power of inner vision, and yet he shall be nevertheless an artist of a type infinitely rare; but if he combine the fusing heat of imagination, with such happy sensitiveness

to external impressions as will surely, if gradually, correct all tendencies to mannerism, and will enable him to assimilate those refinements of art which are sometimes thought to be the sole portion of those who have been trained in a great school, he must be counted as one of that rarest company, in whose ranks we find standing, more than three hundred years ago, Jean Duvet, the old French goldsmith of Langres.

It is the more strange to us that he should have been what he was, seeing that his nation has tended always to bring forth and prize most highly men of quite another order, those who reproduce the seen, bringing indeed to their task a piercing keenness of intuition, by which they possess in its entirety whatsoever their eyes look on, and which is to them a force equivalent to that passionate insight which grants to the few control over a world which is to others invisible.

In the twenty-five illustrations of the Apocalypse, we approach the record of the closing years of Duvet's life: 'Aurifab. Lingon. anno[r] 70, has historias perfecit.'

It may well appear incredible that at this advanced age a man should retain such reserve of vigour as might enable him to bring forth that which, as far as we know, is the greatest work of his life. Robert-Dumesnil supposes that all the plates had been engraved before Duvet put the finishing touch by filling

in the tablets of the frontispiece with the inscription recording the date, his name and age. This was a matter often left to be executed at the last, and sometimes, as in the unicorn series, and in the portrait of Henri II., we find the tablet still blank after the completion of the work. The only point, therefore, proved by the existence of this date, is that in 1555, when seventy years of age, Duvet was working on these designs.

There are, indeed, two which are distinctly inferior to the rest, and these two prints (Nos. 19 and 20) occur towards the close of the series, but in many which precede and in those which follow we find the most complete manifestation of vigorous power. Therefore if we even suppose that these twenty-five designs were produced between the years of sixty and seventy, how can we account for the fact that the old age of Duvet not only yielded a rich harvest of experience, but also shows, in predominant activity, a quality of noble invention which, though not absent from his earlier work, is there indeed by no means so unmistakably conspicuous?

We should expect that a man endowed with this faculty would have given evidence of its possession in the earlier stages of his life; Duvet seems to be a strange exception. It is, however, to be recollected that the body of engravings which have come down to us from his hand do not in any way represent the

chief activity of his life. By profession he was not an engraver, but a goldsmith, and his most vigorous energies wrought themselves out, in the design and execution of works, not one of which is known to have survived. Through the many years of his long life, his most precious skill had gone to the fashioning of the most precious metals. Was it in them that he had stored the deeper secrets of his brooding imagination? Was it, for him, but a pastime to engrave? Did the burin bring only occupation and amusement to hours of rest from weightier labours? If this were so, then the business of Duvet's life has passed away, and left no trace; it is but by the plaything of his lighter moments that his name has been recovered from oblivion.

It may be that what had been at first but a secondary interest attracted, as years went on, more and more of Duvet's attention, until he was led to abandon for it his long-accustomed tools, so that as an engraver his most important labours would appear, of course, amongst his last.

In 1498, Albert Dürer had produced sixteen illustrations of the Apocalypse engraved on wood. These sixteen engravings Duvet certainly had in his hands when he himself set about making his own designs. In several instances he has adapted to his own purpose the general arrangement and main outlines of Dürer's compositions. This is notably the case with three

subjects: 'St. John eating the Book;' 'The Woman clothed with the Sun travaileth;' and 'Babylon, the Great, sitteth upon the Scarlet-coloured Beast, having Seven Heads and Ten Horns.' Each of these is based on Dürer, perhaps to a greater extent than any others of the set, but they are in no wise copies of Dürer's work. It is not only that the touch is totally different, and that Duvet, engraving on copper, had necessarily to translate the forms treated by the German artist into a totally different technic. This alone would not bring about the great difference in general character, the impression of which is striking enough at a first glance, but deepens the longer we continue our examination.

Even when, as in these three prints, the relative position of the figures is preserved, their attitude is altered; the broad general likeness may subsist, but then every detail will be quite different in treatment. The outline of the Dragon, who waits to devour the offspring of the Woman with Child, is taken straight from Dürer, but this outline is filled in with expressive and delicate elaboration; the Woman herself occupies about the same place in both, but the Woman whom Duvet has invented is a creation of a totally different order.

In Dürer, a fresh, plump, little German matron stands looking at us full face, with her long garments decently wrapped about her feet. The mysteries of

Heaven open above her head, but her round innocent countenance is unshadowed by awe, and she betrays no consciousness of the neighbourhood of the Red Dragon, who rises before her, invested with all the terrors of a northern imagination. As we look, we feel that there is something out of place in the quiet insensibility expressed in the attitude, something inappropriate in the comfortable aspect of this well-to-do bourgeois type. Duvet discards the little figure altogether, and in her place stands a woman of majestic proportions, confronting the Dragon, who is just baulked of his prey. Her bearing is ennobled by an unconscious dignity of movement, the whole figure is turned towards us, but the hands and head are uplifted with a lovely energy of momentary aspiration following the fate of her child, who is caught up unto God, and to His throne.

Laid on long folds of drapery, angels bear the little one upwards to the Eternal Father, and this is the only passage throughout the print which shows exact resemblance to the corresponding portion in Dürer—the forms and action of the angels and child are almost a faithful transcript from the elder master's design, but the person of God the Father, who is by Dürer presented in half-length, rising out of the clouds about him, is entirely revealed by Duvet, as He bends solemnly forwards to receive the child.

The chief interest of the design centres, however, about Duvet's thoroughly original and beautiful con-

ception of the figure of the Woman. The bare lines of indication fall with harmonious grace, but these beautiful outlines are filled in and perfected; every form is wrought out with an unmistakable steadiness of intention, and in this work of finish none of the heat of the first moment of inspiration has been suffered to escape. Every touch is impregnate with a weird and fervid pathos.

The sentiment of the hands and head, the strange, heavy-lidded beauty of the eyes, the curious languor which breathes a feverish charm over the attitude and movement, combine to produce a powerful image of distinct and strange character. The feet are just poised for flight; yet a moment, and the vast eagle's wings which, springing from her shoulders, encompass her within their protecting circle, will have borne her afar off to the place of safety, appointed of the God who has received her child.

The same direct intention, animated by imaginative fervour, and refined by sensitive appreciation of noble line, is equally conspicuous in Duvet's rendering of Babylon the Great. This engraving is the last of the three examples selected above to illustrate the nature and extent of Duvet's obligations to Dürer. The main lines of the whole composition are repeated with an almost literal exactness. Babylon sits on the horned beast, holding the golden cup full of her abominations in her hands, behind her the great city

of her reign is wrapped in flames, whilst round about her crowd the kings and inhabitants of the earth.

But the Babylon of Dürer is not this wickedly beautiful woman about whose eyes and lips flits an evil charm, the powerful seduction of which is answered by the passionate gaze of the boy-king, who, on the right, is bringing to her knees his crown, and the days of his youth. The delight of luxury, the joy of unchecked indulgence in the pleasures of sense, leave the accent of a singular emotion on all these thronging faces, from out of whom rises pre-eminent the magnificent arbitress of their fate, decked with rich ornaments of gold and pearls and precious stones. Over all lies a pervading sentiment of conscious excitement, the expression of the moment of anticipation, which precedes the hot pulse-throb of instant passion, but in the heaven above suddenly appears the angel crying mightily with a strong voice. A splendid form, full of brilliance and fiery energy, swift-flying, with a terrible downward rush, the very shadow of which seems to drive before it the band of those who seek to live deliciously.

This is not the angel of Dürer. The choice of forms, the action, the expression, are vivified by that strange and exceptional character, which can never fail to attract and impress those who find pleasure in poetic quality. It is as if Duvet sought through all this trouble of dread fates, after the ideal perfection of

supreme beauty, and if he does not attain to it, at least he acquires from the effort a touch of distinction, a certain grandeur and nobility of style, tinged with mystic passion. No shadow of this passion, no struggle to compel into equal poise the various strength of conflicting forces, disturbs the exquisite precision of Dürer's workmanship, or checks the full career of his vigorous intention.

If Dürer turns to dwell in horror, as in the design of the three horsemen going forth with Death and Hell, he does so with calm and steady singleness of purpose; we seem to see that his nervous force was under complete control, that he was a self-contained man who held his motive in a cool firm grasp, and pursued distinct aims with unwavering directness, taking up a classic attitude towards his work, and foregoing without hesitation and without regret every inducement to spend attention on that which was not his chief object. Duvet, on the other hand, realises his subject under the influence of ever-increasing sympathy, until at last he embraces it, in its every minutest particular, with the agonised fervour of hysteric passion; there comes to our ears a sob from every page.

Everywhere, on everything he touches, Duvet leaves the brand-mark of his scorching Southern energy, and thus, even when he has taken, as in this instance, the work of another mind, with the evident intention of reproducing it, the task has become im-

possible to him, and a new reading has grown up under his fingers, in which we can hardly recognise any of the phrases of the older version. The vigour of touch, the grandeur of design, the grave and mighty terror in which Dürer could enwrap his conceptions, appealed to the admiration of Duvet; but that very accent of restraint which we notice in the work of the German artist, and which may have had its share in attracting the French engraver, became probably a hindrance to him when he set about the task of repeating these designs. For, indeed, we invariably find that even when he has confined himself strictly within the exact repeated outlines of a given figure—as has been noticed concerning the Dragon waiting before the Woman in travail—he so fills them with the riches of his own invention, that the accent of the whole passage is entirely changed.

In earlier days, when he reproduced, after Mocetto, the group of Mantegna's passionate design of the 'Entombment,' he does not seem to feel the pressure of any need to escape from his model. Perhaps this was because in Mantegna's work he found the union of two tendencies, which also met in the bias of his own nature. A tendency, on the one hand, to emotional impulse, which becomes almost savage in its vehemence as it forces itself into form, and which is, on the other hand, encountered by an equally pronounced intellectual intention, which fixes a rigorous

standard by which the final shape of outward expression is determined. The patient science with which every detail is laboured and wrought up to the perfection and finish demanded by an ideal which is ever kept in sight contrasts strangely with the impetuous energy, the spontaneous rush of feeling which has gone to the seeing of every gesture, and has brought to light the momentary shades of feeling which give subtle expression to every face. We are sensible at one and the same time of the slow and elaborate process by which the durable image before us has been fashioned, and of the violence of transitory passion by which it is vivified.

In Duvet's work there is evidence of the same intense desire to produce a complete and finished whole. His cast of feeling was different to that of Mantegna, but it had its source in springs of emotion as profound as those whence rose the full-flowing inspiration of the great Italian master. In the 'Entombment' Mantegna exhausts every accent of frantic anguish and despairing sorrow with unrelenting insistance; or if he takes a gentler theme, and depicts the Virgin Mother with her Child, he shows her crouching low, pierced to the heart by bitter anticipation, and clasping her precious burden to her breast with convulsive pressure. In place of sentiment of austere grandeur, emotion with Duvet converts itself into a fiery and exalted pathos, which he is ever seeking to embody in forms

of adequate dignity and beauty. It cannot indeed be claimed for Duvet that he should take equal rank with Mantegna. To say that he was of the same quality does not imply that he was of equal weight.

The science which Mantegna brought to the realisation of his conceptions embraced a vast range of acquirement, and the rich materials which he gathered were co-ordinated by an intellect, the force of which obeyed the control of a supreme wisdom. His knowledge was a garnered store, which at the moment of production came readily to hand, and so he could yield himself wholly to spontaneous impulse, imprinting the frankest accent on every minute particular of the infinite detail which seems to multiply itself in his pictures. The possessions of Duvet are limited if compared with those of Mantegna, and his work does not give back to us this special note of majestic sagacity. Whereas Mantegna unites the gift of dramatic passion with an expression of the highest intelligence, Duvet strives solely to manifest mystic emotion through sympathetic forms which may communicate finally an impression of fervid beauty; but he resembles Mantegna in the heat with which he vivifies his work, and in the endeavour to make of that work a whole of complete and finished perfection.

Amongst those illustrations of the Apocalypse which are indisputably of Duvet's own invention, first in order, is the frontispiece. He has here represented

himself an old man, still strong and vigorous. The figure, which is partially draped, has much dignity. On the table, before which he sits, lie two tablets which contain the inscription before quoted. An hour-glass stands near the tablets, and a graver lies ready to hand.

Behind rises a thick wood, and to right and left appear an angel and a demon, and on the old engraver's head the angel lays his hand. A broad river flows down from top to bottom of the picture, and narrows suddenly after reaching the jutting eminence of the bank on which Duvet has set his table, flowing under a little step, and then out past a stone in the near foreground amongst lovely groups of flowering rushes, amidst which two slender birds are fighting.

High up above, on the stone, sit a cat and a dog; the cat, stealthily crouching, ready to spring; she has forgotten the presence of the dog, and even the attraction of the mouse who has sought shelter beneath the engraver's chair, in the fury to which she is excited by the approach of a swan, who, having broken the chain which fastened him to a post in the river, floats across towards the bank where Duvet awaits him, bearing in his bill a dart. Above is the inscription :—

> Fata premunt trepidante manus jam lumina fallunt
> Mens restat victrix grădeque suadet opus.

In the heaven above, a large vessel, bearing three women whose splendid air proclaims them of no

mortal race, descends, compassed about with rolling clouds, and pauses with its burden over against the table at which Duvet sits. Here ends the main action, but all the rest of the picture is full of charming secondary incident. The course of the river, which flows straight from among the sumptuous palaces of the magnificent city at the top, is marked by successive passages of subject. Boats full of pleasure parties, or bands of adventurous fishermen, set forth from the banks; down into the deep water beneath the bridge splashes a drowning child, and men run to the rescue; nearer and just below the fate-bearing clouds passes out a tiny boat, which is occupied by three men, one of whom is fishing.

All this small variety of detail and minor matter is so fitly drawn, so happily placed, that at once it seems perfectly natural. The serene-shining brightness of the Eternal City whence flows the broad and peaceful river which shelters on its banks myriads of water-fowl, who plunge now and again gaily into its widening waters, the quiet blossoming reeds which thrust up their spikes of flowers through the wet sedge, all these dainty and delicate details harmonise with the serious calm of Duvet's attitude, and create an atmosphere of fresh and tender sentiment, the hush of which is just stirred by a note of anticipation.

The remainder of the engravings, which we owe wholly to the hand of Duvet, may be divided, for the

most part, into two classes : those, namely, which are specially remarkable for vigour of dramatic action, and those in which predominates a solemn and mystic pathos of sentiment. 'The Opening of the Seals,' 'The Combat of St. Michael and all Angels,' and 'The Binding of Satan,' are noble examples of the first class ; whilst 'The Vision of the Seven Candlesticks,' 'The Loosing of the Four Angels,' 'The New Jerusalem,' 'The Angel forbidding St. John to worship him,' and 'St. John in Patmos,' may be taken in the second.

Dürer also has treated the 'Opening of the Seals,' but in Duvet's series this subject becomes entirely different. The four horses and their riders spring away from the throne, the noise of the great thunders echoing in their affrighted ears, the last to appear in the Vision—Death on the Pale Horse followed by Hell, at once seeks the earth, and already his gaunt steed is busy snuffing at the corpses beneath his feet.

High in heaven, before the throne, hovers still the first angel, mounted on the white horse, but he is in the very act of darting onwards with tremendous impetus. His flowing hair escapes wildly from the confinement of the crown which had been placed about his temples in sign of his mission, 'to go forth conquering and to conquer,' and the grating hiss of his arrow is heard as it parts from the bow in his hands.

The whole scene rages with angry movement passing into a vehemence of dramatic action which would be outrageously violent, were it not for the self-concentrated intensity of every actor. Duvet never shrinks from rendering any posture, however hazardous, if he finds in it the adequate expression of the situation. If the triumphant Babylon the Great is to be cast down, Duvet gives us the very moment of overthrow; the suddenly stricken woman falls heavily from her seat, head downwards, her skirts drop away from her, and leave bare the mighty limbs which thrust themselves out vainly in the air. The subject was not lovely in his eyes, and he made his picture of it hateful. In each case he unconsciously gives his direct impression, and, consequently, never, even in the most violent moments of action, becomes melodramatic.

The absorbing struggle between St. Michael and the Dragon is rendered in the same simplicity of spirit, coupled with an excited intensity of feeling, which seems to set every line quivering from point to point.

The two principal combatants occupy the centre of the page. The claws of the Dragon's feet grip close on the foot of St. Michael; we realise the vicious intention with which they enter the delicate flesh, depressing all the parts about the wound. The rest of the plate is filled with the encounters of attendant angels with the minor demons who make up the

hostile host, and the uncompromising directness of Duvet's inventions is strikingly illustrated by his treatment of these subsidiary combats. St. Michael is aided by a troop of baby-angels, who, avoiding the odds of an attack on the big devils (who are, indeed, well kept in hand by angels of their own size), single out foes from amongst the smaller imps who swarm around them.

Here and there appears a little fat infant cherub rushing swiftly downwards, hugging in its plump arms a tiny shrieking demon, whose efforts to escape are met only by a more tenacious clutch. The sincerity and *naïve* humour of this passage recalls an incident of similar character, which occurs in the second engraving of the series, the subject of which is the descent, from the circle round the Throne, of an Elder who bids St. John look up and behold the Lamb, destined to open the Book sealed with seven seals. The Elder beckons significantly, and St. John, following the direction of his fingers, catches sight of the Lamb, close by the knees of Him who sits on the Throne, having the seven-sealed Book in His lap.

The centre group is enclosed within circles of adoring figures, the outermost of which is filled by strange bird-angels, having feathered legs and claws like Harpies. The Lamb springs up with his fore-paws extended, one touching the Book, the other just withdrawn in that patting action which often occurs

in the frisking play of young animals, but He who sits on the Throne, solemnly repressing this inclination to indulge in inappropriate gambols, stretches out His right hand, and quiets the Lamb, as earthly lambs may be quieted, by lightly scratching his forehead, running His fingers through the woolly locks which curl between the ears. Here is the same spirit which gives us, later on, the humour of these childish combats between the smaller imps of light and darkness.

The occurrence of such passages as these, though they may heighten the vividness with which the whole scene is realised, does, indeed, to a certain extent, detract from the unity and gravity of the impression. Their absence, at least, contributes to render 'The Binding of Satan' one of the most serious and complete of all Duvet's designs in the class to which it belongs. The solemn and impressive character of the whole page is untinged by any modifying touch of a fanciful gaity.

In the upper right-hand corner appears the Eternal, who gives to the angel before Him a great chain and the key of the bottomless pit. Directly beneath, one above another, yawn its bricked and grated mouths. Right over each of these openings swoops down a mighty angel; the passion which surges throughout this whole invention sends an awful force into the beat of their broad fanning wings. Each bears down

beneath him a demon; and it is clear that no actual force is required, for the confining chains hang loosely from the angel hands; it is as if the mere rush, through the air, downwards, of these outspread wings, had driven before it, in irresistible compulsion, the miserably prostrate forms which are now clinging, tooth and nail, in obstinate desperation, to the edges of the pit appointed to receive them.

No attempt has been made to make these beings terrible by enduing them with great size. Duvet has trusted rather to inspiring horror by concentrating on them an expression of venomous spite, furiously evil in its narrow energy. The mad and helpless rage of the small abominable creatures brings out into full relief the majestic sense of power in the quiet figures of the kneeling angels, against whose sacred might the utmost force of hate recoils harmless. Their grand features rest in unmoved dignity, only the gaze has a strange veiled mystery, as if all thought was softened and oppressed by the burden of more than human knowledge.

Far away, beyond the noble curves of their sweeping wings, we see again the wide untroubled waters of the river of life, and watch the placid swans who sail smoothly on its breast, and in the distance rises a walled city over whose enclosing battlements watches a high castle, fitly fortified. All this is gay and glad, but Duvet has cast about the central figures beauty

and strength; within the large lines of their noble wings is safe shelter, the peace and the power of the Most High is upon their lips.

In the 'Vision of the Seven Candlesticks' the action lends itself rather to complete the expression of mystical repose. Both figures appear balanced in solemn and quiet poise;—St. John, falling on his knees below, and above, in the midst of the candlesticks, One, like unto the Son of Man, standing. In the treatment of this figure Duvet translates literally the words of the Apocalypse. Out of the mouth passes a two-edged sword, in the right hand are seven stars, and from the eyes issue the flames of strange lightnings. Long garments, girt close to the body with a golden girdle, enwrap the whole form. Every line is accented with that largeness of style which seems due to the very directness and simplicity which marks all Duvet's conceptions, but the most striking feature here is perhaps the grave and significant intelligence which he has got into the expression of the face. What does it mean? It has just that sufficient quality of doubtful mystery which may set a hundred fancies to play about it. This is the look which greets us, quivering on the features of St. Sebastian, as he writhes in agony, this is the look which weighs down the eyelids of the princely young Henri II., constraining his gaze with a secret weight of meaning; this is the look which overshadows even the imposing

majesty of the Eternal Father; the very smiles of Babylon the Great are but a variation of the same theme.

In the wide-opened eyes of the Mother of Harlots, in the averted gaze of Avenging Angels, in the brooding and mysterious regard of the Most Holy, we read the burden of a long past: present action passes in a second life, side by side with the still current of previous being running full with vivid recollection. It is this sense of a double existence which tinges the expression of every one of Duvet's personages. The secrets of other days are within their lips, the hidden treasures of a life over which the present has no hold. It is this consciousness which lends a marvellous strange haunting power to these faces, so that they follow after us, or float before us, appealing to our imagination with a ghostly insistance, with the half-formed expression of their untold secret ever hovering on their lips.

The indications of this state of feeling could only be found by an artist among the members of a highly-civilised society—a society in which habits of speculation had brought men consciously acquainted with themselves and their own needs. This past, which lives more real than their present, is but the collection of the scattered moments in which the individual nature has wrought itself out to a brief satisfaction; the moments which are lacking to complete the full

desire are there too, but in vision: that which may, but which may never be. So that there is ever suspended before them a perfect whole, part past in fact, and part conceived in thought, in view of which a present which does not contain elements which may be assimilated to it, is but mere trivial accident.

The same tinge of sentiment prevails in the expression of the figures which fill the upper half of Duvet's entirely original invention of the 'Harvest of the World.'

The action and manner of the Son of Man, and of the three angels who accompany Him, are different, yet alike. About the grand authority of the commanding figure, as about the sublime wonder and obedience of the angels, who awake dazed and troubled from the mystery of long sleep, there cleaves the same burden and pathos of the inner life, the outward sign of moral suffering. To have seen this look, and to have rendered it, is a peculiar distinction for Duvet. It places us at once in sympathy with all his creations. These winged and radiant beings who worship, sword in hand, smiting and slaying, are, through it, made akin to that tortured humanity, whom it is their mission to destroy; the mystic symbols of awful power which accompany the Son of Man lose their supernatural terror; and even the wanton smile of the Great Babylon, refined by it, acquires something of the allurement of proffered charity.

The same accent of mystic beauty, quickened by the languorous thrill of past pain, meets us in the New Jerusalem, with the more striking effect since this illustration succeeds in order to the 'Binding of Satan,' a design which, taken as a whole, impresses us as admirable chiefly for imaginative energy. St. John, seated below on his eagle, is suddenly roused by the appointed angel. He awakes from a half-trance in happy awe, and the eagle, surprised and disturbed, makes a strange half-furious spring which all but unseats the Saint. Above, St. John appears again, having been carried off in the spirit by the angel to the courts of the Holy Jerusalem.

Within her peaceful walls walks the angel with the golden measuring reed. All round rises complicated elaboration of rich architecture, such as uplifted itself behind the Lady of the unicorn, or filled the distance of the Crucifixion. Every wall-space is perforated with a hundred openings, and from every crevice issue companies of adoring spirits. Down from the Throne runs the crystal river, and again happy bands set forth in boats from its shores, threading their way amongst white fleets of shining swans.

On the next sheet we find the Saint casting himself at the feet of the bright angel who has shown him these things. Dürer has not handled this subject, but Duvet has made it the vehicle for one of his most vigorous efforts, and has produced a drawing in which

the well-accustomed pathetic sentiment is characterised by a more than usual nobility of style. Both the angel and the Saint move with heroic grandeur. The act of prohibition was never more finely conceived, and the very abasement of the Saint is dignified by the intensity of reverence.

Yet, fine as this design is, there remains yet another which perhaps is worthy to be ranked before it. This is the last but one of the whole series. It represents St. John in Patmos, and this subject also is not treated by Dürer. The whole figure of St. John, which occupies the centre, is in profile. He sits before a long desk; immediately behind it, and opposite to him, are an angel, a bull, and a lion, who lift a fluttering row of wings. St. John is in ecstasy, at the very turning-point between the stimulating influence of self-sustaining excitement and the creeping and uneasy langour of after-exhaustion.

The significant pose of the figure, the delicate feeling which animates the very beautiful and natural gesture with which the Saint lays his uplifted right hand on his forehead, vindicates the real and intense power of keen and watchful vision which Duvet possessed. It is not too much to say of this figure, as may be said of the two Avenging Angels in the 'Binding of Satan,' or of the dread Vision standing in the midst of the Seven Candlesticks, that in sentiment, in action and design, it reaches that superb truth which can

alone come of rare and passionate concentration in the act of sight.

It is this power of concentrating all energy in sight, and of retaining vivid impressions of the seen, which communicates the accent of a high ideal to Duvet's work, and which, combined with a fertile vein of poetic imagination sets it in a rank quite apart from that produced by other men of his nation in his time. A man endowed with acute and retentive senses ever waiting on a noble faculty of invention is haunted always by the magic presence of things excellent. His thoughts are for ever playing with, and reshaping, those external impressions which may ultimately prove themselves fit to embody his conceptions. His work exists in and for itself; it is the artistic form of artistic thought free from any embarrassment of extraneous meaning or purpose, and finds its only adequate expression in the chosen symbols of form or colour.

Although, in the age in which Duvet lived, art was rarely, if ever, twisted into an incompetent vehicle for literary subjects, there were but few to whom it was, in itself, an all-sufficing end. The perfectly legitimate stimulus of decorative motive is to be found in nearly all French work of that day. Even if we set aside enamellers, goldsmiths, potters, and others, who exercised arts which seem specially confined to the province of decoration, we find, portraiture excepted, in almost everything that remains to us from the hands

of painters, sculptors, and engravers,—artists who might be supposed to stand in some degree clear of its influence,—the constant indication of ornamental intention.

Painters, if not engaged in decorating interiors, were employed in organising city pageants and painting the necessary shows and scenes; sculptors were carried off in the train of the architect, and all their work was designed in well-considered dependence on the architectural lines in which it was to be incorporated; engravers were busied in the making of medals or designing groups of figures which might fill the vacant spaces on the sides of a cup, and relieve the too great preponderance of other ornament. In every case the statue was made for the shrine, not the shrine for the statue.

The moments of possible escape from this all-pervading tyranny of decorative requirement were rare. Once or twice Cousin may paint a picture, such as his 'Eva prima Pandora,' in which the motive is entirely self-contained, but the main force of his life was spent in other ways. For the most part, looking at the work of these men, we are well content that it should have been so, as, except Duvet, to whom they are vastly inferior in imaginative energy, none but Cousin, Goujon, and, perhaps, Germain Pilon, seem to have been actuated by any definite and independent aims. The main body depended on decorative motive

for exactly the required incitement to fertile effort; here and there we find some to whom under other circumstances the world about them might have furnished motives adequate to the production of independent work, but these also respond happily to the claims made upon them, claims the fulfilment of which was not incompatible with a sufficing freedom in the choice of subject.

As regards Duvet the case was otherwise; his thoughts dwelt beyond the marge and rim of actual existence, and the rarer spirit which animated them escaped from the forced control of absolute dictation. It is probable that if we were in possession of authenticated specimens of his goldsmith's work we might be unable to recognise in them the hand of the master whom we have learnt to reverence in the illustrations to the Apocalypse. Delaulne's designs may now and again be identified on pieces of plate, but we never seem to catch sight of anything which is individualised from the general mass by the peculiar accent of Duvet. Duvet's engravings are for us the sum of the activity of his long life. With the last page of the Apocalypse we close the record. When or where he died is unknown.

Four engravings should, I think, be excepted from the catalogue of Duvet's work which are included in it by M. de Laboullaye, the most recent writer on the subject. These are, 'Triomphe de la Divinité;' Portrait of Adrian VI. (the obverse and reverse, it is

supposed by M. Galichon, of one and the same medal), 'Mars,' an engraving dated 1524, and 'Intemperance.' All these show a technic totally distinct from that which characterises Duvet's authentic work. There has also been some controversy as to the epoch at which he executed the St. John in Patmos, which was not included by Robert-Dumesnil, nor by Leblanc, in the series of the Apocalypse, although it is of exactly the same size and character as the rest of the set. M. de Laboullaye says that an impression in the Musée de Langres bears date 1517, but this date does not occur on any example that I have seen. In the 'Privilege' affixed to the perfect series in the Print Room at Paris, which contains this plate, it is expressly stated that the work had occupied Duvet for ten years, and that it had been begun for François I. It must therefore have been undertaken prior to 1547, and in that case we may assume that the date 1555 which occurs on the frontispiece was the date of its completion, and I am inclined to think that the subject of St. John in Patmos, if originally executed in 1517, was re-engraved without date when included by Duvet in the complete edition.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGRAVING ON METAL. (1553–1576.)

Étienne Delaulne.

J'ay voulu m'en aller du lieu de ma naissance
Pour n'ouyr plus parler des malheurs de la France.
C. MAROT.

ÉTIENNE DELAULNE, commonly called 'Maître Stephanus,' comes forward, as Duvet passes out of sight. Delaulne has left us a vast legacy, but of the conditions under which he carried on his indefatigable labours we know little. By the help of the dates which he has frequently prefixed to his engravings, we are just able to trace an outline, which vaguely defines for us his place in the history of the time. Yet even what might have been done, in this way, has been left undone. His work has had many a collector, but hardly any students, and thus dates and inscriptions have continued to serve simply as aids to the objects of identification and catalogue, rather than as links, by which might be pieced together a continuous story of development.

By profession, Delaulne was, like Duvet, a gold-

smith, and Mariette tells us that he had himself examined a volume of original designs for medals made by Maître Stephanus, of which he gives a list, but the collection itself has since disappeared. Robert-Dumesnil has catalogued 443 engravings by Delaulne, according to subject, and recapitulates, in a prefatory notice, the few known references to previous authors who have made incidental mention of his name. M. Burty, in 'Chefs-d'œuvre des Arts Industriels,' recently consecrated a few lines to the same subject. The authors of 'La France Protestante' have ascertained that he was born at Orleans, about the close of the year 1520, the year which saw the election of Charles V., and the beginning of troubles. They have also given the date of his death, which occurred in 1595, at Strasbourg, the city of refuge for Frenchmen guilty of the crime of unauthorised thought.

