The Beazley Archive Studies in Gems and Jewellery V

With additional material online

Gem Engraving in Britain from Antiquity to the Present

with a catalogue of the British engraved gems in The State Hermitage Museum

Julia Kagan

BAR British Series 514

2010

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Beazley Archive - Studies in Gems and Jewellery V
Gem Engraving in Britain from Antiquity to the Present

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Translated (from Russian) by Catherine Phillips
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Studies in Gems and Jewellery

This is one of a pair of group portraits (oil on canvas, 196.8 x 142.2) painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds for the Society of the Dilettanti between 1777 and 1779. Both are now on loan to Brooks's Club, London. Sir William Hamilton (seated in the centre of the other painting), who was received into the Society in 1777, may have asked Reynolds, elected in 1766, to record his collecting of classical pottery and engraved gems. Constantine John Lord Mulgrave sits on the left, in front of Lord Dundas, who holds up a gem. The Earl of Seaford, looking towards him, also holds a gem. Sir William Hamilton's nephew, Charles Greville, sits in the centre, touching claret glasses with John Charles Crowle and (Sir) Joseph Banks. Lord Carmarthen, later Duke of Leeds, closes the group on the right. See Bruce Redford, "Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples", *Studies in The History of Art*, Volume 79.

To the memory of
Moses Kagan,
who shared everything with me

Gem engraving in Britain
from antiquity to the present

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Please note that the CD referred to on p. 429 has now been replaced with a download available at www.barpublishing.com/additional-downloads.html

Note

1. Since gems, particularly intaglios, are difficult to photograph they are often shown as impressions from casts. Whenever possible originals have been used in this book and their location is given. All of the casts produced by Tassie and Cades were photographed from the Hermitage's Cabinet, the Tassies being from the white rather than coloured paste versions.
2. Since prints, pastes and medals are multiples we have not been able to provide sources for some images. It was also not possible, despite our best efforts, to find the source of a small number of images of other types of objects.
3. The dimensions of images do not represent the relative dimensions of objects. The precise dimensions of Hermitage gems are provided in the Catalogue in millimetres.

Foreword and acknowledgements

In small proportions we just beauties see
And in short measures life may perfect be
Ben Jonson, 'The Noble Nature'

The many articles which I published in the 1960s and 1970s covering various aspects of the history of glyptics in Great Britain and the formation of the Hermitage's collection of British gems, the dissertation (defended in 1982) which originally formed the basis of this book and the attached catalogue, could only have been written within the walls of the Museum which I have served for more than half a century, and which has always provided me with all the many kinds of support, organisational and otherwise, that I have needed in my work on the subject. New opportunities, allowing me to take a fresh and closer look at the material, were offered by my first visit to Great Britain in 1989, organised by the British Council, and by further visits, including (in 1996-97) an Alisa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellowship and a George Soros Visiting Senior Research Travel Fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA) at the National Gallery of Art, Washington. These made possible the complete reworking and considerable expansion of the original version of the book.

Of great significance during the early stages of the project to publish this book with BAR and the Beazley Archive of Oxford, in 2000, were the approval of Prof. Dr Mikhail Piotrovsky, Director of the Hermitage, who kindly permitted publication of material from the Hermitage, and the support of Dr Brian Allen, Director of Studies at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, which later provided publishing grants. Charitable support for the translation was kindly made by Martin Norton of S.J. Phillips of 139 New Bond Street, London. In 1999 a further grant for visiting curators was received from the London Friends of the Hermitage to work in British museums and libraries.

My English colleagues and friends who have over the last decades shared my range of interests include Prof. Sir John Boardman, whose publications have been an inspiration, Diana Scarisbrick, my first British correspondent and reviewer, who has also put considerable effort into making this book possible, and Gertrud Seidmann, doyenne of the world of glyptics, whose studies have coincided so closely with mine and who could thus assure the publisher both of the originality of my work and of the importance of the collection published here. Like them, Martin Henig and Judy Rudoe have consistently kept me informed about recent developments in our sphere of interest. They have provided me with new information, sent me their own works and, during my visits to Great Britain, opened the doors of museum and private collections, of libraries large and small and of photographic archives. Without the help of these friends this book would not have been possible at its final scale. My gratitude to them knows no bounds. It extends also to Ellen Rudoe, Tanja Chambers and Yury Kleiner, in whose manuscript and published translations my Russian publications have been made available to foreign specialists. To Larissa Haskell I offer special thanks: her house in Oxford has been not only a welcome refuge but also the place where I met David Davison, publisher of this volume, who has shown endless patience in awaiting completion of my manuscript.

I am also glad to have this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to all my fellow keepers at the

Hermitage who have helped me on this project in so many different ways: Oleg Neverov, (Classical Gems), Yevgenia Shchukina (European Medals), Larissa Dukelskaya (British Prints), Lydia Liackhova (Wedgwood Ceramics), Magdalina Dobrovolskaya (European Orders), Tamara Rappe and Tatiana Semenova (British Furniture), as well as Natalya Mavrodina and Ian Wilensky, who helped prepare the illustations. Most particularly I would like to thank Svetlana Kokareva, also a Keeper of Post-Classical gems, who has in recent years assumed most curatorial responsibilities. The staff of various Russian archives – the State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow, the Russian State Historical Archive in St Petersburg and the Archive of the State Hermitage Museum – have been unfailingly helpful over the years.

Museums and private collectors have been most generous in allowing me to reproduce their works, nearly all of them free of charge.

This book would never have appeared before the English-language reader without the active participation of Catherine Phillips, translator of the book but also a knowledgeable art historian in her own right. Catherine's eagle eye has penetrated not only to the overall concept and the structure of the book but has also noted even the tiniest details; she has thus fulfilled the function of both scholarly and literary editor, in addition to serving as coordinator of the project as a whole.

My last words of thanks must go to the members of my family. To my husband who was in this as in everything else my first reader, although he was not fated to see the book in print. To my children, who have always been understanding of my research activities, and of course to my grandchildren, who have perhaps had less of my attention than would otherwise have been the case.

Introduction

The subject and approaches

Glyptics – the art of engraving miniature images on precious and semi-precious stones – was an independent art form in Britain for many centuries. It was long thought that the first truly local products should be dated to the 13th century, but in fact the roots go back considerably further, to the time of the Roman conquest. The great potential realised in the 16th century in turn laid the basis for a persistent tradition that was to retain its importance despite the upheavals of the 17th century, and to burst forth in a magnificent flowering in the 18th century, expressed in hundreds of excellent works by dozens of artists, the fame of some of whom extended far beyond their native shores.

Such was my conclusion after many years studying the subject covered in this book. Just over ten years ago, the subject was roughly outlined in an essay, 'Engraved Gems in Britain: The Russian Perspective', published in both English and Russian (Kagan 1996a, pp. 138-49). Importantly, the second part of the essay's title stressed my particular viewpoint on the subject, the degree and logic of my approach. Arriving in the Hermitage in 1955 as a post-graduate student, I was in 1964 appointed curator of more than ten thousand gems made by European and Russian engravers. I immediately included works by British engravers in my sphere of interest. Because of the considerable difficulty then accompanying any attempts at direct contact with foreign countries, I based myself mainly on direct study of the objects and on those literary and archive sources available to me 'at home'. In 1980, with nearly all my research on different aspects of the question behind me, I found myself holding the newly issued monograph By the Banks of the Thames: Russians in Eighteenth-Century Britain by Anthony Cross, leading specialist in Slavonic Studies. Cross dedicated his book thus: 'For my Russian friends, for those who have seen England, for those who might still, and for those who never will.' Not surprisingly, those words struck a particular and gloomy chord within me, seeming almost to be addressed to me personally. There was at that time not the slightest hope that I would ever see England, its collections, museums and libraries, that I would ever establish scholarly contacts there. Thanks to *perestroika* that began in Russia soon after, however, it was to become possible to visit the United Kingdom. Yet my efforts before that first visit, undertaken in very restricted conditions, proved to have been extremely productive, worthy of recognition by my British colleagues. For this there is a wholly objective explanation.

Unlike French glyptics, the history of which was set out by Ernst Babelon more than a century ago (Babelon 1902), and Italian Renaissance glyptics, studied by Ernst Kris (Kris 1929), British miniature hardstone carvings had until relatively recently never been the object of concentrated study. While these miniature sculptures were surely deserving of no less serious attention in Britain than that long enjoyed by another form of miniature sculpture, the closely related art of medal making, or by miniature painting, just 30 years ago not only was there not a single general survey or monograph on the work of individual masters, there were not even any general studies devoted to art historical interpretation of the material. Nor was this deficiency compensated for in broader publications on British art. The keenest search could uncover no sections devoted to the engraving of gems, even in the nine-volume *Oxford History of English Art* (1947-62); the same lack of success resulted from a trawl through

books and exhibition catalogues with pretensions to full coverage of material encompassing English taste in particular periods (English Taste 1955-56; Courtois 1959; Buxton 1963; Marle 1972 etc.), perhaps with the exception of odd remarks in the Connoisseur Period Guides (1956-58). It is only in publications on jewellery, numismatics and sphragistics (seals and signets) that we find any discursions on glyptics, a subject closely linked to each of those art forms (Vertue 1753; Hawkins 1885; Bloom 1906; Evans 1921; Farquhar 1932, 1936; Allen 1939; Rhode 1942).

Of course, the main engravers active in Britain were mentioned in art dictionaries, reference works and general studies of the history of Western European glyptics (Babelon 1894; Gebhart 1925), sometimes accompanied by a brief and quite random list of their works. But even works by British authors (Billing 1867; Renton 1896; Davenport 1900) made no serious attempts to present British material in more detail or to provide a general definition to the national school. The most we find is six or seven pages devoted to British glyptics and British gem collections by Charles William King: his books provided a general and accessible summary of the current state of knowledge of ancient and modern gems as early as the 1860s and early 1870s (King 1866a-b, 1872, 1880, 1881, etc). Information included there then passed, in more or less abbreviated form, into continental publications on the subject. O. M. Dalton found his own explanation for this at the start of the 20th century: 'In the present state of our knowledge, we are still ignorant of the extent to which gem engraving was practised in other [i.e. than Italy and France] countries, for instance in Germany, Flanders, or in England' (Dalton 1915, p. XXXVII). Yet, contradicting himself, he wrote a few pages later: 'England, though in all probability engraving gems in mediaeval times, does not seem to have preserved through the Renaissance a continuity as unbroken as that which obtained elsewhere; moreover, she won distinction too late in the eighteenth century to claim a foremost place, though men like Marchant, Brown, and Burch were artists of the first ability…' (Dalton 1915, p. LX).

Even the many auction catalogues did not divide engraved gems by period or school, with the exception of just one, published in connection with the sale of the collection of Charles Newton-Robinson (Christie's 22 June 1909). This not only separated Classical and oriental gems quite clearly from Post-Classical, but each section was further divided into sub-sections according to chronology or artistic school, including the English school.

Somewhat more satisfying was the situation with regard to studies of engraved gems as a historical and cultural phenomenon. Material dealing with archaeological finds of ancient gems in Britain began to appear in periodicals around the middle of the 19th century (Wright 1844, 1863; King 1864a), bringing gems to the attention of scholars and antiquarians. Of key importance at the start of the 20th century was the publication of a series of dictionaries of participants in the main London art exhibitions of the 18th and 19th centuries (Graves 1901, 1905-6, 1907, 1908, 1918-21) and of a *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists, Coin-, Gem-, and Seal-engravers…* (Forrer 1904-30, 8 vols.). There were a number of publications dealing with the history of collections, usually in the form of introductory essays to catalogues of ancient and modern engraved gems, such as those in the British Museum (Smith A. H. 1888; Dalton 1915; Walters 1926), Windsor Castle (Fortnum 1877; Clifford Smith 1902-3; Tonnochy 1935, 1953), the Fitzwilliam Museum (Middleton 1891) and Corpus Christi College (Middleton 1892), and in private collections (Croker 1853; Robinson 1863; King 1870; Carnegie 1908; Beazley 1920 etc), with some appearing in periodical publications, such as studies of the collections of Blacas and Colonel Leake (King 1867, 1870). We should also mention an essay on the purpose of portrait cameos of Elizabeth I and their depiction in paintings of the Elizabethan age (Ilchester 1922) and the publication of just such a cameo acquired by the British Museum (R.A.S. 1929), both of which are now out of date but which did much at the time to develop a theme of central importance to British glyptics that had only been touched upon by O'Donoghue, Fortnum, Clifford Smith and Dalton. Also related were essays on cameo insignia of the Order of the Garter, although treated as being of purely historical interest (Payne-Gallwey 1908; Wellington 1953), and publications on the role of engraved gems as an iconographical source for motifs in British art (Oman 1947; Watney 1972). An article appeared shortly after the start of the Second World War that contained vital information on mediaeval seal-engravers (Kingsford 1940), but this seems to have passed more or less unnoticed. In the 1950s and 1960s essays – albeit rather of an antiquarian nature, dealing not only with engraved gems but with their casts and imitations – began to appear regularly (Nixon 1932; Beard 1954; Charleston 1960; Synge-Hutchinson 1966). During this period, for instance, a large body of literature, largely of a biographical nature, accumulated around the 'gems' of James Tassie (Vernon-Montgomery 1930; Marshall 1938; Skinner 1960; Elville 1961; Tassie 1968, 1979) and Eleanor Coade (Clay 1928;

Kessels 1955; Collins 1957; Kelly 1973). Some of the older literature had already mentioned the 'cameos' of Josiah Wedgwood (Meteyard 1875; Rathbone 1898; Vernon-Montgomery 1930), so it was not surprising that these were given further coverage in the vast (and ever increasing) literature on the British manufacturer (Chellis 1941, 1962, 1966; Mankowitz 1953; Banks 1955; Keith 1961; Delhom 1962; Kanter 1963, 1968; Kelly 1965). Taken all together, however, these materials still did little to create an overall picture, merely highlighting individual fragments of the whole and even then not always looking at the most important aspects.

A partial explanation for so little interest in glyptics even among specialists and historians of British art may have lain in the almost total absence of stimulus from a living, continuing craft; the art form would seem to have worn itself out and thus it prompted no interest in or any motivation for a study of its previous history. Another reason, in my opinion, lay in the relative paucity or inaccessibility of such objects in those British museum collections which might have provided the basis for such a study: our understanding of the art of the past depends considerably and directly on the artistic heritage available to scholars. The lack of the basic materials required for such a study inevitably led to a perception of British engraved gems as random objects, extremely dependent on external conditions, as 'rarities' not only today but in ages past.

In some periods, such was indeed the case. For a long time, the art of glyptics was limited in all lands by the interests of the court, court circles and the artistic and aristocratic elite; only in the 18th century did it become, in Britain as nowhere else, accessible to and popular among the broader public. But history has decreed that only extremely few pieces by British gem engravers and by those foreign masters who worked in Britain for lengthy periods are now to be found in British museums. Of nearly one and half thousand items making up the collection of post-Classical engraved gems at the British Museum before the Second World War, just a few dozen were from the national school (Dalton 1915). And it was this very part of the collection that suffered severely during bombing in London in 1941. It was only in 1978 that there was any significant increase in numbers, with the accessioning of the engraved gems of the Hull Grundy collection, incorporating a number of pieces created by British engravers (Gere et al 1984). Even fewer cameos and intaglios of British origin were to be found in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle (Fortnum 1877; Clifford Smith 1902-3; Tonnochy 1935, 1953). Nor were there riches to be discovered in the immense holdings of the Victoria & Albert Museum, where engraved gems were not even considered worthy of a separate section: some of the objects – where they retain their old mounts and settings – were in the Department of Metalwork, while others formed part of the Sculpture Department or were scattered throughout other departments according to the terms of some bequest, gift or purchase. Nor did other museums in Britain do anything to alter the overall picture. A number of museum and exhibition catalogues omit to give any precise dating even for the most important objects, or indeed to make any attempt to interpret their iconography. As an example, the catalogue of an exhibition in Birmingham (Gemstones 1960), which included such national relics as the cameo with Henry VIII and the future Edward VI, or a cameo with Elizabeth I, are given a most approximate date of c. 1550. Even today it remains open to question whether the portrait cameos of Elizabeth I were produced by English or foreign masters, nor has it proved possible to localise their production in England itself or beyond its borders. The numerous British gems scattered throughout private collections have been catalogued only in rare cases and it is with difficulty that any attempt is made to arrange them according to some system, or even simply to count how many of them there are!

The last but by no means least important feature in determining such a disregard for glyptics amongst historians of British art was the way British art history itself had developed. Whilst always characterised by an untiring interest in the extremely varied (and sometimes far less noteworthy) manifestations of the nation's creative forces, art history was over a long period stimulated by the perceptions of a Romantic aesthetic that omitted glyptics, since the art form was so tightly bound up with the Classicism and the Classicising doctrine that was so alien to it (although on British soil glyptics were not to avoid the influence of Romanticism). By the time a truly scholarly approach to the history of art had taken shape in Britain, the national school of glyptics had already disappeared from the forefront of artistic life without ever having become the object of scholarly attention. With the arrival of the 19th century the art of engraving on hardstones had found itself on shaky ground and in speaking of the second half of the century there are barely any signs even that it existed as an actively pursued, truly independent art form. Such a decline was not purely British, however: it was felt across the whole of Europe.

Even amidst the keen interest shown in Neo-Classicism in all its forms in the 1960s and 1970s, when persistent emphasis was placed on the special role played by English Neo-Classicism in development of the style across Europe during the second half of the 18th and early 19th centuries (Neo-classical Ideal 1963; Irwin 1966; Age of Neo-classicism 1972; Marle 1972), no noticeable attention was paid to glyptics. Yet during the Neo-Classical age itself, great significance was attached to engraved gems, and such gems were a symbol of the owner's adherence to classical ideals. Riding the crest of the Neo-Classical wave, the ancient art of glyptics answered contemporary society's essential cultural requirements and it was British engravers who produced some of the most brilliant landmarks of this period in the history of engraving on stone.

It would be incorrect, however, to blame only 'local' conditions and difficulties. The situation was also undoubtedly influenced by an attitude common in the study of glyptics across Western Europe, unable to overcome a deep-rooted perception of post-Classical glyptics as a 'secondary' and imitative art that should be looked at only in relation to Classical models. The study of modern glyptics in continental Europe had but just emerged as an independent discipline, based on the works of E. Babelon, O. M. Dalton and E. Kris, and the discipline has indeed only taken full shape within my lifetime.

Over the centuries, British engraved gems have also found their way by various routes on to the continent. Some crossed borders as diplomatic gifts or royal commemorative presents: thus Elizabeth I presented a carved portrait of herself to the future King of Sweden, Erik XIV, and a list of gifts she sent to Russian Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich in 1598 – arriving after his death – includes 'engraved in stone a little image of the queen' and another such, while similar cameos are mentioned in documents relating to the courts of Navarre, Austria and France. Other gems left the British Isles as a result of the sale of Charles I's own collection and the confiscation of his supporters' property. British engravers received commissions from abroad or were themselves invited to work at foreign courts. The Industrial Revolution meant that Britain mass-produced artistic pieces for the world markets much earlier than other countries: these included the glass 'gems' of James Tassie and the ceramic 'cameos' of Josiah Wedgwood. Travellers and tourists leaving England often took with them such souvenirs as an English seal or a little cabinet with casts, or during the Victorian age a fashionable cameo brooch carved in shell.

British gems were admired by Europe's leading art lovers and connoisseurs of glyptics. Engraved gems of British work were owned in the 17th and 18th centuries by such famous collectors as Elizabeth Charlotte of the Palatine (Madame) (Description 1727, p. 13), Philipp von Stosch (Winckelmann 1760, p. 569), Pierre Crozat (Mariette 1741, Nos. 942, 943, 1226) and the Chevalier des Tours, both the latter in Paris (Seidmann 1987a, p. 14); by the Polish Madame Smolenski (Seidmann 1987a, p. 150) and the Dutch Baron Pieter Nicolaas van Hoorn (Seidmann 1987a, p. 54), as well as by two successive Venetian ambassadors in Rome, Girolamo Zulian and Andreo Memmo (Seidmann 1987a, pp. 46-47). We should also mention the name of two Russian owners of gems by Nathaniel Marchant, the Russian envoy to Naples, Count Razumovski, and the Russian ambassador in London, Count Semyon Vorontsov, who made his acquisitions in Rome from the celebrated antiquarian Johann Friedrich Reiffenstein (Seidmann 1987a, Nos. 49, 60). Marchant gems were also owned by the artist Philipp Hackert (Femmel, Heres 1977, p. 218) and by Jacques Guay, head of the French school of glyptics (Leturcq 1873, pp. 245-47). Guay was court engraver to the French king, and on reaching old age named the Englishman Nathaniel Marchant amongst the celebrated masters who might succeed him (Babelon 1902, p. 198).

Goethe owned casts from engraved gems by Edward Burch, the Brown brothers and Marchant, and praised the latter in one of his letters (Femmel, Heres 1977, p. 166). Amongst the intaglio seals which Goethe, in accordance with a practice then still current, used to authenticate his signature, there were at least two of English work, judging by the lacquer seals on the great writer's letters and papers. These showed the so-called 'Fair Laundress' by Robert Bateman Wray and a portrait of Shakespeare by an unknown engraver (Femmel, Heres 1977, pp. 10-11). On the occasion of the writer's 82nd birthday, he received a gift from nineteen English and Scottish writers of 'a superbly worked seal of green stone, on which was engraved a snake in a loop [symbol of eternity – J. K.] and an German inscription expressing the nature of Goethe's own work: 'Ohne Rast, sonder Hast'. It bore the date 28 August 1831 and engraved on the handle were a rose, symbol of England, an oak wreath, emblem of Germany, and the inscription 'From friends in England to the German master'. Thus was the object described by Russian historian and public figure Alexander Turgenev (brother of the writer Ivan Turgenev), who saw it when he visited Goethe's home in Weimar, where it was kept on the table in the Upper Study (Turgenev 1964, p. 117).

Works by Burch and Marchant, as well as anonymous gems with portraits of Shakespeare, Cromwell and Newton, featured in collections of engraved gems belonging to Stanislaw Augustus, King of Poland, and his nephew, Stanislaw Poniatowski. Four gems by Burch and two by Marchant formed part of the extensive collection of the Viennese Thomas Biehler (Biehler 1860) and Jospeh Barth (chneider 1900). This is far from a full list of the private owners of such gems, yet Western museums outside Britain itself – the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; the Museo degli Argenti in Florence; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the University Museum of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; the Geldmuseum, Utrecht; the collection of Antikensammlung in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; the Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich; the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe; National Museums in Krakow and Bucharest, etc – include only stray examples of British engraved gems.

All of which leads us to conclude that the most significant (if not the greater) part of the works created by British masters has been lost, due to the miniature dimensions of the gems and their easy transference from one owner to another, with contributing factors in changes of taste and fashion and a worldwide decline of interest in engraved gems that began in the 19th century and led to glyptics being almost totally lost in the mists of time. Only the occasional Tudor or Stuart cameos that appear at auction from time to time or intaglios signed by British 18th-century masters appear infrequently, like a distant echo of the respect and passions once aroused by such pieces.

Against this background the significance of the Hermitage's collection of Western European glyptics immediately becomes clear: it includes 344 engraved gems – both cameos and intaglios – created in Britain or which can be attributed to this school with a reasonable degree of certainty (308 of these are original gems, 22 copies of works by British gem engravers and 14 imitations in glass, ceramic or other materials).

This, the largest collection of British gems in the world, took shape within the walls of Russia's largest museum only gradually, over the course of some 250 years; the collections acquired by Catherine II – celebrated for her passion for cameos and intaglios – such as those of Lorenz Natter (1763), the duc d'Orléans (1787) and de Saint-Morys, Conseiller to the Parliament of Paris (1792), contained portraits of Elizabeth I (cats. 1-3), Charles I (cat. 7), Queen Charlotte (cat. 109) and Isaac Newton (cat. 82). In the manuscript catalogue of the dactyliotheca belonging to Giovanni Battista Casanova, director of the Dresden Academy of Arts and brother of the celebrated adventurer, we find mention of an engraved portrait of Anne Boleyn (sadly lost) which the former owner had been given in England (Casanova MS s.d., [p. 60]; the collection arrived in 1792). It was thanks to Princess Ekaterina Dashkova that the collection of the antiquarian James Byres arrived in St Petersburg (Dashkov 1958, p. 22), while an intaglio with a portrait of Oliver Cromwell (cat. 99) was presented to her during her own stay in England and then given by her to Catherine II. In 1780 the Empress rejected the opportunity to purchase the gems of John Lyde-Brown, banker and celebrated collector of Antiquities (Vaughan 2000, p. 25; Scott 2003, p. 139, p. 308 note 35). This may have been due to worries about fakes and copies, since she was well aware that many of Lyde-Brown's gems had come to him via the English antiquarian living in Rome, Thomas Jenkins, who enjoyed a somewhat dubious reputation (although in 1788 she did buy a group of seven cameos from him; Jenkins MS 1788). In 1785 she was to acquire Lyde-Brown's collection of marbles, acquired over the course of his life.

The intensive development of Anglo-Russian artistic links over the last decades of the 18th century brought many new acquisitions to the Hermitage, among them gems from the collections of Robert Dingely, James Boyd and Thomas Martin of London and Thomas Moor Slade of Rochester. The Hermitage's Renaissance intaglio *The Judgment of Paris* in the style of Valerio Belli (Kagan, Neverov 1984, II, p. 166, pl. 7.4) had come from the hands of John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute. Intermediary in the purchase of gems from the collection of Lord Algernon Percy at Alnwick Castle in 1785 was Count Semyon Vorontsov, Russian ambassador at the Court of St James, although his negotiations to acquire the best pieces belonging to the Duchess of Portland ended in failure, despite the fact that the sum of 6,000 roubles had already been sent to the court banker, Sutherland, for their purchase (Vorontsov Archive 1870-98, book 13, pp. 102). That Catherine II herself was keen to own works by Nathaniel Marchant we know from a letter she wrote to Prince Nikolay Yusupov in Rome: 'Give gems to be engraved by Pichler, Weder and Marshan [Marchant]. The subjects? I shall write them down on a separate sheet' (Yusupov 1867, p. 248; Kagan 1996c, p. 232; Kagan 2000a, p. 181). Sadly that 'separate sheet' does not seem to have survived.

Thanks to generous commissions from the Russian Empress the Hermitage gained a Cabinet of Casts by James Tassie and a unique collection of works by the most outstanding London engravers of the 18th century, William and Charles Brown, who produced numerous commissions for Catherine over the course of some ten years. This 'collection within a collection' consists of over 200 cameos and intaglios, i.e. nearly half of the two brothers' whole output. In order to fully understand its scale it is sufficient to recall that for many years the British Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum between them owned only three signed gems by the Browns (one of which perished during bombing in 1941) and three attributed to them, a state of affairs that altered only with the British Museum's acquisition in 1978 of the vast collection of Anne Hull Grundy, which included a necklace containing three more works by the Browns.

British gems continued to arrive in the Hermitage in the 19th century as part of whole collections. Some were bequeathed to the Crown, such as those of Jean Baptiste Mallia (1812), employee at the Russian Embassy in Vienna, Count Dmitry Tatishchev (1846), Russian envoy to Austria, and Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna (1861). Other collections were purchased, such as those of the late Count Lev Perovsky (1873) and Court Chamberlain Vladimir Myatlev (1887), while gems also arrived individually by various routes. After the Revolution they came from amongst the many nationalised art collections, such as those of Agathon Fabergé (son of the celebrated jeweller) in 1919, of archaeologist Nikolay Romanchenko (1925), the Counts Yusupov (1925), collector Arkady Rudanovsky (1928) and others. Several gems were transferred from the imperial summer palaces that surround the city or simply from other Hermitage departments. There have also been some quite recent acquisitions thanks to gifts and bequests and the activities of the Museum's Purchasing Commission (Kagan 1999b, pp. 267-68, 273). Thus the Hermitage owns signed pieces by Thomas Bragg, William and Charles Brown, Edward Burch, William Harris, Luigi Isler, I. Lambert, Nathaniel Marchant, Robert Pridle and Richard Yeo, gems attributed to Richard Atsill, or Julien de Fontenay and their workshops, gems in the style of Nicholas Hilliard, others by Lorenz Natter (of his English period), Alfred Lyndhurst Pocock, William and Thomas Pownall, Thomas Rawlins, possibly by John Roettiers, Christopher Seaton, Thomas Simon, Claus Smart, Thompson, Francis Walwyn, as well as imitations and copies of works by these and other British engravers, and of course numerous anonymous works. Some examples of British glyptics even touch on a Russian theme, with (a portrtait of Peter the Great on a pseudo-cameo set in a ring,) gems on subjects from Russian history by the Browns, or the same engravers' portraits of Catherine II (she was also depicted by Marchant; Marchant 1792, no. XCVII).

Concentrated in a single artistic complex within the Hermitage, these British engraved gems have acquired a particular resonance, making tangible as nowhere else the role played by glyptics in the history of British art. Alongside gems from other national schools – similarly well represented in the Hermitage – they allow us to arrive at a more objective assessment of England's true place in the development of European glyptics and to make clear the impossibility of any study of the history of British art without them.

References to British gems and casts amongst the Hermitage's treasures can be found even in the very earliest descriptions of the Museum (Büsching 1764; Bernoulli 1780; Georgi 1794). They were included in surveys of the Hermitage collection by Prozorovsky (1884), Pylyaev (1896) and others. Yet true scholarly study began only in the 20th century. Professor Maria Maximova gave us a brief but precise and vivid description of the British school at its height in her guide to the Hermitage exhibition of engraved gems of the 18th and 19th centuries, the first museum publication to divide the material according to national schools (Maximova 1926, pp. 18, 25-28). Wilma Stegmann published two cameos by the Browns (Stegmann 1939, pp. 971-72) while Viktor Antonov uncovered several archive documents relating to the Browns' works for the Russian Empress (Antonov 1978, pp. 841-42). Natalya Krasnova published autograph manuscripts of Lorenz Natter, which she rightly recognised to be rough drafts for descriptions of collections of engraved gems belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Carlisle and the Marquis of Rockingham (Krasnova 1961, pp. 72-87). Evgeny Lisenkov, basing himself on Maximova's 1926 guide, was the first Russian author to set glyptics within the wider circle of artistic phenomena in his monograph on 18th-century British art (Lisenkov 1964). The same principle was applied in the 1970s by Nina Biryukova and Larissa Dukelskaya, editors of two albums, *Western European Applied Art in the Hermitage* (Biryukova et al 1974) and *English Art in the Hermitage* (Dukelskaya et al 1979).

British engraved gems figured in temporary exhibitions of portraits at the Hermitage in Leningrad (as the city was then; Leningrad 1938, 1972). In 1956, 24 gems by the Browns were included in an exhibition of British

art from Soviet museums held at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. A permanent exhibition of Western European glyptics of the 13th to 19th centuries opened in 1970 in two rooms of the Winter Palace, the Gold Drawing Room and the Green Dining Room, and for over a quarter of a century this presented to public gaze more than 50 British gems carefully chosen to demonstrate the artistic significance and variety of English work (Kagan 1971). Another 30 British engraved gems today occupy a whole case in the permanent exhibition of British art that opened in 2002.

We cannot but admit, however, that the uneven process of the formation of the Hermitage collection could not ensure full coverage of the whole picture. Some compensation is to be found for this, however, in that it does include many examples of a form of reproduction specific to glyptics, in the form of casts of engraved gems. It would be hard, therefore, to over-emphasise the importance of the Cabinet of Casts created in London by the Scot James Tassie, using a technique invented by him and financed by Catherine II. This collection of reproductions differs from similar 18th-century Cabinets in other countries not only in its sheer volume but also in that Tassie did not limit himself to a search for ancient pieces in existing dactyliothecae, paying great attention also to works by contemporary masters, above all British engravers, and making direct contact with their workshops.

These 'Tassie' casts and pastes introduced the author to, among other things, some 135 gems by Edward Burch, 77 by Nathaniel Marchant and another 230 pieces in addition to the 200 original gems by the Browns in the Hermitage. Perhaps even more important is that these Tassies provide information about the work of another 40 engravers of whom we would not otherwise have even the most cursory knowledge, and reproduce dozens of anonymous British works in all genres. Altogether, Tassie's Cabinet of Casts reproduces some one and a half thousand gems from the British school, as well as a similar quantity – if not more – from gems in British collections. Both the manuscript catalogue of Tassie casts by Rudolf Erich Raspe (Raspe-Tassie MS 1783-88) and particularly the printed catalogue of this vast complex (Raspe 1791) contain a wealth of information about the collections in which the original gems were located and their owners, about British masters and their works. Two of the leading 18th-century engravers, Nathaniel Marchant and Edward Burch, themselves made and put up for sale sets of casts of 100 of their own gems (Marchant 1792; Burch 1795). The Hermitage also owns a Cabinet of Casts of Tommaso Cades, put together in Italy at the start of the second third of the 19th century, and this complements Tassie's Cabinet, bringing us casts of gems created at the very end of the 18th century and in the early 19th century (Cades, Impronte gemmarie MS 1836).

In embarking on a study of the history of glyptics in Britain during those years I concentrated first on two themes of key relevance to the Hermitage collection that had long been deserving of study. The first was the work of William and Charles Brown, little known in their native land since they devoted so many years to working for a foreign client, Catherine the Great, and the second, closely tied to the first and linked by many common sources, was the history of the Hermitage's Cabinet of Casts by James Tassie. Extremely productive in this area was the use of archive materials. Anglo-Russian artistic relations are quite clearly reflected in numerous bills and similar documents relating to the court (Russian State Archive, St Petersburg; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Moscow; Rare Books Department of the Hermitage Museum's Research Library; Manuscript Department of the Russian National Library, St Petersburg). These made it possible to trace the arrival in St Petersburg of engraved gems by the Brown brothers and of Tassie's Cabinet. Amongst such papers are manuscripts in the hand of Rudolf Erich Raspe, William and Charles Brown, James Tassie himself and their agent Johann Jacob Weitbrecht, which greatly furthered our factual knowledge. The Archive of the Hermitage Museum also provided us with old Museum inventories and descriptions.

Both subjects were dealt with in essays published in the 1960s and early 1970s on animalist subjects (Kagan 1960) and 'the Russian theme' (Kagan 1965a) in the work of the Browns, in a general description and history of the Hermitage collection of their works (Kagan 1965b) and of the Hermitage Tassie Cabinet (Kagan 1973b). In 1976, a temporary exhibition in the foyer of the Hermitage Theatre was devoted to gems by William and Charles Brown, including their series of portraits of English and French monarchs, Tassie's casts of gems, and archive documents (bills, payment orders etc) reflecting the history of the Hermitage collection. The accompanying catalogue (Kagan 1976) included 197 cameos and intaglios, nearly 20 more than previously attributed to these authors some half a century earlier (Maximova 1926, p. 25). Just a year later, in 1977, material about the Browns was included in an exhibition in Norwich devoted to 18th-century Anglo-Russian links (Cross 1977, p. 40).

Detailed knowledge of the work of these outstanding English masters and of Tassie's Cabinet, which included not only casts from British intaglios and cameos but a similar number of casts from engraved gems in 18th-century British collections, reinforced my conviction of the need for further study. Firstly, it seemed that even in the context of the boom enjoyed by glyptics in continental Europe – above all Italy – in the 18th century, British glyptics of the second half of the century represented a brilliant and highly original artistic phenomenon. Secondly, the particular interest in glyptics among British collectors, the roots of which lay in the previous century, formed a very special part of the extremely rich history of British collections overall, on the one hand tied to the collecting of Antique sculpture and on the other very closely linked with the ongoing practice of gem engraving, providing a source of imagery for contemporary engravers patronised by the collectors themselves.

A desire to seek the roots of this tradition took us delving back further and further into the past, reaping a harvest so rich as to stimulate further research, above all a more profound study of earlier historical stages.

Casts greatly extend our knowledge, above all with regard to later stages in the development of British glyptics, and we shall repeatedly have recourse to them in reference to earlier times, but in dealing with the 16th and 17th centuries of far greater importance is visual and iconographical material provided by portrait paintings, drawings and prints, medals and coins. Group and single painted portraits from the Tudor and early Stuart periods, for instance, include depictions of jewellery incorporating engraved gems, informing us as to how they were used and worn and what place they occupied in male and female attire – all extremely important for a correct understanding of their function. Paintings, sculptures, prints and drawings, medals and coins were also studied in my search for the sources of compositions engraved on gems and to provide a starting point for dating them. Drawings or medals by engravers such as Thomas Simon, Thomas Rawlins and Lorenz Natter, whose talent was varied, provided comparative material of the kind vital when making attributions, while 17th- and 18th-century painted and engraved portraits have presented us with the appearance of many British engravers, collectors and connoisseurs of gems. Worthy of particularly close attention have been the printed editions of gems, the writings and treatises that became widespread in Britain in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

In this context, our attention is inevitably drawn to the figure of Lorenz Natter. In 1754 he published a Treatise comparing Ancient and contemporary techniques of engraving on stone. He was preparing the second part of this Treatise – an anthology of engraved gems in British collections with printed illustrations – but this remained unpublished. After his death in St Petersburg in 1763, the remains of his once extensive collection of gems were acquired by Catherine II, but all of his papers, including the manuscript for the second part of the Treatise, were thought to have been lost, with the exception of several items discovered and published by N. Krasnova (1961). Uncovered at last in the Archive of the Hermitage in the early 1980s, this complex of documents threw new light on Natter's work in England and on his preparation of both parts of the Treatise. The numerous preliminary sketches of engraved gems from British collections made possible a reconstruction of the rich picture of British collecting around the middle of the 18th century (Kagan, Neverov 1984; unfortunate errors in this publication with regard to gems from the collection of Thomas Hollis, pointed out by T. V. Buttrey (1990) are corrected in this book).

Deprived of the opportunity to work in British archives, I took as my sources publications in Russia and abroad of large bodies of documents such as correspondence, diaries, memoirs and travellers' notes. Among such publications were the correspondence of Lorenz Natter and Pierre-Jean Mariette (Dumesnil 1856), of Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Bentley (Finer, Savage 1965), Catherine II and Baron Melchior Grimm (Catherine II – Grimm Correspondence 1878; Grimm – Catherine II Correspondence 1885), the sketchbook of Thomas Simon (Allen 1939), the notebooks of George Vertue (Vertue I-VI, 1929-50), the memoirs of Thomas Hollis (Blackburne 1780), the letters from James Tassie to Alexander Wilson (Tassie-Wilson MS 1778-1826) and Dr Quin (Hartley 1994), the autobiography of Benedetto Pistrucci (Billing 1867), the diaries of John Evelyn (Evelyn 1907), Joseph Farington (Farington 1978-84) and Catherine's secretary Alexander Khrapovitsky (Khrapovitsky 1874), the magnificent Vorontsov Archive (1870-98), the travel notes of Gustav Waagen (1854-57) and many others.

Lastly, it was necessary to bring together many fragmentary pieces of information directly or only indirectly relating to the subject, scattered throughout the general and specialised historical and art-historical literature (notably on closely related subjects – numismatics, sphragistics and jewellery – the significance of which has already

been remarked), in exhibition, museum, commercial and auction catalogues. Specific details of all kinds were drawn from works of reference, encyclopaedias, biographical dictionaries of artists, dictionaries of exhibitors at London exhibitions, catalogues of portraits, compilations of auctions and sales and ordinary auction catalogues.

Clearly any information gained from such a variety of sources demands extremely careful study and cross-checking at every stage, since each and any of them may include an abundance of errors, misconceptions, imprecise formulations or assessments of particular phenomena both in the art of gem engraving and in the history of British collecting. Some such errors have become firmly established in the literary tradition. Christian Reisen, for instance, a Norwegian engraver who arrived in England from Trondheim, is described as Danish (e.g. Rollett 1875, p. 349) and German (e.g. Davenport 1900, p. 59). Thanks to Mariette – first historiographer of European glyptics – who accidentally placed a full stop between the first and second names of the engraver Claus Smart (Mariette 1750, p. 147), pupil of Charles Christian Reisen (son of Christian), the later literature mentions two of Reisen's pupils, 'Claus' and 'Smart', who both coincidentally died in the same year. In his fundamental dictionary of medal-makers and engravers published at the start of the 20th century, L. Forrer even compared their work, expressing a preference for that of the former (Forrer 1904-30, I, p. 438). In another instance, two totally separate masters, Henry Harris, engraver of the Restoration, and William Harris, who lived in the late 18th century, were conflated into a single figure (this time without the assistance of Mariette), the works of one being attributed to the other by Forrer (1904-30, II, p. 274; VIII, p. 350), who was also responsible for a number of authors mistakenly considering that Pietro Girometti died in England in 1851, when he in fact ended his days in Rome in 1859 (Bulgari 1958-74, I. p. 552).

In his catalogue of portraits of Elizabeth I, a work of immense value in terms of both the material it covers and its interpretation, Roy Strong describes the owner of one of the first engraved portraits of the queen, one Jerome Lennie(r), as its author (Strong 1963, p. 128). This assertion introduced an additional confusion to the already extremely involved question of the attribution of the Elizabeth cameos and was treated as fact on the pages of a celebrated work on Renaissance jewellery (Hackenbroch 1979, p. 295), becoming firmly established in several subsequent publications.

Literature on the Brown brothers often omits one or the other of them, nor is there any justification for frequent references to these masters as 'engravers of Cupids', which presents a very narrow picture of their truly extensive repertoire (see e.g. King 1866b, p. 274). Even Forrer (1904-30, I, p. 298) placed both brothers in the 19th century, when Charles died in 1795 and William's main activities lay in the 18th century, facts that are of essential importance in any stylistic characterisation of their work (this error, we should note, was corrected by Forrer himself some 20 years later in the Supplement to his dictionary, Forrer 1904-30, VII, pp. 126-30). According to Renton, Burch was not the teacher but a successor of Marchant (Renton 1896, p. 28). We also find assertions that Pistrucci spent just 20 years in England, rather than the 37 he actually passed there, that amongst the owners of the celebrated 'Mantova gem' was Gavin and not William Hamilton (Lemburg-Rupelt 1981, p. 88), or that the cameo Joseph and his Brothers entered the Hermitage in 1787 via the Cabinet of the duc d'Orléans (Jenkins, Sloan 1996, p. 197), when in fact it was sold by William Hamilton to the Russian diplomat Nikolay Khitrovo and came to the Hermitage, from Khitrovo, only in 1805. One essay on the collecting activities of Pierre Crozat (Scott 1973, p. 19) includes a reproduction of an engraved portrait of Elizabeth I of England which never belonged to him (for another which did indeed form part of his collection see cat. 2). The book published on the occasion of an exhibition of the work of James Tassie and his contemporaries, held at Mallet's in London, includes in the section devoted to Apsley Pellatt a double portrait of Catherine the Great's grandsons Alexander and Constantine, there named Catherine's daughters, although Catherine in fact had only the one son (Smith 1995, p. 35). A recent publication of cameos in the Metropolitan Museum in New York lists their own example of this paste as a paired portrait of Paul I and his wife (Draper 2008, p. 36, No. 73). Also, we need more convincing proof for the suggestion, which recurs in the literature, that William Brown himself came to Russia as gem engraver to the court. We must also most firmly refute the suggestion found in the literature that Giovanni Pichler travelled from Rome to England. Many more examples might be cited – and no doubt I too shall inevitably be guilty of repeating incorrect or insufficiently substantiated 'legends'.

In the first half of the 1980s I published a series of articles on portrait cameos of the Tudor age (Kagan 1980), English glyptics and gem collections in the 17th century (Kagan 1981), the activities in mid-18th-century England of the celebrated engraver

and theoretician Lorenz Natter (Kagan 1982a), the influence of glyptics on British artistic manufacturing during the second half of the 18th century and, notably, the activities of James Tassie and Josiah Wedgwood (Kagan 1983).

The accumulated sum of my work then made it possible to move away from individual studies to look at the question overall, gathering the material together in a single monograph. Its aim was to make accessible as much factual material as is possible in a general survey, provide an art-historical interpretation of the most important periods, bring into circulation many new facts, unpublished works and archive documents and lastly, to clearly set forth the evolutionary path of British glyptics. By the very nature of glyptics as an art form, it was necessary not only to consider both the development of artistic practice in stone engraving and the history of collecting (of both ancient and modern gems), but also to trace changes in the way such items were perceived at different historical periods, to look at their inter-relationship with other art forms, their reproduction in prints and casts, and the historiography of the study of glyptics in Britain, at least as far is it reflects the significance attached to the material within the overall artistic and cultural process.

Simultaneously, the foundations were laid for compilation of a full scholarly catalogue of British gems in the Hermitage collection, with two appendices: a dictionary of British engravers on stone and an alphabetical and chronological table incorporating the name of each master, complete with dates or period of activity, including information for engravers of the 18th and 19th centuries regarding their participation in exhibitions at the Royal Academy and other British art societies. Such a table, running from the 14th to 19th centuries, was intended to demonstrate at a glance the evolution of glyptics during different periods, with names initially grouped by century, then by decade from the mid-18th century to the 1830s, after which they thin out until reduced at last to nothing.

In 1982 the manuscript 'Glyptics in England: An Attempt at a Monographic Study', with a catalogue, served as my doctoral dissertation at Leningrad (now St Petersburg) State University (Kagan 1982b) and was recommended for publication. It was ready by 1984 but its appearance was prevented by the upheavals that hit Russia in the mid-1980s, severely impeding all publishing.

Meanwhile, in recent decades we have seen a more active interest in all aspects of British glyptics within England. John Boardman, Lincoln Professor at Oxford University, has devoted part of his career to the study of different aspects of engraved gems, mainly Classical. Here we must mention his catalogue of gems from the English Ionides (Boardman 1968b) and Harari (1977, jointly with Diana Scarisbrick) collections. He produced studies of the Lewes House collection and its creator, Edward Perry Warren (Boardman 1991a,b) with a new edition of J. D. Beazley's publication of some eight decades earlier (Beazley 1920), *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*, which appeared in BAR's series Studies in Classical Archaeology, edited by Boardman and with new illustrations (Boardman 2002a). That same year he published an article of particular importance in our context, dealing with the collecting of gems in Britain in the 19th century (Boardman 2002b), and most recently produced a monograph on The Marlborough Gems (Boardman et al. 2009).

Particular mention must be made of the catalogue of Greek and Etruscan gems in the Ashmolean Museum compiled in collaboration with the late Marie Louise Vollenweider (Boardman, Vollenweider 1978), known affectionately as 'la grande dame de la glyptique'. The second part of the catalogue gems in the Ashmolean, dealing with ancient Rome, appeared in one volume a quarter of a century later (Henig, MacGregor 2004).

Above all we should mention a fundamental work on Roman gemstones found in Britain (Henig 1974a; 2nd edn. 1978, 3rd edn. 2007) which brought together a vast body of material previously scattered across individual publications and archaeological reports. The author of this Corpus of gemstones continues to publish regularly on both general questions and specific monuments. Many of his works have been the product of joint efforts with fellow scholars (Atherton, Cherry, Davison, Elliot, Ford, Goodburn, Greenaway, Hall, Heslop, Hornby, Jones, King, Leahy, MacGregor, Marsden, Munby, Ross, Webster, Woodfield, et al). We cannot overemphasise the importance of these publications for the study of Roman Britain.

At the end of the 1970s Diana Scarisbrick took up the subject with similar enthusiasm. Over the quarter of a century since the almost simultaneous appearance of catalogues of the collections of Arthur Richard Wellesley, 2nd Duke of Wellington (Scarisbrick 1977, 1978a), and Ralph Harari (Boardman, Scarisbrick 1977), her works have continued to appear regularly in scholarly and popular periodicals, illuminating key moments in the history of British collections of engraved gems and raising questions regarding the

relationship between glyptics and jewellery – the latter being perhaps the most important aspect of her scholarly interests. Particularly relevant to us are her striking sketches of outstanding individuals and even whole families in the world of British collecting: the Earl of Arundel (Scarisbrick 1985c), the Duke of Marlborough (Scarisbrick 1980a, 1981), the Ramsden family (Scarisbrick 1980b), C. D. E. Fortnum (Scarisbrick 1978a, 1999) and members of the Cavendish-Devonshire family (Scarisbrick 1983). She has turned her attention on at least four occasions to a close study of the renowned Devonshire Parure, its owners and history, in connection with the exhibition *The Devonshire Inheritance*, which travelled to Richmond, Fort Worth, Toledo, San Antonio, New Orleans and San Francisco in 1979, and Treasures from Chatsworth shown in London in 2003 (Scarisbrick 1979a-d; Scarisbrick 1986, 2003). Here she gives priority not to the ornamental, jewellery aspect of the Parure (of great significance in the history of Victorian jewellery and historicism generally), but to the gems mounted in it. Each gem was studied in detail and accorded its own, independent value, then carefully classified (Scarisbrick 1986). Her books on jewellery in Britain also provide important information on glyptics (Scarisbrick 1989, 1993, 1995, 2000, 2004a,b, 2007, 2008). Of particular interest to us in her fundamental work, *Jewellery in Britain. 1066-1837* (Scarisbrick 1994b), are the sections looking at engraved gems and insignia from social, literary and artistic points of view. Scarisbrick was also editor of the annual bi-lingual publication (English and Italian). It was thanks to Diana Scarisbrick that I was at last able to see the Parure itself at Chatsworth in 1989, when *perestroika* made it possible to travel abroad.

Of particular interest are her publications dealing with the correspondence between the 4th Earl of Carlisle, Francesco de Ficoroni and Antonio Maria Zanetti (Scarisbrick 1987), or the history of a Renaissance cameo with an image of a leopard linked with Zanetti and Earl Spencer (The Althorp Leopard; Scarisbrick 1979b), all based on newly discovered sources. She turns each of these small gems in jewellery settings or rings into what she herself calls ‘documents of social history’ (Scarisbrick 1993). The most consistent expression of such an approach is found in *Jewellery in Britain. 1066-1837* (Scarisbrick 1994b), which includes the place of engraved gems in the social context within each historical period. To Diana Scarisbrick we owe the detailed overview of British collections of engraved gems that forms a separate chapter in the catalogue of gems in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Scarisbrick 1994a). This aspect is also dealt with in this book, for to remove it would be to radically alter the basic concept of a polyphonic approach to the study of British glyptics.

At the very start of the 1980s a decisive step was taken away from the study of collecting and the use and perception of gems towards a study of British glyptics themselves, entirely thanks to the efforts of Gertrud Seidmann. She presented us with the fruits of her then new interest in the subject, providing us with energetic and thoughtful appreciation and analysis, particularly with regard to the 18th century, and doing much to bring the subject to a wider audience. Her interests immediately revealed themselves in two spheres: the production and collection of pastes and casts of engraved gems, above all by James Tassie (Seidmann 1981a, 1989, 1990a, 1991, 1996c, 1996e), and British glyptics at their height in the second half of the 18th century. Her work in archives, her discovery of historical evidence and contemporary documents, led to a series of publications dealing with the very roots of the phenomenon of British 18th-century glyptics (Seidmann 1984-85). Seidmann’s chief heroes were to be Nathaniel Marchant (Seidmann 1985, 1987a, 1996f) and Edward Burch (Seidmann 1994b, 2000, 2002, 2006). She has also looked at the work of William Schmidt (1988a; 1994a), gems in the Holburne Museum in Bath (1996a), and made more detailed studies of gems, such as an intaglio seal that had belonged to Reynolds (Seidmann 2002). She has dealt with general questions such as the taste for gems in Britain and how they were used (Seidmann 1983-84, 1996b, 1997a), as well as patronage (Seidmann 1984-85, 1997b).

Of these many works, we must particularly note her publication in the papers of The Walpole Society of a detailed study of the life and work of Nathaniel Marchant (Seidmann 1987a), the first monograph on a British engraver, accompanied by a full catalogue of his surviving works (often first identified by Seidmann herself) and some of those known from casts and documents. Gertrud Seidmann wrote biographies of the leading British engravers Burch, Marchant and the Brown brothers, and of James Tassie and his workshop, for the 34-volume *Dictionary of Art* (Seidmann 1996d).

There are, of course, other authors in addition to these four – not all of British origin – who have published works on our subject in recent years. *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel* published in Germany in the 1960s contained special sections reflecting their inclusion in many British museums and collections. There have been texts on George

III's acquisition of the collection of Consul Smith (Aschengreen Piacenti 1977), on the medals and engraved gems of Thomas Simon (Heuzé 2003, p. 205), on the fate of an intaglio by one Master Felix now in Oxford and on the activities of Benedetto Pistrucci in Britain (Pollard 1977, 1981); on collections of gems belonging to S. S. Lewis and Conyers Middleton (Spier, Vassilika 1995; Spier 1999) and on the work of Nathaniel Marchant (Weber 1990). Deborah K. Hedgecock presented her dissertation at the University of London on 'The Carlisle Collection: Catalogue of Forty-Eight Cameos at the British Museum' (Hedgecock 1992). Judy Rudoe has written about the history of the acquisition by the British Museum of 18th- and 19th-century gems (Rudoe 1996, 2003). She threw light on the life and work of the Swiss engraver James Ronca, who worked in Britain during the reign of Queen Victoria and on the role of engraved gems during the Age of Reason (Rudoe 2006). Rudoe's contribution to the Enlightenment Gallery at the British Museum, which opened in 2003, is reflected in her chapter, 'Engraved Gems: The Lost Art of Antiquity', in the book produced to accompany the event (Enlightenment 2003), edited by Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett. Charlotte Gere is concerned mainly with jewellery and glyptics of the Victorian age, although several of her publications have also looked at the 16th and 18th centuries (Gere 1976, 1984, 1991a, 1991b, 2000, 2006). Shirley Bury too has dealt with artefacts from the Victorian age (Bury 1978, 1979, 1985, 1991).

The most recent event – last but by no means least in this relation of the specialist study of glyptics – has been the publication of the catalogue of Ancient and Modern Gems and Jewels in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen. This is the joint work of Italian scholar Kirsten Aschengreen Piacenti, Sir John Boardman (the Classical works), Stephen Patterson (descriptions of the insignia which incorporate engraved gems) and Martin Henig (the important Appendix of the manuscript catalogue of gems belonging to Henry, Prince of Wales, and Charles I, commissioned from Elias Ashmole in 1660), with further contributions by Beatriz Chadour-Sampson, Matthew Winterbottom and others. Of 328 catalogued items, several dozen are from the English school. In her history of the Windsor dactyliotheca, Aschengreen Piacenti cites new information from recently discovered or unpublished sources.

We should note that an interest in glyptics as a facet of Neo-Classical taste arose in the 1980s – as we have seen a period of great importance in the study of British glyptics – among those dealing with British art history in general. Engraved gems were referred to numerous times by the authors of the influential *Taste and the Antique* (Haskell, Penny 1981) and a more serious attitude to British glyptics has been reflected in catalogues and publications since then: *The Grand Tour* (Jenkins, Sloan 1996), *Vases & Volcanoes* (1996 London), *Art on the Line* (2001-2). Soon after came two publications, *The Pleasures of Antiquities*. *British Collectors of Greece and Rome* (Scott 2003) and *Enlightenment. Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (Enlightenment 2003), in which the collecting of engraved gems, their role in the formation of enlightenment ideas and classicising tastes in British society were set within the wider cultural and historical context.

The notable increase in interest in British glyptics and British collections of gems was much aided by the foundation in 1977 of The Society of Jewellery Historians in London. Essays and papers relating to glyptics, an art form so closely intertwined with jewellery, appear regularly in the Society's periodical publications and as part of the programmes of regular meetings in London, at seminars and conferences. Moreover, a number of important international symposia have been devoted to the subject of British engraved gems: in 1994 in Washington (Survivals and Revivals 1997), in 1996 in Munich (Geschnittene Steine 1996) and in 1998 in Udine (Le Gemme incise 2006). An exchange of ideas and information, of publications and photographs with colleagues abroad, has made it clear that despite our different approaches and methods of study – perhaps even thanks to that difference – our efforts complement rather than repeat each other. All of us have much to gain from continued international exchange and collaboration, with the large body of original material in Russia and the resources available abroad.

In 1994, after more than ten years during which my attention had been concentrated on matters other than British glyptics, the first signs that Russia was emerging from crisis gave hope that my 'English' manuscript – by this time in need of considerable revision – could at last be published. I was able at last to gather new material, mostly from the published literature and from the new possibility of acquaintance with museums in the USA and Europe (including more or less regular trips to Britain).

At the symposium in Washington in 1994 I met the gem engraver and gemmologist Helen Serras. Serras had studied under a Greek carver considered to be the

last representative of the British school of glyptics (having himself been taught by a British master). She had drawn up an alphabetical and chronological table of British masters of engraving in stone. Both our tables, compiled independently and on different continents, proved when put together to be both analogous in structure and very close in terms of the information they contained. The differences lay mainly in two historical stages, the earliest and the latest. Since the two compilers had used very different and by no means always equal sources of information, the first phase, the 14th to 16th centuries, was best represented by my table, which was based on literary and archive sources, while the 19th and 20th centuries were far better covered by Helen Serras, with her access to press materials and oral sources, and to the continuing tradition preserved in the previous generation of engravers to which her teacher had belonged. Through our joint efforts we have developed a single united table that, we hope, presents the best possible version. It is included in this book as Appendix III under both our names.

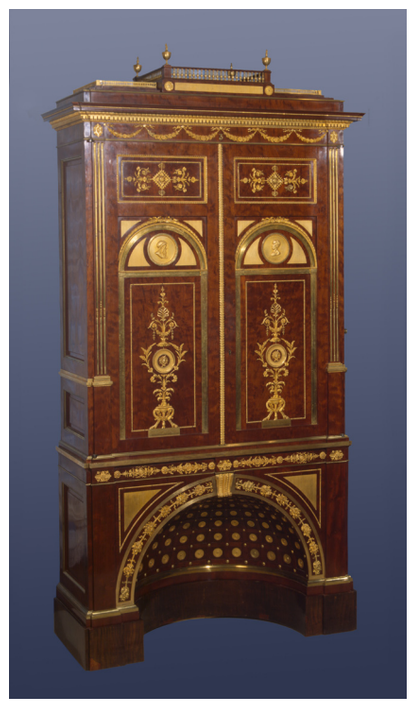
In 1996 I set out a much abridged version of my vision of the subject in the essay mentioned at the start of this introduction, 'Engraved Gems in Britain. The Russian Perspective'. This was published in the catalogue to an exhibition organised jointly by the Hermitage and the Yale Center for Studies in British Art at New Haven, *British Art Treasures from Russian Imperial Collections in the Hermitage*, shown at three locations in the USA (1996-97 New Haven-Toledo-St Louis) and then at the Hermitage itself (where it was titled *From the Banks of the Thames to the Banks of the Neva*: 1997-98 St Petersburg).

Over the last two decades British gems have been shown at more than 40 exhibitions from the Hermitage, in Moscow and other towns in Russia and abroad. Amongst these we should particularly note *Unforgettable Russia*. *Russians and Russia Through British Eyes* at Moscow's Tretyakov Gallery (1997 Moscow), *Russia-England: Pages from a Dialogue* (1999 Tsarskoe Selo), *Splendeurs des collections de Catherine II. Le Cabinet de pierres gravées du Duc d'Orléans* (2000 Paris; 2001 St Petersburg), *Treasures of Catherine the Great* (2000-1 London) and *Russia-Britain. To Commemorate the 450th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations* (2003-4 Moscow). The first of these includes a short introductory text on 'Russian Subjects in the Work of William and Charles Brown', the last an essay on 'Two Centuries of English Glyptic Art: From the Tudors to the Stuarts'. My most recent publication on this subject was prompted by the attribution of a tiny two-sided cameo in the Hermitage, dating from the mid-17th century, which proved to show Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, and William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and which has been identified as the work of Thomas Simon (Kagan 2004).

To this day, I have continued to add the latest information and enter the most recent references to the manuscript of this book. In presenting this work, I hope that it will fill gaps in the historiography of British art, demonstrating that the panorama of artistic life in Britain cannot be fully appreciated – that it is in fact distorted – without a close consideration of the art of glyptics.

1. The Winter Palace from Palace Square

2. Johann-Baptiste Lampi
Portrait of Catherine the Great. 1793
Hermitage, St Petersburg

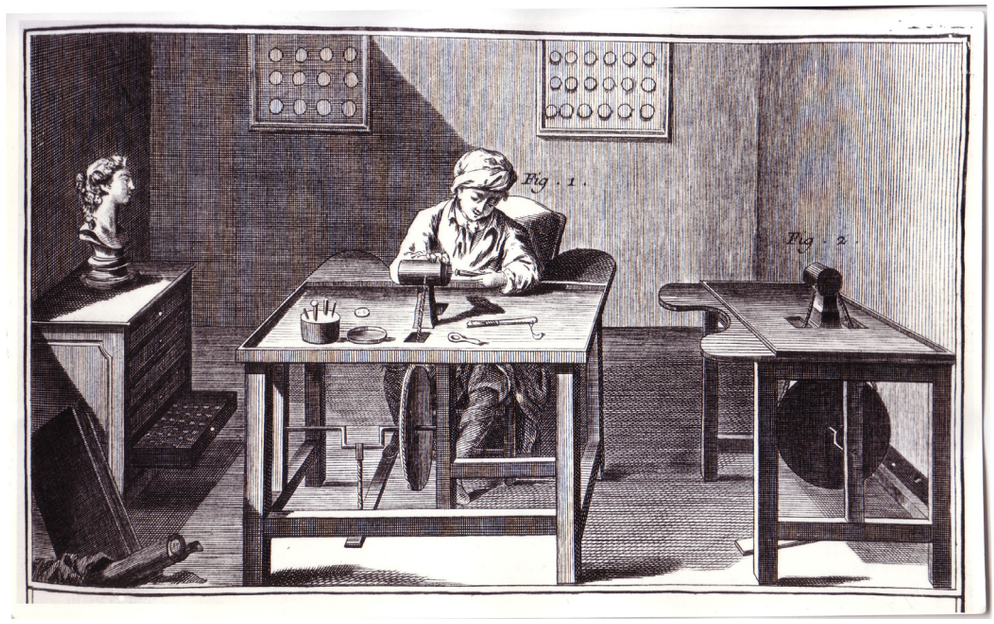


3. David Roentgen
Cupboard for the Storage of Gems. 1788/89
Hermitage, St Peterburg

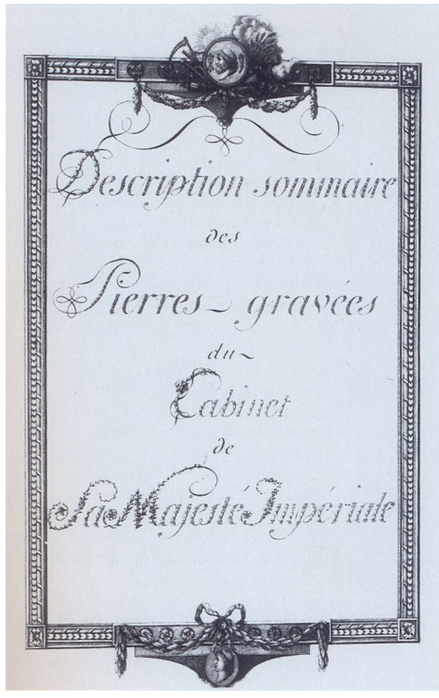
Plate 2

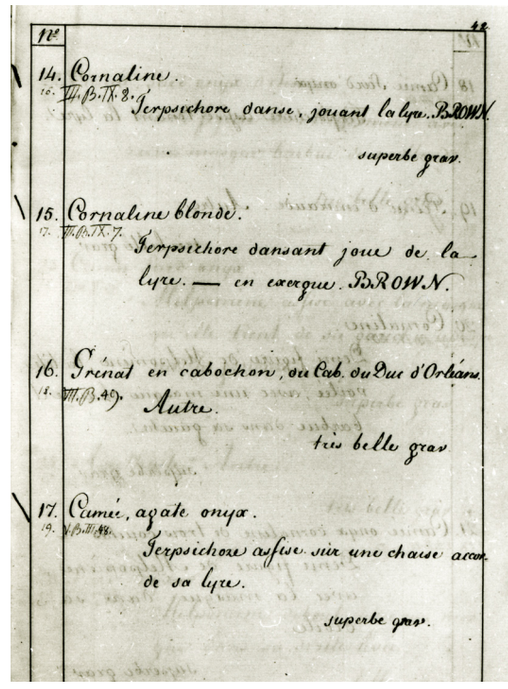
1. Eduard Hau
The Cameo Hall in the New Hermitage. 1854
Watercolour on paper
Hermitage, St Petersburg

2. The Golden Drawing Room with display
of cameos in the Hermitage
Photograph



1. Illustration from the Encyclopédie
A gem-engraver at work
Print





2. Description sommaire des Pierres-gravées du Cabinet de Sa Majesté Impériale, first inventory of Catherine the Great's engraved gems, compiled in 1794.
Title page and folio

Part I

From antiquity to the enlightenment

1

The roots

Engraved gems were brought to Britain by the Romans in the middle of the 1st century BC, during successive campaigns by Julius Caesar. When Britain was finally conquered by Emperor Claudius almost 100 years later and transformed into a colony, one of many centres of Roman civilisation, this import of gems was revived. Usually the gems were contemporary or of relatively recent make, dating for instance from the Augustan period. Soldiers or representatives of the administration who came from older Roman families might bring family relics, much older seals and amulets from days long gone: these could be of Greek, Etruscan, Italic, Italo-Greek, late Hellenistic or Republican origin. Some 60 such gems have been found amongst Roman artefacts in Britain, even an Achaemenid cylinder (Henig 1991, p. 53) [fig. 1.1].

Cheap glass imitation gems (pastes) were also brought to Britain in large quantities: they were made in different colours during the Early Empire, but from the 3rd century AD such pastes came to be almost exclusively tinted to imitate sardonyx-nicolo. These pastes were readily accessible to those who could not permit themselves the luxury of acquiring genuine engraved gems.

At the same time, engravers themselves arrived in Britain from Aquileia in northern Italy, where the carving of gems and coin dies was particularly developed, carrying with them their easily transportable tools. Experienced in the production of coins and the working of different stones, they settled in London, Bath and Bristol, in Devon and other counties, introducing their own products to the local market (Henig 1995b, p. 80). Identical images, as well as images clearly produced by one and the same hand,

Fig. 1.1 Persian hero and bulls. Achaemenid, 5th – 4th century BC
Chalcedony cylinder seal from Dover, Kent

can be found on both the reverses of ancient coins and on gems. In this era as in others, inter-exchange and mutual influence between numismatics and glyptics was also expressed in less direct ways.

Until relatively recently, works dealing with Roman Britain only rarely expressed even the faintest interest in the subject of glyptics. Yet since the appearance nearly 150 years ago of Thomas Wright's article, 'Roman Engraved Stone Found on the site of Unicornium, at Wroxeter' (Wright 1863), published in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*

Fig. 1.2. Mars. 2nd century AD
Red jasper, from Corbridge, Northumberland
(from a cast)

Fig. 1.3. Abraxas: cock-headed Anguiped giant.
3rd century AD
University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Fig. 1.4. Head of Medusa. 2nd century AD
Onyx cameo found at Leigh Park, Havant,
Hampshire
City Museum, Portsmouth
Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of
Portsmouth Museums and Records Service

Fig. 1.5. Germanicus with the heads of his sons.
1st century AD
Blue glass phalera from Leicester
Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester

Fig. 1.6. Bear devouring a goat. Early 3rd century AD
Sardonyx cameo from South Shields, Durham
University of Newcastle upon Tyne

– the first publication devoted specifically to gems found in England, although passing mention had been made in earlier works – more and more new discoveries have been made, presented regularly on the pages of archaeological and local periodicals. In fact, Classical archaeology in Britain, which dates its beginning from the middle of the 18th century, has turned up a most convincing assembly of ancient engraved gems – intaglios, cameos, cameo-like medallions, phalerae and glass pastes from them – found during excavation of Roman fortifications, settlements, temples and villas, or discovered amongst valuables hidden away for centuries in hoards and burials.