We first hear of him in 1553, just two years before Duvet completed his last work, the series of illustrations to the Apocalypse. On March 3 in that year, letters patent were granted by Henri II. to Aubin Ollivier, by which the said Ollivier was empowered to stamp coin in a mill, according to a process of his own invention. Jean Rondelle and Étienne Delaulne were associated with Ollivier in this enterprise. Ollivier himself engraved on wood, as he has told us in the Preface to Cousin's 'Livre de Perspective,' which came out seven years later (1560), but his turn of genius

seems to have been specially mechanical; and, as the engagements of his appointment as 'maître et conducteur des engins de la monnoye,' made certain and regular demands upon his time, Delaulne, who was distinguished by great facility and readiness in design, was a desirable assistant. How long the partnership lasted we do not know. Delaulne's name does not again appear in any official record, and thenceforth we depend upon his engravings alone, to furnish such information as can be gleaned about him.

Certain of these engravings immediately separate themselves from the rest. These are those commonly said by French collectors to be in his 'grand manner,'—such as the 'Conversion of St. Paul,' after Cousin, most of the series called 'Combats et Triomphes,' and the larger set of 'Months.' The remainder are all characterised by greater lightness of handling, and less marked style. Amongst them many examples occur which would appear rather to be the product of the needle than the burin. In these it would seem that we have his earliest work, and all may, I think, be referred to some time between the years 1560 and 1570. To this class belongs his portrait of Henri II., which is the earliest dated work which we have from his hand, and also a set of Scripture subjects engraved within small ovals. Two of these, 'Jacob wrestling with the Angel,' and 'Laban,' are signed and dated 1561.

Taken as a whole, these very early prints are

neither strikingly characteristic nor interesting, except in so far as they contain the germ of that *finesse* and elegance for which Delaulne afterwards became conspicuous. 'Goliath' shows some promise of future power, and the lion, who turns from the fallen body of the 'Disobedient Prophet,' betrays the hand which was in later years to achieve the brilliant draughtsmanship of the 'Combat between men, birds, and beasts.' Slowly the technic alters, and gradually the needle-point line disappears, and the burin cuts the plate with delicate precision, distinguished by a light facility of touch, which adds an attractive charm to the ready graces of a fertile fancy.

The smaller set of allegorical drawings of the 'Twelve Months' (dated 1568), are remarkable for these qualities; every design abounds in a happy variety of incident. The arrangement of the composition has a general air of graceful symmetry, and the execution shows the ease of a thoroughly practised hand. The bright landscape backgrounds—with which Delaulne enriched his subjects often and well—already occur in characteristic excellence, and almost every 'Month' affords some attractive illustration of sixteenth-century French life.

April, for instance, carries us into a beautiful garden full of trellised work of arches such as those which Ducerceau has drawn for us at the *châteaux* of Anet and Saint Mor. In this setting Delaulne has fixed a

lively group of French gentlemen, and ladies, gay with the gladness of Spring, and singing under the freshly-budding branches—

> Après avoir relié,
> D'un tortis de violettes
> Et d'un cerne de fleurettes,
> L'or de leur chef délié.

The whole picture seems a leaf fallen from the pages of the 'Heptameron.' We see the noble company 'toute assise sur l'herbe verte, si noble et délicate qu'il ne leur falloit carreau ne tapis,' whilst behind them spreads the fresh meadow, so lovely and pleasant that the pen of Boccaccio alone could depict it to the life; 'mais vous vous contenterez que jamais n'en fut veu un plus beau.'

In the following year (1569) Delaulne engraved a set of allegorical figures of the Sciences. He does not usually appear to much advantage in this class of work, but this set are designed and executed in his best manner. The action and expression are thought out with delicately modulated variety; the draperies are well cast, and the landscape backgrounds fill and keep their place, bringing a fresh interest of scene about each succeeding figure. Throughout the whole series Delaulne shows himself the intelligent French artist, gifted with quick, refined, and sympathetic powers of perception, neither stultified by an undigested mass of German experience, nor unduly excited by the intoxi-

cating stimulus of Italian influence. The seven 'Little Pastorals' and four illustrations of the 'History of Jonah' were also executed during this year, and are marked by the same characteristics.

The design of 'Jonah thrown up by the Whale' is noteworthy, but it is difficult to single out one of these subjects rather than another, each being remarkable for delicate forcible drawing and charming variety of detail. They are all (as far as can be judged) original designs, but present certain features of general resemblance in touch and accent to the dainty quality which distinguishes the miniatures of the illuminators of Tours.

The series called 'The History of Apollo and Diana' belongs to, I think, this date. For the actual compositions Delaulne was indebted to Luca Penni. The group of Diana and her nymphs, finding the body of the dead Orion, is especially worth looking at, and there are many other passages in this brilliant set which show that the engraver, as usual, felt bound only to follow the main lines of the composition, and left himself unfettered choice in the treatment of minor details.

There is an undated drawing which should probably be referred to this or the following year of Delaulne's life; a drawing, fresh from the actual life of the day about him, and which has a special interest as being evidently Delaulne's own invention. This is the 'Chasse au Lièvre,' a bright and elegant work, not

elaborated in the 'grand manner,' for Delaulne has not yet developed into an imitator of Marc Antonio. Étienne Jodelle, in his 'Ode de la Chasse,' has described 'la chasse au lièvre.'

> Pour le quester on va marchant
> Par rang dedans telle campagne
> Le Pelaud part ; on va laschant
> Les levriers, les chevaux d'Espagne,
> Et les vistes courtauds après.

In Delaulne's drawing the hunters are all on foot. Two gentlemen, attended by their servants, are blowing their horns in the early morning, and setting on their dogs in pursuit of some startled hares. The hares are making for the near copse, where are other servants spreading the nets that will enclose them. The cheerful troop pass lightly on, the animated gestures of the gentlemen and their servants, the surprised haste of the hares, the lively movement of the dogs in pursuit, are delineated with charmingly facile precision. Every line is full of intention; the two thirsty hounds who have drawn off to lap eagerly from the waters of the little brook, which runs across the foreground, are touched with the simple directness which makes the whole excellent—a picture full of morning light and easy grace and freshness. Even the poor impression in the British Museum is not without traces of the sparkling vividness which marks the better examples.

No more light-hearted work of this kind was in store for Delaulne. No more Arcadian pastorals, with jovial men and maids dancing in the leafy forest glades, to the cheerful sounds of the shepherd's pipe; no more fair women, flower-crowned, and singing in budding April bowers; no more joyous hunting parties of young French lords quitting their *châteaux* in the dawn of day. The bloodhounds were let slip, and the hunt was not of hares, but of men. The days of 1572 came, and with them came the St. Bartholomew.

Cousin had withdrawn to the comparative obscurity of Sens, Goujon was slain; Delaulne, more fortunate, escaped with his family to Strasbourg.

> Vita dum superest, bene est,
> Hanc mihi, vel acuta si sedeam cruce, sustine!

At once his work appears to be deprived of all its character;—neither bitter, nor excited, nor touched by any of that fierce anguish which one makes ready to see. In 1572, Stephanus becomes dull, and his touch is heavier, that is all. He goes on mechanically producing a vast quantity of uninteresting matter; it is as if communication between brain and hand had been, for the time, cut off. Sheet after sheet of this disheartened work may be identified by comparison with an engraving which bears the significant date, 'Argentina, 1573.'

After the death of Charles IX., and the return of Henri III. to France, Delaulne ventured across the frontier, possibly even back to Paris, where Aubin Ollivier still retained his position of 'maître graveur des monnoyes.' The return to France, the hope of better things promised by the beginning of the new reign, stimulated the invention of the fertile designer, and again quickened his active fingers. At this moment we receive from him what is in some respects his best work.

There is no longer the glad freshness which lends a peculiar charm to his earlier inspiration, but certain more sober qualities, of which Delaulne's first productions contained only the germ, show themselves in ripened perfection. Henri III., returning to France, through Italy, and coming to Paris fresh from Venice, brought fresh stimulus to the worship of Italian models. The 'Pax' and 'Abundantia,' dated by Delaulne 1575, are touched with some affectation of a manner not proper to his style. The proportions and pose of these figures betray the wish to rival the graces of a foreign elegance; consequently the impression conveyed loses something of freshness and directness, although the rendering is in itself distinguished by a fuller measure of accomplishment than is apparent in the more spontaneous efforts of his earlier days.

It is possible that Delaulne himself may have felt that though other powers had matured, yet the spring

of invention, which had overflowed of old, was running somewhat dry; for he now took up again his allegorical compositions of the 'Twelve Months,' and re-engraved them on a larger scale, bringing to bear on these early inventions all the dexterous facility of handcraft with which long labour had gifted him.

This set of prints are ranked by connoisseurs amongst his most highly-esteemed work, yet their effect is marred by evidence of a self-consciousness which does not appear in the treatment of the less highly-valued early set. Every master must construct his own scale of relative signs, must invent his own language; but if this language is not under complete mastery, if it is employed with evident pains, his work will appear to us academic and pedantic. Just a touch of pedantry disturbs the charm of these larger 'Months.' April still remains one of the most attractive; the girls bind their spring garlands, as of old, by the sparkling waters of the fountain, or sing under the arching arbours to the sound of soft luting; but something is missed of the graceful lightness which redeemed the imperfections of old days; something of artistic feeling is lost, for which no amount of mechanical excellence can compensate.

The borders which surround each of these plates are not at all like the ornamental designs previously produced by Delaulne. They recall the style of Cousin. Whether we take the lines of the actual frame-

work itself, or the objects that fill the spaces within its curves, we cannot fail to recognise a far greater freedom in their handling than the training of Delaulne would have enabled him to use. Take the nude figures which occur in several passages;—these are treated with a certainty and freedom which suggest at once a comparison with the *tours de force* with which Cousin embellished the title-page of his 'Livre de Perspective,' whilst nothing in Delaulne's work up to this date would lead us to suppose that his studies in this class of subject had been sufficiently profound to give him unshrinking readiness of command in their treatment.

M. Didot considers the entire set to be but reductions from twelve larger woodcuts, the invention of which he attributes wholly to Cousin. There are, indeed, portions, even in the designs themselves, such as the landscape with an obelisk and palm-tree in 'November,' which suggest his hand; but yet, if we compare the small set of 'Months,' which certainly belong to Delaulne's earlier work, with the later series, and with the woodcuts, we find in the small set the character of original designs, and, as it would seem, the germ from which both the other two series develope. There does not exist evidence sufficient to establish positively the claim of either Cousin or Delaulne to these designs. It is just possible that they are due in the first place to neither the one nor the other, but

that they must be referred to a then common stock of compositions, the outlines of any one of which were freely used by those who thought it worth while to take them.

This is notably the case with another design, which occurs in Delaulne's work, a design in which figures a man going out hunting, hawk on wrist, with a lady mounted behind him. This group at once reminds us of the two enamel *plaques* on which Léonard Limosin has treated a similar subject, and in which the personages have been supposed to represent Henri II., with Diane de Poitiers. Again, on a plate in Mr. Henderson's collection, the same group appears, and Lenoir has reproduced, in his 'Recueil de gravures pour servir à l'histoire des Arts,' a glass-painting in which the mounted pair, with certain changes of costume and addition of accessories, are made to do duty for Charles IX. and Elisabeth of Austria. It might be that these allegories of the 'Twelve Months' were in like manner popular, and that the form in which Delaulne gives them to us is only a modification of that in which they originally appeared.

The distinct traces of Cousin's influence which give hardier character to Delaulne's second edition of these designs were probably the result of their being much together at this time. The Preface to the 'Livre de Perspective' shows us that the relations

between Cousin and Jean le Royer, the brother-in-law of Delaulne's comrade, Aubin Ollivier, were intimate, and amongst other work executed by Delaulne at about this date we find two pieces in which he has avowedly reproduced designs by Cousin.

On both of these, on the 'Brazen Serpent' and on the 'Conversion of Saul,' side by side with his own signature as engraver, Delaulne places the initials of Cousin, accompanied by the first letters of the word *invenit.* As he is thus particular in specifying the designer in these two instances it does not seem likely that he would wholly omit to acknowledge his obligations to Cousin, if he had received from him the outlines of the 'Twelve Months.' The extent of his debt ended probably with some suggestions for the ornamental frames which form the principal addition to the original subjects: a single border once placed before Delaulne as his example—or less, even a mere indication coupled with knowledge of Cousin's other work—would have been enough to rouse his sympathetic facility of imitation, and enable him to complete the series, at his own expense.

A fair specimen of the print of the 'Brazen Serpent,' bearing the names both of designer and engraver, exists in the British Museum. It was probably executed some time before the engraving of the 'Conversion of Saul,' for Delaulne is here evidently attempting to reproduce an unfamiliar style. He tries

in vain to be easy, to reproduce the original with corresponding freedom. The result is but a hard elaborate piece of mannerism. Had we the original drawing by Cousin before us, the science of the composition and draughtsmanship would probably be forgotten in appreciation of the simplicity and directness which distinguishes all his best work; as it is, the first impression is that of inextricable confusion; it is only by slow degrees that we disentangle the various groups from one another, catch the piteous gestures of a suffering child or the reserved anguish of a mother, take in the delicate landscape background, the distant river, and the boat putting out on its waters from the shore.

In the 'Conversion of Saul' Delaulne brings out with much greater success the free and masterly vigour of Cousin. The falling figure of Saul is full of grace and spirit, and the finely-composed landscape, invented by the designer with a perfect sense of fitness, evidently owes much to the engraver's real interest in every line of hill and springing curve of far-off roof or dome.

Impressions of this print exist in its first state, without signature; the example in the British Museum, though very brilliant, is after letters, and has the initials of Cousin, accompanied by the 'Cum priv. Regis' of Stephanus. The manner of the execution resembles closely the work of the larger set of 'Months,' and is

in all respects thoroughly adapted to render the character proper to Cousin's style.

We seem here to obtain a clue which lets us into the secret of the great change which differentiates Delaulne's earlier work from that of his later years. The burin sweeps along the copper with a daring freedom unknown to the precise and delicate workmanship, which gives a distinguishing charm to the 'Story of Jonah,' and the 'Little Pastorals.' Working after, or with, Cousin, had given fresh impetus and a new direction to the genius of Delaulne. In this new direction he now rapidly advanced, stimulated as much by the spirit of rivalry as by the necessity of production; and the later series of 'Combats' show how completely he succeeded in appropriating the freedom of another manner.

The collectors of Delaulne's work have always shown a marked preference for his second manner, and there is no doubt but that it possesses certain incontestable claims to notice, a remarkable facility in execution, an air of ready easy dash, graceful and quickly intelligible grouping, bold and assured draughtsmanship, which, if not absolutely devoid of refinement, is, at any rate, distinguished rather by breadth than delicacy. These are features which readily catch the eye, and consequently these prints have always been, and probably will always be, more popular than the early work.

The early work, in its delicate precision of touch on the metal, betrays the rigorous discipline of the goldsmith's training;—each little pastoral might be designed as a jewel, to be chased in burnished gold and set with gems, and fastened to the plume of a prince. This elaborate and brilliant elegance, full of fanciful variation and subtle interchange of sentiment and line, is less striking at first sight, but far more intrinsically French in character, than the broader treatment and bolder handling of the more popular work.

Thomas de Leu, whose burin, in spite of his Flemish origin, became essentially French, was, indeed, the direct heir of the true Étienne Delaulne. From him De Leu inherited the fineness and delicacy of his sentiment and touch, his exquisitely nice discrimination of shades and lines which the most nearly approach each other in value, and which require the discernment of a finely-cultivated eye.

These are the qualities which predominate in the work of Delaulne before the fatal hours of 1572; these are the qualities which afterwards begin to fail us, and which are gradually overpowered by other characteristics less peculiarly individual, less distinctly typical of the man and the time. Any man of tolerably acute senses might have been trained to execute the later 'Combats,' but teaching only could never have determined the production of the 'Chasse au Lièvre.'

Several of the celebrated series of 'Combats et Triomphes' had probably been commenced early, possibly even before the 'Months' were re-engraved, or the 'Pax' and 'Abundantia' published. Dates here fail us. The large 'Months' are undated, and it is only on the evidence afforded by their style that the execution may be attributed to about the year 1575. The inscription 'Cum priv. Regis' puts it beyond doubt that wherever they may have been produced, they were certainly issued in France, but their style alone determines their chronological position, and now, again, in dealing with this great series of 'Combats et Triomphes,' the 'Cum priv. Regis,' which occurs on each of the drawings which make up the set, is the only external help we have in our examination of them.

There are, however, differences so remarkable in the execution of certain of the series that they cannot escape notice. Robert-Dumesnil divides them into two groups, those to which he gives the palm for 'grand manner,' and others antecedent to these. Those distinguished by the grand manner may be easily disposed of, and placed at some time after the year 1575, that is, after the year in which Delaulne produced the 'Pax' and 'Abundantia,' previously referred to; the graceful set of allegorical figures of the Planets, environed by clouds; and four designs, representing the four quarters of the world. All this work is free, open, easy, without much of peculiar content,

and the execution displays a certain resemblance to the 'grand manner' characterising the later numbers of the 'Combats.' In respect of the earlier numbers our task is not so easy.

Of these earlier numbers, 'Bellona,' 'Combat grotesque,' and 'Combat d'hommes et animaux,' are perhaps the finest. In point of technic they may be classed with the engravings done by Delaulne (as for example the 'Chasse au Lièvre') before 1570, engravings which were conspicuous for that delicacy and lightness of touch which gradually fades away from the later work. There is also another point to be observed, namely, that in the mode of treatment, and even in the human types reproduced there is a curious affinity to German work, and that in the 'Combat grotesque,' especially, German motive seems to be clearly discernible. The buffoonery of this piece is not French; the two old hags who figure in the foreground, armed with pots and ladles, surely scold each other 'sehr deutlich' in German.

But this 'Combat grotesque,' though full of interest, is, after all, but a mere piece of pleasantry, and does not make so strong a claim to notice as the 'Combat d'hommes et animaux,' which, though, indeed, grotesque, is conceived in anything but a jocular spirit. No gamesome butting of vine-clad goats with the children of Bacchus, no frolic wrestling of herdsmen to the jolly pipe of the horned Satyr; a wild reign of

terror has begun, nature is one with rapine, and mad cruelty gluts itself with prey and vengeance.

Portions of the group are very fine in expression of fierce energy. The savage agony of the eagle, acute with angry beak and talons in her death-grapple with a furious lion; the dread advance of the rider on the dromedary; the cruel spring of a second lion, to the right, are touched with a fiery energy and spirit equal in its perfect discrimination to the subtle delineation of the hunting-pack in the 'Chasse au Lièvre.'

Whilst Delaulne sat helpless in Strasbourg on the edge of the borderland despairing of return, and watched the priests of the Church hounding on authority to sacrifice upon their altars the best blood of France, did he think out this wild, involved combat in any conscious relation to the events which were passing before him? Probably not, but yet it seems difficult to believe that his conception of his subject was wholly uninfluenced by these evil days. He was by nature easily impressed, and his work ever took a ready colour from his surroundings. The technic of this piece would, at any rate, lead us to suppose that it was produced at about this time, that it was perhaps actually executed in Germany, and brought with him afterwards, complete or incomplete, to France, where it came out with the 'Cum priv. Regis' affixed to it, which stamps it as issued on French soil. It must certainly date prior to

1575, the year which first shows the promise of the 'grand manner' of the future.

At first this grand manner is not without attraction. It indicates the moment at which Delaulne gives more sensible expression to the spirit of the Renaissance. The set of Planets engraved in 1575 show unwonted style, and these inventions are outrivalled by the masterly rendering of the same subjects in the following year. One or two, such as 'Luna,' in this second series, are poorer than the rest, but 'Venus' is one of Delaulne's most perfect and charming creations. It is not a very important specimen, but it looks fresh, bright, graceful, and successful, and retains a touch of the old individuality, which thenceforth vanished more swiftly day by day.

Delaulne would seem to have required, even more than most men, the 'sympathetic fire of souls profuse,' before the flame, which, indeed, was in him, could burn clear. Driven again from France, his energy slowly declined. Separated from the interests which had nourished his genius, wanting the accustomed stimulant, he lapsed into premature decay;—his work slowly, but surely, sank into mere puerility.

This change was, of course, gradual. When Maître Stephanus took refuge, a second time, in Germany, it is not likely that any settled resolution of voluntary exile had been formed, but rather that circumstances

made return to France every day more and more difficult.

The Huguenots had relied at first on the guarantees which they had obtained from the Throne in the edict of April 1576, but Henri III., having detached from their party his brother, the Duke of Anjou, openly avowed his intention of breaking faith. The 'États Généraux' of Blois, assured of the royal support, overruled the Protestant Deputies present, and petitioned the King to suffer no religion but the Catholic in the State.

Henri answered that this was his intention, and so he had sworn to God on the Holy Sacrament. The Protestants, justly dreading a repetition of foul play, put in their protest, and hastily retired, to give the alarm in the districts which they represented. They were not an hour too soon. The League had already inaugurated the fifth civil war.

Delaulne left Paris this time for Augsburg:—'Stephanus fecit in Augusta, 1576,' is inscribed on one of his most popular prints, that commonly called 'The Engraver's Shop,' and it is possible that Delaulne has given us in this study the interior of his own workshop, and that the figure, seated at the long centre table, holding the cushion and the block, is intended for the master himself. The production of this engraving was probably determined by a series brought out previously in 1564, by Jobst Amman, in which the

German engraver had represented in a very similar style the workshops of different arts and trades. But Delaulne treats his subject with a liveliness which enhances the attraction always possessed by contemporary pictures of life and manners. He was but fifty-eight at the time of its execution, yet it is the last of his dated work which retains, in any signal degree, the spirit and interest of his earlier productions. A certain delicate and brilliant quality of workmanship is never absent from his touch, but all ready impulse of original invention seems to have deserted him prematurely.

He now began to engrave after the designs of his son, Jean Delaulne, who was in no wise capable of supplying his father with anything worth the pains of reproduction. In one year alone (1578) the elder Delaulne patiently engraved some five sets of subjects, the frontispieces of which all bear inscriptions similar to the following: 'Joanni filio inv. Stephanus pater Anno D. æt. suæ 60 feliciter sculpsit 1578.' This inscription is inserted in an arabesque scroll, prefixed to a series of minute figures enshrined in niches. Pretty little trifles, taken by themselves they can scarcely merit consideration, but by the side of the 'Months,' or the fine allegorical figures of the 'Sciences,' executed between 1562 and 1569, they sink into complete insignificance.

M. Burty has remarked that one medal alone, which

ÉTIENNE DELAULNE SC

THE GOLDSMITH'S OR ENGRAVER'S SHOP.

is known to be the work of Delaulne, is now preserved at Paris in the Cabinet des Antiques. The rest of his work, as a goldsmith, is lost, but there is a silver cup, in the Print-Room at the British Museum, which has for a long time past been attributed, most unjustly, to Cellini, and which should probably be restored to Delaulne. The lip of the cup is decorated by a series of six bosses, each of which is enriched by a group of figures in a landscape. One of these groups represents the fall of Icarus; and the rest, for the most part, also appear to be illustrations of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses.' Two bands of lozenge-shaped compartments, filled with ornamental design, divide the upper series from a second row of six bosses, each of which is occupied by a child holding some significant emblem, encircled by an explanatory motto. As, for instance, round the boss on which is chased a boy, holding a mirror, and accompanied by a peacock, we read:

'SUI AMANS SE PERDIT ET IPSUM.'

The upper part of the stem is ornamented with three stags'-heads, between which are pendent, as usual, garlands of fruit. Three kneeling sphinxes receive the weight below. The base is trefoil-shaped, and its different divisions are filled by a coiled snake, a lizard, and a crab. The general proportions are of great elegance, and the outlines of the stem, which

are particularly delicate, are preserved with admirable skill. Neither the ornamental curves, nor the treatment of the subjects with which they are filled, show any of the characteristics of Italian design; the subjects, especially the little illustrative groups, are strongly suggestive of Delaulne's manner, and it is impossible to compare them with any of the little decorative series, such as the 'Pastorals,' in which his early work is rich, without being struck by a strong family resemblance.

Drawings by Delaulne are not unfrequently to be met with. They are almost invariably of small size, intended for designs to be employed in combination with ornamental work, such as the subjects which figure on the sides of the cup in the British Museum. The collection at Munich has a graceful little circular composition of Faith, Hope, and Charity, in which the centre figure of Charity, accompanied by doves, who fly about her feet, picking up the grains which fall from her extended hand, is specially graceful. Twenty-six small designs, of an oval shape, all drawn with the pen on parchment, and afterwards washed with sepia, are preserved in the Albertina at Vienna.

Amongst these are several compositions, not without merit; and one curious drawing, which represents a warrior riding furiously over the ruins of a great city, attended by a pack of roaring lions, is a spirited specimen of Delaulne's marvellous skill in minute

drawing, but for the most part these designs, which have all been reproduced in autotype, have little interest.

There is one drawing of a different character in the same collection which has never been published, and which is noticeable on account of its size, for it is nearly five inches across. The shape is circular, and it appears to have been intended to decorate a plate, or the centre of a shield, as it is too large for a medal. The subject is disposed in two bands. Moses and the Israelites, having crossed the Red Sea, stand safe within the inner circle; without, all round, flows the sea, overwhelming the hosts of the Egyptians.

Both in design and execution, this piece bears all the characteristics of Delaulne's second manner, and looks like an adaptation from a drawing by Cousin, or an imitator of his manner. The three little drawings of subject possessed by the British Museum are not important. All three are drawn with the pen, and washed with the brush after Delaulne's favourite method, but two sheets of studies for founts, in the same collection, delicately executed on vellum, recall the decorative designs of his earlier work, and it would seem as if Delaulne's principal activity as a goldsmith must, like that of Duvet, be set down to the beginning of his career, and that during his later years, when established in Germany, he devoted himself more exclusively to the practice of engraving.

I have identified a large collection of his original designs in a book bequeathed by Mr. Douce to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. In this book are over six hundred drawings, the greater number of which are by Delaulne himself. Of the remainder, some are due to the hand of his son, then come a few by Le Petit Bernard, with whose name the volume is labelled, and several on the closing leaves are by a fourth hand, whose manner is German rather than French. Those by Étienne Delaulne represent every class of work in which he was engaged. One long series is devoted to designs for magnificent jewellery, which show an immense fertility of resource in ornament; many of the jewels bear the arms of the wearer for whose use they were intended, and one very splendid pendant has the DD of Diana. The opening pages teem with sketches of subject, amongst which occur, again and again, the originals of well-known engravings; and Delaulne's work at the Royal Mint is preserved in an important set of drawings made for coins issued during the reigns of Henri II., François II., Charles IX., and Henri III. Every little head is a studied portrait, and a pretty girlish profile of Mary, Queen of Scots, her hair caught back from her temples in a net, and her throat encircled by a little ruff, which occurs on the reverse of a piece struck on the accession of her husband, François II., is not the least interesting of the set, although the study for the head of Henri

III. is better constructed, and remarkably expressive of character.

Many of the drawings of subject in this book are specially noticeable for the beauty of their landscape backgrounds. One little composition, a 'Chasse au Cerf,' in eight compartments, is in Delaulne's most individual manner, and drawn with his most exquisite skill. The stag, closely pressed by the running footman and the fleetest dog, bounds onward ; the dog who tarries snuffs the scent, next run an eager couple who in turn are followed by the *Seigneur*, overlooking the sport, mounted on his 'viste courtaud,' and attended by servants, who have dogs and horses in reserve ; all these are coursing gaily through an open country, the features of which are touched with loving delicacy. But this is an early drawing, and the graceful landscape on p. 9, in which we see the shepherd playing on his pipe, whilst his flock feed, and his dog dances before him, this, too, bears date 1533, and pictures the glad France of Delaulne's youth, the land to which he might in vain look back from his exile in Germany.

Whether he ever returned to his native country after his second flight we know not. La Croix du Maine asserts that he was born and died in Paris, but La Croix du Maine is mistaken as to the date and place of his birth, and may be wrong in his other statements. As, of all the mass of later work which

we possess, not one piece bears the 'Cum priv. Regis,' which should stamp it as issued on French soil, we cannot but conclude that Delaulne, having been twice driven from France, ended his days in voluntary banishment within the sheltering walls of Augsburg. The art which he practised was, with him, cast out of France.

CHAPTER V.

ENAMELLERS OF LIMOGES.—(1500–1588).

Jean Penicaud. Pierre Reymond. Léonard Limosin.

Ceris pingere ac picturam inurere quis primus excogitaverit, non constat. Quidam Aristidis inventum putant, postea consummatum a Praxitele.

PLIN. *Nat. Hist.*

THE point from which the whole movement of the Renaissance takes its departure is, as has been said, the rehabilitation of the individual. In France the artistic instinct translates the current thought with admirable logic. Monumental art gave way before the strong personal motive. The architect forgot to raise the temple, and learned to build the house.

All labour had for its end the pleasure and service of man, of man as typified in culminating perfection by the Prince—the typical Prince of the Renaissance, one in whom every sense of body and power of mind had been developed. Wealth was but the means of seizing all knowledge and all beauty; leisure was good but as the possibility of the full enjoyment of physical and intellectual life. Artists, whose function it

is to divine and render in visible symbols the intention of their day even before it becomes conscious of itself, turned from the sustained effort of monumental work, and lavished a divine ingenuity on the production and decoration of objects in which the personal motive was predominant. The lesser arts, as may be expected, absorbed the most fertile and brilliant energies of the day. Even the vigorous men who occupied with credit larger fields of labour turned aside now and again to compete with those whose talent spent itself within narrower limits. Goujon dropped his mallet and chisel to take up the tools of the woodcarver, or Cousin left the visions of the Apocalypse, to draw the patterns of a lace sleeve.

First on the list of those who followed the minor arts must come the *huchier*. For the *huchier* or hutchmaker—in modern English, cabinetmaker—was of necessity a sculptor. Every article which passed through his hands—*coffre*, *buffet*, and *bahut*—received carved decoration. Each of these terms covered articles of very varied shape, size, and purpose, and they in turn were embraced by the generic term of *huches*; for the word *huche*, and the diminutive *hucheau*, may be taken to mean any piece of furniture made of wood in which other objects can be enclosed. *Coffre* and *coffret* (casket) have always had much the same signification as at present, nor did the *buffet* or *dressoir*, a high sideboard with shelves for the display of plate

and other articles of table service, undergo any special constructive modification ; it had been a popular piece of furniture during the Middle Ages, now it was only enlarged, made more important, and better suited to the purposes of magnificent state and show.

The *bahut*, on the other hand, which in mediæval France was a mere packing-case, serving to protect valuable pieces of furniture in their frequent transit from *château* to *château*, had itself become transformed into a piece of furniture. Before the close of the fifteenth century it was raised on four feet, and furnished within with drawers, which ranged one above another, enclosed behind protecting double doors. The sixteenth century further modified the external appearance and gave it an architectonic form, bequeathing it as the cabinet to a succeeding era. The moment at which the *bahut* commences to be modified in accordance with the principles of architectural design marks the first ripple of that wave of change which, steadily advancing, was destined soon to invade every province of art. The experimental application of the principles of the new style was made in the matter which yielded most readily to the growing force : long before it could make itself felt in the mighty palaces which later it was destined to animate, we see its intention unmistakably manifested in the unpretending *bahut* or cabinet that was to be.

Just as the architect of the palace called to his aid

sculptors, painters, workers in metal, the architect of the *buffet* and the *bahut* gathered together in like manner all the minor forms of the arts. The *bahut* was, in itself, a little palace. Although sometimes wrought in wood alone, and depending for its charm on the nice elegance of its proportions and the graceful hand of the carver, it more often seems to have exhausted the rich resources of varied colour and material in its decoration. When its fair framework was duly fitted, the Renaissance cabinet might be enriched by the artifices of the goldsmith, by enamels, by inlaid work of precious marble, or by paintings more precious still, so that, just as the *château* had brought into harmonious service all the larger arts, the cabinet became the epitome of the lesser.

In the later moments of the Middle Ages carved decorative work is distinguished by a violence of purpose, which sets all limit at defiance. Pierced work frets away all sense of support below, and above massive forms and high relief burden the eye and crush out all sense of spring. Within the swift succession of a few years, weighty foliage gave place to the tracery of arabesque, and the surface formerly broken up by jutting forms was but faintly rippled by delicate modelling. The reaction, at first, was so strong that bold and high relief was completely abandoned, and its aid renounced even when it might have been employed to advantage. The very earliest ex-

amples of Renaissance work were often, consequently, somewhat insipid in their general aspect. The indications of the balance of proportion not having been sufficiently re-inforced, the object did not tell, as a whole, at first sight. Gradually the true value of high relief was perceived, and it was then constantly employed in parts which required fuller accentuation, and skilfully turned to account in marking monotonous passages.

Works of this sort, produced during the reign of Henri II., which is about the best moment of the epoch, are remarkable for the calculated symmetry of their parts, for the admirable patterning of their surface, for the dexterous spacing of the more forcible work by broad intervals of rest spent in never-ending variety of delicate detail. After a while these restful passages were again invaded by the aggressive encroachments of a bolder art, until finally, under Henri IV., high relief, to which vigorous undercutting gave additional prominence, again occupied the whole field. This change was, necessarily, accompanied by a certain debasement of general outline; for exaggerated forms not only attract the eye to themselves, but also injure the adjustment of the general lines of a design. The framework therefore soon dropped to a lower level of harmony with its proportions.

Cabinets of the best period, executed wholly in wood, were usually constructed in two distinct parts,

each portion being fitted with two pnnelled doors richly carved. The base was always solid and square, the upper portions slighter and narrower, and crowned by a feature the lines of which recall the Greek pediment and its accompanying cornice, and were of great value in carrying the eye upwards. The effect of the gradually lessening proportions was carefully enhanced by the character of the carvings. On one of the lower doors of a cabinet at Chenonceau we find a bearded Bacchus wrapping himself in a tiger's skin as he leans against a wine-barrel, and displays the grapes of the recent vintage; on the other an Oriental figure robed in flowing garments and capped with a mitre: both these subjects are vigorous in design and boldly handled, but in the compartments above the accent changes. The very subjects chosen are such as lend themselves readily to refinement of execution and treatment. On the left, advances a nymph holding out a branch of myosotis; on the right another stands with flowers and fruit in her hands, and her cornucopia at her feet.

Several fine examples are now gathered together in the easily accessible museums of South Kensington and Cluny. One of the finest in that of Cluny has been figured by M. Dusommerard under the title of 'meuble à quatre vantaux, bois sculpté époque Henri III.,' but it is probably of an earlier period.

Much of the furniture which is usually referred to

the reign of François I. should be ascribed to the close of a previous century; much of that which is called Henri III. was wrought in the days of his grandfather. The cabinet reproduced by Dusommerard was probably executed during the reign of Henri II. The elegance and dignity of its outline are enhanced by decoration which is royally rich, but the balance between the passages of flat carving and those in high relief is exquisitely adjusted, the work gradually becoming lighter and more pierced towards the top, where finally an eagle perches, seeming to lift the eye with his triumphant wings.

Amongst the most precious things which could be stored within the cabinet, or ranged upon the shelves of the *buffet*, were the enamels of Limoges. Partly on account of the imperishable nature of their material, partly on account of the great scale on which they were sometimes executed, but chiefly owing to the rich vein of artistic energy which spent itself upon them, these enamels rank as one of the most precious products of decorative art at this period. Towards the close of the fifteenth century this industry had fallen, at Limoges, into a sluggish state. Certain methods of procedure flourished in connection with goldsmiths' work, but the chief branch of this art—enamelling in *taille d'épargne* or *champlevé*—had fallen into disfavour. Limoges was at a standstill, when a new method was developed which in a short space of time entirely revo-

lutionised the practice of her artists. Instead of preparing the thick plate with the graving-tool to receive a coating of enamel applied within the lines of an incised surface, the artist drew the outlines and shading of his subject in brown enamel on the shining copper, and on this ground (*apprêt*) proceeded to apply his colours conveyed in a vehicle of transparent enamel. Sometimes a coating of white enamel or a piece of foil was first laid down on the plate, and the modelling of flesh was also obtained by means of touches of thick white enamel which faded into a violet hue as the edges became thin.

This method recalls ancient practice in glass-painting, for the different pieces of transparent coloured glass which made up a window were shaded by means of a dark enamel applied to their surface, and it has been consequently conjectured that we owe to the *peintres-verriers* of the district this further development of the art which commonly goes by the name of painted enamel (*émail peint*) or enamel on a prepared ground (*émail sur apprêt*). This has, however, been contested, but one thing is certain, wherever the invention was made, Limoges appropriated it, and made it her own.

The works at first executed do not attract our attention by their artistic merit, as much as by their technical peculiarities. They are archaic in style; they represent for the most part religious themes, and are

destined to ecclesiastical purposes. It is not until the threshold of the sixteenth century has been passed that we see traces of a new, a profane impulse, and find that objects of household use and ornament begin to excite the ingenuity and rivalry of Limoges enamel-painters. This change in purpose was accompanied by a further change in manner and in technic. Enamels in *grisaille* came into vogue. The painted preparation was abandoned, and in its stead a coating of black enamel was usually applied to the plate; on this was superimposed a coating of white enamel upon which the drawing was worked up: partly by cutting away about the outlines, and hatching in the shadows so as to expose the black ground beneath (a method much abused by Pierre Reymond); and partly by loading the lights with further additions of white. Some portions—as, for example, the hair in portraits—were necessarily laid in with a preparation of colour, and this was afterwards worked upon by the brush-point in touches of fine shading.

This last practice gradually gained ground, and towards the close of the sixteenth century it was employed almost to the exclusion of the older method of modelling by superimposed coats of enamel. The general abuse of foil, and gold enrichments, such as vulgarises the works of Susanne Court, further degraded the art until finally it became a mere manufacture the product of which was the result of purely

mechanical industry, such as we see exemplified in the enamels signed by the numerous family of Laudin.

The names of Nardon (Léonard) Penicaud and of his son Jean are the first which become known to us whilst the practice of painted enamel was yet struggling in its uncertain infancy; that of Jean Penicaud II. opens the succeeding and more brilliant epoch which was distinguished by the successful labours of Pierre Reymond, of the family Courtois, of De Court, the Noualhier family, and, last and greatest, Léonard and Martin Limosin. During this second epoch, enamel, which had hitherto been but an accessory decoration, obtained independent importance. It ceased to be a means, it became an end; the limits of traditional restraints were broken through, and the full rights of an independent art were claimed.

From this point of view enamel has one chief quality in its favour, it is imperishable; but on the other hand, the worker is restricted in point of colour, and can never be perfectly sure of his result. There are but few pieces which can be considered wholly satisfactory if tried by the standard of comparison which they openly challenge. It is not, indeed, behind the glass cases of museums that we can justly estimate the spirit of this art. Like all other objects of a similar nature, enamels lose incalculably in being detached from the frame they were destined to fill. The loss is great, even to those larger forms of art which have their justi-

fication rather in the pleasure than in the service of men, but objects which exist only for use urgently need this frame. The surroundings, which have disappeared, have possibly carried with them much that would have justified or explained what appear to us defects. Léonard Limosin had before his eye as he worked a scale of colour now unfamiliar to us; he could calculate on the counteracting influence and force of neighbouring forms and lines, which we cannot even recall in thought. We have the gem, but it has lost its setting.

There were special phases in the history of this school of the enamel-painters of Limoges, which may be fully illustrated by the works of some two or three men who are marked out from the rest, as having either initiated or developed tendencies which more or less affected the condition of the whole body.

The elder members of the Penicaud family—Nardon, and Jean I.—are noteworthy, because we catch a glimpse in the pieces which are attributed to them of the state of the art in its earliest moments of transition, whilst Jean Penicaud II., both in colour and design, recalls at a later epoch the original predilections of his predecessors. Pierre Reymond may be taken to stand as the type of those who gave to the process its fullest industrial development; whilst Léonard Limosin may claim a proud pre-eminence amongst such as withdrew enamel from the narrower service of a decorative

art-industry and made it yield the full results of independent art.

Jean Penicaud II. is supposed to have been the son of Nardon, and nephew of Jean I. He is the author of a portrait of Luther, in the collection of Baron James de Rothschild, produced about 1531. His portrait of Pope Clement VII. in the Louvre is dated 1534. The fine tazza which once belonged to Horace Walpole, and which is described in Robins' catalogue of the Strawberry Hill sale as 'enamelled both inside and out with subjects portraying the History of Samson from the designs of Parmigiano,' is signed at full length 'Johannes Penicaudi, junior,' and dated 1539. The half-length figure of 'Hope' in the British Museum bears his initials only (J. P.), and the date 1541. A 'Crucifixion,' cited by M. Darcel, in his 'Notice des Émaux' (Musée du Moyen-âge et de la Renaissance), as in the possession of a M. Gatteaux, is dated 1542, and a set of plates representing the legend of St. Martial, mentioned by M. Maurice Ardant, are dated 1544. Four other plates of the same legend are also mentioned by M. Darcel, one of which, in the possession of Baron A. de Rothschild, is signed 'Johannes M. F. Penicaudius IV.' ('Johannes me fecit Penicaudius junior').

These are the only dates as yet discovered on the works of Penicaud the younger, and it would seem therefore that his activity as an enamel-painter had been limited to the first half of the century, but from

JEAN DUVET SC.

THE BINDING OF SATAN.(APOCALYPSE.)

1557 up to 1561, Jean Penicaud, with his daughter Narde, paid a quit-rent on a house at Limoges, and in 1571, Jean Penicaud became, together with Léonard Limosin, Consul of his native town; finally, in 1588, Jean Penicaud died, leaving two sons, Jean and Antoine, co-heirs to his estate. In each case it is supposed that Jean II. is the person referred to. The conjecture that he was the son of Nardon is confirmed by the terms of a document of 1610, which mentions a house, once the property of Nardon himself, as having also belonged to 'Jehan Penicaud esmailleur,' and also by the fact that a third Jean Penicaud, in whom we may see one of the sons of Jean II., continued to pay, from 1584 to 1613, a charge instituted by Nardon on one of his houses, 'à cause des pauvres à vestir.'

Of the enamels executed by Jean Penicaud the elder, though some are signed in full, none are dated; but from documents still preserved in the archives of Limoges, it is known that he was living during the years 1535–1547; and his technic, which, as well as his manner, closely resembles that of Nardon Penicaud, alone supplies sufficient evidence as to the period during which he worked.

Like Nardon, also, his style was apparently greatly modified towards the close of his career, by the growing influence of the Renaissance, whilst the exceeding simplicity of the modelling in earlier pieces suggests

that he was possibly a glass-painter by profession, or had at least served an apprenticeship in the art. It seems probable, indeed, that glass-painting was the family calling, for in 1555 another Limoges enamel-painter of this name, Pierre Penicaud, received payment for a glass-painting of the 'Last Supper.'

One distinguishing mark is common to the enamels executed by this family. All the copper plates employed by them are stamped on the back three or four times over with a monogram, consisting of the letters P and L, surmounted by a small crown. Both crown and monogram vary in drawing, the crown has sometimes six, sometimes five, sometimes only four points, the monogram is usually drawn in double ornamental lines, but there are specimens in which the two letters are written in a single turn of the hand. It is not the stamp of the coppersmith, because it is reserved for the plates destined to be used by the Penicaud family; nor do the initials indicate the name of any one member of the family, for it is seen on the works both of Jean I. and Jean II., shining through the clear enamel of the reverse. The opaque coating, sometimes applied to the back of enamels by Jean I., is invariably used by Nardon Penicaud, and it is impossible therefore to say whether his plates also bear this mark, and whether he was, as has been supposed, its original inventor. In any case the two letters may be taken to stand simply for Penicaud Limosin.

A great many of the enamels which bear this family stamp are unsigned. Some of these anonymous productions may be referred at once to Pierre, who was, we may infer from a dish in the Cluny Museum which bears his initials, markedly mannered both in design and execution, and decidedly inferior to the rest of his family.

But over and above the pieces which may be assigned to Pierre, there remain a considerable quantity which are too good to have been by his hand. These works have been grouped together, and christened 'l'œuvre de Jean Penicaud III.' There is absolutely no evidence in point; and M. de Laborde affirms, and M. Darcel repeats, that this mysterious artist, who must be taken to be the son of Jean II., 'n'a signé aucun de ses ouvrages.' The fourteen pieces,—nearly all *grisaille*—in the Louvre, and a set of plates (also *grisaille*) in the Fountaine Collection, which are attributed to him, do not present any very great dissimilarity, either in technic or in design, from the better work of Jean II.

If we may judge from his signed pieces, Jean II. was in the habit, in order to give greater softness to the general effect, of either covering over his black ground with a very fine coating of white enamel, or of superimposing a final wash of the same after his work was entirely finished, and had been submitted to the fire. Whichever were the method employed, the result is

that in the interstices of the hatching, where the needle cuts through the thick upper layers of white enamel, we see, not the black ground, but a delicate tone of grey.

This appearance is noticeable in all subjects of a single figure, such as the 'Hope' of the British Museum; in compositions containing several, Jean II. reserves it for those personages who occupy the near foreground, but in those placed at the back he uses an entirely different method; the milkwhite tones of the passages of high relief melt and fuse immediately into the black ground. Now it is an important fact in reference to this question of authorship that this last method is the same as that which, employed throughout in enamels ascribed to Jean Penicaud III., gives to them their brilliant and seductive charm.

There comes next the question of style. It has been urged that the work of Jean III. is marked by the influence of Parmigiano, but the same may be said of the enamels of Jean II. In one notable instance (the Strawberry Hill tazza) he has actually reproduced Parmigiano's designs, and the 'Annunciation' of the British Museum bears witness how completely he caught sometimes in his own work the rather affected and easy elegance of the Italian master from whom he had previously copied.

Special distinction was also claimed for this doubtful Jean III. by M. de Laborde, on the ground that he

copied no one, that he designed always for himself. It is true that in a foot-note M. de Laborde qualifies this assertion with 'except a few celebrated pictures, a few divine compositions of Raphael,' but we must add to the name of Raphael that of Il Rosso, from whom he has borrowed in decorating the cover of a cup now in the Louvre; and again on a flagon in the same collection we find Jean III. not disdaining to reproduce one of the cuts of the Lyon Bible of 1559. The design which occupies the centre band of ornament is directly taken, with certain additions on the right rendered necessary by the shape of the flagon, from the engraving of the same subject on p. 65 of the Bible above mentioned.

Even supposing, however, that this group of enamels must be severed from the work of Jean II., it by no means follows that they were produced by that Jean Penicaud who paid, from 1584 to 1613, a charge on a house previously in the possession of 'Jehan Penicaud esmailleur,' and who is supposed to have been the same Jean who, at the death of Jean II. in 1588, claimed as co-heir with his brother Antoine. The work of this person, the work of the son of Jean II., must have belonged to the close of the sixteenth century, to the period of decadence, but the enamels classed by M. de Laborde (and accepted, though with hesitation, by M. Darcel) under the name of Jean III. were evidently produced at a much earlier period.

Those who advocate the claims of Jean III. are forced to explain away this admitted fact, by crediting him with an exceptional attitude. Léonard himself, it is said, was reduced towards the close of his life into reproducing the designs of the 'little masters' who about 1570 became popular at Limoges, but Jean III., who was at that date probably at the outset of his career, had the courage to maintain an independent line, and uphold, in the face of the popular *engouement*, the abandoned traditions of a nobler art. This seems so unlikely that, were it not for the great authority of the names of M. de Laborde and M. Darcel, one would not hesitate to rank the enamels they attribute to Jean III. with the work of Jean II.; but since the weight of their long practical experience is thrown on the other side, it is safest for the present to pass over this group, and take up only those works which are acknowledged by all to have been incontestably produced by Jean the younger.

The enamels which bear his name in the Louvre are well known by the exact descriptions of M. Darcel and M. de Laborde, but there are three pieces now in the British Museum which are less widely familiar. Two of these are both signed and dated, and they afford us the material for judging of the merit of Jean II. both as a colourist and as a worker in *grisaille*. All three are in his later and better manner. His earlier work has a tentative character, the drawing is as precise and not

more correct than that of Reymond, and the colour is marked by the harsh and acrid tone which generally distinguishes the first enamel-paintings of Limoges—a tone which contrasts unfavourably with the subdued harmony preserved in the inlaid enamels of the tombs executed in the previous century, and which shows no indication of the delicacy and refinement by which it was destined to be ultimately modified. Jean Penicaud the younger was but gradually drawn within the limits of a restraint which Léonard accepted from the first. The transformation of his style evidently acquired a special direction from the study of Parmigiano, whose design from the 'Story of Samson,' he had early employed (1539) in the decoration of the Strawberry Hill tazza.

Parmigiano was pre-eminently a draughtsman. For every painting which we possess by his hand we may count many hundred drawings, all distinguished by a peculiar grace in the adjustment of line. Some, indeed, drop into an artificial elegance and affectation, but many reach great beauty of effect. The characteristic brilliance of his earlier style shows that he had healthily assimilated the teaching of Raphael; but gradually, in gracious response to the desires of a public captivated rather by the novel elegance than by the noble nature of his work, he relaxed the effort to control his exuberant fancy by any reference to the facts of living form. The mannerism which resulted

from his losing hold on reality was nevertheless pervaded always by the old seductive charm which was his special inheritance. His popularity continually increased, so that even his prodigious fecundity could hardly satisfy the incessant demands addressed to him. Goldsmiths, potters, and enamel-painters vied with each other in spreading through the medium of their respective arts that taste for Parmigiano's style which had been initiated by the central public of wealthy connoisseurs.

The small circular *plaque* of the 'Annunciation' by Jean II. in the British Museum shows that he had copied Parmigiano not only in compliance with the fashion of the day, but with a natural predilection which enabled him to appropriate much of his model's peculiar elegance. The composition is graceful, and the details of the arrangement tally in many particulars with the description given by M. de Laborde of another 'Annunciation' by Jean II. in the Daugny collection, which is executed on a *plaque* arched only at the top. The Virgin kneels before a *prie-Dieu*; her hands are folded and her head is turned gently over the right shoulder towards the entering angel, who floats like a luminous white phantom out of the background, relieved against a deep yet brilliant tint of translucent enamel which has the metallic lustre and quality of bronze. Above appears the Almighty, the rays which surround Him issuing like a natural efflorescence from

the bronze ground, which forms indeed the base on which the whole combination of colour is built, rising from the dull red of the Virgin's robe, through doubtful green and positive blue, into the clear and delicate olive tints which fill the sky with faint harmonies. This bronze tone is a hue which Penicaud the younger has made especially his own. It is employed now and again by other enamellers, notably by Léonard, but rarely and only in subordinate passages, whereas Jean II. uses it in large masses and in prominent positions. The reason of this may be found in the quality of the blue which he also affects, a blue which in itself is somewhat chill and positive, but which, from the juxtaposition of the bronze, receives an impulse which shakes the uncompromising decision of its hue. White he always treats with great skill, spreading it out in noble unity of mass, just as in the 'Annunciation' he leaves the angel's robes lying as a space of quiet relief against the variegated brilliance of full colour. The tone of his white is also good in itself, and has much of the creamy quality which distinguished the white of Léonard; and the richness of the general effect is heightened by the full *impasto* with which he invariably models his lights.

The 'Resurrection,' the subject of the second piece in the British Museum, is also treated on a circular *plaque*. In the centre, Christ rises at full height from the tomb. Below, to right and left, lie the two

soldiers, one of whom falls forward, shading his eyes as if dazzled by the effulgence proceeding from the body of the newly-risen God. Here the broad flakes of flesh-tint are used in the colour composition to fill the place occupied in the 'Annunciation' by the angel's floating robes. Against the flesh, encompassing the whole figure, falls a mantle, the blue of which presents the same unpleasant quality as that in the 'Annunciation,' and the painter sets about correcting its effect in a similar manner. The folds of the mantle are thrown on a background of rich and brilliant bronze. This treatment is ingenious, but the blue in question is of a quality so harsh that no man who had highly trained his perception of colour could dwell upon it with pleasure for a moment; it affords an instance in point of the unfavourable contrast which the earlier Limoges painted enamels present as regards colour with the enamels in *taille d'épargne* of a century previous.

Many of the tombs, the designs of which are reproduced in the volumes of the Gaignières MSS. preserved in the Bodleian, show a refinement and delicacy which resemble in some respects even the happiest effects of Léonard; when, however, the new industry developed itself, the first enamel-paintings on copper all showed tints of too positive a character, and sheets of primitive colour were laid on without scruple. These defects were probably due in part to the difficulties en-

countered in the attempt to master a new method of procedure. Although Léonard, Jean Court, and one or two others speedily forced their work to yield the modulations of which they were in search, others, like the Penicaud, rested satisfied with ruder harmonies. Many enamels of this school, like that of the 'Deposition,' also in the British Museum, contain passages of coarse and unmodified colour, whilst the space-patterning is already remarkable for its refined and sharp-sighted adjustment.

Parmigiano did not obtain the entire allegiance of Jean Penicaud II. The *grisaille plaque* of 'Hope,' also in the British Museum, shows the operation of a fresh influence, but one which brought with it no fresh inspiration. The genius of the younger Penicaud was facile and perhaps somewhat vulgar. He could cover surfaces with dexterity, manipulate his material cleverly, and, though wanting in delicacy of perception, employed colour with judgment and gave diligent care to the development of a certain graceful propriety of line. To an artist of this stamp the charm and elegance of Parmigiano would be intelligible and instructive, but any attempt to assimilate a style of more powerful quality could only lead to failure. The large and somewhat grandiose vigour of Giulio Romano had proved a snare to many of his contemporaries, and Jean II. did not escape. To him, as to so many others, the wealthy invention and royal design of Raphael's

scholar became a hindrance. The 'Hope' of the British Museum shows that it was easier to imitate the formal manner of Giulio Romano than to develop that dignity of bearing with which he clothes the most empty forms; that it was easier to reach the freedom of his work than the science by which that freedom was controlled; that, in short, it was easier to appropriate his defects than to seize on the finer qualities by which those defects were redeemed.

In point of technical execution this half-length figure which the painter has christened 'Spes' is very perfect. The greys of the body-clothing are transparent and delicate, the flesh tints are evenly warmed with red, and the deep translucent green of the background lies well away from the eye; the surface is exquisitely smooth and united, the hatchings are broad and open, suggesting masterly management of the point, and the slight gold enrichments are put in with a fine touch: but the general effect is hard and thin; the face and hands are rather wanting in expression; and the emphasis which in Giulio Romano is often a little too weighty, here becomes mere mouthing. We are reminded of the empty pompous circumstance of some of Delaulne's later and poorer work—work done when he too had been attracted by the same dangerous and powerful influence.

The date 1541, which appears together with the initials J. P. on the upper right-hand corner of this

JEAN PENICAUD FT

plaque, is one of the last known to us; for to it succeeds that of 1542 on the Gatteaux 'Crucifixion,' which is followed finally by the 1544 seen by M. Ardant on the 'Legend of St. Martial.' Of that which is supposed to be later work not one piece is dated; and if, indeed, Jean Penicaud II. is identical with that Jean Penicaud living in Limoges in 1561, and acting as consul with Léonard Limosin in 1571, this fact is almost incredible, for we must either conjecture that in the very middle of his career he suddenly ceased to produce, or, what seems equally strange, that whilst continuing to work, he wholly abandoned his occasional practice of dating.

Pierre Reymond was born, like Jean Penicaud II., in the early years of the sixteenth century. In 1530 he married, living in a house in the Rue des Étaux near that occupied by his brother workman, Jean de Court, who seems to have belonged to the school of Léonard Limosin, but concerning whom the archives of Limoges make no mention.

From 1534 to 1582 the activity of Pierre Reymond was incessant. A cup mentioned by M. Ardant bears the first date, and the second is furnished by the still existing accounts of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament at Limoges, which contain an entry in that year of a small payment made to Reymond for the decoration of their books. In the quality of his work he is most unequal, sometimes elegant, brilliant, inspired with a keen and lively animation, sometimes merely

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displaying a trivial and tasteless ingenuity. At his best, he claims attention for his great practical science, his power of finish, his delicacy of touch and accent; at his worst, he is thoroughly inartistic, his technical science and finish degenerate into mechanical precision, delicacy of touch hardens into painful neatness, and all individual accent disappears. These strange hours of degradation do not result, as in the case of Léonard, from undue haste in production, for good and bad work alike afford equal evidence of plodding and unwearied patience. Nor are they the consistent and intelligible consequence of gradual decadence in power, for early in his career examples both of his better and of his poorer work issue from his atelier in one and the same year.

The British Museum possesses a covered cup or tazza, signed and dated 1540, which is an admirable specimen of spirited decorative art. The effect in the main is that of *grisaille*, but there are passages in which, as is usual in Reymond's practice, both green and blue are introduced, with gold enrichments in force enough to harmonise these tints with the surrounding black and white. The cover is decorated with four medallions, executed in tinted *grisaille* on a black ground fitfully spotted with gold, and wreathed with garlands of green, the spaces between which are filled with musical instruments, knotted ribands, masks, and much intricate and choice detail.

Throughout the grey tone verges on a doubtful and deepening blue, which is strengthened on the inside of the cup itself, where we find the chief subject, 'Dido feasting Æneas;' for although grey predominates, the ground on which the figures are detached is blue. The obverse is covered with rich decoration, and in certain points of scale and balance in arrangement attains great distinction. The point at which the cup separates from the stem is strongly emphasised;—blue acanthus leaves part away from it with an elastic spring, as if pressed outwards by the weight above, some curling up, while others roll over, and turn downwards upon a black ground. The same black ground shows above on the body of the cup, round the rim of which runs a wreath of pale green, and a black band encircled with gold tracery. The stem bears two cuirasses, and on the stem in two compartments surrounded by garlands, stags-heads, and bands in *grisaille* we find the labels with the date 1540.

The same collection also contains an oblong *plaque* decorated by Reymond with another subject from the story of Dido and dated in the same year. The composition, adopted from Marc Antonio, though not very distinguished, is here the best part. The execution is not, indeed, without that merit which must always attach to thorough and conscientious workmanship, but it is without interest and artistic vitality. The cold grey tint of the *grisaille* is further chilled by the

green ground on which the figures stand, and which has an ill effect in other respects, breaking up the general unity of tone, which is further disintegrated by the fretful hatching in which the original engraving is too accurately rendered. The prevailing impression of poverty, both in tone and draughtsmanship, is heightened rather than relieved by the exquisite preciseness and perfection to which the mechanical finish has been carried.

Here, then, we have in the same year two pieces produced by Reymond, one of which shows him as an artist of no mean order, whilst a glance at the other, although it is evidently manipulated by a skilled hand, would lead us to suppose that its author, however intelligent, was so wholly devoid of artistic sensibility that he had better have employed himself in any other way. Reymond seems, indeed, to have been a man of naturally fine perceptions, but of sluggish temperament, who sank consequently into an easy level of everyday attainment: only now and then a momentary fervour would rouse the dormant force, and cause the hidden springs to flow.

The method also, which Reymond early developed, of breaking up his *grisailles* with masses of cold, positive green and blue, seems another indication of the same phlegmatic habit. These tints rarely occur in balanced passages fused in the general effect; they are employed in sharply detached blocks, so that they

TAZZA.

PIERRE REYMOND (SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM).

show as inharmonious spaces against the common ground. Two medallions in the British Museum and a square *plaque* in the Louvre, representing Scriptural subjects, all of which were executed in 1541, show this tendency in a marked manner. Blue and green are applied with the utmost caprice and want of balance; and even when Reymond limits himself to pure *grisaille*, he never succeeds in eliciting any of its proper brilliance, nor obtains that powerful relief which nobly distinguishes the enamels attributed to Jean Penicaud III., and those of his follower, M. Pape.

A plate marked with the arms of the De Mesme family, also in the British Museum, is a fair specimen of this class of Reymond's work. The centre subject represents a sacrifice. A garlanded bull is about to be slaughtered by a group of priests in the presence of armed men. The border decoration is formed by a graceful frieze of children playing. A tint of a slightly ochreous tone, as usual, pervades the flesh; but the rest is put in in pure *grisaille*. In the careful drawing of every detail, in the neat and exact precision of every touch, in the scrupulous accuracy with which every space is filled, there is evidence of attention steadily sustained, but not the least sign of any eagerness having crept upon the worker—no sharp spot of contrast brings relief to the general monotony of the flat and faded aspect.