The first to accord this material its deserved attention in the overall historical context was J. M. C. Toynbee, who wrote in her monograph *Art in Britain under the Romans*: 'The importance of gemstones lies chiefly in the witness that they bear to classicising taste in the province and in their contribution to the Graeco-Roman education of the native population' (Toynbee 1964, p. 373). Ten years later, some 900 engraved gems scattered throughout English museums both large and small, through church and private collections, were united in Martin Henig's *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* (Henig 1974a). This fundamental work (which has gone through two further revised editions, in 1978 and 2007) gathered together the extensive material to be found in Classical and mediaeval written sources (Aristophanes, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, Suetonius, Marbodus etc), archaeological reports, catalogues and scholarly publications, but it was based above all on a direct study of the objects themselves, successfully combining art historical and cultural analysis with a purely archaeological approach (the latter more marked with each successive edition), allowing the drawing of a general picture. It was followed by numerous publications on different aspects of the question, frequently in collaboration with fellow scholars, and taken all together these provide the basis for the general picture presented here.

Intaglios dominate within the heritage of Roman Britain. The images engraved on their miniature surfaces depict gods from the Graeco-Roman pantheon or heroes from ancient epics, scenes and objects from everyday life, symbols of prosperity (a cornucopia) and all kinds of inscriptions and devices. More rarely they bear portraits of Roman emperors of the kind so common in the metropolis itself. Legionnaires particularly admired military symbols and the emblems of their legions – and since each legion had its own emblem, such gems might bear images of trophies, standards, dolphins, lions, eagles, real and fantastical beasts or birds [plate 4.1].

Widespread in both the metropolis and its provinces, serving as amulets, jewellery and above all as seals, intaglios performed the same functions in Britain amongst both the Roman population, there to establish a bureaucratic system like that back in Rome – a system which was to hold the whole of the defeated territory in its grip – and those members of the local population who began to adopt Roman habits.

Our perceptions of how gems carved with intaglios were used as seals in Britain are greatly expanded by the numerous impressions from them attached to deeds, letters and other contemporary objects of various kinds. Most often such impressions were of wax and were protected in small seal-boxes measuring roughly 20 x 5 mm, with a special opening through which a cord was passed; these boxes have done much to protect the wax, but even this could not prevent it from developing cracks and suffering other damage. We know also of lead seals, but only a very few clay bullae survive. Pastes might also be used as seals or as gifts, or perform the function of a from of 'password' amongst legionnaires.

As a rule, Roman intaglio seals arrived on the British Isles already set into metal signet rings, at first of iron but later of bronze (both with and without gilding) and silver; gold signet rings were relatively rare – ownership of such rings was permitted only to the higher levels of society, of no lower status than *equites* – senators, consuls or envoys – and even they were only allowed to wear them outside the house. In accordance with such rules, moreover, pastes could never be given gold settings: only iron, bronze or silver could be used, although gold or silver foil was sometimes laid beneath them in signet rings to create a refelctive sheen and reinforce the colour. Like the Gauls, Britons wore rings on their index fingers.

Both true gems and their glass imitations were set into many kinds of personal adornment besides signet rings, and such pieces might be made by local jewellers who preferred local traditions to the Roman practice. In dating gems and pastes, therefore, apart from the character and style of the image, the kind of stone used, where it was found and the stratigraphy, etc, great importance also attaches to the type and chronology of the accompanying metal parts, although these have unfortunately not always survived.

The mineralogical repertoire of gem-seals imported to Britain from the metropolis was at first almost exclusively limited to cornelians. By the 1st century AD, however, it had already been considerably enriched by the addition of other semi-precious stones: sards, green chalcedonies (prases or plasmas), citrines, amethysts, garnets and sometimes even precious emeralds, brought to the Roman Empire from India. To the owner, the choice of stone used in a seal was of some importance, since colour was of semantic significance: red was associated with the colour of blood, purple with that of wine, while green was a symbol of growth... In the 2nd and 3rd centuries red jaspers and a certain kind of sardonyx, the so-called sardonyx-nicolo, became widespread: carving through the fine upper white layer into the dark, almost black, lower layer, it was possible to create clear silhouette images.

Roman gems spread through Britain over quite an extensive area: a geographical index compiled by Martin Henig includes the names of some 280 places. Particularly rich bodies of material came from Yorkshire, Somerset, Westmorland, Monmouthshire, Northumberland, Essex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and Kent. In terms of the number of finds, special mention should be made of the towns of Aldborough, Bath, Chester, Colchester, Leicester, London, Newstead, Richborough, South Shields, Verulamium, Wroxeter and York. Henig noted that gems bearing images of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars Gradivus [fig. 1.2], Venus Victrix, Victoria, eagles, shields and standards were in use on the sites of forts in the north and in Wales, and there was a special group of 'heroic' gems showing Hercules, Achilles and Theseus. In the rural areas in the south and east, under civilian control from the time of the Flavians, there was a preference for gems depicting Ceres, goddess of fertility, or a satyr. Widespread everywhere were gems showing the goddess Roma, and Mercury too was popular in Britain. Silvanus and Diana appealed to hunters; Bacchic scenes were linked with external trade; Bonus Eventus [plate 4.2], Abundantia and Fortuna reflected man's everyday aspirations, Cupids and masks his desire for adventure and entertainment. Animalist images – the wolf and the eagle – indicated loyalty to Rome or served as emblems of legions, the signs of the zodiac related to astrology and other animals were linked to religious beliefs [plate 4.3]. Henig also identified features specific to gems found in towns and industrial centres or on the sites of churches and burials.

After Septimus Severus' campaign in the north of Britain in 208, magic amulets also appeared, including gnostic gems – so-called abraxas, which paid tribute to oriental religions [fig. 1.3].

Cameos are comparatively rare amongst archaeological finds. Henig's *Corpus* included only 20 or so examples of relief carving, among them a bust of Minerva (Henig 1974a, No. 733) found in 1810 near Blenheim Park, Oxfordshire, a medallion with a female face recalling a Maenad (Henig 1974a, No. 749), several similar heads of the Gorgon Medusa which served as protective amulets to repel evil (Henig 1974a, Nos. 725-31) [fig. 1.4], medallion-phalerae with portraits of Agrippina I (Henig 1974a, No. 747) and Germanicus with his sons (Henig 1974a, No. 748) [fig. 1.5], cameos with inscriptions and emblems of marriage (linked hands) [plate 4.4] and lastly a sardonyx cameo from South Shields showing a bear. This last is clearly Mediterranean work, although the bear upon it is possibly British (we know that it was Britain which supplied these beasts to Rome for the circus arenas; Toynbee 1962, p. 185, No. 139; Henig 1974a, No. 735) [fig. 1.6].

Of the engraved gems brought into the scholarly arena in recent decades, we should mention a late Hellenistic sardonyx intaglio depicting Ptolemy XII Auletes with a royal diadem (Henig, Webster 1983, pp. 369-71) [fig. 1.7] and a blue paste with a frontal image of Cupid (Henig 1999a, p. 57, No. 72), both found at Wroxeter, and an onyx-cameo with a grotesque figure of a mime actor (Henig 1997a, p. 13) [plate 5.1].

During the imperial expedition to Britain in the early 3rd century and the court's stay at York, there was in that city a court stone-engraving workshop that provided a large number of high-quality stones (Henig 1999a, p. 51). We should probably link with this workshop two sardonyx cameos showing the head of Hercules, in fact representations of the Roman Emperor Caracalla in the image of the Greek hero (Johns 1999, p. 87, Nos. 1, 2) [plate 5.2]. One comes from South Shields, County Durham, while the other was found at Caerleon, Monmouthshire, having suffered considerable damage at some time in a fire, and is now in the local Roman Legionary Museum. An onyx-cameo showing the young Hercules was found near the Castle at Wiveliscombe, Somerset [fig. 1.8]; it was put up for sale at Christie's (London, 3 July 1996, lot 162) and despite concerned warnings in *Gem & Jewellery News* (June 1996, p. 46) was sold abroad,

Fig. 1.7. Ptolemy XII Auletes. 1st century BC
Sardonyx intaglio from Wroxeter, Shropshire
(from a cast)

Fig. 1.8. Head of Hercules. 2nd century AD
Sardonyx cameo found at Wiweliscombe, Somerset
Private collection

Fig. 1.9a. Victory with trophies, from Lullingstone.
2nd century AD
Cornelian intaglio
© English Heritage Photo Library

Fig. 1.9b. Victory with trophies, from Lullingstone.
2nd century AD
(from a cast)
© English Heritage Photo Library

finding a new owner in France and leaving behind in Britain only a number of resin replicas.

Cameos such as these, discovered earlier (Henig 1986, pp. 378-80) – the Divus Augustus cameo dating from the reign of Tiberius or the Juno Regina in which Julia Domna, wife of Septimus Severus is shown as divine (Henig 1997a, p. 13) – form part of a group known as 'State Cameos', a concept introduced into the study of glyptics to identify a particular kind of portrait of rulers that emerged during the period of the Roman Empire. Here rulers might be shown as themselves or as personifications of mythological characters, but the purpose was the same, as propaganda or to proclaim their status and power and that of their family, and thus the cameos have been variously described as 'dynastic manifestos' or 'imperial messages in agate' (Bruns 1948; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1964-66).

During the last decades of the 4th century, before the Roman legions left Britain, the purely Classical style which had dominated up until then disappeared increasingly. The carving on imported gems declined in quality and became increasingly schematic, this being determined by changes in tastes and by a decline in the art of glyptics in the metropolis itself. It was then that gems and pastes with the Good Shepherd bearing the Lamb of God upon his shoulder, the Chi-Rho monogram, a cross, birds, fish, palm branches and other Early Christian symbols and inscriptions made their appearance (Henig 1974a, Nos. 790-800).

Apart from pieces of indubitable Roman provenance and usage, we also find intaglios of quite crude work, in an almost barbarian style. These probably belonged to the local tribal Celtic nobility, which had come into contact with the Latin language, with Roman culture and habits. Toynbee wrote of the possibility that there was local imitative engraving (although she approached the question extremely carefully), the idea being prompted by the find at Lullingston Villa in 1959 of a small cornelian intaglio with a traditional image of Victoria standing before trophies and writing on a shield (Toynbee 1964, p. 85) [fig. 1.9]. The trophy differs from the accepted form; Victoria has her raised foot resting not on a helmet but on something that looks like a cliff; one of her wings is totally lacking, while the other grows not from her back but from her hand; the folds of drapery recall more the folds on Celtic monuments and lastly, and most importantly, Victoria writes with her right hand – the engraver seems not to know of the mirror-reversal rule of carving in intaglio, by which the image is correct not on the stone itself but on the cast made from it. Toynbee wondered if these were not all signs of provincial imitation of a Graeco-Roman model, for which in this case the model would have been a coin rather than an engraved gem (Toynbee 1964, p. 374).

A. Ross attributed to a local carver a ring with a seal found in the River Tas in Norfolk near Caistor St Edmund, considering the fantastic combination of three heads carved in red jasper to be a Celtic tricephale (Ross 1968) [fig. 1.10]. Such mixtures of human and animal heads, torsos and limbs, known as grylli, were perceived as talismans to ward off the evil eye. Henig, citing the fact that the ring was found in a river (Henig 1974a, pp. 112-13) and several other examples of the Celts adopting ancient subjects and using them in their own way, saw here merely a rethinking of a Classical gem for use in Celtic religious ritual. Henig cited other information to support the existence of local gem production. Henig also mentions gems found in London or Bath which were carved in Britain itself (Henig 1991, p. 52). On two seals found in different places he saw details of North European attire on the figures of hunters [fig. 1.11] and relevant fauna in the hunting trophies (Henig 1974a, Nos. 184, 185) and he noted local elements on gems showing fishing, trading and war ships. Thanks to such small gems we therefore learn something about the way of life and the feelings of people living on the territory of what is today England.

In his other works directly related to the question in hand here (Henig 1991; 1997a), as in those which depart from its rather narrow limits (Henig 1983b; 1995b), Martin Henig recorded the discovery in Eastcheap in London, at Snettisham in Norfolk, and at Bath of jewellery workshops with a store of stone seals not yet set into rings, noting at the same time that the jeweller not only purchased such gems but carved them himself. The gems with *Pegasus, Discobolus* and *Dea Roma* from Eastcheap are so close stylistically that they are probably the work of a single hand. Of the 117 gems in the stores of the second workshop, we can identify the individual manner of three engravers (see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992).

Dating from the 3rd to 4th centuries are small pieces of jet carved in the form of amulets, medallions, jewellery, figures of people and beasts (Henig 1974a, Nos. 751-58, 760; Muller 1987). York and the surrounding area was the centre for the mining and working of jet. This black, fossilised coal with its bright sheen, easily carved and polished, was carried – as we are told by the Roman master Solinus – to all the corners of Britain, and even exported to the metropolis and other provinces

Fig. 1.10 Gryllus: combination of three heads arranged as a triskele (tricephale). 1st or 2nd century AD
Red jasper intaglio found on the East bank of the River Tas (from a cast)
Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk

Fig. 1.11 Huntsman with a lagobolon and hare in his hands. Late 2nd or early 3rd century AD
Red jasper intaglio from South Shields, Durham, Collingwood (from a cast)
University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Fig. 1.12. Pendant with profile of Medusa. 3rd or 4th century AD
Jet cameo found Strood, Kent
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Fig. 1.13. Bearded man in a phrygian cap
Anglo-Saxon pendant with garnet cameo found Epson, Surrey. 6th or 7th century AD
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

of the Roman Empire. Finds of similar pendants with the head of Medusa in Britain and Germany provide important evidence for the existence of trade between these countries during the Roman era [fig. 1.12].

All of this indicates that there were close links between the art of carving stones and jewellery production in Roman Britain, that there was an existing market for such products and a sufficiently developed cultural environment and atmosphere for glyptics not only to be in circulation but also to be appreciated according to their artistic merits.

A love for engraved gems was thus inherited by the British from the Romans. Whereas other Classical monuments have been subject to destruction or have simply been forgotten, from Roman times onwards such gems remained in current use in Britain. Later they arrived on the island through migration or were brought home by the Crusaders, merchants and envoys, and despite the perpetual changes taking place in society they never ceased to be used as quasi-magical, as utilitarian and functional, and as decorative and even precious objects. Indeed, they never truly seemed to play only one of these roles at a time, far more frequently fulfilling a mixture of purposes, although it is possible that they were increasingly strongly valued for their artistic significance.

During the Anglo-Saxon period, when they were reset into characteristic contemporary brooches, pendants and bracelets, ancient gems simultaneously served both magical and decorative purposes. Amongst the many objects discovered in burials dating from the 5th to 7th centuries we should particularly note a pendant from Epsom, Surrey, with characteristic 7th-century gold jewellery fittings, and a Late Antique (or more probably Byzantine) head of a bearded man (Magus?) in a Phrygian cap, carved in garnet in high relief (Henig 1974a, No. 734; Tait 1976, No. 385) [fig. 1.13]. Two provincial Roman intaglios – the first showing one of the Dioscuri (Castor?) with his horse (Henig 1974a, No. 97) and the other a standing figure of Minerva (Henig 1974a, No. 231) – both set into gold Anglo-Saxon pendants, were found in burials, in Pakefield Barrow, Suffolk and in Canterbury, Kent. Mention of 'gems' is found also in Anglo-Saxon epics such as 'Widsith' and 'The Ruin' (Henig 1974a, p. 197), although it is not clear if the gems referred to were carved.

The mediaeval period, particularly in the wake the Crusades, saw a rise in superstition, the origins of which lay in the very earliest forms of consciousness and which had broken out with renewed force during the Late Antique period. Such superstition turned coloured stones into amulets attributed with the ability to influence man's fate.

During the era of the Norman invasion so-called 'lapidaries' became widespread. These books, containing tales of the magic qualities possessed by different kinds of stone, including carved stones, had originally become popular in Alexandria during the late Hellenistic period, after the discovery of the lands of the Orient, and were then translated into Latin or from Latin into Old English or Old French. 'The remarkable popularity of lapidaries in England during the Middle Ages remains one of the curiosities of medieval literature' (Evans, Serjeantson 1933, p. XI).

The earliest such composition in England is a 13th-century manuscript from the Hartley collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and is essentially an inventory of engraved gems which doubled as a handbook for their use. In the 14th century the lapidary of King Philippe was translated from French into English (having already been translated from Latin), with another lapidary as an appendix or supplement, set out in simple, easily accessible language. Joan Evans noted six translations and one such composition (dating from the early 16th century) in England itself (Evans 1921; Studer, Evans 1924, pp. 108, 227). In 1963 the Bodleian Library acquired another Middle English Lapidary (Zettersten 1968). The Latin poem *De Lapidibus* by Marbodus of Rennes (late 11th – early 12th century), in which the learned bishop put into rhyme the 37th book of Pliny's *Natural History*, itself based on a poem by Theophrastus of 315 BC, was extremely popular in mediaeval England. It has survived in England in at least 33 manuscripts dating from the 12th to 15th centuries.

A feature common to all of these manuscripts is the listing of pagan subjects and the names of Roman gods with detailed recommendations regarding specific situations in which engraved gems bearing particular images might be used, for instance to ensure health, wealth or victory. Perseus was a protection against lightning and storms, Mercury ensured that the gods and people looked benignly upon the owner, Saturn brought strength which increased the longer the stone was worn, Pegasus was a prerequisite for all soldier-horsemen, and so on. In these manuscripts, the magical force attributed to gems was also linked with various astrological theories. In some lapidaries, however, engraved gems were classified according

Fig. 1.14. Crown of Richard of Cornwall (detail).
c. 1257
Treasury of Aachen Cathedral

Fig. 1.16. Matthew Paris
Emperor holding the Palladium and spear with a snake wound around it. 1251-59
Drawing from a lost sardonyx cameo in St Albans Abbey, illustration in his *Chronicle* (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)
Plate XXXIV from C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, London, 1885

Fig. 1.15. Seals. 2nd – 3rd AD, with 14th- and 15th-century inscriptions on the mount
Cornelian intaglios (from casts)
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

to carving technique (intaglio or relief), the kind of stone and, worthy of particular note, on the basis of the author's personal observations (Studer, Evans 1924, p. 96).

As in the rest of mediaeval Europe, ancient pastes and gems were set into reliquaries, into the bindings of prayer books, into staffs and crosses and all kinds of church furniture and ritual objects; they were kept in church treasuries as relics, and as in other spheres, the pagan subjects were re-interpreted in accordance with the Christian religion. Most of these precious religious and historical monuments were destroyed during the iconoclastic battles of the Reformation and only rare pieces survive in Britain today. Amongst these is a fragmentary crozier decorated with ancient gems (one of which is now lost) discovered in the tomb in Canterbury Cathedral of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1205, along with other objects, including a ring with an ancient intaglio (Stratford, Tudor-Craig, Muthesius 1982; Henig 1983c; English Romanesque Art 1984, No. 324 c, f). In 1981 a cross with a Crucifixion was found in Monmouth; set into it, beneath the feet of Christ, is a Late Roman cameo showing the head of the Gorgon-Medusa, which would seem to have been interpreted by both clergy and parishioners as the head of Adam – the usual image found in this place on a Crucifixion (English Romanesque Art 1984, No. 241). We know that one 14th-century mitre was adorned not only with precious stones but also with an engraved onyx (Evans 1921, p. 48).

Royalty too owned engraved gems, put to use in the form of brooches or agrafes. We know of secular items decorated with ancient gems such as the crown of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, younger brother of Henry III, made for his coronation in 1257 as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (Cathedral Treasury, Aachen; Clark 1986, p. 96) [fig. 1.14]. We cannot exclude that Richard received some of the cameos for his crown from his brother-in-law Frederick II Hohenstaufen (Masson 1976, p. 199). A taste for 'cameo' objects can also be seen in individuals of lower rank, and Piers Gaveston's belt should be mentioned in this context (Evans 1922, p. 19; Henig 1974a, p. 203, note 38; Scarisbrick 1994a, pp. xiii, xx, note 2).

Gems might be used to decorate tombs. The tomb of Edward the Confessor (died 1066, canonised 1163), erected in the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey in the early 13th century, during the reign of Henry III, was decorated with numerous engraved gems both large and small, some former votive gifts and some brought from Rome – to which Henry had ostensibly sent Abbot Richard de Ware especially for the purpose of acquiring them. In the 'Patent Roll 51' of Henry III we find 'A List of the jewels and precious stones pawned by Henry III, 1267' (King 1866a, p. 156; Middleton 1891, p. 65; Scarisbrick 1994a, p. xx, note 2). This list includes the subjects of 85 cameos, among them an image of St Peter trampling upon Nero and one of St Edmund, and gives the cost of each cameo (King 1866a, p. 159). At the dissolution of Westminster Abbey in 1540 the whole of this treasury was confiscated by Henry VIII.

Roman intaglios continued to be used as seals according to their original purpose and many historical documents from this period – charters, deeds and contracts – retain the impressions of ancient gems. Amongst examples used in this way in the late 12th century we might mention a seal of King John with a head and the inscription 'Secretum Johannus' on the setting (in the late 19th century this was at Hardwicke Court, Gloucestershire; Way 1862, p. 156). Seals often retained their Roman ring settings but were given additional new ones. We know of valuable Anglo-Saxon filigree settings (Henig 1974a, pp. 196-97), but as a rule the new settings were simple and common. In the British Library is a 13th-century manuscript containing recommendations as to which metals accord with which stones: for instance, a gem with a dove holding a palm in its beak should be set in a silver ring, while other subjects 'required' a lead ring; moreover it states that the gems should 'be found and not made' (Clifford Smith 1908, p. 101).

It was natural that in such contexts images of rejected pagan gods or historical figures from a past era were perceived as depictions of Christ, the Virgin, the apostles and saints. The scene on the seal of Archbishop Stephen Langton (1206-28), which the owner understood as 'The Temptation of Eve', was in fact clearly an ancient subject (Dalton 1915, p. XXVIII), while a seal with the head of Jupiter Serapis found in the great Cathedral Priory of Durham, was – judging by the inscription on the setting – 'CAPUT. SANCTI. OSVALDI. REGIS' [The Head of St Oswald the King] – understood to show the Anglo-Saxon St Oswald, whose relics were kept in the same cathedral. In the opinion of Francis Wormald, the *modius* – usual attribute of Jupiter Serapis – was understood as a crown, thus giving this gem holy significance (Wormald 1975, p. 592). The same author cites another similar metamorphosis, a large seal of the Augustine Abbey of the Holy Cross at Waltham, near London. The cross on the front of the seal was

complemented on the back with a counter-seal formed of three gems, the central one showing Castor and Pollux, but their heads were understood to be portraits of canonised Anglo-Saxon saints Tovi and Harold, who had founded the monastery in 1184 (Wormald 1975, p. 592). It is possible that the gem itself is a barbarian copy after an ancient engraved stone.

Rich material of this kind is also provided by episcopal rings (although the use of engraved gems for these was forbidden in 1194 by papal decree) and signet-seals of clergy of lower status. Set into the seal of Roger, Archbishop of York (d. 1181), was an ancient intaglio showing the three-headed chimaera, understood as the Holy Trinity and surrounded with the inscription 'CAPUT NOSTRUM TRINITAS EST' [This is the Head of Our Trinity] (Middleton 1891, p. 123). The head of Minerva can be identified on the personal seal of Bishop Stephen (1135-54), found in his tomb in Westminster Abbey (Smith C. R. 1857, p. 72), while Richard, Abbot of Selby, set into his signet ring a gem with a portrait of Roman Emperor Flavius Honorius bearing the legend: 'CAPUT NOSTRUM CRISTUS EST' [This is the head of our Christ] (King 1872, p. 122). This custom spread to such an extent that even the most orthodox elders of the Church had no aversion to the use in their seals of so-called *abraxas* – gems with gnostic images and cabalistic inscriptions. Carved on the jasper set into a signet-ring found in a burial in Chichester Cathedral is the image of the snake-legged God Iao with a cockerel's head. This ring was thought for many years to be the seal of Seffrid, Bishop of Chichester, who died in 1159 (Middleton 1891, p. 123), but this is now recognised to be an error (English Romanesque Art 1984, No. 314). (See also fig. 1.15.)

Seals did not, however, always make their way into tombs together with the mortal remains of their departed owner. A surviving detailed description of the ceremony surrounding the burial in 1235 of Abbot William in the church of the Benedictine Abbey of St Alban tells us that it included a ritual like that performed today with the papal ring after the burial of a pontiff: on a stone step before the high altar inside the church, in the presence of the whole Synod, the abbot's seal was smashed with a hammer 'thus, so that the whole of the carving was destroyed and nothing remained either of the image or of the letters of the inscription' (Lehmann-Brockhaus 1955-60, II, p. 449, doc. 3928).

In the rich treasury of the Abbey of St Alban was a precious relic, a large palm-sized onyx cameo presented to the abbey in the early 11th century by King Ethelred the Unready (his name was entered in the *Book of Benefactors*). Carved on this cameo was the standing figure of Jupiter with a sceptre entwined with an Old Serpent, a small figure of the Goddess of Victory in his hand and an eagle at his feet (the image may in fact have been a Roman Emperor, perhaps Constantine, in the image of some syncretic god with the features of Jupiter and Asclepius). At some time no earlier than the 12th century the cameo was given a scalloped gold setting. Matthew Paris [fig. 1.16], 13th-century historian (died 1255), manuscript illuminator and chronicler of the abbey, author of the illuminated *Historia Anglorum*, widely respected during his lifetime and canonised after his death, not only left us a detailed description of this now lost cameo but also made a drawing of it on the pages of the *Liber Additamentorum*... (Oman 1930b, p. 82; English Romanesque 1984, No. 318; Henig, Heslop 1986a; Soeda 1987, p. 18) and attributed to it miraculous force in facilitating childbirth.

Why was it that pagan engraved gems occupied such an elevated position in the strict hierarchical scale of mediaeval values?

W. S. Heckscher, who made a special study of the underlying reasons behind the widespread interest in ancient gems – which did not weaken despite the pagan nature of the images upon them – finds an explanation in the specific mediaeval world view: 'What the mediaeval mind chiefly sought in the remains of the past was – in contra-distinction to modern romanticism – the permanent form, the opposite of the ruin' (Heckscher 1937-38, p. 210), i.e. the mediaeval period valued whole forms which had not suffered destruction. Ancient gems with their transparency, sheen and lack of patina, their faultless surfaces and ideal state of preservation, fit the then current concept of metaphysical beauty. However paradoxical it may seem, 'divine' characteristics were attributed to these unfading pagan objects. Facts available to us today provide evidence that the mediaeval consciousness was so strongly affected by the very 'venerability' and imperishability of the gems that it perceived them as being of magical origin, 'not made by hands'.

Which brings us to the engraving of gems in the mediaeval period itself. It must be borne in mind that even as late as the second half of the 19th century there was a deep-rooted conviction that the brilliant flowering of the art of carving in hardstones in the ancient world was followed by an almost total loss of the art form in mediaeval Western Europe. In the wake of leading European authorities (Laborde 1853,

p. 189; Labarte 1872, pp. 198-99), English glyptics specialists also expressed such views (Middleton 1891, p. 121; Davenport 1900, p. 49). The basis for such a belief lay in that – works of obvious Byzantine origin apart – there were at that time very few known pre-15th-century engraved stones with the Christian subjects usually found in other art forms. At the same time, however, another viewpoint began to take shape, passionately defended by other scholars (Chabouillet 1854-55; King 1864a; Darcel 1880), who added new examples in support. A little later material on French glyptics during the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, the great importance of which goes far beyond the bounds of mere regional studies, was brought onto the scholarly arena (Babelon 1902).

Catalogues of the main European museum collections of engraved gems published in the late 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century already included a whole series of items which were certainly sufficient to put an end to categorical denial of the existence of glyptics during the mediaeval period. Yet they were not enough to go beyond a compromise theory: carving in hardstones existed, but it was in profound decline. To cite one characteristic statement by A. Furtwängler from his fundamental work on ancient gems: 'Die glyptischen Denkmäler unseres Mittelalters sind nicht nur äusserst spärlich, sondern auch verhältnismässig von sehr geringem künstlerischem Werte; im ganzen der künsterlischen Hinterlassenschaft der Epoche spielen sie gar keine Rolle' (Furtwängler 1900, 3, p. 374).

This position found most complete expression in a survey work by H. Gebhart published in 1925, where a separate chapter devoted to the mediaeval period, covering all the factual material then known, began with a precise definition: 'Unter dem Begriff mittelalterlicher Gemmen verstehen wir alle christlich-mittelalterichen, von abendländischen Künstlern geschnittenen Steine von den ältesten Zeiten bis rund 1400' (Gebhart 1925, pp. 118-19).

The very paucity of known examples complicated their localisation, which was clarified only in rare cases on the basis of stylistic similarities to works of 'greater' or 'smaller' sculpture. Works with a British origin are so scarce and of such varied nature that it is impossible to reconstruct any logical process of development through them. Suffice it to say that O. M. Dalton, both in his *Catalogue of Engraved Gems of the Postclassical Period in the British Museum* (Dalton 1915) and in the two-part article which preceded it, 'Medieval and Later Engraved Gems in the British Museum' (Dalton 1913), identified just four gems as English, dating them intuitively to the 13th to 15th centuries:

1) Cameo, onyx, *Noli me tangere*, found in Suffolk (Dalton 1915, No. 4). 13th century [fig. 1.17];

2) Cameo, onyx, showing a single-masted ship atop waves with seated male figures and one standing, perhaps raising the sails (Dalton 1915, No. 200). Dated by Dalton on the basis of similarities to the seals of coastal trading towns of the 13th to 14th centuries [fig. 1.18];

3) Cameo, shell, *St Catherine with a Palm and Wheel in her Hands* (Dalton 1915, No. 16). On the setting the inscription: 'IN GOD IS AL MI TRUST'. Late-mediaeval carving, 15th century. An extremely rare proof that carving on shell was already being practised in Britain even earlier than the late Tudor period, the earliest date previously posited by scholars (Hughes 1949b, p. 250) [fig. 1.19];

4) Intaglio seal, heliotrope, found in Canterbury, showing a male bust in a cowl (Dalton 1915, No. 1121). The seal is set in a silver ring with an inscription on the metal: 'SARISTINE AIMARIO'. 14th century [fig. 1.20].

More examples of this latter form of late mediaeval gem-seal, set into a ring, could be cited – they are to be found in the collection of rings and seals of the British Museum, in the Victoria & Albert Museum and other places. But however many more individual pieces were added, the picture would not essentially have changed were it not for the contribution made to the study of mediaeval European glyptics by one of the 20th century's leading mediaevalists, Hans Wentzel. In a series of publications he convincingly showed that glyptics of this period preserved Classical motifs unknown in the iconographical repertoire of the other arts and thus formed a bridge linking Antiquity and the Renaissance. The study of mediaeval glyptics should not therefore be reduced to a search for gems depicting Christ, the Virgin, episodes from the life of the saints and so on: no less important, or rather far more so, thought Wentzel, were a study of the role played by ancient engraved gems in cultural-historical continuity, the identification of the particular attitude to them which developed in these new times, and lastly the identification of imitative 'antique' works created under their direct influence.

Fig. 1.17. *Noli me tangere*. 13th –14th century
Onyx cameo
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 1.18. Three men in a ship. 13th –14th century
Onyx cameo
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 1.19. St Catherine. 15th century
Shell cameo
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 1.20. Bust of a man in a cowled hood.
14th century
Heliotrope seal with inscription on the ring
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Wentzel perhaps made a less thorough study of English church treasures, museums and private collections than of those on the continent, but he always included England in the list of countries covered by his observations and conclusions (Wentzel 1954, p. 243; 1956, p. 344; 1975, p. 7). The basic tenets of his theory can equally justly be applied to Italy and to countries north of the Alps, including England which, despite its somewhat specific geography, was involved in the unified historical process encompassing Europe as a whole.

Even after the establishment of this new, Wentzelian, viewpoint we are still unable to name any mediaeval pieces dated earlier than the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries. The development of glyptics was not facilitated by successive foreign invasions and conquests and in this sense the conquerors themselves could bring nothing to the British Isles. But at the very start of the 13th century came a turning point when, in the wake of the Crusades and the sack of Constantinople in 1204, a new stream of ancient gems came flowing into Europe. They became fashionable and since one of the most common images upon them was the profile bust or head, in 13th-century perceptions the antique-like profile image came to be irrevocably linked with the appearance of cameos themselves.

In their turn, ancient glyptics and their imitations were reproduced in other art forms and accordingly in other materials. It would seem that the glass paste medallions modelled in the form of cameos on the frame of the famous painted retable of 1270 in the south ambulatory of Westminster Abbey [fig. 1.21] must have been produced under their influence (Middleton 1891, p. 65; Macek 1986). Until recently, it was still possible to see two of these pastes, one bearing a youthful winged head in profile, the other with male and female profiles united in the Capita Jugata, but these were unfortunately utterly destroyed during restoration in the early 1970s. In 2005 England's oldest altarpiece returned to Westminster Abbey after new conservation which has preserved the surviving medallion from the same fate (Binski 2005, p. [6], fig. 13). The hypothesis that these medallions were inspired by ancient cameos or cameos à l'antique was expressed as early as the 1920s by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, which made a study of this precious monument, then in a very poor state (Westminster Abbey 1924, p. 20). It was supported by Wentzel, who set the medallions alongside similar imitation cameos to be found in 13th-century monumental art in continental Europe (profile heads on the portals of the cathedrals of Notre Dame in Paris and Rheims, the cathedrals in Bamberg and Merseburg; Wentzel 1954, pp. 4-5), and later by Henig (1974a, p. 199).

England may well have been among those lands practising the repetition of ancient models in imitation gems, although of course in its own north European, coarser, 'gothicising' manner. Moreover, Wentzel asserted that while relief engraved gems (with the exception of a particular group of French Byzantinising cameos) were known in Central Europe only from the 14th century, English private collections must contain many (to date unpublished) cameos from the second half of the 13th century (Wentzel 1975, p. 33).

R. Kahsnitz, a follower of Wentzel, even while expressing his regret at the absence of any special studies of English mediaeval glyptics, still thought it possible to assert that intaglios on precious stones were produced in England for royal ring-seals during the second half of the 13th century, as was done with sapphires in France during the reign of St Louis and Philippe the Handsome. Thus, he identified the so-called 'Ring of Barbarossa' from the Munich Treasury – a signet ring with a sapphire carved with a rider holding a shield and accompanied by three running lions – as a royal seal of 14th-century English work (Zeit der Staufer 1977, p. 27). He also thought it possible that England, some time before 1209, was the origin of two intaglio seals of Otto IV that have not survived but which were represented at an exhibition dedicated to Friedrich II Hohenstaufen by casts of the tipar (matrix) [fig. 1.22] and a wax impression (Zeit der Staufer 1977, Nos. 37, 39). An English origin for the seal was suggested in view of Otto's close links with England and English lands in France. In addition, Otto's uncle, Richard the Lionheart, who declared him Comte de Poitou and Duc d'Aquitaine, bequeathed him the greater part of his treasury. The naked bust of the emperor speaks incontrovertibly of the engraver's acquaintance with ancient gems, but the purely frontal image may have been influenced by English coins.

There were also intaglio seals bearing profile heads and busts of local work, and sometimes on the reverse there were counter-seals – private, secret seals, containing the name of the owner or some other inscription (Henig 1974a, p. 199). Stamps from these appear on documents and more rarely on letters, for they usually crumbled when the letters were opened.

By this time the demand for intaglio seals set into rings was so widespread that it brought about a revival of contemporary imitative carving. Henig

Fig. 1.21. Two profile images. c. 1270
Glass paste cameos (the right cameo lost) on the Westminster Retable
Westminster Abbey, London

Fig. 1.22. Seal of Otto IV. England (?). 1198-1209
From a lost stamp
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

places in the category of imitation of Antique models a number of seal matrixes with intaglio stones cut by mediaeval artisans (Castle Museum, Norwich; Henig, Heslop 1986b) and four mythological gems: a herm of Dionysus on cornelian, a hippocamp on amethyst and another on heliotrope, a gryphon on onyx (Henig 1974a, p. 107, Nos. 14, 32-34), all with mediaeval Latin inscriptions on their silver settings.

Our knowledge of 14th-century glyptics rests on intaglio seals, which continued to employ both profile portraits with gothicising features, reinforced by the influence of French seals (Dalton 1915, Nos. 1119-1121; Wentzel 1962, p. 66), and Christian iconography. It now seems likely that we should date to the 14th century – not the 13th as was thought by Dalton – the *Noli me tangere* in the British Museum mentioned above (Dalton 1915, No. 14). The developed Gothic nature of the folds, the unstable poses, disproportionate figures, coarse carving and overall unfinished quality are all features of small-scale English sculpture at this time, when it manifested its provincial nature to a greater extent than previously.

Even at this stage the use of ancient gems did not cease, nor did the manner of their use change. Among a few curious examples of the arrival of mediaeval gems from continental Europe is a brooch in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, found in 1968 at Oxwich Castle, West Glamorgan (Lewis 1982, p. 126; 1985, p. 23; 1986, p. 203) [plate 5.3]. Created in England some time in the early 1320s to 1340s, it is decorated with three cabochon rubies and three cameos (one of which is missing) produced in Paris in the second half of the 13th century, with characteristically coarsely 'hewn' male profiles. The different-sized cameos are poorly set in their clasps and probably replaced rubies which once occupied these settings. It is known that King Edward II visited the area around the castle in 1326, and it has been the site of finds of all kinds of utensils and decorations. Another interesting example of the circulation of property in mediaeval times is a carved portrait of the French King Charles V the Wise on a spinel ruby, formerly in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough (Story-Maskelyne 1870, No. 583), now in the Victoria & Albert Museum. Carved in France during the second half of the 14th century, a boom period for glyptics there, it is mentioned in a royal inventory of 1379. A gold signet ring with the inscription 'TEL IL NEST' [There is none such as he] was, however, created in England in the 15th century (Oman 1930a, No. 535; Boardman et al 2009, no. 232).

Documents relating to payments dating from the mid-14th to first quarter of the 15th century provide us with the earliest known names of engravers working in this sphere. Craftsman Richard of Grimsby was paid for the making of a sapphire seal showing a rider (or for making changes to it) in 1351 (Kingsford 1940, p. 169). (We can probably include in this circle of extremely rare monuments the Hermitage carved sapphire with a concave image of St George, cat. 13.) Two more carvers are mentioned, John Esmond (or Edmond, fl.1400-25) and John Domegood of London (bill of 1403), and while documents record that both Esmond and Richard of Grimsby worked in metal and in stone (Kingsford 1940, p. 172), Domegood figures in the financial documents as creator of a metal seal but is described as a 'lapidary' (Kingsford 1940, p. 174). Such accounts provide evidence of the unity of both crafts during this period.

Overall the 15th century – its first half bogged down in the failures of the Hundred Years War and the second overcast by the Wars of the Roses and the resulting feudal troubles – was characterised by a decline in all spheres of art and culture. This could not but apply with full force to so expensive an art form – moreover one requiring regular patronage – as carving in precious and semi-precious stones.

1. Legionary eagle and standards.
Mid-1st century AD
Nicolo intaglio from Rutland
Oakham Museum

2. Bonus Eventus holding wreath and corn ears.
2nd century AD
Red jasper intaglio from Ravenglass, Cumbria

3. Horse. Early 2nd century AD
Red jasper intaglio from Carmarthen

4. Hands clasped in concord with Greek inscription. 3rd century AD
Sardonyx cameo from North Wraxall, Wiltshire
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Plate 5

1. Mime actor. 3rd century AD
Sardonyx cameo from Barnoldby le Beck, North Lincolnshire
Private collection

2. Caracalla as Hercules. c. 208-212 AD
Onyx cameo from South Shields, County Durham

3. Ring-brooch with cameos. c. 1250 (setting 1320-40)
Found at Oxwich Castle, West Glamorgan
National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

2

Portrait gems of the Tudor period

The influence of the Italian Renaissance and the powerful stimulus it gave to the arts reached England only in the 16th century. With the end of internecine wars came a revival in the economy, while the supremacy of the old feudal barons gave way to that of the new nobility. The medieval Church's view of the world receded in the face of secular values, which increasingly dominated more and more spheres of public and cultural life [fig. 2.1; fig. 2.2]. Absolute rule was rapidly reinforced, even though the concept of power continued to be irrevocably tied to religious ideas – whether those of the Reformation or the Counter-Reformation.

Fig. 2.1. Niccolo Fiorentino or his workshop
Medal of John Kendall. Italy. 1480

Fig. 2.2. Attributed to Niccolo Fiorentino
Portrait of John Kendall (?). Italy. c. 1480
Sardonyx cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Amongst those responsible for spreading Italian influences were members of the English aristocracy serving as diplomats or religious representatives who sat for Italian artists either in Italy or in their own land (Einstein 1970). Even if we look only at works in a related technique, we find one of the earliest such cases in a medal by Niccolo Fiorentino made in 1480 in honour of John Kendall, who spent eleven years (1479-90) attached to the Roman curia. In that year Kendall was appointed Grand Prior of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (Pollard 1973, p. 119). Fiorentino may also have been the author of an engraved gem in the Hermitage that seems to show the same sitter (who has remained anonymous up to now, despite a number of suggestions regarding his identity, e.g. Krasnova 1965, p. 43, ill. 7). If I am indeed right in

making such an attribution then the gem is a very early example of those Anglo-Italian contacts in this sphere that were to be repeated and multiplied over the succeeding ages.

On the one hand, therefore, English art was considerably affected by general Renaissance ideological and aesthetic trends linked to the formation of a secular humanist society, and on the other those humanist ideals were narrowed and distorted by the requirements of British absolutism, which subordinated art to monarchist interests.

Art of this age is usually all grouped together under the common term 'Tudor Style', since in essence the English Renaissance coincided chronologically with the dominance of the Tudor dynasty. Although it does not cover all its varied manifestations, the term does still quite precisely define the appearance of English glyptics during the 16th century.

Glyptics was now almost exclusively the prerogative of the monarch, taking up without question the dominant trend in English art – the cultivation of the court portrait – whilst totally ignoring those mythological themes which would have seemed previously to be so inseparable a part of stone carving wherever it flourished. The kind of official portrait cameo that became accepted in Britain brought together features of the Italian Renaissance carved portrait (which revived the ancient tradition of 'dynastic' or 'State Cameos') with British achievements in portraiture and its use as political propaganda. In terms of iconography, Tudor carved portraits always contain political overtones which tie them to a particular moment in British history. An understanding of their political content, combined with an analysis of iconographical features, helps scholars see the way to more precise dating.

English 16th-century glyptics commences with the portrait cameos of Henry VIII and his son, the future Edward VI. At the present time, we have no less than three engraved gems in this group, clearly the work of a single hand: a paired portrait and a single portrait of the King, both in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (Tonnochy 1935, p. 276), and a portrait of the Prince in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth (Scarisbrick 1986, p. 244, No. 48). In the middle of the 18th century George Vertue mentioned – and sketched – another cameo with a profile portrait of the King set into a ring which he had seen in the possession of Lady Mary Wortley Montague (Vertue 1929-50, IV, p. 84) [fig. 2.3].

Fig. 2.3. George Vertue
Sketch from cameo portrait of Henri VIII. c. 1545.
In the ring of Lady Wortley Montagu

Historians of English art unfailingly mention the role played by the work of Hans Holbein the Younger in the development of a new secular portraiture in English painting and miniatures. Deriving from a drawing in the National Portrait Gallery (produced during work on the wall paintings in the Privy Council Chamber in Whitehall, destroyed by fire) is a medal portrait of Henry VIII (Hawkins 1885, p. 48, no. 45; the literature sometimes indicates a German origin for this piece, e.g. Forrer 1904-30, II, p. 525) [fig. 2.4]. Holbein exerted a direct and definitive influence on glyptics – both the single portrait cameos mentioned derived from celebrated masterpieces by him.

The first demonstrates an iconographical type known from Holbein's portraits of Henry VIII in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, and the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome (Salvini, Grohn 1971, Nos. 105, 117), [fig. 2.5; fig. 2.6] and from several copies after lost originals. Although the slight turn of the head precisely accords with the earlier version, a comparison of details in the attire undoubtedly relate the cameo to a replica in Rome dated 1539-40, in which the 49-year-old king is shown in clothes made for his marriage to Anne of Cleves.

The second cameo repeats a painted portrait of the two-year-old prince, but wearing only his cap and without the hat seen in the painting, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, also produced around 1539 – probably the work mentioned in various sources as having been presented to the King by

Fig. 2.4. Portrait of Henry VIII
Leaden medallion after a drawing by Hans Holbein the Younger. After 1537
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 2.5. Hans Holbein the Younger
Portrait of Henry VIII. c. 1536
Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, Madrid

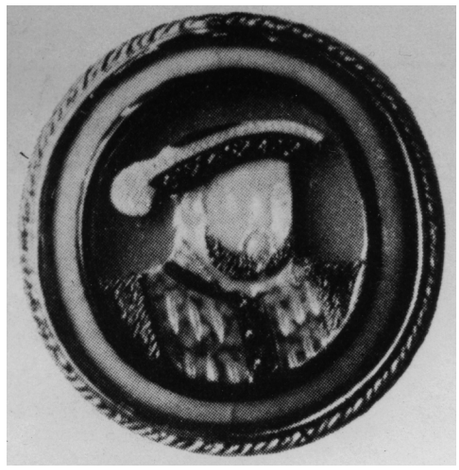


Fig. 2.6. Portrait of Henry VIII. 1539/44
Sardonyx cameo
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

Fig. 2.7. Hans Holbein the Younger
Edward VI. 1539/40
National Gallery of Art, Washington

Fig. 2.8 a-b Portrait of Edward VI. 1539/40
Two-sided sardonyx (from Devonshire parure)
a) cameo (obverse)
b) intaglio (reverse)
Devonshire collection, Chatsworth

Holbein at new year on the 30th anniversary of his reign (Salvini, Grohn 1971, No. 115) [fig. 2.7; fig. 2.8].

Neither cameo, of course, is a literal copy of the painted original. In addition to the somewhat simplified interpretation which results both from the very nature of the material and from the image's reduced scale, the tiny size of the gems – approximately 35 mm wide and 40 mm high – dictated a high cut off at the shoulders, while the elongated oval form led to the total omission of the hands on which Holbein placed such great emphasis. Holbein himself preceded work on the paintings with miniatures, in which we can almost see the final version of the portrait format that later became accepted for cameos (Strong 1983, p. 37, No. 24).

In the double portrait [plate 6.1] the oval is turned horizontally and the gem is almost 80 mm wide and more than 55 mm high. The carver did not unite the two busts but adapted the composition, carefully observing the proportions of both adult and youthful figure and making the prince lean in towards the shoulder of his father, who embraces him. This author sees such compositional modifications as the responsibility of the carver, rather than as deriving from some unknown original by Holbein or one of his followers. The identical nature of the images in the double and individual portraits convinces us that there was no need for such a painted original. Not only the face and almost all the specific features of the attire, but the very placing of the busts – that same slight turn of the head for Henry, the same frontal representation of the prince – feature in them all. Meanwhile, the larger size of the stone allowed the carver to partially restore what had been consciously omitted in the single portraits: the king's left hand, with its signet ring upon the forefinger, resting on the prince's shoulder, and the prince's right hand (his left in the painting) holding a rattle.

The portraits are carved in three-layer sardonyx using the *intaglio rilevato* technique, in which the background is cut away to leave a relief image no higher than the border that runs around the whole of the cameo. Cut at an angle, that border brings out the different layers of the stone and forms a natural tricolour frame. It is these parallel layers which allowed the carver to set off sharply the bluish-white faces and hands against a dark-brown ground and in the attire to make skilful use of a contrasting play

between the upper honey-brown layer and the paler middle ground. The extremely rich ornamentation of the headwear, the king's embroidered and slashed doublet and the child's gathered robe decorated with cord are reproduced in great detail, and similar care is taken to convey the textures of the fabric, fur and ostrich feather, the man's rough beard and the child's silky fringe.

These cameos capture not only the external features but the very spirit of Holbein's works: that heaviness which never descends into gloom, that ornamentality which never distracts our attention from faces, that flatness which is yet combined with extremely fine modelling of form.

Carved on the reverse of both the double portrait and the single portrait of Edward, as on the back of the cameo portrait of Henry VIII in a signet ring described by Vertue, are intaglios which repeat the drawing on the front. This author is not totally convinced by the suggestion, first put forward by C. W. King (1861-62, part 1, p. 309), that these intaglios should be seen as an attempt to reduce the thickness of the lower layer of sardonyx and thus make it more transparent. To achieve such an effect, the carver would simply have to gouge out sufficient material to match the general form of the relief, as was often done in Renaissance glyptics. It might be more correct to suggest that these detailed convex mirror images could serve as forms for making casts reproducing the relief cameos. Such a hypothesis is supported by Vertue's reference to the existence of just such lead casts of carved portraits (Vertue 1929-50, II, p. 91). Whatever the explanation, during carving of the intaglio on the back of the double cameo the stone became so thin (without becoming more transparent, as asserted by Fortnum 1877, p. 16) that work had to be stopped, and it remained unfinished. One interesting detail should be noted: the prince seems older in the cameo on the front, and his headwear, carved into the dark stone, is less like a child's cap. Fortnum did not exclude the possibility that this evidence for a different dating of the two sides might suggest that the cameo was carved in retrospect, from an earlier drawing (Fortnum 1877, p. 18).

In more recent literature, no doubts are expressed regarding the cameo's authenticity but it is given only the most approximate dating in the mid-16th century or even simply '16th century' (e.g. Connoisseur Period Guides 1956-58, I, p. 142; Gemstones 1960, No. 299; Scarisbrick 1986, p. 249). Yet the political significance of the cameos and the propaganda purposes that they undoubtedly served allow for a more precise dating.

Far from being simple idyllic family portraits, as characteristic examples of the 'State Cameos' such cameos were a direct reflection of Henry VIII's dynastic policy, his 'messages in agate'. Single cameos proclaimed the cult of the reigning monarch and his heir, while the double cameo – the final link in this group – encapsulates the idea of Edward's inevitable succession to the English throne. After the birth of Edward the King's previous marriages were declared null and void and both daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, were thus proclaimed illegitimate. In 1544, however, Parliament by special act declared the succession to pass through them; this year thus marks the *terminus ante quem* for dating the cameo. Since the *terminus post quem* directly depends on the creation of the Holbein portraits, the cameos can be dated with precision to a five-year period, 1539/40-1544. Indeed, when we look at paintings we note that the family portrait at Hampton Court, painted c. 1545, already show Henry VIII with all three children – Edward, Mary and Elizabeth (Millar 1963, No. 43). D. Piper saw these paintings as a separate trend in portraiture, which he called 'dynastic painting' (Connoisseur Period Guides 1956-58, I, p. 48), while R. Strong demonstrated, on the basis of painted portraits of Henry VIII and Edward VI, that Hans Holbein the Younger laid the basis for this trend in England (Strong 1967, p. 44).

Although information about the early fate of these engraved royal portraits is minimal, it is nonetheless to be found. We know, for instance, that the inventory of Henry VIII includes 'an Agathe of the kinges face that now is' (i.e. Edward VI; Starkey 1998, p. 68, No. 2147), while in 1629 Charles I himself wrote into the list of precious objects to be put up for sale a 'large agate graven with the picture of King Henry VIII and Edward VI', then in a secret store in the Tower (Clifford Smith 1902-3, p. 128; the author sadly does not cite the source of this information).

While the authenticity of these cameos has never been doubted, the latest catalogue of gems in the collection at Windsor rejects the identification of the portrait of Henry VIII and his son with the document cited, placing it – together with the portrait of the King alone – in the first half of the 18th century (Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, pp. 15018, Nos 212, 245). To this author, the arguments set forward for such a redating of the gems are not convincing. Although there were reminiscences of 'Tudor style' in England at that time, such high quality carving and such technical skill were totally unknown amongst gem engravers during this period. Moreover, the removal of such significant works from their usual

context throws into flux the whole phenomenon of Tudor engraved portraits.

The profile portrait of Henry VIII in a signet ring that George Vertue saw in the possession of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu should also be included in this group.

Evidence that the tradition of relief carved royal portraiture was not disrupted is provided by three cameos linked with the name of Mary Tudor. Only one of these (Jonge 1837, No. 1287), now in the Geldmuseum, Utrecht [fig. 2.9], in fact shows her features, whilst identification of the other two – at Windsor (Tonnochy 1935, p. 276) [fig. 2.10] and in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek at The Hague (Ilchester 1922, p. 71) – is complicated in that a likeness to Mary is combined with iconographical features which later became obligatory for portraits of her sister Elizabeth. Fortnum put forward the – probably justified – suggestion that, begun as a portrait of Henry's elder daughter, the Windsor cameo was reworked during the reign of the younger (Fortnum 1877, No. 284), making it in effect a palimpsest (it should be noted that the recent catalogue of the Windsor collection rejects this idea; Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al, 2008, No. 232). That in The Hague was considered for many years to show Elizabeth: it was only in 1922 that Ilchester suggested it might show Mary (Ilchester 1922, p. 71). The ambiguous nature of the cameos prevents us comparing them with a medal of c. 1555 showing Mary produced by the engraver and medallist Jacopo da Trezzo (Hawkins 1885, p. 72, No. 20). Yet the cameo in The Hague and those parts of the Windsor cameo which remained untouched or suffered only minor reworking indicate that they were influenced by da Trezzo's image.

We should describe also a cameo with two figures in the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich: these figures, male and female, are half length, almost en face, turned only very slightly towards each other, with the dove of the Holy Spirit above between their heads and St George and the Dragon below (Weber 1992, No. 124) [fig. 2.11]. The cameo is described in the catalogue of Tassie's casts as a portrait of Mary Tudor and Philip II (Raspe 1791, No. 13986), but Ingrid Weber saw here a very different set of historical figures (Peter Ernst I von Mansfeld and his wife). Even if Raspe's identification of the subject is correct, we cannot exclude the possibility that the work comes not from the English but from the Netherlandish or Spanish school.

Fig. 2.9. Portrait of Mary Tudor. c. 1555
Onyx cameo
Courtesy of the Geldmuseum, Utrecht

These works bring us directly on to the unprecedented quantity of portrait cameos of Elizabeth I scattered throughout many museums and private collections around the world. Vertue himself noted the unusual scale of the phenomenon – surely the most outstanding manifestation of Tudor glyptics – although he greatly underestimated its true breadth: '...many such workes of Stones cut in temp. Elisab. <14 Queen Elizabeth cut in an agat>' (Vertue 1929-50, IV, p. 84).

In England alone, there are at least three cameos each at Windsor Castle (Strong 1963, Nos. 2-4) [plate 6.2] and the Victoria & Albert Museum [plate 6.3] (one of these carved in whitish-green onyx; Strong 1963, Nos. 5-7); there was a similar number in the British Museum until 1929 (Dalton 1915, Nos. 378a, 379, 380), when a fourth was acquired (R.A.S. 1929); there is one example each in the Museum of London (Cheapside Hoard 1928, p. 30) and at Westminster Abbey (the fateful Essex Ring, presented to the Abbey in 1927; this was, according to legend, a gift from Elizabeth to Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, and returned by him to her as an expression of loyalty and prayers for her life but was intercepted by the Countess of Nottingham, and thus brought Essex to the scaffold; Strong 1963, p. 132, No. 21; Princely Magnificence 1980-81, No. 42), and two in the collection of the Dukes of Devonshire [plate 6.3] (both set in the famous Devonshire Parure; Scarisbrick 1986, Nos. 36, 57). They are – or were – also to be found in many other English museum and private collections. Such pieces carved in different kinds of agate or onyx – described variously as 'phisnamy', 'image', 'picture', 'head',

Fig. 2.10. Portrait of Mary Tudor, reworked in portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1560
Sardonyx cameo
Royal Collection. Windsor Castle

Fig. 2.11. Portrait of Mary Tudor and Phillip II (?). c. 1554 (?)
Agate cameo (from a Tassie impression)
Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich

'profile head of Queen Elizabeth' – are frequently mentioned in historical documents of the Elizabethan age, in lists of New Year gifts, inventories of precious objects and of clothing, in wills, letters and notes (Vertue 1929-50, II, p. 10; III, pp. 64, 85; Strong 1963, pp. 29, 30). Such cameos can be seen in a number of painted male portraits (Ilchester 1922, p. 30; Strong 1969a). Engravers of succeeding generations repeated them, as if seeking to compete with their predecessors in the refinement of their skill. Enjoying particular fame is a copy dating from the last quarter of the 19th century by the French engraver George Bissinger (Babelon 1902, p. 237, pl. XXII, 2).

Even during Elizabeth's own lifetime, cameo portraits of her made their way onto the continent. She presented a carved portrait of herself to one of the most insistent pretenders to her hand, the son of King Gustav Vasa of Sweden, later Eric XIV (Précis historique 1806, p. 61). Payment for such a portrait in onyx figures in the accounts of the court of Navarre for 1587 (Evans 1951, p. 129). Amongst the rich gifts sent by Elizabeth via an embassy led by Francis Cherry to Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich in 1598 – which arrived after his death – Russian court records mention 'a gold stud and with it a stone, and on the stone a carved image of the Queen' (Goldberg 1954, p. 442; Oman 1961, p. 27 – with mistranslation of 'stud' as 'cup'). Russian court records mention 'a gold stud and in it a stone, and on the stone engraved a little image of the queen…' (Diplomatic Relations 1883, p. 250; this cameo seems to have served as the model for the carving in Russia of a donative with a profile portrait of Russian Tsar Boris Godunov; Spassky 1978). Somewhat later, in 1619, a cameo with a portrait of Elizabeth featured in an inventory of the artistic treasures of Emperor Matthias (Matthias Inventory 1899, XX, p. XCII).

Of the works in major continental glyptic collections, the following should be cited. There are three stones in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Babelon 1897, Nos. 967-69, two of them still with their original gold settings covered in enamel and adorned with rubies), and one each in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Eichler, Kris 1927, No. 409; Distelberger 2002, No. 134) [plate 7.1] and the Geldmuseum, Utrecht (Jonge 1837, No. 1288). Superb examples adorn the body of a 'cameo' vase in the Hessiches Landesmuseum, Kassel (Wentzel 1967, p. 71), a 'cameo' cup in the Prado, Madrid, another in the treasury of the Danish Kings at Rosenborg Castle, the lid of a sardonyx bowl in the Louvre [plate 7.2] (the author has seen a photograph of a detail showing the cameo, kindly provided by Mr D. Alcouff). At least three cameos are in the USA, of which only one, in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, was included in Roy Strong's catalogue (Strong 1963, No. 10); information about two more can be found in the works of Kris (1932, No. 26) and Lesley (1968, p. 122). Many Elizabethan carved portraits have found themselves at auction as they pass from one collection to another: Christie's and Sotheby's have handled three such cameos, which once formed part of the renowned collections of Story-Maskelyne (Sotheby's London, 25 July 1921), E. Guilhou (Sotheby's, London, 9-12 November 1937) and M. J. Desmony (Sotheby's,

London, 7 May 1960; then coll. A. Kennet-Snowman, Princely Magnificence 1980-81, No. 43). Lastly there are six cameos of superb quality amongst the Western European engraved gems at the Hermitage Museum (cats. 1-6).

This list of known Elizabethan cameos around the world could be continued: there are more than 50 pieces in England and beyond (although just 24 were recorded in the first catalogue of portraits of Queen Elizabeth (O'Donoghue 1894, pp. 100-3) and 30 in the next (Strong 1963, pp. 122-23, 161). We can only guess how many were in fact produced in their time…

Nearly all the cameos, engraved in three- and two-layer sardonyx, show official portraits of Elizabeth, in profile and – with minor exceptions – turned to the left. She wears ceremonial dress with puffed sleeves, a luxuriant ruff at her neck, and a bodice adorned with embroidery, precious stones and jewels on chains. On her head are a diadem and crown or cap embroidered with pearls and precious stones, tipped backwards by the hairstyle rising up in front.

Although there is a clear consistency in use of a compositional stereotype, the cameos are not copies of each other but should be seen more as replicas, each of them containing small changes in hairstyle and costume, in their style and ornamentation. It is interesting to trace the variations in the jewels on Elizabeth's breast – in some cases these can easily be identified with jewels visible in the painted portraits, which thus formed part of the monarch's formal attire. At first glance the face seems to be an unchanging mask, but if one looks more carefully one begins to pick out nuances, now stressing arrogance and coldness, now softening such regal characteristics and aiming for greater humanity and femininity.

The height of the Elizabeth cameos varies between 1 cm and more than 6 cm. Amongst the largest (5 cm and more) – these being the most finished – are the Paris, Vienna and Windsor cameos, those in the Victoria & Albert Museum and the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, as well as the large Hermitage Elizabeth (cat. 1), which equals the first three in quality and is far superior to the others. With the exception of the Vienna cameo they all lost long ago their original rich settings decorated with enamel, precious stones and pendant pearls. The same is true of the majority of the cameos in the second group, differing from 3 cm to 5 cm in height. This includes another Hermitage cameo (a reduced version of the Vienna cameo) which was, according to tradition, presented to Erik XIV by Elizabeth (for more information on its curious fate, see cat. 6).

But the Tudor settings have survived on many of the smallest cameos (between 1 cm and 3 cm in height), which tend to form a single unit with the setting and are perhaps rather examples of the art of jewellery than of stone-engraving. Such are a signet ring in the British Museum (Dalton 1915, No. 380) [fig. 2.12, 2.12a] and those mentioned above formerly in the collections of Melvin Gutman, E. Guilhou and M. J. Desmony [fig 2.12b]. Such too is the 'Essex Ring' in Westminster Abbey, mentioned above. This group also includes the famous Wild Pendant and Barbor Jewel in the Victoria & Albert Museum, the first of which was a New Year present from Elizabeth to the family whose name it still bears, while the second [fig. 2.13] was considered by tradition to have belonged to the Reformation figure Richard Barbor, who was saved from burning at the stake by Elizabeth's ascension to the throne. Rich settings for an 'Agath of her majestis Visnomy' were adorned with rubies, diamonds, pearls and opals (Vertue 1929-50, IV, pp. 64-85). The three smallest Hermitage cameos (Cats 2, 3, 4) should probably be placed in this group. One of them (cat. 2), like the largest of the cameos, arrived in the museum in 1787 as part of the Cabinet of Engraved Gems of the Duke of Orléans; there it had retained its precious Tudor setting with gold, enamel and rubies but all the settings of the Orléans gems were removed before they were sent to Russia.

In addition to sardonyx gems, the smallest cameos include those carved in other minerals, both harder – such as a sapphire with a three-quarter portrait [fig. 2.14] (Sotheby's, London: Hever Castle Collection, 6 May 1983, II, lot 290) – and softer – such as turquoise (Davenport 1900, pl. VIII).

Carved portraits of Elizabeth I were multi-functional. The relatively large size of the first two groups of profile medallions, which meant that they were easily visible when worn on the breast by high ranking officials and courtiers, as shown in group and single painted portraits, led Ilchester to conclude that they fulfilled a dual function (Ilchester 1922, pp. 65-72). Firstly, they served as a symbol of status: knights of the Order of the Garter attached them – not always, but only when Elizabeth herself was present at the ceremony – to the insignia of the Order, an image of St George defeating the dragon. Secondly, portraits of different significance (marked by their size?) might be awarded by the Queen for personal service or for long service and

Fig. 2.12a. Cameo portrait of Elizabeth I in ring.
Late 16th century
British Museum, London

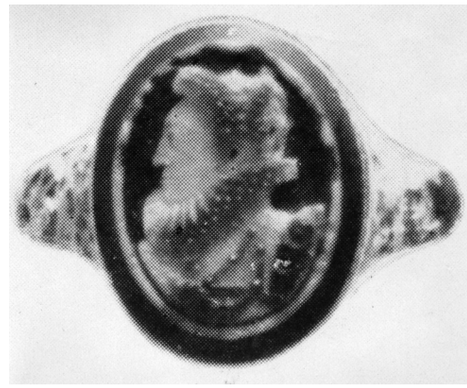


Fig. 2.12b. Cameo portrait of Elizabeth I in ring.
Late 16th century
Formerly in the Kenneth Snowman collection

Fig. 2.13. Barbor jewel. c. 1600
Pendant with sardonyx cameo of Elizabeth I
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Fig. 2.14. Portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1590
Sapphire cameo
From the Hever Castle collection
Courtesy of Sotheby's, London (sold 6 May 1983)

might thus be compared with the Order badges of later years. A third function should be added on the basis of the examples cited above: cameos served also as memorials, as evidence of the highest favour, as gifts – frequently diplomatic and for New Year. In Christmas week 1582, the Queen herself received as a gift from Lord Leicester her own portrait in cameo – 'an agate of her Majestic phisnamy' – on the lid of a medallion in the form of a flower with inset diamonds, rubies and opals. Set into the medallion were miniatures showing both the Queen and the donor (Nichols 1823, II, p. 389; Scarisbrick 1986, p. 245).

We must not forget the purely decorative role played by such cameos when set into a signet ring, brooch or agrafe, a pendant or some other form of jewellery – a small store, unmounted, was always to be found with jewellers (Strong 1963, p. 128) – but their functioning was governed not only by fashions in jewellery. Their role was inseparable from the emblematic meaning which lay at their very root – the very fact of wearing such a cameo determined the position of the wearer, who thereby demonstrated his or her loyalty to the Crown.

The custom of using engraved portraits as donatives as well as symbols of rank or reward – the predecessors of Order badges and insignia in the modern sense – spread through many European courts in the 16th century (Babelon J. 1922, p. 241; Kris 1928-29, p. 389). But in terms of sheer quantity, Elizabethan cameos leave far behind the portraits of crowned heads in all other sovereign states.

An explanation can be found for this phenomenon only if we look at it in the context of English court art, where a general Renaissance veneration of cameos came together with a purely English love of portraits per se and for miniature portraits in particular, with the fashion which made agrafes, pendants and brooches inseparable from court attire overall, a belief in the magical force of coloured stones and, lastly, Elizabeth's passion for her own portraits.

Made of rare, expensive and extremely hardwearing materials, imbued with rich associations and with a profound symbolic meaning which was easily comprehensible to contemporaries, such small engraved portraits were the quintessence of the universal cult of the Queen: an emblem of the nation's unity.

Roy Strong compiled a table of values for portraits of Elizabeth in different art forms (Strong 1963, pp. 61-62). While painted portraits or prints – which would have been present in any more or less prosperous household and which filled the vacuum that formed in English art during the Reformation – also served the cult of the monarch, they were much less highly prized than cameos, miniatures and even medals, these being extremely useful in terms of portability (they could always be kept on the person) and being perceived as an emanation of royal power: they thus became a kind of talisman. George Trevelyan wrote in his *English Social History* of the great demand for miniature portraits, 'not only among courtiers ostentatiously vying with one another for the Queen "picture in little" at "forty, fifty or a hundred ducats a piece", but amongst all who desired mementoes of their family or friends' (Trevelyan 1978, p. 143). John Pope-Hennessy explained the demand for miniature portraits in that they could be both worn and admired (Pope-Hennessy 1991, p. 19) – and the same could be said of cameos. It is very notable that Y. Hackenbroch considers that the custom of wearing portraits on the breast, set into pendants, began in England with cameos, and only then, thanks to Nicholas Hilliard, was extended to include painted miniatures and medals (Hackenbroch 1979, p. 298). This relates to very specific medals – one-sided, set with gold and precious stones, with a loop and sometimes a chain to go round the neck, or if two-sided then with an image of a propagandist nature on the reverse (Allen 1939, p. 36).

In his work after the catalogue of portraits of Elizabeth, in which he further developed the theme, Roy Strong asserted that this fashion, which burst forth unexpectedly, encompassed a broad social spectrum. 'It was a Protestant use of the sacred image of the Virgin Queen exactly paralleling the wearing of holy images by Catholics' (Strong 1987, p. 121). This idea is excellently illustrated by the painted portraits of Sir Francis Walsingham dating from around 1585 (Strong 1969b, No. 246) [fig. 2.15; fig. 2.16] and of Lord-Chancellor Christopher Hatton of 1589 (Strong 1987, p. 123) [fig. 2.17]. In an article specifically devoted to the history of cameo jewels over some two thousand years, Masson (1976, p. 200) recorded that 'six gentlemen present at Lord Herbert's wedding, were all wearing cameo portraits of Queen Elizabeth'. The reference is to the marriage in June 1600 of Baron Edward Herbert to Lady Anne Russell, although a painting at Sherborne Castle, Dorset, showing *The Peace Procession* of Elizabeth (now attributed to Robert Peake the Elder), in which these gentlemen appear in the first row, may in fact have been painted to record a very different occasion (Fortnum 1877, p. 20; Strong 1963, pp. 86-87).

As this era passed, cameos ceased to be worn but the mystical aura which surrounded them did not disappear until at least the middle of the 17th century. Surrounded with legends, they were valued as family relics and kept in precious caskets (Strong 1963, p. 29). With time they began to be seen essentially as collector's items.

Scholars have never been united with regard to the dating of the whole long series of monuments. E. Babelon placed them in the 1590s (Babelon 1902, p. 140). F. Kenner, refuting the very possibility of such open idealisation of an ageing queen, preferred to see here a youthful Elizabeth, soon after her coronation, and thus suggested a date in the 1560s (Kenner 1886, p. 25), a view supported by Dalton (1915, p. 51).

Seeing costume as the decisive factor, Roy Strong suggested that the cameos were made in the 1580s-1590s, but asserted that they could not in any case have appeared before the mid-1570s, since the costume included ruffs (Strong 1963, p. 128; some historians consider that ruffs arrived in England from Spain somewhat earlier). The overlapping and links between coins, medals and official painted portraits and – most importantly – the documented examples and reproductions in precisely dated earlier paintings, force us to stretch these chronological borders, placing the cameos in different periods, starting in the 1560s and ending at the turn of the 17th century. This is in no way contradicted by the history of costume.

We can link the Kassel cameo (Wentzel 1967, p. 71) and a small cameo formerly in the collection of Milton Weil (now Metropolitan Museum, New York; Kris 1932, No. 26) with the early profile image of Elizabeth which appeared on coins in the 1560s and 1570s (Brooke 1950, p. 199, pl. 42) [fig. 2.18; fig. 2.19]. This profile type began to circulate even more widely in England after the issue in 1574 of the Phoenix Medal (Hawkins 1885, p. 124, No. 70). In terms of composition, many of the cameos depend on the Phoenix Medal, but treatment of the face seems to have developed independently and its closer relationship to a much later medal (dated 1585) perhaps indicates a reverse influence, by which glyptics had its effect on the art of the medallist (Hawkins 1885, p. 148, No. 119).

A whole series of carved portraits of Elizabeth accord with specific types of painted images of her. The large Hermitage cameo (cat. 1), like that in Paris (Babelon 1897, No. 967) – in both the Queen wears a clearly visible cameo suspended on a chain, with an image of St George, i.e. the so-called 'Lesser George', the smaller insignia of the Order of the Garter – relates to the 'Garter Portraits', cultivated no earlier than 1575 (Strong 1963, p. 62). The second large Hermitage cameo, in which a veil descends down the back from the headdress (cat. 6), as has already been noted, is an analogy to the Vienna cameo (Eichler, Kris 1927, No. 409; Distelberger 2002, No. 134), and both are close in type to 'The Pelican-Phoenix', widespread between 1575 and the 1580s (Strong 1963, pp. 58-60), although if we believe the legends as to its origin then it should be placed to no later than the mid-1560s.

The cameo in the Victoria & Albert Museum is the only one to show Elizabeth more than half-length, and is a characteristic example of allegorical portraiture. Like the Roman Vestal Virgin Tuccia, who sought to take water from the Tiber with a sieve, Elizabeth clutches this emblem of virginity in her hand. Known in several painted versions of 1579-83 (Sieve Portraits, see Strong 1963, pp. 66-68) [fig. 2.20], the allegory derives from the imagery of lyrical court poetry and its roots should be sought in theoretical tracts such as the treatise on painting by Paolo Lomazzo, well known in England even before it was translated into English in 1598. Amongst the attributes in the most significant of these painted portraits, attributed to Cornelius Cetel (Pinacoteca, Siena) [fig. 2.21], an important place is given to the column in the middle ground to left which is decorated with scenes from the story of Dido and Aeneas and with imperial symbols. A similar meaning lies within the column rising above the waves, crowned and lit by the rays of the sun, engraved on the reverse of an Elizabethan cameo set into a gold pendant with enamel and diamonds (Victoria & Albert Museum, London).

One last engraved portrait contains many features that set it apart from those described above: a cameo which belonged to Edward Hartley, 2nd Earl of Oxford [fig. 2.22] and was then presented by his widow Lady Henrietta to his daughter Margaret Hartley, 2nd Duchess of Portland (an engraved image of it appears in one of the three tables in which George Vertue depicted her treasures) [plate 8.2]. O'Donoghue included the cameo without reservation in his catalogue of portraits of Elizabeth I (O'Donoghue 1894, p. 103, No. 18). In 1926 it was as such that it was presented by the Duchess' heirs at an exhibition at the Burlington Fine Art Club devoted to late-Elizabethan art (Elizabethan Art 1926, p. 781), but the cameo (now coll. Dukes of Portland) was excluded from the portraits of Elizabeth by Roy Strong. We mention this gem here not only to reinstate it – and the justice of such a reinstatement

Fig. 2.15. Attributed to John de Critz the Elder
Portrait of Sir Francis Walsingham. c. 1585
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Fig. 2.16. Attributed to John de Critz the Elder
Portrait of Sir Francis Walsingham. c. 1585. Detail
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Fig. 2.17. Portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton. 1789
After Cornelius Ketel (?)
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Fig. 2.18. Portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1572
Sardonyx cameo
Metropolitan Museum, New York

Fig. 2.19. Medal with portrait of Elizabeth I.
c. 1572

Fig. 2.20. Portrait of Elizabeth I with a sieve. c. 1580
Agate cameo
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Fig. 2.21. Unknown artist
The "Sieve Portrait" of Elizabeth I ("Allegory of Virgilian"). c. 1580
Pinacoteca di Siena

Fig. 2.22. Portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1600
Sardonyx cameo
Private collection

cannot be doubted – but because the cameo belongs to a totally separate type of image of the queen: thick locks seem to have escaped from the hair caught up beneath the crown and interwoven with pearls, falling on to the shoulders, covered only with a transparent veil and light drapery; there is no ruff and the naked neck is adorned with a thread of pearls, while the features of the face turned to the right have been noticeably softened and create an effect of youth. But we should not be misled. We find the key to this image through a comparison with late miniatures by Nicholas Hilliard and his workshop, in which the now aged Virgin Queen is idealised and made to seem even more youthful than previously. Dating these miniatures to the last period of Elizabeth's rule (c. 1590 and later) and bringing them together in a separate group, the Hilliard 'Mask of Youth' [plate 8.1], Strong (1963, p. 94) cites examples of their direct influence on a whole series of painted and graphic works – with which this cameo should also be grouped.

The cameo portraits of Elizabeth remained stylistically close to the representative glyptics format which had taken shape under Henry VIII: they retained the intaglio rilevato device and both the choice of stone and the use of contrasting layers remained unchanged, as did a predilection for large format pieces. Yet they reveal a certain development, with profile images taking over completely from frontal images and the relief becoming much more pronounced, in a manner that increases their sculptural potential and is considerably closer to the glyptics formulae of the Mannerist age.

The gallery of engraved Tudor portraits is completed with a four-figure composition, of which several replicas were once known. Celebrated as *Henry VIII and his Children* [plate 8.3], it was for a long time dated to his reign. We know of just such a sardonyx cameo 'sold by Mr. Marlow, the jeweller of Lombard Street, to John, 5th Earl of Exeter', and of the lead cast taken from its reverse mentioned above, from Vertue (1929-50, II, p. 91); another cameo was in the 19th century in the collection of one Captain J. F. Peel (Fortnum 1877, p. 21), which was sold in New York in 1912. Only a third example is known today, a cameo in the collection of the Dukes of Devonshire (Scarisbrick 1986, No. 66) of which that same Mr Marlow said when he saw it that it seemed to him to be but a 'poor copy' of his own (Vertue 1929-50, II, p. 91).

An elementary iconographical analysis of the cameo's composition reveals a need to re-assess the traditional dating. The central place is occupied by Henry VIII, who seems to have been taken directly from Holbein's portraits, slightly turned and dressed in the same attire. At the right are busts of Mary and Edward turned towards each other. The image of Edward derives from the profile type which had taken shape by 1546 (e.g. the portrait with a flower in the National Portrait Gallery, London; Strong 1969a, pl. 168), while Mary's profile is close to the medal by Jacopo da Trezzo of c. 1555. To the left of the king, turned towards him, is a bust of Elizabeth as Queen very similar to the whole group of portraits we have just been discussing. Such a strange, somewhat mechanical, unification of portrait patterns dating from different periods could not have appeared earlier than 1570-75.

The depiction of the reigning monarch with her closest relatives – all of whom were already dead by the time the cameo was produced – resulted from a need to reaffirm the unbroken dynastic line and to assert the legitimacy of Elizabeth's right to the throne, a right repeatedly thrown into doubt by her opponents. In 1570 Pope Pius V issued a papal bull not only excommunicating Elizabeth from the Catholic Church, but also declaring her an unrightful ruler and absolving her subjects from allegiance to her. The battle for power became particularly keen during the last years of the incarceration of Mary Queen of Scots, when one plot followed another at regular intervals. On the other hand, the cameos – which would better be named not *Henry VIII and his Children* but *Elizabeth I and her Predecessors* – could not have been produced after 1587, the year of Mary Queen of Scots' execution and the start of the war with Spain, when inclusion of the Catholic Mary Tudor would hardly have been viable (e.g. a painted family portrait of 1597 in the Art Institute of Chicago which includes only Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth herself; Strong 1963, No. 98). The re-dating of this marvellous work of English glyptics, first put forward by this author in an article devoted to portrait cameos of the Tudor period (Kagan 1980, p. 32), has been supported by Diana Scarisbrick and Gertrud Seidmann (Scarisbrick 1986, No. 66; Seidmann 1993, p. 94).

Even today the authorship of Tudor portrait cameos remains unclear. The earliest attempt to resolve the problem was undertaken by P.-J. Mariette (1750, p. 136) and A. F. Gori (1767, 1, p. 270). In turn they named the author of the Elizabethan cameos as the French engraver Coldoré (or Codoré), identified by them with the court gem engraver to the King of France, Henri IV, Julien de Fontenay. According to tradition, Fontenay was either sent specially by the French King or particularly invited by Elizabeth to produce such works at the English court. Later, documents from

the French royal chancellery revealed Coldoré and Julien de Fontenay to be two separate engravers, the first and eldest of whom worked the longest – into the reign of Louis XIII – whilst de Fontenay figured as an engraver in hardstones, living at Fontainbleau, employed by the royal household from the 1580s until he is last mentioned in 1609. In that year Henri IV granted him the privilege of apartments in the Grands Galeries of the Louvre Palace and the title of 'valet de chambre et graveur en pierres précieuses' with a retainer of 100 livres (Lhuillier 1887, p. 11; Babelon 1902, p. 139).

After the discovery of these documents, Julien de Fontenay remained the favourite candidate for creator of the Tudor cameos, a theory which remained in force for many years, supported mainly by French scholars (Chabouillet 1858, p. 71; Babelon 1902, p. 140) and a few of their English colleagues (such as Davenport 1900, p. 54). To make possible the creation of the Elizabethan portraits, the portraits of Henry VIII and his son by one and the same carver, the differences in style were explained as the unavoidable result of working from the sitter in the first case and without the sitter for the others.

English historiography of the Tudor engraved portraits begins with John Evelyn who, in his *Numismata* (Evelyn 1697, p. 240), attributed a cameo with a portrait of Elizabeth I to the famous Italian carver Valerio Belli, called Vicentino, who was thus supposed to have visited England. In his Notebooks, George Vertue identified the author of the sardonyx image of Henry VIII and his children in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, another similar to that sold by Mr Marlow to the 5th Earl of Exeter, and a head of Henry on a small stone in a ring on one side with an intaglio on the back, as Nicholas Hilliard (Vertue 1929-50, II, p. 91).

Returning to the subject twice in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, Horace Walpole expanded the circle of works attributed to Belli, adding works belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, 'two profiles in cameo of Queen Elizabeth; another gem with the head of Edward VI, cameo on one side, and intaglia on the other' (Walpole 1862, I, p. 189), and repeating in Vertue's wake the name of Hilliard with regard to the engraved portraits of Henry VIII (Walpole 1862, I, p. 108).

Later opponents of Walpole's exposition rejected both names – Belli and Hilliard – for one and the same reason: the very obvious chronological incompatibility. Hilliard was born in the year of Henry VIII's death while Valerio Belli died twelve years before Elizabeth became Queen (although the statement that Belli visited England has even been repeated in modern literature: Einstein 1970, p. 204). This rejection remains totally justified as regards Belli, but not in the case of Hilliard since, as we have just seen, the images of *Henry VIII and his Children* were made at least 30 years after Henry's death, at the very height of the career of this celebrated author of miniatures, medals and jewellery. Thus the question of Hilliard's authorship, set forth by Vertue and Walpole, can once more be revived to await either confirmation or refutation. The works of Erna Auerbach set out the arguments for his authorship long ago (Auerbach 1953, 1954, 1961); Diana Scarisbrick also felt that the subject was worthy of serious consideration (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 82). Outside Britain the question was taken up by Rudolf Distelberger (2002, No. 134). Today, when Hilliard's complex personality, still far from exhaustively studied, is once more drawing the attention of scholars, we should perhaps bear in mind Walpole's apparently absurd assertion.

One hundred years after Walpole, Ch. W. King re-attributed the early Tudor cameos to Valerio Belli, naming amongst other possible authors Matteo del Nassaro and Luca Penni. He felt that the latter – the only one of them who indeed visited England – might, like Jacopo Caraglio at the Polish court, replace engraving on metal for the making of prints with engraving on stones, and that the first two may have worked in their own lands from miniature copies of portraits by Holbein specially sent to them (King 1872, I, p. 328). King found confirmation for his theory in the activities of his own contemporary, the Italian engraver Luigi Saulini, who carved portraits on stone and on shell from daguerreotypes (King 1866b, p. 254 note 3). He also mentioned Elizabeth cameos every time he mentioned Jacopo da Trezzo (King 1872, I, pp. 327, 426).

This last association requires commentary: it is of course impossible to seriously suggest Trezzo as author of the cameos, as King sought to do, but we cannot over-stress the influence exerted by Trezzo's portraits of Philip II on the Elizabeth cameos and on the very scale of their production. It was during the period of Trezzo's greatest activity that the practice of making royal gems grew on such a scale in Spain. Several examples immediately made their way to England during the years of Philip II's marriage to Mary Tudor and later, when Philip entertained ideas of matrimony with Elizabeth. One of his cameo portraits (formerly

in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough) was presented to her by the Spanish King with a dedicatory inscription in his own hand. Might not this have been the inspiration behind the new quantitative leap taken by the art of engraving gems in England? The name of Jacopo da Trezzo recurs in the next chapter of this book: it may indeed be he who is the engraver known as 'Jacob Thronus', engraver of seals to Queen Mary.

Publications dealing with the Royal Collection at Windsor which appeared in the wake of King's studies named the recognised author of the portraits of Henry VIII and Edward VI as an Englishman, Richard Atsill (Astill, Astyll, Atzell) (Clifford Smith 1902-3, part 3, p. 241; Fortnum 1877, p. 19; Tonnochy 1935, p. 277). His name appeared in a list of new-year gifts to Henry VIII in 1539/1540 (now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington): listed amongst the donors are Holbein, who brought a portrait of Prince Edward, and Richard Atsill, a gem engraver to the king, whose new-year gift was 'a broach of gold with an antique head' (Vertue 1929-50, IV, p. 110). He clearly continued in the royal service during the first three years of Edward VI's reign as 'the graver of stone, paid a fee of L 20 yearly' (Fortnum 1877, p. 19), and then Atsill disappears from the financial records. Thus we find further confirmation of Atsill's identity and learn more of his functions and his closeness to the monarch during those very years when the first Tudor portrait cameos were being created. Although it had been suggested that Atsill was a naturalised Briton of Italian or German birth, Auerbach asserted that he was born in St Martin's in the Fields (Auerbach 1957, p. 13).

Advocates of Atsill's authorship went even further: insisting on an early dating for the Elizabeth cameos and thus reducing the gap between the portraits of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, they suggested that Atsill may have continued to work under Elizabeth. C. D. Fortnum even suggested that the engraver might have been exiled from England during Mary's reign for political or religious motives (remember the unfinished portrait of her) and then returned to his native land after further improvement of his skills under Italian or French masters (Fortnum 1877, p. 19). The main authority on Renaissance glyptics, E. Kris, also thought that the author of the Elizabeth cameos might have been an Englishman who had studied in Italy or in France under Matteo del Nassaro (Kris 1929, p. 91).

Strong supported none of these positions in his catalogue of portraits of Elizabeth, introducing his own hypothesis to this cacophony of dissension: noting in a short introduction to the section on cameos that the question of their authorship has not been resolved, he then names (referring to the diaries of John Evelyn) one Mr Lennier, of whom there is supposedly documentary evidence that he made at least one cameo and that he was in the service of the crown (Strong 1963, p. 128). In fact Evelyn's diary entry for 1 August 1654 names 'Jerome Lennier of Greenwich, a man skilled in painting and music…', and makes it clear that he was but the owner of a carved stone with a portrait of Elizabeth ('an intaglio in a rare sardonyx cut by a famous Italian'; Evelyn 1907, p. 283). Unable to untie at present the complex knot of hypothesis and guess, I will restrict myself to only general conclusions.

Italy could not have been the country of origin of the Elizabeth cameos, for these years saw a start in the decline of glyptics there. There are many examples of Italian carved portraits from the late 16th century, including those which were exported to other lands, but the keen realism of Italy's great period for glyptics has here given way to an idealisation so strong that it is barely possible to identify individual female images from amongst the mass, to differentiate the so-called 'Isabel de Valois' from 'Margaret of Austria' or 'Mary Stuart' (the last of these remain outside the scope of this work since most of them were not of British origin and it should be noted that far too many gems are included in this group in the literature). Amongst those having a documented origin are three set into old Scottish pendants, one in the form of a heart, now in The Museum of Scotland [fig. 2.23], the second with three pendant pearls, in the collection of the Dukes of Portland, formerly in the possession of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk (Evans 1951, p. 129; Gere 1991b, p. 131, figs. 71, 72) [fig. 2.24], and the third in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris [fig. 2.25].

The lack of success in identifying the engraver – whether British or a foreigner working in England – is probably not merely a matter of chance: whichever hypothesis is later confirmed – identifying an Italian, French or English origin – this impressive artistic complex is far beyond the powers of a single artist and its creation must have demanded the conjoined efforts of a number of craftsmen, an opinion expressed independently by Anna Somers Cocks (1976, p. 369).

When we take into account that simultaneously another whole series of cameos – the 'Lesser Georges' (dealt with in more detail in the next chapter) – was being produced in some quantity in England, it becomes clear that this great potential enjoyed by the

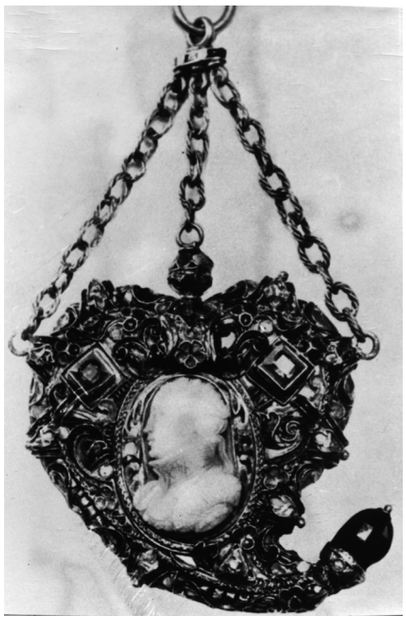


Fig. 2.23. Mary Queen of Scots. 1560/70.
Pendant with onyx cameo
National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh

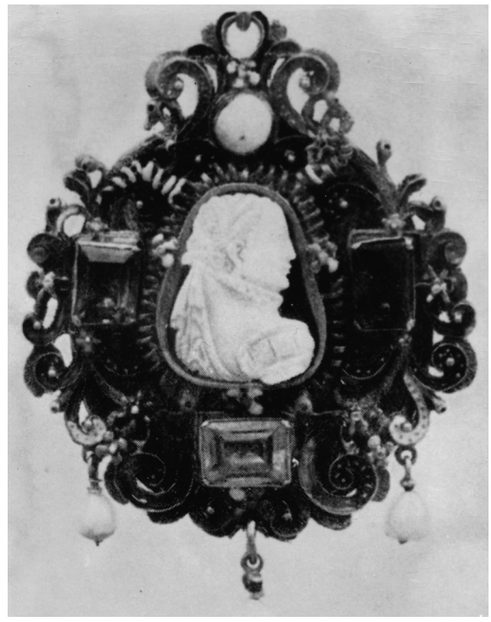


Fig. 2.24. Mary Queen of Scots. 1560/70
Pendant with onyx cameo.
Duke of Portland, Welbeck Abbey

Fig. 2.25. Mary Queen of Scots. 1560/70
Pendant with onyx cameo
Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Fig. 2.26. Seal ring with portrait of Henry VIII. 1540/45
Chalcedony intaglio
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

art of engraving could not have been ensured by the simple accumulation of varied scattered forces. Such extensive production could only result from deliberate efforts, from the organisation of a large court workshop where gems were engraved to established patterns and from where they were passed to court jewellers, who thus always had a small store of ready-made engraved gems on hand.

It is possible that these stone-engraving workshops recalled in terms of their organisation those painting studios in which portraits of Elizabeth were reproduced en masse towards the end of her reign. The statutes of these studios remain unclear to this day, and Strong asserts that it was unclear even to contemporaries, being deliberately wrapped in mystery (Strong 1963, pp. 11-12). If that were indeed so, it becomes easier to understand why nothing is known of the engraving workshops, working to satisfy a far more limited demand than that for painted images and directly dependent on the court, and why the name of Atsill occurs in documents in the 1540s as the carver of royal gems while the carvers of the more abundant works of the 1570s to 1590s remain anonymous. In addition, in the sphere of glyptics in England there was that very process which had already come to an end in Italy – the process of transition of the art of gem engraving from the hands of individual masters, who created unique works, into the hands of well-organised craft workshops.

One last – albeit indirect – argument in favour of an English origin for the Elizabeth cameos is found in that it was probably the only country with such well developed trading routes that it could ensure a sufficient supply of high quality stones. Indian sardonyx would thus have travelled to England via the same routes as did spices.

Although J. C. Robinson asserted that ancient engraved sardonyxes were mainly used for the engraving of the Elizabethan cameos, these being first polished smooth (Robinson 1863, p. 561), only one or two Elizabethan cameos have traces of holes or other signs of the secondary use of ancient cameos, as was so commonly the case in Italy, rich in fragments of Antique gems that were fit for such use. An extremely curious example of this is what this author sees as secondary reworking of a portrait bust of Elizabeth I over a Renaissance agate bust of Omphale with a lion skin over the head, carved *en ronde bosse*, the original perhaps from the workshop of Miseroni (for a similar piece in the Ambrosiana in Vienna see Kris 1928-29, p. 389; Kris 1929, No. 386). In the 18th century this gem belonged to Dr Richard Mead. The author of the sale catalogue (Mead 1755, p. 251) wrote that in presenting the Queen in this way the engraver thus likened her to the Roman emperors, in particular Commodus, who was often shown, like Hercules, with a lion skin thrown over his head.

Whether the stone-engraving workshop was run by an English or foreign master only archive investigation will reveal: certainly serious study should be made of Richard Atsill and of the activities of Julien de Fontenay, if the latter's supposed visit to England is supported by documents and proves not to be mere legend (to date not a single document has been cited or reproduced in the literature). But whatever the craftsman's identity, the Tudor portrait cameos are undoubtedly an English phenomenon, a phenomenon of great significance, despite their contradictory nature: they appeared under the influence of Renaissance culture yet are bereft of that humanist basis which defines the essence of that culture.

The portrait function of English glyptics also made itself felt, although perhaps less strikingly than in relief engraving, in intaglio. Examples of royal portrait intaglios from this period are few, but they allow us to suggest that they represented an unbroken tradition. Henry VIII appears almost full face, in an image quite similar to the cameo portraits looked at in the previous chapter, on a chalcedony intaglio of c. 1545 of no particular artistic merit [fig. 2.26]. He wears a flat hat and a robe edged with fur, and to either side of the shoulder-length bust are the letters 'H' and 'R'. This belonged in 1576 to Dorothy Abington of Hindlip (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 82) and continued to be used as a seal, to judge by an impression on a letter to Elizabeth that year (Princely Magnificence 1980-81, No. 17; Henry VIII 1991, p. 116, No. VII.21).

As we recall, there was a profile intaglio portrait of Henry carved into the back of a sardonyx with a relief portrait on the front which George Vertue saw in the possession of Lady Mary Wortley Montague. In sketching it, Vertue noted that the two-sided gem was 'sett in a gold hoop or swivell to hold it as at Sealing' and added 'the work both ways well done, and in respect of the graving on both sides. A singular and curious artifice. If done in England in that Kings reign, it is proof of much earlier date of that Art of Cutting in Stones or Gemms than commonly known' (Vertue 1929-50, IV, p. 84).

Another similar intaglio belonged to Cardinal Wolsey (but has sadly not survived): 'at Cristmas 1529 the King sent the fallen Cardinal a ring from his finger,

Fig. 2.27. Portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1600
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 2.28. Nicholas Hilliard
Medal of Elizabeth I
c. 1600

Fig. 2.29. Henry VIII's Jester (?). England (?), c.1549
Onyx cameo
Private collection, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; reproduced by kind permission of the owner

Fig. 2.30. Portrait of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. c. 1597
Shell cameo (from a print)

set with his portrait on a ruby… originally Wolsey's gift to himself' (Scarisbrick 1986, p. 253, note 83).

O'Donoghue included in his catalogue of portraits of Elizabeth I an agate intaglio with her profile facing right, said to have been presented by the Queen to Archbishop Parker; in 1890 this was shown at the Tudor Exhibition (O'Donoghue 1894, No. 12), but we know nothing of its current location. There is a surviving gem with a revolving seal bearing the Queen's profile on cornelian, dated to around 1590 (Hackenbroch 1979, p. 295, No. 289). Another portrait of Elizabeth which almost directly repeats the front of the medal 'Dangers Averted' of 1589 (Hawkins 1885, p. 154, No. 129) survives only as a cast (Raspe 1791, No. 13987) [fig. 2.27; fig. 2.28].

The cameo at Windsor which, C. D. E. Fortnum suggested, captures the features of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (Fortnum 1874, p. 16, No. 251), is now seen as a portrait of James I and dated to c. 1590 but is given tentatively not to the English but to the French school (Hein 2006, pp. 400-5; Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, No. 217).

We can add to this series small portrait intaglios reproduced in Tassie's casts. Particularly attention should be paid to the images of women, which are all identified in R. E. Raspe's catalogue of Tassie's products as Mary Queen of Scots (Mary Stuart), even though they include some pieces which are clearly much earlier, one of them perhaps even a portrait of Anne Boleyn and another of one of Henry VIII's other's wives (Raspe 1791, Nos. 13990-13995).

As for non-royal portraits on English gems, there are but a few examples of cameos even from the 16th century. An agate cameo with a three-quarter face male bust on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum must be dated to the very end of the reign of Henry VIII; one author suggested that the likeness was that of a court jester (Henry VIII 1991, p. 115, No. VII.19) [fig. 2.29]. In 1998 Paul Getty acquired at Sotheby's in London (16 December, lot 66; £100,500) a two-sided sardonyx cameo dated to c. 1590 with a portrait on the front of Christopher Hatton in which he appears, as in the painted portrait, wearing a beret with a feather, and on the back a deer against a spreading tree (in 2004 Getty's widow sold the gem at Christie's for £80,000) [fig. 2.31]. A carved shell reproduced by Hawkins can be identified without any doubt from its circular inscription as a depiction of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. Essex is shown with a marshal's baton, and in his work on English medals Hawkings

Fig. 2.31a. Portrait of Christopher Hatton
c. 1590
Two sided sardonyx cameo (obverse)

Fig. 2.31b. Deer against a tree
c. 1590
Reverse
Christies Images Ltd

suggested a date of 1597, when Essex 'was created hereditary Earl Marshal of England' (Hawkins 1885, p. 173, No. 169) [fig. 2.30].

As for intaglios, the Hermitage, for instance, has an example on almandine bearing a man's head in profile with a beard of highly typical form and in a flat hat (cat. 12). The inventory of engraved gems belonging to Catherine II of Russia lists this gem as 'glass paste with a portrait of the Cardinal of Wales of the time of Henry VIII', but in fact there is a great likeness

Fig. 2.32. Attributed to the monogrammist "H"
Portrait of Walter Raleigh. 1588
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Fig. 2.33. Portrait of Walter Raleigh.
c. 1590
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

between the clerical sitter and Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester – a leading figure of the Reformation who was executed by Queen Mary in 1555 (Strong 1969a, p. 189, pl. 373). We might suggest that the portrait on almandine, assuming our identification is correct, was commemorative, produced after Mary's death, during the reign of Elizabeth.

Amongst the many casts made by James Tassie are two almost identical intaglios bearing an image of Walter Raleigh [fig. 2.32; fig. 2.33], poet of the late Elizabeth age, statesman and soldier, sailor, imprisoned by James I and then executed (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14385-14386): attired in a jerkin embroidered with pearls and a high wide-brimmed hat with a feather, he is revealed by the large pearls on his hat and in his ear to be 'a royal pirate' (it is worn in his ear in his painted portrait of 1588 from the National Portrait Gallery, on display at Montacute House). These engraved gems are all so close to the miniature and medal portraits of James I of c. 1604 attributed to Hilliard that they can at least be described as 'Hilliardesque'.

Thus cameos served as monarchic relics or 'dynastic manifestos' captured in stone, as a sign of high royal favour or a symbol of loyalty to the throne, as insignia to mark out a narrow and select caste of people, while intaglios might still be used as personal seals. Even in the 'Golden Age' of British culture, the age of Shakespeare and the rise of lyric poetry, the age of Classical education and a desire to read the Ancient philosophers and the Bible in their original languages, glyptics was not to change its essential character in England.

1. Henry VIII and Edward VI. 1539/44
Two-sided sardonyx cameo, obverse
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

2. Portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1575/85
Sardonyx cameo
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

3. Portrait of Elizabeth I. 1575/85
Pendant with sardonyx cameo
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Plate 7

1. Portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1565/75
Pendant with sardonyx cameo
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

2. Portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1585
Sardonyx cameo (on an agate vase)
Louvre, Paris

3. Portrait of Elizabeth I. 1575-90
Sardonyx cameo (from Devonshire parure)
Devonshire collection, Chatsworth

1. Nicolas Hilliard
Elizabeth I ("The Mask of Youth"). 1590-1600
Painted miniature
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

2. George Vertue
Drawing after the Elizabeth cameo in the Duchess of Portland's collection
Private collection (see p. 47, fig. 2.22)

3. Elizabeth I and her predecessors. 1580-87
Sardonyx cameo (from Devonshire parure)
Devonshire collection, Chatsworth

3

Cameo insignia and intaglio seals

One totally independent – or rather uniquely English – phenomenon was the engraving of cameos depicting St George, warrior saint from Cappadocia and patron of all Christian soldiers. He was known in England from the 8th century, when his Life was translated into Anglo-Saxon and churches first began to be dedicated to him. In 1222 the Synod of Oxford raised his status and in 1415 he was declared a national saint and defender of England. As noted above, cameos showing George were most closely linked with the history of The Most Noble Order of the Garter. Edward III founded this first English chivalrous fraternity in 1347, when George was declared to be the Order's patron along with The Holy Trinity and the Virgin. Tradition linked George with prayers of intercession and the fighting of dragons. At a time when the institution of the knighthood and chivalry was entering on a decline, these aspects of the legend made St George an object of particular reverence and worship. He was usually shown as an armed warrior seated upon a rearing horse, making one final thrust to kill off the defeated winged dragon, thereby saving the dragon's intended victim.

Gradually the new Order developed a system of insignia. At first this consisted solely of a garter – a band or short ribbon with a buckle, made of cloth or dark blue velvet, with the embroidered gold device 'HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE' (Shame on him who thinks ill of it), which went round the knight's left leg just below the knee (female members of the Order wore it upon the left forearm). Under Henry VII 'The Great Collar' appeared, consisting of alternating interwoven gold links and brightly painted white and red enamel roses, also surrounded by images of the garter with its device.

In 1522, in the 13th year of the reign of Henry VIII, a new statute of the Order of the Garter was introduced, not only reinforcing the practice (which already existed under previous rulers) of attaching to the Collar a badge with the image of St George, but introducing strict rules governing the use of two different versions of it. On the Order's annual feast, the so-called 'Collar Day' when a magnificent ritual service was held in St George's Chapel at Windsor, and during other great ceremonials and processions, knights were henceforth to wear 'The Great George', a luxurious pendant with an image of the rider on his horse doing battle with a dragon *en ronde bosse*, made of gold, enamel and precious stones. For everyday wear, to make it easier to distinguish knights of the Order from members of other chivalrous bodies, there was 'The Lesser George', a more modest but more universal item than 'The Great George', worn upon the breast and frequently used in place of the latter even on great ceremonial processions. This was a medallion, usually oval, slightly convex and made of smooth or openwork (à jour) gold with a loop, suspended on a gold chain or blue sash worn over the shoulder, and the image of St George – surrounded by the garter with its device – was applied to these medallions using a miniature enamel technique. One of the very earliest surviving examples of such insignia – on which St George is shown not as a mediaeval knight, wearing chain mail and heavy armour as in the work of Holbein, but as a Roman warrior – is the badge which belonged to Thomas More (Beard 1956, p. 142).

But the same image might be executed very differently, i.e. it could be carved in relief into two or three-layer stone when it became, in fact, a cameo. The garter with its device, which dominated all the accessories

of the Order, was also engraved directly onto the stone around the edge of the cameo, or – much more frequently – might be applied to the setting which, as with 'The Great George', could be further enriched (e.g. with precious stones) at the owner's particular desire – for instance to stress the high status of a knight from the King's inner circle [plate 9.1].

'Lesser Georges' were made on individual commission but were also often produced in court workshops. It was only in the reign of Charles I that the Star of the Order of the Garter was introduced.

Elias Ashmole, King's Herald to Charles II and antiquarian, provided a detailed description of these and other marks of distinction in his books *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* and *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (Ashmole 1672, 1715). Of 'The Lesser George' he says: 'This George was, for the most part, pure gold curiously wrought, but divers of them were exquisitely graved in Onixs and Agats, and with such a happy Collection of the Stones, that heightned and received their Beauty by the Skill of the Artificer, in contriving the Figures and History, the natural Tincture of the Stones have so fitted them with Colours for Flesh, Hair, and everything else, even to Surprize and Admiration' (Ashmole 1715, pp. 180-81).

In depicting the battle between St George and the dragon on cameo insignia, use was made – with equal success – of both the compositional schemes which had developed in Byzantine depictions of the subject in the 12th century and then been repeated over the next centuries in hundreds, if not thousands, of extremely varied works of art, finding their most finished and perfect expression in the early 16th century in the work of Raphael: the famous scenes of George and the dragon in the National Gallery, Washington, and the Louvre, Paris.

The version in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, shows St George in a riding posture with his spear, encountering the dragon, as patron of the Order of the Garter – we clearly see the Garter itself just below his kneed. The painting was in 1506 presented to Henry VII's emissary Gilbert Talbot by Guidobaldo Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino and it was one of the first outstanding Italian Renaissance works to reach England (it has even been suggested that before producing this version Raphael may have seen the insignia of the Order that had been given to Guidobaldo Montefeltro himself on his election as Knight of the Order; Shearman 1983). It won wide fame thanks to painted copies and prints by Lucas Vorsterman and was particularly admired by connoisseurs throughout the land until it left the British Isles on the sale of

Fig. 3.1a. St. George and the Dragon
"Lesser George" of 1st Earl of Strafford.
17th century
Sardonyx cameo (obverse)
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

Fig. 3.1b. St. George and the Dragon
"Lesser George" of 1st Earl of Strafford.
17th century. (Reverse)
Enamel miniature after Raphael's picture in
National Gallery, Washington
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

Charles I's art collections. We find evidence that the link between the Washington St George – in which the saint's weapon is a spear – and cameo insignia was particularly relevant in England in Lesser Georges in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle and in the collection of the Duke of Beaufort (Christie's, London, 21 November 1989, lot 125) [fig. 3.1a, b], mounted together with a painted miniature from this painting on the back (Tonnochy 1935, No. XV; the miniature on the back of the gem in the Royal Collection was the work of Peter Oliver but was later replaced with a copy; see Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, No. 301). Four 16th-17th-century cameos in the Hermitage (cats. 14-17) and a cast from the Cabinet of James Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 13912) repeat the same composition.

At the present time scholars are agreed that we cannot exclude a historic link with England for Raphael's St George in the Louvre, executed earlier but reflecting the next stage in the battle, when St George had broken his spear and raised his naked spear above the dragon's head (Lynch 1962). Whatever the truth of the matter, it is clear that engravers were familiar with both compositions: there are several examples of the cameo insignia which have obvious links with both the Washington and the Louvre paintings; amongst the latter is a Hermitage cameo which is remarkable for the device engraved upon the stone itself (cat. 20).

Whilst remaining within the limits of these two schemes, engravers felt quite free in their approach to depicting St George's pose and the details of his attire – the armour of a medieval knight or a Roman warrior – with all the secondary attributes, and to the complex foreshortening of horse and dragon. The garter appeared not only on the left leg but also on the right – depending on which side the whole group faces. Subordinating the group to the stone's oval form, engravers stressed the confrontation between the winged, scaly dragon's tail and the tensely curving tail of the horse. Although the latter, according to all the canons, should have been white – embodying purity – when ridden by the holy warrior, it was not always possible to carve the horse into the white layer of the sardonyx, the use of colour being largely determined by the stone's natural structure. It should also be noted that the iconography of cameos showing St George as patron of the Order of the Garter more typically presented him as a mature and bearded soldier than as the more canonical youth.

There was a specific, limited number of Knights of the Order of the Garter: 25, not counting the King himself or foreign members – Extra Knights – the number of which was not limited, although they were restricted to those of Christian faith. For each new Knight a new 'Lesser George' was created, reflecting the craftsman's individual manner and the client's taste, and of course features of new styles which appeared over time.

Since the statues of the Order stated that insignia be worn only as part of the special Order attire, it was essentially useless after the death of the Knight who owned it and should technically have been handed in to the chancellery of the Order. As a rule, however, part of the insignia – most frequently the 'Lesser George', of which a Knight might have several examples – remained in the family's possession, being passed down as an heirloom, presented as a gift (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 130) or sold (Joslin 1969, p. 49). Therefore, despite their identical uses, each of the stone 'Lesser Georges' has its own unique features, yet to this day they are seen primarily as historical relics linked with a specific owner rather than as examples of the art of stone engraving. Of all the older authors, it was probably only C. W. King who included an example of such a gem in his studies – a cameo with St George on a large multi-layered green-veined sardonyx that he discovered amongst the gems in the private collection at Dingestow House, Monmouth. In his opinion, the cameo dated from the reign of Henry VIII (King 1866a, p. 172), which would make it amongst the very earliest engraved gems of such form. Henry himself had three Garter insignia (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 83).

Under Edward VI, changes were drawn up to the statutes of the Order with effect from March 1553, although in reality few were put into practice. But amongst his intentions was the strong limitation of the Order's activities (Strong 1964, p. 246) and certainly we know of no cameo insignia which can be dated to his reign. Production was possibly totally halted as a result of the increasing strength of the iconoclasts, who thought it wrong to wear even the image of St George upon the breast (Strong 1964, p. 263). Mary Tudor revived the old ceremonials and promulgated the union of the symbols of chivalrous ideals with Catholic doctrine.

During the Elizabethan era the cult of St George in all three hypostases – as protector of England, patron of the Order of the Garter, and patron of knighthood – experienced a massive rise in popularity, even though the image was exploited in a manner directly contrary to that of Mary's reign. The traditional image of St George doing battle with the dragon was now

perceived as a symbol or emblem which incorporated both ideas of Protestantism and the Queen's battle with the Pope in Rome, conducted largely in order to reinforce the monarch's absolute power, and this multiplicity lies behind the period's cameo insignia. During Elizabeth's reign, the production of 'The Lesser Georges' was probably carried out in the same court workshop as her numerous portrait cameos, or in one of very similar organisation.

Our understanding of the Order's cameo insignia is greatly enhanced by the extremely rich visual material surviving from the Elizabethan era. Strong identified a group of painted portraits of Elizabeth known as 'The Garter Portraits' [fig. 3.2] in which the Queen herself holds the symbol of the Order, in a number of cases in the form of a cameo. In the previous chapter we have already linked with this type two engraved portraits of the Queen, one in the Hermitage (cat. 1) and one in Paris (Babelon 1897, No. 967), in both of which the Queen wears a symbol of St George upon her breast – striking examples of the depiction of 'a cameo within a cameo'. Elizabethan cameo insignia can be seen in group and single portraits, on the breasts of Knights of the Order – who frequently also wear beneath them a profile cameo of the Queen, the simultaneous wearing of both being, as already noted, a privilege limited to her closest circle during processions and ceremonials. Now the Order's ceremonial costume included both the standard insignia and a cameo with the Queen's profile, which mutually reinforced each other's symbolic meaning. Amongst the many such painted works we should mention once more the famous *Procession of Elizabeth* at Sherborne in which cameo insignia and a cameo with a profile portrait of Elizabeth are particularly clearly visible beneath the Lesser George of Charles, Lord Howard of Nottingham.

Elizabeth's death put an end to the flow of royal portraits, but cameos showing St George continued to be produced in the 17th century. In the Victoria & Albert Museum is a drawing by Arnold Lulls for a St George for James I's son Prince Henry (Clifford Smith 1908, pp. 302-3). Under Charles I, this branch of English glyptics was to develop with even greater intensity, since the possession of several badges raised the prestige of the Knight of any Order, even a foreign one.

Oliver Cromwell did not recognise the Order of the Garter. The considerable number of gems surviving from the time of the Civil War and the Commonwealth are of poor low quality and small size, which leads

Fig. 3.2. Unknown artist
"Garter" portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1575
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

us to presume that they were more commonly set into rings as a kind of political emblem of Royalist support, or might have been set into jewellery of similar semantics. The Restoration and the accession of Charles II returned its former status to the Order of the Garter.

In the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle are about a dozen cameo 'Lesser Georges' in precious settings which, together with more numerous examples in the alternative technique of enamel on gold, and with several 'Great Georges', form a separate section there. Publications have tended to reproduce above all those which might prove to be 'The Scaffold George', that very 'Lesser George' which, according to legend, Charles I was wearing as he went to execution and that, standing on the scaffold, he removed from his neck and gave to Juxon, Bishop of London, with the word 'Remember' (Clifford Smith 1902-3, part 3, p. 242; Tonnochy 1935, p. 278) [fig. 3.3].

Admittedly, further information is found in the literature regarding at least two superb examples with pretensions to the same provenance. According to one story, the 'Scaffold George' was taken away from Juxon by the Parliamentarians and never left England, while according to another the true Scaffold George was given by Juxon to Charles II, going to France, then to Italy, finding its way in the early 19th century to the hands of Richard Wellesley, elder brother of

Fig. 3.3. St George and the Dragon "Lesser George". 17th century
Sardonyx cameo (supposed Scaffold George)
Royal Collecton, Windsor Castle

Fig. 3.4. St George and the Dragon
Late 16th century. Sardonyx cameo
Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg

the 1st Duke of Wellington (Payne-Gallwey 1908; Wellington 1953, pl. XIX a, b).

'Lesser Georges' are but poorly represented in British public collections. Amongst the examples we might cite those in the British Museum (Dalton 1915, No. 29) and the Victoria & Albert Museum (Evans 1921, pl. 24, No. II); another two, the location of which was and which remains unknown, are to be found amongst the paste replicas by James Tassie (Raspe 1791, Nos. 13913, 13986). By contrast, they turn up regularly on the art market. Amongst relics from the Stuart age put up for sale in the early 1970s was a two-sided sardonyx cameo combining a scene of St George with a portrait of Charles I (Christie's, London, 20 February 1973, lot 187). More recently was the sale of the Beaufort Garter Jewels, amongst them nine 'Lesser Georges', of which five were set with cameos (Christie's, London, 21 November 1989, lots 119, 122, 124-26) [plates 9.2, 10.3].

Beyond the shores of Britain, we should draw attention to a superb cameo acquired for a German museum in 1967 (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, 1972, p. 161, Nr. 83) [fig. 3.4]: here a scene with St George dated to the second half of the 16th century is engraved on the reverse of a Renaissance double portrait of Milanese work from c. 1500. There is information to suggest that there is an excellent 'Lesser George' in a museum in Istanbul (*Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*, Hamburg, 1972).

In terms of the number of such pieces, the Hermitage collection is inferior only to that at Windsor, since it consists of almost the same number of engraved gems used as insignia for Knights of the Order of the Garter or connected with it through the symbolic meaning of the engraved compositions [plate 9.3; plate 9.4]. As with the portrait cameos of Elizabeth I, however, not one of the Hermitage's 'Lesser Georges' has survived in its original setting. In terms of material, this group is dominated by sardonyx, with up to four or even five layers, but there are also works on onyx and even in paste.

During the first classification of the Hermitage's collection of glyptics in the late 1920s, all cameos showing George and the dragon were given to the 16th and 17th-century Italian school. These attributions have now been reassessed, particularly with regard to the 16th century; crucially, we should note that E. Kris, author of a monograph on Italian Renaissance glyptics which covers the full extent of the repertoire of subjects in use, does not cite a single example of this theme in Italy during that period (Kris 1929).

Most helpful in the re-attribution was a purely iconographical approach. Naturally, attention is first drawn by cameos on which the device of the Order is engraved directly into the stone (see cats. 20, 25), after which comes a series of engraved gems where we can pick out beneath the saint's knee a fine – sometimes barely visible – band intended to indicate the garter –

Fig. 3.5a. Two sided sardonyx cameo.
17th century
Diana Lucifera in a chariot drawn by bulls (obverse)
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 25a)

Fig. 3.5b. Two sided sardonyx cameo.
17th century
St George and the Dragon (reverse)
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 25b)

main symbol of the Order (cats. 14, 17, 21). Amongst the Hermitage cameos bearing these specific features there are but three early examples which fully accord stylistically with the Elizabeth cameos and are equal to them in skill of execution (cats. 14, 15, 24), while the rest fit with our perceptions of such images in the 17th century.

Also in the Hermitage are two two-sided sardonyx cameos (cats. 24, 25) showing St George doing battle with the dragon. On the first [plate 10.1], dating from the end of the Elizabethan era, the composition with St George on the front is complemented by a scene engraved on the reverse into the pale layer of stone, showing the tale of the dragon's victim liberated by George, the legendary princess who symbolises true faith and (or) chivalry, but who bears different names in the various lands where the saint is revered. In England she is Princess Cleodolinda (sometimes Saba or Elizabeth). She leads the tamed dragon by a lead made from her girdle, 'like a tame dog' as Jacobus da Voragine wrote in the 13th century in his *Legenda Aurea*. The usual allegory of Christianity's victory over paganism was intended here also to symbolise the victory of the Anglican Church. The 'Lesser George' of the mid-17th century in the Royal Collection known as 'The Stuart George', also includes the figure of the princess (Patterson 1996, No. 60), and other similar examples might be cited.

The second two-sided cameo represents a curious symbiosis of pagan and Christian subjects: St George defeating the dragon, the garter framing it and the Order's device are engraved into the reverse of the cameo while the front shows Diana Luciferus standing with a torch in her hand riding a chariot pulled by two bulls and accompanied by Eros (an echo, resounding over the centuries, of the celebrated Luna Cameo (3rd century) in the British Museum, once in the collection of Peter Paul Rubens; Möbius 1968). The motto upon it is 'VIS CEDIT AMORI' [Strength Yields to Love] on a scroll [fig. 3.5].

The cameo gives rise to direct associations with a two-sided sardonyx cameos in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Babelon 1897, No. 622) [fig. 3.6]. One side of the cameo is occupied by a depiction of the battle between St George and the dragon enclosed in the vertical oval of the garter with the device of the Order cut into the stone. Contrasting with this on the other side is a scene of single-handed combat between Neptune (as this male figure is almost universally identified) and a lion which has thrown itself upon him. An unfurled banner bears the device 'SUBINTEL LIGITUR' (This is intended). That this is the front of the cameo is indicated by the slanting cut of the stone's edge, revealing all three layers – a feature usually applied to the obverse.

Fig. 3.6a.Two sided cameo. 17th century
St George and the Dragon (obverse)
Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Fig. 3.6b. Two sided cameo. 17th century
Neptune and the Batavian Lion (reverse)
Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

The cameos are similar to each other in their precise yet temperamental engraving, the nature of the inscriptions, their placing and overall structure, which recalls the style of contemporary medals. Yet we cannot call them analogous, for the sides with St George are resolved according to different composition schemes, in the Hermitage cameo the engraving being arranged not along the vertical but the horizontal axis of an oval sardonyx.

A. L. Millin, who was the first to publish the Paris cameo, wrote in 1808: 'Il y a plus de dix ans que j'ai remarqué dans le cabinet de la bibliothèque impériale, une belle Sardonyx à trois couches gravée des deux côtés, à la manière des médailles. Le sujet me parut singulier; j'en fis faire une empreinte dont j'ai communiqué des soufres à plusieurs savants. Aucun n'a pu me donner des renseignements sur le temps où ce camée a été fait, et sur l'allégorie qu'il renferme' (Millin 1808, p. 346). We should add that if the St George doing battle with a dragon might in any case symbolise loyalty to military valour and noblesse oblige, the overall meaning of neither cameo has been fully revealed to this day (the stated opinion of several authors that the obverse and reverse of the Hermitage cameo are of different date, and even that the inscriptions were added 'by a new hand', are absolutely without foundation).

Both Millin (1808) and Babelon (1897) saw the Paris cameo as reflecting the disputed British succession which brought England and Holland into conflict during the penultimate decade of the 17th century, but the first took the English point of view, whilst the second assessed the subjects from the position of Holland. Thus the lion, in Millin's interpretation, became 'the Stuart lion', tearing the beard from Neptune (embodying Holland), whilst to Babelon he was 'le lion batave rasant le Neptune anglais'. Whatever is the correct understanding of the cameo, before us we clearly have an allegorical – even satirical – subject linked with the opposition between the House of Stuart and William of Orange and perhaps with the latter's victory. Accordingly, Millin saw the Paris cameo as English work, whilst Babelon expressed the opinion that it was of Dutch origin. Bearing in mind the developed tradition of producing large multi-layer cameos in England itself, it seems that we should probably concur with Millin, particularly when we realise that there are no known engraved gems of Dutch origin from this period worthy of comparison with this piece. It might, however, be more correct to place it in the so-called Anglo-Dutch circle. On the basis of the parallels cited above, the cameos in the Hermitage and the Bibliothèque Nationale should be dated no later than 1689, the year in which William of Orange became William III of England, ruling jointly with his wife Mary.

The use of cameos for the Lesser George continued into the reign of Queen Anne, the First Duke of Marlborough in 1705 'having a most rich George in Sardonix set with Diamonds' (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 186).

Running on ahead, we should note that having reached its height in the 17th century, the production of engraved 'Lesser Georges' gave way once more to the use of enamelled and bejewelled symbols of the Order in gold. Nonetheless, the motif did not totally disappear from English glyptics at least until the middle of the 19th century. In order to avoid returning to this type of cameo insignia in the following chapters, we shall here follow its further fate both within Britain overall and in British glyptics in particular.

In 1750 an agate cameo with St George was engraved by Lorenz Natter (Nau 1966, Nr. 129), then working in London, and a decade later Edward Burch began his participation in London exhibitions with an onyx cameo on the same subject at the first exhibition of The Society of Artists of Great Britain in 1760 (Graves 1907, p. 43). Burch's signature also appears on a two-sided sardonyx with Saints George and Andrew which can be revolved to alter the saint displayed. This was created for George IV and later served as a wedding gift to Prince Albert from Queen Victoria (Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, No. 303). In 1793 St George was engraved by William and Charles Brown in 'garnet oriental' (the old name for almandine) on commission from Catherine II (cat. 261). They did not dare place their signature on such a cameo, as was their usual practice, and this attribution was made possible only thanks to financial documents in the Russian State Historical Archive (see Appendix II).

Nor did Nathaniel Marchant sign the sardonyx cameo he created for use as a Garter insignia in 1798 for the 5th Earl of Carlisle; unfortunately this cameo, now at Castle Howard, is cracked along the diagonal (Seidmann 1987a, p. 24, No. 123). He was then supposed to engrave a similar insignia for Lord Spenser, whose portrait he had taken three years earlier: Spenser had received a marvellous piece of onyx with a value of £600 as a gift from the Russian Emperor Paul I (Farington 1978-84, IV, p. 35). On seeing the stone, Marchant was enraptured – 'for £1000 such another could not be purchased!' – and made a wax model… but then began to drag his feet over starting work on the cameo itself. Gertrud Seidmann explains this hesitation in that Marchant returned unwillingly to the relief engraving to which he had paid his dues at the start of his career and that he had been disappointed with the stone provided by Lord Carlisle. The matter came to an end when the sitter's wife, Lady Lavinia, Countess Spenser, showed the stone to the Italian engraver and medallist Benedetto Pistrucci, recently arrived from Rome 'to take London by storm' (Seidmann 1987a, p. 72): 'She was very polite to me and showed me an Oriental onyx, the finest I had ever seen', wrote Pistrucci in his autobiography. 'She then showed me a large model in wax of a St. George, done by Marchant, and said to me: "My husband would like you to make a model in wax, of the same size and subject – *but I should like it in the Greek style*, as that was the style in which naked figures were done; and the mantle, in this beautiful white, would have a superb effect: it would be throwing the stone away to make a figure upon it dressed in Gothic armour." I was much pleased to hear her ladyship reason so well concerning the art, for I could not have brought forward more convincing arguments myself...' (Billing 1867, pp. 190-91).

Pistrucci created a new wax model without delay, and soon after began the cameo itself [fig. 3.7]. He took as his model a cameo on the same subject by Giovanni Pichler in which the latter had used the naked figure of a rider from a battle scene on a Renaissance two-layer shell. Since by this time the shell had already moved – along with the rest of the glyptics collection of the Duke of Orléans – to Catherine II's collection at her Hermitage (Paris 2000, No. 151), Pistrucci would have been familiar with it only from its engraved reproduction in the publication of selected gems from the Orléans Cabinet (Orléans Description 1780-84, I, pl. 39**). A comparison of the poses of horse and rider in both works does reveal an undoubted relationship: Pistrucci omits only the shield in the left hand of the original, while in the new wax model he slightly modified the drawing, using as his model an 'Italian domestic in Brunet's Hotel in Leicester Square' (Billing 1867, p. 196; G. S. B. 1932-33). The talented, sensitive artist unerringly saw the change in stylistic preferences as the challenge of his time. His innovation was soon to spread: Pistrucci was already Assistant Chief Engraver at the Royal Mint when Wellesley Pole, Master of the Mint and later Lord Maryborough, chose his St George for the reverse of the sovereign and half-sovereign introduced in 1816 during reorganisation of the monetary system and establishment of a new gold standard.

Not long before his death, probably in the early 1810s, Marchant himself returned to the theme, carving it on a brown-on-grey cameo for a Sash Badge [plate 10.2],

Fig. 3.7. Benedetto Pistrucci.
St George and the Dragon. 1815/16
Wax model for sardonyx cameo for Lord Spenser
Museo della Zecca, Roma

Fig. 3.8. Nicola Morelli
St George and the Dragon. Italy. Early 19th century
Formerly collection Nathaniel Mayer Victor, 3rd Lord Rothschild
Courtesy of Sotheby's, London (sold 12 December 2003)

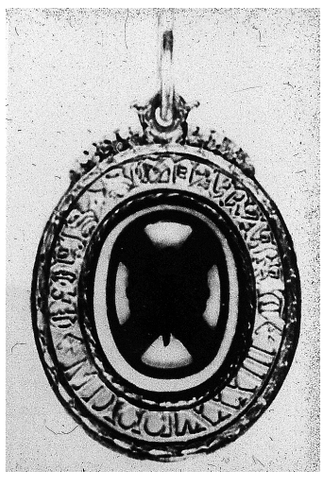


Fig. 3.9. Badge of the Order of St Patrick

Fig. 3.10. Tommaso Saulini, after model by William Wyon
Royal Order of Victoria and Albert. c. 1864

which, covered with diamonds large and small, can be seen on the portrait of Queen Victoria by Franz Xaver Winterhalter (Royal Collection, Windsor Castle). Here the engraver signed his work – 'MARCHANT INV[ENIT]. F.' – confirming not only his authorship and his skill but also his own contribution to the new interpretation of a traditional composition (Patterson 1996, No. 57): moreover, he depicted the Cappadocian saint naked, as required by the current 'Greek taste'.

Similar cameos were commissioned by members of the British nobility not only from Pistrucci's compatriots but also from other foreign masters working in England. During the last quarter of the 18th century, George M. Moser, a Swiss jeweller and gem engraver, created a 'Lesser George' by gluing a gold relief onto the polished stone plaque (Raspe 1791, No. 13913) – a combined technique known in French as *camée d'or*. The Duke of Cambridge employed the services of Giuseppe Caputi, who arrived in London in 1815 (Forrer 1904-30, I, p. 342). During the reign of George IV, the Cambridge badge entered the Royal Collection, where there was already another 'Lesser George' by the same engraver (Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, Nos 305, 306). A 'Lesser George' with the signature Girometti, deriving even in its details from Giovanni Pichler's intaglio *St George and the Dragon* is now in the National Museum in Krakow (Fredro-Bonieska 1940-48, p. 70). It should probably be seen as a work of Pietro Girometti: son of the celebrated Giuseppe Girometti, he may have worked for some time in London.

Cameos for insignia of the Order of the Garter might also be commissioned from famous Italian masters during a trip to Italy. The signature of Giovanni Antonio Santarelli is engraved on an onyx cameo created either for Henry, 5th Duke of Beaufort on the occasion of his installation at St George's Chapel, Windsor, on 29 May 1801, or for his son, who was installed four years later [plate 10.3]. A cameo by Nicola Morelli from the Rothschild collection was probably produced in the early 19th century on commission from a British noble (Sotheby's, London, 12 December 2003, lot 95) [fig. 3.8]. Of roughly the same date is a 'Lesser George' by Giovanni Battista Cerbara presented by George VI to Queen Elizabeth in 1936 (Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, No. 302).

The use of cameos to decorate British insignia and Badges was not limited solely to the Order of the Garter. Amongst early examples is a collar with a pendant decorated with diamonds, which has set into it an onyx cameo with the city arms surrounded with the motto 'DOMINE, DIRIGE NOS' (Lord guide us). In 1565 this was bequeathed to the City of London by Sir John Alleyn, who was supposed to have received it from Henry VII or Henry VIII, and it became one of the insignia of the Lord Mayor of London (Jenkins 1949, pp. 60-62). In the British Museum is a Jacobite emblem (Dalton 1915, No. 230) and a badge of the Scottish Order of St Andrew engraved in sardonyx by Benedetto Pistrucci for Lord Lauderdale for 350 guineas (Billing 1867, pp. 116, 206), while in the Royal Collection at Windsor is a chalcedony intaglio with the same image by Antonio Berini, an Italian engraver active in the late 18th and first third of the 19th century. Individual examples of insignia of the Irish Order of St Patrick, founded in 1783 by George III, which existed until the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922 (Joslin 1969, No. 3) [fig. 3.9], as well as the Order of the Bath, originally founded according to legend by Henry IV in 1399 and revived in 1725 (Dalton 1915, No. 231), might also include carved stones. For instance, a Knight's Badge of the Order of St Patrick for 1845, which has a cameo engraved in three-layer agate, was acquired in 1983 by the Ulster Museum, Belfast (Treasures for the Nation 1988-89).

In 1861 the Order of the Star of India was founded; its insignia incorporated a cameo profile portrait of Queen Victoria (Patterson 1996, No. 79) [plate 11.1], while in 1862 (two months after the death of Prince Albert) a special Royal Order of Victoria & Albert was established, awarded only to women, with four classes, the insignia showing their paired profile busts engraved both on onyx and on shell (annulled after the death of Queen Victoria; Patterson 1996, Nos. 94, 111). In the Royal Collection are seven examples of the women's order bearing the signatures of Tommaso and Luigi Saulini [fig. 3.10]. Fascinatingly, that worn by Queen Victoria herself has Prince Albert in the foreground, while he is in the background on all the others (Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, Nos 312-18). A marvellous badge of the Order 1st Class (only for members of the Royal Family) which was worn by Queen Victoria herself and by her daughters, produced by Tommaso Saulini, was acquired in 1976 by the Victoria & Albert Museum via Christie's in Geneva (although the diamonds in the setting had been replaced with paste; Bury 1979, p. 8); another, from the engraver Saulini Junior, is owned by Garrard & Co. (Carr 1975, fig. 9); several more insignia were engraved by James Ronca. All these were after a model by William Wyon, Chief Medallist at the Royal Mint (Bury 1979, p. 8). James Ronca (1826-1910) took over from the Saulini and continued making the insignia

Fig. 3.11. Chalcedony signet ring of Mary Queen of Scots with her arms. 16th century
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 3.12. Diamond signet ring of Charles, Prince of Wales, later Charles I. 17th century
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

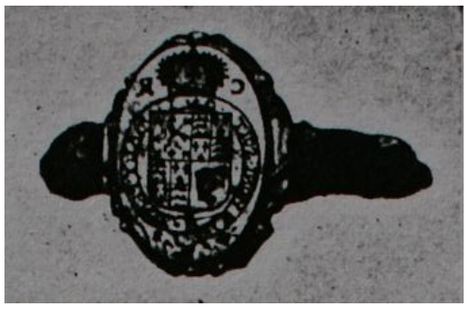


Fig. 3.13. Diamond signet ring of Charles I with lion and unicorn on the shoulders. 17th century
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

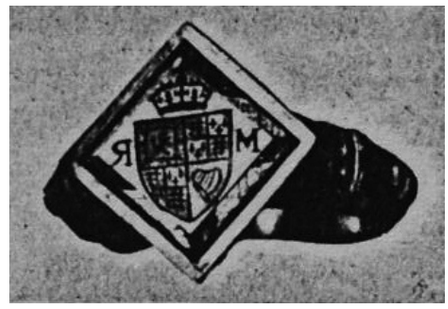


Fig. 3.14. Francis Walwyn
Diamond signet ring of Queen Henrietta Maria with her initials. 17th century
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

Fig. 3.15. Francis Walwyn
Sapphire signet ring of Mary II. 17th century
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

of the Order until it ceased to exist on the death of Victoria (e.g. Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, Nos 319-22). Ronca also produced several 'Lesser Georges' (Rudoe 2006, p. 139).

Isaac Walton, biographer of John Donne, provides us with important information about a small group of camoes on religious subjects. Not long before his death in 1631, the theological poet commissioned an image of Christ which was used to engrave a number of cameos on heliotrope that were set in gold mounts and presented to his closest friends (Walton 1640). Sadly, no such gem is to be found in any collection known to this author.

Turning to intaglio seals of the 16th to 17th centuries we touch on sphragistics, or the study of seals, and we cannot ignore the carving in stone of coats-of-arms and heraldic images which have their roots in the mediaeval period. It became the practice in the 15th century to wear rings with heraldic seals and it was the making of such seals which formed the main function of court engravers. The literature mentions an engraver of seals to Henry VIII, John Mayne, without making it clear in what material he worked – metal or stone, and the name of Michael Berger (Walpole 1862, I, p. 108; Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 82).

The identity of the engraver to Queen Mary is provided by Antonio Francesco Gori: he names Jacobus Thronus, who engraved for her a seal with a coat-of-arms upon a diamond in around 1557 (Gori 1767, I, p. 286). L. Forrer suggested that this man should be identified with Jacopo da Trezzo (Forrer 1904-30, VI, p. 89) who is known to have travelled to England in order to bring Mary a gift of jewels from her future father-in-law, on the occasion of her marriage to Philip II. We have already mentioned a medal by Jacopo da Trezzo bearing a portrait of Mary produced to mark this event. This technique was revived in the 19th century when it was known as 'reverse intaglio' (see p. 222).

Mary Queen of Scots had a rhomboid chalcedony seal with her arms (Billing 1867, p. 27). In the British Museum we find also her seals in chalcedony [fig. 3.11] and rock crystal (Hackenbroch 1979, p. 286, fig. 766 A,B). This latter used a new technique which had made its appearance during the Elizabethan period, by which the engraved side of the transparent mineral was placed over foil painted with the colours of a family coat-of-arms.

Very few such items have survived undamaged, for the original colouring was often short-lived, usually lost in any contact with water, although in their time such seals were widely used and not only among royalty and the aristocracy (Evelyn 1907, p. 279) but also by rich merchants. Of particular interest amongst those few is a set of seven signet rings with seals made in the 1570s for Thomas Gresham, founder of the Royal Exchange [plate 11.2]. Each bears his emblem, a grasshopper in green enamel, while the seals have the arms of his companions (Taylor, Scarisbrick 1978, p. 300).

In the Royal Collection at Windsor are several heraldic seals of the Stuarts. One of these, a diamond with the feathers of the Prince of Wales engraved upon it, was long considered to have been the seal of the young Charles II until Fortnum rightly noted that when Charles was prince England was hardly likely to be indulging in engraving on diamond, and suggested that it in fact had belonged to the future Charles I (Fortnum 1877, p. 26) [fig. 3.12]. This theory was later confirmed when an imprint was discovered on a letter from Charles I dated to his reign (Tonnochy 1935, p. 281). Another heraldic seal of Charles I has the lion and the unicorn on the shoulders [fig. 3.13]. O. M. Dalton published 17th-century seals with coats-of-arms of English work on cornelian, white topaz and sapphire in the British Museum. The topaz and sapphire seals, to judge by the initials framed with a wreath beneath a crown, would seem to have been made for James II (Dalton 1915, Nos. 972-74). One intaglio in yellow quartz with a portrait of the same king was formerly in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough, but after that collection's dispersal its fate is unknown (Story-Maskelyne 1870, p. 97, No. 593). Another, deriving from the collection of Cardinal York (1725-1807), belonged to Ralph Harari until that collection too was put up for sale (Rings 1988, No. 83). A seal of Charles I in rock crystal (Royal Collection) is attributed to Abraham Van der Doort or Thomas Simon (King 1872, I, p. 406).

A diamond seal of Charles I with the letters C and R beneath a crown, recently discovered in the Hermitage collection (cat. 11), may have been the work of Francis Walwyn, who received rich payment for such works in 1628-29 (Walpole 1862, I, p. 286; Fortnum 1877, p. 26). It is thought that he was also responsible for a diamond seal with the royal arms and monogram of Henrietta Maria arrived in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle in 1887 as the gift to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her Golden Jubilee from the first publisher of the royal gems, Drury Fortnum (Fortnum 1883, 1887) [fig. 3.14]. Ten years later through the same channels the Royal Collection gained the seal of

Mary II, wife of William III, a coat-of-arms beneath a crown and between the letters MR engraved on sapphire and set into an original ring with Tudor roses (Fortnum 1887; Tonnochy 1935, p. 281; Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 178) [fig. 3.15].