The production of table services for the most part

seems to have engrossed the time of Reymond. Cups, plates, water-ewers, and salt-cellars absorbed his ingenuity. Two cups, one in the Louvre, the other in the Seillière collection, bear the dates 1544–46. One of these, that in the Louvre, closely resembles in style, and in some points of detail, the tazza executed in 1540, which has been already described, the cover being decorated by the same four medallions, and encircled by the same green garlands. The character of these ornaments led M. de Laborde to suppose that a considerable modification of Reymond's style took place under Italian influence at the time at which it was executed—a modification which affected all the work afterwards produced by him. It is true that there is a period of decided change in Reymond's work, but it began at an earlier date, for the British Museum cup evidences knowledge of the principles of Italian design and of the detail of popular Italian ornament as plainly as anything produced at a later epoch.

The spelling of the signature on the Louvre cup, 'Rexmon,' a form of the name which also occurs on several other pieces, coupled with the character of his earlier designs, has been made the basis of a fanciful theory which assigns a German origin to this painter. His name, it is said, must have been Reichsmann. But Reymond alternated the form Rexmon quite indifferently with others, such as Remon, Raymõ, and Reymon,

whilst in the accounts of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament, which contain frequent mention of him, as employed to make certain small sketches in their books between 1555 and 1584, his name is invariably given Reymond. Even if we were to grant that the occasional employment of this *x* suggests the original existence of a German *ch*, of which the *x* has become the substitute, we cannot infer German training.

For more than forty years Reymond worked in France, and pursued an art which was specially localised in one French town, and in that French town we know him to have been resident during at least the last thirty years of his life. In this town, too, his father must have been settled as a native; for when in 1550 Reymond became his heir, we find no trace of the formalities necessary in the case of foreigners. As for the commissions which he received from great families of Nuremberg and Wurzburg, commissions from Germany were also received by other Limoges enamel-painters; and if it could be shown that Reymond sent more to Germany than all the rest put together, it would only prove that his dry and neat manner was exactly adapted to catch the German taste, though the more probable explanation is that Reymond was chiefly a fabricator of table services, and this was the form in which foreign orders for the most part reached the city.

Between 1546 and 1553 an unexplained blank

occurs in Reymond's signed work. In 1554 the long series of cups, of plates, of jugs, again commences. There are no signs of advance or falling off, no variation which might mark a period of progression or decline. If we look at a group of this work, at many pieces gathered together, it is with a growing sense of irritation, of impatience, that it should be so good and not better. The two covered cups in the Fountaine collection at Narford Hall, one of which bears the date 1553, are at about the same point of excellence as that in the British Museum, which Reymond executed thirteen years before. Both are in a state of perfect and beautiful preservation, which bears witness to the conscientious workman's sound methods of procedure, but are otherwise not specially noteworthy. Next year (1554) comes the ewer of the Louvre, one of Reymond's most elaborate works in pure *grisaille*. It is more elaborate, but in other respects neither more nor less than he had already achieved. In the two bands passing round the body of the jug are depicted 'The Triumph of Diana,' and 'The Adventures of the Chase.' For both compositions Reymond was indebted to contemporary engravers. The 'Triumph of Diana' occurs in the work of Ducerceau, and in the 'Wolf and Stag Hunt,' which accompany the main subjects, he reproduces a plate by Virgil Solis.

With the exception of the flesh-tints, which are slightly coloured, and certain accessories, which are

gilt, the whole is worked out in black and white on a black ground, but the artist has obtained none of the sparkling brilliance proper to this mode of treatment, and the handle, which bears the date 1554, is capriciously enamelled in white, and enriched with ornaments in black and gold. These ornaments are graceful enough in themselves, but do not cover the ground sufficiently to prevent the mass of white from detaching itself distinctly from the sombre and subdued tone prevailing in the rest of the work. The handle consequently looks as if it did not belong to the jug to which it is attached, though in itself it is perhaps the more interesting portion. The white is good, the work upon it is laid on with great freshness, the gold touches are well applied, and the general elegance of effect suggests that Reymond was best fitted by nature to work in this lighter style and more manageable key, another example of which is afforded by a pair of candlesticks in the Fountaine collection. These candlesticks are simple in form, but not wanting in a certain elegance of general proportion; the decoration throughout is light, and clear in arrangement; white predominates, but the whole surface is intersected by cutting threads of black ornamental lines. The result is successful, and even the tameness of the subjects which decorate the base is cheered by the brightness of the prevailing treatment.

Of Reymond's foreign commissions, one of the

most considerable came from a member of the great family of Tucher at Nürnberg. The 'Kunstblatt' for 1833 contained a description of seven pieces, all bearing the family arms, and still in the possession of the last descendants of this ancient house. These seven pieces consisted of a great covered vase or centre-piece, accompanied by six smaller bowls, all of which seem to have been originally surmounted by covers, two of which only have been preserved. The figures on the bowl of the principal vase show that the work was begun in 1558, whilst that on the cover, 1562, gives us the date of its probable completion some five years later. But these five years cannot have been wholly occupied by the production of one set alone, and we find in the Grüne Gewölbe, at Dresden, a piece signed P.R., and dated 1559, the very year after that in which he began to work on the Tucher commission. In 1560 he dated a bowl now in the collection of the Duke of Gotha, and during this year he, for the first time, became Consul; in 1562 he executed a plate in the collection at Munich, and in 1564 a pair of candle-sticks in *grisaille*, on a black ground, which form part of his work in the Louvre. These last show evident traces of injury and repair, but even in their original perfection they cannot have rivalled the grace of those at Narford Hall. In the following year, 1565, Reymond signed an oval dish, also in the Louvre, and shortly after he executed two sets of plates, bearing

the arms of the President Pierre I. Seguier. Both of these two series are decorated with the popular compositions, commonly known as 'The Twelve Months,' of Étienne Delaulne. Two out of one set, and a salt-cellar, which, bearing the same arms, must have originally belonged to the same service, are now in the Louvre; the three pieces are undated, but M. de Laborde found '1566' on other plates of the same series, and thus the period of their production is determined.

In 1567, Reymond again became Consul, and in 1569 he signs a cup and tray, both of which are in the Louvre. A ewer, formerly in the Pourtalès collection, comes next in order of succession, bearing date 1572, and finally another piece in the Louvre, a large oval dish, enamelled in *grisaille* on a black ground, closes the list.

This dish is dated 1578, and is the last production which can at present be ascribed to his hand. The subject treated on the obverse is from one of the cartoons now at South Kensington—'Saphan reading the Book of the Law before King Josias.' The reverse contains a figure, taken from one of the sets of gods and goddesses designed by Étienne Delaulne. A wide ornamental border in *grisaille* encircles the figure, and is distinguished by a somewhat larger quality of drawing than usual, but in other respects this dish, the last known of all his works, does not differ materially either in vigour, technical quality, or treatment

from many of his earliest pieces. We might expect to see symptoms of decaying power, evidence of a struggle against the inevitable exhaustion ensuing on forty years of incessant production. Reymond never knew the inspiring fervour of vivid interest; and as long as neither hand nor eye failed, he furnished the same sufficing amount of patient attention and craft. It is possible, however, that we have yet to find other and later works, for it is not until 1582, four years after the execution of the large plate last mentioned, that we come to the final entry in the accounts of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament: 'Payé à Pierre Reymond, peintre, pour ymage au commencement des estatuts, i. liv. x. s.' And this is the last record of Pierre Reymond's life.

Destitute of initiative instinct, a pre-eminent faculty of diligence had urged Reymond to essay every form of his art. His chief credit has been obtained by his paintings in *grisaille*, but he also worked occasionally in colour. If, in this respect, he is to be judged by the six plates now in the Louvre, decorated with compositions from the story of Susanna, it is plain that he was utterly wanting in sense of the relative values of tone. That inability to handle the brush which makes his enamels in *grisaille* look like transferred prints, becomes even more conspicuous when dealing with colour. The sharp precision of the drawing is rendered additionally hard in aspect by

the capricious employment of many tints, which are in themselves of a quality the harmonious working of which would embarrass greater science than Reymond possessed.

To redeem mistakes, he tried a lavish use of gold enrichments, and thus made bad worse. Cold blues and frigid violets are violently touched up with gold, on all the garments there is gold, and in the skies are glittering hosts of stars. Now and then, it would seem, come moments of happier inspiration, for M. de Laborde mentions, with high praise, a triptych in coloured enamels, bearing the arms of Philippe de Bourbon, but most of the pieces in the Louvre, such as the 'Visitation,' show the same vulgar defects. Reymond had, indeed, a quick eye for space-patterning, a ready wit in adaptation; he manipulated his material with care and neatness; he drew precisely, though without correctness: but he was no colourist, nor, except, on rare occasions, can we honour him as an artist.

As an artist, Léonard Limosin must incontestably rank the highest of the enamel-painters of Limoges, and no one can compare with him in power over the various resources of the art, nor in the skill with which he combined them. It is true that he is grievously unequal. He has often set his hand to work which is a disgrace to his atelier, and has left us but too much that is utterly coarse and slovenly. The worst specimens may be referred, as a rule, to the latter part

of Léonard's life, a period which dates from about the commencement of the second half of the century. He was by that time in the enjoyment of a firmly-established reputation and position, but all his best work seems to have been executed in earlier days, when he found in the rivalry of others a wholesome and needed stimulus to exertion.

The first work signed by him bears the date 1532. In 1535, he again dated and signed a *plaque*, on which he reproduced in *grisaille* a design from the story of Psyche, one of those thirty-two compositions engraved after Raphael by the *maître au dé*. These engravings were reproduced in France by Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, and from one of his reproductions, or rather adaptations, Léonard copied, making a free translation essentially different in character to the original. The treatment in point of colour is very simple, the flesh-tints alone are touched with faint carnations, and that in a tone so coldly delicate as to cause no break between these passages and the general key. For the rest, all is put in in a harmonious neutral tint, strongly relieved, on a black ground which glitters with the lustre of jet, whilst certain details are heightened with lines of gold which impart a luxurious brilliance to the whole.

One point is worthy of special notice, that is, the soft and shining quality of the white. Except, perhaps, M. Pape, no one ever quite successfully rivalled Léo-

nard in the attainment of this seductive charm. The tone is perfectly pure, and the portions in which it is employed detach themselves with the relief of cameos from the rest of the work: yet again this brilliancy is equalled by an exquisite limpidity, so that we see the edges of each touch in no harsh outline, but melting softly into the ground with the semi-transparent flow of milk.

A beautiful example of this quality of tone in white is furnished by the cover of a large circular cup in the Fountaine collection. The obverse is decorated by four medallions, encircled by foliage, and inclosing busts of Hector, Helen, Hercules, and Lucretia. Small spaces between contain the initials 'L.L.,' and the date 1536, framed in gilt ornament. The reverse also contains medallions hatched, according to a common practice, in gold on the black ground, and differing totally in execution from those on the upper side, which are executed on black with white touches, heavily loaded on all points where it is fit to suggest high relief. We thus get the impression of *repoussé*, and the skill with which this is managed is so great, the gradation of plane up to the point of contact with the ground so subtle, that although these busts have the relief and solidity of cameos, they seem to float upon the surface, borne gently by the medium which retains them.

In the following year (1537) Léonard executed two

companion folding-boards for chess and backgammon, now in the Louvre; both of which have been reproduced by M. Lièvre in his 'Collections Celèbres.' Both are chequered in white and green, that clear thin green which François Clouet so wisely and so frequently employed. The fair-red types were those which the keen-eyed painter chose to relieve upon this background of quivering green, heightening the thirsty hues of their flesh with draperies of austere black, intensifying the selected chord within its own narrow limits by striking sharp touches of white on ruff or plume. In precisely the same fashion, with the same accurate perception of the value of these tints, has Léonard composed the harmony which should feast the eye of the player on these boards; on the spaces of white, lie cameos finely touched in black, and where the sheets of green are spread, arabesques of red gold come to stir their repose.

In speaking of these boards M. de Laborde put forward the claim of Léonard to be considered as the artist who first turned the art of Limoges to the decoration of objects in use in domestic life. 'Was it to Léonard,' he says, 'that Limoges owed her first vases, ewers, dishes, all the service of the table, and all utensils of private life—objects executed, it is true, in a common metal, but clothed in the rich covering of enamel, elegant in design, and beautiful with colour?' He does not put out of sight works of an earlier date

by Pierre Reymond, but he suggests that the vase-cover, signed by Léonard in 1536, is not the first example of his application of enamel to the decoration of articles in use in domestic life.

The point raised is truly of very minor importance. The growing conviction of the pre-eminent value of life, brought with it a consequent sense of the dignity attaching even to its very necessities. The arts turned with one consent to satisfy human desires and render beautiful all the objects of sense. The workmen of Limoges only obeyed the common tendency, probably with simultaneous instinct, and it matters little which of them was just the first to yield to the inevitable conditions of his day, and to bestow on the vessels used in the habitations of men that service which had hitherto been reserved for the chalice and the pyx.

In the decoration of these household vessels, in the ornament of caskets, cups, and dishes, classical motive naturally predominated, but religious subjects were still occasionally in request. A 'Crucifixion' and a 'Calvary' were signed and dated by Léonard in 1539, and in this same year—which seems to usher in the most fruitful epoch of his life—he executed a portrait (once supposed to have been that of Luther) and a cup signed 'Leonardus Lemovicus' which is decorated with the group of Laocoon. Next in order comes a Virgin and Child in the Napier collection, and an 'Annunciation,' seen by M. de Laborde at a dealer's.

'L'ange,' he says, 'tient une banderole sur laquelle on lit: "Av. Maria, Gracia Plena, Dominus Te!" On voit en outre sur le pot d'où sort le lis: L. L. 1540.' This enamel, adds M. de Laborde, is executed in colours on tinfoil in that bold and hasty manner which soon became the essential characteristic of Léonard's style.

Bold and hasty Léonard's work is always; often it becomes loose and sketchy. He drew with great but inaccurate freedom of line, and never acquired any mastery in rendering exact form, but day by day he applied the art which he practised with better success to more complicated forms, and on a more extended scale. He perfectly knew the nature of the material with which he had to deal; he was sure of a hand delicately fine at tracing an ornamental curve, sure of applying it justly to any surface, however varied might be its planes, and he was sure of fancy equally ready in aptly disposing the turns of an arabesque, or the lines of a composition. The choice lay between shrinking within limits already touched, or the effort to give the method fresh development,—a venture full of hazard, but also full of possibility. Léonard strove to use his material with greater ease, rapidity, and decision; he strove to drive it to larger issues. The effort of production never slumbered while he lived. He put his life into his work.

He has left us in witness not his brilliant instants of achievement only, but the evidence of moments of

check, of defeat, of shame. It is true that amongst the shortcomings which testify but to great powers wearied in their strength, or flagging in decay, we find that which can only be attributed to careless haste. Léonard's work was in vogue, and overhasty production was stimulated by increased demand. In the hands of minor men, the noble 'opus Limogiæ' was already become but a mere manufacture: the fathers had gone on unintelligently repeating reliquary after reliquary without the energy to vary or the ability faithfully to reproduce the original; even so the sons repeated, cup from cup, and plate from plate. In Léonard's hands, however, the art never sank into a purely mechanical process. Hasty work and ill-considered left his workshop, but throughout a general tendency is manifest ever towards wider and yet wider adventure; he saw unlimited possibilities in the future. In this respect, if we except Pierre Courtois, Léonard is without a rival. Others were content with what they knew. With incessant patience they laid line on line, they burnished yet more brilliantly their gold, and applied the glittering foil beneath transparent colour. Of artifices such as these Léonard knew well how to avail himself, but his purpose was never made subservient to their display.

When Raphael decorated the Loggie of the Chigi palace, in which he had already represented the story of Galatea, he chose as his subject the fable of Cupid

and Psyche. The cartoons were executed for the most part by his own hand, but they were carried out by his scholars, and carried out so ill that Roman rumour said Raphael was no longer himself. Yet these designs possessed such intrinsic quality that in the space of twenty years they became the popular property of the civilised world. Whether rendered by the engraver's burin, or shining transparent in glass, or fused in imperishable enamel, they gave proof of strength and beauty. Léonard had early (1535) seized upon them; he now (1543) reproduced two of the series on a smaller scale. These pieces also are in the Louvre, and M. de Laborde suggests that they were executed for François I., who was at that date occupied in the decoration of his 'Château de Boullogne.' Both are set in ornamental frames enriched by other smaller enamels. The subject of the one is 'The Toilet of Psyche,' of the other, 'The King, her father, consulting the Oracle of Apollo.'

On these graceful compositions Léonard bestowed his utmost skill. The warmer tones of the flesh-tints tell against the prevailing neutral key, and are relieved by the lustrous black ground enriched with touches of gold. The purity of tone reached is such that the positive blue and gold bands of the frame, instead of overpowering the delicate harmony which they enclose, only serve to enhance its radiance. But the same beauty and perfection distinguishes all Léonard's

work at this epoch; four *plaques* representing mythological subjects are amongst the best pieces to be seen at Warwick Castle, and these are outshone by another work of the same year, a tazza in the Fountaine collection.

In all these enamels we find Léonard working after Italian masters. Although he had considerable power in design, and actually engraved, in 1544, four of his own compositions, he rarely trusted wholly to himself. His earliest choice fell on German models, then the influence of the school of Fontainebleau led him in quite another direction, and, finally, towards the end of his career, he found his chief source of inspiration in the works of Étienne Delaulne.

The designs for one of his most important undertakings, the twelve enamel paintings of the Apostles, which may still be seen in the church of the 'Saint Pères' at Chartres, were furnished by a certain Michel Rochetel. The order was given, and the designs made in 1545, for the royal accounts for that year contain an entry of a sum paid to 'Michel Rochetel, paintre, pour avoir par luy fait douze tableaux de peinture de couleurs sur pappier chacun de deux pieds et demy et en chacun d'iceux paint la figure de l'un des Apostres qui sont les douze Apostres de notre Seigneur, et une bordure aussi de painture, au pourtour de chacun tableau, pour servir de patron à l'esmailleur de Lymoges, esmailleur pour le Roy, pour faire sur

iceux patrons douze tableaux d'esmail.' But although ordered in 1545, these paintings were not terminated till two years later, for amongst the arabesques which decorate the frame of St. Simon, the date 1547 is set in figures of gold. All the figures are executed in colours on a white ground, and stand on a broad band of deep green grass, small details being for the most part touched in gold. None of these details, not even the patterns of the border, were left, as we have seen, to the discretion of Léonard himself. The designs themselves have disappeared, so that they cannot be compared with his reproductions of them, but wherever Léonard's work can be tested we find that he allowed himself the utmost freedom of translation except when copying a portrait. In such a case he lays aside the mannered elegance and long-drawn exaggeration of line which he elsewhere affects, and faithfully renders the character and features of his model.

The twelve enamels of the Apostles were not originally intended to fill the place which they now occupy. They were given to the church of the Saint Pères in 1802, when it was restored to the uses of public worship, having been in the possession of the civil authorities of the department (Eure et Loir) ever since the destruction of the *château* of Anet in 1797. The chapel of the *château* whence they were taken had been desecrated and its tomb destroyed about two

years earlier. After the tomb was destroyed came the turn of the decorations of the chapel in which it had stood. In the archives of the department still exists the *procès verbal* in which are set down the various articles found on taking possession, and amongst these are mentioned 'douze apôtres en cuivre ésmaillé.' Begun at the command of François I. these enamels were not completed until the very year which saw his death and the accession of his son, so that the Apostles of Léonard, destined probably in their commencement to stimulate the piety of the Duchesse d'Étampes, became a tribute to the taste and magnificence of Diane de Poitiers.

Whilst Léonard was engaged on these works, he reproduced some of the Psyche series from which he had taken subjects in 1535 and 1543. He also repeated or began to repeat the series of Apostles previously executed. The Louvre has duplicates of the St. Thomas and St. Paul, which appear to have once formed part of a complete set bearing the monogram of Henri II., in which twelve great personages of the court were represented, for the two still preserved are portraits of François I. and Admiral Chabot. They are painted in colour— like the enamels of Chartres— on a background of white enamel, and, in spite of loose line, and absurd slovenliness in drawing, show the better qualities of Léonard's work—the effective grace and brilliance of his general design. Another piece to be

referred to the same reign is an enamel now in the collection of Baron James de Rothschild, which was once amongst the objects stored by M. Lenoir in the Musée des Petits Augustins. It bore a written inscription in an old hand which described it as the portrait of Henri II. going out hunting, with Diane de Poitiers riding pillion behind him, done in the year 1547, and designed by Raphael. This attribution is of course false, but Léonard himself was not—in all probability—the original author of the design, which with variations and additions was extremely popular at this time as a representation of the month of March. There is a plate in Mr. Henderson's collection bearing a replica of the same composition with the word 'Mars' written in gold letters beneath the sun in the centre. But neither in this plate nor in the more celebrated *plaque* mentioned above do either man or woman present any resemblance to the historical personages they have been supposed to represent.

Léonard was now at the head of his profession. He was at his best: sure of himself and of all the resources of his art. His rapidity in production was unexampled; 'Nec ullius velocior in pictura manus fuit.' He had not only brought enamel-painting in *grisaille* to perfection, but he could also employ the most elaborate scales of colour with absolute certainty. The undated, unsigned twelve Sibyls of the British Museum were probably produced at this time. Though

LÉONARD LIMOSIN FECIT.

SYBILLA CUMANA.

on a small scale, they are very important on account of the completeness of their execution and of the perfection of their colour, the scale of which is very clear, and very French. Pale blue, white, soft grey, pale pink, pale trembling green, heightened with gold, bloom on the surface of a black shining mirror. These tints are full of pulsations like a flower of flame burning in the sky at night. Now and again comes a small touch of deeper colour in a sleeve, or in a fold of drapery which solidifies the general fluency of tone and carries it into the ground. The wreaths of foliage which enclose each separate figure run in alternate bands of green and shimmering blue; clear and pale, but sharply detached at the angles by spaces of warm transparent brown, covered with gold tracery. The original settings have unfortunately been replaced by poor gilt mouldings; it is rarely, indeed, that any piece has the good fortune to retain, like the cup-cover in the Fountaine collection, its original mounting undisturbed.

This cover, signed by Léonard, and dated 1549, is decorated with subjects from the story of Actæon, executed in pure *grisaille* on a deep blue ground; the rim is protected with delicate embossed work, and the knob which surmounts the top is chiselled into the form of a winged figure, the lines of which are rendered both admirably decorative and convenient to use. Another cup in the same collection, also painted in *grisaille*, bears the same date, and has been stamped

as special property by a shield, the outlines of which are still visible; the bearings have disappeared, destroyed, in all probability, for safety in theft and sale, but the motto, which remains, 'Ut prosit sibi non parcit suis,' may yet identify the arms.

In the year after the execution of this cup, in 1550, Léonard took proceedings against the heirs of a refractory debtor, record of which is still preserved in the archives of Limoges. In the same year also he dated several portraits: one,—a posthumous representation of Claude de France, wife of François I., is now in the Hôtel Cluny; another,—that of a noble wearing the collar of St. Michael, is now in the Louvre. The latter bears, beneath the translucent enamel with which the reverse is coated, the figure 1550, coupled with the monogram of Léonard. A third portrait, that of some unknown magistrate, or man of letters, also in the Louvre, is neither dated nor signed, but appears to have been executed at about the same time. Both the Louvre portraits are oval in form, though differing in size. The persons represented cannot be determined in spite of the strong air of individual character by which they are distinguished, and which shows how conscientiously Léonard, when engaged on work of this sort, could adhere to the lines laid down by his original.

The delicacy and precision of the drawing in both instances speaks of the influence of François Clouet from

whom Léonard more than once most undoubtedly copied, and stands in strong contrast to the careless elegance of line to which he more frequently abandoned himself. The arrangement of colour is equally reserved and scientific:—the noble, a fair man, is dressed in black threaded over with gold; the background too is black, but his hair floods both dress and background with light; the blond locks lift the dark cap which bears a small white plume and the spreading beard and moustache float across the breast. The subject of the second portrait is also a man dressed in black, but a swarthy man whose brown hair and close-clipped beard are tinged with chestnut; and the deep warm tints get their full value thrown by Léonard on a sheet of dazzling azure.

The simple and daring fashion in which these vigorous contrasts are translated into colour is peculiar to Léonard and seems to have come of his prolonged and profound study of the qualities and capabilities of *grisaille*. This study was carried on hand in hand with every kind of experiment; even painting in oil he did not leave untried, for in the year following that in which the Louvre portraits were produced he signed and dated a large picture on panel of the 'Incredulity of St. Thomas' which still hangs in the Museum of Limoges:—'Léonard Limosin, esmailleur, peintre, valet de chambre du Roy, 1551.' This is the only authentic picture, however, which has come down to us from his

hand. His time was too fully occupied in the special work of his profession for him to have produced much in any other direction. His essays in painting and engraving were mere digressions, so that having changed for a while the point of continuous pressure he returned with renewed vigour to his ordinary work.

In 1551 Léonard's name disappears from the list of the *valets de chambre du Roy*, but he cannot have been in disgrace, for he continued to enjoy royal patronage, and in 1552 executed for Henri II. a table-fountain now at Narford Hall, which is as remarkable in point of form as for the beauty of its enamelled decorations. The broad triangular base supports a delicate clustered shaft which spreads itself open at the top and suggests the lines of the bulb, stalk, and blossom of a flower, just sufficiently to bring the image before the eye, although the forms are so thoroughly subservient as in no wise to recall nature. The decoration itself shows fresh motive. The ground of white enamel is covered with a fretwork of lovely ornament in tinted *grisaille*. The keen rapidity of touch which threads through myriad curves of arabesque and quaint device, the swift-running outlines which define doubtful forms and enforce the general purpose, suggest rivalship with the contour and ornament of the *faïence* of Oiron. The monogram of Henri II., the signature of the artist, the date (1552), occur in alternate labels between the repeated angles

of the crown, while below, mingled with every variation of decorative ingenuity, the doubtful crescents of Diana fall in showers. Above all other work made for table decoration this fountain by Léonard Limosin claims the pre-excellent place; it is the most royal toy ever made by human fingers.

The two votive pictures of the Sainte Chapelle, executed also for Henri II. in the following year, 1553, present a certain element of independent art in combination with predominant decorative intention. The Apostles of Chartres belonged to this class, of which the pictures of the Sainte Chapelle are in some respects the more important examples. The central designs in both, the 'Crucifixion' and the 'Resurrection,' are probably after Nicolo dell' Abbate. For these and for such medallions as contain portraits and passages of minor subject all warm and varied colour is strictly reserved. The decorative groundwork which accompanies them is restricted to a single predominating tint. This tint—in the frame which contains the portraits of François I. and Eleonora of Austria—is azure worked over with gold and picked out with black; in the second—that in which we find the portraits of Henri II. and Catharine de Médicis—the ground-tone is less striking: black and white spaces give a general neutral effect valuable on account of the richer and fuller scale of colour employed in the pictorial subjects to which it serves as background,

After executing these two pictures, Léonard, I think, continued for the most part to work in colour. For the reverse of a dish or a bowl he still employed the black ground and simple white or tinted relief, although in no considerable piece did he trust himself, as of old, to the charms and interest of pure *grisaille*. But the habit of eye acquired through the incessant use of two strongly contrasting tints—the habit of seeing in black and white—always regulates his treatment of colour. This is exemplified in the two portraits executed in 1550, and in an oval *plaque* of Venus and Cupid, painted in colour, which he now produced (1555) the teaching of *grisaille* is still more evident. The broad mass of flesh-tint is relieved on blue drapery, which loses itself in the green tones of the near landscape, and these green tones gradually fuse into the blue of the distant sea and sky; so that a simplicity of general effect is obtained, exactly corresponding to that of white relieved on black.

The same character is even more definitely marked in the large dish decorated with Raphael's 'Banquet of the Gods.' This dish, a replica of which exists at Warwick Castle, is in the Fountaine Collection. It shows the principal personages of the Court habited in part after the fashion of the day, and graced with the attributes of the various gods and goddesses. Henri II. himself occupies the seat of Jupiter; his queen, towards whom he turns, is classically draped in blue, but the

goddess on his right, in whom tradition has always seen Diane de Poitiers, is more prodigal of her beauty. A black and white cap, emblem and relic of widowhood, renders the absence of all other clothing the more conspicuous. The whole group stands out in full relief from the black ground, bordered by a brilliant succession of arabesque ornament, filled in with groups of children at play. The reverse has a large mask broadly put in in black and white, and the arms of the original possessor, the Constable de Montmorency, may still be traced, (though an attempt has been made to obliterate them), on the shield in which they were formerly blazoned. He himself, as Mars, occupies a prominent position at the banquet, and the air of the head is characterized by the same singular intensity of expression that individualises the large portrait of him executed by Léonard in the next year.

This portrait of the Constable was one of a long series (probably a royal commission) produced during the years 1556–67. Five portraits, amongst which are those of Catharine de Medicis, Marguerite de Valois, Duchesse d'Alençon, and Cardinal François de Lorraine, are cited by M. de Laborde as in the possession of Mr. Seymour. Some have been recently exhibited at South Kensington. Two, apparently belonging to the same set, one of François II. as Dauphin, and another of François Duc de Guise, have found their way with that of the Constable to the Louvre. All

three are executed on oval *plaques* of much the same size, and are painted in colour on a clear azure ground. The Dauphin, the Constable, and the Duke, all wear black cloaks and caps, but the grey or white fur, which borders the mantles of the Dauphin and the Duke of Guise, is broadly spread by the white of their doublets, whereas in the case of the Constable—whose entire costume is black—the artist has dexterously availed himself of the grey tones of the hair and beard, to carry off the sharp contrast of the ermine which edges his cloak. Eight small enamels still enrich the frame of carved and gilt wood which encircles the portrait of De Montmorency. Two on each side contain groups of satyrs in animated action; above and below are a Medusa and an angel's head—spirited examples of coloured enamel applied to a surface of *repoussé* work; that of the Medusa has remarkable life and dignity.

Life and dignity, and certain large qualities of style do indeed distinguish all these portraits, but the supple delicacy which bestows charm and distinction on much of Léonard's earlier work is wholly wanting. The fine sentiment which marks every line of modelling in his portrait of the Dauphin François, son of François I., has given place to a bold rhetorical manner. The very choice of colour betrays more science and less sympathy. It contrasts in its frank and positive accent with earlier examples,—such as the

dreamy, refined portrait of one of the Valois in Baron Meyer de Rothschild's collection, where white shivers into grey, and grey deepens into green, and the large formal lines of the composition—full of reserve and renouncement of all minor charm of play and picturesqueness—give a strong ascetic accent, which grows in force till even the courtly accessories of toilette only heighten the impression as of reading a strange poem, an unnatural tale of one early doomed dying in the midst of pleasure and knowing none. There are no suggestions of romance in line or colour to soften the fretful lines of the face of François II., or dignify the narrow ferocity of *le Balâfré*, or enlarge the sombre intensity of the Constable's gaze. All is clear, and certain, and prosaic. Nothing is forgiven, nothing felt; the secret of each life has been penetrated with skilled indifference.