As the 17th century drew to its end, the custom of using seals in private life – which had never ceased entirely – gained greater popularity. Yet the gem-seals preferred by titled individuals for both official and personal papers by no means represented the full repertoire of English intaglios in the period. The heraldic seals of the aristocracy and emblematic seals of the wealthy middle classes were joined by products of a very different nature, accessible to those with more modest social ambitions. From France came the fashion for gem seals with 'devices' – all kinds of instructive or sentimental phrases, sayings and aphorisms, accompanied by uncomplicated images of an allegorical nature, in which mischievous cupids frequently played an important role. Gems with 'ciphers', initials, crosses, letters and monograms etc became widespread. Such devices might be engraved on one, two or even three-faced seals, each occupying one of the faces (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 255) and set into rings and pendants, attached to châtelaines or clock keys, and not alone, but as one of four or even five such seals. Those seals that were mainly kept in bureaux and writing desks in order to be at hand were set in sculptural mounts, with ornate handles in the form of Moors or beasts. It was at this time that pocket seals came into fashion (later known as fob-seals, since they were, like fob-watches, worn in the fob-pocket). Increasingly, intaglio seals were set into the decoration of all kinds of gold and silver objects, from watches to medallions used in the making of bracelets and necklaces (Seidmann 1997a, p. 143).

Sir Ralf Verney wrote from Florence in 1651: 'Colonel Atkins in Florence, at Mr. Amies the English House, hathe more varietyes of stone with seals than all Italy besides', while Jeremiah Marlow, jeweller of Lombard Street, advertised in 1677: 'You may have coats of arms, ciphers and other devices curiously engraved on any sort of stones' (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 179). *The London Gazette* in these years often published notices announcing the loss of seals of this type: on 2 October 1679, for instance, we read of the loss of 'a little gold seal shaped like a dog, and graved with a camel' while on 17 April 1690 an owner bewailed 'the loss of a bunch of nine seals' (Scarisbrick 1986, p. 281).

Intaglios and pastes with Classical subjects were brought from Italy, for which considerable evidence exists in the voluminous epistolary heritage of the age: 'Seals are much in fashion… and if you know anybody that is lately come out of Italy tis ten to one but they have a store, for they are very common there. I do remember you once sealed a letter to me with as fine a one as I have seen. It was a Neptune, I think, riding upon a dolphin…' wrote Dorothy Osborne in 1653 to her lover William Temple in Italy. In another letter she repeated 'I have sent into Italy for seals; 'tis to be hoped that by the time mine come over, they may be out of fashion again…' (Evans 1921, pp. 125-26).

The import of such pieces could not but stimulate the appearance in Britain itself of personal engraved seals in keeping with this new social trend, the desire for closer contact with the images of Antiquity, with the passage of history, reflecting the general spirit of the times.

1. St George and the Dragon. c. 1660
Sardonyx cameo
Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, Bowhill

2. St George and the Dragon. Mid-17th century
Sardonyx cameo. Sash Badge of the 5th or 6th Duke of Beaufort
© Christie's Images Ltd 1989 (formerly property of the Somerset Trust)

3. St George and the Dragon. Late 16th century
Sardonyx cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 20)

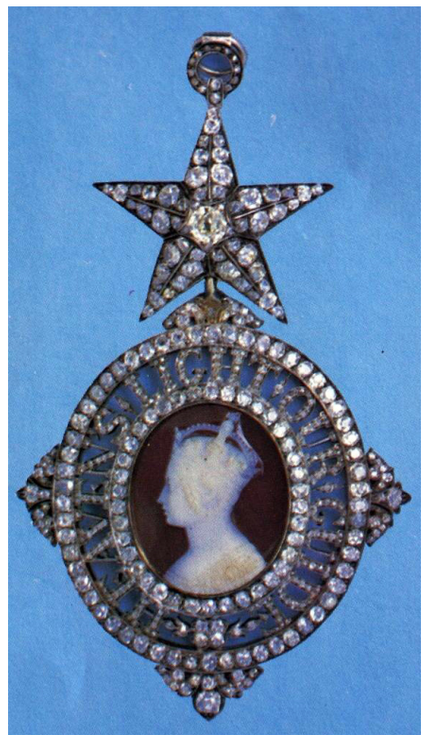
4. St George and the Dragon. 17th century
Sardonyx cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 14)

Plate 10

1. Two sided sardonyx cameo. 17th century
a) St George and the Dragon (obverse)
b) Princess and a Ewe before the Dragon's cave (reverse)
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 24)

2. Nathaniel Marchant
St George and the Dragon. 1790-1810
Sardonyx cameo
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

3. Giovanni Antonio Santarelli
St George and the Dragon
"Lesser George" of the 5th or 6th Duke of Beaufort. Italy, early 19th century
Sardonyx cameo
© Christie's Images Ltd 1989 (formerly property of the Somerset Trust)



1. Paul Lebas, after model by William Wyon
Badge of the Order of "The Star of India". c. 1930
Sardonyx cameo

2a and b. Marriage ring of Thomas Gresham (two views)
c. 1570s
Rock crystal intaglio with painted foil
Private collection

4

The first collections

As we have seen, engraved gems were used in England as seals, magical amulets, emblems of loyalty to the throne, insignia, Orders and other badges; they served votive, proclamatory, decorative and commemorative functions; they passed from hand to hand as precious gifts and as symbols of favour and respect, but they had never, up to this point, been 'collected' in the true sense of the word. Although M. Henig, D. Scarisbrick and K. Aschengreen Piacenti use the terms 'collection' and 'collecting' when dealing with this period (Henig 1974a, p. 200; Scarisbrick 1994a, p. xiii; Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, p. 12), we must admit that even while gems were to be found concentrated together in a single place, as with the tomb of Edward the Confessor, the treasuries of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, or the stock of the jewellers Robert Adamas (died 1532) and John Mabbe (a record of 1576 indicates that he possessed some seventeen engraved gems; Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 86), this was the result rather of accumulation. There is not a single mention of them in the context of collecting, a context so important on the continent. (Thanks to the writings of the late-16th-century travellers Fynes Moryson and Robert Dallington, the English were informed about Italian collections of engraved gems, notably that of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany (on which see McCrory 1997, p. 173).

Even throughout the 16th century, gems which entered the possession of noble individuals or passed into the royal treasury were adapted to suit the social ambitions of the owner, being set into signet rings or medallions, pendants or agrafes, while whole groups might be made into bracelets, necklaces and buttons: they were not perceived as things which, having now ceased to serve their original function, might be admired, described or deliberately collected and brought together with similar pieces. All the gems belonging to Henry VIII – which included both Classical engraved gems and Renaissance pieces such as a two-sided agate of Italian work with the Crucifixion on the front and the Resurrection on the reverse – were set into rich jewellery, combining gold, enamel, precious stones and pendant pearls (Dalton 1915, p. XXXIII). Descriptions of the King's attire mention agrafes with cameos of jasper for a white velvet hat and of jacinth for a beret (Connoisseur Period Guides 1956-58, I, p. 142), while his black velvet bonnet was adorned with a brooch 'having face on it of a camye' (Masson 1976, p. 200). A cameo with a biblical scene from the life of Abraham was set into a gold brooch with enamel and rubies belonging to Queen Mary Tudor (Hackenbroch 1979, p. 403) and a shell cameo head were set into the gold enamel cover of Edward VI's prayer book (Tait 1985, p. 53) [plate 12.1].

During Elizabeth's reign, the use of engraved gems became more general and yet more regimented [fig. 4.1]. Extensive evidence for this is provided not just by clothing inventories, lists of jewels and new year gifts, but in the era's rich visual material, which reveals the strict rules applied to the wearing of cameos in both male and female ceremonial attire (this being not merely a tribute to fashion, as it is sometimes suggested). A quick look at just a few such portraits is sufficient to discover that cameos played in costume a role both decorative and symbolic and that a cameo's complex ideological message was complemented by that of its setting (Hackenbroch 1979, p. 269).

In his book on early English portraiture, Roy Strong reproduces two paintings of court ladies from the

1560s (Strong 1969b, Nos. 48, 75), showing Margaret Clifford and Eleonor Bellowes, both of whom point out to the viewer (with almost identical gestures) richly set cameos suspended on long chains [fig. 4.2]. These owners undoubtedly prized their cameos as some kind of talisman. A number of similar examples are cited in Scarisbrick 1994b (pp. 83-84) [plate 12.2].

Although individual examples of both kinds of gem used in ceremonial costume were true masterpieces, the very mass nature of their usage indicates that contemporaries did not count aesthetic criteria very high on the list of reasons why they were valued. If first place was given to emblematic purpose, next in importance came a belief in the miraculous qualities of coloured stones – still very much alive within that advanced intellectual system and natural even to Francis Bacon, father of English materialism.

A convincing illustration of this is the curious piece presented to Elizabeth by Archbishop Matthew Parker during her visit to Canterbury in 1562 [fig. 4.3]. This little ivory box, probably of English workmanship, has an agate intaglio of Italian work showing Venus and Cupid in Vulcan's Forge; two cameos are set in special niches in the inner walls, a Portrait of Elizabeth and St George and the Dragon, and other niches contain texts on the magical qualities of agate from Pliny's Natural History and other calligraphic inscriptions (Way 1862, pp. 146, 147). From the same source the Queen received a gift, during a Progress in 1573, of a gold salt which had 'two rich achats therein curiosly carved, the one with the Queene's image and the other with Saint George killing the dragon…' (Strong 1963, p. 29 note 1). Presented within the objects, albeit in somewhat fragmentary fashion, is the full range of iconographical and symbolic elements which we encounter when dealing with cameos during this era.

It is important to note that by the 16th century mythological subjects on Renaissance or Classical gems which had made their way to England no longer required re-interpretation: on the contrary, they were now understood and prized for what they were. In the first decades of the new century, for instance, Thomas Colyns, prior of Tywardreth in Cornwall, owned a mediaeval cameo showing the Virgin and employed as his seal a gem bearing an image of the Laocoon, which is given its correct title in historical documents (Middleton 1891, p. 42). Thomas More used a seal with a portrait of the Roman Emperor Vespasian. In 1576 Lady Burghley presented Queen Elizabeth with an agate with a figure of Neptune in a jewelled mount, adorned with rubies, diamonds and pearls; two years later, Sir Henry Sydney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, gave her a jewel with a cameo with Diana, while Mrs Blanche Parry gave her a crystal double cameo 'with twoe storyes appeering on bothe sides' (Way 1862, p. 154; Masson 1976, p. 200). Elizabeth herself gave Catherine Walsingham, on the occasion of her marriage to Sir Thomas Gresley, a pendant with a bust of a Negro woman on an Italian cameo set into the lid and containing portrait miniatures of the young couple by Nicholas Hilliard (Princely Magnificence 1980-81, No. 46).

On another occasion, Elizabeth, adhering to her custom of presenting her own portraits to members of her closest circle, rewarded Admiral Francis Drake with the famous pendant known as 'The Drake Jewel', [fig. 4.4] in which a portrait miniature by Hilliard was hidden from prying eyes beneath a two-sided cameo with heads of a Negro man and a white woman carved into an excellent three-layer sardonyx, possibly intended to personify Europe and Africa (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 86). This rich gift, prompted by Drake's heroic role in defeating the Spanish Armada, is now considered by historians of numismatics to mark the prelude to the appearance of special military awards, which emerged in mid-17th-century England and soon after in Russia and other lands on the continent in the early 18th century. One of the ships in the Armada – The Girona – brought back to English shores a series of openwork gold medallions in the grotesque style, with enamel and pearls, six of which still have today lazurite cameo portraits of Roman emperors (Ulster Museum, Belfast; Flanagan 1974, p. 21).

Brooches and rings with portrait cameos – 'counterfeit agates' – are listed in an inventory of jewels belonging to Mary Queen of Scots in 1576 (Evans 1921, p. 96). An inventory of the stock of John Mabbe included cameos with a skull as a 'memento mori', a fashion which had come from France: 'two jewels having a Agot in eyther jewell like a Deathe's Head' (Evans 1921, p. 127).

It was in the 16th century that the English language first developed equivalents for the concept of a 'cameo' – 'agate-stone', simply 'agate' ('agot', 'agott', 'agathe hedds', 'achate') – which were used solely to refer to these specific objects and were quite everyday expressions. This was first demonstrated by Ch. W. King on the basis of Shakespeare's lexicon (King 1872, I, p. 324) and then in more detail by Kunz, who noted that Shakespeare always used mineralogical definitions such as diamond, ruby, sapphire, opal,

Fig, 4.1. Portrait of a Lady with a Cameo
Coloured engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi, 1798, after a drawing by Hans Holbein in the Royal Collection Windsor Castle

Fig. 4.2. Unidentified artist
Portrait of Eleanor Benlowes. 1565
By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Fig. 4.3. Jewelled ornament presented to Queen Elizabeth by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury (from a print). 16th century

Fig. 4.4. The Drake Jewel
Sardonyx cameo with two profiles: white woman and black moor (Europa and Africa?). 1588
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

emerald and rock-crystal literally, i.e. to refer only to the actual mineral (Kunz 1916, p. 78). Interestingly, a literal reading of the words 'agate-stone' and 'agate' as referring to the mineral itself, rather to cameos, led to a sad impoverishment of meaning in Russian – and presumably other language – translations of Shakespeare. Such, for instance, is the description of Queen Mab, 'the fairies' midwife', in Act 1 Scene 4 of Romeo and Juliet: '...she comes in shape no bigger than an agate-stone on the fore-finger of an alderman', and there are similar mistranslations in Much Ado About Nothing, Love's Labour's Lost, and both parts of Henry IV.

In 1637 the Dutch medallist and artist Abraham Van der Doort, employed at the English court, was still using the word 'agate' to describe engraved gems when cataloguing Charles I's collection. This word was to be the accepted term for a cameo in Britain throughout the whole of the 17th century, the century that was at last to see the rise of an interest in collecting engraved gems.

Thus we can state that England had not been affected by an important stage in European collecting habits, the formation of gem collections (known in Ancient Rome as a dactyliothecae), which was born in the 13th century at the court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen at Palermo in southern Italy, moving in the 14th and 15th centuries to the French Burgundian circle and finally finding its fullest expression in 15th- 16th-century Italy and then the rest of Europe. But it was only in the 17th century that England joined in the whole process, at a point when the humanist perception of Ancient monuments – gems among them – had already been superseded in Europe by a largely antiquarian interest. (Although such an altered perception was in no way an indication of any lessening in enthusiasm for collecting gems: simply the nature of that collecting changed.)

In that context, the earliest notable date is 1609 (or 1611/12 according to Jonathan Scott in Scott 2003, p. 10), when James I purchased in Holland a large collection (c. 400 engraved gems, both those set in signet rings and those without mounts) for his eldest son, Prince Henry, one of the few Englishmen to manifest a close interest in Antiquity (Strong 1986, p. 219; Kurtz 2008, p. 197). He paid Hans van Dirbige the sum of 2,200 pounds for them, in two instalments. They had become available upon the death of their owner, the scholar and antiquarian Abraham Gorlee (Gorley Gorlaeus) of Delft (Strong 1986, pp. 198, 199). This collection had been published in Antwerp by the owner himself (Gorlaeus 1601), [fig. 4.5] with engraved reproductions of 126 signet rings and 148 unmounted engraved gems. The frontispiece was a portrait of the owner, proudly demonstrating his riches laid out before him on a table [fig. 4.6]. A second publication, printed in Delft in 1609, just before the sale, included 196 rings and the same number of gems. Although by the time Gorley's cabinet arrived in England the royal dactyliotheca already included glyptic works belonging to the royal house, accumulated since the days of the first Tudors, it is this date which we can see as marking the official beginning of the 'collection'. We should not that even though the owner has changed, the 'Gorley Gems' continued to be referred to as such in later descriptions of dactyliothecae and their commentaries (Gronovius 1695, 1707; Berger 1697; Lami 1778).

Three years later, on the death of his elder brother that collection was inherited by the future Charles I [fig. 4.7], who made several significant additions both before he came to the throne and during the first years of his reign. Amongst these, pride of place is occupied by a magnificent Roman cameo with a bust of the Emperor Claudius, broken into eleven pieces by Lady Somerset during the reign of James I and later glued together and set in a mount (Clifford Smith 1902-3, part I, p. 224; Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, No. 1) [plate 13.1].

It seems possible that when Charles acquired the painting gallery of the Dukes of Mantua, which was dispersed between 1600 and 1627, England might also have gained several items from his collection of gems. No direct indication of this is to be found in A. Luzio's study of the sales of the Gonzaga Gallery in 1627-28, although a number of the documents he publishes mention engraved gems as the objects of discussion during sales deals (Luzio 1913, pp. 75, 157-59).

But the patron-King who spent vast sums on collecting works of art sold his acquisitions with similar speed. In 1629, as we have already said, he personally included the agate portrait of Henry VIII and Edward VI amongst the objects sold to cover a financial deficit (Clifford Smith 1902-3, part III, p. 238). A catalogue of the King's treasures compiled 1638-39 by Abraham van der Doort [fig. 4.8] includes four 'agates' or cameos, of which only two can be identified in the current Royal Collection: the bust of Emperor Claudius already mentioned and a portrait of Philip II of Spain by Jacopo da Trezzo, presented to the King in May 1637 (Millar 1960, p. 128).

Fig. 4.5a *Abrahami Gorlaei Antverpiani Dactyliothecae*…, Leiden 1601
Title page: Pars prima

Fig. 4.5b *Abrahami Gorlaei Antverpiani Dactyliothecae*…, Leiden 1601
Title Page: Pars Secunda

Fig. 4.6. Jacob de Gheyn
Portrait of Abraham Gorlaeus. Early 17th century
Frontispiece from *Abrahami Gorlaei Antverpiani Dactyliothecae*…, Leiden 1601

Fig. 4.7. Anthony Van Dyck
Portrait of Charles I. c. 1638
Hermitage, St Petersburg

During the Civil War and early years of the Commonwealth, the remains of Gorley's Cabinet and Charles' additions were scattered across England and abroad, large sales continuing until 1651 (Millar 1972b, p. 428), although royal gems often passed at auction even later, or turned up in collections on the continent and in England itself.

Two other significant collections were being formed simultaneously with those of the royal family, by the Duke of Buckingham and Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, rival collectors both of whom had extensive artistic treasures, amongst which engraved gems were to occupy a place of honour.

A large part of the gems belonging to the king's favourite, George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628), [fig. 4.9] was composed of the dactyliotheca assembled by Peter Paul Rubens during his travels (including his stay in England). The artist never missed the opportunity to purchase rarities with any ready money he had, and we know that he sometimes acquired gems in exchange for one of his own paintings; 'Nothing has ever delighted me more than gems', he admitted to his French friend, the scholar and antiquarian Claude Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc, with whom he intended to publish prints of the best of his gems (Meulen 1975, pp. 36-76). Buckingham first met Rubens in 1625, during a diplomatic visit to France in connection with the forthcoming marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. Visiting the Flemish artist in Antwerp in November of that year, Buckingham was able to view the collections that filled his house. After the death of his wife, Rubens decided to part with his lovingly assembled dactyliotheca (which contained a number of genuine masterpieces), as well as many of his other works of art, and at the end of 1626 Buckingham acquired from him numerous paintings, antiquities and 196 engraved gems. Rubens kept just a few of his most valued pieces, including his favourite gems, among which was the cameo showing Julia Domna as Diana Lucifera mentioned in the previous chapter (British Museum), listed in Rubens' collection as 'The Triumph of the Moon, who is drawn by bulls'. Because of its unusually large dimensions (13.6 x 10.2 cm), this piece occupied a whole drawer on its own. After the death of the artist's son and heir Albert, the cameo followed the other gems to England, being sold by his widow to an Englishman of the name of Gillis (Meulen 1975, p. 28).

Through the simultaneous efforts of scholars working in Europe and America – including those in the Hermitage – those gems which once formed part of Rubens' collection (and hence that of the Duke of Buckingham) have been identified (Meulen 1975; Neverov 1979). Amongst the cameos which passed from Rubens to Buckingham we should particularly note such Classical masterpieces as Constantia and Virtus [plate 13.2] and The Triumph of Constantine [plate 13.3].

But the new owner of Rubens' gems had only a few years to live, for in 1628 Buckingham was assassinated. In 1630, Rubens visited the Duke's house during his stay in England and saw there his own engraved gems. All of those gems, contained in 20 cases just as they had been when in the possession of Rubens, were mentioned in the inventory of belongings at Chelsea House (now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), compiled in 1635 by the Dowager Duchess on the eve of her second marriage. During the Civil War, the 2nd Duke removed the gems to Antwerp, where in 1649 they were sold, in the very city from which they had first been brought to England. The main body of the gems was to be acquired by Gaston d'Orléans, through whom many of them entered the Cabinet of Louis XIV.

The French King also acquired the collection of the Chevalier Lauthier of Aix-en-Provence, which included gems formerly belonging to such famous French antiquarians as Claude Peiresc and Pierre Antoine de Rascas de Bagarris, Keeper of Henri IV's Cabinet of Antiquities. It had originally been offered to Charles II but he did not take up the opportunity, from which we can assume that he was little interested in adding to the royal dactyliotheca, then housed at the Privy Gallery of Whitehall. Although it should be noted that he did seek to persuade Bagarris to sell him the so-called 'Michelangelo Ring' (Mariette 1750, I, p. 60) and he did acquire several engraved gems from the widow of Albert Rubens (Bulletin Rubens 1882-1910, V, p. 65).

During the Restoration, an attempt was made to re-assemble the scattered treasures which had once belonged to the Crown and some engraved gems returned to the land, among them the cameo with Henry VIII and Edward VI which had been out of the country for 30 years. Elias Ashmole was invited to compile a catalogue of the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Gems in 1660 (Ashmole's catalogue has recently been published by M. Henig, in Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, pp. 268-81) and during work on this he made a whole series of wax casts from the gems (Hunter 1983, p. 49, No. 37; M. Henig, Supplement II, in: Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008).

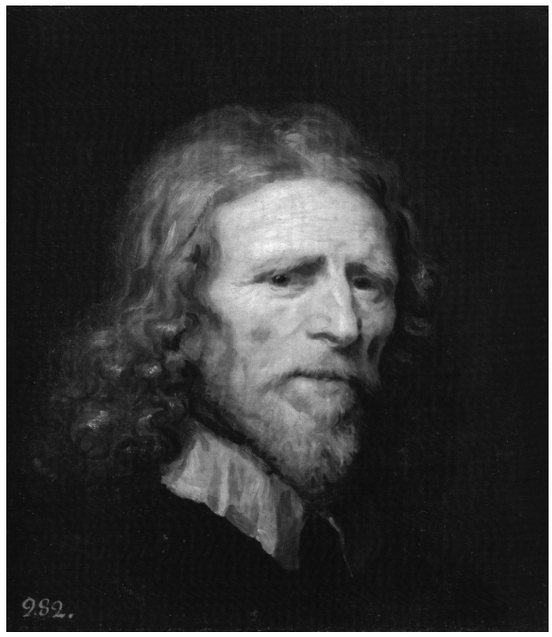


Fig. 4.8. William Dobson
Portrait of Abraham van der Doort
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Fig. 4.9. Attributed to William Larkin
Portrait of George Villiers 1st Duke of Buckingham (detail). c. 1616
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Fig. 4.10. Attributed to Sébastien Bourdon (?)
Portrait of Thomas Chiffinch. 1656-60
Royal Collection, Hampton Court

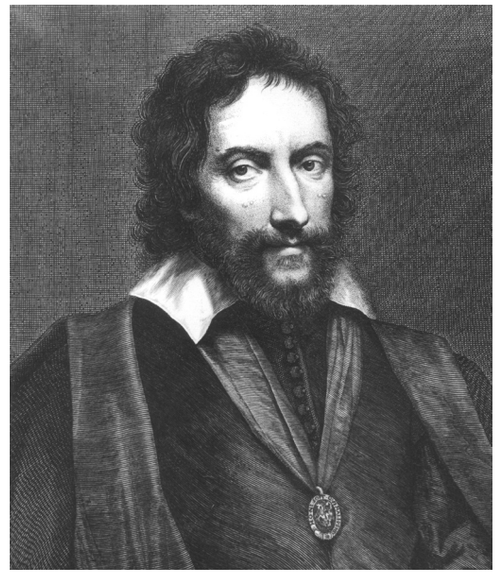


Fig. 4.11. Print after Anthony Van Dyck's portrait of Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel. 1620-21

Like the catalogue, these impressions are now in the Bodleian Library. As was noted by D. Scarisbrick (1994a, p. XXI, note 16), this allows us in a good number of cases to identify them with the printed reproductions of gems from Gorley's dactyliotheca in the new edition of 1695 (Gronovius 1695).

In the National Portrait Gallery in London is a portrait of Thomas Chiffinch (1600-66), Keeper of the King's Closet, Pictures, Curiosities and Jewels, dated to around 1660, formerly attributed to John Michael Wright (Clifford Smith 1902-3, part I, p. 221) but now given to Sebastien Bourdon [fig. 4.10], in which the connoisseur is shown with a cameo in his hand and gems scattered across the table, on which stands also a female bust. Although the gems are very clearly visible, it is impossible to identify any of them with items now in the Royal Collection at Windsor: they must all have disappeared during the fires at Whitehall in 1691 and 1697.

As we turn to the gem collection of the Earl of Arundel, renowned diplomat and collector, described by Horace Walpole as 'the father of vertu in England' (Walpole 1862, I, p. 293), we immediately recall the acute characterisation given by Diana Scarisbrick: 'Whereas the Duke of Buckingham may have needed Rubens to inspire him to possess these little monuments to beauty and antiquity, his rival and contemporary Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel (1586-1646), [fig. 4.11] was a born Virtuoso' (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. xiii). The story of how his collection was formed is also the story of the formation of English taste during this period. The appearance of the whole collection is now known thanks to impressions and electrotypes made in the 19th century before the sale of the whole Marlborough Collection (see below), of which it came to form part, in 1899. These are the subject of a new publication (Boardman et al. 2009).

Leaving aside Arundel's Classical marbles, his paintings and drawings, and concentrating solely on his engraved gems, we must note that these are known from both manuscript and printed inventories. In the library of the Society of Antiquaries in London is a manuscript dated 1727, a copy of a manuscript catalogue of Arundel's gems compiled no earlier than 1724, although its Latin parts possibly go back to near the time of Arundel himself. A manuscript catalogue was compiled for Betty Germain by the numismatist Sir Andrew Fountaine in 1752, not long before his death (Vertue 1929-50, V, pp. 89-91) [fig. 4.12]. In this catalogue, published only at the end of the nineteenth century, gems were described drawer by drawer (Moore 1985, No. 21) and annotated in accordance with the quality of the carving, assessed following a scheme used in the Latin catalogue, and highly subjectively: 'extream fine', 'very fine' and simply 'fine' (Scarisbrick 1985c, p. 72; 1994a, p. XIII). The catalogue was published in the 1830s by the press Typis Mediomantanis. (The Fountaine family still owns a painting by Giulio Pignatta of Sir Andrew Fountaine and his Friends in the Tribune, in which one of the individuals holds a cameo in his hand.)

Some details of how Arundel's dactyliotheca was assembled are recorded. Arundel was one of the first Englishmen to concentrate his attention on Classical works of art – marbles and bronzes, coins and gems. Amongst the agents he employed were the Revd William Petty, 'a legendary figure among English collectors' (Howarth 1985, p. 143), who made purchases for him in Greece and Asia Minor. Petty was also involved in the acquisition in Venice, for 10,000 scudi, over £3000, of the Cabinet of Engraved Gems collected by Daniel Nys, a skilful merchant and secret agent born in Flanders (or possibly France) (Howarth 1985, p. 61), who was a notable figure on the Venetian art market. He it was who had facilitated Charles I's highly advantageous purchase of the Gonzaga picture gallery 1627-28. His gems were almost certainly also from the Gonzaga collections, which had been among the foremost in Italy; several are demonstrably so. The King had seen Nys' gems in Venice in 1635 and intended to purchase them himself, but eventually decided against it. The deal with Arundel went through in 1636 and although the gems were undoubtedly worth such a sum, Arundel – already bowed down by debts – found himself in financial difficulties when it came to actually paying for them (Howarth 1985, p. 205). Packed and ready for despatch, the gems – for which Nys had ordered a special cabinet with five drawers (this later went to Blenheim and remained there until the sale of the dactylotheca) – lay dormant until the end of 1638, when Petty delivered them from Livorno by ship and sleigh via Turin and Rotterdam to London (Hervey 1921, p. 409; Sutton 1947, p. 32). The King next saw 'the famous cabinet' at Arundel House.

During these same years, Arundel acquired some medals and gems of the Dutch artist Hendrick van der Borcht, then residing in Frankfurt. He had collected the gems in Italy – even sending his son, Hendrick van der Borcht the Younger, also a painter and engraver, to Italy to make new acquisitions (for more detail on the relations between father and son and Arundel, see Springell 1963, pp. 100-4, note 53).

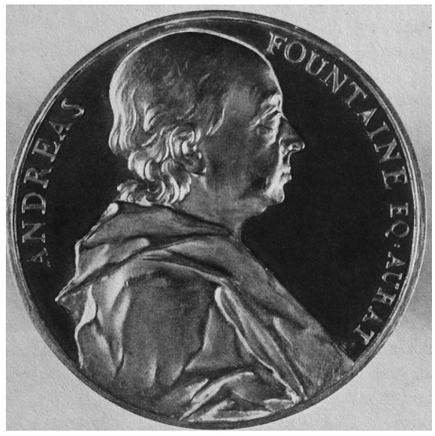


Fig. 4.12. Jaques Antoine Dassier
Medal of Andrew Fountaine. 1774

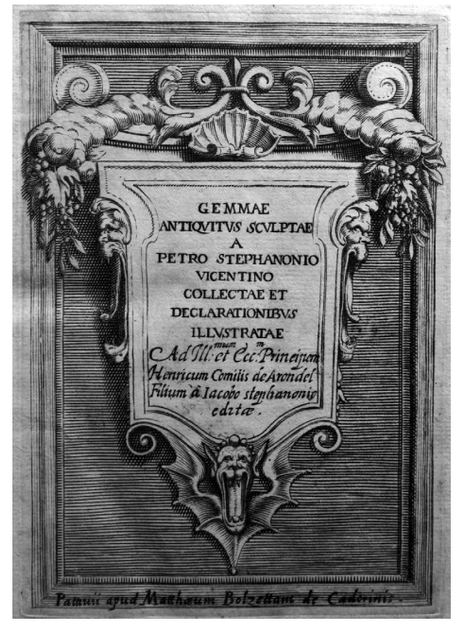


Fig. 4.13. *Gemmae antiquitus sculptae a Petro Stephanonio Vincentino collectae et declarationibus illustratae*, (ed. by Appolina)
Patavii, 1627
Title page

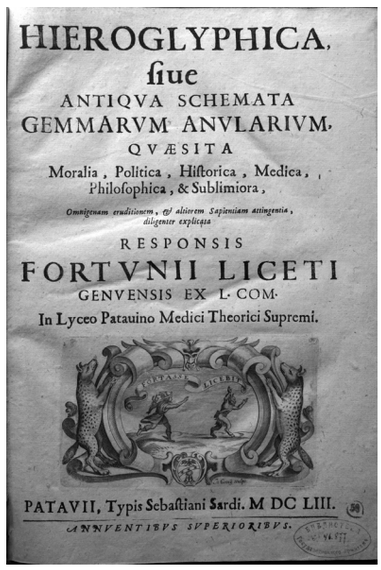


Fig. 4.14. Fortuni Licetus, *Hieroglyphica sive antiqua schemata gemmarum annularium*,
Patavii, 1653
Title page

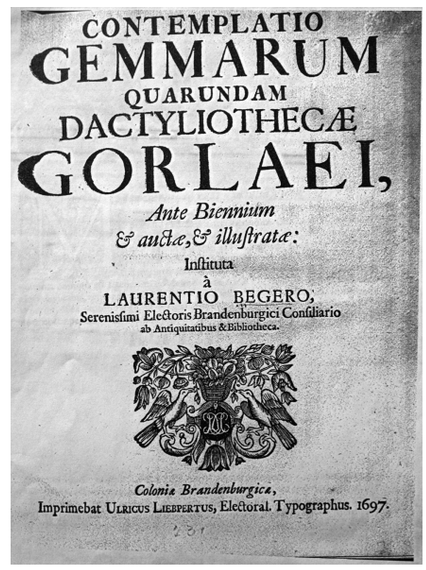


Fig. 4.15. Laurentia Begerus, *Contemplatio gemmarum quarundam dactyliothecae Gorlaei*,
Coloniae Bradenburgicae, 1697
Title page

In the Notebooks of George Vertue we read: 'Antique gemms publisht by Appolina at Rome 1627. and afterwards pub. by Liceti di Genoa – these gemms were said to be purchasd by the Earl of Arundel – and last by now in posses of Lady Betty Germain' (Vertue 1929-50, V, p. 31). Vertue is referring to the collection belonging to the Italian antiquarian and publisher Pietro Stephanoni. Prints of these by Valerien Regnard and Luca Ciamberlano were published as a separate volume in Rome in 1627 (Stephanoni 1627) [fig. 4.13] and reproduced with commentaries in 1653 by Fortuni Liceti in his 'Hieroglyphica' (Licetus 1653) [fig. 4.14]. But Professor John Boardman has established it is clear that Arundel purchased none of the Stephanoni gems (some can be traced elsewhere) despite Vertue's comment and understandable assumption that he had. The second edition of the publication of Stephanoni's gems, made in 1646 after both the collector's and Arundel's death, was dedicated by Stephanoni's son to Arundel's son Henry Frederick, and pays tribute to Arundel and his friendship with the Italian collector.

It has been suspected that Arundel also had some of the Gorlaeus gems (see above) which had been purchased by James I for his son, Prince Henry. In fact there is only one (Gorlaeus 1601, No. 103; Boardman 2009, No. 56) a fine swivel ring, most probably given to Arundel by Prince Henry who was a close friend of Arundel's.

Arundel's collection consisted of just 130 cameos and 133 intaglios, for the greater part Classical, among them such masterpieces as the intaglio Odysseus and Diomedes with Palladium by Felix [plate 14.1], which had belonged in turn to Pope Paul II and Lorenzo Medici and is now in the Ashmolean, Oxford (Pollard 1977, p. 574; Vickers 1983; Boardman et al. 2009, No. 165). Rubens, who admired Arundel, gave him the celebrated Cupid and Psyche cameo now in Boston (Boardman et al. 2009, No. 1) and he had from his mother, Anne Dacre, a cameo of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (Boardman et al. 2009, No. 113), which appears on her portrait now at Arundel. The cameo Bust of a Woman in a Veil in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Boardman 2009, No. 108) [plate 14.2], once the pride of Rubens' collection, was acquired by Arundel from the widow of the artist's son or (as seems more likely) was presented to Arundel by the artist himself in 1629-30, during the artist's diplomatic mission to England (Meulen 1975, p. 19). A cameo on lapis-lazuli with busts of Hercules and Omphale derived from the collection of Fulvio Orsini (Boardman et al. 2009, No. 37). Arundel's collection

Fig. 4.16. Portrait of John Evelyn
Print by Robert Nanteuil
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

included numerous Renaissance and contemporary works, amongst them gems with Christian subjects and portraits, which indicated the Earl's specific interest in post-Classical glyptics.

Arundel's gems were in signet rings or other gold mounts, often with enamel and precious stones and pearls. Sometimes the mounts were very rich, suggesting that they had previously belonged to high-ranking owners (Scarisbrick in Boardman et al. 2009, Ch. 6). Vertue states that he saw also wax casts made by Arundel himself from his own gems (Vertue 1929-50, V, p. 89). Unfortunately, many of the gems came to be severely damaged by the practice of polishing the surface and grinding damaged details (Story-Maskelyne 1870, p. VII).

Arundel's closeness to the King forced him to quit England in 1642, and he died in Padua some five years later. His collection of gems was one of the few in Europe which ceased to grow before the middle of the 17th century, and was thus free of those fakes which began to litter Cabinets of engraved gems much later. It passed to his widow the Countess Alathea and after her death in 1654 returned to England, and the complex and interesting path it took before it at last entered the celebrated collection of the 4th Duke of Marlborough in the second half of the 18th century is well worth a closer look (for full information see Scarisbrick 1996, pp. 45-46).

Fig. 4.17. John Riley
Portrait of Elias Ashmole. 1683
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Fig. 4.18. Attributed to Thomas de Critz
Portrait of John Tradescant the Younger
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Arundel's careful, jealous attitude to his treasures was clearly not inherited by his son Henry Frederick, Lord Maltravers, who presented to 'his mistress a dozen seals' (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. xiv). The gems then passed to Arundel's grandson, Henry Howard, 6th Duke of Norfolk (1628-84), whose widow sold the collection to the Earl of Peterborough (1624-97). Elias Ashmole saw it during his visit to the Earl on 28 October 1685 but in 1690 Peterborough, in need of money, raised £1,500 on the gems. Judging by the inventory compiled in French the collection by that time had 132 intaglios and 126 cameos, valued at £4,368 (Tryphon's *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* alone was valued at £500) (Scarisbrick 1994a, pp. xiv, xxi, note 9a).

Peterborough's daughter, Lady Mary Mordaunt, who married her father's stepson, the 7th Duke of Norfolk, despite her divorce in 1700 found herself the owner of the mortgaged jewels, which were redeemed in 1705, after her death, by her second husband Sir John Germain (1650-1718). Seeing them as objects of particular pride, he showed them to the Princess of Wales, Caroline of Ansbach, over the course of several evening visits (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. xxi, note 9b). In 1718 the dactyliotheca was inherited by his widow, Lady Betty Germain, who kept it stored in five boxes in her house on St. James's Square, where it was described by Andrew Fountaine. Fully aware of the great importance of the treasures she had inherited, Lady Betty was prepared to sell the dactyliotheca to the British Museum, which opened to the public in 1759, for £10,000, but this proved beyond the means of the Museum and thus it was presented to her niece, Lady Betty Diana Beauclerk, on the occasion of her wedding to Lord Charles Spencer, from whom it passed, also as a wedding present, to his brother, George Spencer, 4th Duke of Marlborough, one of the greatest collectors of his time. Arundel's gems were not simply fused with the famous Marlborough collection, eventually of some 800 intaglios and cameos, and at first in its original cabinet of five drawers, but – as we can tell from documents – were carefully identified in the catalogue compiled by the leading mineralogist and connoisseur of antiquities Nevil Story-Maskelyne (1870). Over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries the best of the gems were printed in various publications (Worlidge 1768; Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91) and reproduced in a variety of series of casts, pastes and even electrotypes.

Individual items from Arundel's collection found their way to other collections, perhaps less numerous in their holdings but belonging to individuals whose interests did much to determine the tastes of the age. Thanks to their collecting and other activities, to their writings and letters, we find ourselves able to recapture some of the aura that surrounded these objects. Above all, these collectors included the virtuoso John Evelyn (1620-76), [fig. 4.16] who in 1659 received from the

6th Duke of Norfolk 'a fair onyx set in gold', probably showing Thetis on a sea monster accompanied by a triton (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. xiv). Elias Ashmole (1617-92), [fig. 4.17] the astrologer and alchemist (mentioned above as historian of the Order of the Garter), patron and man of great learning, King's Herald between 1660 and 1675, received long before his visit to the Earl of Peterborough a gift, possibly from Countess Arundel, of 'several heads cut on agates'. All the curiosities from his vast collection which survived the fire in his chambers of 1679, along with his later acquisitions and what remained from the scattered collection of John Tradescant the Younger (1608-62; Ashmole had been much involved in cataloguing this collection since the 1650s) [fig. 4.18] were given by him to Oxford University, thus laying the basis for the University gallery of archaeology and arts, later united to form the public museum that bears Ashmole's name to this day.

There were also very modest Cabinets, such as that of the court painter John Michael Wright (1617-94), a linguist and connoisseur of antiquities who spent several years in Rome, where he was in 1648 elected to the Academia di San Luca. Over a number of years he occupied the post of antiquarian to Archduke Leopold, Governor of the Netherlands. At the sale of his property in London on 4 June 1694, along with prints and drawings there were gems, one of which would seem to have been acquired by him in the Eternal City and which figured in the anthology of Classical gems published in 1657 by L. Agostini (see Scarisbrick 1994a, p. xiv). The main purchaser for his gems and coins was to be Hans Sloan, one of the founders of the British Museum.

A marvellous example of how an engraved gem – Perseus and Andromeda, [plate 14.3] probably of 16th-century Italian work – was much prized by its owner is provided by the will of Queen Elizabeth's cousin Henry Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, dated 1603, in which Carey insistently demands that the cameo be kept in the family as long 'as the conscience of my heires shall have grace and honestie to perform my will'. The cameo passed to his son George, who left it to his daughter Elizabeth, who married Lord Berkeley. The Hunsdon Onyx was in 1862 exhibited in London along with other family treasures (Robinson 1863, p. 680-81; Clifford Smith 1908, p. 218) and is today on loan from the family to the Victoria & Albert Museum.

Claude Fabri de Peiresc in 1608 advised his brother – then embarking on his travels – to visit one Mr John Harrison, some 20 miles from London (Larroque 1896, p. 676); Peiresc had visited many collections during a stay in England in 1606, when he had paid Harrison 150 livres for a Classical paste bearing the signature of AETIΩNOS (Gassendi 1655, p. 52). Peiresc's biography records that he visited other English gem collections – those of Masson and the Duke of Devonshire.

John Evelyn wrote enthusiastically of another small collection, belonging to a man of no great social status, in his diary for 23 October 1654 '...This day saw one of the rarest collection of achates, onixes and intaglias and collected by an old hat-maker of Black Friers that I had ever seen either at home or abroad' (Evelyn 1907, p. 308).

In the 1660s, one Dr Bargrave put together a Museum of Rarities modelled on the mixed cabinets he had seen during his own travels in Italy (Harris 1986). In it, gems were placed alongside naturalia, optical and astronomical instruments, coins and various works of fine art.

In the opinion of Jørgen Hein, Keeper at the Royal Treasury at Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen, the 'cameo cups' in the Treasure Rooms in Copenhagen and Stockholm were made in England in the 1630s. Up to 200 gems were used to decorate each of these magnificent enamelled gold vessels and to come up with such a quantity the workshop must have had huge numbers of gems in store, evidence that cameos were very much in circulation on the local art market (Hein 2006, p. 400). I shall not go further into the subject other than to say that these objects are usually said to have been made in Holland and I myself, during study of the story behind a cameo cup presented to Peter the Great by the Danish King Christian VI in 1716 and dismantled during the reign of Catherine II, came to the conclusion that such works were most likely to have been produced in Sweden (Kagan, Neverov 1982, p. 17).

Nonetheless, the market in engraved gems most certainly existed and its presence made itself felt in some unexpected ways. In 1912, during building works near St Paul's in London, a jeweller's shop was uncovered at a depth of some 16 feet, together with all the stores of goods scattered around 1620 during a fire or hidden during the years of social upheaval (Cheapside Hoard 1928; Tait 1976, No. 296; Princely Magnificence 1980-81, No. 120; Forsyth 2003). Amongst the ready-made jewellery were a ring with a Roman intaglio, a locket in a mount covered with

enamel and with a Renaissance moonstone, on one side of which was carved the head of Christ in the Crown of Thorns, and on the other a head of the Madonna, and a Byzantine or early mediaeval cameo on rock crystal with Greek inscriptions and Doubting Thomas. Awaiting their turn to be set were twelve cameos, including a marvellous Bust of Cleopatra on onyx of Egyptian work from the Augustan Period, a Bust of Elizabeth I on sardonyx, a two-layer stone with the image of a dog and the dog's reflection in water, and eight intaglios amongst which we should note a Bust of Domitian on amethyst and five pastes, two of which had images of John the Evangelist and Christ, plus three miniature animal figures of semi-precious stones [plate 15.1-3].

The considerable quantity of such objects in this amazing archaeological complex and their great variety provides objective evidence of the fashion for them which was widespread as early as the first decades of the 17th century. Most importantly, this jeweller's shop was not serving the very richest clients, and the find forced jewellery historians to think that its goods must have been aimed at the tastes and the purses of the more successful members of the merchant estate under the late Tudors and early Stuarts. Unfortunately this find, which is of greatest value as a complex, is now divided between three locations, the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Museum of London and the British Museum.

It is clear, therefore, that a love for engraved gems was not the prerogative of the highest court and aristocratic circles, but was much more common than it seemed at first glance. This point is worthy of note, since this particular side of collecting is a significant element in the wider study of the history of collecting of Classical monuments in England. A. Michaelis, who laid the basis for this study with his Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, noted specially that the first steps in this direction were closely tied to the wakening interest in gems (Michaelis 1882, p. 6).

1. Girdle prayer book of Edward VI with shell cameo on the cover. c. 1553
Coll. John Berkeley, Esq., on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; reproduced by kind permission of the owner

2. John de Critz
Portrait of Lady Lovelace wearing a locket set with cameo. c. 1615
Courtesy of Sotheby's, London

Plate 13

1. Portrait of Roman Emperor Claudius.
1st century AD
Sardonyx cameo from collection of Charles I
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

2. Constantia and Virtus. 16th century
Sardonyx cameo from the collection of the Duke of Buckingham
Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

3. Triumph of Roman Emperor Constantine. c. 320 AD
Onyx cameo from the collection of the Duke Buckingham
Courtesy of the Geldmuseum, Utrecht

1. Felix
Diomedes with the Palladium and Ulysses. Early 1st century AD.
Red-brown agate intaglio from the collection of the Earl of Arundel
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

2. Woman in a veil
Italy 1550-1600
Sardonyx cameo from the collection of the Earl of Arundel
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

3. Perseus and Andromeda. 16th century
Pendant with sardonyx cameo
Coll. John Berkeley, Esq., on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; reproduced by kind permission of the owner

Plate 15

1, 2, 3. Parrot, Squirrel, Monkey. 17th century
Miniature figures of emerald, cornelian and quartz from the Cheapside Hoard
By permission of the Board of Governors of the Museum of London

5

Thomas Rawlins, Thomas Simon and others

After more than one and a half centuries during which glyptics flourished, fed by the Classical and humanist principles of Renaissance culture, European gem engraving entered upon a decline in the 17th century. It could not cope, by its very essence, with the demands now being placed upon it. Growing Baroque tendencies demanded an increasingly decorative approach which was accompanied by a loss of a true sense of the material and by a stylised, less lifelike presentation of form. Even so, carving in hardstones continued to be patronised and there were notable achievements, particularly in portraiture, its relevance only enhanced by the reinforcement of absolute regimes in Europe. Indeed, portraiture was more easily able to absorb new Baroque forms.

The fate of gem engraving in Britain could not but be affected by the national, cultural and historical context and in the 17th century that context was one of the most advanced in Europe, for it was here that Europe's first revolution took place. Such is the particular interest of British glyptics at this time that a considerable body of literature has already accumulated around the most important artists' names.

Despite the considerable reduction in the significance of glyptics after the death of Elizabeth and the end of the Tudor dynasty in 1603, and despite its subordinate position with regard to other art forms, the traditions of court art remained very much alive until historical events wrought a radical upheaval in spiritual life, altering the social context within which glyptic works were commissioned.

Thus, over the first four decades of the 17th century, gem engraving continued to serve the court, providing it with engraved seals and cameo insignia to mark out select members of the highest caste – Knights of the Order of the Garter. Official portraiture – already established as the leading genre in British glyptics – continued to develop, while glyptics overall endured less of a crisis at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries than in other lands. Even so, the very nature of the engraved portrait in 17th-century Britain was to undergo significant and indeed symptomatic changes.

Within the system of moral values that had taken shape in the previous era, no difference was made between cognition of the image and adoration of it; only the divine origin of the monarch's power justified him or her in being revered through portraits, and that right was not passed on to other individuals. Now a new moral structure, fed by the Puritan ideals contained within the Civil War and Revolution, liberated art from this dependency. Decisive as it was in altering the very foundations of British life, this period inevitably introduced new heroes to the world of glyptics. During the earlier age there was a notable dependence on painted models (we should particularly recall the Tudor cameos reproducing Holbein's portraits) and it was only in the last quarter of the century that there had been any noticeable points of contact with medal-making, an art form then gaining increasing recognition in England (compare the profile medals of Elizabeth with her portrait cameos). Now, however, gem-, coin- and medal-engraving were to come together, often practised by one and the same master (C. W. King called this 'the universal rule of this time' King 1872, I, p. 442). Both very much official art forms, subject to the same stylistic laws, they were to develop henceforth mainly within the Baroque manner, turning to Classicism only at the very height of historical tragedy.

This coming together of the two art forms was a gradual process, completed only in the second third of the 17th century. During the first decades we know only that there were still at court one official post of engraver of coins and medals and one of engraver on stone. Nor had the annual salary changed from the time of Henry VIII, standing at £30 per annum for the first, and £20 per annum for the second (Vertue 1929-50, II, p. 91). But the picture at the start of the century, which almost coincided with the coming of a new ruling dynasty, has remained somewhat unclear: until recently we knew only of youthful engraved portraits (dating from 1590/95) of James VI of Scotland, later James I of England and Scotland, in the Royal Collection at Windsor and in the Museo degli Argenti in Florence (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 82). Both derive from a painted portrait by Adrian Vanson in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. Our picture of the next stage became a little fuller with the recent publication of a sardonyx bearing a half-length image of James I in three-quarter view, identified by Jørgen Hein, on the body of one of the 'cameo cups' at Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen (Hein 2006, p. 400, fig. 34) [fig. 5.1]. This identification is based on physical likeness, the laurel wreath and the medallion with a male portrait on the man's breast, which Hein suggests shows James V, the King's maternal grandfather.

Fig. 5.1. James I
Sardonyx cameo (on lid of an enamelled gold cup).
After 1608
Royal Treasury, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen

British medal-making took a great step forward in the 1630s thanks to the activities of the talented Nicolas Briot (c. 1579-1646), who moved from Paris to London in 1625, and in 1628 received the right to 'the designs and effigies of the King's image in such sizes and forms as are to serve in all sorts of coins of gold and silver' (Jones 1988, p. 6). In 1633 he occupied the post of chief engraver to the Mint. Vertue attributed to him a medal of peach-stone with the monogram 'NB' and a portrait of Charles I 'painted in colour and gilt', a 'full face' view on one side and a finely-carved St George' on the reverse (Vertue 1929-50, II, p. 38) [fig. 5.2 a,b]. In modern times this medallion was among the collection of Stuart relics which belonged in 1930 to Cyril Sloane-Stanley (Christie's, London, 20 February 1973, lot 168). A similar medallion was shown at an exhibition of items from private collections in the South Kensington Museum (Robinson 1863, p. 682, No. 7771). B. S. Long attributed to Briot a sculptural bust of Charles I in rock crystal that had also been in the Sloane-Stanley collection (Christie's, London, 20 February 1973, lot 190) [fig. 5.3], although he noted that it may have been of later origin. While Briot's interests were not extensively tied up with engraving on stone, he certainly seems to have practised it. As for his two main pupils, the leading English medal-makers Thomas Rawlins and Thomas Simon, they were to gain fame as engravers on stone.

Detailed study has been made of medals, coins and steel seals by both Rawlins and Simon, but unfortunately the same cannot be said of their gems. Today, only a few of the numerous engraved stone works we know Rawlins produced survive. John Evelyn described him in his Numismata, stating that he was 'very good in cameos and intaglios' (Evelyn 1697, p. 239), while Vertue noted that a poem published by the poet Richard Flecknoe in his Miscellanies in 1653 mentioned a poem by the 'sculptor in gold and precious stones Thomas Rawlins' (Vertue 1929-50, IV, p. 94). Also a dramatist, Rawlins made his mark on English theatre, his most famous literary work being a tragedy *The Rebellion*, first performed in London in 1640 (Mallinson 1974).

As for Simon, even a relatively recent monograph says not a word about his stone engravings (Nathanson 1975), even though quite a large number of cameos and intaglios, either surviving in the original or known from casts, have been attributed to him: A. F. Gori (1767, I, p. 287) and A. L. Millin (1826, p. 93) both record that he was an engraver of stone, Gori expressing himself with great enthusiasm. A more thoughtful

Fig. 5.2a. Attributed to Nicolas Briot
Two sided peach-stone medallion. c. 1640.
Charles I (obverse)
From the collection of Cyril Sloane-Stanley
© Christie's Images Ltd 1973

Fig. 5.2b. Attributed to Nicolas Briot
Two sided peach-stone medallion. c. 1640.
St George and the Dragon (reverse)
From the collection of Cyril Sloane-Stanley
© Christie's Images Ltd 1973

modern interpreter of his work, D. Allen, even insisted that Simon was perceived by contemporaries as an engraver of seals rather than as a medal-maker, noting that he engraved both on stone and on metal. Allen suggested that many of the sketches in Simon's album that he published were indeed intended not for medals but for seals (Allen 1939, p. 35).

Whilst we must be extremely careful in attributing engraved gems to Rawlins or Simon even on the basis of stylistic similarities to known medals, in a number of cases such an attribution is fully justified. Several gems can fruitfully be directly linked to their other works and identified as coming, at the very least, from their circle.

A comparison of the careers of Thomas Rawlins (1620-70) and Thomas Simon (1618-65) shows how they both started out as fellow students of Nicolas Briot and then began working at the court of Charles I, devoting their talent to his glorification, but then their paths diverged, as they found themselves in opposing camps almost from the very start of the revolutionary events which shook Britain. On different sides of the barricades, they both worked to satisfy the needs of the conflicting parties, producing political medals and badges, commemorative and memorial works, and of course a new kind of portrait.

When the Civil War broke out in 1642, Rawlins, an ardent Royalist, [fig. 5.4] followed Charles I to Oxford; according to a document of 1643 he already bore the title of 'Our graver of seals, stones and medals'. After Briot's death in 1646 he was given the title of 'Chief engraver of the Royal Mint in the Tower of London, as well as of England and Wales' – a purely nominal status since in fact both the Mint and the Tower were inaccessible, having been seized by Parliament on 1 August 1642.

There is much in common between Rawlins' medals from this period and two portrait cameos of Charles I, one in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire (Scarisbrick 1986, No. 4, pl. XCII b) [plate 16.1a] and the other very small, set into a signet ring of contemporary work in the British Museum (Dalton 1915, No. 388) [fig. 5.6]. Both would seem to have been produced during the last years of the King's life, repeating a type developed for medals under the evident influence of Van Dyck's portraits [fig. 5.5]. Multi-layer sardonyx presented much greater opportunities than metal, allowing the craftsman to set off the beard against the white face, making contrasting use of dark brown and white layers to carve the curled wig and lace collar.

Of two sardonyx portraits of Charles I in the Hermitage, the larger (cat. 7 [plate 16.1]) is closer

Fig. 5.3. Nicolas Briot (?).
Rock crystal bust of Charles I. After 1649
From the collection of Cyril Sloane-Stanley
© Christie's Images Ltd 1973

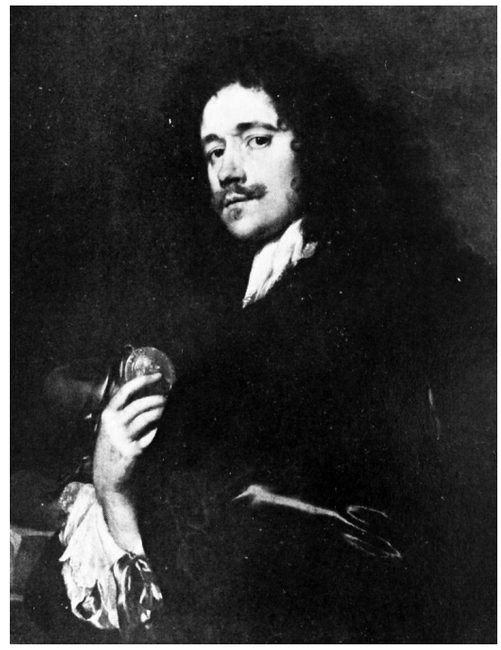


Fig. 5.4. Andreaen Hanneman
Portrait of Thomas Rawlins (?). 1645
Private collection, London

Fig. 5.6. Portrait of Charles I in a ring. c. 1649
Jasper cameo (from a print)
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 5.5. Thomas Rawlins
Medal of Charles I
1640s

in dimension, iconography and style of execution to medals and posthumous badges which Rawlins produced immediately after the King's execution in 1649 (Forrer 1904-30, V, pp. 46-47). The King is depicted in the intaglio rilevato technique, shown in profile, wearing a cuirass with a cloak thrown over it, a laurel wreath upon his head and long locks of hair falling down onto his shoulders; his severe face bears the mark of suffering. The somewhat summarily executed smaller piece (cat. 98) should be dated no earlier than the very end of the 17th century, more probably even to the first half of the 18th century.

Soon Rawlins was forced into exile, spending three years in France. Returning to his native land, according to his biographers he embarked upon a life of poverty, making ends meet only by engraving tradesmen's tokens for the towns of Bristol, Gloucester and Oxford, and even spending some time in a debtors' prison. Upon the Restoration he was immediately reinstated as chief engraver at the London Mint. From this period come three cameo portraits of Charles II. One of these, in the Hermitage (cat. 8 [plate 16.2]), is in its lack of individuality very much in keeping with the image of the monarch seen on medals (Hawkins 1885, p. 503, No. 139) and gems (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14019-14021). It is possible, however, that the gem is not in fact a late work by Rawlins, but should be attributed to Jean (John) Roettiers (1631-1703), a maker of medals and seals in hardstone who arrived in England from Antwerp in 1661 at the invitation of Charles II (Hawkins 1885, p. 503, No. 139), for there is an obvious link between this interpretation of the King's image and a medal known to be the work of Roettiers (Hawkins 1885, p. 503, No. 139). Two other carved portraits of Charles II are in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale). The first of these (Babelon 1897, No. 972), presented to Louis XIV in 1695, is an allegorical portrait of Charles as Hercules and to this author, despite Dalton's opinion that it was of English origin, it should rather be seen as French work. The second (Babelon 1897, No. 973), showing Charles turned three-quarters and wearing armour, is so close to royal portraits of Charles I attributed to Rawlins that it can with a similar degree of certainty be seen as his work.

Born into a family of Puritans, Thomas Simon [fig. 5.7] spent the long years of his apprenticeship, from 1635, at the Mint studying under the engravers Edward Green and Nicolas Briot (Nathanson 1975, p. 10). In his works in both metal and stone Simon used both his own preparatory sketches and wax models made by his brother Abraham (1617-92) [fig. 5.8]. During the first half of the 1640s the Mint, despite the events and changes unfolding beyond its walls, continued simply to produce the old coins from inertia. Parliament only decided to remove the royal portrait and arms from coins after the execution of Charles in 1649, when they were replaced with new symbols and devices. Up to this time, in accordance with the role of chronicler that was part of the very essence of the medal-maker's profession, Simon responded objectively to events of all political persuasions.

Thus the portrait sides of commemorative medals he produced (Nathanson 1975, p. 45) for Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford (1641) and William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury (1645) – chief advisers to the King and themselves executed by order of the Long Parliament – were repeated in a two-sided cameo in the Hermitage (cat. 9 [plate 17.1]), recently attributed to him (Kagan 2001, pp. 14-20). Both carved portraits, like their medal prototypes, were engraved under the direct influence of painted portraits by Van Dyck. Simon's sketch after Van Dyck's portrait of Strafford (known in two versions, at Welbeck Abbey and Petworth [plate 17.2]) still survives (Allen 1939, pl. IX.5). The cameo preserves the same sharp turn of the head, a device well known in Baroque painting but not previously found in cameos. In the portrait of Laud, the three-quarter turn of the Van Dyck portraits

Fig. 5.7. Portrait of Thomas Simon. 1755
Print by George Vertue

Fig. 5.8. Portrait of Abraham Simon. 1755
Print by George Vertue

Fig. 5.9. Thomas Simon
Medal of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector. 1653

Fig. 5.10. Thomas Simon
Half-crown. 1658

[plate 17.3] is conveyed by Simon in both the medal and the cameo in profile. George Vertue's records in his 'Note Books' are once again of value: 'Simon was ready at every kind of work relating to his profession. Modelld in Wax, and Cutt several famous Onyxs <…> particularly Olivers head Arch Bp Laud. in an Onyx, (Vertue 1929-50, II, p. 90). Both portraits gain particular expressiveness from the contrasting use of the white matt and dark-brown polished surfaces of the five-layer sardonyx. Despite the unusually small dimensions of the cameo (just 13 x 11 mm), it is not difficult to trace on both obverse and reverse the energetic moves of the chisel as it models the face. Such a cameo must surely have been a secret, private commission, although we cannot totally exclude the possibility that it dates from the Restoration.

When Briot died, Simon gained independent status at the Mint. In 1648, by this time chief medal-maker and engraver to the Republic and then to the Protectorate, he was despatched by Parliament to join Oliver Cromwell in Edinburgh, becoming there Cromwell's personal engraver. One after another he created medals and seals reflecting the history of Parliament's battles with the King and in these works we see how abstract and emblematic devices were gradually squeezed out by portrait likenesses of Cromwell. After the latter was declared Lord Protector in 1653, the need for such portraits was only reinforced.

Cromwell is said to have described Simon as 'ingenious and worthy of encouragement' (Henfrey 1877, p. 3), and in 1651 he certainly had the engraver model him from the life (Allen 1939, p. 37). In order to make his hero more imposing, Simon initially took the usual approach of putting him in armour (medal commemorating the victory at the Battle of Dunbar, 1650; Hawkins 1885, p. 391, No. 13). As victory in the Civil War came closer and the Commonwealth was established, Simon adorned the Lord Protector's cuirass with rich vegetable ornament and complemented it with drapery arranged in deep folds (Lord Protector Medal, 1653; Hawkins 1885, p. 409, No. 45) [fig. 5.9].

In 1656 Simon received a commission for a portrait of Cromwell on the new stamp for a twenty-shilling coin or broad and it was then that Simon, broke for the first time with the Baroque tradition established in portraiture (even in its more modest Puritan manifestation). For this portrait of Cromwell he turned to his own sketch by the same artist for a medal of 1653 (Allen 1939, pp. 26, 27) but rejected the use of armour, sashes and insignia and all the symbols associated with majesty, and portrayed the Lord Protector with all the severity of Roman portraiture (Nathanson 1975, p. 27). Thus a radically new means of heroic depiction was combined with emphatically realistic treatment of the individual's facial features. In 1658 Simon transferred the same Classical medal formula, only now with a paludamentum tossed over naked shoulders, to a half-crown coin (Allen 1939, p. 28) [fig. 5.10].

These were issued only in very small quantities and neither silver coin was ever in circulation, serving in effect as souvenirs and, after the death of Cromwell, being set into signet rings and distributed amongst his friends and brothers-in-arms. Yet they are worthy of our attention for their great similarity to a whole series of surviving cameo portraits of Cromwell, similarity that is not just limited to iconography but that touches also the low, flattened relief so typical of Simon's manner, and the fine modelling that is mentioned in describing that manner in literature (Corns 1999, p. 187).

While an onyx cameo in the Cromwell Museum, Huntington (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 180), to judge by the inscription on the reverse of the luxurious mount, dating to 1657, is linked in stylistic terms with the second of the above-mentioned coins, new features mark out two cameos on heliotrope in the Cabinet des Médailles [fig. 5.11] at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Babelon 1897, Nos. 970, 971), a cameo in the Devonshire collection [plate 18.2] and two more in the Münzkabinett, Munich (Weber 1992, Nos. 244, 245). Forrer, citing King, asserted that 'the heads of the coins are treated precisely in the style of cameo in flat relief', linking this kind of cameo with the name of Simon (Forrer 1904-30, V, p. 531). Weber did the same with the cameos from the Münzkabinett. On the same basis this author has attributed to Simon a sardonyx cameo which arrived in the Hermitage as part of the collection of the Duc d'Orléans (cat. 10 [plate 18.1]). We should note here that the cameo, attached to a gold chain, with the Roman profile of her father crowned with laurels, is being pressed to her breast by Mrs Claypole in the portrait of her by John Michael Wright of 1658 (National Portrait Gallery, London).

C. W. King mentioned Simon's possible authorship of an intaglio image of Cromwell in the Devonshire collection (King 1866b, p. 488) and again this might be extended to cover several intaglios in a long series of Cromwell portraits known from pastes by James Tassie (Raspe 1791, Nos. 5616, 5619, 5620) and an octagonal paste which belonged in the mid-18th century to Philip von Stosch [fig. 5.12]. In the

Fig. 5.11. Thomas Simon
Oliver Cromwell. 1659
Heliotrope cameo
Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Fig. 5.12. Thomas Simon
Intaglio portrait of Oliver Cromwell (from a paste in the Philip von Stosch collection). Mid-17th century

description of his gems Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1760, p. 569) took the latter for a portrait of Peter I of Russia! The apparent similarity led to a similar error with regard to a later portrait of Cromwell on cornelian acquired in London at the end of the 18th century by Princess Catherine Dashkova and later presented to Catherine II (cat. 99). It dates from the 18th century, when the figure of this revolutionary leader was repeated on numerous occasions, having not yet lost its attraction as it was to do in the wake of the French Revolution.

The unusual style of Simon's Cromwell portraits requires some explanation. Bringing together the lessons he had learnt from Briot with the direct influence of medals by the French medal-making family the Warins, particularly Claude Warin, who worked in London between 1630 and 1638 (Hill 1913, pp. 420-26; Allen 1939, p. 35), Simon himself proclaimed a new style, creating very English portraits that revealed great likeness to the sitters. It would seem to be from Claude Warin that the Simon brothers adopted the by now old-fashioned practice of using wax models (Allen 1939, p. 31).

Classicism was far more in harmony than the Baroque with the general mindset of the Revolution and it was Classical artistic forms which were to be called upon to inspire its participants to the heights of great historic tragedy. Thomas Simon's portraits of Oliver Cromwell should therefore be seen as the earliest examples of British Classicism in medal-making and in glyptics.

Interesting parallels to these works by Simon can be found in contemporary English poetry. In 1652, for instance, John Milton addressed Cromwell in a sonnet with these words:

> Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
> Not of war only, but detractions rude,
> Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
> To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,
> And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
> Hast reared God's trophies, and his work pursued,
> While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
> And Dunbar field, resounds thy praises loud,
> And Worcester's laureate wreath:

Simon's activities as an engraver in stone during this period were not limited to the making of portraits of his leader. On the basis of similarities to medals known to be by Simon, Dalton attributed to him a portrait seal of one of the revolution's most important figures, John Lilburne, leader of the Levellers (British Museum; Dalton 1915, No. 1104) [fig 5.13]. This work is of no less force than portraits of the Lord Protector himself. Hawkins rejected Vertue's suggestion that a medal dating from 1642 showing Robert Dereveux, 3rd Earl of Essex, near full face and turned slightly to the right with a collar and scarf across his body, was also the

Fig. 5.13. Thomas Simon
Portrait of John Lilburne. Mid-17th century
Chalcedony intaglio (from a cast)
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

work of Simon (Vertue 1753, pl. X; Hawkins 1885, pp. 297-98, No. 116). Whatever the truth of the matter, Tassie's Cabinet of Casts includes an almost perfect reproduction of the same image on a cameo, there mistakenly described as a 'portrait of the [2nd] Earl of Essex, the unfortunate favourite of Queen Elizabeth' (Raspe 1791, No. 14180).

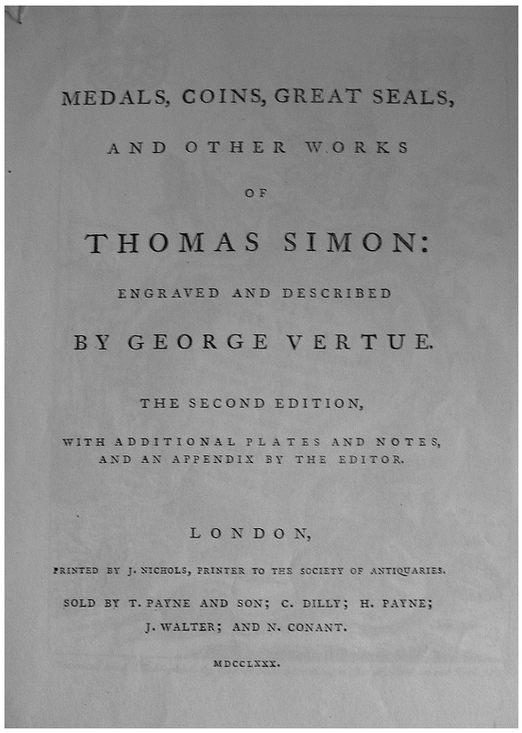
Vertue notes other onyx seals engraved by Simon with portraits of the engraver's close friend Mr Gifford (possibly George Gifford, the etcher; Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 180) and the jeweller Jeremiah Marlow (Vertue 1929-50, II, p. 90). Certainly there are surviving casts from the seal of Richard Symonds and the wax model for that of Peter Cary (Allen 1939, p. 33). In a separate biography of Simon which he published in 1753, including his own prints after Simon's works, there is a special table for seals, although all of those were engraved on metal (Vertue 1753, pl. XXVIII) [figs. 5.14, 15, 15a]. It is possible that only the three-quarter portrait of the young Milton was carved in stone; a lead cast of this, belonging in the second half of the 18th century to the gem engraver Richard Yeo, figured in 1908 in an exhibition in Cambridge in honour of the 300th anniversary of the poet's birth (Milton Tercentenary 1908, p. 79), along with a cast of a portrait of Milton in old age, also attributed to Thomas Simon, from the National Portrait Gallery.

Under Charles II, Simon was forced to cede his post as chief engraver of coins and medals to Rawlins, but he was allowed to remain at the Mint as 'chief engraver of Arms and Seals'. Faced with the choice of continuing to work in the style which had grown out of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate or returning to the artistic forms of the previous age, he sought a compromise (Gleissner 1995, p. 275). Such a compromise was perhaps made simpler by the fact that the shape of power in the wake of the revolution had come to resemble the monarchic system it had been intended to remove. James Tassie's Cabinet includes a dozen or so casts from small intaglio seals showing crowned and uncrowned members of the later Stuart dynasty, although it is doubtful that they can be attributed directly to either Rawlins or Simon.

Amongst Stosch's casts was a paste with a concave portrait of the 1st Earl of Clarendon, Royalist historian, minister and adviser to both Charles I and Charles II (Dalton 1915, p. XVII), engraved by Thomas Simon (Simon produced a medal of him in 1662). Nor did the engraver forget his former political sympathies: Thomas Hollis, a man of known Republican convictions, had a seal by Simon with a portrait of Algernon Sidney, Cromwell's comrade, executed by Charles II. A stamp from it was drawn and printed in Hollis' memoirs (Blackburne 1780, p. 533).

We know of a bill which Simon presented for 'two blew sapphirs ingraven with his Majesties cypher. He charges L 20 for gold and stones and L 14 for the graving, and L 10 for engraving' and an 'antick head in a Cornelian for His Majesty's own particular use' (Allen 1939, p. 15; Farquhar 1932, p. 284). It was possible that the appearance of the 'Antique head' motif in the artist's later work was prompted by his rivalry with the medal-making Roettiers brothers. John Roettiers also successfully demonstrated his skills as an engraver in stone: Vertue described a cornelian intaglio with a bust of Mars and Venus by him. 'A cornelian seal cutt by J.Rotier, two heads Mars & Venus by which it appears that he practised in that way + did very well' (Vertue 1929-50, II, p. 73).

This is a most important moment in the history of British glyptics for – or so it seems – it was at this point that the mythological theme first made its appearance. The taste for such gems and the pastes that imitated them appeared in the early 1650s and did not fade for many years, but up to this point they had been brought in large quantities from Italy, where they were relatively common and of moderate price. As yet, English gem engravers were to present mythological subjects only hesitantly on intaglio seals, but they had a fertile iconographical source not only in the imported Classical gems but in



MEDALS, COINS, GREAT SEALS,

AND OTHER WORKS

OF

THOMAS SIMON:

ENGRAVED AND DESCRIBED

BY GEORGE VERTUE.

THE SECOND EDITION,

WITH ADDITIONAL PLATES AND NOTES,
AND AN APPENDIX BY THE EDITOR.

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Figs. 5.14, 5.15, 5.15a. George Vertue, *Medals, Coins, Great Seals, Impressions, from the elaborate works of Thomas Simon, Chief Engraver of the Mint*, London, 1753
14 - Title page
15 - Frontispiece
15a - fragment of plate XXXVIII with small portrait seals

Fig. 5.16. Archbishop Sancroft and Bishops of St Asaph, Bath and Wells, Ely, Peterborough, Chichester, and Bristol, imprisoned by James II.
c. 1688
Sard intaglio (from a cast)
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those engraved publications of them which also made their way from the Continent. Amongst these was the anthology *Le gemme antiche figurate* by Leonardo Agostini, the first part of which was published in Rome in 1657 and the second in 1669 (the work was reprinted in Amsterdam in Latin in 1685).

Arriving in London in the wake of Roettiers – in 1666 on the day of the Great Fire, according to one version, or in 1670 in the suite of Wilhelm III, Prince of Orange – was another foreign master, Christian Reisen the Elder (c. 1637-1697/1700), a Norwegian from Trondheim. He had previously worked for two years in Aberdeen as a jeweller, engraver of seals and gems. In the house where he resided, and to which he brought his tools, he set up a polishing mill and although we know from Vertue that Reisen somehow managed to end up spending four years in prison (Vertue 1929-50, I, p. 147) there is a relatively large number of gems attributed to him. Amongst these is a cornelian intaglio with a profile bust of Charles I (Raspe 1791, No. 13996) and a concave engraved portrait of Abraham Simon, which was in the mid-18th century in the collection of James Seymour (Vertue 1929-50, III, p. 63) and may perhaps be identified with one of Tassie's casts (Raspe 1791, No. 14427).

With all his usual subjectivity, Horace Walpole named Christian Reisen as 'the first Seal cutter in Stone that settled in England', and with him one 'Styks' (Walpole 1862, II, p. 697), but in the later literature the first is mentioned only as the father and tutor of Charles Christian Reisen the Younger, a famous engraver in the first half of the 18th century. The name of 'Styks' is met with nowhere else.

We should also mention Henry Harris, an engraver at the Mint, who began to engrave seals in stone during the reign of Charles II and whose name figures in documents between 1662 and 1716, even though no works that can be definitely attributed to him have survived. The signed gems attributed to him (Forrer 1904-30, VII, p. 413), with perhaps the exclusion of the intaglio Apollo and Eros (Raspe 1791, No. 13996), were in fact engraved by another master with the same surname, William Harris, working in the late 18th century.

Increasingly, gems were being not just imported by collectors but produced on British soil. With only a few exceptions, however, identification of where such gems and their mounts were produced presents jewellery historians with serious difficulties – as they themselves are the first to admit (Hackenbroch 1979, p. 289; Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, p. 281).

It remains difficult to say much of British glyptics during the late 17th century. In stylistic terms, these engraved gems differ little from those that were to be produced in the first decades of the 18th century. Of greatest interest from this period is an intaglio in the British Museum (Dalton 1915, No. 1106) with portraits of six Anglican Bishops led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, who were imprisoned in the Tower by James II in 1688 for refusing to have the Declaration of Indulgence read, but then acquitted by a jury [fig. 5.16]. The gem derives from analogous medals and printed sheets published in several versions and in large quantities to satisfy huge popular demand (Hawkins 1885, pp. 622-23, No. 37-39; O'Donoghue 1908-25, V, p. 15) and it presents a new trend in British glyptics: this is not a dynastic 'message d'agathe', not a royal portrait, a leader of revolution or some other historical protagonist, not even a portrait produced for a private client. On this occasion the engraved gem was performing a role more akin to that of a medal or particularly of prints, in that it was a direct response to a burning topic of the day – the Catholic-Protestant conflict. Whilst echoing popular prints, production of the gem, i.e. of a stone image, transformed this event into one worthy of commemoration in more permanent form. James was shortly after to be overthrown in the 'Glorious Revolution', forced to flee to France.

Fig. 5.17. Portrait of Queen Anne
Opal intaglio (from a cast)
Early 18th century
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Fig. 5.18. Portrait of an unknown man
Cornelian intaglio (from a cast).
Late 17th early 18th century
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Little surviving material has been linked with the reign of William and Mary. A two-sided Parisian cameo showing St George on one side and with some hard to interpret allegorical figure on the other has been tentatively associated with his victory over James II and his ascension to the throne (Babelon 1897, p. 622). Mary's sapphire seal is described in chapter 3.

This is also the place to mention intaglios with portraits of Queen Anne, despite the fact that they take us beyond the 17th century: they are to be found at Windsor Castle and in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, No. 647) [fig. 5.17]. An engraved portrait of Anne was listed also in the inventory of engraved gems belonging to Catherine II, although it has not proved possible to identify it amongst the ten thousand or so gems in the Hermitage; we do however, have a paste made from it at the end of the 18th century [fig. 5.18].

By now, the market was increasingly being entered by locally produced intaglios with generic male and female Classical heads (Somers Cocks 1976, pl. 21-K) as well as with easily recognisable portraits. One might find depicted upon them the great men of antiquity – Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, Socrates, Virgil – or celebrated Britons of modern times, such as Alexander Pope, Isaac Newton and Shakespeare (cats. 81, 82, 84, 96, 97, 102) (see also Dalton 1915, No. 1105; Henig 1994, Nos. 641, 644). They were still frequently shown en face or in three-quarter profile and in stylistic terms these gems are strongly linked to the Baroque age.

It was in the next century that such new kinds of gems were to be fully developed, but their appearance at the turn of the 17th and 18th century heralded the new era: it was the dawning of the British Enlightenment.

1. Thomas Rawlins
Charles I. c. 1649
Sardonyx cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 7)

Ia. Thomas Rawlins
Charles I. c. 1649
Sardonyx cameo (from Devonshire parure)
Devonshire collection, Chatsworth

2. John Roettiers or Thomas Rawlins
Charles II. c. 1665
Sardonyx cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 8)

Plate 17

1. Thomas Simon
Ring with two-sided sardonyx cameo. 1640s
a) Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford
b) William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 9)

2. Anthony Van Dyck
Portrait of Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford. 1636
Petworth House, The Egremont Collection
(acquired in lieu of tax by H.M.Treasury in 1957
and subsequently transferred to The National Trust)

3. Workshop of Anthony Van Dyck
Portrait of William Laud, Archishop of Canterbury. c. 1638
Hermitage, St Petersburg

1. Thomas Simon
Portrait of Oliver Cromwell. c. 1658
Sardonyx cameo
Hermitage, St. Petersburg (cat. 10)

2. Thomas Simon
Portrait of Oliver Cromwell. 1659
Sardonyx cameo
Devonshire collection, Chatsworth

Part II

Into a new era

6

Tendencies in a time of transition

Its political upheavals now in the past, from the start of the 18th century Britain rapidly began – in its economic growth, level of political maturity and progress in the natural and social sciences – to overtake those European countries where the age of revolutionary change was still only in its infancy. Gradually, the conditions were created that were necessary for art's gradual liberation from the constrictions of the aristocratic world, making it accessible to the middle classes and allowing for a broader development of British artistic life. The arts could no longer remain purely courtly in a culture that had fully understood the instability of the monarchy.

Nonetheless, the process by which the arts were opened up was very slow: the new trade and industrial bourgeoisie, still stuffed with Puritan morality, did not initially hasten to adopt things until so recently perceived as not only superfluous but perhaps even as dangerous luxuries. They remained extremely cautious. By the very nature of the Revolution and the spirit of compromise to which it eventually gave rise, artists' main clients – and thus those who determined the nature of art – continued for many years to come from a narrow circle of oligarchs seeking to surround themselves with artistic values in keeping with their own particular 'ideology' or set of beliefs. They came from the former landed gentry, which had managed to preserve a number of feudal privileges and which, during the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89, formed a long-term union with the leaders of the rising bourgeoisie. That bourgeoisie was now rapidly adopting aristocratic tastes. These two tendencies, the 'democratisation' of aristocratic culture and 'aristocratisation' of the bourgeoisie, went hand in hand and cannot in truth be separated.

A new culture was to be moulded by this new society. Classicism was to be the art form closest to the heart of 18th-century Britain. In the context of an 'Age of Reason', dominated by the concept of enlightenment, Classicism came increasingly to permeate theory, poetry, architecture and theatre. The plastic arts were, during the first part of the century, the least affected, but even here Classicism prompted a more profound interest in Antiquity than was to be observed on the continent (Irwin 1966, p. 27).

The notebooks of George Vertue and wealth of epistolary material (particularly from the 1720s) frequently mention the importance of ancient statues and casts to both collectors and artists (Whinney 1956, p. 270). Indeed, the greatest compliment Vertue could pay to a sculpture was to say that it was 'as fine as antique'. In the painting *St Martin's Lane Academy*, attributed to William Hogarth, we clearly see how casts from ancient marbles were already considered a vital piece of equipment in any English art school. An interest in the art of antiquity was growing keener all the time in aristocratic circles, expressed in the activities of the Society of Virtuosi of St Luke, founded in 1689, in the new Society of Dilettanti (1734) and the final embodiment of the Society of Antiquaries (1751). 'The Golden Age of Classic Dilettantism' (Michaelis 1882, p. 55) had begun.

Henceforth, it was to be a study of Classical Antiquity, its languages and literary works, that was to lay the foundations of a British aristocratic education, whether within the walls of colleges and universities, or on the Grand Tour, which essentially meant a tour of Italy (including not only Rome, Florence and Venice but, in the wake of the discovery of Herculaneum and

Pompeii, Naples also). Somewhat later architects, archaeologists and artists were drawn also by Greece and the Near East, whose ancient civilisations held extra charm in having been only newly discovered.

Travellers brought back with them antiquities that they used to adorn their mansions, palaces and castles. Over the course of three quarters of a century the British imported works in quantities unmatched by any other European people. 'The barbarians, i.e. the English, are buying everything', wrote Johann Joachim Winckelmann in a letter from Rome. In response to a request from Count Charles Cobenzl, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Austrian throne in the Netherlands, that he acquire for him some fine antique gem, Winckelmann wrote on 13 January 1768, 'Personne ne seroit plus empressé que moi en cherchant pour V. E. une belle pierre gravée ou un camée; mais à present il n'y a rien qui mérite d'être proposé, et le caprice effrené des Anglois a fait monter cette marchandise à un prix énorme.' Along with sculptures and painted vases, travellers acquired glyptics both ancient and modern, these being particularly popular because of their great accessibility, their portability and excellent state of preservation, not to mention, of course, their quality, the charm and variety of their subjects, and their general harmony with the spiritual questions and whims of taste of the age.

British collectors formed the main contingent amidst the veritable crowd of international admirers of antiquities in Italy. Travelling aristocrats visited their compatriots resident in Italy, who frequently possessed their own collections, and were infected with the same enthusiasms. Notable dactyliothecae belonged to the British Consul in Venice Joseph Smith, to William Hamilton, British Envoy to Naples and renowned arbiter of taste, and to the Scottish architect, collector and dealer in Antiquities James Byres, who spent many years in Rome; to the artist and archaeologist Gavin Hamilton and the artist and antiquarian Ignazio Hugford, in whose house in Florence the Italian gem engraver Francesco Borghigiani found shelter and set up his own studio (Fleming 1955, p. 197).

The British acquired gems through a variety of different channels. They purchased them for vast sums from the noble houses of Venice, Florence and Rome, such as the Foscarini, Strozzi and Rondanini, from leading collectors such as Cardinals Alessandro Albani and Pietro Ottoboni, from the Papal Nuncio Molinari, the learned antiquary Francesco Ficoroni, and the patron and connoisseur of engraved gems Baron Philip von Stosch.

Rich fruits were turned up by the soil of Italy, which provided an abundance of ancient gems to amateur archaeologists and sometimes – after heavy rains – even revealed her treasures herself, providing an occasional source of income for peasants and a regular income for dealers and jewellers. These latter purchased them to sell on to those foreign tourists who flocked every Wednesday to the market on the Piazza Navona (Hautecoeur 1912, p. 218). To speak English was to have a key providing access to the most precious items, frequently even to the cameos which were so much rarer than intaglios.

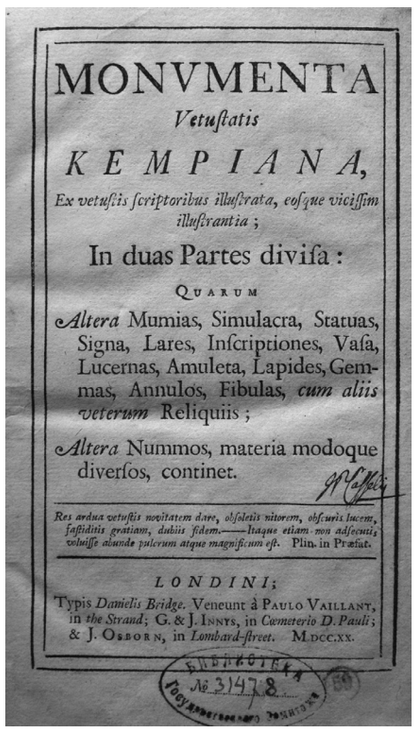
British buyers also visited the workshops of Italian gem engravers. From Antonio Pichler (1697-1779), Lord Grantham acquired a multi-figure intaglio after a drawing by Raphael Mengs showing a scene from Sophocles: the blind Oedipus, seated before the Temple of the Furies near Athens, informs his daughters of his impending death (Raspe 1791, No. 8610) [fig. 6.1]. Signed in the Greek manner 'ΠΙΧΛΕΡ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ', it reflected in concentrated form all the new trends in gem engraving.

British clients were particularly keen on commissioning their own portraits from Italian gem engravers, or indeed reproductions of celebrated statues and gems. Carlo Costanzi (1703-after 1763) engraved portraits of James Hamilton, 1st Earl of Clanbrassil (1690-1758), [fig. 6.2] of William Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon (1704-93, later the 2nd Earl of Bessborough) and of John Frederick Bart (Righetti 1952, p. 36). Costanzi depicted James Stuart, the Old Pretender, on cornelian at least three times, while Francesco Ghinghi (1689-1766) produced at least one portrait of him (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14024-26, 14027). Antonio Pichler, meanwhile, produced portraits of the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart, then living in Rome, and his wife, the Princess of Stolberg (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14033, 14034), of Mr Blanket and Mr John Lindsey (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14139, 14261). The Duke of Beaufort took back to England a masterpiece by Flavio Sirletti (1683-1737), an amethyst showing *The Laocoon and his Sons* (Mariette 1750, I, p. 141; Osborne 1912, p. 183), while the Duke of Leeds acquired an agate of the same composition from Flavio's brother Francesco (1713-88) (Raspe 1791, No. 9488). Less discerning purchasers made do with the copies produced in quantity by skilled craftsmen.

From the very first decades of the 18th century, therefore, new dactyliothecae were being created one after the other, replacing those collections that had been broken up during the Civil War. Now the attitude

Fig. 6.1. Antonio Pichler
Oedipus blind before the Temple of the Furies (after the drawing by Raphael Mengs). 1760s –1770s
Onyx intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 6.2. Carlo Costanzi
Portrait of James Hamilton, 1st Lord Clanbrassil. Second third of the 18th century
Rock crystal intaglio (from a Tassie impression)



MONVMENTA
Vetuſtatis
KEMPIANA,
Ex vetuſtis ſcriptoribus illuſtrata, eoſque viciſſim illuſtrantia;
In duas Partes diviſa:
QUARUM
Altera Mumias, Simulacra, Statuas, Signa, Lares, Inſcriptiones, Vaſa, Lucernas, Amuleta, Lapides, Gemmas, Annulos, Fibulas, *cum aliis veterum* Reliquiis;
Altera Nummos, materia modoque diverſos, continet.
Res ardua vetuſtis novitatem dare, obſoletis nitorem, obſcuris lucem, faſtidiitis gratiam, dubiis fidem.——Itaque etiam non adſecuti, voluiſſe abunde pulcrum atque magnificum eſt. Plin. in Præfat.
LONDINI;
Typis *Danielis Bridge*. Veneunt à PAULO VAILLANT, in *the Strand*; G. & J. INNYS, in *Cœmeterio D. Pauli*; & J. OSBORN, in *Lombard-ſtreet*. MDCC.XX.

Fig. 6.3. Robert Ainsworth, *Monumenta vetustatis Kempiana ex vetustis scriptoribus illustrata*, London, 1720
Title page

Fig. 6.4. Portrait of Dr. John Woodward Wedgwood
Jasper medallion after the model by William Hackwood
c. 1780

was very much in contrast to the Restoration view of gems as an item of pure luxury. Although these new dactyliothecae took shape largely within the context of those universal, 'encyclopaedic' collections that were typical of the early stage of the British Enlightenment, frequently – and ever more so with the passing of time – they were formed as totally independent Cabinets of Engraved Gems.

As we see from the catalogues published to accompany sales and auctions, gems formed a significant part of the Cabinets belonging to the antiquarian John Kemp (1665-1717; Kemp 1720) [fig. 6.3] and the physician and geologist Dr John Woodward (1665-1728; Woodward 1728) (fig. 6.4), the latter owning a *Head of Priam* with the signature 'AETIΩN'. The author of both catalogues (based on research by the collectors themselves) was the celebrated lexicographer Robert Ainsworth (1660-1743).

Conyers Middleton (1683-1750), the first librarian of the University of Cambridge and a theologian and Classics scholar from Cambridge, acquired gems during his visit to Italy in 1723-25 (Scarisbrick 1987, p. 94; Spier 1999), his main suppliers being the antiquaries and dealers Francesco Ficoroni, Bernardo Sterbini and particularly Francesco Palazzi. The much younger Horace Walpole (1717-97), [fig. 6.5] whom he knew from Trinity College, would also, albeit some fifteen years or so later (1739-41), assemble a body of gems in Italy and in 1743 the two men exchanged manuscript descriptions of their collections with the aim of producing a joint publication, although this was never realised. A year later Walpole acquired his correspondent's dactyliotheca for the sum of £131. Middleton's gems were soon to be published in his work *Germana quaedam antiquitatis eruditae monumenta* (Middleton 1745) reproduced in a table by the printmaker James Mynde [fig. 6.6]. Walpole's collection, of which they now formed a part, remained unpublished; it was kept at his house, Strawberry Hill, until all the contents went under the hammer on 25 April 1842 (Robins 1842).

Spier quite justly noted the somewhat average quality of both collections (Spier 1999, p. 205). Very much reflections of the tastes dominating the Roman art market during the first half of the 18th century, they were intended to satisfy the owners' historic rather than artistic interests. Middleton wrote to Walpole in 1743: 'They were not collected out of any regard to their beauty or sculpture, but as containing what the Italians call some erudition in them, and illustrating some rite or custom of old Rome, alluded to by the

Fig. 6.5. John Giles Eccardt
Portrait of Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford.
1754
© National Portrait Gallery, London

ancient writers' (Walpole Correspondence 1937-83, XV, pp. 15-16). Those of Middleton's gems which passed through Walpole's hands are now in the British Museum, in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon and in the Antikensammlung der Berliner Museen (Spier 1999, p. 207).

Fritz Lugt's 'Répertoire' of auctions provides evidence that engraved gems were circulating more and more actively on the London art market with each passing year (Lugt 1938-64, I). In the second quarter of the 18th century alone, auctions included collections of engraved seals belonging to Elihu Yale (1723), Michael Rosse (1723/25), the cameos and intaglios of Jeremiah Marlow (1724; already known to us from Vertue's Notebooks), those of the Italian Francis Beneditti (1735) and of Joseph Sedgwick (1744), and the cameos of Charles Montagu, 1st Earl of Halifax (1739). Among the buyers at these sales was Dr Richard Mead (1673-1754), [fig. 6.7] Physician to George II and from 1717 Vice-President of the Royal Society, who was particularly enthusiastic in adding coins and gems to his large collection of antique pieces formed during his travels in Italy (Mead 1755; Webster 1970). Thus

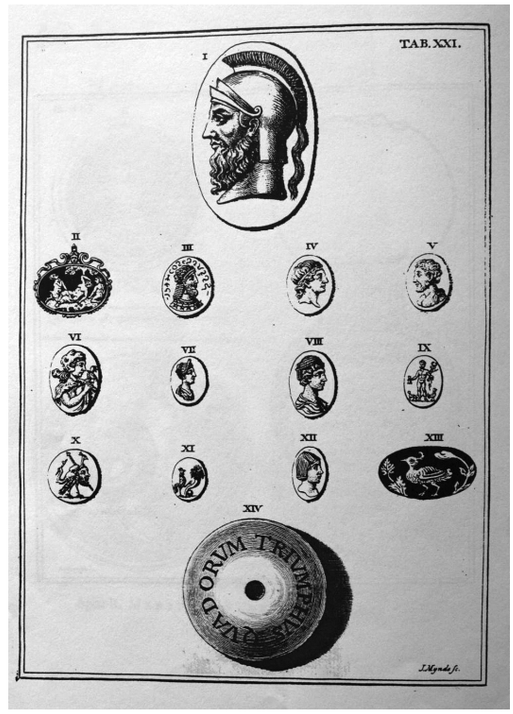


Fig. 6.6. Conyers Middleton, *Germana quaedam antiquitatis eruditae Monumenta quibus Romanorum veterum Ritus varii*, Londini, 1745
a, Title page with portrait of authors
b, Plate XXI (after the model by Giovanni Pozzo)

Mead's collection included gems that had formerly belonged to John Kemp and George Montagu Dunk, 2nd Earl of Halifax (1716-71; from 1762 Secretary of State), as well as items from the Rome collection of antiquarian Michelangelo de La Chausse (1660-1724). Demonstrating the breadth of his interests, Dr Mead's private museum on Great Ormond Street incorporated cameos from the Ptolemaic period, a Roman phalera with a head of Medusa and modern glyptics. Particularly noteworthy is an agate bust of Elizabeth I *en ronde bosse*. As was already mentioned in chapter 2, this perhaps should be seen as a reworking of a bust of Omphale by Miseroni. When sold in 1755 the bust passed into the hands of Lord Charlemont then made its way to Mentmore, [plate 19.1] being sold at auction at Sotheby's in London with other property from there (18-23 May 1977, lot 1918) for the sum of £25,000, to a private collector in London. An emerald plasma from Mead's collection, bearing a reproduction of Phidias' *Amazon*, came into the collection of the Earl of Bessborough and shared its fate (see chapter 7). Other gems included works by Valerio Belli and Flavio Sirletti, English intaglio portraits of Shakespeare, Dryden and Newton and several cameo portraits. Mead's Cabinet ceased to exist in 1755, a year after his death, [fig. 6.8] and its gems are now scattered amongst British collections and museums in the USA, Paris and Berlin.

The collecting of engraved gems was a favourite pastime of Martin Folks (1690-1754), President of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries and, interestingly, translator into English of Theophrastus' 4th-century BC treatise on precious stones. The same can be said of the First Lord of the Treasury, John, 1st Earl Poulett (1663-1743) and John, Baron Hervey of Ickworth (1696-1743), owner of a celebrated Roman Republican intaglio showing the Trojan horse (now Museo Archeologico, Florence). Diana Scarisbrick has noted that an interest in such subjects, stimulated by studies of antiquity, sphragistics, history, the natural sciences and mineralogy, was particularly characteristic of the men gathered around the Royal Society (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. X). Highly indicative of this is the assemblage of more than 400 – and by 1725 more than 700 – gems that formed part of the 'encyclopaedic' or 'universal' cabinet of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), [fig. 6.9] celebrated physician and botanist, who in 1727 replaced Isaac Newton as President of the Royal Society (Edwards 1870,

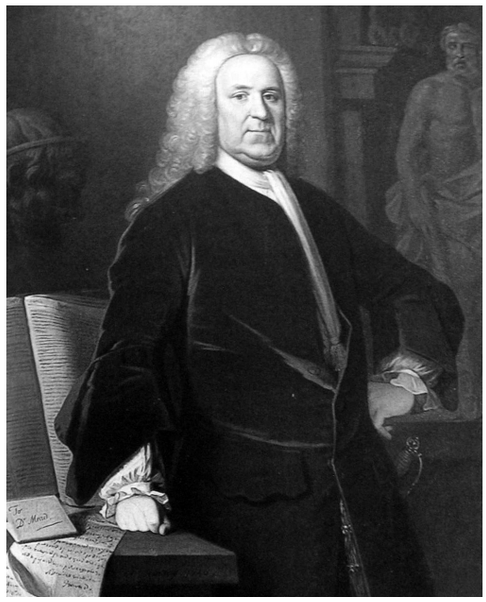
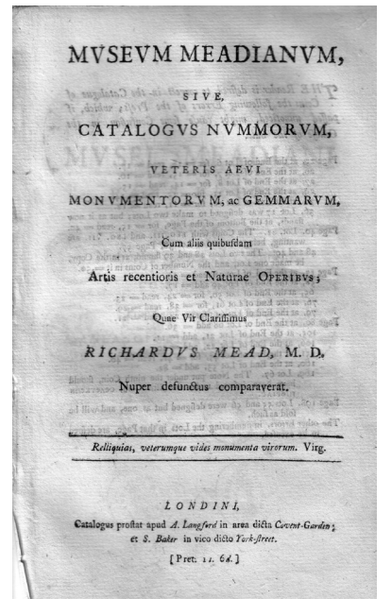


Fig. 6.7. Allan Ramsay
Portrait of Dr Richard Mead. 1747
© National Portrait Gallery, London



MVSEVM MEADIANVM,

SIVE,

CATALOGVS NVMMORVM,

VETERIS AEVI

MONVMENTORVM, ac GEMMARVM,

Cum aliis quibusdam

Artis recentioris et Naturae OPERIBVS;

Quae Vir Clarissimus

RICHARDVS MEAD, M. D.

Nuper defunctus comparaverat.

Reliquias, veterumque vides monumenta virorum. Virg.

LONDINI,

Catalogus prostat apud *A. Langford* in area dicta *Covent-Garden*;
et *S. Baker* in vico dicto *York-street*.

[Pret. 1*s*. 6*d*.]

Fig. 6.8. *Museum Meadianum, sive catalogus nummorum, veteris aevi monumentorum, ac gemmarum*, Londini, [1755]
Title page

p. 303). Sloane's attention to his dactyliotheca was particularly keen during the late 17th and early 18th centuries (we should recall that some of his gems had formerly belonged to the court artist John Michael Wright, 1617-94). Under the terms of Sloane's will, the collection was in 1753 acquired for the State and thus Sloane's name has gone down in history as one of the founders of the British Museum in that year. Engraved gems – covering a mineralogical repertoire of incredible variety – and engraved shells from Sloane's collection poured into the new museum's Antiquities department, although today no more than 50 remain in what is now the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, most having been transferred to the Department of Medieval and Modern Antiquities. Sloane's collection did not, however, include any masterpieces from either the Classical or post-Classical periods, evidence that he was a true son of his time in indulging historical and cultural interests rather than artistic taste.

Connoisseurs and admirers of engraved gems noted these new English dactyliothecae early on. At the very start of 1718, an announcement in a French periodical (Mémoires 1718, p. 186) informed readers that one Nicola Francesco Haym of Rome, recently arrived in London to teach music, was to publish *Del tesoro britannico*, in which gems would be assigned a separate section. As Haym himself wrote in his introduction to the first (and, as it turned out, only) part of this work, including coins and medals and with a dedication to the Duke of Devonshire, which appeared the following year: 'Il Secondo Museo detto Gemmario conterra le gemme antiche communemente chiamate intagli delle quali von si puo far ancora giudizio circa la quantita precisa, non avendo esaminato abbastanza quello che sarebbe necessario' (Haym 1719-20, p. 4). We do not know what it was that prevented the author from carrying out his intention of publishing the gems but it was certainly not lack of material. Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) suggested that Haym – who was both compiler and draughtsman for the publication – had had problems finding an etcher or that illness had perhaps cut short his attempt (Mariette 1750, I, pp. 336, 337). Certainly he died in 1730.

Philip von Stosch (1691-1757) had arrived in England even earlier, in 1712. At first his aims were simply to visit the houses of famous collectors, although he was later to become a secret agent for the House of Hanover in their efforts to contain the Pretender, then resident in Rome (Lewis 1961, p. 52). Stosch's *Gemmae Antiquae Caelatae*, published in Amsterdam in 1724, figures examples from British collection gems, among them pieces from Lord Morpeth (4th Earl of Carlisle) [fig. 6.10], the former collection of

Fig. 6.9. Michael Rysbrack
Terracotta bust of Hans Sloane. c. 1737
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

the 2nd Earl of Arundel [fig. 6.11], as well as those of the 2nd Duke of Devonshire [fig. 6.11a], all of which he must have seen (Stosch 1724, Nos. VI, XVI, XXXV, XLVIII, LXX).

In 1720, Antonio Maria Zanetti (1689-1767), celebrated Venetian printmaker, collector, patron and agent for the sale of gems and other art treasures, included London in his tour of European capitals. There he was able – as he had indeed intended – to add to his own collection of medals and engraved gems (Haskell 1963, p. 342). He published his engraved gems through the Albrizzi publishing house, with 80 engraved plates compiled by himself from drawings by his relative and namesake Antonio Maria Zanetti the younger (Gori 1750; Haskell 1963). Several gems in his collection, which contained mostly Renaissance works and copies after the Antique, were acquired by rich Englishmen, the Dukes of Devonshire and Marlborough, the 1st Earl and Countess of Spencer (whose Leopard Cameo, usually kept at Althorp, was displayed in London in 1978, see Scarisbrick 1979b, pp. 425-27).

It was in the 1720s that the British Consul in Venice, Joseph Smith (1674-1770), began to assemble his own dactyliotheca [plate 20.1]. As an antiquarian and merchant, Smith was a permanent resident in Venice even before he became Consul (1744-60). In 1753, influenced by the publication of Zanetti's gems, he began to prepare his 100 best engraved gems for similar purposes. Descriptions of both Zanetti and Smith's dactyliothecae were compiled by Florence's leading authority in the subject, the learned Abbot Antonio Francesco Gori (1691-1757; Gori 1750, 1767). Gori maintained a regular and confidential correspondence with both rival collectors, also enjoying more open relations with Smith, supporting his scholarly studies while the Consul provided Gori with subscribers to his books (Haskell 1963, p. 299).

Gori began compilation of the *Dactyliotheca Smithiana* [fig. 6.12, 6.13, 6.14, 6.15] immediately upon publication of Zanetti's collection. In 1753 work was already moving apace (Giulianelli 1753, p. XI; Aschengreen Piacenti 1977, p. 79) and in 1761 part appeared in the publishing house of G. B. Pasquali, of which the Consul was part owner (Giulianelli 1753, p. XI; King's Purchase 1993, p. 57), but the full two-volume edition was to appear only in 1767. It was financed from 1764 by George III, who had purchased many of Smith's treasures, including the dactyliotheca, and thus saved him from bankruptcy in 1762 (the works arrived from Venice in that same year). The King had no desire to lag behind other European monarchs, who were all paying homage to the 'epidemic' fashion for collecting glyptics. He is generally thought to have known little of gems but there is evidence that of a particular interest, for instance in a letter to Lord Bute of 14 June 1762, in which he mentions 'Carmey's entalios', although 'Carmey's' identity is unknown (George III 1974-75, No. 78).

The first volume of the *Dactyliotheca Smithiana* opens with a dedication to George III and contains the history of glyptics from ancient times right up to the middle of the 18th century, with large sections containing biographies of ancient and 'new' gem engravers from not only the Italian schools but also those of the rest of Europe, even the Danish and Swedish schools. The second volume, which contains the dactyliotheca itself, incorporated printed reproductions of gems one per page as with the Zanetti publication, varying only in the manner of the border and the form of the explanatory tables or titles (*tituli*). The original drawings, with the exception of a few sheets by Pietro Novelli, were also by the younger Zanetti and the prints were commissioned from Giovanni Brustolon. Gori rarely expressed any judgment on dating and attribution in his commentaries, generally concentrating on the subjects, referring to Ovid, Virgil and Suetonius. The collection included only a couple

Fig. 6.10. Philip von Stosch, *Gemmae Caelatae*, Amsterdam, 1724
Plates VI, XVI (Gems from the collection of Henry Howard, Viscount Morpeth, 4th Earl of Carlisle)

Fig. 6.11. Philip von Stosch, *Gemmae Caelatae*, Amsterdam, 1724
Plates XXXV, LXX (Gems from the Arundel collection)

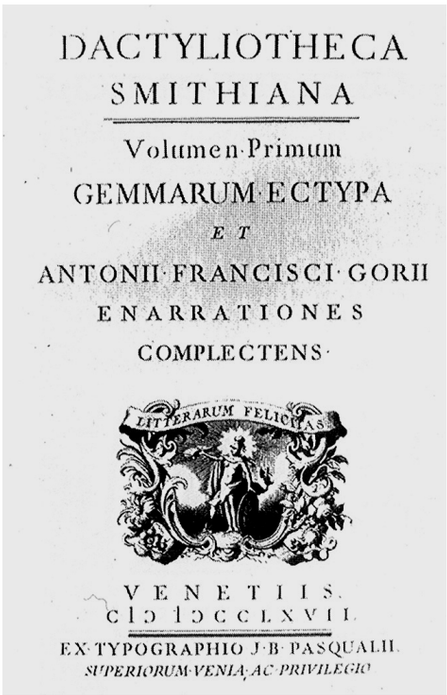
Fig. 6.11a. Philip von Stosch, *Gemmae Caelatae*, Amsterdam, 1724
Plate XLVIII (Gem from the Devonshire collection)

of genuine ancient works, one of them the celebrated fragment of a Late Empire cameo showing Zeus in three-layer sardonyx (Royal Collection), the rest of the pieces dating mainly from the 16th century to the first half of the 18th.

Aschengreen Piacenti (1977, p. 81) suggested that Gori's acquaintance with the gems was limited to drawings and prints and that he never saw the originals, which does indeed seem to have been the case. Despite declarations that the book presented 100 selected gems, it in fact has just 99, 10 intaglios and 89 cameos, for Gori was unaware that one of the cameos was two-sided. He reproduced its different sides in two separate plates (Gori 1767, II, pls. VIII, IX). Two decades later, Smith's gems were to be described once more in a translation of Gori's Latin texts into Italian by G. A. Aldini (1785, pp. 171-96), who added just a few commentaries of his own. Of the engraved gems acquired from Smith by George III, 65 have been identified, forming an important part of the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. In the opinion of Aschengreen Piacenti, the rest of Smith's gems were probably dispersed as gifts.

As it stands today, the Royal Collection of engraved gems was largely shaped by earlier acquisitions made in the reign of George II and by subsequent acquisitions by George IV. In 1755, nearly twenty years after the death of Queen Caroline of Ansbach, consort of George II, an inventory was compiled of her 'curiositys and medals', in which we find a number of important engraved gems. In 1763, in his copy of the catalogue of the paintings of James II and those of Queen Caroline in her apartments in Kensington Palace, Horace Walpole added by hand a list of the objects also amongst the Queen's belongings. These included a number of cameos, including one showing Henry VIII and Edward VI and another of Mary Queen of Scots. Most of these Walpole sent to George III in 1764 and they are hence to be found at Windsor. Now for the first time, we can trace their history (Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, pp. 15-17, notes 24, 25).

From the correspondence between Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle (1694-1758), [fig. 6.16] A. M. Zanetti and Francesco Ficoroni in the 1740s (published by Diana Scarisbrick in 1987), it becomes clear that Zanetti, Ficoroni, Philip von Stosch and Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, each in his own way contributed to the formation of Carlisle's collection. Eleven gems bearing the signatures of ancient gem engravers were given a place on the pages of Stosch's book (Stosch 1724). The Earl acquired his gems between 1739 and 1758 during visits to Italy and it is important to stress that he operated using extremely strict selection criteria (Scarisbrick 1987, pp. 90-91). His collection demonstrates most strikingly the difference between the activities of so-called 'learned' collectors who assembled mixed collections and those of a true connoisseur. Travelling at his clients' expense or receiving them in his own home, Zanetti himself noted the difference between the two types, comparing for instance the enthusiasm of the 2nd Duke of Devonshire with the ignorance, even vandalism, of the 8th Earl of Pembroke (Scarisbrick 1987, p. 93). As regards Carlisle's collection, Zanetti asserted that its significance was comparable with that of the French kings. He was most concerned that the owner not only add to it further but also commission a publication worthy of it as he, Zanetti, had done with his own collection. On 25 October 1740 he wrote to Carlisle: 'J'ay souvent ocassion d'écrire, et de recevoir des lettres par Monsieur Stosch, et nous parlons souvent de vous, de votre gout sans pareille, et de les choses magnifiques, et sublimes que vous possedez <…> et j'ay dis, que si j'etois en votre place, je voudrois absolument faire dessiner, et graver, et donner au publique le belles choses, que vous avez acquises, et vous laiseriez dans le monde un nom immortel, et la posterité admireroit le grand tresor, que le magnanime


DACTYLIOTHECA
SMITHIANA
Volumen Primum
GEMMARUM ECTYPA
ET
ANTONII FRANCISCI GORII
ENARRATIONES
COMPLECTENS
LITTERARUM FELICITAS
VENETIIS.
CIↃ IↃCCLXVII.
EX TYPOGRAPHIO J. B. PASQUALII.
SUPERIORUM VENIA, AC PRIVILEGIO

Figs. 6.12. Antonio Franchesco Gori, *Dactyliotheca Smithiana*, Venetiis, 1767.
Title page

GEORGIO TERTIO MAGNAE BRITANNIAE REGI
CANADIANO
INVICTO PIO FELICI PATRI PATRIAE
VTROQUE ORBE VICTORIIS PERLUSTRATO
MARITIMO IMPERIO ADSERTO
PUBLICA RE AUCTA
HOSTIBUS BELLO EXARMATIS
PACE DEVINCTIS
TEMPLO IANI CLAUSO
ANNO REPARATAE SALUTIS
MDCCLXIII.

Fig. 6.13. Antonio Franchesco Gori, Dactyliotheca Smithiana, Venetiis, 1767.
Dedication page

XXI
MEDUSAE CAPUT
XXIII
HERCULES JUVENIS

Figs. 6.14, 6.15. Antonio Franchesco Gori, Dactyliotheca Smithiana, Venetiis, 1767.
Plates XX, XXIII

Mylord Carlisle a ramassé dans sa vie. <…> si vous voudrez le faire, je me charge de en faire les desseins de tout les pieces, que vous m'envoyerez [as casts – J. K.], et dessiner dans le totel goust de l'antique, sans aucun imaginable fraix…' (Scarisbrick 1987, p. 97).

But Zanetti never realised his long-standing dream to visit Castle Howard and spend hours with his magnifying glass making a careful study of the outstanding dactyliotheca (Scarisbrick 1987, p. 93), a dactyliotheca that included masterpieces such as the ancient cameo signed by master Sostratos, *Eros with a Chariot Pulled by Panthers*; a chalcedony intaglio with a head of Medusa signed by Sosoklos; a 13th-century cameo *Noah's Ark*, that had already passed through the collection of Lorenzo Medici; the cameo *Meleager and Atalanta*, formerly a star in the collection of Peter Paul Rubens; Renaissance gems engraved by Giovanni Bernardi, Valerio Belli and Alessandro Cesati. Between 1889 and 1891 the collection, some 170 cameos and intaglios in total, was acquired for the British Museum (Rudoe 1996, p. 200; Rudoe 2003, pp. 136-37).

Bernardo Sterbini of Rome spent part of 1732-33 in London and although he was more concerned with the sale of his own property than with acquiring new objects, he entered during his visit on a correspondence with Conyers Middleton in order to obtain casts from his gems (Spier 1999, p. 206).

We should also mention several other British collections formed in the first half of the 18th century. Celebrated diplomat and moralising writer Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773), [fig. 6.17] had in 1748 inherited a superb dactyliotheca of some 47 gems from his younger brother John Stanhope (1705-48), also a diplomat, who had developed a taste for glyptics during his Grand Tour of Italy. It included engraved gems from the celebrated collections of Fulvio Orsini and Francesco Ficoroni in Rome, of Pietro Stephanoni in Padua, and of Philip von Stosch in Florence (Kagan, Neverov 1984, I, pp. 117, 118). The Earl did not, however, have any particular passion for the engraved gems which so attracted many contemporaries, lumping them together in unflattering terms in a letter to his son of 27 September 1749 with the words: 'You are travelling now in a country once so famous both for arts and arms, that… it still deserves your attention and reflection… do not run through it, as too many of your young countrymen do, musically, and… knick-knackically. No piping nor fiddling, I beseech you: no days lost in poring upon almost imperceptible Intaglios and Cameos: and do not become a Virtuoso of small wares. Form a taste of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture if you please, by a careful examination of the works of the best ancient and modern artists; those are liberal arts, and a real taste and knowledge of them becomes a man of fashion very well' (Chesterfield 1926, I, p. 372).

Bearing this attitude in mind, there can be no surprise at the fact that just a few years later, in 1754, these ancient and modern engraved gems were sold by the Earl of Chesterfield to William Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon, later 2nd Earl of Bessborough (1704-93). In the latter's possession they were joined by numerous other engraved gems. Bessborough [fig. 6.18] travelled extensively in Italy and Greece, for instance, in search of marbles and gems. He acquired some pieces at the auction on 10 February 1761 of the collection of Livorno merchant Gabriel Medina (catalogue Medina 1742; auction catalogue Medina 1761), among them a two-sided cameo with busts of Hercules and Omphale [plate 20.2] set into a rich enamelled gold mount with diamonds and rubies, once presented by Emperor Charles V to Pope Clement VII (lot 70). A reproduction of Pheidias' *Amazonian Woman* on emerald plasma passed through the hands of Richard Mead before finding its way to Bessborough. His collection included also masterpieces of Roman and Renaissance engraved gems: bust of warrior [plate 21.1] from Chesterfield he gained a superb garnet with a 1st-century BC paired portrait that had once belonged to the Roman humanist Fulvio Orsini.

Thus growing to some 200 items, catalogued by Natter in 1761, Bessborough's collection was acquired in 1762 by George Spencer, 4th Duke of Marlborough (of whom more later), and eventually to be split up.

Bessborough is often described as the 'father' of the Society of Dilettanti which, along with the Society of Antiquaries, founded some 30 years previously, was to be a centre for the study and discussion of engraved gems, placing particular emphasis on clarification of dating and attribution. The Minute Books of the Society of Antiquaries for these years vividly reflect these regular activities, often recalling genuine scholarly debates rather than the merely social gatherings of a circle of connoisseurs. Whereas on 10 March 1724 members were acquainted with a cameo showing the Emperor Commodus, acquired in Sardinia by Sir James Dalrymple, only via a watercolour sketch, on other occasions actual gems were put on display for members to study before the meeting. On 22 May 1740 they discussed several '*abraxases'* brought back from Egypt by the Earl of Sandwich and continental

Fig. 6.16. Hans Hysing
Portrait of Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle, with a cameo of Julia as Diana
Private collection, London

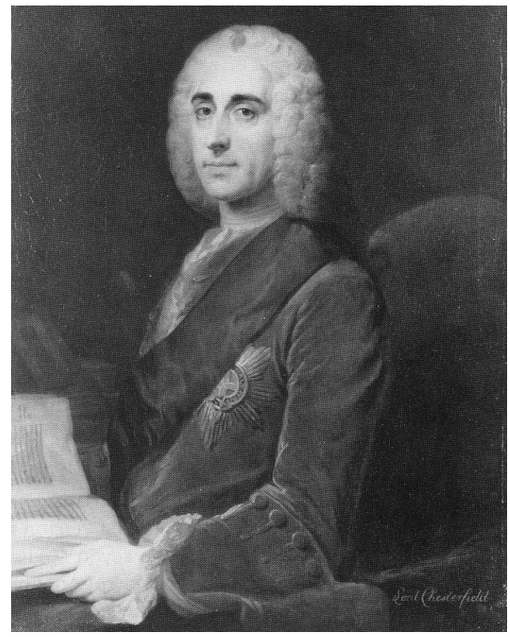


Fig. 6.17. After William Hoare
Portrait of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield. c. 1742
© National Portrait Gallery, London

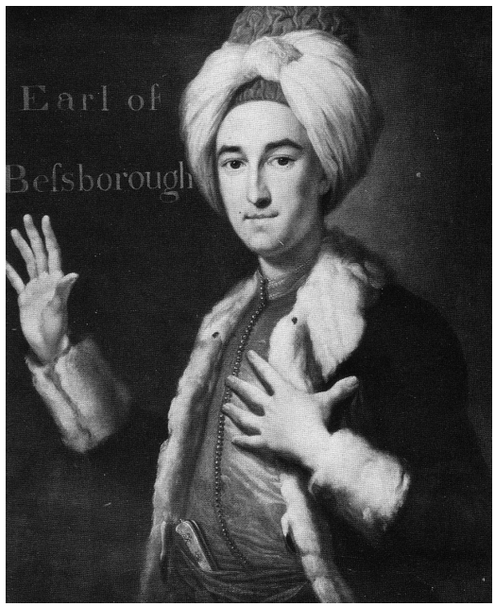


Fig. 6.18. George Knapton
Portrait of Viscount Duncannon, later 2nd Earl of Bessborough. c. 1734
Society of Dilettanti, London

Fig. 6.19. Charles Jervas
Portrait of William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire. c. 1710-15
Devonshire collection, Chatsworth

collectors also took advantage of the opportunity to display and discuss their gems: Count Heinrich Brühl, Minister to the Elector of Saxony, brought a Zodiacal seal from his Dresden home, and on 1 March 1764 the Society discussed a cameo with portraits of Claudius and Messalina – 'one of the five largest cameos in existence' – brought from Portugal for sale in London (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XV).

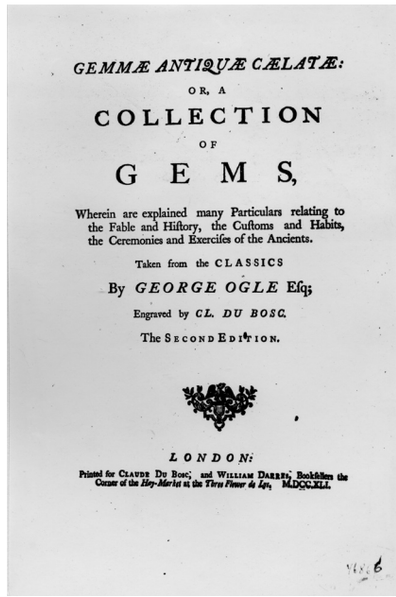
By contrast with Sloane's gems (which, like those of Carlisle, were to become national property) and the majority of the other collections described above (which sooner or later came under the hammer), the family collection assembled by generations of Dukes of Devonshire is even today kept at Chatsworth. Amongst the 500 or so cameos and intaglios are works by Apollonides and Dioscurides, Anteros and Gnaios, Valerio Belli and Giovanni Bernardi, as well as Tudor portrait cameos (King 1866b, pp. 482-88; Robinson 1863, p. 562; Scarisbrick 1986; Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XV; Scarisbrick 2003, pp. 64-73, 168-73) [plate 21.2].

The Devonshire family acquired their first engraved gems during the Tudor period, when they fulfilled essentially utilitarian functions as insignia and jewellery. Such, for instance, are a cap badge with a cameo head of Juno on onyx, and an amazing sardonyx carved along the edge with an image of a dolphin saving Arion and set in a fancy mount repeating the form of the stone (Scarisbrick 1983, pt I, pp. 1542, 1543) [plate 21.3]. Founder of the collection in the real sense of the word, however, was William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire (1672-1729) [fig. 6.19]. The family's taste for gems continued to be combined with a utilitarian attitude towards them: for example the 3rd Duke (1698-1755) had his Lesser George engraved in lapis lazuli (curiously, the device of the Order appeared twice on the cameo and on the mount; Scarisbrick 1983, pt II, p. 1697), while the 6th Duke (1790-1858) wore shirt studs bearing cameos of theatrical masks (Scarisbrick 1983, pt III, p. 28). It was the 6th Duke who had the idea of gathering the best gems together in a rich parure, although that story belongs to a later age (see chapter 12).

Around 1724 the 2nd Duke commissioned sketches of gems in his collection from the French artist A. Gosmond de Vernon, with a view to publication. Gosmond produced 99 drawings before he left England and these, along with several more made by a member of the Preisler family of Nuremberg artists, were printed by the illustrator Claude Dubosc (fl. 1711-40). Thanks to the prints that were circulated amongst the Duke's friends (Devonshire 1730) the best gems gained a certain amount of fame. This was the first example of an engraved publication of such a private collection in Britain; henceforth, this means of acquainting the public with glyptics in private hands was to become widespread. Thanks to the great achievements of British printmaking, such publications were frequently of extremely high quality. In 1735 the Devonshire dactyliotheca was looked over by George Vertue (1929-50, IV, pp. 79-80), and it was catalogued by Lorenz Natter in the time of the 4th Duke (1720-64).

It was Dubosc again who produced prints for the English edition (Ogle 1737) of the first volume of *Recueil de pierres gravées* compiled by Levesque de Gravelle and first printed in Paris in 1732 at Mariette's printing house. This was undertaken by George Ogle (1704-46), a connoisseur of antiquity and translator from Greek and Latin, and a second edition followed a few years later [fig. 6.20]. The book presented to the British public some 50 masterpieces of ancient glyptics (or Renaissance works which were then perceived as antique), accompanied by translations (by Ogle himself and others) of Classical texts. Joseph Spence published 60 engraved gems in his celebrated *Polymetis* (Spence 1747), [fig. 6.21] employing the services of a French printmaker then resident in London, Louis-Philippe Boitard. Printed reproductions were accompanied by carefully selected lines from ancient poets.

The vast number of subscribers to such publications bears witness to the growing interest in such things, to the general admiration of gems and, as a consequence, the desire to acquire them. Horace Walpole would seem to have first seen a printed reproduction of the ancient garnet intaglio by Gnaios, *Athlete Oiling Himself from a Vase* (now Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore), [fig. 6.22] in R. Venuti's *Collectanea antiquitatum Romanarum* (Rome, 1736). He saw it with his own eyes only several years later, after it had been published for a second time in 1739, in Vettori's *Dissertatio glyptographica* (Vettori 1739, p. 5), and had already come into the hands of Philip von Stosch. On 26 November 1741 Walpole wrote to the British representative in Florence, Horace Mann, wailing 'I find I can not live without Stosch's intaglia' (Walpole Correspondence 1937-83, XVII, p. 212; Hill 1975, p. 100; Platz-Horster 1993, pp. 11-23). He was prepared to give the Baron 50 – even 100 – pounds for it, but his efforts were in vain. When, in 1750, Baron von Stosch ceded the *Athlete* to Bessborough (leaving himself only a replica), in recognition of the Earl's efforts to win him a pension as recompense for his spying on behalf of the English Crown (Scarisbrick 1994,



GEMMÆ ANTIQUÆ CÆLATÆ:

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

GEMS,

Wherein are explained many Particulars relating to the Fable and History, the Customs and Habits, the Ceremonies and Exercises of the Ancients.

Taken from the CLASSICS

By *GEORGE OGLE* Esq;

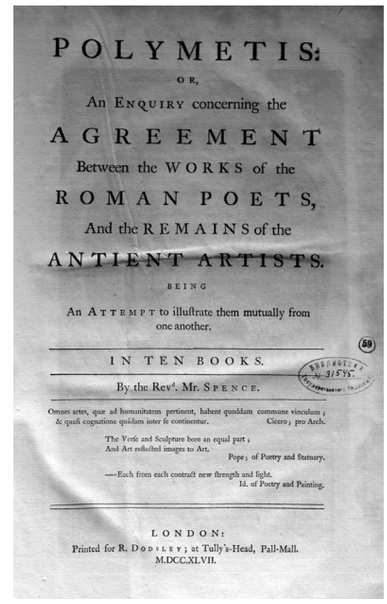
Engraved by *CL. DU BOSC.*

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for CLAUDE DU BOSC, and WILLIAM DARBY, Bookſellers the Corner of the *Hay-Market* at the *Three Flower de Luce*, M.DCC.XLI.

Fig. 6.20. George Ogle, *Gemmae Antiquae or a Collection of gems… taken from the classics*, London, 1741 Title page



POLYMETIS:

OR,

An ENQUIRY concerning the

AGREEMENT

Between the WORKS of the

ROMAN POETS,

And the REMAINS of the

ANTIENT ARTISTS.

BEING

An ATTEMPT to illuſtrate them mutually from one another.

IN TEN BOOKS.

By the Revd. Mr. SPENCE.

Omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum; & quaſi cognatione quadam inter ſe continentur. Cicero, pro Arch.

The Verſe and Sculpture bore an equal part;
And Art reflected images to Art.
Pope, of Poetry and Statuary.

—Each from each contract new ſtrength and light.
Id. of Poetry and Painting.

LONDON:

Printed for R. DODSLEY; at Tully's-Head, Pall-Mall.

M.DCC.XLVII.

Fig. 6.21a Joseph Spence, *Polymetis*, London, 1747 Title page

Fig. 6.22a. Gnaios
Athlete oiling himself from a vase.
1st century AD
Hyacinth intaglio (from a cast)
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

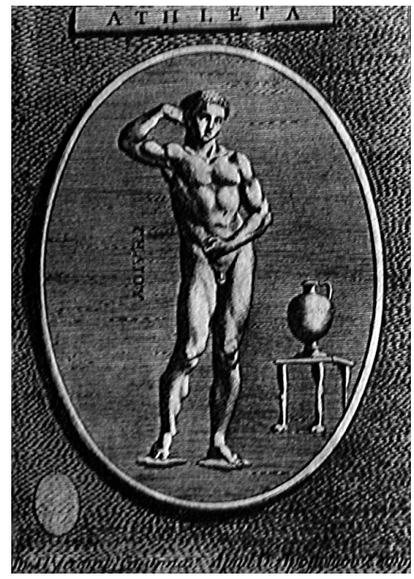


Fig. 6.22b. Gnaios
Athlete oiling himself from a vase.
1st century AD
After print by Ridolfino Venuti

Fig. 6.21b Joseph Spence, *Polymetis*, London, 1747
Plate XIII

p. XV), and the gem was lost to Walpole forever. It continued to appear, however, in printed publications by Natter (1754), Marlborough (Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91) and Bracci (1784-86).

The interest in engraved gems inevitably led to an increase in prices. Just two decades later, admirers of glyptics learned with surprise that 'the young English aristocrat George Greville of Stowe paid £ 400 for the cameo bust of the Athenian general Phocion that had belonged to Cardinal Albani' (Rudoe 2003, pp. 132-33).

In 1757 the whole of the late Baron von Stosch's famous collection almost ended up in Britain, one of the contenders to acquire it being the Prince of Wales (later George III); catalogued prior to the sale by Winckelmann, it was eventually purchased by Friedrich II of Prussia. Before the Baron's death, however, other gems apart from the *Athlete* found their way into British collections (such as the *Cow* by Apollonides, which came to the Duke of Devonshire via von Stosch), contributing to the development of Neo-Classical taste in Britain. Even Pierre-Jean Mariette, who had a bias towards France's collectors and gem engravers, wrote of England in his *Traité des pierres gravées* 'Il n'y a certainement aucun endroit, où l'on fasse paroître autant d'amour pour les Gravûres antiques' (Mariette 1750, I, p. 336), noting that he could record fourteen English cabinets of engraved gems, compared to just eleven in his native land.

British patrons were not only willing to collect antique gems but also to encourage contemporary craftsmen, although it was more natural at this time for them to rely on outsiders: there were as yet few native gem engravers in Britain and the country was largely dependent on foreign masters during the first half of the 18th century, a situation to be found also in other areas in the arts. Increasing cultural demands on the part of the upper strata of English society, notably with regard to the fine arts, far outstripped the growth of local artistic production.

The Swiss Johann Rudolf Ochs (1677-1750) began work in his native Bern as an engraver of heraldic seals (it has been said that he studied gem engraving there under Lorenz Natter) but first visited Britain in the more general capacity of gem engraver. Repeating the visit in 1719, Ochs settled in the country forever, combining his activities as an engraver on stone with employment at the Mint and bequeathing the business to his son Rudolf (1705-88). Another native of Switzerland was George Michael Moser (1706-83), a miniaturist, jeweller and enameller, engraver of gems and seals, of whom we know, for instance, that he engraved seals for George II and George III (the latter in 1760). Amongst the casts of his works produced by James Tassie is a large intaglio dated 1774 (Raspe 1791, No. 1606), a copy of a Renaissance piece by Alessandro Cesati made famous by Vasari showing a lion and Cupid, [fig. 6.23] a young nymph and bacchante with a tambourine. Moser reveals himself here to be a skilled master but he is best known in the history of British art in a wider context, as a member of the Rose and Crown Club, Britain's very earliest art society, from 1747 as manager and treasurer of the Second St Martin's Lane Academy, and after the death of James Thornhill as leader of the battle to establish a Royal Academy of the arts. Reynolds wrote of him after his death that he was 'in every sense the father of the present race of artists' (Forrer 1904-30, IV, p. 164). The Huguenot modeller and gem engraver Matthew Gosset (1683-1740) was to teach Robert Bateman Wray, of whom more later.

Charles Christian Reisen (1680-1725; son of Christian Reisen, the Norwegian engraver of seals mentioned in chapter 5 who adopted British citizenship) was born in London [fig. 6.24]. He took up his father's profession at an early age, making rapid, even outstanding progress. His first patron was Prince George of Denmark, for

Fig. 6.23. George Michael Moser (after the gem by Alessandro Cesati)
Cupid playing with a Lion.
Third quarter of the 18th century
Rock crystal intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 6.24. Print by Samuel Freeman after a drawing by Vanderbank
Portrait of Charles Christian Reisen.
First quarter of the 18th century

Fig. 6.25. Charles Christian Reisen
The Head of Faustina. Early 18th century
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 6.26. Claus Smart
The Family of the Emperor Darius in Submission before Alexander the Great and Hephaestion (after a print by Robert Edelinck from Charles Lebrun).
Early 18th century
Chalcedony intaglio (from a cast)
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

whom he produced a portrait of Charles VI of Sweden and several other works, but he soon caught the eye of Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford (1661-1724), who allowed the young gem engraver to study antiquity in his library and private museum. We know that Reisen worked very quickly, which sadly affected the quality of the carving. In addition to seals with arms and monograms, Reisen engraved small male and female heads à l'antique [fig. 6.25] which were first kept at Oxford but, after the sale of Sir Robert's collection in 1741, came into the hands of Horace Walpole. Indeed, Walpole devoted a whole chapter of his *Anecdotes of Painting* to Reisen – the only British gem engraver to be accorded such an honour – and described him as 'the Great Artist' (Walpole 1862, II, pp. 679-99). He also produced many portrait gems, both from nature and from other works, including a portrait of Charles I after the medal by John Roettiers. He received commissions from Denmark, Germany and France (Vertue 1929-50, III, pp. 26, 27).

Like Moser, the younger Reisen was an important figure in London's artistic life, becoming one of the directors of the Academy in Great Queen Street founded by Sir Godfrey Kneller. A close friend of Sir James Thornhill, who produced a portrait of him (now Victoria & Albert Museum), he was also painted by Thomas Gibson, John Laroon, Johann Vanderbank and Michael Dahl (Vertue 1929-50, III, pp. 13, 25). Most importantly, he left behind him two pupils, the Englishman Claus Smart and the Scot Christopher Seaton, effectively laying the basis for the 18th-century British national school of gem engravers.

According to Mariette, Smart (died 1739), who inherited his teacher's hurried and somewhat slovenly manner of carving, produced several portraits a day (Mariette 1750, I, p. 149). (He should not be confused with another gem engraver with the surname Sart, who worked slightly earlier and is known from a single cast in the Tassie Cabinet; Raspe 1791, No. 2206.) In 1722 he worked for a short time in Paris. The Hermitage has a cornelian intaglio by him, repeating (after the print by Robert Edelink) Charles Lebrun's multi-figure canvas *The Family of the Emperor Darius before Alexander and Hephaestion* from the series *The Acts of Alexander the Great* (cat. 83) . Like similar intaglios in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, Nos. 730, 731) [fig. 6.26] this is an example of the influence on glyptics of French 17th-century Classicism. M. Maximova also attributed to him the later of two Hermitage portraits of Shakespeare (cat. 84). Smart died in a madhouse, having outlived his teacher by just a few years.

It was noticed long ago that Mariette, in his *Traité des pierres gravées* (Mariette 1750, I, p. 147), put Smart's Christian name and surname separately, divided by a full stop, and thus the literature, both old and new, has often stated that Reisen had two different pupils, Claus AND Smart, even though both are given the same date of death, the same place of death (the madhouse) and the same details; one author even attempted to compare the 'two' artists' creative manner. Further confusion is caused by Vertue's mention (Vertue 1929-50, III, p. 80) of a gem engraver called John Claus, cousin and pupil of Thomas Gibson, who also died in that same year, 1739. The question remains open, but certainly one John Claus, 'seal and gems engraver', was a member of the Rose and Crown Club (Bignamini 1991, p. 53), serving only to confirm the status of gem engravers in London artistic circles.

During his lifetime, Christopher Seaton (died 1768) was described as one of London's main gem engravers (Mariette 1750, I, p. 148). In contrast to Smart, he aimed for maximum finish in his works, although this did not always lead to the best of results, his stones tending to be somewhat cold and soulless. He produced a portrait of the Great Moghul (Aldini 1785, p. 144) and various replicas of portraits of Alexander Pope (after the painting by Kneller) and Isaac Newton. The Hermitage has two works attributed to him (cats. 81, 82), the second of which may derive from the collection of Lorenz Natter. The fact that he received just 25 guineas for the latter was cited by Mariette as indisputable confirmation that England was experiencing a serious decline in interest in engraved gems by the middle of the 18th century (Mariette 1750, I, p. 148). However paradoxical it may seem, in fact it said more about a growth of interest and about serious and inexorable advances in the aesthetic consciousness which did much to facilitate the development of glyptics.

While the collecting of old gems remained above all the privilege of rich connoisseurs, new works, which were cheaper and more accessible, were drawing wider public attention. The status of the gem engraver was much changed: no longer a 'court artist' or a craftsman producing goods exclusively for a jeweller or master of seals, he was no longer so dependent on a single patron. A new kind of independent master emerged who worked on commission or simply produced gems for sale in his own shop. Christopher Seaton lived to see the day when gem engravers would display their works at public exhibitions and put their signatures on their gems.

New themes and subjects appeared in British glyptics during the 18th century. Originally limited essentially to heads and busts 'à l'antique', references to the antique increased in sweep and scale with each passing year.

George Vertue recorded with satisfaction in his notebooks for 1741-42 that native British engravers were starting to appear, citing an example: 'Mr. Yeo – Seal Engraver of Stones & c. Has cut a head of the Medusa – from original' (Vertue 1929-50, III, p. 107). Richard Yeo (1720-79) was then taking his first steps as a gem engraver, after a brief period as a draughtsman (he was author of a 'design for Vauxhall gardens and plan of Academy'). Robert Bateman Wray (1715-79), meanwhile, engraved mainly intaglios (like other British masters) and we know that in those years he took no more than 20 or 25 guineas for Classical subjects (the cost including the original piece and a cast of it). (The career of these two engravers flourished in the third quarter of the century and is covered in more detail in chapter 11.)

Significant changes were also visible in the very nature of portrait gems, although they continued to be the dominant genre in terms of quantity. No decrease in demand was to be seen – rather it increased – but images of family members or crowned heads were now squeezed out by portraits of political leaders, philosophers, writers and poets, alive or dead. To portraits of Shakespeare, Inigo Jones [fig. 6.27] and Milton, for whom consistent stereotypes had already been established, were added John Locke, Edward Young, Alexander Pope, Lawrence Sterne and other national celebrities, although these were now depicted not en face or in three-quarter view but in profile. An intaglio portrait of Newton set in gold was annually awarded to the best student of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow University (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, No. 644).