Indifference—sometimes qualified by vigour and skill—sometimes utterly careless, is henceforth characteristic of Léonard's work. His official position—if there ever had been any change in it for the worse—was firmly established, and he was prospering also in the world, for in 1554, in 1555, and 1558 he invested money in the purchase of *rentes* and land, signing the deeds in each case as 'serviteur de la chambre du roy nostre syre et son maître esmailleur.' In this capacity he received in 1559 seven yards of black cloth as mourning at the death of Henri II., and his title was

confirmed on the accession of François II., from whom he received yearly wages, at the rate of 80 *liv.*, as his enameller in ordinary. But at this very moment occurs a remarkable gap in Léonard's signed work.

From 1532, the year in which he first dated, there is an unbroken line of production up to the death of Henri II., but throughout the troubled year of his successor's brief reign, nothing, and under Charles IX. nothing till the year of the Vassy massacre (1562), which opened with two months of peace and promise. Léonard then dated a large circular dish now in the Cluny collection ; but after this again come five long years in which he makes no sign, and it is to be noted that corresponding gaps occur in the work of Reymond and Pierre Courtois.

In August 1557 Paris trembled for herself. Hitherto, though France was engaged in external wars, the national territory had been secure. The loss of St. Quentin threw the capital into a wild state of nervous terror, and the Huguenots, excited like the rest by the common danger, assembled secretly by night in the Rue St. Jacques, to pray, and hear Jean Masson preach. As they came out towards morning their fellow-citizens fell upon them, taking many prisoners, among whom were persons of quality, and even ladies of the Queen. Henri II. suffered many to be burnt alive to appease the popular clamour; the rest were spared at the intercession of the Prince Palatine

and the Swiss Protestants, of whose assistance the King was, at the time, in sore need. This was the beginning of troubles, and during this year, the year in which Palissy pleaded before the judges of Xaintes with unselfish courage for the life of Philibert Hamelin, Léonard dated two of twelve medallions forming a set of the Passion, all of which are far below even his usual average of attainment. It is, however, possible that (occupied himself by the series of historical portraits already mentioned, two of which bear date in this year) he handed over the Passion to an assistant, putting his name only on the two plates which seemed least unworthy to bear it. But Léonard never again gave proof of his full power.

Four years later (1562), when he produced the circular dish of the Cluny Museum, his hand seems stayed. The lines of Raphael's Judgment of Paris are upon it, but they have lost their original elegance, nor is this loss atoned for by the presence of any other quality. That quick perception of the relative values of colour which of old seemed Léonard's birthright is evidently dulled. The delicate tones of *grisaille* which were wont to bloom like a natural efflorescence on the black ground, are replaced by a chill blue; in the decoration of the reverse only does he revert to the old tones, but without the old patience and skill. Another piece in blue, the subject of which is the Fall of Manna, is dated 1568, and further attests the rapid decay of

his powers. Still in 1572 and succeeding years he continues to work. Two oval medallions, executed in coloured enamels, bear this date. Both are in the Louvre. The one is a repetition of the hunting scene previously executed in 1547—and here again the horseman and his companion have been supposed to represent Henri II. and Diane; the other is remarkable as an indication of a current of feeling which probably found response in the hearts of many at that day.

When Léonard executed this medallion his country was worn with the pangs of intestine strife. The treacherous massacres of August 23 were either dimly presaged, or, if past, were making life hideous with their memory. The loves of Cupid and Psyche, all that train of graceful allegories which had long employed Léonard's pencil, vanished before the fatal realities of the hour. Instead of these he now rendered, with fingers numbed by age, a scene of daily domestic life, hushed by the sentiment of peaceful security in the satisfied possession of family joys. The husband gazes on the wife, who, with her firstborn on her knees, sits within the safe shelter of the fireside, whilst the aged father of the house draws close to the cheering blaze and offers to its heat the bands destined to swathe the limbs of his grandchild. A neighbour looks in, and without is seen the busy landscape, gay with running water and waving trees, and stirring gladly with the innocent labours of man. We find with strange

surprise 1572 written on the table placed within reach of the young mother's hand. In this very year Frenchmen met a Huguenot mother bearing her babe to baptism, and took her child from her arms, murdering it before her face.

During all this time Léonard, in spite of his court post, seems to have steadily resided in his native town. He there inhabited, together with his brother Martial, two houses which communicated with each other at the back, the one in the Rue des Grandes Pousses, the other in the Rue Manigne. In 1541 and onwards they paid the dues, to which these houses were subject, in common; in 1572, Martial is supposed to have died, for in that year, and after that date, Léonard alone paid the taxes which he had hitherto met jointly with his brother. In 1561 he had been employed at Limoges to make a survey and plan, which is still preserved in the archives of La Haute Vienne, and in 1571 he illustrated with drawings,—representing jewels,—that same register of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament to the decoration of which Pierre Reymond had also contributed. In the same year also he became Consul of the town, in company with Jean Penicaud III., and in the course of the following (1572), M. Ardant asserts that he received a visit from André Thevet, who has given a brief account in his 'Cosmographie Universelle' of 'une petite idole de Mercure, massive de cuivre, ayant des yeux

d'argent,' which he saw in the house of 'un des plus excellens ouvriers en esmail qui soit paraventure au monde.' This is now in the Louvre, and is described as having been the property of Léonard Limosin, but it does not appear that either this attribution or the date assigned to Thevet's visit are authorised by the words of the text. Thevet says the image was found three years before he went to Limoges, but does not give the date of his visit; he says it was in the house of an 'excellent painter in enamel,' but does not give his name, and I have in vain applied to M. Ardant for further information.

In 1573 it became Léonard's task to glorify Charles IX. triumphant, habited as a dreaded Mars and seated on a chariot drawn by foxes. The foxes were apparently objected to, for in a replica of the same composition, once in the Bernal collection, they were replaced by white horses. The death of the young king took place in the same year, and Léonard next dated a portrait of his successor, Henri III., as Jupiter, and in 1574 another of Catharine de Medicis as Venus.

These are the last enamels to which he is known to have attached his name. He had been working incessantly for at least forty years, and if we take the forty-six enamels, executed in one year for the two pictures of the Sainte Chapelle, to stand for the average of his yearly production, we get a total not far short of two thousand: a number which is pro-

bably not beyond the mark. Of those which have come down to us, many have suffered from hasty execution; others, owing to the use of foil beneath the colours, have ill-resisted the effect of time. Foil beneath transparent colour adds greatly to the brilliance of effect, but as a foreign substance interposed between the copper and the enamel it prevents complete adhesion, and consequently mere change of temperature is sufficient to detach it from the ground, together with the enamel applied upon it. When it is employed in large quantities, the surface often cracks beneath the lightest touch, and leaves bare spaces where a moment before were passages of lovely ornament. Even in the well-guarded collection of Narford Hall, the table-fountain of Henri II. shows traces of this form of decay.

Use of foil was not, however, a habit with Léonard: it was rather one of the many proofs of the enterprise with which he in every way sought the extension of his art. In his efforts to enlarge his methods and his means, he actually anticipated recent developments of the art of enamel painting. On an oval medallion in the Kunstkammer, at Berlin, he has painted a scene from the story of Ruth in thin-laid colours on a ground of white enamel, and in so doing originated the process, afterwards re-invented in the last century, and carried to perfection in the miniatures of the Huguenot artist Pétitot.

Even when employing methods already known, Léonard got from them more than they yielded in other hands. Enamel colour laid on a large surface is apt to be too uniform, too unmitigated and positive in tone:—Léonard fills large sheets with tremulous gradations. He is counted of the school of Fontainebleau, but his choice in colour would alone be sufficient to indicate his inheritance of other traditions. His drawing and design were indeed tinged, except in portraiture, with that affectation of elegance which is an offensive evidence of Florentine teaching; but now and again he has reached true grandeur. On two pieces by him in the Fountaine collection are delineated groups of men restraining fiery coursers. The horses champ the bit, resist the tightening rein, and fling their heads aloft with angry defiance of the strong hands from which they cannot escape. The lines are of extreme simplicity, the drawing free but not loose, the square forms of the horses' heads put in with a character and dignity which recalls even the sea-horses of Mantegna. To remind us even of Mantegna's work is in itself a great achievement, for Léonard, however fertile, however rich in artistic gifts, was only a brilliant worker of a lower order. Yet, with his masterpieces in sight, it is not easy to remember his position in the great hierarchy: what he did was so complete that, in honour of the artist, the secondary nature of the art he practised is forgotten.

His death took place at some time between 1575 and 1577. He himself was party to a contract in the beginning of 1575, but a deed bearing date Feb. 10, 1577, speaks of the heirs of the 'late' Léonard Limosin, enameller. He left heirs, but none who inherited his talent. Enamel-painting, as a means of artistic expression, may be said to have died with him. There were many who successfully imitated the mechanical excellencies of his work, who could produce tones of translucid brown, and green of crystalline purity, but none caught the sense in which he used his means.

Amongst this busy group of diligent workers, one man seems to stand near him, and he, though of feebler quality, shows an independent vein. The enamels in *grisaille* executed by Jean Court dit Vigier are noticeable for merits which individualise their author. The Louvre contains two pieces, and some fine examples in Baron de Rothschild's possession were exhibited in 1870 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. All are alike remarkable for refinement of accent, for a charming elegance of adjustment, and for spirit in touch. The only dates to be found on his work are those of the years 1556 and 1557, and it has hence been inferred that Jean Court was only active as an enamel-painter during these two years, but the perfection of his method is such that this theory seems scarcely tenable.

Side by side with Court worked Jean Courtois,

who—unlike his great relative Pierre—was incessantly engaged in copying and repeating himself: every quality which can be attained by unrelenting attention he shows to admiration, but his enamels clearly foreshadow the coming decadence of the art. Destitute of intention, he sought relief from the monotony of mechanical excellence in expedients unworthy of an artist. By the glitter of foil, and the blaze of gold, he attempted to cover up his poverty of resource, and his want of real science. In looking at the casket of the British Museum collection—the sides of which are covered with scenes from the History of Joseph—the eye is dazzled and satiated by the shifting play of light on the shot enamel, till it is cheated by the agreeable iridescence into forgiveness of defects thus ingeniously concealed.

The easier path to credit and success once opened, it was quickly filled. The three younger Limosins (Léonard, Jean, and Joseph), Suzanne de Court, Martial Courtois, and his brothers Antoine, Pierre, and Pierre l'Ainé—degenerate sons of an able father—zealously worked on in this direction. Even M. D. Pape—a man of much vigour and talent, who is supposed to have been the Martin Didier who succeeded Léonard as *émailleur du roi*, and who most certainly had been his pupil—though he himself remained faithful to the direction given by his early training, could not succeed in communicating the impulse to others. The

old inspiration fast died away, and those who did not devote themselves to captivating attention by pandering to the more vulgar instinct of sense—to the desire of the eye to be irritated by lustre and bright colours—held fast but the empty forms of a once life-giving creed. The work of Pape, though it at first imposes respect by a certain air of sober dignity, by the large handling and breadth of touch, by the beauty and brilliancy of the white, gradually shows want of intention. The enamels, by him, on an ebony casket in the Louvre, representing children at play, are admirable for spirit and brilliant effect; but his 'Triumph of Galatea,' after Raphael, in the same collection, betrays the weariness of habit.

The century drew to a close. The spring of creative energy which had once seemed inexhaustible, which had once seemed destined to replenish unceasingly the spiritual forces which would nourish national life, had been checked, and its waters now shrank within the limits which they had formerly overflowed. The vast resources of initiative vigour furnished by the Renaissance had been wasted and misapplied. Léonard's successors mock us with the semblance of what might be, and is not, and the new current sets towards a future of dull and mechanical perfection. Limoges enamel-painting, once fostered by the intelligent sympathy and direction of a brilliant and accomplished court, sank till it became a mere industry. No fresh

impulse disturbed the placid surface beneath which the old inspiration lay buried. In lieu of taste and fancy, men offered patient workmanship. Exact distribution and fusion of materials, perfect precision of point, needle-like fineness of line, elaborate raised work of flowers, and scrolls, and jewels, these are the attractions which distinguish henceforward the products of Limoges, and these culminate in the completeness of stupid finish and relief bestowed upon all their work by the Laudin, and by Jacques Nouailher, who attained the height of favour and credit as enameller to the Jesuits of Limoges under the Regency of Anne of Austria.

CHAPTER VI.

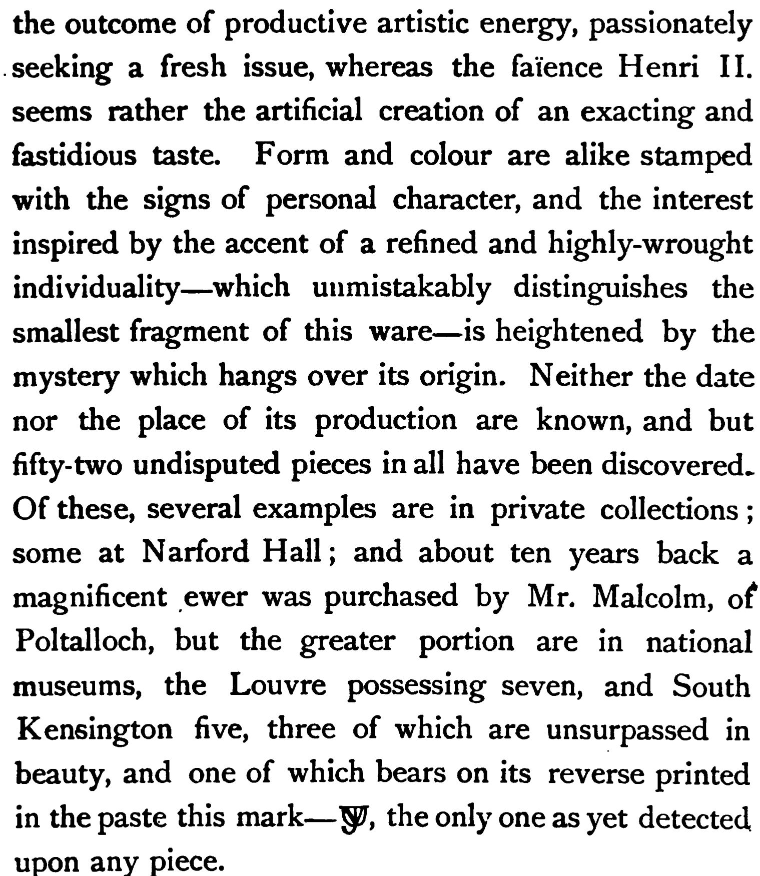
POTTERY.

Faïence Henri II.—Palissy.

J'ay trouvé grace devant Dieu qui m'a fait connoistre des secrets qui ont esté jusques à present inconnuz aux hommes.—*Letter from Palissy to Antoine des Ponts.*

THE passion with which men—under the influence of the Renaissance—sought to make all things beautiful, communicated itself with electric rapidity to the re- motest,—to the most modest provinces of art. The same secret flame inspired alike the humblest and the loftiest effort, and gave to the results of each the same quality of value, if not the same importance. Thus an earthenware cup or dish has for us just as precious significance as the carvings of Goujon or the vast plans of Bullant or De l'Orme. The name of Palissy rings with as full a tone as that of Clouet, or Cousin; and the faïence Henri II. claims equal notice with the engravings of Duvet or Delaulne.

But Palissy ware, and the ware of Henri II., though they have their origin in a common inspiration, are differentiated by special qualities. Palissy ware was



the outcome of productive artistic energy, passionately seeking a fresh issue, whereas the faïence Henri II. seems rather the artificial creation of an exacting and fastidious taste. Form and colour are alike stamped with the signs of personal character, and the interest inspired by the accent of a refined and highly-wrought individuality—which unmistakably distinguishes the smallest fragment of this ware—is heightened by the mystery which hangs over its origin. Neither the date nor the place of its production are known, and but fifty-two undisputed pieces in all have been discovered. Of these, several examples are in private collections; some at Narford Hall; and about ten years back a magnificent ewer was purchased by Mr. Malcolm, of Poltalloch, but the greater portion are in national museums, the Louvre possessing seven, and South Kensington five, three of which are unsurpassed in beauty, and one of which bears on its reverse printed in the paste this mark—𝔚, the only one as yet detected upon any piece.

One or two specimens were first engraved with great delicacy in the *Monumens Français* of Willemin (1839), and these plates were accompanied by a notice in which the special merits of this faïence were acutely and subtly estimated by M. André Pottier. In 1861, the attention of all connoisseurs had been drawn to the subject, and MM. Delange, father and son, brought out a 'Recueil des faïences Henri II.,' in which all the principal

pieces known were carefully reproduced. Previously to this, in 1844, M. Brongniart had exactly analysed the composition of the paste in his valuable 'Traité des Arts Céramiques,' and not only does every museum catalogue —every work devoted to the history of pottery which has been published during the last fifty years—contain some account of or speculation concerning this ware, but by M. Clément de Ris, M. Tainturier, M. Fillon, and M. Ferrière-Percy it has been made the subject of special treatment.

All the pieces have been found in France, and all were probably produced during the reign of Henri II., for whilst the salamander of François I. only appears once, a very considerable number bear the arms of France, accompanied by the monogram of his son, and thus the entire series has obtained the name of 'Faïence Henri II.' A large proportion of the whole was found at Tours itself, and this fact, taken with the quality of the paste employed, causes it to be supposed that the exact spot on which the ware was made must be sought in that district—somewhere between Tours, Saumur, and Thouars. Here, many traces of potter's furnaces have been found, and M. Fillon, in his 'Art de Terre chez les Poitevins,' has with great ingenuity endeavoured to show that those which he has, indeed, proved to have been in activity at the *château* of Oiron, in the *vicomté* of Thouars, have a right to claim the production of the faïence Henri II.

The *châtelaine* of Oiron was Hélène Hangest de Genlis, at one time governess of Henri II. She married Artus Gouffier, who had seen Italy, in 1495, as page to Charles VIII., was appointed governor to François I. by Louis XII., and died at Montpellier in 1519, whilst negotiating the marriage of a daughter of François with the Emperor Charles V. Hélène, his wife, was a woman distinguished for her taste and accomplishments, and parts of the magnificent collection of historical portraits which she formed are still to be seen in the national library and in the Louvre. She, M. Fillon supposes, aided by her librarian, Jean Bernart, directed the works of her potter, François Charpentier, and the result of their collaboration was the faïence Henri II., which should more properly be called faïence of Oiron.

In the pages of M. Fillon's book we find that there is every probability in favour of his conjectures. Innumerable small facts, all point in the same direction, but all stop, unhappily, short of that direct proof which would alone enable us to accept his conclusions as irrevocably established. This is the more tantalising and provoking as from such a source as that which he supposes we should naturally expect the faïence Henri II. to have issued. It has none of the characteristics of an industry which has been tentatively developed, which has forced itself slowly into notice, which has been gradually encouraged by demand, which has then been

taken up for profit by many hands, vulgarised and pushed to extreme by various taste and purpose, and which finally, having dropped to the lowest level possible, has been abandoned in the pursuit of novel aims. M. Fillon, indeed, shews reason for supposing that there were continuators of the enterprise, but the pieces attributed to them resemble rather the work of Palissy's successors than the ware from which they claim descent. There is no beginning, no culmination and no decay in the true faïence Henri II.

All the pieces show an equal delicacy and perfection of workmanship; all are characterised by the same curious intermingling of Moorish arabesque design with structural shapes fashioned by a more or less classical intention; all are formed of the same clear white paste thinly coated with a glistening yellowish glaze, and sharply tooled by the graver. The fine incisions in all are filled in for the most part with black or deep brown, and relieved by brilliant orange, and sometimes we get ornaments in relief of various tones of green, of pink, of dull blue, of yellow. The decoration of one cup at South Kensington is wholly limited by black and white; but the thread patterns on the base of a covered bowl in the same collection are rich brown, to which succeed orange arabesques bound by dull blue clamps above which squat little green frogs; the masks which follow are touched in purple brown, and the crowning cover sur-

mounted by a yellow lion. The main effect, however, even in this piece and others like it—in which varied colour is employed—tends always towards a high and neutral key. The impression produced is not only less forcible, but less 'colour' is got in fact out of the use of colour than out of the use of black and white.

The pieces which have come down to us are to be divided into three sets, representing varying degrees of elaboration in shape and ornament. Nearly all have been restored, and so skilfully restored that—except in the simpler pieces—it is often impossible to discriminate between the new bits and the old work, and a further source of error is to be found in the reckless forgery of coats of arms and initials which has been resorted to in order to increase the selling value.

Black or brown and white, it is to be noted, are generally employed in the pieces which are of the simplest construction. These pieces usually show the fewest passages of high relief, and may perhaps, on that account, be taken to have been the first in order of production. The three-handled cup of the Louvre and two pieces at South Kensington—a cup raised on a stem, and a round tray, which has apparently served as the base for a ewer—are examples of this class. The next step seems to have been taken by more and more frequent introduction of ornaments in high relief,—as in the beautiful six-sided salt-cellar of South Kensington, and the uncovered vase of the Louvre, on both of which

CANDLESTICK.

FAÏENCE D'HENRI II.

is engraved the triple crescent of Henri II., and which seem therefore to have belonged to the same service. In both the relief of colour is all but wholly obtained by black and white enamel, whilst the construction depends more distinctly than ever on an exquisite adaptation of architectural forms which serve but as the framework for the reception of natural objects. Satyrs and Sirens bind together with sinuous curves the base and shaft and crown of the cup, and through the pierced arcade, which forms the sides of the salt-cellar, we see standing a little group of figures linked together in light embrace by their intertwining arms, whilst tiny busts, each a marvel of minute workmanship, project from the angles.

Rare touches of white, and yet more rare touches of colour, enrich these examples; but in other pieces in the Louvre, and in two of the pieces—one a candlestick—at South Kensington, the scheme becomes far more varied. Each figure on the candlestick bears a shield with the monogram of Henri II., the letters of which, for once, seem without hesitation to indicate the initial of Diana. The dominant tone is brown. Brown with black chequers the arabesques of the base, and although the note is interrupted as it floats upwards by shades of green, and yellow, and blue,—by wreaths enamelled green, by the yellow hair of the white shield-bearers, by bands of blue on the stem,—yet it gains steadily until it vibrates against the socket in full strength.

But this full strength is a slender and fragile force. In its utmost power and perfection, the faïence Henri II. expresses a line of thin and sinewy energy which, set beside the healthy vigour of some of the robust wares of the East, fades with an air of pallid elegance, till the signs of that wonderful acuteness of nerve by which it is really sustained can scarce be recognised. It is only when completely isolated that the peculiar value of the work becomes evident, and it gives full expression to the intention which called it into being. Wherever that spot may be on which this ware shall eventually be proved to have been produced, it cannot but also be proved that it was fashioned by a highly cultivated and individual taste. The imperative will which called into being the faïence Henri II. had been stimulated by the influences which polished and refined the brilliant court of Paris, and the thin-driven surface reflects the elaborate finish of its elegance and the dainty precision which lent an air of sobriety to its most fantastic caprices.

The obstinate resolve which drove Palissy along the path of discovery, was of that home-bred quality which takes little colour from its surroundings, and, searching only for a certain order of truths, rejects those which do not coincide with a given line, repelling as a hindrance the aids to which others look as a fertilising help. Precious, as it is, in giving back to us the exact accent of courtly fashion, the faïence

Henri II. stands alone. It perished in perfection. Palissy left successors and continuators in whose hands the art of which he was the creator steadily sank, until it reached a level beneath notice; but no impoverished and degenerate repetitions exist to parody the supreme excellence of the royal ware. The work of Palissy shows as strong an imprint of personal character, but it is character of another order, and its expression is modified by a great difference of purpose. Every line of the faïence Henri II. is adjusted for the sole contentment of the one by whom it was designed; Palissy addressed himself to the public, and this alone sufficed to qualify in some measure his obstinate and uncompromising independence. He had others than himself to please.

Opiniâtreté is a quality commonly ascribed by Catholics to Huguenots. Palissy was typically *opiniâtre*. His convictions both as artist and Huguenot were strong, his self-reliance unshaken: what he willed to do he did. The misery which he might inflict thereby on himself or others never entered into his calculations, or acted as a check on his determination. No trace of self-doubt and hesitating reflection is to be found in any of his writings, or in any of his work. To many of the artists of France the influence of Italy came with intoxicating foreign stimulus; but Palissy employed the fruits of the Renaissance just as confidently,—with as clear a sense of ownership, as he would have employed

the forms of any strange shell, or foreign bird. From his daily conversation and fixed habit of mind, French charm and pliancy were banished, just as they are banished from the daily conversation and fixed habit of mind of a French Huguenot at the present day; but they found a vent through the fingers, and took in addition a certain severe accentuation and sober force which now and then become almost elevated in style. A poorer nature, coupled with this ascetic cast of character would have dwarfed and narrowed under the shadow of it; on the fertile genius of Palissy it operated as little more than a wholesome check.

A strange air of overswift maturity clings about the supreme moment of sixteenth-century art in France. The technical imperfections of a growing school are surcharged by the affectations and fastidious refinement of one verging on decay. The habit of solitary effort produced in Palissy an independence of judgment and want of veneration which preserved him from that taint of Florentine *afféterie* which poisons, with its strained elegance, the best work of Germain Pilon, and now and again infects even the stronger and healthier Goujon. Between Goujon and Palissy there exists a certain resemblance. Their work often shows a kindred quality of unhesitating confidence, and a simple breadth of treatment foreign to the manner engendered by the complex motives of Humanist culture.

Although one of the group whose activity reflected lustre on the courts of the Valois, yet Palissy stands somewhat alone. He could not remain, like so many happier natures, content in unreflecting production. The same spring of initiative energy, which carried him onwards in his search after the secrets of nature and art, drew his curious spirit to enquire into the secrets of social and political life. He brought to questions of church government and state discipline the same uncompromising determination to push to the innermost centre, and the same constructive ability of which he had given proof in his own profession.

His outspoken Calvinist convictions, his strong individuality, his self-confidence as of the self-taught artisan, his very fearlessness marked him out for dislike and persecution, and prevented him from being polished and enfeebled by that Humanist teaching which it was the task of France to keep alive and spread through Europe. Paris, with its revelation of the ideals of Greece and Italy, drew aside the northern veil which hung before his eyes, but Palissy did not suffer his own personality to pass away with it. His work always retained a *naïveté* and distinctness of purpose which stamp it as the product of original thought.

Complete appreciation of the artist is only possible when coupled with thorough knowledge of the man. This is true with especial truth as regards Palissy.

He was, says his contemporary, La Croix du Maine, 'd'un esprit merveilleusement prompt et aigu.' He owed everything to the natural force and vigour of his character and understanding, and was consequently always inclined to feel aggrieved when credit and influence were obtained by men of education and accomplishments, but whom he knew or suspected to be inferior to himself in native acuteness and original power.

It is this sentiment which lurks behind the open dislike which he frequently displays towards Philibert de l'Orme: for De l'Orme's taste and judgment, formed by the diligent study of the best models of Italy, were recommended to court favour by manners polished in the best society of Rome. As Superintendent of Works to Catherine de Medicis, he had Palissy to some extent under his control, and, conscious of his own superiority in point of character and genius, Palissy was chafed by the commanding position occupied by De l'Orme in virtue of his cultivation and acquirements. In his treatise, 'Des Eaux et Fontaines,' Palissy taunts him covertly as the French architect who had made himself the god of sculptors and architects, who possessed 20,000 *liv. en bénéfices*, and knew how to get on at court; then he attacks him openly as *Monsieur l'architect de la Royne* who had hung about Italy, and had got power and authority over all the other artisans of *ladite Dame*, and twits him with the failure of his projected water-

works at Meudon, which might have been easily carried out had he possessed ever so little 'philosophie naturelle sans aucunes lettres.'

The quick and active spirit, of which La Croix du Maine takes note, drove Palissy to challenge received opinions, and to question facts for himself. Filled with the obstinate vigour of a true reformer, he was not content to rest in the quiet of his own convictions: he was impelled to force them on the attention of an unwilling public. As he himself says, he wished to show forth 'à un chacun les dons qu'il avait reçus.' With this intention he published at La Rochelle, in 1563, 'La recepte véritable par laquelle tous les hommes de la France pourront apprendre à multiplier et augmenter leurs trésors.' The volume treats of four subjects: of agriculture; of natural philosophy; concerning a garden which should realise the pictures of the 104th psalm, and concerning a strong place to be built near the garden, which should serve as a city of refuge for Christians.

These essays are prefaced by four letters, to the Queen Mother; to the Marshal Montmorency; to his father, the Constable; and to the reader. To the reader he promises that, if the 'Recepte véritable' be received with due attention and respect, he will write yet a third book. From this statement it has been inferred that Palissy had previously published, perhaps anonymously, some work now lost to us. Various

conjectures have been hazarded on the subject, and M. Faujas de St. Fond, put forward, but failed to establish the claims of a little tract entitled, 'Déclaration des abus et ignorances des Médecins' (Lyon, 1556), to be considered the first and missing book by Palissy.

The third book promised by Palissy in 1563, made its appearance at Paris seventeen years later (1580). It was his last publication, and the work by which his scientific claims are mainly judged, and justified. The title is a long one: it recapitulates the contents of the whole book, thus—'Discours admirables de la nature des eaux et fontaines, tant naturelles qu'artificielles, des métaux, des sels et salines, des pierres, des terres, du feu et des émaux; avec plusieurs autres excellents secrets des choses naturelles. Plus un traité de la marne fort utile et nécessaire à ceux qui se mellent de l'agriculture.' The matter treated is put into a dialogue form; the interlocutors are Theory and Practice—Theory putting forward the current opinions of the day, which Practice controverts with the rich store of Palissy's original investigations and widely gathered experience.