Religious and mystical perceptions of the magical qualities with which stones had once thought to be imbued were slowly becoming a thing of the past (not without some occasional recidivism), overtaken by the 'religion' of reason. Meanwhile the new wealthy classes were just beginning to conceive of works of art as something of more than monetary value, a symbol of prestige in the 'Vanity Fair' of society. British gem engravers now tended, therefore, to create somewhat

Fig. 6.27. Portrait of Inigo Jones
Cornelian intaglio (from a cast), Late 17th century
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

modest intaglio seals with no need for rich mounts. Such pieces were often undermined by a lack of feeling for the material, as carvers used slightly less hard stones to simplify the carving process and to reduce costs. Indeed, clients were generally more concerned with the 'what' – the content of the image – than the 'how' – the artistic manner of the carving. The search for the ideal led to a rejection of the heraldic seal approach in an effort to match more closely the mood, activities and intellectual interests of the client: '…A Gentleman might express his personality by employing a head of Socrates, his admiration for the Bard with a head of Shakespeare, his political allegiance with a portrait of Brutus, or his tender sentiments by some playful scene of Eros taming a lion or being teased by Venus…' (Seidmann 1983-84, p. 15). Typical examples of such products are to be found in the British Museum (Dalton 1915, No. 1126), the Fitzwilliam Museum (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, Nos. 641-44) and the Hermitage (Cats 96, 97, 100-3) [plates 22.1-2] etc. Characterising the earliest stage in the establishment of the new style, these pieces provide a clear impression of the great leap taken by glyptics as it marched forth in The Age of Reason.

It was too early as yet to speak of even a minor boom in the art of stone engraving in Britain. These were but the symptoms of something that was only gradually building up – still occasionally giving way to the old norms and tastes – but which was to become established in the second half of the 18th century.

1. Bust of Elizabeth I as Omphale
Agate miniature sculpture. Late 16th century
From the collection of Richard Mead
Private collection, UK
Three views

Plate 20

1. Gems from the Joseph Smith collection
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

2. Two sided sardonyx cameo from the collection of the Earl of Bessborough.
Italy. Early 16th century
a) Bust of Hercules, frontal
b) Bust of Omphale
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

1. Bust of a warrior
Italy 16th century
Pendant with onyx cameo from the collection of the
Earl of Bessborough, then Marlborough collection.
Now private collection

2. Fawn unveiling a nymph. Italy. 16th century
Sardonyx cameo (from Devonshire parure)
Devonshire collection, Chatsworth

3. Pendant “Poet Arion riding on a dolphin”.
Italy. 17th century
Sardonyx cameo
Devonshire collection, Chatsworth

Plate 22

1. Portrait of William Shakespeare
Early 18th century
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg

2. Portrait of Isaac Newton
Late 17th century - early 18th century
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg

7

Lorenz Natter in England. The ‘Museum Britannicum’

It was at this point that foreign masters working in Britain were joined by the celebrated Lorenz Natter, an artist of European significance whose name figures in the history of glyptics and medal-making in Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden. Germany and Russia mark the start and end of his life: born in 1705 in the small Swabian town of Biberach an der Riss, he died in St Petersburg in 1763, during a visit to the Russian capital [figs. 7.1, 7.2].

Natter was not totally unusual for the age in that he left his native land to seek his fortune travelling from country to country: such artists played a progressive role, often serving to spread artistic trends. Whatever the reasons behind so frequent a change of location, whether it be specific circumstances, the artist’s own difficult character or pure financial benefit (or a mixture of all of these, as was probably the case with Natter), in creative terms artists could only gain from such wide experience, from an abundance of regularly changing impressions and a variety of contacts with their fellow men. These peripatetic artists matured early, acquiring extensive knowledge, even learning, and above all developing that broader outlook which is needed to overcome one of the main brakes on progress: provincial stagnation. In this sense, Lorenz Natter was but one among the cohorts of cosmopolitan artists.

Britain occupies a special place in the map of Natter’s travels: he visited four times, eventually establishing a family and spending some seventeen years there, more than half his active life. There he enjoyed the patronage of people of hugely different outlook, from the royal family, Horace Walpole, the Earl of Bessborough, the Dukes of Devonshire and Marlborough, to the republican Thomas Hollis.

Natter’s arrival from Italy owed much to the connections of his patron, Baron Philip von Stosch, and to his own connections amongst leading members of the British aristocracy, whose acquaintance he had made in Florence and Rome [plate 23.1]. The first evidence of such links is a medal with a portrait of Charles Sackville, later 2nd Duke of Dorset (1711-

Fig. 7.1, 7.2. Lorenz Natter
Self-portrait. c. 1755
Pencil sketch and print design for a medal
Hermitage, St Petersburg

69), who visited Florence on his Grand Tour; this was created in 1733 by Natter, under the clear influence of a medal by Johann Karl Hedlinger showing Philip von Stosch in a style imitating the Antique. In Italy Natter also met a number of Britons known for their interest in engraved gems, among them the Earl of Bessborough and the Duke of Devonshire, and even, possibly, the Earl of Carlisle. During his stay in Britain, Natter further enhanced his reputation as an outstanding creator of portraits. He not only engraved gems and medals but also regularly acted as consultant to and intermediary on behalf of British collectors. Moreover, he produced skilful copies of ancient gems – although he was far from consistent in demonstrating their modern creation by placing his signature upon them. It seems likely that it was he who was responsible, during his early time in Britain, for a large Ceylon sapphire with an intaglio image of Jupiter enthroned with an eagle on the back of the throne and Cerberus at the god's feet (acquired by the Hermitage in 1987; Kagan 1999b, p. 266; cat. 340) [plate 23.2]. Natter included the print showing the intaglio's prototype (then the property of William Bentinck) in his treaty on the art of gem-engraving (Natter 1754, pl. XXXIII). The Duke of Marlborough rendered homage to Natter, calling him 'un des premiers artistes aussi des grands connoisseurs qu'ai produit ce siècle!' (Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91, I, p. 4).

In our assessment of Natter's activities in England, we have not only his works but an extensive body of information provided by his own writings, both published and manuscript. He kept the manuscripts by him until his death and thus they were to remain in Russia which, by one of fate's whims, was to be his last country of residence. He arrived in the Russian capital in July 1763 to serve as Catherine II's chief gem engraver and medallist, having been recommended by both Russia's ambassador to Sweden (until 1760), Nikita Panin, and her ambassador to Britain (1761-63), Alexander Vorontsov. But he fell ill soon after his arrival with a serious form of asthma and died less than three months later. His fellow countryman, Pastor Anton Friedrich Büsching, a celebrated scholar and geographer, visited the dying Natter and published his obituary (Büsching 1764), in which he related that 'everything he brought with him' remained in St Petersburg: various artistic collections, the remains of the extensive dactyliotheca (most of which Natter had sold shortly before he travelled to Russia) and three intaglios of his own make (Büsching 1764, pp. 207-20). It would seem to have been on the advice of Panin, by this time tutor to Catherine the Great's son Grand Duke Paul, that the Empress acquired the whole lot for the heir to the throne for a sum of £1,140. The gems, some 40 pieces in all, went on to form the nucleus of the Hermitage's collection of engraved gems, the largest of its kind in the world today. A detailed list of Natter's property can be found not only in Büsching's obituary but also in Johann Bernoulli's *Reisen*… (Bernoulli 1780, IV, pp. 284-87). Both authors mention, among other things, unpublished manuscripts, including the second part of his *Treatise* on engraved gems of 1754, but the location of those manuscripts was to be established only two centuries later.

In 1961, Natalya Krasnova, then engaged on a study of Natter's works in the Hermitage, discovered some 28 folios written on both sides, in English and French in the gem engraver's own hand, which had lain unidentified in the Museum's Research Library. These manuscript sheets, sewn into Natter's published auction catalogue of the gems of the Earl of Bessborough (Natter 1761), were at that time quite understandably thought to be the sum of the manuscripts referred to by Büsching (1764, p. 207). Krasnova ended her publication on Natter's autographs with the following words: 'At the present time this manuscript is mainly of historical significance, completing our picture of Lorenz Natter's literary activities and introducing new information to a page in the history of 18th-century glyptics' (Krasnova 1961, p. 32). Twenty years later, in the early 1980s, close study by this author made clear that those sheets, with rough descriptions of the collections of the Earl of Carlisle, the Marquess of Rockingham and the Duke of Devonshire, were but the lesser part of an extensive body of manuscripts that Natter had left behind in Russia, most of which had simply become lost amidst a huge body of totally unconnected papers in the Archive of the Museum and which were uncovered by chance when these were being sorted.

From the very first it was clear that these 468 scattered folios with texts and drawings (Natter MSS I) significantly enriched the existing conception of various stages and aspects of Natter's creative life. We will make use here only of that material which throws new light on his activities in Britain.

Lorenz Natter arrived in London in the late 1730s or in 1740 (it has not proved possible to establish a more precise date) armed with all the skills of a mature master and bearing a large collection of gems and sulphur casts. His first work in Britain was a medal of George II (Nau 1966, Nr. 138) that reveals how Natter continued to work in the manner he had developed

in Italy, a manner fed by both a deep reverence for antiquity and a desire for vividness and naturalness. It is sufficient to compare this medal with other contemporary British portrait medals to be struck by the vast difference between them, the essence of which clearly lay not merely in the artist's skill, talent and temperament but above all in his very different creative principles. Instead of the formal 'bewigged' style usual in Britain we see fine, deep relief, a more relaxed atmosphere, a rejection of everything external and superfluous. If we disregard the inscription, the only indication that this is a portrait of a monarch is the diadem ribbon tied at the nape of the neck.

These innovative features were particularly noticeable in a medal of 1741 in honour of Sir Robert Walpole (Nau 1966, Nr. 139), its obverse based on a sculpted bust by Michael Rysbrack, the reverse reproducing a statue of Cicero from Penshurst Place, the home of the Earls of Leicester (the Hermitage Archive includes hasty pencil sketches of this statue by Natter, Natter MSS I, *razdel* IV, f. 3v), the whole paying its dues to the oratorical skill of Britain's first prime minister.

Elizabeth Nau, author of a monograph on Lorenz Natter that includes a catalogue of his work, sees this medal and two intaglios with similar portraits known to her only from casts (Nau 1966, Nr. 80, 81) [fig. 7.3] – the larger of these, thought to have been lost, recently surfaced at the sale of the Ralph Esmerian collection at S. J. Phillips on 139 New Bond Street – as finished examples of British Neo-classicism (Nau 1966, pp. 33-34). It seems to this author, however, that it would be more correct to speak of a Classicising tendency, for in creating this important image, so full of life, in the wake of Rysbrack – representative of so-called Augustan Classicism – Natter was still very far from Neo-Classical norms. There was no close interest in contour, for instance. His portraits of Walpole, which are amongst his most outstanding works, harmoniously combine apparently antagonistic stylistic features, revealing Natter to be very much an artist of an age of transition, its very spirit expressed through compromise. Yet compromise cannot be a firm foundation for a creative outlook and the artist soon found himself being forced to consider his position and to make choices.

This is clearly seen in his engraved portraits of two British collectors and connoisseurs, Martin Folkes (1690-1754) [fig. 7.4] and Richard Mead (1673-1754; Nau 1966, Nr. 82, 83) [fig. 7.5]. Both are dated by Nau to the 1740s and as such might equally be placed in Natter's first or second stay (1744-47) in Britain. Vertue's notebooks, however, not only make it possible to give a more precise dating, since both portraits were already mentioned in 1741, but also indicate that the model for the first was a medal by Jacques Antoine Dassier, while the second was based on a pencil drawing (Vertue 1929-50, III, p. 100). A similar drawing by Natter is to be found amongst the manuscripts in the Hermitage (Natter MSS I, *razdel* III, f. 264). (Tassie's casts include also a smaller portrait of Mead by Natter which was not featured in Nau's catalogue; Raspe 1791, No. 14287) Vertue's notebooks also allow us to add to this group of Natter's works another piece overlooked by Nau, a portrait of Alexander Pope 'on bust' (Vertue 1929-50, III, p. 101). The author of a work on the iconography of Pope suggested that this intaglio, not known today even as a cast, derives from a bust by Louis-François Roubiliac (Wimsatt 1965, pp. 257-58), a suggestion that is fully borne out by Natter's own pencil drawing (Natter MSS I, *razdel* III, ff. 151, 172v).

Natter made his second trip to England in the autumn of 1745. Very little is known about the two years he spent there and it is only indirectly that we can date several works to these years, again works that are dated by Nau to the 1740s. These include some portraits of ladies of the British aristocracy (Nau 1966, Nr. 79, 81), [fig. 7.6] considerably less successful than his portraits of men, while a special place is occupied by a gem commissioned by James Cavendish (1707-51; son of the 1st Duke of Devonshire) showing a vase – a rare example of engraving on diamond (Natter 1754, p. XVI; Nau 1966, Nr. 54). It seems to have been at this time that Natter produced a cameo with a childhood portrait of John, Baron Hervey of Ickworth (Kerslake 1977, p. 141, fig. 376) [fig. 7.7]. The cameo was engraved from an earlier painted miniature (now at Ickworth House in Suffolk) taken whilst Hervey was Marquess of Bristol, or perhaps more probably from a bust by Edmé Bouchardon of 1729 (now with Lady Teresa Agnew).

In between his first two visits to London Natter made brief trips to Stockholm and St Petersburg and spent nearly two years in Copenhagen, working extensively in the service of Christian VI as a gem engraver and medal-maker and creating in Denmark his first Classicising medals.

In 1747 Natter received portrait commissions from Willem IV and was prompted to travel to the Netherlands in order to work from life. The gems and medals he created at this time reveal a great change, or rather a regressive tendency (Nau 1966, Nr. 122,

Fig. 7.3. Lorenz Natter
Portrait of Robert Walpole. 1740/41
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 7.4. Lorenz Natter
Portrait of Martin Folkes. 1741
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 7.5. Lorenz Natter
Portrait of Richard Mead. 1741
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 7.6. Lorenz Natter
Portrait of Caroline Duncannon 1740s.
Chalcedony intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 7.7. Lorenz Natter,
Portrait of John Hervey, Lord Ickworth. 1744
Sardonyx cameo
Ickworth, The Bristol Collection (acquired through the National Land Fund and transferred to The National Trust in 1956)

141, 145), and although it was less than ten years since he had left Italy, it seemed as if the stimulus he had received there had faded away. He had moved quite decisively closer to continental Baroque and adopted such features as medals, wigs, sashes and ruffles – previously alien to his whole manner – from the heavy Dutch style. For Willem IV Natter produced not only portraits but also many copies from Greek and Roman originals (there are today more than 30 engraved gems by him in the Geldmuseum, Utrecht). From The Hague Natter travelled to Dresden, but in 1751 he was again in England, where he was to spend six years. Nau gave as the reasons behind his return to Britain the completion of all his commissions for the House of Orange and a lack of new work in the wake of Willem's death (Nau 1966, p. 43). This no doubt played a role in his decision to leave the Netherlands, but where he chose to go next was determined by other circumstances.

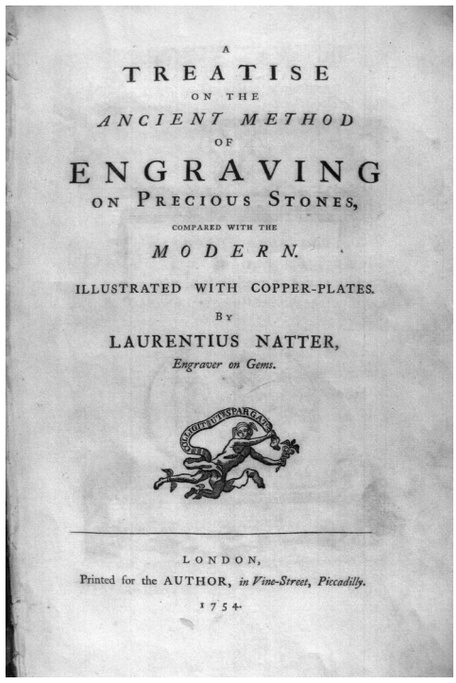
In the previous year, 1750, Pierre-Jean Mariette's *Traité des pierres gravées* appeared in Paris. A celebrated collector and scholar, Mariette was also the friend and patron of Jacques Guay (1711-93), who was employed as court gem engraver to Louis XV and tutor to Madame de Pompadour and was Natter's only worthy rival in Europe. The first of Mariette's two volumes was a detailed excursion on the techniques, history and historiography of glyptics while the second, with the help of prints by Edmé Bouchardon, presented to the public selected gems from the French royal collection, plus an illustration showing Guay at his lathe in the Marquise's apartments. The *Traité* – and thus Mariette's far from unbiased assessments of both gem engravers – immediately became widely known. Natter was dealt with only coldly, the author expressing the suspicion that he produced fakes (a suspicion which was to taint his reputation for many years), while the biography contained numerous factual errors, which Mariette later justified by claiming he had had very little information to work with (Dumesnil 1856, pp. 124-25). Natter was now enraged not only by Guay's success (his jealousy was such that even before this he had refused to travel to France) but by the success of Mariette's treatise. The idea that it was this treatise which first prompted Natter to publish his own was expressed by R. Dumesnil (1856, p. 121) and repeated by A. Furtwängler (1900, III, p. 414).

A number of considerations inspired Natter to take up his pen: his own great experience as a collector, his reputation as a connoisseur and regular consultant and intermediary for British collectors, his perpetual striving to rival the art of ancient gem engravers and to match their skill through untiring copying of their works, and his desire to share practical advice with succeeding generations.

Natter settled on Vine Street, just off Piccadilly, and gave himself up entirely to his new occupation. With the aid of his friend Jean de Champs, 'Ministre de la Chapelle Royale de la Savoye à Londres', he overcame his problems with the English language and assembled texts and illustrative material as well as making drawings for the plates. In 1754 his own treatise, comparing ancient and modern means of gem engraving, was printed by Habercorn in separate English and French editions (Natter 1754) [figs. 7.8, 7.9]. Only the first part of the work he had conceived, it included 39 pages of preface containing theoretical and technical explanations, autobiographical diversions and polemics with Mariette, occupying no less than a third of the whole, and 37 engraved plates accompanied by extensive annotations. The plates demonstrate gem engraving techniques, the consecutive order of operations, engraver's tools and also examples of good and bad carving (from the author's point of view) which quite clearly formulate the criteria of his own taste. Natter complained that the printmakers whose services he employed, C.-H. Hemerich, Iohann Sebastian Müller, Inigo (Ignace) Fougeron and C. G. (probably Charles Grignon), particularly the last two, were unable to convey all the nuances of his pencil drawings with rare uses of colour. To be convinced of the justice of his complaint we have only to look at Natter's own drawings [plate 23.3] for the plates, providing ample evidence of his outstanding talent as a draughtsman (Natter MSS I, *razdel* II, ff. 1-36) [fig. 7.10].

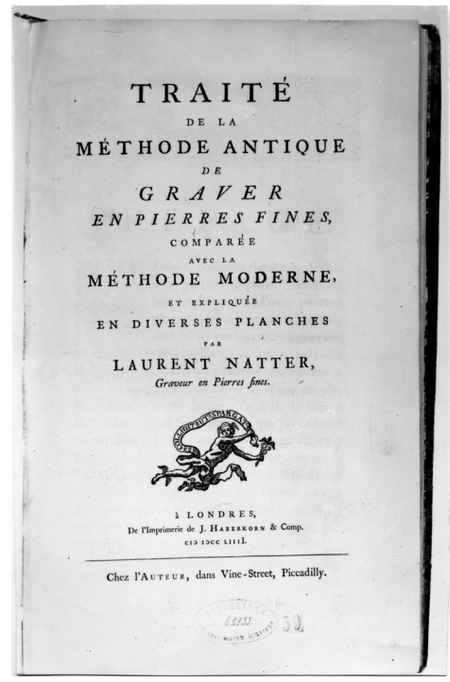
Natter's treatise brought him honours in Britain and abroad. In 1755 he was made a member of the Society of Antiquaries and in 1757 of the Royal Society, becoming shortly afterwards a member of the Academia Etrusca in Cortona. Not all the reaction was positive, however. In his 'Briefe antiquarischen Inhalts' (1768-69), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing accused Natter of remaining silent regarding the greater number of professional secrets (Lessing 1968, pp. 481, 499), while Johann Joachim Winckelmann was dissatisfied that so little space was devoted to stylistic matters (Winckelmann 1808-20, I, p. 253) and described the text as untimely.

In publishing the first part of his opus in the form of a treatise, Natter was simply paying tribute to established tradition; for him, however, the most important part of his work was still to come. In the foreword he wrote:



A
TREATISE
ON THE
ANCIENT METHOD
OF
ENGRAVING
ON PRECIOUS STONES,
COMPARED WITH THE
MODERN.
ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER-PLATES.
BY
LAURENTIUS NATTER,
Engraver on Gems.

LONDON,
Printed for the AUTHOR, *in Vine-Street, Piccadilly.*
1754.



TRAITÉ
DE LA
MÉTHODE ANTIQUE
DE
GRAVER
EN PIERRES FINES,
COMPARÉE
AVEC LA
MÉTHODE MODERNE,
ET EXPLIQUÉE
EN DIVERSES PLANCHES
PAR
LAURENT NATTER,
Graveur en Pierres fines.

À LONDRES,
De l'Imprimerie de J. HABERKORN & Comp.
CIↃ IↃCC LIIII.

Chez l'AUTEUR, dans Vine-Street, Piccadilly.

Figs. 7.8, 7.9. Lorenz Natter, *A Treatise on the Ancient Method of Engraving on Precious Stones Compared with the Modern Traité de la methode antique de graver en pierres fines, comparée avec la méthode moderne*…, London, 1754
Title pages of the English and French editions

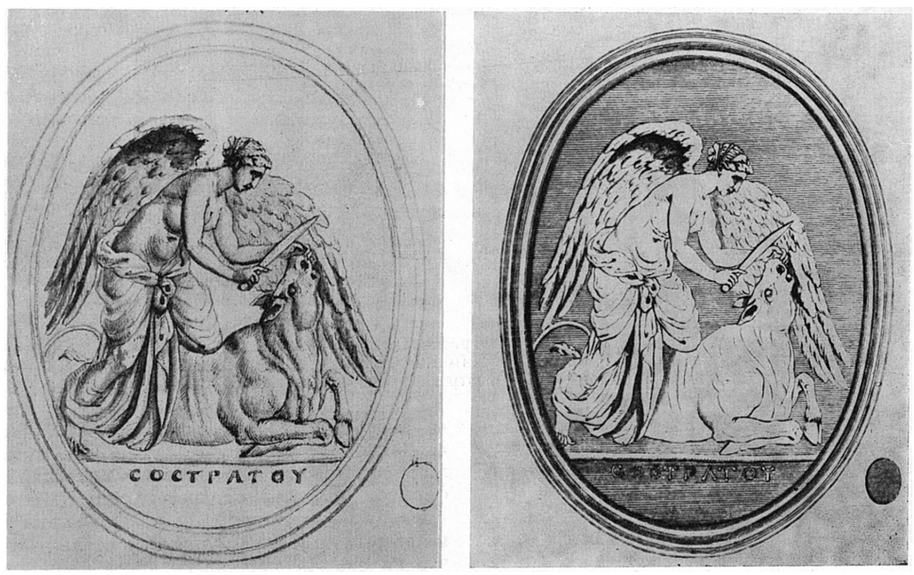


Fig. 7.10. Lorenz Natter
Drawings for prints in his "Treatise". c. 1753
Hermitage, St Petersburg

'Je me borne pour le présent à ce que renferme le Traité que je donne ici. Mais j'espère de publier dans quelques tems un Musaeum ou Cabinet des Gravures antiques qui se trouvent actuellement à Londres. On y verra plussieurs pierres curieux et peu connues jusques ici' (Natter 1754, p. XXXVI). Thus his treatise was not only to form a theoretical summary of his activities but was also intended to unfold a broad panorama of the state of contemporary collecting based not on a single collection, however extensive, but on many collections of engraved gems. So daring a task could not have been undertaken, nor even considered, in any European country other than Britain. Owner of a marvellous collection, Natter was himself a part of the world that he wished to recreate. For the title of the intended second part of his work, *'Museum Britannicum'*, Natter turned to an elder contemporary, Antonio Francesco Gori, who had called his extensive corpus of ancient monuments in Florentine collections *'Museum Florentinum'*. Gori's two volumes devoted to engraved gems were published 1731-32, just as Natter, then a young man only embarking on his career, first arrived in Florence.

Although Natter the gem engraver and Natter the practitioner would seem to have receded into the background, giving way to Natter the theoretician, a whole series of engraved gems can be dated to the years when he was working on the treatise. These were connected with a new patron, client and friend, Thomas Hollis (1720-74), [fig. 7.11] famous not only for his antagonism towards the Tories and his popularity in republican circles but also for his activities as a collector and patron and for his involvement in the work of the Society of Arts. At Hollis' request, Natter produced his only self-portrait, a copper print in the manner of a medal, intended for reproduction in his patron's memoirs, although these were published only after Hollis' death (Blackburne 1780, p. 586). Amongst the papers in the Hermitage Archive is a light pencil sketch for this self-portrait (Natter MSS I, *razdel* III, f. 150). Natter captured Hollis' features on a chalcedony intaglio (Nau 1966, Nr. 112) and an onyx cameo (Blackburne 1780, p. 482).

Natter's most important work from this period was a cameo commissioned by Thomas Hollis in 1754 (Nau 1966, Nr. 130). On the obverse is an allegorical composition in relief, *The Triumph of Britannia*, [fig. 7.13] clearly revealing the influence of a painted allegory on the subject by Giovanni Battista Cipriani, which Cipriani had himself already repeated in a print [fig. 7.14]. Cipriani was also to reproduce Natter's cameo in a print, although with some major differences and both prints, that from the painting (1760) and that after the cameo (1770), were reproduced in Hollis' memoirs (Blackburne 1780, pp. 824-25). There, in a commentary to the second print, is a detailed description of the original five-layered sardonyx with its rich range of colours from dark brown to pale yellow and white and a statement that despite the deep carving, which made the base very thin, Natter was able to carve on the reverse a concave bust-length portrait of Algernon Sidney, the republican hero executed by Charles II in 1683, taken from a drawing by George Vertue after a painting by Justus Egmont (Piper 1963, p. 318) [fig. 7.12]. The print reproduced only the obverse, however, and therefore the discovery in the Hermitage Archive of Natter's sketches for both sides of this gem (Natter MSS I, *razdel* III, ff. 151-54, 171, 172v) was of particular value (Kagan 1982a, p. 80).

Until very recently it was thought that this cameo, so vital in the gem engraver's oeuvre and of such ideological importance for his client, had been lost. In 1995 it turned up at auction at Sotheby's in London as if from nowhere and was purchased by the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart, as a mark of respect for the contribution to Natter studies made by Elizabeth Nau, for many years the museum's chief curator (Klein 1996) [plate 24.1a and b].

The tiny *Triumph of Britannia* (just 2.1 x 1.9 cm), overloaded with symbols of freedom and the nation, is not only compilatory but very far from those Classical models that the master had declared worthy of imitation. The whole allegory is permeated with the spirit of battle against the monarchy and, moreover, it has engraved upon it the date 30 January 1648 (the date of Charles I's execution according to the dating system in use before calendar reform). As with Thomas Simon, our attention is drawn by the gem engraver's political indifference: even while he was working on *The Triumph of Britannia* Natter was writing his treatise, complete with dedication to the Prince of Wales, later George III.

Allowing himself no respite, Natter embarked on preparation of his 'Museum Britannicum' immediately after his treatise appeared in 1754. Such preparation consisted mainly of a detailed study of British collections both large and small and the sketching of dozens, even hundreds, of gems. He would seemed to have been able to generate enough income at least for his everyday needs during the period 1754-56 through the compilation of inventories of the largest collections – of the Duke of Devonshire (Natter's full catalogue –

Fig. 7.11. Lorenz Natter
Portrait of Thomas Hollis. 1754
Chalcedony intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 7.12. Lorenz Natter
Portrait of Algernon Sidney. c. 1754
Drawing of the reverse of *The Triumph of Britannia*
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Fig. 7.13. Lorenz Natter
Drawing of the obverse of *The Triumph of Britannia*. c. 1754
Hermitage, St Petersburg

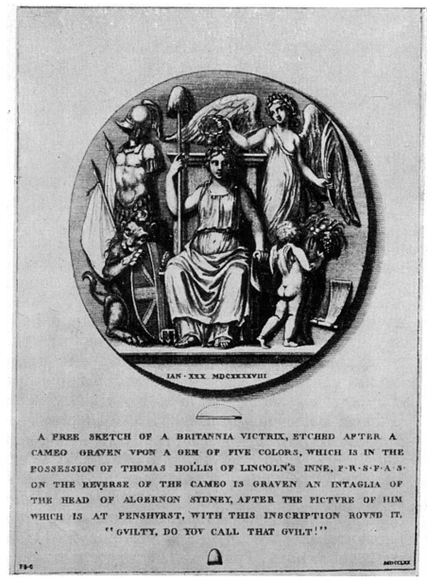


Fig. 7.14. Giovanni Battista Cipriani
Print from the obverse of *The Triumph of Britannia*. 1770

Natter MSS III, 1761 – remains at Chatsworth, along with the dactyliotheca, but there is a draft version in the Hermitage), the Earl of Carlisle and the Marquess of Rockingham (Natter MSS II, 1761) [figs. 7.15, 7.16] – as well as through the creation of portraits of Rockingham and his wife and the Earl of Bessborough [figs. 7.17] and of copies of celebrated ancient gems for their collections (Nau 1966, No. 124-26).

More money than this, however, was required to further work on the 'Museum', to pay the printmakers and cover printing costs, money which Natter hoped to raise through the sale of his treatise. In England, however, sales were so bad that the author (according to Büsching) first refused to lower the price below two guineas per copy and then proceeded to burn 100 copies of the English-language part of the print run before destroying the copper plates from which the plates had been printed (Büsching 1764, p. 207). This must have taken place no earlier than 1761, when Natter re-used five of those plates in his catalogue of the Bessborough collection. Thus the English treatise became a bibliographical rarity immediately after it was printed. Sales of the 250 French copies were also slow and Natter's correspondence with the Amsterdam antiquarian Pieter van Damme reveals how much effort he put into their distribution, convincing his foreign correspondents to set an example to German universities, whom he hoped would acquire the treatise for their libraries. (Elizabeth Nau kindly provided the author with a microfilm of these letters, now in the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum in The Hague). In 1756 Natter took the greater number of the copies to Holland and in late 1758 or early 1759 sold 125 copies to Pieter van Damme for one guinea apiece.

Thanks to his friendship with Hollis, Natter also extended his circle of acquaintances in Holland. With support from professors of Leiden University he was appointed Chief Engraver to the Mint at Utrecht but lost the post just six months later. Moving to The Hague, Natter offered his services in describing the Dutch royal collection; tired of perpetual travelling, he was even ready to agree to a permanent post as keeper of the collection, if he could get a firm agreement that he would receive a good pension. Yet he continued all the while to think of his unfinished work. To raise the necessary sum he produced many engraved gems (mainly commissioned portraits and allegories) and even took the extreme step of selling in Amsterdam most of the gems in his own extensive collection. References to his celebrated dactyliotheca recur throughout the older literature; accumulated over the whole of his life, it included stones formerly in the possession of Philip von Stosch and Queen Christina of Sweden. The full range of gems was first revealed by a detailed manuscript catalogue citing 136 items (Natter MSS I, *razdel* I, ff. 1-58), which would seem to have been compiled to accompany the sale but was not printed for lack of money.

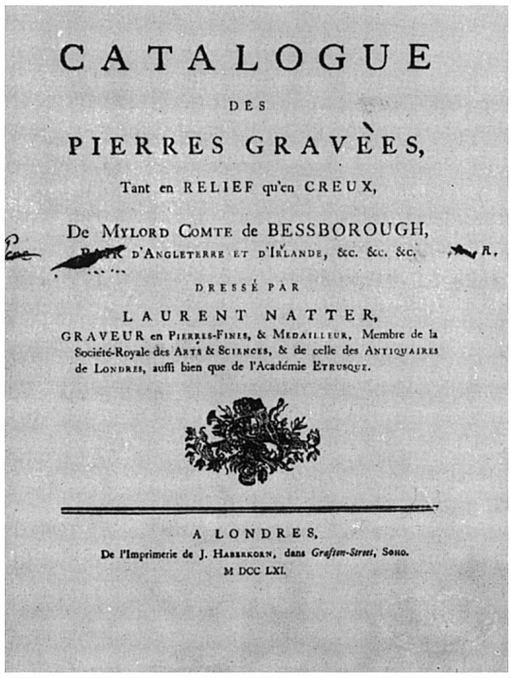
In 1759, after a short visit to Stockholm, Natter made his last trip to England. He now needed less than two years to bring his work to completion. But all of Natter's efforts to cover the costs of publishing the second part of his work were in vain. Instead of the 'Museum Britannicum' he produced simply a catalogue of the Bessborough collection (Natter 1761) [fig. 7.18] before this was sold to the Duke of Marlborough. In his foreword he wrote: 'Les trois estampes qui représentent nos. III, IV et XVII étoient destinées à faire partie d'un ouvrage étendue qui aurait paru sous le titre de Museum Britannicum mais le peu d'encouragement que j'ai trové dans ce pays m'a fait abandonner cette ideé.'

That same year, 1761, Natter received a commission to engrave an allegorical gem marking a British victory in the Seven Years' War, the taking of the French island and fortress of Belle Isle [fig. 7.19]. Natter's archive contains three sketches for this work (Natter MSS I, *razdel* IV, ff. 33, 34v), the most finished (marked with the words 'agate-onyx à deux couleurs') showing two female figures laying their weapons at the feet of the British King. It is hard to say if this cameo was made and later lost, like so many other works, or whether it remained an idea, but it certainly seems to have marked the end of Natter's career as an engraver in stone.

Natter devoted his last eighteen months in England, before his fateful departure for Russia, to the making of medals. He was appointed assistant engraver at the Royal Mint and commissioned to produce coronation medals for George III and Queen Charlotte, at the basis of which were to lie portraits by Isaac Gosset (Nau 1966, Nr. 151-57). Far from Natter's best works, they nonetheless came to be the most famous after they were issued in large numbers in different materials and of different dimensions. Natter's papers reflect every stage of work on these medals, with nineteen sketches for the bust of George on three folios and fourteen for the obverse of the medal, showing Charlotte, on a further four (Natter MSS I, *razdel* IV, ff. 28-34). Natter offered the client several versions of the reverse and the legends to feature on both sides (Natter MSS I, *razdel* IV, ff. 36-47). Here too are sketches which were not used. Everywhere sensual, excited forms are found

Figs. 7.15, 7.16. Lorenz Natter
Portraits of the Marquis and Marchioness Rockingham. 1752/56
Onyx cameos (from a Tassie impressions)

Fig. 7.17. Lorenz Natter
Portrait of the Earl of Bessborough. 1740s
Onyx cameo (from a Tassie glass paste)



CATALOGUE

DES

PIERRES GRAVÈES,

Tant en RELIEF qu'en CREUX,

De MYLORD COMTE de BESSBOROUGH,

PAIR D'ANGLETERRE ET D'IRLANDE, &c. &c. &c.

DRESSÉ PAR

LAURENT NATTER,

GRAVEUR en PIERRES-FINES, & MEDAILLEUR, Membre de la Société-Royale des ARTS & SCIENCES, & de celle des ANTIQUAIRES de LONDRES, auſſi bien que de l'Académie ETRUSQUE.

A LONDRES,

De l'Imprimerie de J. HABERKORN, dans *Grafton-Street*, SOHO.

M DCC LXI.

Fig. 7.18. Lorenz Natter, *Catalogue des pierres gravées, tant en relief qu'en creux, de Mylord Comte de Bessborough*. . . , London, 1761
Title page

Fig. 7.19. Lorenz Natter
Drawing for the intaglio *The Victory by the Fortress of Belle Isle*. 1761
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Fig. 7.20 Lorenz Natter autograph manuscript.
Late 1750s
Plate and texts for the *Museum Britannicum*
Hermitage, St Petersburg

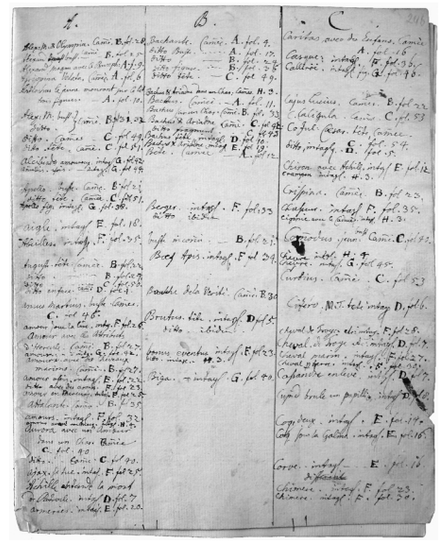


Fig. 7.21. Lorenz Natter
Subjects index for the *Museum Britannicum*
Hermitage, St Petersburg

alongside strict Classical forms, and we can clearly see how, as Natter wavers between the *à l'antique* manner and the Baroque, the latter is frequently victorious. In these exploratory moments we can find the key to the art of this master of a transitional period. Natter was one of those who prepared the way for the new Neo-Classical style: if it were not for him, the work of the next generation of gem engravers might perhaps have been very different.

No less important are the conclusions to be drawn from a study of the manuscript for Natter's 'Museum Britannicum', also discovered in the Hermitage archives (Natter MSS I, *razdel* I, ff. 1-250). It makes clear that the collecting of engraved gems had, by the middle of the 18th century, gone far beyond being an interest enjoyed by just a few noble amateurs.

On eleven fascicles of folded sheets the drawings of engraved gems selected by Natter for inclusion in his 'Museum' are gathered in tables and supplied with commentaries [fig. 7.20]. These include identification of subject, the type and colour of mineral, carving technique, owner's name and dimensions, and they make numerous references to Virgil, Ovid and Cicero. Natter's papers also include a subject index to the tables [fig. 7.21], although this does not cover the last three fascicles. These were compiled as a supplement during the last stages of work, at which time also Natter noted any gems that had passed from one collection to another or whose subject had been reinterpreted. Far from all the author's identifications remain in force today but it is clear that his level of knowledge was extremely advanced for his day (Natter's manuscripts also contain detailed synopses of Pausanias and Plutarch, Winckelmann and Mariette).

Thus, in 213 plates the author presented 512 gems from 23 British Cabinets. As we look over these fascicles we clearly see how Natter moved from one collection to another, although rich material he had accumulated was slightly re-shuffled by his tendency to group pieces according to similarities of composition or subject, and by the preference he gave cameos in the first three fascicles and to intaglios after that. Moreover, like all the 18th-century 'classifiers' and 'systematisers', Natter did not in fact limit himself to a strict system. When he felt the need to complement some table with a suitable composition (suitable in terms of the symmetrical arrangement of the images), he did this using gems from non-British collections he had seen during his travels. There are some 24 such instances, although they fade into the background in this brilliant and varied picture of British collecting at the middle of the 18th century.

If we unravel Natter's work on the tables by grouping drawings according to their owners, we can in part

Fig. 7.22. James Tassie
Portrait of the Duke of Marlborough. 1770s
White enamel paste
Hermitage, St Petersburg

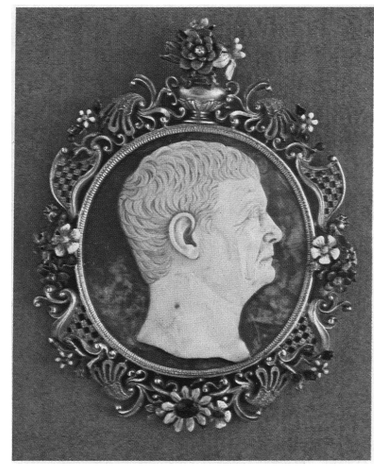


Fig. 7.23. Attributed to Alessandro Cesati
Bust of Phocion from the Marlborough collection.
16th century
By kind permission of The Trustees of the
British Museum

Fig. 7.24. Bust of Antinous. 2nd century AD
Black stone fragment of an intaglio from the
Marlborough collection.
Now private collection
Photograph courtesy of the Beazley Archive,
Oxford

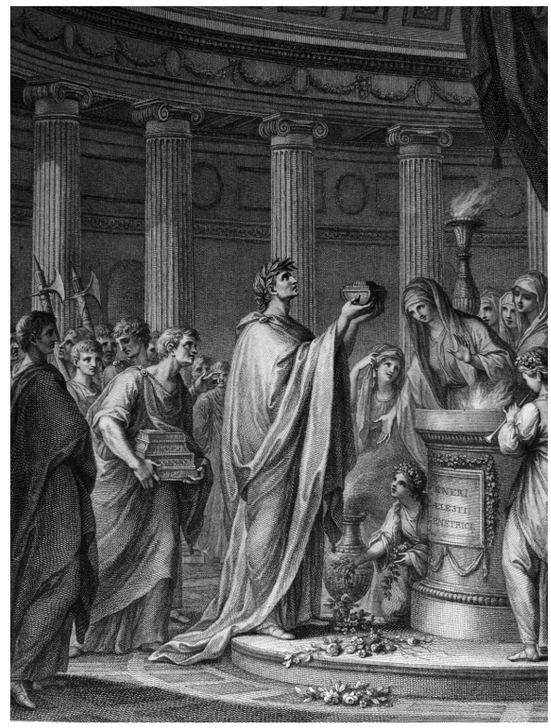


Fig. 7.25. *Gemmarum antiquarum delectus; ex praestantioribus desumptus, quae in dactyliothecis ducis Marlburiensis conservantur / Choix de pierres antiques gravées, du Cabinet du Duc de Marlborough*, I, Londini, [c. 1780-83]
Frontispiece

Fig. 7.26. The Trojan Horse. 1st century BC
Sardonyx intaglio from Thomas Hollis collection
Museo Archeologico, Florence

(for Natter made strict selections from what he saw) reconstruct many British collections (Kagan, Neverov 1984). Even with regard to those dactyliothecae which are still in existence or which were recorded in detail before being broken up, Natter's drawings generally add considerably to the reproductive material available to the modern scholar (prints, catalogues, illustrations in books and journals, casts etc). But for those collections which have disappeared without trace, Natter's slight yet precise drawings present our only evidence for what they contained and in a few cases even allow us to reconstruct their composition. Natter's manuscript thus allows us to determine the provenance or fill gaps in the fate of many engraved works in various dactyliothecae and museums throughout the world, and this on its own makes it not only of historical interest but also of vast practical interest to museum staff engaged in cataloguing Classical and post-Classical glyptics.

Several of the collections, those formed in the first part of the 18th century, have been described in the previous chapter. Here we shall deal with some of the others.

A number of collections are represented in the 'Museum' by just a single gem, for instance those of Mr Brander and Robert Dingley. John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute (1713-92; from 1761 to 1763 Prime Minister of Britain, who travelled through Italy in 1769), owned a five-figure intaglio which entered the Hermitage in the late 18th century through the antiquarian Alfonso Miliotti (Miliotti 1803, pl. 123; Hermitage Inv. No. I - 4373). With regard to this latter, Natter wrote to an unknown individual: 'Pour ma part je le Juge plutot de representer Ariadne qui done le plotton de fil à Thesée pour retrouver le chemin de sortir du Labyrinth avec trois jeunes filles d'Athènes' (Natter MSS I, *razdel* III, f. 225; Kagan, Neverov 1984, p. 163).

Further collections are represented by two gems: those of Antony Chamier (1725-85), the Earl of Paulett, a friend of Dr Johnson, George Montagu Dunk, 2nd Earl of Halifax (1716-71) who became Secretary of State in 1762, and Edward Dering, on whose collection we learn from the description of Baron Stosch's dactyliotheca (Winckelmann 1760, p. 380); three gems represent the collection of James Hamilton, 1st Earl of Clanbrassil (1690-1758). Natter cited only a few gems from the collection of William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, since this was already known to the public from the prints of Claude Dubosc, but eleven drawings demonstrate the collection of one Mr Shorer, previously totally unknown. Double that number show gems belonging to Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham (1730-82), who embarked on his Grand Tour in 1760 and part of whose collection appeared on the market some 20 years ago at a sale of jewels from the related Ramsden family (Christie's 19 March 1980; Scarisbrick 1980b, p. 3).

Naturally, the greater part of Natter's drawings depict the aristocratic collections of Carlisle, Bessborough and Marlborough, for these were the leading British dactyliothecae in the 18th century.

George Spencer, 4th Duke of Marlborough (1739-1817) – [fig. 7.22] whose passion for collecting engraved gems, in the view of Diana Scarisbrick, can be compared only with that of Catherine II of Russia (Scarisbrick 1981, p. 53) – is the last of these collectors of whom it remains to speak in detail.

Marlborough kept his collection at Blenheim Palace, where a group family portrait by Reynolds in the Red Drawing Room [plate 24.2] shows him dressed in the mantle of a Knight of the Order of the Garter and holding a cameo with Augustus – of which he was particularly proud – while his son holds one of the boxes in which the gems were kept, bound in morocco and marked with the ducal crown (Hallett 2008). These same boxes were used to house them when the collection was inherited by Marlborough's daughter, the Marchioness of Blandford.

Marlborough's taste for gems was inculcated by his tutor Jacob Bryant, who was 'to remain his adviser on gems for many years' (Seidmann 1997b, p. 263). Before he acquired the gem collection of the Earl of Bessborough in 1762 he had already come into possession of the marvellous collection of the Earl of Arundel, assembled in the 17th century, the prize of which was a Classical cameo from the 1st century AD, *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*, signed by the master Tryphon and once the property of Peter Paul Rubens (now known as the Marlborough Cameo) [plate 25.1]. Natter made a wonderfully precise and finished drawing of the cameo, writing: 'Elle est à present avec toute la collection Arundel dans la possesion du M Duc de Marlborough …c'est indubitablement une de la plus belles choses que je n'ai jamais vu, aussi bien pour la beauté de pensée, admirable dans l'invention, en composition que dans l'execution qu'il est de la dernière diligence' (Natter MSS I, *razdel* III, f. 211; Kagan, Neverov 1984, p. 164).

The Duke acquired his gems at home and abroad, at auctions and through acquaintances. In Venice,

thanks to the British Consul John Udney, he made the acquaintance of Antonio Maria Zanetti, from whom he bought four engraved gems, two Renaissance (*Horatius Cocles at the Bridge* and a *Head of Phocion*, the latter being thought by Giorgio Vasari to be a work by Alessandro Cesati [fig. 7.23]) and two Classical (a *Bust of Octavia as Diana* attributed to Solon, [plate 25.2] and a fragment of black stone with a bust of the handsome Antinous, thought to have been made during the latter's lifetime) [fig. 7.24]. The fervour of Marlborough's collecting and his methods were much imitated, particularly by the French (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XV) and he was suspected (accused) of getting many gems by bullying. On the other hand he was much respected as a patron of contemporary British gem engravers (Seidmann 1997b). Working for him in Rome itself was Nathaniel Marchant, who served as his personal gem engraver – as Dioscurides himself had worked for Augustus (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XVI) – but who did not always put his name to his gems. C. W. King, referring to a now lost manuscript catalogue of the Duke's gems, asserted that Marlborough himself provided the stones for commissions he gave to Giovanni Pichler, despatching them to him in Rome (King 1861-62, part 1, p. 313).

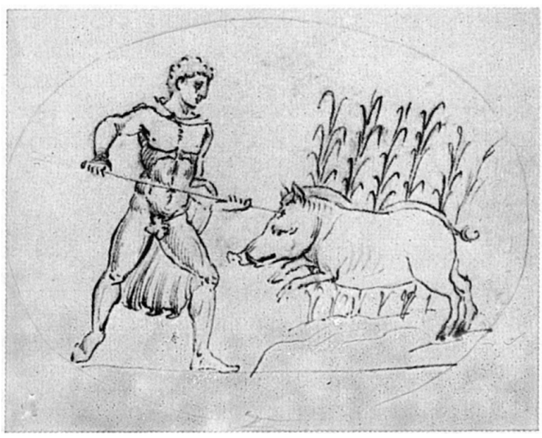
A hundred selected engraved gems belonging to the 4th Duke of Marlborough were published in a presentation set of two luxurious volumes, in a limited run of one hundred copies, with engraved images by Francesco Bartolozzi after drawings by Giovanni Battista Cipriani (the Latin commentaries in the first volume are by Jacob Bryant, translated into French by P. H. Maty, and those in the second volume are by William Cole, translated by Louis Dutens: Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91; see also Walpole 1862, I, p. 297; Seidmann 1997b, p. 274) [fig. 7.25]. On the further fate of these gems, see chapter 12.

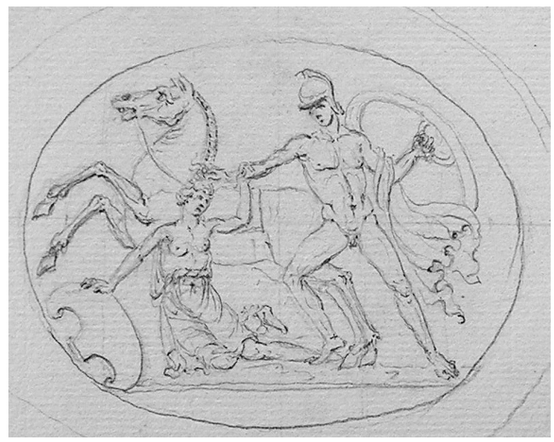
In greatest detail of all – 74 drawings – Natter presented the collection of his friend and patron Thomas Hollis. During his stay in Italy in the middle of the 18th century, Hollis had been connected with Abbot Rodolfo Venturi and the British Consul in Venice, Joseph Smith (Seidmann 1984-85, part 1, p. 812); together with Natter these two men helped Hollis form a dactyliotheca. In London, Hollis attended the sales of the collections of Richard Mead (1755), Gabriel Medina (Medina 1761) and others (Buttrey 1990, p. 225). Some gems were purchased from Natter, among them the gem engraver's own intaglios with heads of Socrates and Britannicus, a moonstone seal with the patriotic device 'SANCTUS AMUR PATRIAE DAT ANIMUM', a seal with an owl and

Fig. 7.27. Lorenz Natter
Drawing after a fragment of a turquoise cameo, *Livia with a bust of Augustus* in an old frame (from his own collection, later in the Marlborough collection).
Hermitage, St Petersburg

a palm symbolising peace, a portrait of Hollis' friend and alter ego, the learned collector Thomas Brand (d. 1804), who like Hollis was responsible for bringing gem engraving into the sphere of attention of the Royal Society of Arts (Seidmann 1984-85, part 1, p. 812). Although all this information appears in Hollis' own memoirs (Blackburne 1780, pp. 799, 822), the last two gems are missing from Nau's catalogue. Hollis' particular pride was his ownership of superb example of ancient glyptics: a late-5th-century BC Greek scene of the Gigantomachia carved on a chalcedony scarab, an Etruscan Dionysus and Silenus and a Roman Republican gem showing the Trojan Horse (Florence) [fig. 7.26]. Hollis's gems appeared in the most celebrated publications of the 18th century, published in Paris (Gravelle 1732-37, pl. 79) and Rome (Bracci 1784-86, I, p. 53, tav. X; Raponi 1786, pl. 51).

In 1761 Hollis placed his collections in The Hyde, near Ingatestone, Essex (Gill 1990a, p. 35), home of Thomas Brand (later Brand-Hollis), to whom he bequeathed them. After Brand's own death in 1804 they came into the possession of two successive generations of the family, John Disney senior (1746-1816) and John Disney junior (1779-1857). The first of these published two catalogues of them (Hollis-Disney 1807, 1809). The second retained the gems for a while after his father's death, even – like his father – making a few additions (Gill 1990, p. 35), but in 1821 put many of them under the hammer (Sotheby's 3 July 1821; Buttrey 1990, pp. 220, 222). The best of the gems that had belonged to Hollis were acquired





Figs. 7.28, 7.29. Lorenz Natter
Drawings of the gems *Meleager and the Calydonian Boar* (now British Museum, London) and "*Achilles and Penthesileia*" (both from his own collection)
Hermitage, St Petersburg

by Richard Payne Knight finding their way in 1824 with other items from his collection to the British Museum. Other gems are now in museums in Berlin and Florence (Buttrey 1990, p. 221). What was left of the Disney collection after the sale was given in 1850 by 'a liberal donor' to the Fitzwilliam Museum (Gill 1990, p. 34)

The manuscripts uncovered in the Hermitage also breathed life into the catalogue of Natter's collection, which he kept with him over many years in Britain until their sale in Amsterdam; without the information they provide, our picture of British collecting would be incomplete. Of Natter's gems we should mention here those with connections to other British collections. An ancient turquoise with a bust of Livia [fig. 7.27] and a powerful bust of Augustus, purchased from von Stosch as Livia with a bust of her son Tiberius and in 1761 sold to the Earl of Bessborough (Natter 1761, p. 26; now Boston Museum of Fine Arts). Natter's drawing (Natter MSS I, *razdel* III, f. 211) shows the now lost setting of chrysolite, hyacinth and amethysts. Two of the gems were in Natter's own collection, an intaglio, *Achilles and Penthesileia*, and another intaglio, *Meleager and the Calydonian Boar* (now in the British Museum) [figs. 7.28, 7.29].

It remains to reiterate here that Natter's incredible activity and his improvements to carving technique were largely responsible for spreading an interest in gem engraving in Britain still further beyond the limited circle of high-born amateurs. His book helped to train a new generation of artists while it did much to stimulate an interest in collecting and the study of engraved gems, an interest which now pervaded ever wider circles of educated society. The same year that Natter issued his treatise, the artist and printmaker Thomas Worlidge (1700-66), [fig. 7.30] as if anticipating Natter's intended continuation, began to issue a series of prints after Classical gems from British private collections (182 in all, of which three are duplicates; Worlidge 1754-57; 1768) [fig. 7.31]. This attempt to create a picture of gem collecting in Britain at a particular stage in time, although inferior in scale to Natter's intention, is of interest in that it throws into relief the dynamic changes taking place. Only five of the collections demonstrated by Worlidge featured in the 'Museum Britannicum', while on the other hand Worlidge mentions some 25 names that were either deliberately omitted by Natter or that had not drawn his attention. Worlidge selected the etching technique 'after the manner of Rembrandt', as it says on the title page of the three-volume in quarto publication issued by his widow two years after his death (Worlidge 1768). This forthcoming publication was announced by a small brochure (Alexander 1766), which included a list of subscribers and the essay 'General observations on the art of engraving on gems' by James (John) Wicksteed Senior (fl. 1799-1824), an engraver of seals based in Dublin whose sister was Worlidge's second wife. Wicksteed also helped finance the efforts of Worlidge's pupils, William Grimaldi and George Powle, to complete his publication. The work was reprinted twice, in 1780

Fig. 7.30. Thomas Worlidge
Self-Portrait. 1754
Print

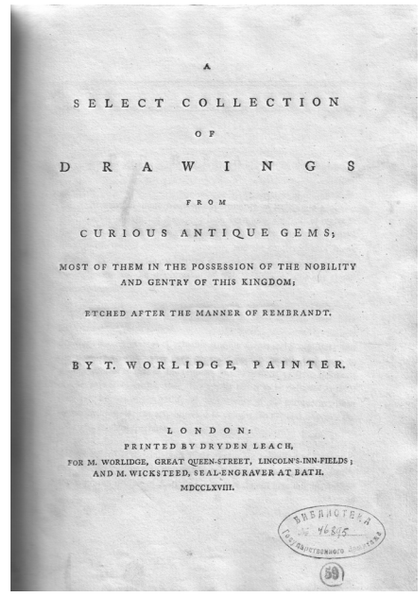


Fig. 7.31. Thomas Worlidge *A Select Collection of Drawings from Curious Antique Gems, most of them in the possession of the nobility and gentry of this Kingdom; etched after the manner of Rembrandt*, London, 1768, 2nd edn
Title page

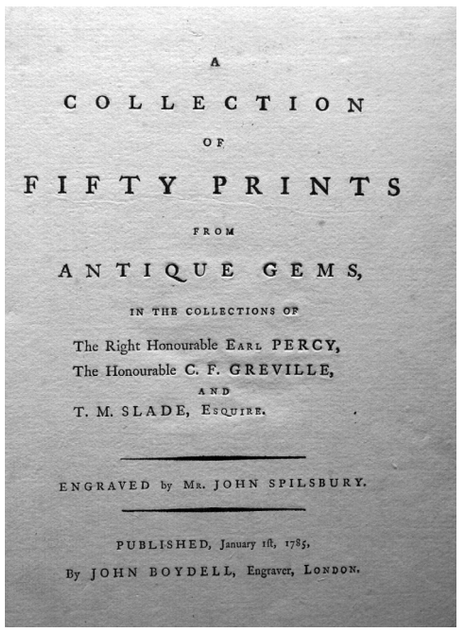


Fig. 7.32. John Spilsbury, *A Collection of Fifty Prints from Antique Gems in the Collections of the Right Hon. Earl Percy, the Honourable C. F. Greville and T. M. Slade*, engraved by John Spilsbury, London, 1785
Title page

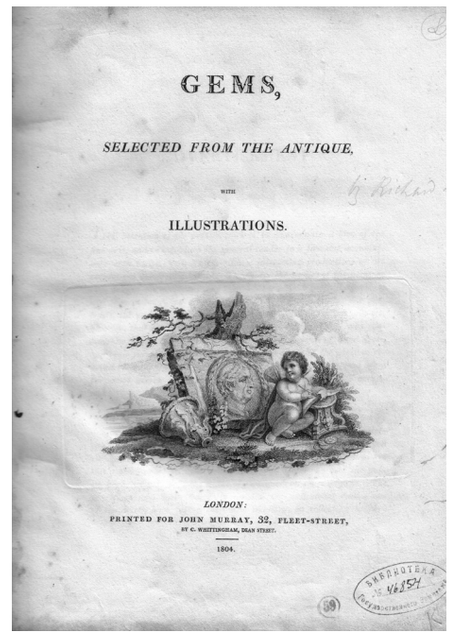


Fig. 7.33. Richard Dagley, *Select Gems from the Antique*, London, 1804
Title page

(in two volumes and bearing the old date of 1768) and in 1833, using the original plates, then belonging to a private owner in Sheffield (Worlidge 1996).

Another printed publication dealing with engraved gems appeared in England, although after the end of the 18th century. This was by the artist and printmaker John Spilsbury (1730-95). An ouvrage or album consisting of 50 etchings from selected gems in three large collections, those of Charles Greville, Thomas Slade and Algernon Percy (Spilsbury 1785; all three are discussed in more detail in chapter 8) [fig. 7.32]. Since the last two owners sold part of their dactyliothecae to Catherine II of Russia, this includes etchings from gems now in the Hermitage. The Italian printmaker Francesco Bartolozzi, resident in England from 1764, produced stipple engravings from 108 gems which he published in an album that was to enjoy considerably popularity (Bartolozzi 1789-90).

The periodical issues of *Gems, Selected from the Antique*, published and sold by subscription in the early 19th century by Richard Dagley (1765-1841; Dagley 1803, 1803-4) [fig. 7.33] were very much in keeping with the feel of 18th-century publications. The re-issue of the second publication included 21 prints (Dagley 1822). Dagley's reproductions, engraved 'in the manner of chalk' after his own drawings, were accompanied by commentaries and poetic texts.

Last in this list is Frederick Knight's small book *Modern and Antique Gems*, aimed at amateurs and antiquarians and simple 'men of pleasure', with steel engravings by Thomas Dick and J. B. Scott (Knight 1828).

The value of all these sources lies in that each of them captures a unique moment in the history of collecting, a picture which changed rapidly from decade to decade. Demand ensured that such publications continued to appear right into the middle of the 19th century, when they were replaced by photographic reproductions. Even in the 18th century, however, another (although by no means new) method of reproduction had begun to dominate in Britain and indeed on continental Europe. Almost as old as the art of glyptics itself, but given a new life by Britain's high level of industrial production, was the reproduction (in some quantity) of engraved gems in glass, paste, ceramics, plaster, sulphur and other materials. This method threw wide the doors of possibility and in place of Natter's dream of a '*Museum Britannicum*', Britain became home to James Tassie's pan-European Cabinet of Casts from engraved gems.

1. Lorenz Natter
Portrait of Phillip von Stosch. 1739
Emerald intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg

2. Attributed to Lorenz Natter. England
(Early 1740s)
Jupiter Enthroned with Cerberus
Sapphire intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 340)

3. Lorenz Natter
Drawings for his "*Treatise*". c. 1753
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Plate 24

1. Lorenz Natter
Double-sided sardonyx cameo. 1754
a) The Triumph of Britannia
b) Portrait of Algernon Sidney
Courtesy of Sotheby's, London (sold April 1995); now Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart

2. Joshua Reynolds
Group portrait of the family of the 4th Duke of Marlborough
(detail). 1778
Photograph courtesy of Blenheim Palace

1. Tryphon
Marriage of Cupid and Psyche (‘*Marlborough Cameo*’).
1st century AD
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

2. Attributed to Solon
Octavia as Diana. 1st century BC
Cornelian intaglio from the Marlborough collection, now British Museum, London
Photograph courtesy of the Beazley Archive, Oxford

8

James Tassie's Cabinet of Casts

The production of imitation engraved gems was not a wholly new development: the practice had been known since Antiquity, going hand in hand with the art of glyptics itself. Such imitations were mainly made of coloured glass. It was this tradition that was to undergo a thorough transformation in the 18th century, becoming what was in effect commercial mass production of casts and impressions on a previously unheard of scale. Moreover, the European 'age of order' brought new meaning to the tradition overall.

Enterprising enthusiasts who had in them something of the collector and scholar began to produce – each using their own technologies – series of casts from Classical engraved gems, grouped and organised according to certain rules, usually by subject. Like collections of original gems these sets were called Cabinets or Dactyliothecae and they were generally accompanied by catalogues or descriptions which reflected the current state of learning. Such descriptions not only made the collections of casts comprehensible but served as a vital resource to artists, archaeologists, antiquarians, collectors, jewellers, silversmiths, modellers and numismatists, and the owners of all kind of new artistic manufactories. As a result, they were acquired wholly or in part by individuals, art academies, universities, schools, libraries and many art lovers. Even connoisseurs found inexpensive sulphur or plaster casts reproducing originals to be a more reliable and more affordable tool than the luxurious printed publications which had until so recently been their only resource in the study of engraving on stone in general, and in the study of gems in their own collections. Casts might be produced as standard sets or in bespoke assortment, commissioned to reflect the particular interests of the purchaser, and thus accompanying catalogues or descriptions were not always printed but in manuscript form. The catalogue for one particular set of casts was frequently specific to that set. Men of average means, those who could not permit themselves the acquisition of original gems, could now acquire pastes or casts in wax, sulphur, plaster and other materials, assembling collections of copies from the Antique that allowed them to feel part of the Classical scholarly world.

On the continent, amongst the first rationally arranged series produced in any notable quantity were those made from the 1720s by the German Christian Dehn (1697/1700-1770), first in Rome in the house of Philip von Stosch, who had taught him the craft of making casts, and then from 1731 in Florence, where Stosch had moved; after Dehn's return to Rome in 1738 he continued production in a workshop he established there that remained for many years the only one of its kind. A description of Dehn's set was produced by his brother-in-law Abbot Francesco Dolce (Dolce 1772), this description bearing on its title page a dedication to London's Society of Antiquaries, with which Dehn had a profitable two-way connection: British owners sent him casts of their own engraved gems while those who visited Italy frequently returned with sets of casts and descriptions acquired from him. An example of one such '*Descrizione*', compiled c. 1755 and belonging to the architect William Chambers, contains important information about British collections of the mid-18th century (Seidmann 1996c, p. 28). A composition in cornelian showing *Hercules Musarum* was repeated, after a cast by a Neo-Classical architect, in the decoration of the Charlemont Cabinet (now Courtauld Institute of Art, London; Seidmann 1996c, p. 29).

A considerably more extensive dactyliotheca of casts was produced by the German Philipp Daniel Lippert (1702-85), glass-worker, artist and engraver, Professor of Antiquity at the Dresden Academy of Arts, and a friend of Johann Joachim Winckelmann. His sets, which included, amongst others, reproductions of engraved gems from British collections, were arranged in three large cases imitating book bindings filled with shallow drawers containing the casts, one thousand in each case, and were described by two well-known German Classical scholars (Christio, Heyne 1755-63). A new catalogue was later compiled by Lippert himself (Lippert 1767-76). Lippert used a plaster compound for his casts, specially modified with talcum powder, fish scales and Castile soap, which gave them a greyish tinge and a sheen. Goethe had examples of both these early series by Dehn and Lippert in his house at Weimar, valuing them equally with his original gems. For many years, however, Lippert's casts were not to be found in Britain although there was a set in the Royal Academy, and it was only in the late 20th century that full sets came into the possession of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and then the Beazley Archive, Oxford (late 1980s; Seidmann 1989).

There were, of course, other European workshops that copied gems in various materials directly from originals or from earlier casts, but we must emphasise that even the very largest of these never exceeded three thousand items.

During the second half of the 18th century, however, Britain was to become one of the most important production centres for casts from engraved gems. Such a situation seems quite logical in the light of the increasingly pronounced British predilection for Neo-Classicism from the early 1760s onwards. A full description of the Neo-Classical trend in glyptics will be left until a later chapter, but here we must pick out one very particular feature that did much to popularise this aspect of British taste.

In the middle of the 1760s a very special kind of product appeared in Britain, known as 'gem-works' – a phrase which covered not only casts from engraved gems but also those imitation cameos and intaglios and cameo-like medallions in various materials which were essentially inseparable from glyptics. By the end of the century, as H. Clifford Smith noted, 'England occupied a unique position with regard to the production of objects of this kind, which were eagerly sought for throughout the whole of the continent' (Clifford Smith 1908, p. 315).

Yet before this time such products – increasingly in demand amongst both collectors and jewellers – had not been produced in Britain for general sale. There are a very few lead casts from Tudor portraits, made as gifts for a very narrow circle at court, while the sporadic use in the 17th and early 18th centuries of pale blue enamel-like pastes (looking rather like turquoise) can be only hypothetically linked with Britain. Various types of casts had of course arrived in Britain from Europe (at times in very large quantities) and collectors and gem engravers had had them made when required, both from their own gems and from the gems of other collectors (with their permission). Such casts were usually in plaster or a glass paste which could be manipulated in ordinary conditions without special equipment using the 'Homberg method', named after the French chemist Wilhelm Homberg (1652-1715), who published it in his *Mémoire de l'Académie des Sciences de Paris* (Homberg 1712). This would seem to have been the method used in 1751 for one hundred casts from the best gems belonging to William Chipley, founder of the Royal Society of Arts, with which he supplied his friend Henry Baker (Seidmann 1984-85, part 1, p. 814).

In the autumn of 1760, the Society of Arts declared that in addition to its already established prize for gem engraving (on which see chapter 10) it would, under the 'Manufactures and Commerce' section award a prize of fifteen guineas for success in the production of no less than 20 examples of glass pastes imitating them, each to differ in composition, subjects and colour. No candidates declared themselves but the following year the competition was again announced and it was to continue for some years. Twice the prize was awarded to the secretary of the Society of Arts, Samuel More, who had 'been bred a chymist' and who put forward '100 various casts' (Seidmann 1984-85, part 2, p. 65). The prize was to be given on two more occasions. It was proposed to offer a separate award for successful experimentation with artificially improving the quality of onyxes and cornelians, usually imported from Germany and far inferior in colour and sheen to those from the Orient.

We cannot exclude that the originator of 'gem-works' in Britain was an Italian about whom brief information is found in a work published in 1785, *Instituzioni Glittografiche*, where the author writes: 'Non so se piu viva un certo Domenico Bartoli di Livorno eccellente in fabbricar Cammei, ed altri lavori di paste, il quale essendo passato in Londra facea colà la sua fortuna con simili industrie...' (Aldini 1785, p. 339). Sadly the biographical dictionaries suggesting that Bartoli

Fig. 8.1. Portrait of James Tassie
1799
Glass paste medallion by William Tassie

Fig. 8.2. Portrait of Dr. Henry Quin, late 1770s
by John Logan after a medal by William
Mossop. (from a Tassie impression)

worked in different towns around Britain between 1764 and 1813 and that he was in partnership with Augustus John Richter, a native of Dresden who arrived in London around 1770 (Gunnis 1953, p. 41), note only the masters' large decorative *scagliola* works, saying nothing of their gems.

Some experiments in the making of glass pastes had been undertaken in Birmingham but these, wrote Raspe, were in the quality of the material and their cheapness merely signs of the poor skills of those who made them and could not either satisfy or attract 'the artist, the scholar or man of taste' (Raspe 1786, p. 23).

Thus it was that the first obvious steps towards large-scale and high-quality production of pastes seem to have been taken by James Tassie (1735-99), universally described by his biographers as one of the most talented men to emerge from Scotland in the 18th century [plate 26.1].

Born not far from Glasgow, Tassie was one of a family of hereditary craftsmen originally deriving from Italy [fig. 8.1]. After a short period apprenticed to a stonemason he entered the Glasgow Academy, recently opened by the brothers Robert and Andrew Foulis, successfully mastering over the course of three years both drawing and modelling. In 1763 Tassie moved in search of work to Dublin, where he met Dr Henry Quin, Professor of Physics at Dublin University, (1749-86), [fig. 8.2] musician and connoisseur of the arts. Quin's particular passion was making new compounds for the imitation of precious and semi-precious stones, using them to produce casts from cameos and intaglios. Tassie was taken on as his assistant and together they created the glass and enamel-like 'pastes' which Tassie was to employ in all his further works.

The new paste developed by Quin and Tassie was a kind of potash glass remarkable for its fusibility. Its complex set of ingredients was melded through long, low heating and once it had reached a particular consistency it was stamped with a matrix or cast in a mould. The paste could be white, opaque and enamel-like, but it could also be transparent, and could be tinted with different hues to make it more like the natural colour of minerals. There was even a recipe for multi-layer compounds, i.e. for cameos. The process of making casts consisted of several operations. For intaglios, a relief wax mould was made from the original – frequently in the house of the owner or collector – and this was then reproduced in a hard substance that included sulphur in its composition. The concave matrix produced from this sulphur mould was made of a mixture of Tripoli (Diotomaceus Earth) and plaster of Paris, and this was then filled with opaque paste which, after firing, became an enamel-like cast that could be used for making the final product, a coloured imitation intaglio. When making coloured copies from cameos, there was an additional operation required to produce the final convex product (for more detailed information see Gray 1894, pp. 8-9; Mallett 1995, pp. 21-22).

Not given to shrinkage or compression, none of the versions of the paste formed air bubbles and once hardened they could be finely polished. During the lifetime of Tassie and his heir and successor, his

nephew William, the method of producing this paste was kept a strict secret, and it seemed to have been lost forever when William died. Chemical analysis of the paste was undertaken only in the late 19th century, on behalf of Tassie's biographer, John M. Gray. Professor Crum Brown then made an analysis of a Tassie medallion to produce the following composition:

'Silica ($Si\ 0_2$)	49˚26
Oxide of Lead (Pb 0)	33˚54
Ferric Oxide and Aluminium Oxide ($Fe_2\ 0_3$ and $Al_2\ 0_3$)	0˚50
Lime (Ca 0)	2˚17
Arsenious Anhydride ($As_2\ 0_3$)	3˚08
Oxide of Potassium ($K_2\ 0$)	10˚40
Oxide of Sodium ($Na_2\ 0$)	0˚88
	99˚83

It is a very easily fusible glass, essentially a lead potash glass. Arsenic is often added to lead glass to prevent darkening by reduction of the oxide in lead.' (Gray 1894, pp. 7-8; Smith J. P. 1995, p. 10)

In 1766, with support from Dr Quin, Tassie moved to London, founding his own business in Leicester Field and practising two art forms with his new technology. Firstly, employing his gifts as a sculptor, he created miniature portraits of contemporaries, initially modelling them from life in wax and then casting them in his paste in any quantity required. Such portraits were exhibited in London in 1767 and 1768 at the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy and were highly praised. Soon he was to receive an award of ten guineas from the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts 'for specimens of Profiles in Paste'. Tassie devoted most of his time, energy and as yet somewhat modest means, however, to producing small reproductions of engraved gems (and medals) which captured even the very finest details with such precision that contemporaries described them as 'facsimiles'. This precision depended on the quality of the first cast (made directly from the original in wax), a quality which was not compromised even by repeated reproduction. Tassie's casts were at first made in a sulphurous red mass rather like sealing wax (the Hermitage has a set of two thousand such pieces

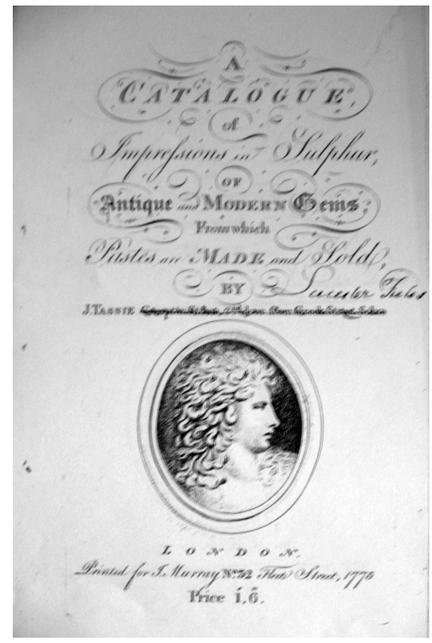


Fig. 8.3. James Tassie, A *Catalogue of Impressions in Sulphur, of Antique and Modern Gems, from which Pastes are made and sold by James Tassie*, London, 1775
Title page

which belonged in the 18th century to Count Nikolay Sheremetev (1751-1809), Ober-Hofmarshal at the court of Catherine the Great) [plate 26.2].

Such was the nature of the technique that its potential for expanding the repertoire of reproductions was essentially unlimited. Tassie rightly saw this as his method's particular strength and he set out to issue systematically ordered series of casts, basing himself on European models whilst seeking out previously unknown originals to be reproduced.

Once he was able to match in scale the very largest mass-produced series emerging from France, Italy and Germany, Tassie published his first catalogue (Tassie 1775), [fig. 8.3] listing 3,106 reproductions of Classical and modern gems. Henceforth, in accordance with European practice, numbers according to the catalogue were to be placed on the gold-edged paper circlets used to frame the casts. In the foreword to the catalogue he described his purpose as to try and improve public taste, since, 'no means have been looked upon to be more conducive towards correcting the taste than opportunity of viewing the works of the antients, and particularly the Antique gems' (Tassie 1775, p. [V]).

Fig. 8.4. Nathaniel Marchant
Portrait of Catherine the Great, before 1788
(made for King Stanislaus II Augustus Poniatowski)
Cornelian intaglio (from a cast)

Fig. 8.5. Print by Alexandre Tardieu after a drawing by Louis C. de Carmontelle.
Portrait of Baron Melchior Grimm. 1769

Even after publication of this catalogue, Tassie's range of works continued to expand slowly, offering purchasers an ever increasing choice. Even though he dreamed of a vast scale of production – the creation of a Cabinet of Casts from engraved gems in all European collections – Tassie was hampered by lack of finance and by lack of access to the largest collections in Europe or even in Britain itself.

In 1781 something took place that was to play a decisive role in the fate of what was still a modest workshop: Catherine II, Empress of Russia, learned of its existence. Catherine herself described her passion for gems as 'an illness' and 'gluttony'. By this date she had already, in just a short period of time, created one of the world's largest collections of engraved gems (some 4,000 original items) and now she found herself in need of a cabinet of casts from gems not accessible to her. Only a Cabinet on a pan-European scale could both offer her the necessary material for a systematic study of glyptics – including the work of contemporary masters – by allowing her extensive opportunities for comparison, and inform her as to the contents of other collections. This last would also have the benefit of saving her from the kind of 'misunderstandings' which often occurred in the purchase of gems.

The curious circumstances by which Catherine [fig. 8.4] heard about Tassie's workshop are revealed in her exchange of letters with Baron Melchior Grimm (1723-1807), her friend and regular correspondent in Paris, who acted as her main agent in the purchase of works of art abroad [fig. 8.5]. On 25 June [NS 6 July[1]] 1781 she wrote: 'Si vous pouviez nous procurer les empreintes en soufre ou autrement des pierres gravées du cabinet du roi de France, de celles de St Denis et de celles du Duc D'Orléans, vous nous obligeriez infiniment, et fait-les nous passer le plus tôt possible…' (Catherine II – Grimm Correspondence 1878, p. 210).

Grimm saw her interest in the cheaper casts as a symptom of 'la diminution de la maladie' and noted

1. Russia adopted the Gregorian Calendar, adopted by Britain in 1752, only in February 1918. In the second half of the 18th century therefore, the date in Russia was eleven days behind that in Britain (i.e. 1st January 1753 in Russia was 12th January in Britain). Thus the dates on letters written from Russia in this period use the Julian Calendar, referred to as Old Style or OS, and those from Europe use the New Style or NS.

a year later, on 10 [NS 21] July: 'N'ayant rien trouvé dans les pharmacies de France contre le mal des camées et des soufres qui me satisfit, j'ai cherché dans les pharmacies étrangères, et j'ai déjà indiqué celle de Lippert de Dresde comme très renommée; mais j'en connais ou plutôt j'en ai découvert une encore plus renommée, ou Votre Majesté à force de se fournir de remèdes, pourra peut-être guérir son mal radicalement. Il y a à Londres un certain James Tassie qui imite toutes les pierres gravées qui lui tombent sous la patte, dans la plus grande perfection. Non seulement il rend les dessins parfaitement, mais il imite aussi scrupuleusement la pierre, et jusqu'à ses défauts, quand elle en a, de sorte qu'à peu de frais on a un portrait parfaitement ressamblant à original. Il vend les intagliati depuis un sheling et demi jusqu'à deux sheling et demi; les camées une demi-guinée; les impressions en émail un sheling. En 1777 sa collection consistait en 3700 pièces; mai il comptait l'augmenter de plusieurs milliers. Si la santé de Votre Majesté a absolument besoin de ces topiques, il sera aisé à ses serviteurs en Angleterre de découvrir se Mr. James Tassie à Londres…' (Grimm – Catherine II Correspondence 1885, p. 243).

But his information arrived too late: Catherine had already learned of the existence of Tassie, as she wrote to Grimm on 16 [27] November 1782: 'Je vous ai déchargé du soin de nous chercher de soufre-pâtes et autres empreintes, parce qu'il nous en vient toute une caravane d'Angleterre… Grand merci pour les indications du cabinet Lippert de Dresde et celles de James Tassie: je crois que c'est notre homme précisément' (Catherine II – Grimm Correspondence 1878, p. 256).

In a letter of 27 January [7 February] 1783, Grimm sought to joke as to who it was who first recommended Tassie to Catherine: 'Il y a plus de six mois, parce qu'il y en a peut-être huit, que j'ai indiqué à mon auguste Souverain master James Tassie résidant à Londres, comme l'homme le plus propre de satisfaire la gloutonnerie impériale en fait de pierres gravées par des imitations parfaites. Qu'arrive-t-il? … et voilà plus de six mille pièces qui vont être englouties par le gouffre de l'Hermitage. Cela fait un bruit diabolique à Londres; tout le monde veut voir les six mille victimes de la gloutonnerie, et les papiers anglais disent publiquement que c'est M. Weitbrecht, de mon temps, libraire de Sa Majesté Impériale, qui lui a fourni l'idée de cet enlèvement effroyable; et master James Tassie sera devenu illustre et riche, sans se douter seulement qu'il existe quelque part un souffre-douleur [Grimm's ironic nickname – J. K.] à qui il en a l'obligation. Il est vrai que celui-ci a l'obligation à l'ambassadeur de Sardaigne de lui avoir indiqué James Tassie; et voilà comme va le monde, ces maudits gazetiers ne veulent jamais remonter à la source de rien' (Grimm – Catherine II Correspondence 1885, pp. 315, 316). But Catherine replied on 10 [21] March 1783, firmly stating naming the one who gave her Tassie's name: 'Vous avez beau dit, ce n'est pas vous, mais Weitbrecht qui a déterré James Tassie, car il y a deux ans qu'il travaille pour nous…' (Catherine II – Grimm Correspondence 1878, p. 273).

Tassie himself – unaware of the exchange of letters between Grimm and Catherine – gave his own explanation of how he received the commission in a letter dated 12 December 1781 to Henry Quin in Dublin – with whom he continued to correspond even after his move to London (his letters are now in the Quin family collection in the Irish National Archive): 'I have got an order to make a compleat collection of pastes and sulphers from them, I believe for the Empress of Russia. 400 Rubles has been sent to me in part of payment. I imagine if Princess Dashkaw did go to Petersburg, the Collection of Pastes you presented to that Princess contributed to procure me this extensive order' (Hartley 1994, pp. 21-23). Princess Ekaterina (Catherine) Dashkova must have met Quin some time in 1779, when she spent several months in Dublin (Dashkov 1958, pp. 149-50; Cross 1980, pp. 239). Quitting Ireland in May 1780, she returned to favour with Catherine yet again and returned to Russia in 1782. Certainly these events coincide with the Empress' desire to possess a series of casts that would be superior in quality and quantity to those produced on the continent.

The pieces presented to Dashkova by Quin must indeed have been a convincing argument in support of Tassie. Moreover, Johann Jacob Weitbrecht, court typographer and bookseller (1744-1803), regular supplier to the court of books, prints and antiques, also informed the Empress of Tassie's manufactory and went on to assume the role of commissioner and intermediary for the extensive orders she was to make. All currently known archive documents relating to orders and payments for Tassie pastes are listed in full in Appendix I. (Later, in 1786, he was also to be the intermediary in Catherine's acquisition of engraved gems from the British brothers William and Charles Brown, discussed in detail in chapter 11. Tassie's portrait medallions included a portrait of Weitbrecht, but this has not survived, Gray 1894, No. 405.) Amongst the court 'sums from domestic monies used for expenses' listed in late October 1781 is an advance

to Weitbrecht of 3,000 roubles 'for the invoice for two commissioned collections of pastes from engraved gems' (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3896, f. 194). The second of these collections was probably a small collection of casts intended by Catherine for her then favourite, Alexander Lanskoy, who shared her passion for engraved gems.

In Gray's biography of Tassie (Gray 1894), and repeated endlessly throughout the literature, we find the conditions of this grandiose commission (which according to initial estimates was to cost Catherine some £2,310; Hartley 1994, p. 22), deriving from some now unknown documentary source. The set was to be:

1) composed of casts from Classical and modern gems of the highest quality, ensuring their precision and durability, and in composition it was to as full and numerous as possible;

2) composed also of glass pastes imitating the colour of the originals;

3) housed in suitable cupboards or cabinets made by the most celebrated London cabinet-maker;

4) put in order and described in a catalogue, indicating where necessary the subject and any information which might confirm the gem's history or bring out the merits of the engraving, thus facilitating the study of both Antiquity and the art of stone engraving (Gray 1894, p. 23).

With an energy specifically noted by all his biographers, James Tassie embarked on fulfilling these conditions. He knew that the material he had invented with Henry Quin ensured that he could meet the first two. So high was the quality of Tassie's work that neither pastes nor casts required subsequent finishing with a chisel. Taking advantage of the specific nature of his technique, Tassie put in the Cabinet he made for Russia not only imitation coloured gems but also white enamel-like relief casts from them [plate 26.3].

This previously unheard-of practice may have been based on the conditions set down by the Empress herself. Perhaps it was prompted by the extensive series of glass pastes and of plaster casts from them produced, with his own hands, by the high-ranking courtier Ivan Betskoy (1704-95). The series was based on Betskoy's own collection of engraved gems and wax seals made during his visits to the dactyliothecae of others in the course of his foreign travels. Betskoy attached great importance to the series as an educational tool and in 1772 presented it to the Russian Academy of Sciences, of which he was then President (Maykov 1904, pp. 160, 342).

Indeed, owners of original gems had already been much impressed by Tassie's products and he found he could gain access to many collections, large and small, which had previously been closed to him. Thus, amongst the owners of gems reproduced in the first group sent to Catherine were the King of Naples, prelate Leo Strozzi and Cardinal Alessandro Albani. France was represented by gems in the royal collection, by the treasures of the Abbey of Saint-Denis and the celebrated gems of the Comte de Caylus. Thus in the two years after he received his first commission from Russia, Tassie doubled the number of casts in his repertoire, bringing it to more than six thousand subjects (i.e. more than 12,000 pieces, since each subject was reproduced as both paste and cast). It should be noted, nonetheless, that other collections still remained inaccessible to him.

Over the course of the next two years Tassie was to almost double the range of his series. In accordance with Catherine's third condition, a cabinet in satinwood was made to house the set of casts to a design by the celebrated architect James Wyatt (whom Catherine had hoped to invite to work in Russia) [plate 27.1]. The cabinet was made by one of London's master cabinet-makers, one Roach, as we know from the ivory plaque it bears with the words 'ROACH CABINET MAKER LONDON' [fig. 8.6]. This superb example of English furniture of the last quarter of the 18th century reveals why the period was often described as the 'Satin-Age' [plate 27.2]. Of strict Neo-Classical form, decorated with satinwood insets and very fine marquetry in the style of the Adam brothers, it was originally richly incrusted with white medallions cast in the Tassie material from Wedgwood's models: 'I purchased a large Collection of figures from Mr Wedgwood for the purpose', wrote Tassie on 24 August 1782 to Alexander Wilson in Glasgow, who supplied him with plaster, wax, sulphur and gold paper (Tassie-Wilson MS 1778-1826, p. [21]; Thomson 1972, p. 214). These medallions are sadly now lost, replaced with insets of Karelian birch. In 1990 this cabinet left the walls of the Hermitage for the first time to be shown at the exhibition *The Words and the Stones* in Glasgow, the modeller's native city that has a street bearing his name.

To fulfil the final condition – that there be a catalogue of the collection – Tassie was forced, both by the considerable size of his Cabinet of

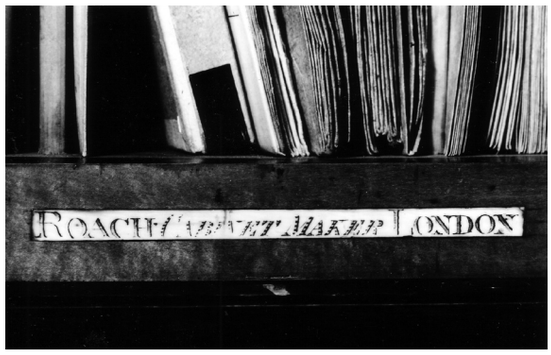
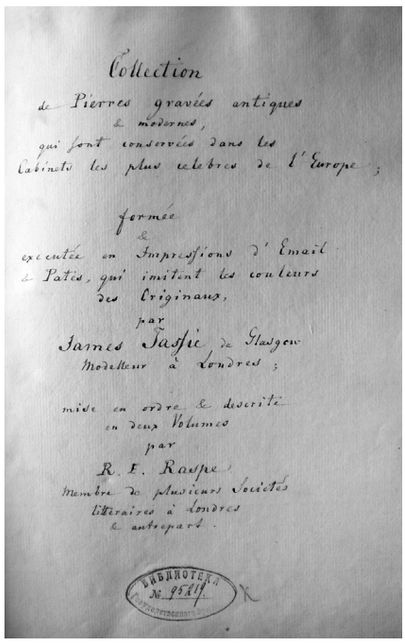


Fig. 8.6. Ivory plaque with the name of the cabinetmaker Roach. 1783
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Fig. 8.7. Portrait of Rudolph Erich Raspe. 1784
Glass paste medallion by James Tassie


Collection
de Pierres gravées antiques
& modernes,
qui sont conservées dans les
Cabinets les plus celebres de l'Europe ;
formée
&
executée en Impressions d'Email
& Pâtes, qui imitent les couleurs
des Originaux,
par
James Tassie de Glasgow
Modeleur à Londres ;
mise en ordre & decrite
en deux Volumes
par
R. E. Raspe
Membre de plusieurs Societés
Litteraires à Londres
& autre part.
БИБЛИОТЕКА
№ 9519

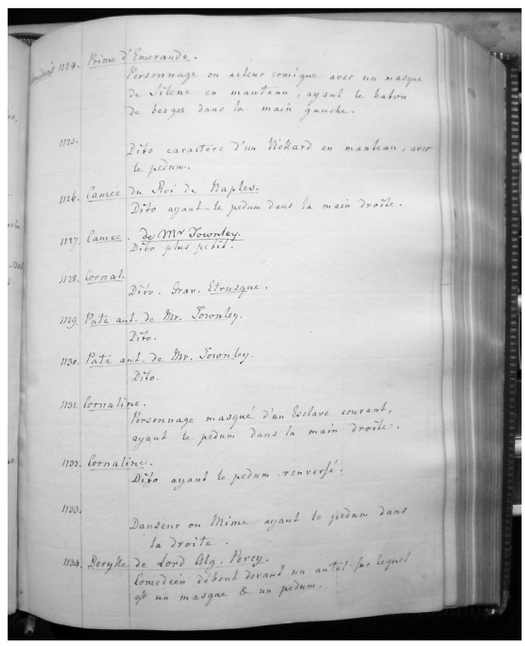

1124. Prime d'Emeraude.
Personnage ou acteur comique avec un masque
de Silene en manteau, ayant le baton
de berger dans la main gauche.
1125.
Dito caractere d'un Vieillard en manteau, avec
le pedum.
1126. Camee du Roi de Naples.
Dito ayant le pedum dans la main droite.
1127. Camee. De Mr. Townley.
Dito plus petit.
1128. Cornal.
Dito. Grav. Etrusque.
1129. Pate ant. de Mr. Townley.
Dito.
1130. Pate ant. de Mr. Townley.
Dito.
1131. Cornaline.
Personnage masqué d'un Esclave courant,
ayant le pedum dans la main droite.
1132. Cornaline.
Dito ayant le pedum renversé.
1133.
Danseur ou Mime ayant le pedum dans
la droite.
1134. Beryle de Lord Abg. Percy.
Comedien debout devant un autel sur lequel
est un masque & un pedum.

Fig. 8.8. R. E. Raspe's manuscript catalogue of the Tassie gems. 1783-93
a) Title page of the 1st volume (authograph by R.E. Raspe)
b) Page with gems from British collections
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Casts and by the high standards demanded to satisfy Catherine's requirements, to seek out some suitably 'learned gentleman' who would agree to assume its compilation. Just such a one he found in Rudolf Erich Raspe (1737-94), better known today as author of *The Adventures of Baron Munchhausen* [fig. 8.7]. His vastly differing works – anecdotal military, hunting tales and the catalogue of Tassie's casts – were created almost simultaneously in England, to which he was forced to flee from his native Kassel having attempted to solve his personal financial problems by pawning several valuable coins from a collection entrusted to him. In England, Raspe found a patron in the person of Horace Walpole.

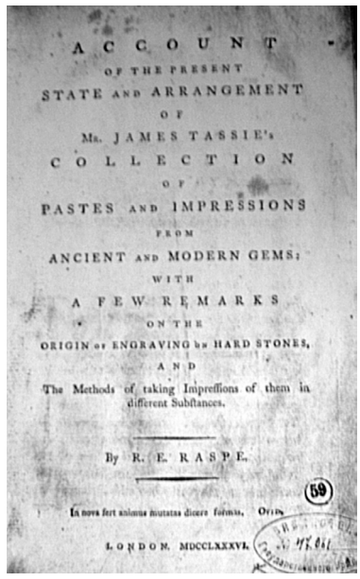
Raspe was not only a numismatist but also a writer, translator, archaeologist and mineralogist, and author of works on natural history; Tassie described him simply as 'a German gentleman of the greatest abilities' (Tassie-Wilson MS 1778-1826, letter 17, p. [22]; letter 21, p. [27]). In the spirit that suffused his scholarly works, Raspe came close to the works of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Indeed, when Tassie invited him to arrange in systematic order and then catalogue the Cabinet commissioned by Catherine II, he chose to model himself on Winckelmann's catalogue of Philip von Stosch's collection (Winckelmann 1760), the first large scholarly work that had brought Winckelmann fame in learned European circles, elevating him to the ranks of one of the leading connoisseurs of Classical Antiquity. Winckelmann had classified the vast material contained in Stosch's collection by subject, cleverly identifying many through his profound knowledge of Classical literature and mythology, but it was his attempt to arrange the engraved gems and pastes according to the styles of different eras in Classical art that was of most importance. Raspe borrowed from this catalogue its structure, system and type of descriptions. He noted technique, type of mineral and the owner's name, he reproduced all inscriptions and signatures, and his descriptions were frequently accompanied by an assessment of the engraver's skill, some thoughts on the gem's authenticity and its history. But Winckelmann's structure proved too restrictive for Tassie's casts and Raspe was forced to introduce new sections to make possible the inclusion of works by contemporary gem engravers, amongst which were numerous modern portraits, gems with religious subjects, symbols and allegories, as well as 'Antique' subjects that had entered the glyptics repertoire only in the course of the 18th century.

By spring 1783 the first part of the Cabinet was ready for despatch: 6076 coloured and 6076 white pastes. On 14 March Tassie addressed a letter to the British royal family in which he begged permission 'with an intention to represent the Origin, Progress, and Present State of Engraving, to submit the series to the Royal Family of England for examination, before it was exhibited to the public and transmitted to its Imperial purchaser' (Gray 1894, pp. 17-18). This honour was permitted him in April 1783 and newspapers reported the forthcoming event. In his study of 18th-century British furniture, Macquoid (1908, p. 220) cites a curious excerpt from a letter from one Samuel Curwen: '1783 April 5th. Called at Mr. Jassey's to have a sight of the curious Cabinet of satin-wood, inlaid and decorated with many devices, figurative etc: on front and sides. Its content rows of drawers containing impressions of intaglios, camera, seals etc., to the number of more than six thousands displicated to be sent to the Empress of Russia' (the error in writing 'cameras' for 'cameos' supports the hypothesis that 'Mr. Jassey' was really Tassie).

An invoice sent from London by Tassie to Weitbrecht in St Petersburg, dated 12 April 1783, requires the sum of £2,709 for this set of a total of 12,152 pastes and casts, for a cabinet of 'the most beautiful wood' containing 200 sliding drawers and so on. Of this sum, £105 was due to Raspe for his 'scientific arrangement of the collection' and descriptive catalogue in French with an index of owners' names. Attached to Tassie's invoice in the archive is an invoice from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet and a signed order from Empress Catherine to Court Banker Richard Sutherland to pay the invoice (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3898, ff. 201-5.) Exactly the same sets of documents accompanied succeeding groups of Tassie's works.

Accompanied by the manuscript version of the first part of Raspe's catalogue (in two volumes, in Raspe's own hand; Raspe-Tassie MS 1783-88, I-II), [fig. 8.8] the pastes and casts crossed the Øresund (Sund) and the Baltic Sea to be delivered directly to Catherine's favourite summer residence at Tsarskoe Selo, outside St Petersburg (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3898, f. 201)

At this point in time, the set covered every gem available to Tassie, but in 1785 he travelled to Paris, where he visited the Royal Cabinet, the Treasury of St Denis, the Cabinets of the duc d'Orléans and Mademoiselle Feloix (Tassie-Wilson MS 1778-1826, letter 21, p. [29]). In fact, no longer suffering from a

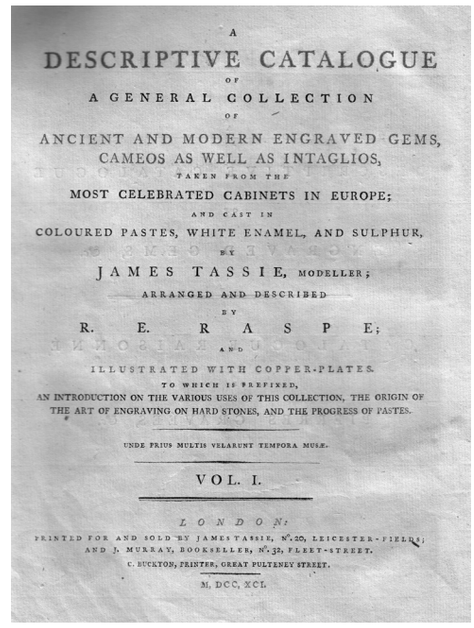


ACCOUNT
OF THE PRESENT
STATE AND ARRANGEMENT
OF
Mr. JAMES TASSIE's
COLLECTION
OF
PASTES AND IMPRESSIONS
FROM
ANCIENT AND MODERN GEMS:
WITH
A FEW REMARKS
ON THE
ORIGIN OF ENGRAVING ON HARD STONES,
AND
The Methods of taking Impreſſions of them in different Subſtances.

By R. E. RASPE.

In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas, Ovid.

LONDON. MDCCLXXXVI.



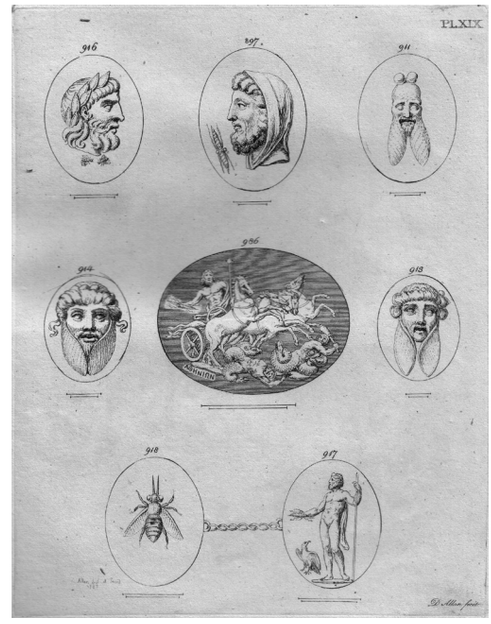
A
DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE
OF
A GENERAL COLLECTION
OF
ANCIENT AND MODERN ENGRAVED GEMS,
CAMEOS AS WELL AS INTAGLIOS,
TAKEN FROM THE
MOST CELEBRATED CABINETS IN EUROPE;
AND CAST IN
COLOURED PASTES, WHITE ENAMEL, AND SULPHUR,
BY
JAMES TASSIE, MODELLER;
ARRANGED AND DESCRIBED
BY
R. E. RASPE;
AND
ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER-PLATES.
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
AN INTRODUCTION ON THE VARIOUS USES OF THIS COLLECTION, THE ORIGIN OF THE ART OF ENGRAVING ON HARD STONES, AND THE PROGRESS OF PASTES.

UNDE PRIUS MULTIS VELARUNT TEMPORA MUSÆ.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY JAMES TASSIE, N°. 20, LEICESTER-FIELDS;
AND J. MURRAY, BOOKSELLER, N°. 32, FLEET-STREET.
C. BUCKTON, PRINTER, GREAT PULTENEY STREET.
M, DCC, XCI.

Fig. 8.9. Rudolph Erich Raspe, *Account of the present state and arrangement of Mr. James Tassie's collections of pastes and impressions from ancient and modern gems…*, London 1786. Title page



Figs. 8.10, 8.11, 8.12. Rudolf Erich Raspe, *Descriptive Catalogue of a General Collection of Ancient and Modern Engraved Gems, Cameos as well as Intaglios, taken from the most celebrated Cabinets in Europe, and cast in coloured pastes, white enamel and sulphur by James Tassie, Modeller*, 2 vols., London, 1791
1. Title page
2. Frontispiece
3. Plate

lack of finance, Tassie and his agents continued to face obstacles from owners of gems abroad and in England who feared that reproduction would somehow reduce the value of their treasures.

An important milestone was the acquisition of a set of 18,000 sulphur casts (sadly, these were badly damaged during transportation) from engraved gems that had belonged to the late Baron Stosch, who had had unparalleled access to many private collections and museums, among them those considered least accessible of all, the collections in Florence. Tassie informed Catherine of his commission and his business sense proved to be good: it prompted her to acquire two additional sets of pastes and casts.

On 9 July 1785 Tassie wrote to Alexander Wilson in Glasgow: 'Having reported this acquisition to St Petersburgh. Her Imperial Majesty has ordered two supplements one to stand on each side of the great Cabinet, to correspond in ornaments &.c. We are exceedingly busie with the first that must be ship'd this season' (Tassie-Wilson MS 1778-1826, letter 21, p. [28]). Tassie had already written, on 18 June that year, to Quin in Dublin to tell him that the new cabinets were intended to flank the earlier, more imposing tall first cabinet (Hartley 1994, p. 23).

On 15 September 1786 Weitbrecht presented an invoice for a set of pastes and casts from more than 3,000 gems (Raspe 1791, Nos. 6077-9064), which arrived with 'An Elegant Cabinet containing 200 Drawers inlaid & ornamented with Bas-reliefs in metal-gilt frames' (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3901 ff. 320-21). 'Nous n'avions pour combattre cette jalousie que l'excellence du Plan que nous poursuivons', wrote Raspe in his foreword to the second part of the manuscript catalogue which accompanied them. He went on: 'L'effet en a été tel que nous avons lieu de croire qu'avec le Tems, tous les possesseurs de belles gravures commenceront à sentir qu'une collection generale, proprement arrangée, au lieu de diminuer le prix des beaux originaux en haussera la valeur & la celebrité, les fera voir dans leur propre jour servira les Arts & les Sciences & mettre à la fin des bornes raisonnables aux pretentions, à l'ignorance & aux finesses des Antiquares brocanteurs à cassette verte ou rouge' (Raspe-Tassie MS 1783-88, III).

The index of collections featured in this part of Raspe's catalogue contains just 43 names. A considerable number of the casts, apart from those taken from Stosch's pastes, were from gems in collections belonging to English owners, including several living in Rome. Almost half of the owners, however, were not British and the list included large quantities of casts from the series of Philip Daniel Lippert.

Tassie despatched a third group of casts (the second supplement) to Russia in 1787, bringing the overall number of originals to 12,725. The new casts were also housed in a handsome cabinet, this time of mahogany (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, ff. 66, 71-72). Of the 130 collections represented in this despatch, the largest were the cabinets of Count Heinrich Brühl, Minister to the Court of Saxony, and Giovanni Battista Casanova, Director of the Academy of Arts in Dresden, of Saint-Morys, Conseiller to the French parliament in Paris, of Wilhelm, Landgrave of Hesse in Kassel. There were individual casts from stones belonging to Spanish, Dutch, Danish and even Canadian owners. In the foreword to the catalogue of this despatch (Raspe-Tassie MS 1783-88, IV), written like the previous parts in French, Raspe wrote: 'Après avoir fini le premier supplement ou la deuxieme partie de cette Collection de Gravures antiques et modernes, nous poubliames une Relation des principes sur lesquels elle est formée et arrangée esperant que leur evidence et la noblesse du Plan de Sa Majesté Imperial, engagerait de plus en plus l'attention du Public et nous mettrait en etat de l'executer conformément à tous ses vues genereuses. Ces esperances ont commencé à s'accomplir. Les connoisseurs et les artistes, pour se tromper moins dans la choix de leurs emplettes et de leurs sujets fort fort souvent consulter nos Impressions, Registres et Catalogues; et nombre de Cabinets se sont ouverts à nos recherches qui jusqu' ici s'y étaient refusés.'

These three storage cabinets in the Hermitage (which has five such) were for many years considered to be the sole physical evidence of Roach's activities. He would seem to have disappeared from view after producing these elegant pieces, possibly emigrating to North America (the name of Francis Roach cropped up at an exhibition in 1972; Baltimore Painted Furniture 1972, p. 122). In recent years, scholars at the Hermitage have expressed doubts regarding the attribution of the cabinets and there have been suggestions that the copies of the first cabinet were actually made in Russia in the workshop of the court cabinet-maker Christian Meyer (Göres 2004, p. 126; Semenova 2006, pp. 60-63).

Tassie's July letter to Wilson of 9 July 1785 makes it clear that it was around this time that he conceived the ambitious idea of a full publication of his Cabinet of casts, complete with a text in English: '… we think at present to have it translated into English and to have

it printed in both languages' (Tassie-Wilson MS 1778-1826, letter 21, pp. [28-29]). In 1786 Raspe published a brochure setting out the present state and arrangement of James Tassie's Cabinet (Raspe 1786), [fig. 8.9] indicating how serious Tassie was in his intentions and aiming to draw ever greater attention to the workshop. One little known is the publication of an advertisement in 1788 announcing the forthcoming realisation of Tassie's ambitions: on Tassie's behalf, Raspe put out his *Proposals for a Descriptive Catalogue* (Carswell 1950, p. 211). The project reached its culmination in 1791 with the publication of the catalogue itself, with parallel texts in French and English. It covered all the different series he had issued as well as a number of works produced since, a total of some 15,800 items (Raspe 1791; the English translation was by Andrew Lumsden, one-time Secretary to the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward Stuart of Scotland; Viles 1968, p. 2) [figs. 8.10, 8.11, 8.12]. The lengthy introduction covered the history of engraving on stone and described different means of making casts. Indexes of ancient and modern engravers were accompanied by examples of their signatures while a full list of subjects and a truly 'pan-European' list of Cabinets, with the names of their owners, facilitated the search for a particular cast. The most valuable gems were etched by Scottish artist David Allan (1744-96) [fig. 8.13] and reproduced in plates. This extremely impressive work, the result of years of dedicated work, provides eloquent evidence of the great distance travelled by Tassie's small workshop in the mere ten years since it received its first commission from Russia. That progress was largely due to the Russian commission [plate 29.1].

Immediately after publication of the catalogue, however, Raspe's reputation in Britain suffered a severe and self-inflicted blow. Combining literary gifts and great learning with a love of all kinds of risk and venture, Raspe embarked on an expedition to the north in search of useful minerals, generously financed by the politician Sir John Sinclair (1754-1835, incidentally the first man to use the word 'statistics' in the English language), but took with him – to guarantee 'success' – some pieces of coal, which he then presented as having been 'newly discovered'. The deception was uncovered and Raspe was once again forced into hiding, dying in 1794 in poverty and oblivion at Muckros Head, Ireland (for a biography of Raspe see Hallo 1934; Carswell 1950).

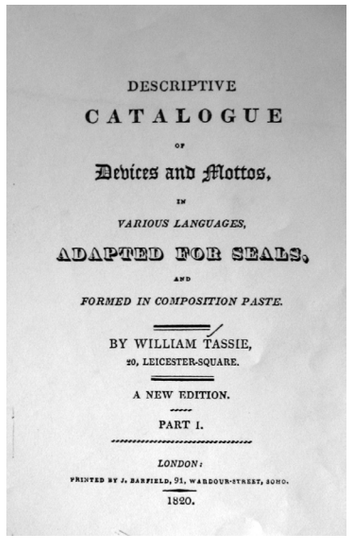
In 1793 James Tassie's nephew, the sculptor and modeller William Tassie (1777-1860) [fig. 8.14] joined him as a partner in the firm. Although once again the production of portraits and reproductions of medals came to the fore, the firm continued to issue reproductions of gems. In September 1793, Tassie's fourth despatch was sent from London, accompanied by a catalogue of 2,325 items (Oral Edicts MS 1777-98, *delo* 4022, f. 212; Raspe-Tassie MS 1783-88, V) [plate 28.1]. Soon this was followed by a small set of coloured and white casts (Oral Edicts MS 1777-93, *delo* 4027, ff. 697-99, 701). The range of subjects included in these two groups of objects was again expanded (and indeed it continued to expand after Tassie's work for the Russian court had come to an end).

By totalling the invoices it becomes clear that James Tassie received £6,734 for his series, in addition to which there were of course various delivery and customs expenses and commissions for Catherine to pay. Now the Russian Empress could turn to Tassie's Cabinet to discover the names of contemporary engravers from whom she might commission new work in Europe, as well as check the completeness of those collections she acquired to avoid being deceived.

Catherine II did not part with her casts. They travelled in her wake when she moved from her summer residence at Tsarskoe Selo to the capital, St Petersburg, and back again. There are regular mentions of this, for instance, in the diary of Alexander Khrapovitsky, her Secretary of State. On 1 [NS 13] January 1787 he wrote: 'I packed up the antiki' [antiki: the word used to describe Catherine's engraved gems, both Classical (ancient) and modern – J.K.] and on the following day: 'Arrived at Tsarskoe Selo in time for dinner'. On 6 [NS 17] August he noted: 'Moved to the Winter Palace. Was sent to Tsarskoe Selo for papers, antiki and books…' (Khrapovitsky 1874, pp. 12, 26). To simplify the transfer of the vast quantity of pastes and gems to and fro, they were removed from their large cabinets and placed in smaller cupboards (of 100 drawers each), somewhat more modest in finish but made in the same manner and probably even in the same workshop (i.e. that of Meyer). As in the first set of cabinets, one of the smaller travelling cupboards was adorned with Wedgwood medallions. In Johann Georgi's Russian edition of his description of the Hermitage (not included in the earlier French and German volumes), he mentioned seven 'cupboards with small sliding drawers' standing in the Hermitage 'in a special room in the second row [of rooms] with windows overlooking the courtyard' (Georgi 1794, p. 444; 1996 edn., p. 340). Georgi further noted that nearby was a furnace in which the court chemist, Georg Heinrich König, used his own methods for

Fig. 8.13. Portrait of David Allan. 1781
White ‘enamel’ paste by James Tassie
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Fig. 8.14. Portrait of William Tassie. 1833
From a wax medallion by Jacob Haybolt
Private collection



DESCRIPTIVE
CATALOGUE
OF
Devices and Mottos,
IN
VARIOUS LANGUAGES,
ADAPTED FOR SEALS,
AND
FORMED IN COMPOSITION PASTE.

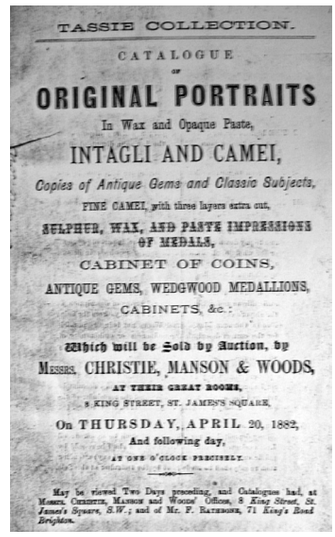
BY WILLIAM TASSIE,
20, LEICESTER-SQUARE.

A NEW EDITION.

PART I.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY J. BARFIELD, 91, WARDOUR-STREET, SOHO.
1820.

Fig. 8.15. William Tassie, *Descriptive catalogue of Devices and Mottos, in various languages, adapted for seals, and formed in composition paste*, London, 1820
Title page



TASSIE COLLECTION.

CATALOGUE
OF
ORIGINAL PORTRAITS
In Wax and Opaque Paste,
INTAGLI AND CAMEI,
Copies of Antique Gems and Classic Subjects,
FINE CAMEI, with three layers extra cut,
SULPHUR, WAX, AND PASTE IMPRESSIONS
OF MEDALS,
CABINET OF COINS,
ANTIQUE GEMS, WEDGWOOD MEDALLIONS,
CABINETS, &c.:
Which will be Sold by Auction, by
MESSRS. CHRISTIE, MANSON & WOODS,
AT THEIR GREAT ROOMS,
8 KING STREET, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
On THURSDAY, APRIL 20, 1882,
And following day,
AT ONE O'CLOCK PRECISELY.

May be viewed Two Days preceding, and Catalogues had, at Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods' Offices, 8 *King Street, St. James's Square, S.W.*; and of Mr. F. Hathorn, 71 *King's Road Brighton.*

Fig. 8.16. *Tassie Collection. Catalogue of Original Portraits in Wax and Opaque Paste. Intagli and Camei. Copies of Antique Gems and Classical Subjects. Fine Camei, with three layers extra cut, sulphur, wax and paste impressions of medals, cabinet of coins, Antique gems, Wedgwood Medallions, Cabinets &c.*, Christie’s, London, 20 April 1882

casting gems belonging to Catherine, while the court medallist and gem engraver Karl Leberecht finished them off with his chisel. Today, both sets of furniture, like James Tassie's casts, remain in the Hermitage's Cabinet of Engraved Gems.

In 1795 Tassie's manufactory issued a set of 100 selected gems by the engraver Edward Burch (1730-1814; Seidmann suggests that Nathaniel Marchant, who had compiled a similar set of his own gems three years previously, also enjoyed Tassie's assistance; Seidmann 1987a, p. 20). Collaborating in later life with a professor at Glasgow University, Patrick Wilson, Tassie continued to experiment with new glass compounds (Viles 1968, p. 3), his untiring efforts ending only with his death in 1799.

Under the management of William Tassie, the manufactory's collection reached some 20,000 items, although he concentrated largely on producing pastes with devices and emblems and on the miniature reproductions of famous paintings that became fashionable in the 19th century (Seidmann 1981a, p. 10) [plate 30.2]. He also produced several new catalogues as supplements to that of 1791, one in 1816, two in 1820 and the last in 1830 containing more than 1,500 items [fig. 8.15].

In October 1806 the last Supplement of Tassie gems arrived in the Hermitage, consisting of 4062 pastes (Book of Acquisitions MS 1804-35, f. 1). These pastes are not today to be found in the Hermitage and it is possible that they were transferred to Pavlovsk to the Dowager Empress Maria Fyodorovna, herself a practising engraver of gems. Certainly, during the Second World War there was at Pavlovsk Palace a satinwood cupboard like those in the Hermitage housing the Tassie pastes but, unlike them, with twisted legs, while the set of casts that once occupied them is still there today.

Demand for Tassie's products came not only from amongst connoisseurs and collectors. More will be said later of the very obvious link with Josiah Wedgwood, but jewellers also recognised early on the usefulness of such coloured pastes and used them quite extensively to produce less expensive rings, seals, adornments and bijouterie, while silversmiths used the sulphur casts, and particularly the enamel-like pastes, as models for decorative elements in varied Neo-Classical items. Tassie's casts and pastes adorned furniture and even musical instruments. Several pieces – sometimes even several dozen – might be arranged symmetrically and glued onto transparent glass, perhaps lit from the back, then set in attractive frames, and such compositions began to take the place of paintings in ordinary British interiors. As Seidmann justly noted, such screens 'recreated the idea of the German *Lichtschirme*' (Seidmann 1996e, p. 21) [plate 28.2].

William Tassie moved the celebrated workshop from 20 Leicester Fields to 8 Upper Phillimore Place, Kensington, and remained active until 1840, when he retired from the business. The family trade was then continued by yet another member of the family, John Wilson (fl. 1824-56), although he practised rather as a painter, medallist and even engraver in stone. Nonetheless, there are two manuscript catalogues of impressions from ancient and modern gems by John Wilson in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, transferred to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1982. In his wake the business was taken on by William's partner and nephew (his sister's son), Rev. William Hardy Vernon (1795-1880), but Vernon soon devoted all his attention to the Church.

After the death of William Tassie in 1860, the forms and a full set of casts – all except for those that were found to be not in keeping with Victorian concepts of purity and morality (Henig 1997c, p. 29) – were bequeathed to the Edinburgh Board of Manufactures. They are now kept, together with a large collection of portrait medallions by James and William Tassie and a first cast of the celebrated Portland Vase (see below), in a special Tassie Room in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. A conflicting theory, that many casts remaining in the workshop were destroyed in order to raise the price of the rest, is contradicted by two notes in *The Leisure Hour* (Vernon 1860; Gray 1894, p. 59), which make clear that nearly all the drawers filled with casts and pastes were put up for auction at Christie's. The only exceptions were those in such damaged condition that they could not be moved, and even these were sold, direct from the workshop. The first sale took place at Christie's in February 1881, but the prices were so low on that occasion that in April of the following year the buyer was able to sell the sets and portraits for a good profit (Christie's 20 April 1882) [fig. 8.16]. The remains of the casts were put up for sale at Christie's in April 1885 and in August 1888 (Gray 1894, p. 65).

In 1894 the Keeper of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, John Gray, published a catalogue of Tassie's portrait medallions, prefacing it with a long essay on the life and activities of both Tassies (Gray 1894). More recently, the Assistant Keeper, Basil Skinner, published an article in the *Museums Journal* (Skinner

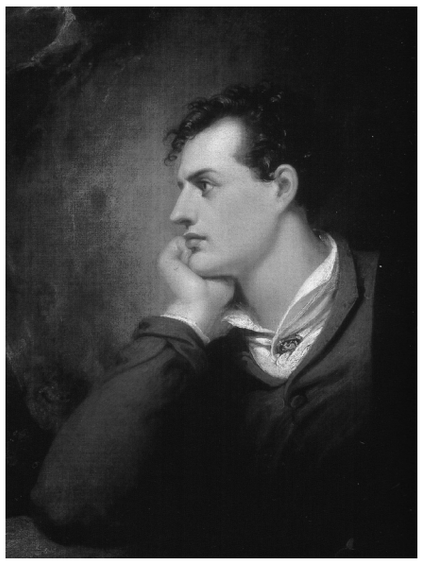


Fig. 8.17. Richard Westall
Portrait of Lord Byron. 1813
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Fig. 8.18. Leander swimming the Hellespont to Hero
Onyx cameo with the inscription "May 3 1810" on the back
Private collection

1960). Tassie's fame was facilitated in the 1960s by publications by one of his descendants, another James Tassie, Professor at Carlton University in Ottawa (Tassie 1968, 1979, 1989), and further publications have been produced since the 1980s by Gertrude Seidmann (Seidmann 1981a, 1989, 1990b, 1996d, 1996e). The author of this book published a first article on Tassie in Russian in 1973 (Kagan 1973b). In the summer of 1986, an exhibition devoted to Tassie was held in Edinburgh (Holloway 1986). The broad range of works by James and William Tassie was visible in 1995 at an exhibition at Mallett & Son (Antiques), 141 New Bond Street, London, accompanied by a well-illustrated and highly informative slim publication (Smith J. P. 1995). The set of red sulphur casts by Tassie now in the Victoria & Albert Museum have been photographed and made accessible on the internet thanks to the Beazley Archive in Oxford (Seidmann 2004a, p. 75). The exhibition at Mallett & Son also included 'glass-works' by some of Tassie's contemporaries. By the early 19th century there were a number of other manufactories working in this same field, partly inspired by the success of the Tassie family. The Scot John Henning (1771-1851) had a workshop in Glasgow from 1800, then from 1803 in Edinburgh and from 1811 in London. His elegant cameo-like medallions and casts in wax and plaster were much in demand as taste shifted from Roman towards Greek antiquities (Seidmann 1983-84, p. 16; Malden 1977). Henning was equally famous for his reduced copies of the Parthenon marbles and his miniature portraits modelled from pencil drawings, the latter reproduced in glass paste at Tassie's manufactory, with which he had creative and business links and through which he was connected to Wedgwood. One of the founders of The Society of British Arts, in the last years of his life he was assisted by his son, John Henning Junior (Smith J. P. 1995, p. 25).

Settling in Edinburgh in 1829, Henry Laing (1803-83), whose father had worked for many years at Tassie's manufactory, produced seals in glass pastes and also engraved on stone, enjoying considerable success. He had mastered drawing and modelling while an apprentice to William Tassie and entered on a partnership with the London seal-engraver Daniel Newton Crouch, whose daughter he then married. Laing published a *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals* (Laing 1850), to which he published a supplement a few years later (Laing 1866). The moulds for his seals were acquired after his death by the British Museum (Smith J. P. 1995, p. 18). In Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery there are glass casts produced by a local firm, F. C. Osler, which was active from 1807 (Seidmann 1981a, p. 10).

There is even information to suggest that Tassie's workshop formed a kind of art club during the time of William Tassie, a place where connoisseurs, artists and poets – among them Byron – could meet. That Byron himself wore cameos we can be sure from a number of important sources, such as the profile portrait of 1813 by Richard Westall, in which the poet's open collar is clasped with a cameo brooch in a gold setting [fig. 8.17]. To Lady Caroline Lamb he gave 'the date ring' that was to be returned to him after their quarrel. This may perhaps be identified with a cameo ring showing Leander in the waves of the Hellespont, which he swam in order to meet his beloved Hero, priestess of Aphrodite, awaiting him on the other bank [fig. 8.18]. That ring bears the date May 3 1810, the day on which Byron himself swam the gulf in one hour and ten minutes (Scarisbrick 2007, p. 205).

Percy Bysshe Shelley placed his name on the back of a ring with a chalcedony intaglio that he acquired in 1822 on the shore of La Spezia as he travelled through Italy (Scarisbrick 2007, p. 207). That same year Shelley wrote in a letter to a friend: 'I want you to do something for me that is, to get me two pounds worth of Tassie's gems in Leicester Square, the prettiest according to your taste, among them the head of Alexander' (quoted in Gray 1894, p. 13) [fig. 8.19].'Tassies' are also mentioned in the correspondence of John Keats (Robinson 1961). They were cheap and accessible and they were bought singly, in dozens and in whole sets by scholars, archaeologists, artists, antiquarians, collectors, owners of manufactories, modellers, jewellers and silversmiths.

It is possible to trace the direct influence of these 'Tassies' across into Western Europe and beyond. They were repeated in iron plaques and medallions at the celebrated German manufactory at Gleiwitz (Hintze 1928). And of course Tassie's casts played a very particular role in the development of works in hardstone produced at the Russian imperial stone-carving factories at Ekaterinburg [plate 29.2] and Kolyvan, employing serf craftsmen, which flourished in the Urals and Altai during the first half of the 19th century (Kagan 1990b, 1994, 1999a, 2002b, 2003a). Forms taken from Tassie's casts reproducing ancient and modern intaglios with the most varied subjects were sent there from the Academy of Arts and the Hermitage; these were then reproduced in relief (i.e. in reverse, as cameos) by factory carvers using some of the abundance of local multi-layered coloured agates and jaspers. On the reverse of many Ekaterinburg cameos we find inscribed in lead pencil the number of the cast according to Raspe's catalogue and factory

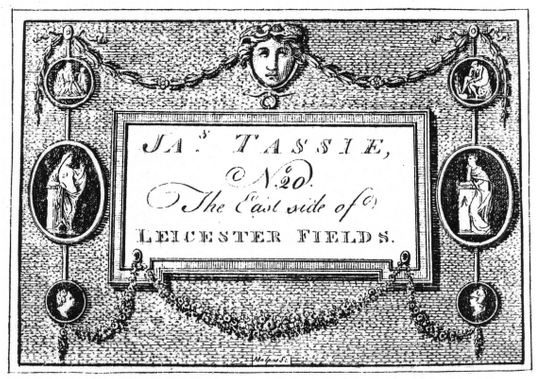


Fig. 8.19. Trade card of Tassie's manufactory

documents often base their descriptions on a Russian translation of his original texts. Thanks to Tassie's casts the Ekaterinburg output included secondary reproductions of works by such leading English masters as William and Charles Brown (12 subjects), Nathaniel Marchant (4 subjects), Edward Burch (3 subjects), John Bateman Wray (2 subjects), William Pownall and Thompson (1 subject each) (Kagan 1990, 1994, 1999a, 2002b).

Tassie's Cabinet is also of immense value not only in terms of the information it provides about individual gems, but also in what it tells us about contemporary British collections.

Raspe's 1791 full catalogue listed more than 200 collections in London, Cambridge, Worcester, Canterbury, Rochester etc. Obviously the Cabinet included casts of gems from older collections with which we are already familiar: 93 pieces belonging to the Duke of Marlborough, plus another 29 items, listed separately, that had come to Marlborough from Bessborough; 73 casts from gems belonging to the Marquess of Rockingham, 64 from the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, 15 from the Earl of Carlisle. But it is particularly important that Tassie brought other names to our notice: some of the gems of Thomas Moor Slade of Rochester (59 casts) had already been mentioned in Spilsbury 1785, but this is the first we learn of Thomas Martin (149 casts) and one 'Titlow' (55), both of London. Slade and Martin sold a great part of their engraved gems to Catherine II.

Catherine also managed to acquire for her Hermitage dactyliotheca, through Princess Ekaterina Dashkova (Dashkov 1958, p. 176), the gems of Scottish architect and dealer in antiquities James Byres (1734-1817), [fig. 8.20] whose collection is represented by 50

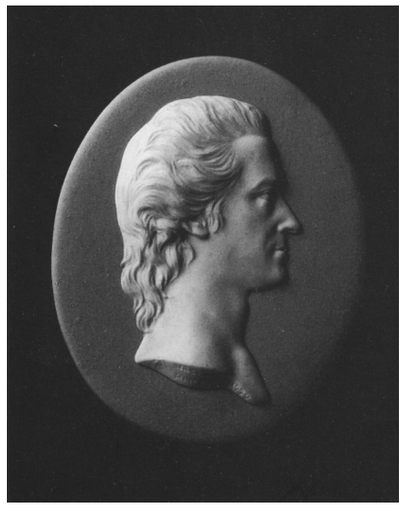
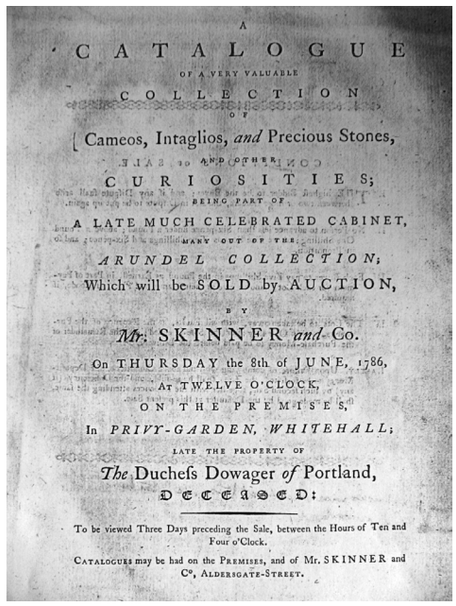


Fig. 8.20. James Tassie
Portrait of James Byres. 1779
White ‘enamel’ paste

Fig. 8.21. Portrait of the Duchess
of Portland. Mid 1780s
Print



A
CATALOGUE
OF A VERY VALUABLE
COLLECTION
OF
Cameos, Intaglios, *and* Precious Stones,
AND OTHER
CURIOSITIES;
BEING PART OF
A LATE MUCH CELEBRATED CABINET,
MANY OUT OF THE
ARUNDEL COLLECTION;
Which will be SOLD by AUCTION,
BY
Mr. SKINNER *and* Co.
On THURSDAY the 8th of JUNE, 1786,
AT TWELVE O'CLOCK,
ON THE PREMISES,
In *PRIVY-GARDEN, WHITEHALL*;
LATE THE PROPERTY OF
The Dutchess Dowager *of* Portland,
DECEASED:

To be viewed Three Days preceding the Sale, between the Hours of Ten and Four o'Clock.

Catalogues may be had on the Premises, and of Mr. SKINNER and Co., Aldersgate-Street.

Figs. 8.22, 8.23. *A Catalogue of a very valuable Collection of Cameos, Intaglios and Precious Stones, and other curiosities, being part of a late much celebrated Cabinet, many out of the Arundel Collection, which will be sold by Auction, by Mr. Skinner & Co. , London, 8 June 1786 … Late the property of the Dushess Dowager of Portland*
Title page and Frontispiece

Tassies. It was through Byres that many masterpieces found their way into British collections, among them the celebrated Barberini Vase, created in the 1st century BC using the cameo glass technique, which was acquired between 1780 and 1783 by the English envoy in Naples, William Hamilton (1730-1803). The first casts of this vase, from a form taken for Byres by Giovanni Pichler in 1780, were made by James Tassie using plaster of Paris prepared with gum; six years later, after lengthy experimentation, Wedgwood used these casts to make 60 copies in black and blue jasper of what was by now known as the Portland Vase, from the name of its last private owner, the Duchess of Portland (since 1810 the vase has been in the British Museum). The Duchess of Portland also owned a number of gems that Catherine the Great sought – unsuccessfully – to purchase; these were scattered at the sale of the Duchess' effects which began in London on 24 April 1786 and continued for six weeks [figs. 8.21, 8.22, 8.23].

The rapid growth of the British Museum collection is reflected very fully in Tassie's Cabinet, which features some 260 items, but Raspe did not give the names of their former owners and many of the gems which arrived in the Museum during its early history now have no provenance. From 1772 the British Museum owned the first collection of engraved gems put together by William Hamilton (1730-1803), [fig. 8.24] 149 items in all (Jenkins, Sloan 1996, pp. 93-100). Thrown into the shade by his famous vases, this collection would be difficult to reconstruct today were it not that in 1778 a manuscript catalogue was compiled by Baron d'Hancarville (Library of the Greek and Roman Department, British Museum, London), whom Tassie supplied with two drawers of sulphur casts from Hamilton's intaglios (Jenkins, Sloan 1996, p. 198, No. 75) [fig. 8.25], these making up the greater part of his engraved gems. D'Hancarville paid particular attention to the Egyptian scarabs acquired by Hamilton from the Duca di Carafa Noia. Curiously, in the index to Raspe's catalogue Hamilton's name stands beside just four casts, probably gems from his second collection, including a superb mediaeval cameo that had once belonged to Rubens, *Joseph and his Brothers*, which subsequently found its way to the Hermitage (Inv. K - 690) [fig. 8.26].

Classical engraved gems indeed tended to pass from one collection to another, as is illustrated by the curious story of a cameo with a Bacchic scene dating from the 1st or 2nd century AD (Jenkins, Sloan 1996 No. 73 p. 196). Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Fortrose (later Earl of Seaforth; 1744-81) acquired it for £500 (the price noted on the back of the Tassie cast in the British Museum) from James Byres. On the eve of his death, Fortrose passed it to Charles Greville, to be sent on to William Hamilton, with instructions either to sell it or keep it. Hamilton sold it ten years later, in 1791, to the then British Envoy in Venice, Sir Richard Worsley, for £400, considerably less than its original cost.

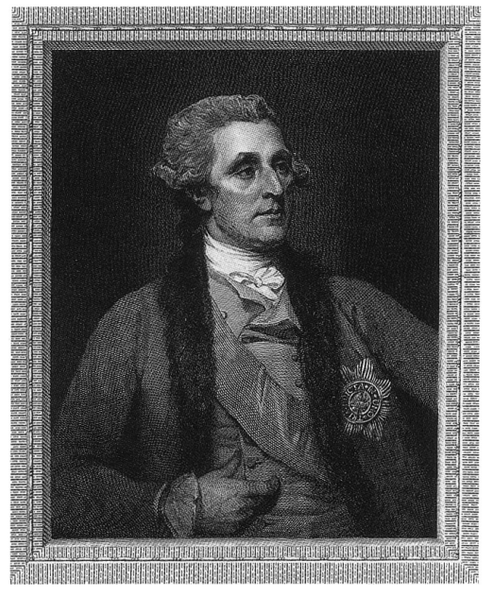


Fig. 8.24. W. Sharp after George Romney
Portrait of William Hamilton, 1794
Engraving
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

The gems that Worsley acquired from Hamilton came from his second collection, this time made up mostly of cameos, acquired after the sale of the first collection. Once again Hamilton had been forced to sell by his perpetual financial problems – the diplomatic service could not provide him with sufficient resources to support his expensive mode of life – and he delivered his gems personally to Worsley in England in the autumn of 1791. A case with casts of intaglios and cameos from Worsley's collection is in the British Museum today (Jenkins, Sloan 1996, p. 209, No. 115).

It would be an exaggeration to speak of Sir William having a 'third' collection but he did continue to buy and sell gems. Prints were made by Tischbein from two of his cameos, *Odysseus and Cyclops* and *Homer Inspired by the Muses*, for a publication of Homer's works by Christian Gottlob Heyne (Heyne 1801-23). Hamilton also commissioned original works from

Fig. 8.25. Attributed to James Tassie
Impressions from intaglios in the first collection of William Hamilton
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 8.26. Joseph and his Brothers. South Italy. Mid 13th century
Sardonyx cameo from the Second collection of William Hamilton
Hermitage, St Petersburg

such famous contemporary engravers as Nathaniel Marchant, Giovanni Pichler and the Neapolitan Filippo Rega (1761-1833). Pichler restored Hamilton's gems, while Emma Hamilton frequently sat for Marchant, Pichler, Rega and Antonio Berini, just as she had for Joshua Reynolds, George Romney, Gavin Hamilton, Anton von Maron and various miniaturists. On 21 March 1801, two years before his death, Sir William sold a small number of gems at auction at Christie's.

Sir Richard Worsley (1751-1805) was far from a minor figure in the history of British gem collecting, owning no less than 250 gems, a fifth of them cameos. In 1797 Sir Richard compiled a manuscript catalogue of his gems, including information as to how much he had paid to whom for what. Amongst his sources were well-known Roman families such as the Colonna, Santa Croce and Braschi, while Giovanni Pichler and Nathaniel Marchant, then living in Rome, also produced commissions for him. He owned Pichler's sard after the Borghese Gladiator in the Louvre, Marchant's intaglio *General Wolfe Receiving the News of the Victory as he was Expiring* and his *Head of Niobe*. In Venice, Antonio Mario Zanetti provided him with engraved gems that had formerly belonged to Prince Eugène de Savoie and Pierre Crozat (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XVIII). Worsley included engraved reproductions of some of the 'Hamiltonean gems' in his two-volume ouvrage in Italian and English, *Museum Worsleyanum* (Worsley 1796-[1803], [fig. 8.27a, b, c] reprinted 1824 and published in abbreviated form as Visconti 1834), summarising his collecting activities during numerous journeys through Italy, Greece, the Levant and Asia Minor (in 1787 he even visited Poland and Russia). Two gems in this ouvrage, their provenance thought by Worsley to lie with the Gonzaga dynasty in Mantua, figured in the celebrated work by Enea Vico, *Monumenta aliquot Antiquorum ex Gemmis et Cameis Incisa* (Vico [c. 1563]): *Warrior Pulling Another from a Horse*, 2nd century AD, and the Mantuan Gem (*The Finding of Ariadne*, 1st or 2nd century AD), acquired by Worsley from Roger Wilbraham (1743-1829; Jenkins, Sloan 1996, pp. 102-3; Lemburg-Rupelt 1981, pp. 85-93; Brown 1997, p. 98).

Worsley's dactyliotheca was inherited by his niece, a Miss Simpson, but after her marriage to the 1st Earl of Yarborough it was included in the catalogue of the latter's collection (Smith A. H. 1897) and remains in the family today at Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire.

William Hamilton's nephew Charles Greville (1749-1809), linked to him by ties of friendship and mutual interests as well as blood, also collected gems, some of them acquired from the Duke of Naples. Tassie's Cabinet includes nineteen casts from Greville's gems

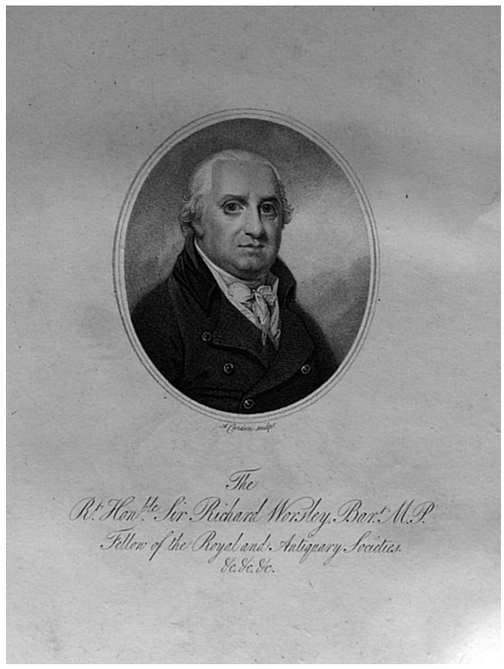


Fig. 8.27a. Portrait of Sir Richard Worsley. c. 1824
Print by Anton Cardon

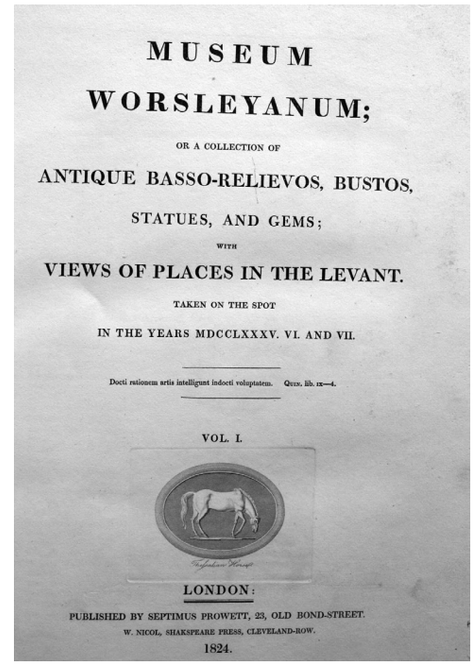


Fig. 8.27b. Title Page of the *Museum Worsleyanum*, London, 1824

Fig. 8.27c. Plate from the *Museum Worsleyanum* (including some "Hamiltonian" gems)

Fig. 8.28. Christopher Hewetson
Bust of Charles Townley. 1769
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

and prints of them appear in the album issued by John Spilsbury (Spilsbury 1785). Greville appears in Johann Zoffany's painting, *Charles Townley and his Collection* (Burnet Borough Council, Towneley Hall Art Gallery and Museum) and in one of two conversation pieces by Joshua Reynolds, *Members of the Society of Dilettanti* (1777; on loan to Brook's Club, London), where he is shown clinking glasses in the background.