To these two books of his we owe the chief of our knowledge concerning the facts of Palissy's life. From his contemporaries we learn little. Of the place and date of his birth we are ignorant. The place is supposed to have been somewhere in the neighbourhood

of Xaintes, where he settled in early life, and we also suppose him to have been born between 1500 and 1510, because in 1543, when he was employed to map the marshes near the town for the royal commission on the salt-duties, he had been some time married and settled there in the exercise of his profession as a glass-painter. It is to himself that we are indebted for our knowledge of almost every important fact concerning him. His sufferings as a Huguenot obtained for him a few words from Agrippa d' Aubigné; L'Estoile, who knew him, described his death in 1590; La Croix du Maine gave him a few lines, and that is all that can be gleaned from the writers of the day.

Two passages in his own writings have become popular by force of repeated quotation;—his description in the 'Recepte véritable' of the foundation and troubles of the Reformed Church in Xaintes, of which he was a member, and that portion of the 'Discours admirables' in which he minutely chronicles his painful labours, and the distressing hardships to which he subjected himself and his family in his efforts to discover the secrets of enamelled ware. Both these passages are remarkable for the simple dignity of their style, and are also rich in dramatic incident. In point of general interest there is nothing else to be compared with them, either in the 'Recepte' or in the 'Discours,' but to the historian of physical science, or to the student of Palissy's work, and of the times in which it was executed

there is scarcely a page in his writings which is not full of illustration and allusion.

The enamellers who gave fresh development to the art of Limoges were, it is shrewdly suspected, men who had been originally bred as glass-painters. Bernard Palissy also was a glass-painter by profession, and lived by the exercise of the art, until he was able to get his bread by the sale of his enamelled ware. Glass-painting was not a lucrative calling; it was one of the *éstats nobles*, but the ranks of those who followed it were so overcrowded that there were many, as Palissy tells us, who were 'gentilshommes pour exercer ledit art, qui voudroyent estre roturiers, et avoir de quoy payer les subsides des Princes.' Palissy—whose acquirements seem to prove that he came of a well-to-do, if not noble family—eked out his scanty professional profits by his skill as a draughtsman, a painter and land-surveyor. He had achieved a reputation—better, he says, than he deserved—in his own neighbourhood, as a painter; he was also frequently employed to make surveys of disputed property, and for such commissions was well paid, but he had a wife and children to maintain; the profits of land-surveying, if high, were uncertain; the resource of portrait-painting had begun to fail, and glass-painting was no longer in great request. Seeing these things, Palissy began to brood over the possibility of discovering how to make enamelled ware, and regardless of the fact that he knew

nothing of the ingredients, he began to search for the secret, like a man groping in the dark.

In the 'Recepte véritable,' published in 1563, Palissy tells us that he had seen twenty-five years before (1538) an earthenware cup so beautifully shaped, and enamelled, that, from that moment, the hope of producing the like occupied all his thoughts. It is probable that at this date Palissy was already settled in Xaintes, and it seems likely that the travels which he made throughout France, to which he constantly refers in various passages of his writings, occupied the years between his boyhood and the period at which he married and finally established himself in his native district; for we know from himself that his first effort in the search for enamels, which occupied several years, must be referred to the years between 1538 and 1543. After relating the circumstances under which he made this first effort, which ended only in grief, confusion, and loss of time and money, he adds, 'Some days after, certain commissioners arrived, sent by the king to establish the gabelle in Xaintonge.'

Now the Edict of François I. in virtue of which these proceedings were taken was given at St. Germain in May 1543. Palissy was employed by the commissioners to map the islands and the country surrounding the salt-marshes of Xaintonge, and his work must have been finished before the month of July in the following year,

when another Edict was given at St. Mor, the provisions of which were based on the survey previously commanded.

As soon as he was in possession of the payment for his map, Palissy recommenced the pursuit after the white enamel, which he had heard was the basis of all others. He was unskilled; he knew no tongue but his own, no book but the earth and sky; he was unfriended and unaided in his labours; the years went by in one long agony. His neighbours mocked him as a fool and a madman, reviled him as a coiner, or said it was well that he should die of hunger, since he had left following his trade: even those who should have comforted him cried out against him, he tells us, in the streets. During two years he did nothing but carry trial-pieces to the glass-furnaces, and at last, amongst a batch of three hundred pieces, there was one on which the composition had melted, after it had been four hours exposed to the heat of the furnace.

This was the first ray of hope. Palissy now set to work for seven or eight months, learning how to make the vessels on which he should employ the discovered enamel. He erected a furnace for himself, being his own mason, tempering his own mortar, carrying on his own back the materials for his work, for he had not the money wherewith to pay an assistant. When the toil of baking the pots in this furnace was over, it was succeeded by the terrible hardships of grinding night and

day, for a month, the same matters of which that white enamel had been composed which had melted and hardened in the glassmaker's furnace. The vessels previously prepared were then covered with the composition; for six days and nights, Palissy fed the furnace fire, but the enamel would not melt. Suspecting a possible mistake in the proportions of the ingredients, he pounded afresh the same materials, at the same time keeping alight his fire, lest the furnace should cool. His own pots were gone: he bought new ones; but the fire was flagging, his fuel was exhausted, the palings of his garden, the tables, the flooring of his house were cast into the furnace. In his unspeakable anguish he was sustained by a gleam of better fortune: the last trials, though not successful, showed promise of ultimate success; and having dwelt awhile with his regrets, because there was no one to pity him, he resolved to labour, and shame those who reviled him. He was absolutely without means; he was in debt; he had two children at nurse, and he calculated that it would take, at least, four or five months before he could prove the value of his discovery by the execution of a fresh batch and a fresh baking.

Sustained by the hope of near and certain success, he borrowed wood and chemicals, and even hired a potter, to make some pots quickly for a fresh experiment. He reconstructed his furnace, tearing down the old one with bleeding hands, fetching, carrying, and

building anew with relentless energy; grinding the materials for the white enamel in a handmill, calculated for the strength of two men. But, again, misfortune overtook him. The mortar with which the furnace had been built was full of flints: when the heat attained was sufficient to melt the enamel, the mortar cracked in several places, scattering about small morsels of the flints which it contained. These morsels adhered to the liquid coating, so that the medallions and vessels, when taken out of the furnace on the following day, were covered with little pieces of flint, firmly incorporated with the enamelled surface. The furnace alone had cost him twenty-six gold crowns; for the fuel and chemicals, for the labour and keep of the potter he was in debt. The neighbours bade him sell the pieces as they were, for next to nothing; but this, though driven to the last extremity, Palissy refused to do: rather than so disgrace his ideal, he took the entire batch and broke it in pieces before the furnace.

Curses and reproaches met him when he lay down in grief to take rest upon his bed, worn out with long-continued labour and sorrow. But, in a little while he arose fresh with the vigour of an indomitable will and stubborn resolution, ready, as soon as he had again got a little money by painting and other means, to recommence his enterprise. By means of clay lanterns he contrived to protect his pieces in the furnace from the contact of any falling ash or splintered flints, but other

accidents happened. The difficulty of getting enamels of different colours to fuse at the same degree of heat seemed insuperable. For fifteen or sixteen years, he blundered on. Toil and anguish so reduced him, he tells us, that his limbs were without shape, or prominence of muscle, and the garters with which he tied his stockings fell at once, with the stockings, about his heels. For years he was unable to cover his furnace, so that he sat through the night watching without shelter, at the mercy of rain and wind, whilst the owls cried on one side, and dogs howled on the other; then drenched and exhausted, and crushed by failure, he was worse than alone, for he found that in his home he had no peace, and in his chamber a persecution more grievous to be borne than the fury of the elements.

In the year 1546, whilst Palissy was ground to the earth by the cruel hardships of his second attempt and failure, some French monks, who had imbibed the doctrines of the German reformers, found courage to attack the abuses which they saw around them. The neighbouring priests and holders of benefices were roused by fear of impending loss: they called the civil power to their aid, and the reforming monks were forced to unfrock and fly. Some set up schools; others lived by the labour of their hands; several found shelter in the islands of Oléron, Marennes, and Allevert, and thence visited the district of Xaintonge. Little by little, with exceeding caution, they made themselves known to the people.

Their teaching was favourably received by many; the grand vicar secretly favoured them, and they got possession of the pulpit. Amongst these men was one, Master Philibert Hamelin, with whom Palissy himself came in contact.

As soon as their teaching became public the inevitable day of persecution followed. The bishop of Xaintes and the parliament of Bordeaux granted a commission to a local lawyer, one Collardeau, for the arrest of the preachers, together with authority to raise a certain sum of money from their followers. Collardeau successfully executed the task which he had craved for himself; bribing the local authorities and seizing, with their connivance on brother Robin of St. Denis in Oléron, and Nicole of Allevert, and even the 'beloved' brother of Gimosac, who kept a school, and preached on Sundays. These men, Hamelin and others, were hideously abused at Xaintes before they were carried to Bordeaux; the courage of Hamelin, who was of a weak body, gave way, and he saved himself by public confession. Full of remorse he afterwards left Xaintes for Geneva, there to gather strength and seek counsel.

Palissy seems at this time to have escaped persecution, and about two years later, in 1548, it is supposed that he came under the notice of Constable de Montmorency, who then arrived to suppress the revolt occasioned by the exactions of those engaged in the collection of the salt tax. It is probable that Palissy

at once received commissions from him, for in the course of the following years he seems to have prospered, as in June 1555 he was accepted as 'caution' for one Pierre Regnaud, an indebted tradesman, of Xaintes. It was in this year that Philibert Hamelin reappeared in the town, and Palissy was then associated with him in the settlement of a dispute between the vassals of Jean de Parthenay—L'Archevêque, Seigneur de Soubise, and their lord. Hamelin, full of a great zeal, was travelling on foot throughout France stirring the hearts of men wherever he went. He was in communication with others who sold the Bibles and books which he himself had learnt to print in his own press; but he walked alone, and without fear, even through Xaintes. His example kindled a like enthusiasm in others. Palissy and a friend, a workman indigent and ignorant as himself, began to meet in secret, to study the Old and New Testament. Gathering courage, they invited others to join them, and thus laid the foundation of the Reformed Church in Xaintes. Hamelin came to them occasionally, praying with and preaching to them; and after one of these visits, went on to Allevert, where he preached again and baptized a child, and was well received by the most part of the people. But the authorities of Xaintes, coming to hear of it, forced the bishop to furnish money that they might pursue Hamelin, who had, as usual, gone forth alone, on foot, with no weapon

but his staff. The rabble troop of men at arms, cooks and scullions, which had been quickly got together, missed him at Allevert, but at last seized him in a gentleman's house, whence they brought him to Xaintes, and threw him into prison.

In the eyes of Palissy, this man was as an angel of God: he was so holy and blameless in his life, and so divine in doctrine. Full of love and anger, the miserable workman lost all fear, and at the risk of his life remonstrated with the magistrates of the town, publicly, and also with each of the six in private. He so far shook their resolution that they dared not lay hands on Hamelin themselves, but, that they might 'get a wash for their hands to acquit their hearts,' they dispatched him to Bordeaux, where he was hung, on April 18, of the same year (1557).

The church which Hamelin had founded in Xaintes lived and prospered after his death. The religious fervour of its members grew to such heat as made the most grievous restraints of moral discipline appear easy to be borne; the very children had put off childishness of manner and wore an air of virile fortitude. Palissy tells us that for the space of two years, whilst two of their chief enemies, principal persons, happened to be detained at Toulouse, the reformers of Xaintes went on their way in safety, and even ventured to hold their meetings in the hall of the market; but when these men returned, their hands strengthened by the terrible

edict of 1559, which punished heresy with death, the face of affairs changed. The hypocrisy of those who had but been shamed into good living, through the pressure put upon them by the example of the reformers, was soon cast aside, and they zealously joined in active persecution. Murder and blasphemy took the place of honest example; blackguards, hounded on by priests, cut the throats of those whom they found in the streets. The only hope of safety for the reformed lay in concealment or flight. Palissy withdrew into his own house, and endeavoured to give his thoughts wholly to his work.

On February 22, 1560, he purchased of Jean Girard, Seigneur de Basoges, 'trois milliers de mayrain,' to be delivered to him at Xaintes. 'Mayrain' is small oak planking, which was probably needed by Palissy in the execution of the orders which he had received from the Constable of Montmorency. To this commission Palissy owed his life, in the yet darker hour which was fast approaching.

In March 1562, the massacre of Vassy was perpetrated by order of the Duc de Guise. The Huguenots armed. Their headquarters were at Orleans, and thence the Comte de la Rochefoucauld was despatched by his brother-in-law, Condé, to raise a troop in Poitou. During September and October, he was in the neighbourhood of Xaintes, and used his influence to protect Palissy's workshop from threatened violence, 'out of

honour,' says Palissy (in his letter to Montmorency prefixed to the 'Recepte véritable'), 'to your highness.' La Rochefoucauld was, however, forced to raise the siege of St. Jean d'Angely, in which he had engaged, and to retire to Orleans.

The dean and canons seized their opportunity. In view of the possibility of some such conjuncture as this, Palissy had been provided with a letter of protection and safe-conduct for himself and his house, under the hand of the Governor General of Touraine, Louis de Bourbon Duc de Montpensier. The first wife of the Duke, whom he had but recently lost, Jacqueline de Longwy, was a determined Huguenot, who persistently used all her influence with him in favour of her co-religionists; but Palissy does not mention her: he ascribes his possession of the safe-conduct to the desire Montpensier had to oblige the Constable. Believing the terms of this document were sufficiently stringent to protect him, Palissy made no provision for his safety. He was seized and imprisoned. The Seigneurs de Burie and de Jarnac, together with De Pons, who was Governor General of Saintonge, in vain endeavoured to effect his release. De Pons' illustrious Huguenot wife, Anne de Parthenay, was dead; her husband's old zeal for 'la religion' had died with her; but his second wife, Anne de Montchenu, though a staunch Catholic, joined her husband in his efforts to prevent at least the destruction of Palissy's workshop

which had been erected in part at the expense of Montmorency. It had been already broken into; but the town council, who had resolved upon its total destruction, stayed their hand at the entreaty of the Governor General and his wife, and Palissy's enemies, fearing lest the united protestations of persons of consequence might have the effect of softening his judges, sent him off at night by unused ways to Bordeaux, the great shambles of the district.

The exact date of Palissy's imprisonment is uncertain. It cannot have taken place prior to October, 1562, because up to that date the Huguenot band, under De la Rochefoucauld, remained in the district. Probably, after they had retired to Orleans, the Catholics soon recommenced their bloodthirsty persecutions. At some time, therefore, during the winter of 1562–1563, Palissy was carried to Bordeaux, and there remained until his employer, the Constable, got word of his imprisonment, and obtained through the Queen-mother authority from the king for his release. In his letter to Catharine, prefixed to the 'Recepte véritable,' which he published at La Rochelle in 1563, Palissy offers his grateful thanks to her for her effectual intercession on his behalf, and suggests that she might do well to employ him in forming her garden at Chenonceau.

Of the first edition of this book there are but two copies now known to be in existence—one in the British Museum, the other in the Bibliothèque Na-

tionale at Paris. On the title-page the author describes himself as 'inventeur des rustiques figulines du Roy, et de Monseigneur le Duc de Montmorency,' and adds that he was living in the town of Xaintes. It has been suggested that he was authorised to take this title during his imprisonment at Bordeaux as a means of providing for his liberty and safety in future. He had made himself so many deadly enemies in Xaintes that a return and prolonged stay there must have been dangerous; yet he was forced to go back thither as soon as he was set free, in order to proceed with the work already commenced for the Constable de Montmorency.

This work was the making of a rustic grotto, to be erected finally at Écouen. The idea seems to have been suggested to Palissy by some passages in Le Songe de Poliphile, the French translation of which appeared in 1546, and to which he alludes in his Dedication of the 'Recepte véritable,' to the Marshal de Montmorency. The shell alone of the *château* of Écouen, once richly clothed with every form of art, now remains, and we can only form an idea of the character of Palissy's rustic grotto from the description of similar projects which occur in his scheme for a Delightful Garden in the 'Recepte véritable.' The rocks of which the grotto was composed; the herbs and mosses in which they were embedded; the lizards, serpents, vipers, fishes, and frogs, which congregated

on their surface; all were modelled and enamelled after nature with uncompromising realism.

It was only by degrees that Palissy had achieved the production of those pieces, enamelled in high relief, by which he is now best known to us. His first efforts were probably directed to coating certain vessels with divers enamels, in such wise that the matters mingled, resulting in a clouded effect, like jasper. Several pieces of this description may be seen at South Kensington. But even when busied in purely tentative experiments, he foresaw wider possibilities. Whilst he employed the potter,—whom he engaged to assist him in his third attempt,—in making ordinary vessels, he applied himself to the modelling of medallions, and before he published his book in 1564, he had conquered the difficulties of the round, for in describing the decorations and accessories of the fourth cabinet in his Delightful Garden, he promises that the enamelled lizards and serpents on the rock shall be so lifelike that the natural lizards and serpents shall draw near to them in bewilderment, 'even as the dogs of Xaintes come and growl at the figure of a dog standing in the workshop.' The unrivalled perfection with which Palissy reproduced the natural forms of plants and animals was attained by an ingenious and complicated system of casting described by M. Pottier in the text to Willemin's 'Monuments Français.' Frequent repetition of any single motive was almost impossible, as amongst the

objects employed many were of so delicate a nature that a cast could only be obtained at the expense of the mould. As the demand for his work became considerable, Palissy employed more frequently the common process, so that fresh arrangements, at least of part of the composition, were easy. Even if the frame of a subject were repeated entire, the subject itself could be changed. The same border, for example, is to be found round three rustic dishes in the Louvre collection, the centre subject in each case being different.

The completion of the grotto did not terminate Palissy's labours for Écouen. In a manuscript journal quoted by M. Faujas de St. Fond, Claude Fabry de Peiresc mentions a visit to the *château* made in 1606. He says that it contained many of those beautiful objects of pottery invented by Master Bernard of the Tuileries, and adds that two of the galleries were paved with tiles from his hand. M. Lenoir engraves two tiles taken thence, the design of which does not suggest the invention of the French potter, but rather seems to indicate the influence of Italian traditions, but the four medallions also figured in the second volume (p. 124) of M. Lenoir's work present characteristics of Palissy's style. Two are in high relief; the others are executed in *grisaille* on the flat, after the manner of cameo, a method of treatment which had been rendered popular in another material by the enamellers of Limoges.

Not only were the galleries and chapel paved with tiles, but Ducerceau, in his account of Écouen printed in 1576, says, 'La cour est si richement pavée qu'il ne s'en trouve point qui la seconde.' The work in the court was certainly not by Palissy, for on one of the pieces preserved by the architect attached to the building M de Montaiglon has deciphered 'Fait à Rouen,' and the style of the tiles, mentioned above as having been taken from the chapel, suggests that the Constable, before he took Palissy into his service, may possibly have been amongst the numerous patrons of Girolamo della Robbia. If any were executed by Palissy, it must have been subsequent to his arrival in Paris, which brought him acquainted with the motives of Florentine design. Girolamo came into France about 1535, several years before Palissy commenced his search after the white enamel, and it has been said that the French potter might have learnt with ease at Paris the secret which he chose to penetrate for himself at Xaintes; but this was not the case, for the Della Robbia restricted the knowledge of their methods to members of their own family, so that Palissy, whether at Paris or at Xaintes, would have been forced into the same path of solitary research.

On the authority of M. Lenoir, Palissy was of old accredited with the execution of the numerous glass-paintings of the *château* of Écouen. In all the windows *grisaille* was employed in preference to colour. Some

(one of which bears date 1544) bore only the initials and devices of the Constable accompanied by the salamander of François I.; but in one long series of twenty-four, the favourite designs of Raphael, from the story of Cupid and Psyche, were reproduced with additions and variations. These windows, which were preserved at the time of the revolution in the Musée des Petits Augustins, were all engraved in M. Lenoir's book, and he asserts in his 'Treatise on Glass-painting' that Palissy himself has said 'qu'il s'est particulièrement attaché à copier les ouvrages de Raphaël.' No such remark as this occurs in the works of Palissy, and there is no evidence to show that he was ever employed by the Constable in his original profession of glass-painter; it is, however, a point of but minor importance, for it is not by his glass-painting but by his pottery that Palissy obtains a special place in the history of art.

At some period between 1564 and 1570 Palissy finally left Xaintes, and established himself in Paris. A MS. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, entitled 'Despenses de la Reyne Catharine de Medicis,' contains several documents relating to payments made in the course of the year 1570 to 'Bernard, Nicolas, et Matthurin Palissys.' Bernard Palissy had had a numerous family of children, six of whom—he tells us in his 'Traité des Sels divers'—had died in early youth. The Nicolas and Mathurin named with him

in the 'Despenses' are supposed to have been two surviving sons, who aided their father in his work. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that the industry of Bernard continued to be exercised, after his death, by some person or persons of much inferior ability, but in possession of the great potter's technical secrets and original moulds. The border of a large dish which is preserved in the Louvre is evidently produced from the skilful casts of Palissy, but the centre is filled by a group representing Henri IV. surrounded by his children, the eldest of whom was not born till full twenty years after the death of Palissy.

If Nicolas and Mathurin were not the sons of Bernard, they at least bore his name, and shared his work. One of the entries concerning the three Palissys, which is quoted by M. Cap from the 'Despenses' above mentioned, runs as follows, 'Pour les ouvrages en terre cuite esmaillée, qui restent à faire pour achever les *quatre ponts* (these words are doubtful in the MS.), au pourtour de la grotte encommencée par la Royne, en son palais, à Paris, suivant le marché fait avec eux, etc.' The 'palace of the Queen at Paris' is the Tuileries, then in course of erection, the first stone having been laid by Charles IX. four years previously (1566). The site had originally been occupied as a potter's field, and it is conjectured that Palissy, being employed in the decoration of the palace, and finding many conveniences there ready to his

hand, had taken an opportunity of settling himself and his atelier within the grounds.

Before going to Paris, Palissy seems to have spent some time at La Rochelle. The 'Recepte véritable' was published there in 1563, and in the following year the accounts of a certain Imbert de Bois Lambert contain an entry under August 11 of 'quatre escuz baillés en prest à Palissis.' In September of this year Catharine de Medicis accompanied Charles IX. on his triumphal entry into La Rochelle, and it is thought probable that Palissy was on this occasion taken into her service. If so her patronage had no immediate result, for in 1567 Palissy was still in the town, and again was borrowing money,—this time of one François Barbot. It would seem to have been a large sum,—required perhaps for the expenses of the journey to Paris, for the 45 *liv.*, which he sent to Barbot from Paris in 1570, only cleared off a score on which part payment had already been made.

Palissy does not, however, appear to have immediately broken off all connection with the town of Xaintes, for in 1576 Bastide de Launoy appealed to the magistrates of that town to re-establish him in a tower out of which he had been turned for the convenience of *maistre* Bernard, who had occupied 'la dicte place et tour pour l'étendue de son œuvre comme chacung scait.' De Launoy further sets forth that when he was turned out of his own tower he was put

into another called 'La Tour du Bourreau,' which he had had to repair at his own expense because 'durant les troubles elle estoit tombée en ruynes.' Now it is certain that 'les troubles' indicates the date 1570, for the Tour du Bourreau was dismantled during the siege of Xaintes by Réné de Pontivy in August of that year, so it is clear that Palissy must have been at work in Xaintes long after the date at which he is usually supposed to have settled in Paris.

It has been said that a passage is to be found in his last book in which Palissy states that his workshop in Paris was within the precincts of the Tuileries, near the Seine. A careful search through the pages of 'Les Discours' has failed to verify the quotation. In the treatise on Stones he gives a description of a visit which he paid to the quarries near St. Marceau, in company with M. Choisnin, physician to the Queen of Navarre. This visit, he adds, took place 'l'année passée, 1575, moy estant à Paris;' but he does not further particularise the place of his abode, and in a brief notice, prefixed to the whole collection, he directs anyone who may wish to speak with him to go to his printer (Martin le Jeune), from whom may be learnt 'le lieu de ma demeurance.' La Croix du Maine, writing in 1584, only says with the like vagueness, 'Il florist à Paris.' It would therefore seem that Claude Fabry de Peiresc, in the extract from his

journal already referred to, was the first to write of Palissy as 'Maître Bernard des Tuileries.'

Peiresc writes only eighteen years after the death of Palissy. He echoes, we may therefore suppose, current tradition, and it is certain that a potter's kiln and bits of enamelled pottery were found recently within the precincts of the palace, where Palissy and two assistants were employed during the course of the year 1570, in making decorations for a grotto in the garden of the Queen-mother. How long they were engaged in the work we do not know; but they are supposed to have been still occupied in the Tuileries when the fatal year of 1572 came round, and to have owed their safety during the massacre of the St. Bartholomew to Catharine's interest in the prosecution of her plans.

The all-embracing activity of Palissy's mind could not be contented solely by the active prosecution and perfection of that branch of art which he had himself invented. He continued to take every opportunity of curiously nvestigating all natural phenomena. His visit to the quarries of St. Marceau, with Choisnin, was but one among many like expeditions, all of which were undertaken with the same desire of surprising some secret of nature—having come near many times to the hidden truths of science, he turned with triumphant confidence to the task of making these things known to men. In order to test his conclusions before com-

mitting them to print, he determined to give a set of three lectures, which should contain the sum of all that he had learnt concerning 'fontaines, pierres, métaux, et autres natures.' Advertisements of these projected lectures were affixed at all the crossings of Paris, and in order to ensure himself a select audience of none but the most learned, and the most enquiring, the payment of a crown was demanded from each person attending the course.

The scheme was successful: he obtained a learned, enquiring, and respectful audience; for, as he himself says, 'Graces à mon Dieu, jamais homme ne me contredit d'un seul mot.' He gives a list of the principal persons who attended, in which we find the names of Bartelemi Prieur the sculptor; of M. Choisnin, the physician;—in whose company the exploration of the quarries in the faubourg St. Marceau was made,—and that of Ambroise Paré, the distinguished Huguenot, who filled the post of first surgeon to Henri II., and his sons in succession. In the following year (1576) the course was repeated, and again continued in order to embrace a wider and yet wider circle of auditors. Four years later (1580) the volume of 'Discours admirables' was published. These Discours were the spirit of perhaps fifty years of experiments and investigations, previously put to the test in the lecture room. But although the book was in print, the lectures were continued, and nine years after the delivery of the

first course (1584), La Croix du Maine records 'qu'il fait leçons de sa science et profession.'

Palissy had probably for some time past been in the enjoyment of a certain amount of prosperous ease. Any sum which he might make by lecturing came in addition to the regular profits of his art. The hardships of his early struggles were far behind him; he had powerful protectors and wealthy employers, and was in friendly relations with men able to appreciate the vigorous bent of his genius. His credit was so well-established that even in the troubles of the Ligue (1588) some at least amongst those in power in Paris took the pains to defend him from his enemies. One of the Sixteen, Matthew Launoy, a renegade Huguenot minister, fastened on Palissy as his prey, and procured his imprisonment in the Bastille. He solicited, says Agrippa d'Aubigné, 'qu'on menast au spectacle public le vieux Bernard, premier inventeur des potries (*sic*) excellentes.' But the Duc de Mayenne managed to delay his trial, and so save his life. Henri III. himself, who was not in possession at that time of sufficient authority to interfere actively on his behalf, visited him in prison, and warned him of his danger. 'If you will not abjure,' he said, 'I am forced to leave you in the hands of your enemies.' The warning sounded as a challenge in the ears of Palissy.

'You have said,' he retorted, '"I am forced," but neither you nor those who force you can force me, for

I know how to die.' His imprisonment was not of long duration. Within two years, want, misery, and ill-treatment brought the relief of death. L'Estoile had succoured him in his need, doing not what he would, but what he could, and Palissy, in token of grateful recollection, sent to him, the day before his death, by the hand of a woman, his near relative, two curious stones: one, says L'Estoile, that he used in his work, the other a fossil skull. In the morning the woman went back through streets made terrible with the horrors of the siege, that she might see how the old man did. She was told, 'He is dead.' 'And,' added Bussi Leclerc, to whose charge were committed the dungeons in which Palissy was confined, 'if you wish to see him, you will find him on the ramparts with my dogs; for I have had him thrown there like a dog as he was.' Thus, in 1590, ended the laborious days of Palissy's life.

L'Estoile gives him at this date eighty years, which is probably within the mark, for D'Aubigné says he was ninety when imprisoned in the Bastille: the right reckoning would perhaps lie somewhere between the two.

His name and his works fell into oblivion until the middle of the last century, when the active curiosity excited by the secrets of the physical sciences, brought with it the recognition of Palissy's long-forgotten labours, and Buffon pronounced him 'aussi

grand physicien que la nature peut seule en former.' His writings were first reprinted in 1536, and again—but accompanied by the Lyon tract 'Déclaration des abus, etc.,' which has no claim to rank with them—in 1777, by MM. Faujas de St. Fond and Gobet, and they were finally re-edited with an historical notice prefixed by M. Cap in 1844.

'L'Histoire de la Chimie,' published by M. Hœfer in 1843, contains a careful estimate of Palissy's discoveries and work in this field, and his labours in other branches of physical science have been reviewed by M. Camille Duplessy. His sufferings as a Huguenot have been recorded by M. M. Haag in 'La France Protestante,' and in the 'Bulletin de l'histoire du Protestantisme,' by M. Charles Read. The chief pieces of his pottery have been magnificently reproduced by MM. Delange and Borneman, and their plates are accompanied by an excellent text due to M. Henri Delange and M. Sauzay.

Palissy's life and activity was so varied in its issues that it is difficult to fasten wholly on any one result. An artist by profession and natural endowment and temperament, yet so much of his energy passed into other forms—his claims to notice as one of the fathers of the Reformed Church in France are so prominent; his importance as a discoverer in chemistry and other branches of natural science is so considerable—that the pure impression of the main character of his life

and work seems troubled and confused. It was necessary even in this notice to touch on these points; for his attitude in each instance is so marked by personal character that we learn from it the meaning of much which might otherwise puzzle us in the style of his work.

He seems to stand apart from the rest of his fellow-artists. They had imbibed with more or less facility the peculiar influences then flowing in on the world of French art. He created a new type in his art, a type essentially national, owing nothing to principles of imitation. It is true that the sight of some enamelled cup, Italian or German, or perhaps produced at Oiron, had first encouraged Palissy to attempt the realisation of those projects which had formerly crossed his mind, and which, when spoken of, were dismissed with the mockery of those to whom he confided them. M. Brongniart went so far as to decide in favour of the faïence of Nuremberg, because the work of Palissy is distinguished by the prevalence of unmodulated tints, and by the employment of ornaments and figures in high relief. But it is only at the first glance that any of Palissy's ware appears to be German in character.

The original 'coupe esmaillée' was indeed most likely Italian, and it is even probable that it was a piece of the renowned faïence of Ferrara. For in 1538 Mdme. de Soubise and her daughter Mdme. de Pons left the court of the Duke loaded with gifts, and

they would have arrived in Xaintonge, bringing their treasures with them, at about the date which we are able to assign to the beginning of Palissy's efforts in search of white enamel.

A lengthened examination convinces us that the quaint realism of some of his work is due, not to German influence, but to the bias of Palissy's own taste, which, even when somewhat provincial, is still supremely French. The directness with which he took his way to nature, saved him from the enervating effect of a too servile respect for the authority of tradition. He accepted nothing at second-hand, he took nothing for granted. Many passages in his writings show with what intense interest and patient sympathy he got by heart, in the wood or by the river, the myriad lovely motives from free nature which he afterwards recorded in his rustic *figulines*.

In such direct work as this, there is always a risk of the reproduction of physical impressions, unmodified by the controlling operation of any intellectual conception. But Palissy lived in an age in which the eye had been trained to the habitual choice of refined harmonies in colour, and had been long accustomed to look for noble forms and lines. He was endowed by nature with senses of exquisite acuteness, so that, with delicate perception, he could enhance and refine on the combinations already current.

We may take his well-known reptile dishes as

specimens of the character of some of his earliest work, for he began to make the like as soon as the success of a few clouded enamels had assured him that he was in the right path. Some of these dishes, in spite of their uncompromising realism, show qualities which are usually the special attributes of highly conventionalised art, and they are therefore conjectured to have been produced after Palissy came into contact with the trained artists of Paris. The dish in the Louvre collection, which has for its margin a lovely border of Easter daisies, is an example of classical symmetry and science of arrrangement in the whole plan of its decoration, coupled with an obvious naturalism in the treatment of its parts. There is no confused heaping together of picturesque material, such as would result inevitably in obscuring the definite adjustment of form. The curves afforded by the lithesome movement of the writhing eel are finely felt, and each green little frog is set on a spot calculated in relation to their lines, just as a goldsmith might use, with precious care, the glittering help of cut gems on such rare points of his jewel as needed brilliant light.

If foliage is employed for the principal decorative motive, as on the water-jug with the eel-handle in the Fountaine collection, or on the scarcely less distinguished drinking-cup in the Louvre, we shall see that each tangled mass has been skilfully untwisted and compelled to resolve itself into definite forms, such as

will fall well,—discreetly yielding to the surface on which they are meant to lie. That very high relief, which, as a rule, seems incompatible with harmonious perfection in decorative treatment, is ingeniously wrought out in fulfilment of the previously determined form, and the lizard on the breast of the jug in question actually accentuates its swelling outlines.

These rustic motives, even as they suggested the earliest, so they furnish matter to the latest inventions of Palissy. But the later are for the most part to be distinguished from the earlier compositions not only by their more perfect art, but by reason of their greater technical perfection. The later works are also, as has been already noticed, executed by simple casting, which rendered it possible to bring out a numerous quantity of repetitions, whilst the earlier are more frequently the result of the more tedious process in which the mould must be destroyed to free the cast. When Palissy turned his attention to the production of designs in which the relief was low and wholly incorporated with the ground, such a sacrifice was not necessary. The delicate decoration of the ewer, executed from a design of François Briot (of which two specimens are known to exist), or of the simple lines of the shaft and socket of the candlestick at Narford Hall, could be obtained in perfection from a common cast.

These and similar pieces which are evidently

executed from goldsmiths' designs, M. Fillon proposes to class as the work of Briot himself, but it is far more likely that Palissy produced them from Briot's models than that he should have imprudently confided his jealously guarded secrets to one whom he thus enabled to become his rival.

It is but rarely though in Palissy's work that we find ornament of so highly abstract a character as in these instances, or in that of the *Plat aux mascarons* in the Louvre, one of the masks on which is indeed reproduced from the same mould that furnishes the Satyr's head on the handle of the ewer which bears Briot's initials at Narford Hall. Even when dealing with the elaborate refinement of the delicate arabesques which harmonised with the highly artificial taste of the day, he generally preferred to make a direct appeal to popular interest, by the introduction of some charming episode of natural life. The little flagon in the Fountaine collection is an example of this kind of treatment. A great whorl of foliage unfurls itself slowly round the body of the vessel, forming a broad band of ornament. Enclosed within one of its curves stands a nymph; of whom a shaggy beast begs humbly with uplifted paws; a squirrel swinging on a branch aloft mumbles his food in happy indifference, whilst a slender bird cranes her long neck, intent on the movements of a snake who writhes himself along a shooting tendril. Here we have a whole series of pictures of the joyous pleasures

of the forest, brought to us fresh from the woods of Xaintes—the woods in which Palissy walked often, watching 'les Escurieux cueillans les fruits, and sautans de branche en branche, faisans plusieurs belles mines et gestes,' or listening to 'les oiselets qui font resonner leurs voix sur les arbrisseaux plantez sur les bords des ruisseaux courans.'

Of the smaller pieces of Palissy's work,—of the dishes, ewers, and tankards, which were destined to challenge on the sideboard the claims of the far-famed *opus Limogiæ*, much has come down to us; but of the more weighty labours which built up the grottoes of Écouen and the Tuileries, no authentic trace remains. It is, indeed, supposed that the great medallions of Galba and Vespasian in the Louvre are fragments of a once perfect scheme; but the total demolition in every case of these edifices, and the consequent dispersion of their parts, makes it impossible for us now to obtain an accurate idea of the general effect of the whole. M. Destailleurs, an architect at Paris, has in his possession a drawing which has been engraved more than once, and of which a reproduction on an intelligible scale is given in MM. Delange and Borneman's valuable volume.

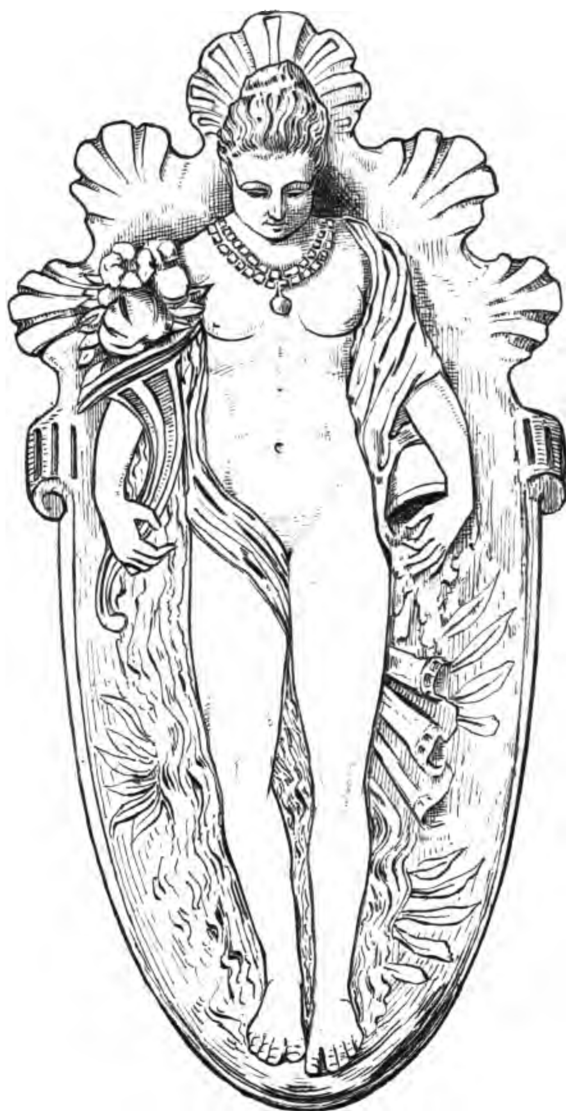
This drawing represents the section of a subterranean grotto, and on the margin is written, in a sixteenth-century hand, 'le tout sera fait de rustique, tant les anymaulx que la massonnerie,' and it is con-

jectured that we have here presented to us, if not the Grotte de la Reine actually executed by Palissy for Catharine de Medicis, at any rate the design for some similar project. Six niches—apparently intended ultimately to receive statues—range three to right, and three to left of an urn standing in the centre; above each niche is an empty square compartment, and between each is affixed a large circular plaque containing a bust modelled possibly after some antique model. These busts appear to represent Roman Emperors, and their position in this sketch confirms the supposition that the two medallions of Galba and Vespasian were originally destined for the purpose of grotto decoration.

The architectural character of the design would seem to indicate that, if indeed produced by Palissy, it must have been during the later period of his career. If we go to the 'Recepte véritable,' and read over his descriptions of the underground cabinets and decorations of his Delightful Garden, we receive no impression of regularly ordered structures such as this, but rather seem to be in presence of a strange and disordered succession of mock surprises. The accidents of real life bewilder when encountered amongst rocks, twisted, knotted and enamelled in divers strange colours, 'ainsi qui je fay la Grotte de Monseigneur le Connetable.' Living snakes and living lizards glide shyly past gazing on their clay doubles who, life-like in

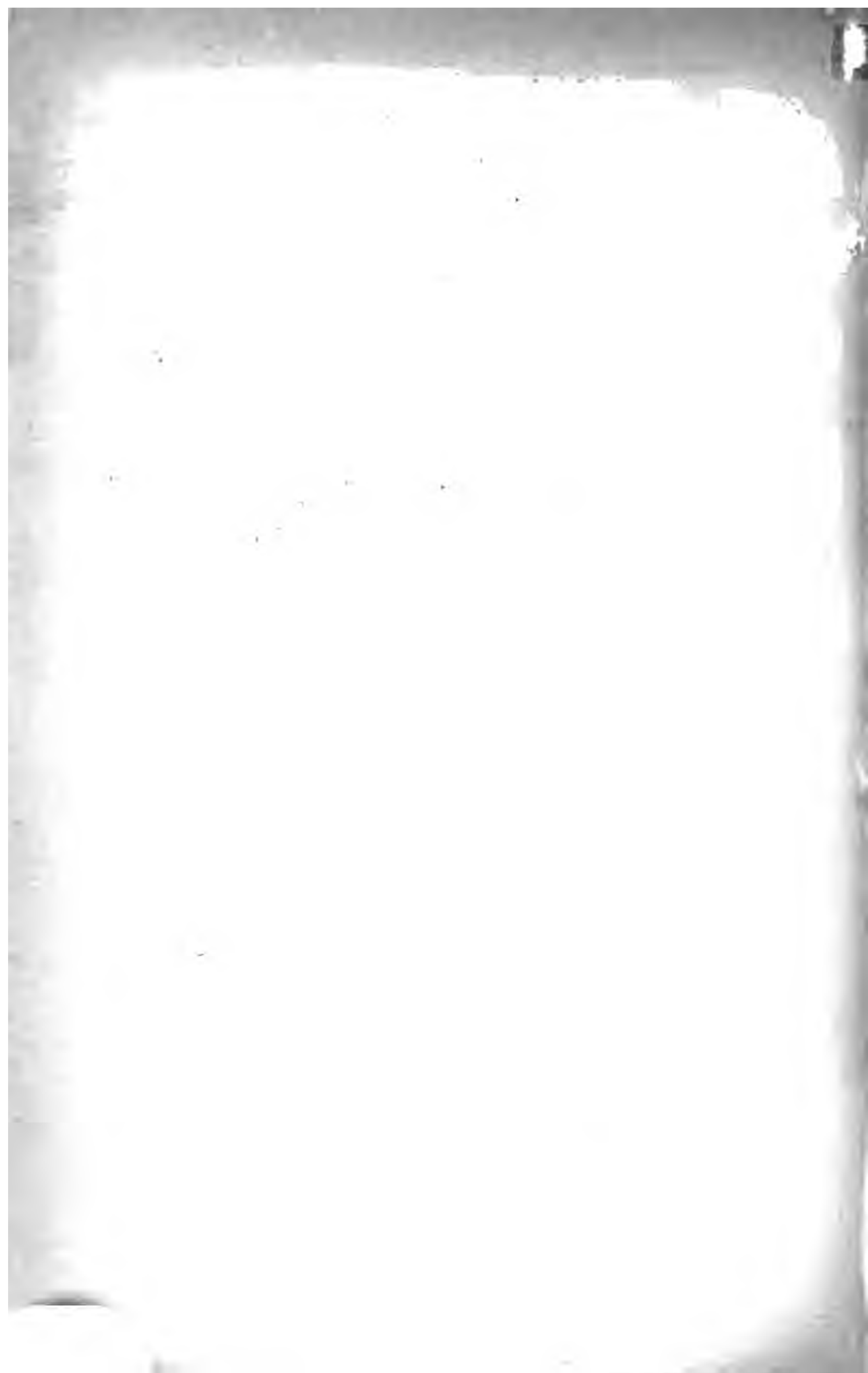
colour and gesture, crawl above, or descend below, in varied contortion and action, or are set on their legs here, and there, like the farmyard cocks and hens of a German toy. As we read it is difficult to believe that even Palissy could have brought harmony and symmetry out of combinations of art and nature so odd and so capricious. But works such as the dish of rocks and pebbles, once in the collection of Mr. Bohn, suggest that even when Palissy went near to lose his hold on art, in the fervour of his desire to render the full completeness of nature, he was yet prevented from what would seem to be inevitable failure. Even when the forms of his work leave something to be desired, his sense of colour seems never to have been at fault, and so possibly the preposterous scheme which might have been, in other hands, but a whimsical and tasteless freak, may have yielded in Palissy's workshop a result of rich and delightful beauty.

The harmony of blue and green was to Palissy so attractive that, again and again, we find it predominating in his work, and forming the leading chord even in full and complicated combinations of colour. The first effect of most of his earlier pieces is as of a thin web of clear green, floating over a sombre groundwork of low and deep-toned blue. In the rustic ewer before mentioned (Fountaine collection), it is difficult at first to see the brown eel and spotted lizards : the eye is so filled with the lustrous shimmer of these two colours. The



SAUCER.

BERNARD PALISSY.



brown skins of the reptiles are employed subordinately, in order to accent the transition between the other two tints, and prevent that sense of flatness which might otherwise have dulled the beauty of the general effect. Again, in the reptile dish, in the Louvre, with double daisy border, the same treatment obtains; the tone of the great green lizard is spread by the hue of the little green frogs, whilst the small brown lizard, who with a lithe contortion breaks the harshness of the border line, does the same service for the eel. The medallion of Galba, that excellent example of vigorous flesh modelling, which is supposed—like the designs in several of Palissy's saucers—to have had its original in some antique gem, depends wholly for its effect as colour on these three tones, green, blue, and brown—the brown of the background on which the head is relieved being identically the same with that employed in the hair. The clear flesh tints of the figures of Venus and Cupid, which fill the centre of a saucer also in the Louvre, depend again for contrast on the dull blue folds of the drapery on which they lie, the tone of which is relieved by the colour of the green scarf, whose soft winding lines enhance the delicacy of the firmly-moulded limbs which it enwraps.

But Palissy's predilection for this simple harmony did not arise from any inability to deal successfully with more complicated combinations. Neither was it on account of any technical limitation. The elaborate

flambeau in the collection of Baron Alphonse de Rothschild shows him employing with ease a vast resource of varied tints. The faint-tinged white which he uses for flesh predominates in the broader spaces of the ornament, which is here purely conventional in form; whilst the intricate lines which fall thickly over all the intermediate passages are touched with pale yellows and red browns.

This rich variety of colour deserves special notice, not only for its sober brilliance, but because the scale in which it is employed bears a curious relation to that which is markedly characteristic of another faïence, the faïence of Oiron, and recalls the kindred and peculiar refinement of Léonard's 'fontaine d'Henri II.' It is not likely that we have, either in the bit of Palissy ware, or in Léonard's table fountain, any conscious attempt to try the key, every possible modulation of which was wrought out in the faïence of Oiron; but rather it would appear that both Léonard and Palissy had been drawn into the final culmination of common tendencies in colour of the age—tendencies which, passing always into successive stages of yet acuter refinement, reached the very edge of further possible progress in the selected direction, when the faïence of Oiron was produced.

All Palissy's later work shows this growing predilection for a lighter scale of colour, and a more frequent use of delicately modified tints. The impres-

sion received from all the pieces which we assume to belong to the last period of his activity—all wear an air of equal sobriety, but are less full-toned and sombre than the earlier examples. The *plaque* called 'Water,' in the Fountaine collection—which is supposed to be the sole remaining subject of a set of the Elements—is perhaps the most beautiful example of the combination of lovely colour with harmonious line that Palissy ever produced. It tells in radiant clearness, if set beside the rustic ewer of the same collection, and whilst there is nothing in the work which can actually recall to us the design of the faïence Henri II., it is yet the expression of a kindred instinct seeking its issue in invigorating brilliance as of bright daylight,—a brilliance in which colour fuses with opalescent play of interchanging tints.

The spirit of 'Water' is represented as a nymph sitting amongst the river-reeds, and pouring from her urn streams teeming with the life of leaping fish. The mysterious smile of creation is on her lips; her round white limbs shine out from the blue folds of her drapery; her yellow hair runs insensibly into the sheaves of green rushes behind her; the tone of the brown rock on which she sits is repeated by the grotesque dolphin who gapes with open mouth, sucking in great draughts of air on the surface of the blue waves which flood the distance, and wash the sides of an ever-widening shore, crowned with many towers, which lose

themselves in the faint azure of the distant sky, the shimmering graduations of which are broken only by a light floating cloud.

'Selon moi,' says M. Fillon, 'Palissy n'etait qu'un pauvre artiste,' and just as he attempts to deprive Palissy of all those pieces of his work which are evidently moulded on the designs of a goldsmith, even so he attempts to take from him all those pieces which make good his claim to be considered 'un sculpteur en terre sigillée.' M. Fillon would leave to him nought but the credit of his 'figulines rustiques.' Fortunately for his fame, Palissy has left us three pieces at least in which he has accompanied his work as a statuary with 'rustic' decorations. The magnificent, large Charity of the Louvre is enframed by a shell border, and of two other subjects also in the Louvre—Diane upbraiding Calisto, and The Magdalen—the one is set in a rustic border, and the other is accompanied by studies of wild plants, and ferns, and shells, and pebbles in Palissy's most peculiar style. And he may certainly keep not these three only, but all that is most distinguished amongst works of this class which does not clearly belong to a later epoch. He was aided we know by his sons or nephews, and to their hands must be due many pieces which issued from his moulds, but of the finest there are, as a rule, but few, and these may be ascribed to the genius of Palissy alone.

The proportions of the figure which he employs

afford a striking illustration of the control which constant reference to nature exercised, in the case of Palissy, over even such predilections as he must have shared, to some extent, in common with his fellows. In the full-length portraits of this time, especially about the middle of the century, we have seen the figure acquiring long-drawn and spider-like proportions—an effect which is peculiarly noticeable as regards the men, and is due to the intention of the dress, short-waisted and giving great length from hip to heel. The eye became gradually accustomed to look for this appearance as the proof of style, so that just apprehension of proportion was seriously affected. That Palissy should have escaped the contagion of a fashion which infected even Goujon, is surprising, yet, that he did escape it is proved by everyone of the compositions in which he has employed the nude. In each we find the same knowledge of natural truth rendered with absolute freedom from accidental mannerisms, refined by a genial sense of beauty, and ordered by a high instinct for lines of design.

But, although guarding a consistent attitude of perfect independence in the use of works of classical art, Palissy's taste was seriously affected by their study and reproduction. The medallions of Galba and Vespasian, which have been already mentioned, are not the only instances in which we find him working after classical models. Both these busts, as well as

the figures of Bacchus and Ariadne, which fill a saucer in the Louvre, and 'Fecundity,' a composition which decorates the centre of a dish, now at South Kensington, are ascertained to have been modelled after antique gems, and many of Palissy's own compositions show, like the Water-Nymph of the Fountaine collection, that he assimilated, and applied with perfect tact, the principles which govern all noble arrangements of design. The great plaque which has been already mentioned,—the Charity of the Louvre, a seated woman girt about by many children, passes even beyond the genial and appropriate grace which distinguishes the Water-Nymph into the region of a larger and more serious art. The noble attitude and action of the figure, the distinction of the type, the dignified and expressive disposition of the ample folds of the drapery, the skill with which the rich and full lines of the composition are marshalled within the narrow limits of the enfolding oval, express the accomplished science of a master.

From the reproduction of antique gems, other lessons no less precious than those in composition were to be learnt. In translating a head such as that of the Galba from a minute engraved gem into full size, many difficulties in the adjustment of varying planes had to be mastered. The teaching of such work as this was at once applied. Palissy's portrait-bust of an old woman, in the Louvre, is of its kind a masterpiece. Head and

bust are put in in a common neutral tint, relieved after the fashion of a cameo, on a deep blue ground enframed in lines of dark colour contrasted by a narrow band of gold. The intent and thorough modelling which marks this medallion has individualised one of the saddest types of age. From beneath the withered lids, which creep close about the dry eyes, gleams something of the horror which winds round the close of life. Slow lines, eaten into the flesh by the long succession of griefs, of wrongs, of privations, of passions, compress the shrunken lips. Some such miserable wreck as this was the wife of Palissy, and he brought to the rendering of his subject something more than a keen, incisive force of realism—he brought a touch of human sympathy. The pathos of an unresisting anguish gives an accent of dignity to the creature, who would otherwise seem brought too low for aught but Death to touch.

When Palissy died, the work of his atelier went on, and the children of Henri IV. played in their nursery with 'marmousets de poterie.' Others took fresh casts from his moulds, and refitted centres to borders, and borders to centres, or even improved upon the technic which Palissy had perfected to carry out his purpose. The enamellers of Limoges were busy brightening their colours, and bringing the surface of their work to the unity and transparence of glass. Palissy's children gave to his method a perfection which left nothing to

be desired—nothing to be desired from a mechanical point of view, only the soul had gone out of it for ever.

For the rich brown which he had loved they substituted a new and brilliant red; throughout they sought for fuller tones and more trenchant effect; but they missed the harmony and wisdom of his sober use. One man alone amongst his successors shows qualities which distinguish him above his fellows. Of this man it has been said that he is now and again equal to Palissy himself. This is too much. Guillaume Dupré—mentioned by Héroard in 1604 as 'natif de Sissonne près de Laon'—if he be, as seems probable, the worker in question, is most likely the author of all the statuettes, and much other work once ascribed to Palissy, but evidently produced long after his death. La Nourrice, Le Vielleur, and Le Joueur de Cornemuse show that he who produced them had a facile hand and great powers of quick and accurate observation, but he never reached the directness, the completeness and simplicity, the poetic quality of Palissy's inventions.

It is this loss of poetic quality which everywhere marks the close of the French Renaissance. Instead of Briçonnet, we find—the Jesuits; instead of Ronsard,—Du Bartas, who in spite of Goethe's magnificent eulogy must be held to have been in no true sense of the word a poet. Baptiste Androuet comes to the Louvre and continues with clumsy correctness the inspired labours of Lescot; Sarrazin replaces

Goujon; the delicate pencil of François Clouet is handled with slovenly facility by Pierre Dumoustier; the jewelled toys of Laudin cause the nobler art of Léonard to be despised, and the coloured glass of Cousin and Pinaigrier is trampled under foot.

One thing indeed had been done which nothing could undo. Up till the days of the Renaissance—yes, even in classic times—worship had been the chief preoccupation of Art. The Renaissance gave her a human lord, and she can never again be reclaimed to the sole profit of Religion. The Renaissance inaugurated a revolution of which we inherit the wider consequence, for now Art—in its third phase—is passing from the service of the Prince to that of the People.

ADDENDA.

PAGE 47.

The late M. Firmin-Didot published a valuable collection of notes and memoranda, under the title of 'Étude sur Jean Cousin.' I have, however, acting on the plan followed throughout these columns, excluded from notice all work concerning the authorship of which there was a doubt, and, consequently, much that M. Didot had accepted,—as, for example, the 'Hours' of Claude Gouffier, a MS. in his own possession. The illuminations which it contains recall the 'École de Fontainebleau;' they resemble the general style and character of Cousin's design, but their execution bears no resemblance to his use of other materials, and in the absence of any authentic work of his in water-colour with which they could be confronted, I hesitate to place them on the list of Cousin's works, although they have this year been publicly exhibited at the Trocadéro under his name.

PAGE 235.

Pierre Courtois is supposed by M. Darcel ('Notice des Émaux,' p. 268) to have been a pupil of Pierre Reymond; he was the most distinguished of a numerous family of enamellers whose involved relationships are now cleared up through documents communicated in the course of the present year by M. Giraudet to the 'Bulletin Monumental.' The work of Pierre Courtois belongs to the second half of the sixteenth century, and shows a coarse and vigorous vein of natural ability, which is well represented in the series of enamelled reliefs which he executed for the *château* of Madrid, and which are now preserved in the Musée de Cluny.

PAGE 282.

François Briot has imprinted his own portrait, together with his signature, 'Sculpebat Franciscus Briot,' on several *étains*—ewers, flagons, dishes—and notably on a ewer and dish in the Musée de Cluny which are amongst the most celebrated of his productions. These *étains* were often employed by goldsmiths either to make their first projects, or to preserve designs executed in more precious metals, and which for that very reason were liable to be destroyed. Nothing whatever is known of his life, but judging from the dress in which he represents himself in his medallions, M. Jal ('Dictionnaire de Biographie,' &c.) proposes to fix the date of his birth at about 1550. It has also been suggested that he was a relative of Nicolas Briot, the celebrated inventor of the *balancier* or stamping-press, who was designer and die-sinker to the Mint under Louis XIII.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY (1440–1595).

The references given under this head are, in every instance, to works in which the original documents are printed *in extenso*. Where the year contains several entries, these entries are ranged in the order of the chapters to which they refer, and the facts mentioned will be found in the text by consulting the index at the close of the second volume.

The following abbreviations have been used :—

A. A. 'Archives de l'Art Français,' edited by A. de Montaiglon.
L. R. 'La Renaissance des Arts à la Cour de France.' L. E. de Laborde.
G. 'Documens inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Arts en Touraine. Grandmaison.
L. V. 'Lettres écrites de la Vendée à M. A. de Montaiglon.' B. Fillon.
V. P. 'Vieux Paris ; Louvre et Tuileries.' A. Berty.
A. F. 'Les Grands Architectes Français de la Renaissance.' A. Berty.
C. 'Jehan Perréal, Clément Trie, et Edouard Grand.' L. Charvet.
P. G. 'Le Peintre-graveur Français.' Robert Dumesnil.
Ardant, L. L.,—R.,—P. 'Les émailleurs de Limoges : Léonard Limosin, Pierre Reymond, les Penicaud.' Maurice Ardant.
Lenoir. 'Musée des Monumens Français.' Alexandre Lenoir.
S. K. M. South Kensington Museum.
B. M. British Museum.
L. M. Musée du Louvre.
C. M. Musée de Cluny.
M. A. Museum Antwerp.
M. M. Museum Munich.

Chronological Survey.

A.D.

1440. Jean Fouquet at Rome (Vasari, ed. 1568, p. 410).
1448. Jean Fouquet obtained lease of property near Tour Foubeit, Tours (G. p. 17).

A.D.

1461. Jean Fouquet employed on funeral of Charles VII. (L. R. p. 156) and ordered to prepare decorations for entry of Louis XI. (G. p. 12).

1470. Jean Fouquet named in royal accounts (L. R. p. 156).
Pasquier Bonhomme ordered to see completed for Louis XI. the Livy of Cardinal Balue (Bouché le Clercq. Polybiblion. Juillet, 1873, p. 45).

1472. Jean Fouquet sent for by Duchesse d'Orléans to illustrate her 'Hours' (L. R. p. 157).

1473. Michel Columbe carves bas-relief for St. Michel-en-l'Herme (Fillon, 'Documents sur Michel Columbe,' p. 2).

1474. Michel Columbe and Jean Fouquet prepare project for tomb of Louis XI. (L. R. p. 159).

1475. Jean Fouquet 'peintre du roi' (L. R. p. 158).
Jean Clouet I. worked for Duke of Burgundy (L. R. p. 11).

1476. Jean Fouquet painted canopy for entry of King of Portugal into Tours (G. p. 13).
Jean de Paris at Orleans (G. pp. 23-4).

1477 (abt.). Fouquet mentioned by Francesco Florio (A. A. v. 7, p. 168).

1481. Michel Columbe—tomb of Bishop of Maillezais (G. p. 14).
Jean Fouquet's widow and heirs cited in accounts of treasurer of St. Martin of Tours (G. p. 14).

1485. Jean Perréal employed on entry of Cardinal de Bourbon into Lyon (A. A. 2 s. vol. i. p. 86).

1490. Jean Perréal organised entry of Charles VIII. at Lyon (A. A. 2 s. vol. i. p. 87).

1491. Jean Perréal (?) painted 'Fiançailles de Charles VIII. et d'Anne de Bretagne (Colln. Bancel, Paris).

1492. Jean Bourdichon 'peintre du roi' (L. R. p. 745).

1493. Antoine Verard.—'Ovid, Metamorphoses.'

1494. Jean Perréal prepared entry of Charles VIII. and Anne of Brittany into Lyon (A. A. 2 s. vol. i. pp. 52-85).

1495. Jean Perréal exempted from taxes at Lyon by Charles VIII. 'pource qu'il est en nostre continuel service' (A. A. 2 s. vol. i. p. 137).

1496. Jean Perréal and other painters of Lyon receive charter from Charles VIII. (C. p. 22).

1499. Jean Perréal 'valet de chambre du roi' (L. R. p. 184), and directed entry of Louis XII. and Anne of Brittany into Lyon (C. p. 35).

1502. Jean Perréal in Italy (Jean Lemaire, 'Légende des Vénitiens,' f. 11. v°.).

1504. Jean Perréal in pay of Margaret of Austria (C. p. 44).

1505. Jean Perréal 'garde de la vaiselle' of Anne of Brittany (L. R. p. 748).

A.D.

1506. Jean Juste—tomb of children of France (G. p. 222).
  Michel Columbe—tomb of François, Duke of Brittany (C. pp. 57–67).

1507. Jean Juste—tomb of Bp. of Dol (G. p 222).

1508. Cloister of collegial house, Tours (G. p. 141).
  Michel Columbe—St. George and Dragon (Deville, Comptes des despenses. Gaillon).
  Jean Perréal—horse in royal accounts (L. R. p. 184).

1509. Jean Perréal—horse in royal accounts (L. R. pp. 180–184); he went to Italy with Louis XII. (C. p. 45).

1510. Perréal engaged on works at Brou (C. p. 53).

1511. Michel Columbe makes plans for Brou (Le Glay, 'Analectes Historiques,' p. 166).
  Bastien and Martin François—Fontaine de Beaune (G. p. 200).

1513. Jean Bourdichon 'peintre du roi' (L. R. p. 181).

1514. Perréal—funeral of Anne of Brittany (Complaintes. MS. Bibl. Nat., 9309); and in England (L. R. p. 188).

1515. Pierre Lescot born (V. P. vol. ii. p. 172).
  Blois building (L. R. p. 190).
  Perréal—funeral of Louis XII., and entry of François I. at Lyon (C. p. 123).

1516. Perréal—entry of Queen Claude at Lyon (C. p. 124).
  Fouquet's picture in inventory of Margaret of Austria (L. R. p. 169).

1517. Chenonceau complete (Chevalier, 'Pièces Historiques relatives à la Châtellenie de Chenonceau').
  Robioni—'Ovid Epistles.'

1518. Jean Clouet II. 'peintre ordinaire' (Moniteur, 17 Av. 1851).

1519. Antoine Juste d. (G. p. 218).

1520. Goujon born (?) (A. A. vol. iii. p. 350).
  Duvet—Annunciation.

1521. Jean Juste 'imagier du roy' (G. p. 223).
  Perréal's horse in royal accounts (L. R. p. 191).
  Duvet—entry of François I. into Langres.

1522. Perréal and his wife choose their grave (C. p. 219).
  Jean Clouet II. 'valet de chambre du roi' (A. A. vol. v. p. 290).

1523. Perréal 'valet de chambre du roi' (C. p. 20).
  Jean Clouet II. on royal accounts (L. R. p. 15); his wife signs deed of sale at Tours in his name (L. R. p. 569).
  F. Clouet (?)—portrait of Dauphin (M. A.)

1524. Simon de Colines—'Office de la Vierge.'
  Duvet—completed reliquary of St. Mammes (De la Boullaye, p. 5).

1526 (about). Chambord and Azay le Rideau.

A.D.

1526. Jean Cousin surveyed disputed boundary (Quantin. 'Note sur Jean Cousin,'—'Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Hist. de la Yonne,' 1869).

1527. Madrid, Fontainebleau, Louvre, &c. (Corrozet. 'Antiquités de Paris,' ed. 1536, p. 49).
Perréal at court at St. Germain-en-Laye (Letters of Cornelius Agrippa. Apud C. pp. 215–16).
Geoffroy Tory—Hours.
Duvet—taxed for ransom of François I. (De la Boullaye, p. 8).

1528. Nicolas Picart, paymaster—Madrid, Fontainebleau, &c. (L. R. p. 1026).
Jean Clouet II. executed half-length François I. (Louvre).
Duvet—Entombment.
St. John Baptist and St. John; Love with a man and woman.

1529. Pierre Gadier and Girolamo della Robbia at Madrid (L. R. p. 1031).
Perréal named by Geoffroy Tory (Preface to Champfleury).
Jean Clouet II.—work cited in royal accounts (L. R. pp. 14–15); his brother taken into the service of the Queen of Navarre (Lettres inédites, No. 70, ed. Génin).
Duvet—sold a bowl to François I. (De la Boullaye, p. 10).

1530. Pierre Gadier employed at Madrid (L. R. p. 1032).
Jean Clouet II.—portrait of Queen Eleonora (?) (Hampton Court).
Jean Cousin—window of St. Eutropius at Sens, plan of Courgenay, table of high altar of Vauluisant (Quantin. 'Note sur Jean Cousin.' Bulletin, &c., *ut supra*).
Pierre Reymond married and living in Rue des Étaux (Ardant, R).

1531. Jean Juste paid on account of tomb of Louis XII. (G. p. 235).
Pinaigrier—window of Queen of Sheba in St. Gervais.
Jean Penicaud II.—portrait of Luther (Baron J. de Rothschild.)

1532. Il Rosso received letters-patent from François I. (A. A. vol. v. p. 113).
Léonard—'Little Passion,' after Albert Dürer (Ancienne Colln., Debruges-Dumesnil).

1533. Pierre Lescot inherits property from his father (A. F. p. 64).
Duvet—entry of François I. into Langres (De la Boullaye, p. 12).
Léonard—Christ before Caiaphas (Ancienne Colln. Debruges-Dumesnil).

1534. De l'Orme in service of Paul III. ('Nouvelles Inventions.' Preface).
J. Penicaud II., portrait of Clement VII. (L. M.).
Léonard—Adam and Eve (Colln. Taillefer ap. Ardant. L. L.)
Reymond—Tazza (Ardant, R.).

A.D.

1535. Tomb of Louis de Brezé (Deville, 'Tombeaux de la Cathédrale de Rouen,' p. 106).
Jean Penicaud I. living at Limoges from 1535-47 (Ardant, P.).
Léonard, plaque of Psyche (L. M.)

1536. Pierre le Nepveu—works at Chambord (Chevalier, 'Pièces Historiques relatives à la Châtellenie de Chenonceau.' Introduction, p. lx.).
De l'Orme returned from Italy ('Traité d'Architecture,' p. 90, v°.).
Lescot pays eight *escus* to Célestins of Paris ('Archives Nationales Cart.' S. 3796).
Jean Clouet II. on royal accounts (L. R., p. 572).
Corrozet—'Antiquités de la Ville de Paris' (edition inBodleian).
Léonard—cup cover (Fountaine Colln.).

1537. Gratian François and Della Robbia employed at Madrid (L. R., p. 1037).
J. Clouet's wife, Jeanne Boucault, takes his paintings to Paris (A. A., vol. v., p 101).
Jean Cousin married to Jacotte Couste ('Censier de Sens ap. Didot,' p. 11); for further notes on his family see Introduction to Didot's 'Recueil des Œuvres de Jean Cousin,' and also A. A., vol. ix. p. 351.
Léonard—St. Michel (ap. Ardant, L. L.); chess and backgammon boards (L. M.).

1538. Palissy began his experiments ('Œuvres,' p. 311).
Reymond—Tazza, Dido, and Ascanius (Colln. F. Davis).

1539. Jean Penicaud II.—Tazza (Strawberry Hill Catalogue).
Léonard—Crucifixion (Catalogue Didier-Petit); Laocoon, Tazza (S. K. M.).

1540. Gratian François and Della Robbia paid up to this date from 1537 (L. R. p. 1040).
De l'Orme signs orders at Fontainebleau (L. R. p. 413).
Goujon working at Rouen (Deville, Tombeaux &c., p. 126).
Le Petit Bernard—employed on state entry of Cardinal of Ferrara at Lyon (A. A. 2 s. v. i. p. 415).
J. Penicaud II.—Resurrection (B. M.).
P. Reymond—Tazza and Plaque (B. M.).
Léonard—Virgin and Child (Napier Colln.); Annunciation (ap De Laborde, 'Notice des Emaux exposés,' etc.).

1541. Bullant – Écouen.
Goujon—St. Maclou, Rouen (Deville, Tombeaux, &c., pp. 125-128); and statue of Georges d'Amboise (ditto, pp. 84-97).
Jean Clouet II. d. François Clouet—letters of naturalisation (A. A. v. iii. p. 97).
Denis Janot—Hecatongraphia of Corrozet.

A.D.

1541. Jean Penicaud II.—Spes (B. M.).
Reymond—plaque of Shepherd and flock (L. M.); two medallions (B. M.).
Léonard and his brother Martin pay dues on two houses at Limoges (Accounts of Priory of St. Gerald ap. Ardant L. L.).

1542. Lescot—conducting the works of St. Germain l'Auxerrois and Goujon employed by him (De Laborde, Mémoires and Dissertations, p. 302).
J. Penicaud II.—Crucifixion (Colln. Gatteaux, ap. Darcel 'Notice des Émaux,—Musée du Louvre').

1543. Abt. Cousin—Tomb of Admiral Chabot.
Denis Janot—'Tableau de Cebes,' by Corrozet.
Reymond—Triptych Crucifixion (S. K. M.).
Léonard—five plaques, story of Psyche (L. M.); Cup, Astyanax (Fountaine Colln.).
Palissy—surveying for the *gabelle* (Œuvres ed. Cap. p. 313).

1544. Goujon—Écouen?
Cousin—Holy Family.
F. Clouet (?)—portrait of François I. (Colln. of Earl of Dudley).
Duvet—proclaims peace of Crépy (De la Boullaye, p. 17).
J. Penicaud II.—St. Martial (Ardant P.).
Reymond—Cup, Noah (L. M.); Cup, Dido and Æneas (S. K. M.); Cup, Centaurs (Colln. Dutuit, ap. Darcel Émaux,—Louvre, p. 214).
Léonard—engraved four pieces.

1545. Cousin—in Paris (Censier, St. Germain des Prés, ap. Didot, p. 7); and chosen to lay down boundary of Thorigny estate, and lands of chapter of Sens (Quantin, 'Note sur Jean Cousin' *ut supra*).
Léonard—repeats from Psyche series (Colln. Préaux ap. Ardant L. L.); and ordered to execute Apostles at Chartres (L. R. p. 419).

1546. Lescot—letters-patent as architect of Louvre (V. P. v. ii. p. 440, and L. R. p. 439).
Kerver—'Songe de Poliphile.'
Jane de Marnef—'L'Amour de Cupido et de Psiché.'
Reymond—Cup (Colln. Seillière, ap. Darcel p. 214).
Palissy came in contact with Hamelin (Œuvres ed. Cap. p. 100).

1547. De l'Orme—letters-patent, 'ordonnateur des batiments royaux' (L. R. pp. 410–11).
Lescot—previous appointment confirmed (L. R. p. 441).
Goujon—cuts in Martin's Vitruvius—he was then in the royal service (Preface to Vitruvius).
F. Clouet—funeral of François I. (L. R. p. 93; G. pp. 821–31).
Jean de Tourmes—'Le Coche.'

A.D.

1548. De l'Orme—letters-patent from Henri II. (L. R. p. 410); Abbot of Ivry (Gallia Christiana v. xi. cols. 653–4); at St. Germain en Laye (L. R. p. 281); and Anet was begun.
Pilon (?)—tomb of Guillaume Langey du Bellay.
F. Clouet—receipt in royal accounts (L. R. p. 582).
Le Petit Bernard employed on entry of Henri II. at Lyon (A. A. 2 s. v. i. p. 421).

1549. Jacques Roffet, dit Le Faucheur—'Entrée d'Henri II. à Paris.'
J. Penicaud II.—St. Luke (S. K. M).
Léonard—Tazza (Fountaine Colln.).

1550. Primaticcio—directs works at Madrid (L. R. p. 1054).
Gratian François, and Della Robbia paid up to this date (L. R. p. 1041).
De l'Orme—installed Canon of Notre Dame (A. F. p. 11); signs orders at St. Germain en Laye and Fontainebleau (L. R. pp. 303, 413, 1054).
Lescot—appointments fixed by letters-patent (L. R. p. 441).
Goujon—Fons nymphium completed (Corrozet p. 170); and Caryatides completed (Reçu ap. Sauval, v. ii. p. 33).
Pilon (?)—Chapelle aux Orfévres.
Cousin—various work for chapter of Sens (Archives de l'Yonne ap. Didot. Additions, p. 12). Cloister of Célestins completed (Corrozet ed. 1586, p. 172).
Robert Le Hoy—'Entrée d'Henri II. à Rouen.'
Reymond—inherited property from his father (ap. Ardant R.).
Léonard—two portraits (L. M. and C. M.); puts in an execution on heirs of a citizen of Limoges (ap. Ardant L. L.).

1551. Cousin—St. Gervais—works for chapter of Sens (ap. Didot, Additions, p. 12).
Léonard—picture of Incredulity of St. Thomas (Musée de Limoges, Dispersed? vide Bulletin Monumental, 1878), but his name this year not on list of the royal household (Ardant L. L.).

1552. De l'Orme—tomb of François I. (Lenoir, v. iii. pp. 75–6).
Cousin—works for chapter of Sens (Arch. de l'Yonne ap. Didot. Additions); married his daughter to her cousin Étienne Bowyer (papers of Bouvyer family).
Duvet—taxed in quarter Des Moulins (De la Boullaye, p. 17).
Léonard—Table fountain (Fountaine Colln.); St. Roch (Colln. Périer at Limoges ap. Ardant L. L.).

1553. F. Clouet—portrait of Henri II. (L. M.).
Étienne Delaulne associated with Aubin Ollivier Piganiol de la Force, v. 2, p. 84).
Reymond—cup (Fountaine Colln.).
Léonard—two votive enamels (L. M.).

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1554. De l'Orme—reported to by commission on works at Fontainebleau (L. R. pp. 435–6); orders payments for Ball Room at Fontainebleau and for Madrid (L. R. pp. 443–6 and 1053).

Lescot—Canon of Notre Dame (A. F. p. 69).

F. Clouet—coffer for Henri II. (L. R. p. 93).

Reymond—Ewer, triumph of Diana (L, M.), cup for member of Tücher family (Kunst-Blatt No. 20, 1853).

Léonard—Christ and Virgin (ap. Ardant L. L.), 'reçu' in which he calls himself 'serviteur de la chambre du roy,' &c. (Ardant, L. L.)

1555. De l'Orme, signs payments at Fontainebleau (L. R. p. 436), and on account of tomb of François I. (L. R. 446).

Lescot—salary entered on royal accounts (L. R. p. 439).

Goujon—employed on Louvre (L. R. p. 438).

Duvet—Apocalypse.

Pierre Penicaud—glass painting of Last Supper (Ardant P.).

Reymond—decoration of Statute-book of Brotherhood of Holy Sacrament (Ardant R.).

Léonard—Venus and Cupid, oval plaque (L. M.); Feast of the Gods (Fountaine Colln.); bought a vineyard, pays dues to the 'pistancerie' of St. Martin (Ardant L. L.).

Palissy—goes bail for Pierre Regnaud, and is appointed to settle with Hamelin a difference between Jean de Parthenay and his vassals (L. V. p. 46).

1556. De l'Orme—at Fontainbleau (L. R. p. 442); and at Chenonceau (Chevalier, Lettres et Devis de Ph. de l'Orme); and signs payments, tomb of François I. (L. R. p. 445).

Lescot—appointments confirmed (L. R. p. 449); signs orders for the Louvre (*idem*, p. 437); demands permission to wear his beard (A. F. pp. 69–70).

Goujon—employed on Louvre (L. R. p. 437).

Reymond—Candlestick (Fountaine Colln.).

Léonard—dish (Napier Colln.); portrait of Antoine de Navarre (Catalogue Debruges-Dumesnil), and portrait of Constable Anne (L. M.).

1557. Bullant—succeeds Des Hostels as 'contrôleur des bâtiments' (L. R. p. 453).

De l'Orme—at Fontainebleau (L. R. p. 466); appointed 'maître des comptes' (A. F. p. 55).

Lescot—payments on Louvre (L. R. p. 450).

Goujon—employed on Louvre (L. R. p. 463).

J. Penicaud II. pays dues on house at Limoges, and continues to do so up to 1561 (Ardant P.).

Léonard—portrait of Duke of Guise (L. M.); Pilate (C. M.); and portrait of Elizabeth of Austria (Seymour Colln.).

A.D.

1557. Palissy—interceded for Hamelin's life (Œuvres ed. Cap. p. 105).

1558. Bullant—wages as 'contrôleur' (L. R. p. 462).
De l'Orme—payments at Fontainebleau (L. R. pp. 412-459); and planned Refectory for Montmartre (Traité d'Architecture, f. 304 v°).
Lescot—payments at Louvre (L. R. p. 462).
Goujon—employed on Louvre (L. R. p. 471).
Pilon—tomb of François I. (Lenoir, v. iii. pp. 77-8).
Jean Cousin—and his wife Jacotte Couste at wedding of his niece (Didot, Additions).
Reymond—Table Vase for Tücher family (Kunstblatt, No. 20, 1853).
Léonard—engages to pay dues on vineyard to Abbey of St. Martial (Ardant L. L.).

1559. Bullant—letters-patent renewed (L. R. p. 456).
De l'Orme—disgraced (L. R. pp. 457-8, 477, 482).
Lescot—letters-patent renewed, described as 'conseillier, et aumonier ordinaire du roi, et abbé commendataire de Clermont' (V. P. v. i. p. 249).
Goujon—employed on Louvre (L. R. p. 483).
F. Clouet—funeral of Henri II. (L. R. p. 98, and G. p. 82).
De Tourmes—'Bible du Petit Bernard.'
Delaulne—medal François II. and Mary Queen of Scots (Oxford).
Jean Penicaud III—Flagon (L. M.).
Reymond—plaque (Grüne Gewölbe).
Léonard—7½ yards of cloth mourning for Henri II. (L. R. p. 222); styled 'valet de chambre' and receives six months' wages, 80 *liv.* (*idem*, p. 222).

1560. Bullant—replaced by François Sannat (L. R. p. 476).
De l'Orme—at law with his monks of Bartelémy lez Noyon (A. F. pp. 9, 10).
Lescot—payments on Louvre (L. R. p. 485).
Goujon—employed on Louvre (L. R. p. 488).
Pilon—tomb of Henri II. (L. R. pp. 494, 500, 533).
Cousin—'Livre de Perspective.'
F. Clouet—addressed by Ronsard (1st book, 'Amours).'
Delaulne—portrait of Henri II.
Reymond—Consul at Limoges (Ardant R.); bowl (Colln. Duke of Gotha).
Palissy—bought '3 milliers de mayrain' (A. A. v. iii. p. 193).

1561. Bullant—'Recueil d'Horlogiographie.'
De l'Orme—Nouv. Inventions.
Goujon—employed on Louvre (L. R. p. 501).
Lescot—payments on Louvre (L. R. p. 501).
Delaulne—Scripture subjects.

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1562. Bullant—'Géométrie.'
Pilon—Three Graces (L. R. p. 533).
Sack of Marmoutier (G. p. 334).
Delaulne—Sciences.
Reymond—dish (M. M.); and cover of Tücher cup (Kunstblatt, No. 20, 1853).
Léonard—grisaille, Judgment of Paris (C. M.).
Palissy—imprisoned at Bordeaux (Recepte véritable, pp. 8, 9, ed. Cap.).

1563. Cousin—paid for block of marble in royal accounts (L. R. p. 533).
Palissy—Grotto for Écouen (Œuvres, p. 3); 'Recepte véritable.'

1564. Bullant—'Reigle generalle.'
De l'Orme—works at Tuileries, he and Mme. Du Perron contract with ferry, &c. (V. P. v. xi. p. 7).
Lescot—payments on Louvre (L. R. p. 508).
Pilon—two bronze statues &c., tomb of Henri II. (L.R. p. 511).
Reymond—two candlesticks (L. M.).
Palissy—borrows of Imbert de Boislambert at La Rochelle (L. V. p. 53).

1565. Reymond—plate, March (S. K. M.); oval dish, Last Supper (L. M.).

1566. Bullant—engraved two capitals (P. G. v. i. p. 514).
De l'Orme—Tuileries (V. P. v. ii. p. 239). Chapel at Anet (A. A. 2 s. v. v. p. 315).
Lescot—payments on Louvre (L. R. p. 514).
Pilon—tomb of Henri II. (L. R. p. 516).
Reymond—two plates, July and December, and salt cellar (L. M.).

1567. Lescot—payments on Louvre (L. R. p. 520).
Delaulne—second set of Sciences.
Reymond—Consul at Limoges (Ardant R.).
Palissy—borrows of François Barbot at La Rochelle (L. V. p. 54).

1568. De l'Orme—payments, tomb of François I. (L. R. p. 523).
Delaulne—Lesser months.
Léonard—plaque, Israelites gathering manna (Ardant L. L.).

1569. De l'Orme—made his will (A. A. 2 s. v. ii. pp. 315, and following).
Pilon—paid on account, tomb of Henri II. (L. R. p. 524).
F. Clouet—consulted by Cour des Comptes on coin of Charles IX. (L. R. pp. 583-87).
Delaulne—third set of Sciences. History of Jonah and Seven Pastorals.
Reymond—bowl, golden calf; tray, Moses (L. M.).

1570. Bullant—Architecte de la Royne-mère (A. A. v. vi. p. 317).

A.D.

1570. De l'Orme d. (V. P. v. ii. p. 273, Gallia Christ, 9, 1073).
Pilon—paid on account, tomb of Henri II. (L. R. p. 532).
F. Clouet—on list of Royal Household (L. R. p. 121); painted portrait of Charles IX. (Vienna); Elizabeth of Austria (L. M.).
Delaulne—Daniel with the Elders.
Palissy—payment made to him on Tuileries Grotto (A. A. v. ix. p. 14).

1571. Bullant—on Tuileries (V. P. v. ii. p. 51, and A. A. v. ix. p. 13). Roofing of Tuileries prepared for (Colln. Delamarre Bibl. Nat. t. cxxxi. pp. 93, 94), for which the queen-mother obtained a loan from Florentine banker Sixtus (V. P. v. ii. p. 8).
Pilon—engaged on entry of Charles IX. (Douet D'Arcq, Rev. Arch. 1849, p. 587, and L. R. p. 216).
Marie Fouquet—sells share of Tour des Pucellès (G. p. 17).
Léonard—Consul at Limoges—pays taxes on houses at Limoges, and decorates Register of Brotherhood of Holy Sacrament (Ardant L. L.).

1572. Bullant—engaged on Hôtel de Soissons (?)
Goujon—killed in St. Bartholomew (?)
Madeleine Fouquet—sells share of Tour des Pucelles (G. p 17).
Jean Court—peintre du roi (L. R. p. 122).
Delaulne at Strasbourg.
Reymond—Ewer (Pourtalès Colln.).
Léonard—Interior, and hunting scene (L. M.).

1573. Bullant—erection of tomb of Henri II. (L. R. p. 535); Catharine sold her concession of 'restes du trésor' for Tuileries (V. P. v. ii. p. 252).
Lescot—'contrôleur des bâtiments' (V. P. v. ii. p. 252).
Pilon—engaged on Entry of King of Poland (L. R. p. 798); entered in royal accounts for 50 *liv.* (*idem*, p. 534).
Delaulne at Strasbourg.
Léonard—Portrait of Charles IX. (Cat. Debruges-Dumesnil); Moses and Israelites gathering manna (Colln. Dumont ap. Ardant L. L.).

1574. Bullant—two entries in royal accounts (L. R. p. 535).
F. Clouet ?—Portrait of Henri III. (Stafford House).
Léonard—Catharine de Medicis as Venus (L. M.).

1575. Bullant—entry in Royal Accounts (L. R. p. 535).
Pilon—authorised to receive marble from St. Denis (L. R. p. 537).
Delaulne—Quarters of the globe—Pax et Abundantia—Planets.
Thevet—'Cosmographie Universelle.'
Léonard—pays dues to chapter of St. Martial (Ardant L. L.).
Palissy—Cours d'histoire naturelle (Œuvres p. 270 ed. Cap.).

1576. De l'Orme—'Livre d'Architecture,' written 1565 (see p. 27).

A.D.

1576. Du Cerceau—'Plus excellens batiments de la France.'

Delaulne—at Augsburg—Planets, and Engraver's or Goldsmith's shop.

Palissy's tower at Xaintes claimed by De Launoy (Delange, Vie, p. 13)—repeats Cours d'hist. nat. (Œuvres, p. 270, ed. Cap).

1577. Léonard—his heirs named in a deed of this year (Ardant L. L.).

1578. Bullant—his will and death (A. A. v. vi. pp. 313–15); Decree of Henri III. confirming grant of 'restes du trésor' for Tuileries (Recueil Fontanon, v. ii. p. 675).

Lescot—d. (A. F. p. 72); replaced by B. Androuet ('Thrésor du Stile, et protocolle de la Chancellerie de France,' v. i. Bk. 2, p. 23 v°).

Pilon—tombs of the Minions. ?

Cousin—named in Galliade of La Boderie.

Delaulne—series of designs by his son.

Reymond—Dish, Josias hearing the law (L. M.).

1580. Palissy—'Discours admirables.'

1581. Cousin—Forge de Vulcain, engraved after, by Gaultier.

1582. Pilon—receives interest on 'rentes' (A. A. v. i. p. 327).

Reymond—name appears for last time in Books of Brotherhood of Holy Sacrament (Ardant R.).

1583. Cousin—Livre de la Lingerie.

Pilon—tomb of Henri II. (L. R. p. 535).

B. Foullon—entered in Royal Accounts as 'neveu de feu M. Jamet' (L. R. p. 839).

1584. Pilon—tomb of Henri II. (L. R. p. 536).

La Croix du Maine mentions Pilon and Palissy as in Paris this year and last ed. of Ronsard contain allusions to 'Janet.'

Thevet—'Les Vrais portraits des hommes illustres.'

J. Penicaud II.—pays dues instituted on a house by Nardon (Ardant P.).

1585. Pilon—refaced 'cadran du Palais' (Corrozet, p. 201), entered on list of Royal Household (L. R. p. 235).

1586. Pilon—Statue for Queen-mother (L. R. p. 537); Tomb of Mme. de Birague (Corrozet, p. 23).

1588. Pilon—St. Francis of Grands Augustins (?)

Rabel—letter to Cousin ('Journal des Artistes,' 1831, v. i. p. 19).

J. Penicaud II. d. (Ardant P.).

Reymond—Tazza, repetition of Tazza of 1544 (Davis Colln.).

Palissy—in Bastille, visited by Henri III. (D'Aubigné, Hist. Univ. v. iii. p. 216; Conf. de Sancy, p. 432).

1590. Palissy—died in Bastille (Journal de l'Étoile).

1592. Taveau—history of Sens, (Passages relating to Cousin reproduced in M Didot's 'Recueil des Œuvres choisies de Jean Cousin.')

A.D.

1593. Livre de Portraicture de 'feu' M. Cousin.

1595. Cousin—the representatives of his heirs pay dues pour une maison et appartenances assîses à la rue Des Marets (Censier St. Germain des Prés ap. Didot, pp. 6, 7) ; supposed to have left also property at Sens (Didot, p. 2).

Note.

The present value of the payments quoted in *livres*, *sols*, and *deniers tournois*, may be calculated by reference to the Tables given in 'Recherches sur la variation de la livre tournois, etc., Natalis de Wailly. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscripns. &c., v. xxi. pt. 2, p. 177.'

Errata.

Vol. I., p. 52, l 26, *for* 'Tours' *read* 'Angers.'
,, p. 90, l. 15, *for* 'Medécis' *read* 'Medicis.'

Vol. II., p. 13, l. 22, *for* '1535' *read* '1563.'
,, p. 96, l. 17, *for* '1554' *read* '1524.
,, p. 163, l. 22, *for* 'Engraver's' *read* 'Goldsmith's.'

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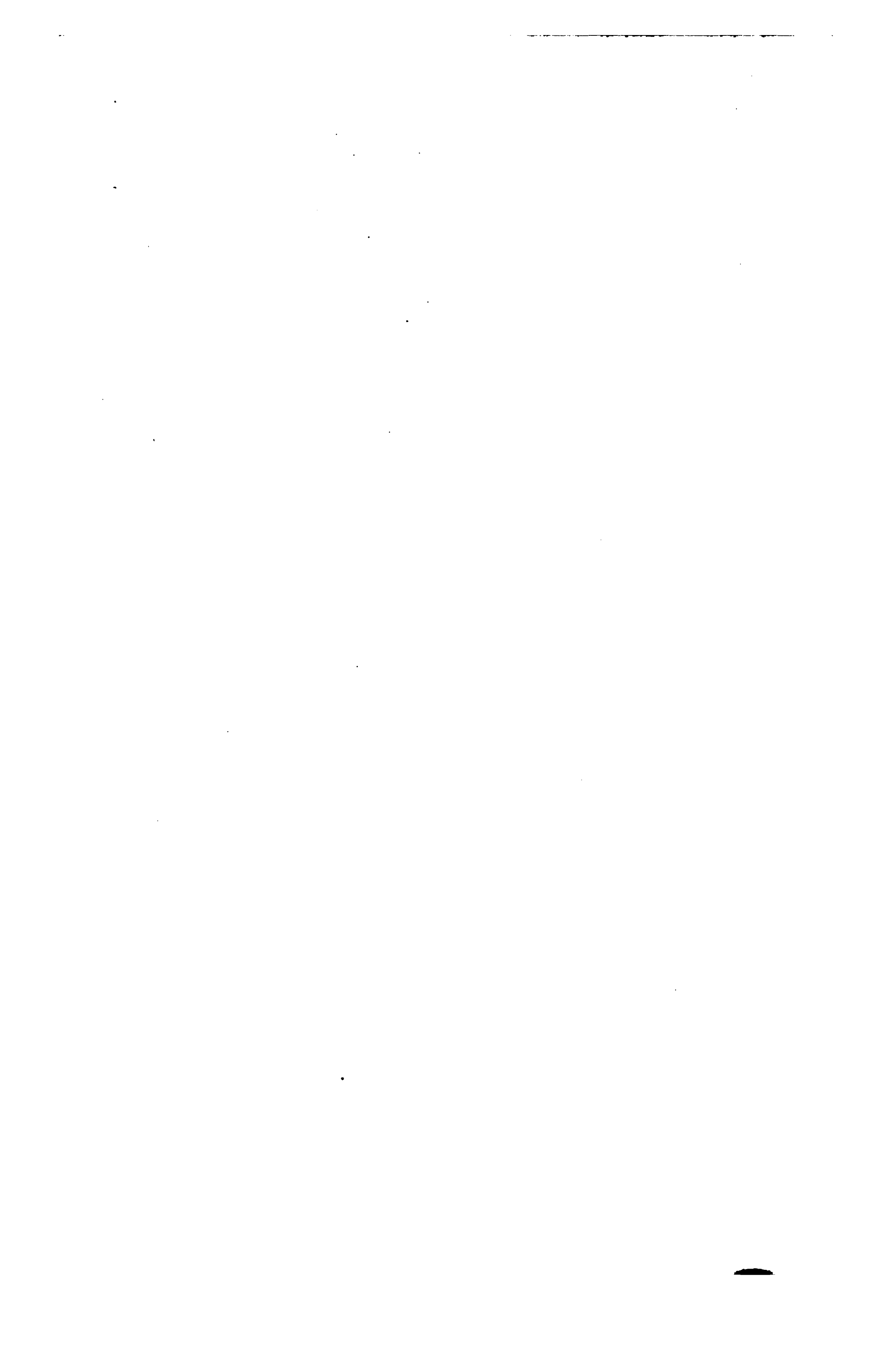

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