Fifty or so casts from gems belonging to the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (1730-99) characterise his collection a decade before his death, upon which some 83 gems valued at £2,000 found their way to the British Museum under the terms of his will [plate 30.1]. Cracherode had been one of the Trustees of the Museum from 1784 and used to take a daily 'walk from his Westminster home to the British Museum stopping at dealers and toymen on the way' (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XVIII). In the British Museum a separate room, called the Museum Cracherodeanum, was set aside for his prints, drawings, coins, gems and library (Rudoe 1996, pp. 201-2) and this remained unchanged until 1807. Cracherode never visited Rome, although he sometimes received gems from there, but his most important acquisitions were made at auction in London, notably at the sale of the collection of Dr Richard Mead in 1755. One of his ancient gems, a cameo showing a lion, derived from the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici but the greater part was composed of works by contemporary engravers, which he prized equally, among them works by Giovanni Pichler and the English gem engraver Edward Burch, and six gems by his own personal friend, Nathaniel Marchant, including the masterpiece *The Grief of Achilles Upon the Death of Patroclus*.

Thanks to the nine casts by Tassie of gems from his collection, which sadly was to suffer severely in a fire, we can see a similar approach to collecting being practised by the Welsh landowner and celebrated patron Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (1749-89), who had undertaken his Grand Tour in 1768-69. In Rome he had associated with Jenkins, Byres and Gavin Hamilton and spared no expense in commissioning from Marchant and other fashionable masters new gems reproducing celebrated monuments, both sculpture and glyptics (Seidmann 1987a, Nos. 8, 25, 77, 95, 137).

Tassie's Cabinet features 38 casts of gems from the collection of James Hamilton, 1st Earl of Clanbrassil (1690-1758), thirteen from that of the Duchess of Gloucester, and 25 demonstrating the strict Neo-Classical preferences – refined on his Grand Tour – of William Constable of Yorkshire (1721-92), of whom we know that he owned a collection of wax and sulphur impressions, including from gems in the Farnese collection. He had acquired a the impressions in 1760 from the Scottish jeweller William Dugood, who had close links with Italy, the court of the Young Pretender Cardinal Albani and Philip von Stosch (Connell 2009, pp. 36-41). He had also acquired a large collection of casts by Dehn, during his second round of travels (Seidmann 1996c, p. 28).

Against this background, however, the vast complex of 157 casts from gems belonging to Charles Townley and 190 from those of Algernon Percy, 1st Earl of Beverley, are particularly impressive. Townley (1737-1805) [fig. 8.28] often commissioned from Tassie's workshops casts from his own gems. Not satisfied with this, he also commissioned drawings of them from artists and owned rare sketches of Renaissance gems by Cassiano Dal Pozzo (1584-1657), made for the latter's 'Paper Museum' (Rudoe 2003, p. 134). Glyptics occupied a notable place in Townley's highly varied collecting activities, although he devoted his greatest energies to assembling the superb array of ancient sculpture which filled his London house on Park Street, moving immediately after his death to the British Museum. As was to be expected, it was antiquity and specific subjects that interested him in glyptics and like von Stosch he did not turn up his nose at ancient pastes. Although he indeed owned signed intaglios by Pamphilus (*Cupid and Psyche*) and Aulos (*Venus and Cupid*), however, he frequently made mistakes in determining the authenticity of the works he acquired (mainly in Italy between 1765 and 1772 and often with the assistance of Gavin Hamilton; Rudoe 1996, p. 204). His collection included several gems that had formerly belonged to Christina of Sweden. (Dalton 1915, no. 1062; Walters 1926, nos. 1315, 1548) The only contemporary gem he owned was a *Head of Pericles* with the signature 'Brown', reproducing a marble bust of the Athenian strategist in his own possession (Rudoe 2003, p. 138). In 1815 the British Museum gained 511 of his gems and a set of casts from his gems made in 1805.

Algernon Percy (1750-1830), youngest son of Hugh (1714-86), 1st Duke of Northumberland, was from 1790 1st Earl of Beverley. He absorbed an interest in engraved gems from his parents. They, for instance, owned a chalcedony intaglio with a portrait of the 1st Duke, unsigned, but in manner close to the engraving of Lorenz Natter. (During restoration in 1856 three different coloured pastes from an intaglio portrait of

the Duke and three pastes from a lost piece, probably its pair, with a portrait of the Duchess, all set into a single frame, were uncovered in the Duchess's sarcophagus.) Percy's tutor was Louis Dutens (1730-1812), a friend of James Byres and William Hamilton, antiquarian, numismatist and traveller, diplomat and writer. Dutens was author of a book on precious and engraved gems published in Paris and Florence (Dutens 1776, 1783) and translator into French of the texts in *Gemmarum antiquarum delectus… in dactyliothecis ducis Marlburiensis* (Marlborough 1780-91). He passed on a love of gems to his pupil. Percy acquired for a large sum the collection formed in France by the duc de Rohan-Chabot and added to it considerably, often purchasing rare and valuable pieces. Roughly half of the resulting collection – mainly large cameos – found its way to Russia in 1786 as a result of negotiations conducted by the Russian envoy to Britain, Count Semyon Vorontsov. When the gems arrived, Catherine II discovered – through comparison with the gems reproduced in Tassie's Cabinet of Casts – that a number of the pieces she thought she had paid for were missing and on 18 [NS 29] October 1786 she wrote a note to this effect to her Secretary of State Alexander Khrapovitsky: 'The Count purchased in London the stones of Algernon Percy but from Tassie's catalogue we note that Lord Algarnon [sic] Percy did not sell many of the best stones. Does Count Vorontsov know of this? Or did they agree to exclude them?' (Khrapovitsky MSS 1786, *delo* 1347/2, f. 2).

That part of the collection which remained in England passed to Algernon George Percy, 6th Duke of Northumberland (1810-99), who in 1879 purchased it from his cousin at prices set by experts from the British Museum. It remains to this day at Alnwick Castle, family home of the Dukes of Northumberland, where it was catalogued in the early 20th century (Knight 1921) [fig. 8.29]. Among the Antique gems are works by Dioscurides and Solon, the cameo known as *Young Dionysius* which once belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici; the cameos *Capricorn* and *Philoctetes* deriving from the Venice collection of Domenico Grimani. As in no other collection, fragments of Antique cameos are still kept with loving care in cases that were specially ordered to match the form of each. The modern section has works by Giovanni Pichler, Tommaso Cades (1772-1840), Filippo Rega, Nathaniel Marchant, Edward Burch, Robert Bateman Wray and other celebrities from continental Europe and Britain. Pride of this section is a mythological portrait of Napoleon holding a figure of Victory, carved by Giuseppe Girometti (1779/80-1851) after a statue by Canova (Knight 1921) [fig. 8.30].

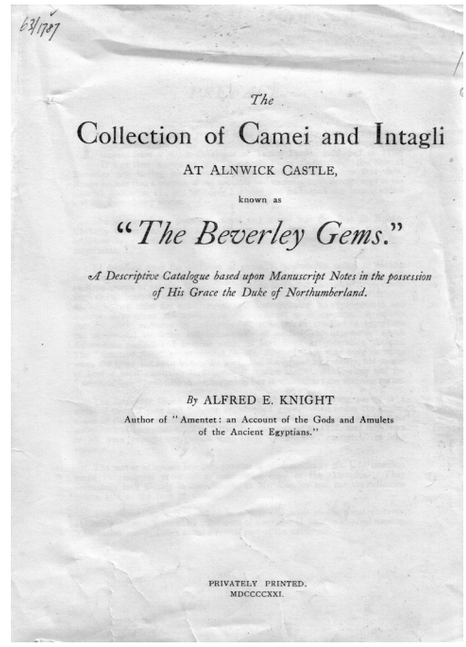

The
Collection of Camei and Intagli
AT ALNWICK CASTLE,
known as
"*The Beverley Gems.*"
A Descriptive Catalogue based upon Manuscript Notes in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland.
By ALFRED E. KNIGHT
Author of "Amentet: an Account of the Gods and Amulets of the Ancient Egyptians."
PRIVATELY PRINTED.
MDCCCCXXI.

Fig. 8.29. A. E. Knight, *The Collection of camei and intaglio at Alnwick Castle, known as "The Beverley Gems". A Descriptive catalogue based upon manuscript notes in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland*, 1921
Title page

Diana Scarisbrick has noted that since both James Tassie and his engraver David Allan (1744-96) were Scottish, it was natural that their particularly Scottish interests were reflected in the selection of casts for the Cabinet (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XVI). There can be no surprise, therefore, that Edinburgh was represented by 164 casts of gems – most of them Gnostic – belonging to the antiquarian John MacGowan. Collection in Dublin also featured.

Despite being in general so very perceptive in identifying any manifestation of interest in glyptics amongst contemporaries in his own land and beyond, Tassie seems to have passed by several important figures who should be mentioned here.

Above all, we should add to Tassie's list Richard Payne Knight (1751-1824) [fig. 8.31]. Even though his greatest activities fell in the early 19th century (Clarke, Penny 1982), his circle of interests and acquaintances, like the sources from which he added to his collections, were very much of the late 18th century. His small but highly select dactyliotheca (just 111 engraved gems) and his other antiquities

Fig. 8.30. Giuseppe Girometti
Victorious Warrior. Italy. First half of the 19th century
Sardonyx cameo from the Beverley gems
Alnwick Castle

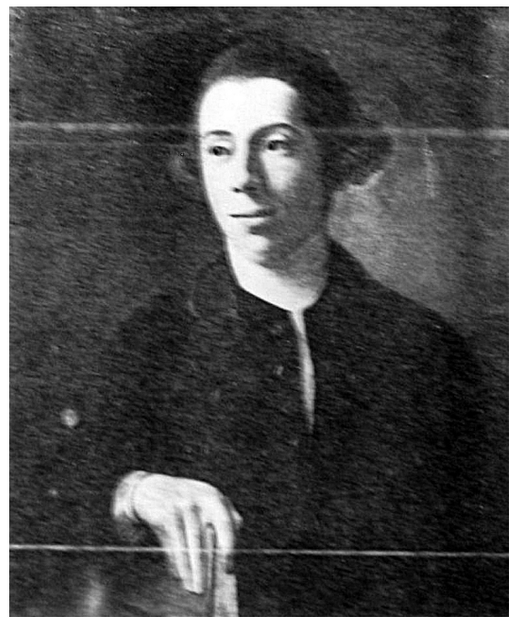


Fig. 8.31. Thomas Lawrence
Portrait of Richard Payne-Knight. 1805
Society of Dilettanti, London

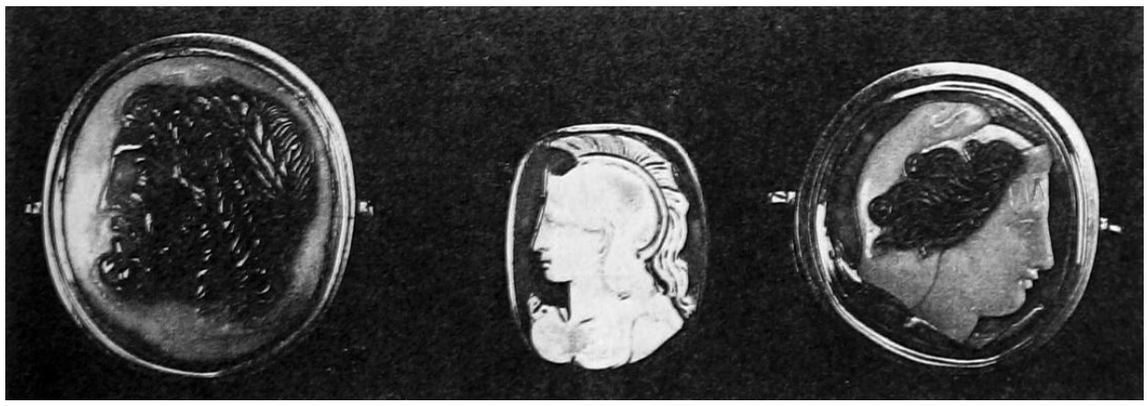


Fig. 8.32. Cameos from the collection of Richard Payne-Knight

were bequeathed, like the dactyliotheca of his friends Cracherode and Townley, to the British Museum. In the manuscript catalogue compiled in Latin during the owner's lifetime he conscientiously indicated their provenances, which include such aristocratic Roman and Florentine Cabinets as those of the Strozzi, Borghese and Medici-Riccardi families, of Cardinal Albani, and the British representative in Constantinople Sir Robert Ainsley. The Napoleonic Wars broke up many Venetian collections, the contents of which found added considerably to British collections: Payne Knight, like Algernon Percy, Richard Worsley and de Greville, gained gems from the Grimani family collection, while Thomas Slade and Gavin Hamilton now owned gems formerly in the possession of Jacopo Nani. Like many of his elder contemporaries Payne Knight employed the services of James Byres and himself took part in important sales at the turn of the centuries. Acquiring in 1813 from Lord Exeter a cameo showing Diana which still had its original gold and enamelled setting, he traced its history back, discovering that it had once belonged to Elisabeth I, to whom it had been given by the duc d'Alençon (Scarisbrick 1994a, pp. XVII-XVIII) [fig. 8.32]. Payne Knight's taste tended more towards the Antique but he was sometimes mistaken, as with the sensational story of a fragment of a cameo showing Flora which seemed genuine to him but that proved to have been the work of Benedetto Pistrucci (on whom see chapter 12); the artist's mark is present but almost invisible. Not only was Payne Knight not dismayed by the discovery, but he was prompted by the quality of the work to purchase two more pieces by the same artist.

Another ardent collector of engraved gems was the notable advocate, medallist and art patron – and later banker – Matthew Duane (1707-85) of Lincoln's Inn, a friend of Thomas Hollis and Louis Dutens; the sale of his collection took place in 1785 (Seidmann 1984-85, part 1, p. 814 note 11; Duane 1785), not without the aid of Payne Knight. In 1793 came the sale of intaglio rings belonging to one Thomas Rumbold Bart (Christie's, London, 29 January 1793). Lastly, a collection of three or four hundred gems was assembled in his youth by George III's son August Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773-1845), who spent the years from 1792 to 1795 in Italy. There his collection was seen by Goethe's patron Johann Heinrich Meyer, who wrote to the poet on 12 December 1795 remarking the extremely high quality of the Duke's engraved gems (Femmel, Heres 1977, pp. 168-69).

In presenting a simultaneous cross-section of the state of European collecting in the late 18th century James Tassie also provided us with a picture of British dactyliothecae which revealed that they had changed radically over the previous 40 years, borne on the crest of the wave of Neo-Classical taste. His picture was no less impressive than that created by Lorenz Natter's 'Museum Britannicum' in the middle of the century. But James Tassie not only sought access to established casts to make casts of existing gems: he also put considerable effort into establishing links with the workshops of contemporary engravers making new engraved gems. Raspe proudly noted in the catalogue published in 1791, 'For the works of modern artists have not been preposterously neglected in this, as in all similar former collections. On the contrary, they were collected by Mr. Tassie, and examined and ascertained <…> with the greatest care and attention, that their respective real merit and value may henceforth become conspicuous' (Raspe 1791, p. LXIV). Tassie's priority was to popularise works by British engravers and his agents regularly visited workshops in London, Dublin and Edinburgh, taking casts from their gems even as they emerged from the master's chisel and before they entered the hands of their new owners. Most then disappeared without trace and without Tassie's casts it would be impossible today to conceive in any way of a study of English engraving in stone. As it is, the British school can be reconstructed from Tassie's Cabinet with a fullness unknown in any other national school, the index of engravers attached to the catalogue listing 55 names of people working in Britain – English, Scottish, Irish, even foreigners.

Not only must James Tassie undoubtedly be declared a pioneer, but without his casts and pastes we cannot conceive of the modern study of glyptics. Hence the vital significance to the study of Cabinets of his casts in the Hermitage, the National Gallery of Scotland, the Victoria & Albert Museum and elsewhere, as monuments both historical and cultural.

1. David Allan
Portrait of James Tassie. 1781
Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh

2. Tray with Tassie sulphur casts from the collection of Count Nikolay Sheremetev
Hermitage, St Petersburg

3. Tray with white enamel pastes by James Tassie
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Plate 27

1. Furniture including cabinets for the storage of Tassie gems by Roach. 1780s
Hermitage, St Petersburg

2. Side of the large Roach cabinet, with ornament in the style of Robert Adam. 1783
Hermitage, St Petersburg

1. Five volumes of R. E. Raspe's manuscript catalogue of the Tassie impressions. 1783-93
Hermitage, St Petersburg

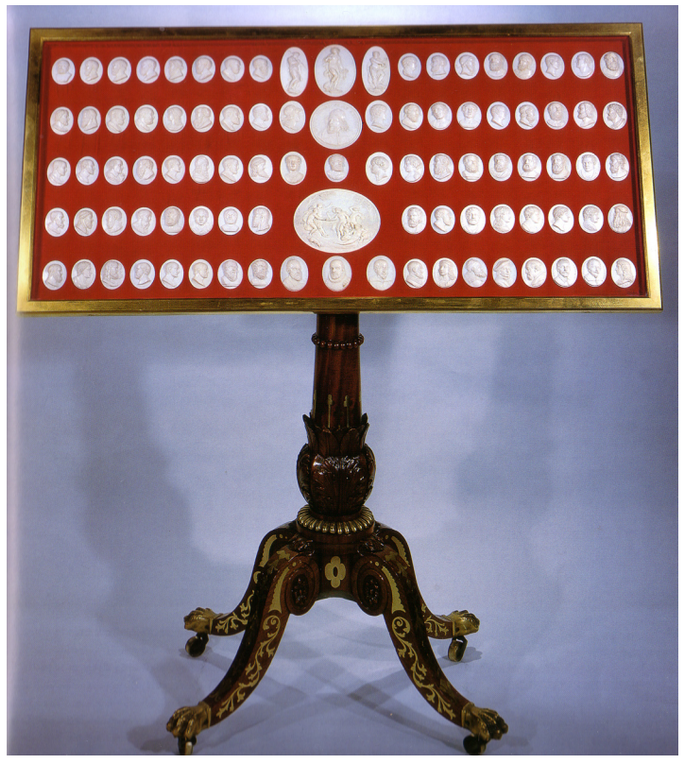
2. Glass screen with Tassie gems pastes
Late 18th century

Plate 29

1. James Tassie. 1780s
Colour pastes and white ‘enamel’ impressions
Hermitage, St Petersburg

2. Cameos from the Ekaterinburg stone carving factory, engraved after Tassie impressions.
First half of the 19th century
Hermitage, St Petersburg

1. Sulphur impressions of intaglios by Nathaniel Marchant
from the Cracherode collection, late 18th century
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum



2.A stand with white ‘enamel’ pastes by William Tassie. 1820s-1830s
Duke of Devonshire collection, Chatsworth

9

Josiah Wedgwood's 'cameos'

Despite the Indubitable qualities of Tassie's products, it is impossible to ignore those weaknesses that result from the very method of their production. No true artist ever touched the 'Tassies' and this essentially secondary nature, the purely mechanical means of reproduction, deprived them of independent aesthetic significance. Tassie's biographers have asserted that he owed his initial successes to those London jewellers who set his pastes – so very much in accord with the latest fashion – into their wares with such enthusiasm. It seems more likely, however, that the speed with which his products became popular was evidence of the very scale of the market for a product that was more readily available and less expensive than those original gems that could be acquired from antiquarians and from artists engraving high-quality works.

That market, stimulated by the passion for everything related to Antiquity, was to be enjoyed not only by glass imitations, but was to lead to particular developments in the ceramic production of Josiah Wedgwood (1730-95) [fig. 9.1]. It is Wedgwood's ceramic cameos and intaglios, his cameo-like medallions and plaques that became an important part of his business in the early 1770s, which are the most striking example of just how far the influence of glyptics penetrated British life; indeed, they seem to be the very embodiment of British Neo-Classicism. Their significance for Wedgwood lay not only in their own importance for his sales, but also in the consequences that flowed from their development, for in perfecting the compound and the technology necessary to produce these pieces, taking as his starting point the cameo's essential feature – its formation from two contrasting layers – he created the most famous of all his product types, in which fine white relief against a rich range of background colours was used to adorn a variety of decorative objects, the elegant jasper ware which is recognised as 'Wedgwood's most important achievement in ceramics…' (Finer, Savage 1965, p. 147).

Even whilst recognising the role played by this branch of production in the evolution of Wedgwood's firm, those numerous scholars who have written about the celebrated ceramicist nonetheless pay insufficient attention to actual 'gem-works', to their specific features and the logic of their development. The literature contains utterly contradictory explanations as to why and when Wedgwood's interest was aroused and even the authors of the fundamental *Dictionary of Wedgwood* put different dates on the appearance of his ceramic gems in their separate essays (Reilly, Savage 1980). It is this sphere of his activities, therefore, which is the subject of our attention here.

Wedgwood's first steps in the sphere of 'gem-works' were taken in the middle and second half of the 1750s, the period of his partnership with Staffordshire potter Thomas Whieldon (1754-59), when he was experimenting with glazed materials. After he left to set up his own firm in 1759, he continued his experiments on the basis of a cream-coloured ware, great advances taking place once he began developing white biscuit-porcelain-like compounds. An older handbook on Wedgwood, still relevant today, contains a description of a glass-like yellowish terracotta medallion from the late 1750s reproducing in low relief the celebrated Classical Marlborough Cameo, *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* (Meteyard 1875, pp. 68-69).

Meteyard demonstrated that ceramic production in Britain had already accumulated such extensive

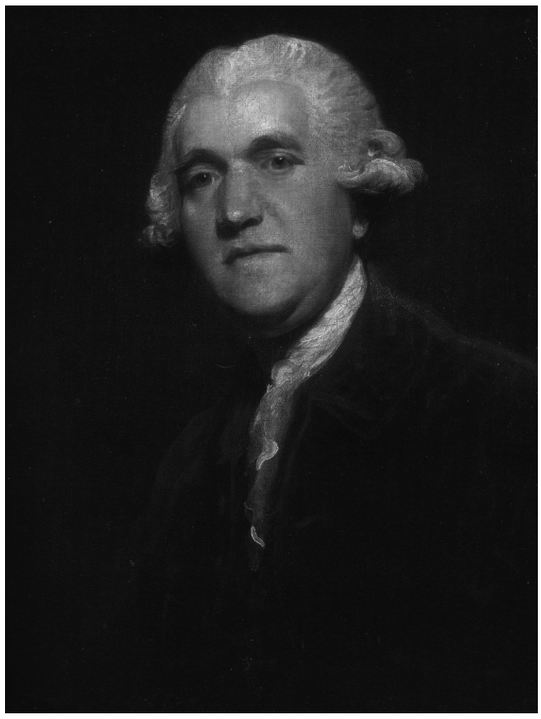


Fig. 9.1. Joshua Reynolds
Portrait of Josiah Wedgwood. 1782
Courtesy of the Trustees of the Wedgwood
Museum, Barlaston, Stoke-on-Trent

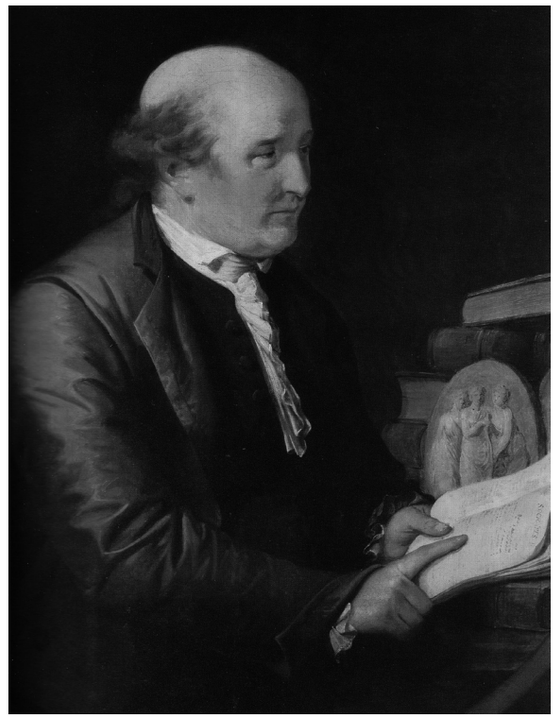


Fig. 9.2. Attributed to Jean François Rigard
Portait of Thomas Bentley (posthumous?)
Courtesy of the Trustees of the Wedgwood
Museum, Barlaston, Stoke-on-Trent

9.3, 9.4. Head of Medusa (after an intaglio by Solon)
Tassie impression, c. 1769
Wedgwood jasper cameo. c. 1775

experience in the use of both relief and concave decoration that it was but a short step to production of artificial cameos and intaglios. Importantly, she saw Wedgwood's direct stimuli not just in the widespread fashion for all kinds of cameo decoration but – more importantly – in his own interest in printed publications with images of monuments of antiquity, and in his acquaintance with gems belonging to collectors and antiquarians. It has been suggested (Dawson 1982) that his early attempts may also have been inspired by new forms of product emerging from contemporary European factories. In the 1750s, for instance, glazed reliefs in white on a pale blue ground showing the Caesars and rulers of Italy, were produced by the Doccia porcelain factory near Florence, and white glazed medallions were produced at the factory of Nathaniel Friedrich Hewelke in Venice in the early 1750s; similar products with untinted grounds have also been recorded in the documents of the Sèvres, Berlin and Frankenthal manufactories (Dawson 1982, p. 94).

Yet we might add a precedent closer to home, an example of direct contact between ceramic production and glyptics in England itself, at the Chelsea porcelain factory, which in 1755 issued porcelain handles for seals made of cornelian intaglios. Admittedly the emblematical images on these intaglios, accompanied by frivolous or sentimental devices in French, and the playful forms of the porcelain handles themselves had nothing in common with early Neo-Classical tendencies and were quite frankly Rococo. Nonetheless, they may have prompted Wedgwood to seek his own solution, something that would contrast with this artificial symbiosis of barely compatible materials, alien epigraphy and passing fashion. Certainly in 1759 he was already writing of the extremely broad field open to the ceramicist in search not only of a new body, new glass and colours, but also whole new forms to replace old and tired ones (Keith 1961, p. 82). A man who prided himself on his modernity, a man with ideals of social justice and meritocracy, he disliked the feudal habit of putting family coats of arms on heraldic seals and saw its antithesis in the use of antique images (although he continued to make concessions to Rococo style in his utilitarian products throughout his working life).

In the 1760s came the first real turn towards Classicism in British art. It was then that antique intaglios came increasingly to be set into rings: Wedgwood could not but notice them in the displays of jewellery shops and dealers in antiques. Gems were ever more frequently worn or used as seals, and before his eyes these new trends pierced the circles of his extensive acquaintance. Wedgwood's friendship and partnership with the much-travelled and erudite Liverpool merchant Thomas Bentley (1730-80) [fig. 9.2] undoubtedly did much to reinforce his own Classical orientation. The influence of Robert Adam (1728-92) was marked both in the formation of Wedgwood's own personal taste and in preparing the wider public for a new appreciation of Wedgwood's products. A detailed analysis of Adam's role by A. Kelly identified three main points: 1) rejecting the pomposity of Palladian style, giving individual details their own value within an overall harmony, Adam established a smaller scale interior environment. 2) Adam introduced the use of a medallion with low white relief and a range of soothing coloured backgrounds as a decorative motif, and he made exclusive use of Classical vocabulary (Kelly 1965, p. 20). This was new in Britain and, felt Kelly, stimulated Wedgwood to seek to apply the same principles to ceramics, in which 'intimacy, fanciful and graceful' were more accessible and natural than in plasterwork. 3) Wedgwood himself named the man to whom he turned when introducing the new style that came to dominate his products: 'I have endeavoured to preserve the style and spirit, or if you please the elegant simplicity, of antique forms, and so doing, to introduce all the variety I was able; and this Sir William Hamilton assured me I may venture to do' (quoted in Rathbone 1898, p. 67).

In 1769, the second year of Wedgwood's partnership with Bentley and that in which he opened his new manufactory, Etruria, antique heads and mythological subjects first appeared on relief medallions decorating vases of the 'Black Egyptian' stone mass which Wedgwood later perfected and renamed basalt ware. Now changes were to come thick and fast. That same year the manufactory mastered the production of ceramic gems, initially of intaglios. Thanks to the density and hardness of the mass, which reached nearly 7 on the Mohs scale of mineral hardness, 'basalt' intaglios could be polished and could actually function as seals. Wedgwood produced not only intaglio seals with Classical images, but also sets of seals with initials and monograms. Production of cameos began in 1771 (Reilly, Savage 1980, p. 68) and was fully up and running by 1772, at this stage using the white biscuit-like mass, its background tinted before firing with 'enamel' paints. The idea of creating ceramic gems had at last been realised.

Wedgwood sought new models to be copied with the same persistence he had shown in achieving and maintaining high quality in his products. Initially his

models were mainly James Tassie's sulphur casts and white pastes [figs. 9.3, 9.4] and a surviving invoice from 1769 notes that Wedgwood owed Tassie money for 70 sulphur and 2 enamel casts (Tassie 1968, p. 219). A little later, Wedgwood brought in Tassie himself to collaborate as modeller, making good use of his skills as a portraitist. When Wedgwood received direct access to collections of engraved gems belonging to his patrons, the direct dependence of his ceramic gems on Tassie's pastes began to decline. From now on, his employees were able to take casts directly from gems, such as those belonging to the antiquary Sir Roger Newdigate of Warwickshire (1719-1806) and to the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim. Gems were also made available to Wedgwood by the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Clanbrassil. The Duchess of Portland lent him her famous vase in 1786 but she also allowed him to make casts of ancient cameos showing Jupiter Serapis and the Emperor Augustus, while Sir Watkin Williams Wynn lent 183 casts from the cameos and intaglios in his collection (Meteyard 1875, p. 111; the figures of 245, quoted in Reilly, Savage 1980, p. 396, and even 240, quoted in Reilly 1995, p. 495, seem to this author to be considerably exaggerated).

By April 1772, the regular addition to the variety of gems and pastes, of moulds made from them and of new models, had made it almost impossible for clients to choose between them for lack of a catalogue. In that month Wedgwood wrote to Bentley: 'We are continually asked … name of gems, seals etc … Imagine how foolish we look when we can scarcely tell them a single head or subject', going further in a letter of 12 September, 'I will show no more gems till I am enabled to do it with a better grace' (Finer, Savage 1965, pp. 147, 148). By the following year a catalogue of decorative products had been published, including 285 cameos and intaglios which the manufactory offered to would-be purchasers (Wedgwood, Bentley 1773), [fig. 9.5] setting an example which was to be followed not only by Wedgwood's imitators but by James Tassie, then still at a relatively early stage of mass production of imitation gems. Tassie's catalogue, we should recall, appeared only in 1775. In 1776 Wedgwood's catalogue was re-issued in considerably expanded form in separate English and French editions and it was to go through six editions in total, the repertoire growing each time, reaching 637 cameos and 391 intaglios by 1787.

Even with these catalogues to aid us, it seems to be impossible to establish the overall number of different kinds of Wedgwood 'gems'. The literature cites vastly differing quantities, anything from 1062 to 1700!

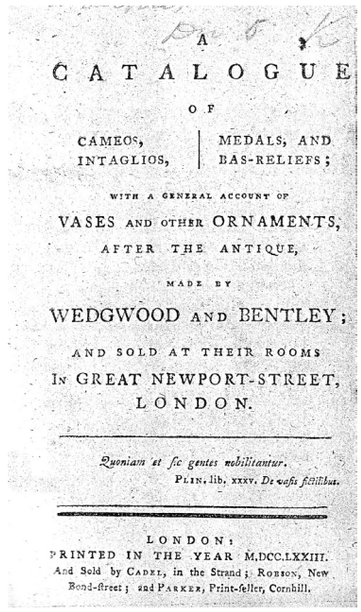

A
CATALOGUE
OF
CAMEOS, INTAGLIOS, | MEDALS, AND BAS-RELIEFS;
WITH A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF
VASES AND OTHER ORNAMENTS,
AFTER THE ANTIQUE,
MADE BY
WEDGWOOD AND BENTLEY;
AND SOLD AT THEIR ROOMS
IN GREAT NEWPORT-STREET,
LONDON.
Quoniam et sic gentes nobilitantur.
PLIN. lib. XXXV. *De vasis fictilibus.*
LONDON:
PRINTED IN THE YEAR M.DCC.LXXIII.
And Sold by CADELL, in the Strand; ROBSON, New Bond-street; and PARKER, Print-seller, Cornhill.

Fig. 9.5. J. Wedgwood, T. Bentley, *A Catalogue of Cameos, Intaglios, Medals and Bas-reliefs. . . , sold at their rooms in Great Newport-street*, London, 1773
Title page

Wedgwood wrote of his cameos and intaglios that they were 'exactly taken from the finest antique Gems. The Cameos are fit for Rings, Buttons, Lockets and Bracelets; and especially for inlaying in fine Cabinets, Writing-Tables, Bookcases & c. of which they Form the most beautiful Enrichment, at a moderate Expence; the Price of the Cameos … being ten Times less than any other durable imitations that have ever been made in Europe; and the Figures are much sharper in those than are made of Glass. The Ladies may display their Taste a thousand Ways, in the Application of these Cameos; and thus lead Artists to a better Stile in ornamenting their Works… Gentlemen may have a great Variety of Seals at a small Expence; or have an Opportunity of making Collections of perfect and durable Copies of the choicest Gems. By the Favour of the Nobility, & c. who are in Possession of original Gems, or fine Impressions of those in foreign Collections, we have been enabled to make our List pretty numerous…' (quoted in Mankowitz 1953, p. 214). As far as we know, the catalogue number was not put on the cameos themselves but was placed, with the subject title, on the firm's paper in which the object was wrapped for sale. Such wrapping papers have rarely survived and identification of items from the catalogue descriptions is thus not always possible today.

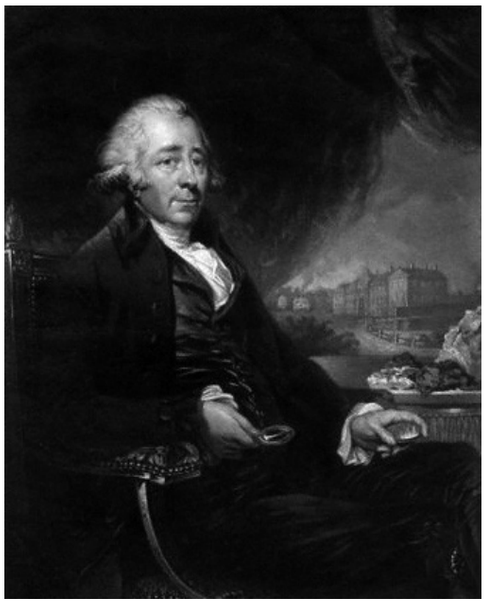


Fig. 9.6. Samuel Reynolds, after Carl von Breda
Portrait of Matthew Boulton. 1796
Mezzotint.

Fig. 9.7. Judgment of Hercules (after a model by William Hackwood) c. 1778
Jasper medallion plaque in ormolu frame by Matthew Boulton

Ceramic cameos and intaglios always occupied the first pages in Wedgwood's catalogues, which continued with medallions and bas-reliefs that differed from the cameos essentially only in their dimensions. Much space was occupied by portraits, often issued in whole series and produced in thirteen different sizes, which were also in effect 'cameos'. Moreover, the firm advertised its services in producing small portrait cameos and intaglios, in no less than ten copies, from a genuine gem or wax model presented by the client, providing also the address of a celebrated modeller, Joachim Smith (fl. 1758-1803), who could produce a wax portrait from life for three guineas.

As production of basalt intaglios, biscuit cameos and the other kinds of 'gem-works' expanded, so did the practical matter of their use: contracts were concluded with cabinet-makers, construction and furniture companies and, of course, with jewellers. For reasons of competition – prices had to be kept down – jewellers did not always set ceramic cameos in pure gold and silver. Sometimes they used mounts of so-called Sheffield silver (a mixture of silver and copper) or of 'new gold' (an alloy of copper and zinc known as 'Pinchbeck' after its inventor, Christopher Pinchbeck), but most frequently gems and medallions were given steel settings made in Birmingham and Wolverhampton. The very idea of 'a union of ceramics and metal' came to Wedgwood in 1770, when he first saw the steel products, faceted like diamonds, of hardware manufacturer Matthew Boulton (1730-1809), [fig. 9.6] during a visit to Blenheim Palace. In 1772 or 1773 he established business contacts with Boulton, whose manufactory was the largest of its kind in Birmingham, producing all kinds of ormolu objects (Goodison 1974, pp. 55, 58). Boulton in turn commissioned from the Etruria Manufactory pure white cameos, the backgrounds of which were painted with watercolours after firing, since they were used for setting (under glass) into the lids of tortoiseshell boxes [fig. 9.7].

Settings for Wedgwood's cameo products were also made by smaller companies, such as Law & Co. of Sheffield, Burnley & Co. and Boden & Smith of Birmingham, as well as Heeley, which in the 1780s specialised in the manufacture of buttons. Henry Clay of Birmingham employed Wedgwood cameos on his celebrated papier-mâché goods. Wedgwood kept a careful eye on the quality of his products and the mounts put on his gems, requesting trial copies and making his own suggestions for improvement (Meteyard 1875, pp. 72, 73). Thus the gems produced at Etruria often followed an extremely complicated

Fig. 9.8. Centaur (from a wall painting at Herculaneum) c. 1790
Jasper medallion with border of the same material.

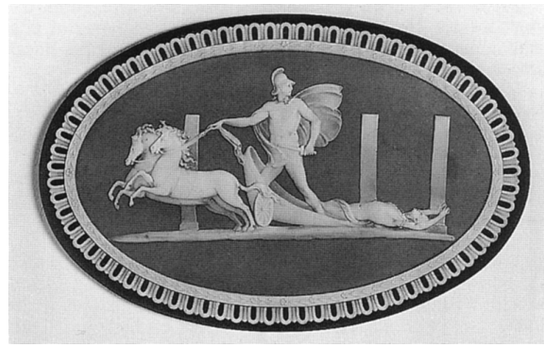


Fig. 9.9. Achilles dragging the body of Hector round the walls of Troy. c. 1792
Jasper medallion with border of the same material.

path before they reached the market: sent to workshops in London or Chelsea for polishing and finishing, they then returned to Birmingham and other northern towns to be given their varied settings and mounts, which were not always in accord with Neo-Classical taste.

In 1772, despite having serious doubts as to the benefit of such a development, Wedgwood made trial relief ceramic frames (Reilly, Savage 1980, p. 154): from 1779 such borders, adorned with ornamental or vegetable motifs, increasingly appeared on his cameos. They might differ from the cameo not only in colour but even in the type of ceramic material from which they were made, such tricolour cameos and medallions being highly prized [fig. 9.8; fig. 9.9].

As we can see from many of the letters exchanged by Wedgwood and Bentley, both partners were increasingly occupied by the production, finish and setting of gem-works and their sale both in Britain and abroad. They sought to perfect methods of firing and polishing, to find new recipes and compounds. In December 1772 Wedgwood wrote: 'You want a finer body for gems… I have several times mixed bodies for this purpose but some of them miscarried and others have been lost or spoiled for want of my being able to attend to and go on with the experiments', but two months later, on 6 February 1773, he was able to announce that he was on the verge of extremely promising results in his search for 'finer bodies for gems and other things' (Finer, Savage 1965, p. 148). His journal of experiments records many different undertakings, as a result of which at the end of 1774 he discovered a white compound of the necessary hardness, going on to produce one of varying shades of blue. He immediately sent several trial gems to Bentley. The material was advertised in the catalogue as 'A fine white Terra-cotta of great beauty and delicacy, proper for cameos, portraits and bas-reliefs' (it was sometimes known as 'The Waxen biscuit').

At last, in 1775 came decisive success with the creation of a new material, the famous 'jasper ware' which marked the apogee of Wedgwood's career. As hard and dense as stone, as fine as porcelain – and capable of being fired at similarly high temperatures – it could be worked on a lathe rather like the lapidary-wheel of a gem engraver and for the ground Wedgwood was able to create a rich range of colours that were very close to those used in the Adam brothers' decorative works. Henceforth both kinds of material, 'waxen' and 'jasper', were to be used to produce cameos (Mankowitz 1953, p. 118).

Wedgwood continued perfecting the technology for producing cameos into the 1780s and it went through several stages. The form and method of firing cameos used at the start often resulted in faulty products which could not be sold, such as when the tinting of the ground affected the snow-white relief. This led to the separation of the firing of the ground and relief into separate operations, which also had the benefit of making polishing the ground much easier. Later, when the quality of the compound had been improved and

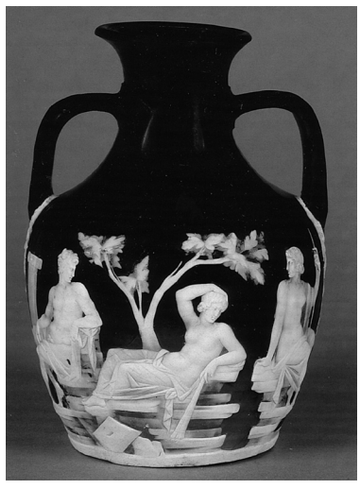


Fig. 9.10. Copy of the Portland vase (after a model by Henry Webber)
Black and white jasper.
c. 1791

two variations of it invented – solid tinted and dipped (i.e. only the surface tinted) – the ground and relief on cameos and all other jasper ware products could be fired together. Moreover, before firing, when the mass had reached 'cheese hard' state, the applied relief could be corrected or undercut with special instruments to apply additional engraving or emphasise outlines and give the final image an incredible finesse, purity and finish.

For a long time at the start, Wedgwood's only gem-works were intaglios, cameos and small portraits in jasper ware, but then he went on to add larger plaques and bas-reliefs. It was only in 1780, however, after the death of Bentley, when all the problems of firing had been solved, that Etruria used jasper material to make those vases and numerous other easily recognisable products that gained worldwide fame. The Hermitage Museum owns a large collection of Wedgwood cameos [plates 31-33].

Similarly untiring efforts were applied to improving the technology for producing intaglios which, unlike cameos, often bore the maker's mark and a catalogue number on the back. Like the vases, they progressed through black basalt ware to 'rosso-antico', then crystalline grounds and at last were made using jasper material (Meteyard 1875, p. 108). Special means were devised to polish their chamfered edges and to add a fine basalt base layer behind a thin pale blue layer, in successful imitation of the favourite material for ancient Roman intaglios – sardonyx-nicolo. When tinted with a more intense hue, the jasper material looked more like turquoise or lapis-lazuli. Sharpness of form was particularly important in the making of intaglios, often requiring use of the chisel and careful polishing. In 1775 Wedgwood declared that only when he had perfected the 'absolute' quality of his gems – both cameos and intaglios – could he turn the whole of his attention to increasing their number and variety (Meteyard 1875, pp. 71, 72). Another two years were to pass before he felt sufficiently satisfied (Stonewares 1982, p. 80).

However much Wedgwood declared his gems to be as close as possible to the originals, they could never be considered facsimile reproductions. For a start, the colours never truly reflected natural stone colours, while distortions of the mass occurred during firing, the surface might become too thin in polishing and there was unavoidable alteration in the relief itself during the final finishing processes. Tassie's comments in the foreword to his catalogue were undoubtedly aimed at Wedgwood: 'It must be confessed, that impressions from impressions can not be very perfect as if taken from the original gem, but the best judges allow, that they convey a much more perfect idea of the merits of the original, than can be given by impressions sharpened by the best modern artist' (Tassie 1775, p. VI).

For reproductive purposes, therefore, Tassie's glass pastes remained dominant. Wedgwood's ceramics would always be inferior on this front, a weakness which could be overcome only in one way, not by the literal transference of the language of glyptics into the language of ceramics (which we might compare to a literal word-for-word translation of a poem) but through artistic transformation (a truly poetic equivalence).

Fully comprehending this, and aware of the great contribution which the arts could make to industry, Wedgwood turned less and less to direct reproduction of engraved gems. Now he brought in leading artists to produce new models for ceramic gems, portrait medallions and bas-reliefs. Amongst those working in this sphere were the medallist Alfred Joseph Stothard (1793-1864), the sculptor John Bacon (1740-99), the gem engraver Edward Burch, the modellers Ralf Wood the Younger (1748-95), John De Vaere (1754-1830), John Charles Lochée (1751-after 1791). Taking part in the production of gems were William Hackwood (c. 1757- 1839; principal Wedgwood modeller 1769-1832), and Henry Webber (1754-1836), who was in 1786 entrusted with making a model of the Portland Vase [fig. 9.10] (we should recall that the first form was

taken from it by Giovanni Pichler around 1780, when the vase was still in the possession of James Byres, while the first cast was made by Tassie). John Flaxman (1755-1826), who collaborated with Wedgwood from 1775, not only produced drawings and designs for plaques and vases but also produced models for a number of gems, including *Allegory of Justice*, *Heracles Stifling the Nemean Lion*, *Mercury with his Caduceus*, *Omphale, Head of Junius Brutus and Sacrifice to Hymen* [fig. 9.12], companion piece to the 'Marlborough cameo' by Tryphon. During Flaxman's stay in Rome (1787-94) he also served as intermediary for Wedgwood, commissioning works for him from several Italian artists. Unfortunately the firm's mark, which was applied with ever greater frequency during this period, very rarely left room for the author's own signature. Wedgwood specifically notes this question in a letter to Bentley on 22 December 1777: 'I am not certain that he [Hackwood] will not be offended if he is refused the liberty of putting his name on the models which he makes quite new, and I shall be glad to have your opinion upon the subject. Mine is against any name being upon our articles besides W & B' (cited in Kanter 1963, p. 127).

Artists sought prototypes for all their models in casts and genuine glyptics, while Flaxman and Webber specifically borrowed a number of motifs from contemporary engravers such as Giovanni Pichler and Nathaniel Marchant. A most important source in making new models lay in the printed anthologies of gems and other antiquities that were present in Josiah Wedgwood's own private library. An inventory of this, compiled in 1770 (Chellis 1962, pp. 60-64), accords marvellously with the 'ideal' library of the Neo-Classical artist (Irwin 1966), including B. Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (1719), [fig. 9.11] *Gori's Museum Florentinum* (1731-32), Stosch's *Gemmae Antiquae Caelatae* (1724), anthologies compiled by Agostini, Ficoroni and the Comte de Caylus, by Elizabeth Sophie Cheron etc. Wedgwood is listed among subscribers to the English translation of the multi-volume *Le Antichità di Ercolano*… (original eight vols., Naples, 1757-92) and one of the publications of anthologies of Classical poetry, Polymetis, compiled by Joseph Spence and illustrated with monuments of ancient art. From the latter alone he used more than 30 drawings, such as *The Judgment of Paris, Diomedes Carrying off the Palladium* etc.

Many new compositions appeared simultaneously on intaglios and cameos, which might even be united to form double-sided combinations. Matrices and

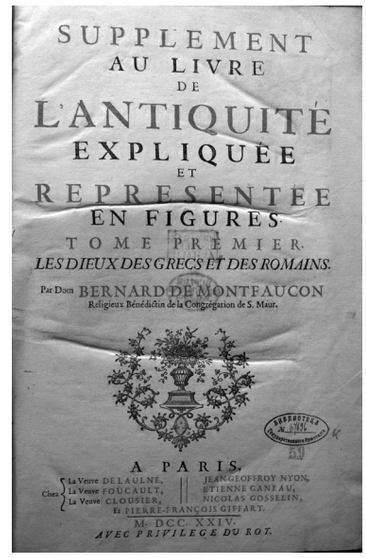

SUPPLEMENT
AU LIVRE
DE
L'ANTIQUITÉ
EXPLIQUÉE
ET
REPRESENTÉE
EN FIGURES.
TOME PREMIER.
LES DIEUX DES GRECS ET DES ROMAINS.
Par Dom BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON
Religieux Bénédictin de la Congrégation de S. Maur.
A PARIS.
Chez La Veuve DELAULNE, La Veuve FOUCAULT, La Veuve CLOUSIER, Et PIERRE-FRANÇOIS GIFFART. || JEAN-GEOFFROY NYON, ETIENNE GANEAU, NICOLAS GOSSELIN,
M. DCC. XXIV.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

Fig. 9.11. Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, 1719-24 Title page

models were regularly improved and varied in form and size, the images being repeated on medallions and bas-reliefs. The best illustration of such modifications is the story of the composition *The Marriage of Cupid* and *Psyche*, a recreation of the Marlborough Cameo in varied dimensions and in all the different kinds of material usable in the making of gem-works. After the early trial piece mentioned above, the glass-like yellow terracotta of the late 1750s, probably made from the print by Bernard Picart from the drawing by Theodor Netscher in *Gemmae Antiquae Caelatae* (Stosch 1724, No. LXX), cameos were produced in 1774 on the basis of Tassie's cast, and in 1777 cameos and intaglios of reduced size, suitable for use in rings, were issued. A year later *The Marriage* was transformed by Flaxman into a plaque and paired with a new composition showing a sacrificial scene. The cupids from the Marlborough Cameo can be recognised in Flaxman's four allegorical figures which make up the series *The Seasons* used to adorn a series of cache-pots (these had originally been modelled in 1775 by Flaxman's father, John Flaxman Senior). Finally, in 1787 John Charles Lochée took a cast at Blenheim directly from the engraved gem and created a model to be used for Wedgwood medallions. There is also information to suggest that Henry Webber created his own version from a print by Francesco Bartolozzi after a drawing by Giovanni-Battista Cipriani (Reilly, Savage 1980, p. 108). Under Wedgwood's successors old forms for cameos continues to be used in parallel with new forms.

Fig. 9.12. Sacrifice to Hymen (after a model by John Flaxman). c. 1778
Jasper cameo.

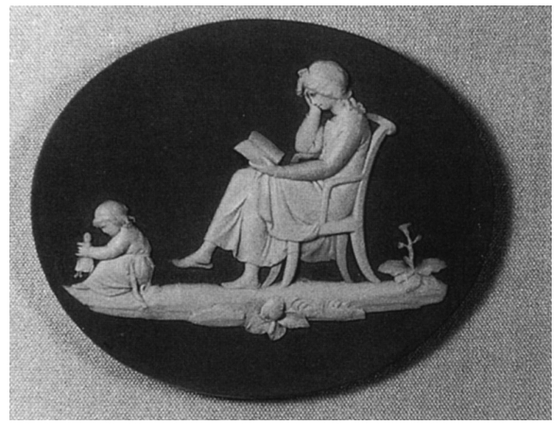


Fig. 9.13. Study (after a model by William Hackwood from Elizabeth Templetown's design). c. 1790
Jasper cameo

Fig. 9.14. Celebrating the French Revolution
1789
Jasper medallion designed by Henry Webber

Non-Classical elements were also very much part of Wedgwood's range of products. A number of objects have an almost Romantic mood and we frequently find a sentimental note, the appearance of which can be partly explained through the use of drawings and models by female artists such as Angelica Kaufmann (1741-1807), Mary Landré (fl. 1768-74), Diana Beauclerk (1734-1808) and Elizabeth Templetown (1747-1823) [fig. 9.13]. Nor was the repertoire of subjects limited to Classical scenes. Subjects might be borrowed from contemporary literature, from such specifically British features as the sporting genre (nineteen drawings for cameo-like medallions showing horses were provided by the leading representative of this art form, George Stubbs, the models being created by Edward Burch; Tattersall, Taylor 1974, p. 70). There were also products of a political nature and a number of cameos and medallions echo the French Revolution (Reilly 1995, pp. 190, 191) [fig. 9.14] and the American War of Independence. One Wedgwood cameo borrows from the seal of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery – of which he was member – an image of a black man kneeling in chains and the inscription 'Am I not a man and a brother?' William Hackwood produced the model for this cameo from a drawing by Wedgwood himself, who in 1788 sent several examples to Benjamin Franklin in America (Chellis 1966, pp. 44-60; Burton 1976, p. 200). Moreover, they were used for buttons, cufflinks, seals in intaglios and cameos of varying dimensions. Such topical subjects attracted wide public attention and heated debate. It has been noted, however, that Wedgwood preferred not to mention these potentially controversial works in his catalogues (Lisenkov 1961, p. 241).

The expansion of gem production at Etruria overflowed beyond the shores of Britain, the fashion for them giving rise to numerous imitations at ceramic and porcelain manufactories around Europe, the area covered by Wedgwood's gem-works was vast. It would be hard to list all the different objects of luxury and indeed everyday use that were adorned with gem-works, everything from jewellery of all kinds to teapots, scent bottles, patch-boxes and tooth-pick holders [fig. 9.15]. Those celebrated cabinet-makers Thomas Chippendale and (particularly) Thomas Sheraton and the clock-maker Benjamin Vulliamy set them into their works. Set into severe frames, plaques of milky 'Bristol glass' with symmetrical arrangements of cameos came to take the place of paintings as the favourite decoration on walls in the houses of the aristocracy and even of more modest squires. Adam and the architects and decorators who imitated him used Wedgwood cameo-like medallions, bas-reliefs and friezes as a finish for fireplaces, they set them into wall panels, ceilings and window shutters, uniting Adam and Wedgwood in interiors (Kelly 1965).

During the last decades of the 18th century, the fabrication of ceramic gems in Britain was not limited to the Wedgwood factory. Those who imitated Wedgwood's other products did not let gems pass them by. With the appearance in 1769 of the first black basalt medallions and intaglios, similar products were also established by Humphrey Palmer (fl. 1760s-1778), [fig. 9.16] whose factory was at Hanley, also in Staffordshire. In terms of its quality, his basalt material was not far inferior to that of Wedgwood and Josiah Wedgwood himself always spoke of Palmer's gems approvingly (Finer, Savage 1965, p. 155). A basalt intaglio with a scene of *Sacrifice to Bacchus* (after a Tassie cast of a piece in the French royal collection), recently acquired by the Hermitage, has stamped into the material on the slightly convex reverse the mark *PALMER 100* (cat. 72), possibly indicating that Palmer also had at least a manuscript catalogue or price list. Palmer was hardly likely to have been ahead of Wedgwood in gem production and the intaglio must have been produced no earlier than 1773, but no later than 1778 when he went into partnership with his London agent James Neale (1740-1814), whom we know also to have produced gem-works. Around 1780 the factory produced a vase decorated with a black medallion repeating in relief a print showing the celebrated intaglio of Apollo and Marsyas from the collection of Lorenzo Medici (Age of Neo-classicism 1972, No. 1452).

For a long time the only knowledge we had of the seals in a material very similar to Wedgwood's black basalt, produced by Jean (John) Voyez (1735-1800), [fig. 9.17] came from Wedgwood's letters and a catalogue published by Voyez almost at the same time as Wedgwood's (Voyez 1773; see also Charlestone 1960). The figure of Voyez himself remains something of a mystery today and his life has been little studied. He was a gifted artist of varied talents who worked in metal, wood, marble, ivory, clay and wax and he worked under Robert Adam as a decorator. In 1768, when Wedgwood invited Voyez to work for him, he described him as 'the best modeller in London', but the following year Voyez went to work for Palmer. In 1771 and 1772 he took part in exhibitions of The Society of Artists of Great Britain and in 1773 he set up his own business at Cowbridge, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, as is indicated on the

Fig. 9.15. Box decorated with jasper cameos by Wedgwood. Late 18th century
Hermitage, St Petersburg

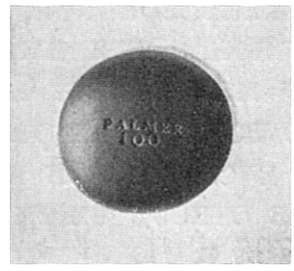
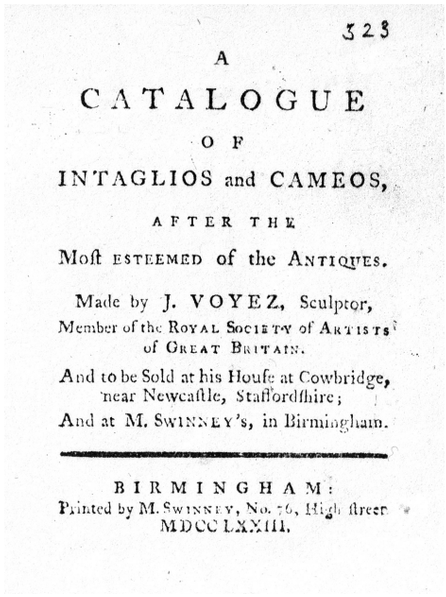


Fig. 9.16. Humphrey Palmer
a. Sacrifice to Bacchus. 1775-78
Basalt intaglio (from a cast)
b. Reverse with the mark
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 72).



323

A

CATALOGUE

OF

INTAGLIOS and CAMEOS,

AFTER THE

Moſt ESTEEMED of the ANTIQUES.

Made by J. VOYEZ, Sculptor,
Member of the ROYAL SOCIETY of ARTISTS
of GREAT BRITAIN.

And to be Sold at his Houſe at Cowbridge,
near Newcaſtle, Staffordſhire;
And at M. SWINNEY's, in Birmingham.

BIRMINGHAM:
Printed by M. SWINNEY, No. 76, High ſtreet.
MDCC LXXIII.

Fig. 9.17. J. Voyez, *A Catalogue of Intaglios and Cameos after the Most Esteemed of the Antiques, made by J. Voyez, Sculptor, member of the Royal Society of Artists of Great Brtiain*, Birmingham, 1773
Title page

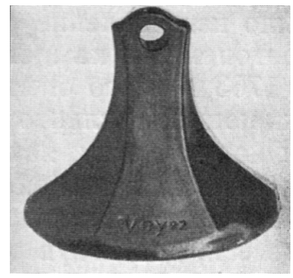


Fig. 9.18. Jean (John) Voyez
Basalt seal with a monogram.
a. Basalt signet c. 1775
b. Monogram from a cast

Fig. 9.19. Enoch Wood
Terpsichore with a lyre. 1785-90
Jasper cameo

Fig. 9.20. John Turner
"The Power of Love and Abundance". c. 1790
Japer cameo

title page of his catalogue. This catalogue of 1773 includes (arranged without any apparent order) some 200 subjects for intaglios and cameos, the majority of them mythological and based on Tassie's casts, and more than 500 'cyphers', i.e. initials and monograms. For merchants and industrialists Voyez provided seals with logos and coats-of-arms. His works were mounted in Birmingham, where he had links with the firm of S. Pemberton & Son, but he also produced seals which had no need of mounts, since they had a handle moulded in the same material [fig. 9.18]. In 1776 Voyez announced major additions to his catalogue.

Although Wedgwood had a poor opinion of the quality of Voyez's goods, he was put on his guard by the wide scale of production of seals and by the energy which Voyez showed in selling them (Finer, Savage 1965, p. 155). In a letter of 13 February 1776, Wedgwood provided a curious sketch of the means employed by his competitor as he distributed his products through the provinces. On arriving in any Town where he intended to make sales, 'his first business is to disperse his Hand Bills – By His Majesties Royal Letters Patent, Arriv'd &c. – with Intaglios for seals, Cyphers, Arms, Antiques, &c. – and it is amazing what a crowd he soon has attend him. He generally takes about ten pounds a Day by retail the young man says, Besides what he barters with the Merchants, with Shop-keepers, with Hawkers and Pedlars for anything they have, Takes these Goods to other Towns and disposes of them by Auction, and by these, and an hundred other ways and means, he now disposes of as many seals as two or three hands, besides himself, can make, whilst we do not employ a single hand one day in a week' (Finer, Savage 1965, p. 193).

When Wedgwood learned that Voyez was faking the Wedgwood mark on his own gems, this marked the start of an open but far from equal war. Wedgwood mechanised and rationalised the production process, attracting buyers with modest prices and offering discounts on the acquisition of gems in large quantities, dealing not with small sales but wholesale through major trading firms. Unable to keep pace, in 1776 Voyez sold his factory. In October of that year the inhabitants of Bath were informed of a discount sale of Voyez's seals (Charleston 1960, p. 20) and when it became clear that he had decided to establish production of seals from glass paste in London, Wedgwood sighed with relief and on 7 December 1776 declared to his partner '… so Mr Tassie must take care of himself' (Finer, Savage 1965, p. 193). But Voyez had no great success with this business and soon returned to Staffordshire to become a ceramicist once more, although he seems to have refrained from the production of gems. Identifying Voyez's gems is extremely difficult and the first authentic examples of his products were published only in the 1960s (Synge-Hutchinson 1966, pp. 212-15).

No less zealous in the production of cameos and medallions were those British ceramicists who mastered the technology of the jasper material. Most important in this context were John Turner (1738-87), [fig. 9.20] of all the followers the one closest to Wedgwood; Josiah Spode (1743-97), William Adams (1746-1805) and Enoch Wood (1759-1840), [fig. 9.19] the latter having worked first with Adams and then with Palmer before launching an independent career. Their products were of sound quality but added nothing new, while the quality of the material and the artistic aspects were inferior to anything achieved by Wedgwood in the 1780s.

This branch of the artistic industries continued to exist during the first half of the 19th century but even in the 18th century different technologies were being developed. We cannot ignore in this context the products – essentially ceramic – of Eleanor Coade (1733-1821), who in 1769 founded an Artificial Stone Manufactory at Narrow Walk, Lambeth, London, that continued in existence until 1836. She published a catalogue of her products (Coade 1769) and after she went into partnership with her cousin John Sealy (1749-1813) in 1799 she set up a 'Gallery or Exhibition in artificial stone' (Coade 1799). Coade herself was a gifted modeller and she also employed the services of many artists working for Wedgwood, among them Voyez, De Vaere and Flaxman. The Neo-Classical sculptors Thomas Banks and John Bacon also worked with her. The masses with which she worked (the composition of which was kept strictly secret) had the hardness of cement and a fine texture and were well suited to Neo-Classical decorative motifs. Her relief medallions, which often repeated those of Wedgwood, marvellously fitted exteriors and interiors in the style of Robert Adam and other contemporary architects. Engraved gems were an important source of inspiration for Coade's products. One of the most widespread compositions taken from glyptics was yet another version of Tryphon's *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* (Collins 1957, pp. 37-38; Kelly 1973, 1978).

Once 'gem-works' had become a vital part in the ornamentation of any Neo-Classical interior gem motifs began to make their appearance in other branches of the applied arts apparently far removed from the making of gems. The Swedish silversmith working in London Andrew Fogelberg (fl. 1770-1800) and his pupils Paul Storr (1771-1844), Stephen Gilbert (fl. 1780s) and Philip Rundell (1743-1827) reproduced antique gems in silver on the basis of Tassie's casts, putting them on dishes and vases (Oman 1947, p. 158). Oval and circular medallions of gilded bronze – based on prints after antique gems – appeared in the 1770s on many different products – censers and urns, candelabra and pedestals – from the firm of Matthew Boulton (1730-1809) and John Fothergill (1712-86). We know that Boulton corresponded and had business contacts with Tassie and Wedgwood (Gould 1970, p. 398).

Today, however, it is Josiah Wedgwood's ceramic cameos and intaglios that continue to arouse admiration, with their fine style, purity of line and form. Like Tassie's Cabinets, they are much prized by museums and collectors (including Russian museums, being excellently represented in the Hermitage). Wedgwood introduced notable innovations in the sphere of 'gem-works' and his 'gems' are among the most striking products of the art of ceramics.

Like Tassie, Wedgwood was remarkable for his enthusiasm and his consistent search for new techniques and improvements, his ability to see a material's potential and to soberly assess its limits, to catch the spirit of the age, its needs, and to participate in forming a totally new taste. These qualities remain something to be emulated by the artistic industries today.

1, 2. Two cameos with quivers and daws above altar. c. 1800
Blue and white jasper cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg

3. Figure of Telesphoros. c. 1795
Rose, green and white jasper cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Plate 32

1. Hercules binding Cerberus. c. 1780
Blue and white jasper cameo

2. Neptune with Asclepius and Hygieia. c. 1780
Blue and white jasper cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg

3. Jupiter with an eagle at his feet. c. 1780
Blue and white jasper cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg

1. Hercules with a Cupid on his back. c. 1780
Blue and white jasper cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg

2. Neptune with a trident in the sea on a shell.
c. 1780
Blue and white jasper cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg

3. Rider. c. 1780
Blue and white jasper
Hermitage, St Petersburg

10

The boom years

The ‘new taste’ which so perfectly captured the spirit of the age was born of the Neo-Classical movement, seeking to revive that antique ideal which had already been ‘lost’ and ‘rediscovered’ so many times. The roots of that international movement are usually sought in France, where its first offshoots appeared in a reaction against the frivolity of Rococo (Neo-classical Ideal 1963, pp. 334, 335), but the heart of this new Classical outpouring was in Rome. There it was that adepts grouped around Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68), [fig. 10.1] who had been responsible for setting out the new style’s credo. There it was that colonies of artists were established, famous monuments of antiquity reassessed and new discoveries subjected to heated discussions. And engraved gems were to play a special role in forming the new taste across Europe.

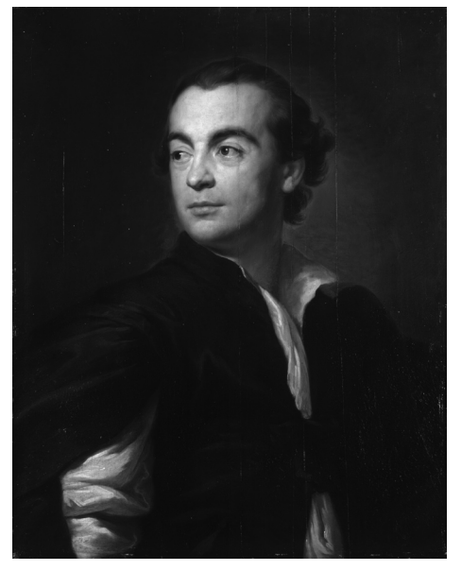


Fig. 10.1. Anton Raphael Mengs?
Portrait of Johann Joachim Winckelmann.
1774/76
Hermitage, St Petersburg

European glyptics thus enjoyed a second Renaissance during the second half of the 18th century, when the passion for engraved stones reached such heights that it is often compared with an epidemic. Anyone with any pretensions to education and taste wished to own gems – or at least casts of them, in order to discover there, in the words of Goethe, ‘das schönste, was man von alter Arbeit hat… Man kann von Rom nicht Kostbareres mitnehmen’ (Goethe 1858, p. 385). Engraved gems were an important (and certainly the most easily portable) part of the souvenirs taken home by travellers.

It was not only Classical gems which were attractive to collectors, and interest in contemporary engraving also grew apace. In Italy, the gazes of a new generation of wealthy visitors from Britain turned to the recognised head of European glyptics during the second half of the 18th century, Giovanni Pichler (1734-91), whose fame far outstripped that enjoyed by his by no means unknown father Antonio Pichler (1696-1779). Engraved gems with Giovanni’s signature increasingly found their way into British collections, his talent for portraiture being particularly in demand amongst English clients. In August 1772 *The London Chronicle* related that the Duke of Gloucester had posed for several artists during a visit to Rome, for the painters Pompeo Batoni and Anton Maron, while ‘Signor Pichler is to cut his head in a Cameo’ (Ford 1974a, p. 411). In Pichler’s studio one might come across other Britons taking the Grand Tour who had come to

have their portrait taken, such as the collector William Constable of Yorkshire, already known to us (see chapter 8) as an admirer of engraved gems (Seidmann 1993, p. 99) [fig. 10.2, 10.3]. During a lengthy stay in Rome in 1771, Constable commissioned (through the mediation of James Byres) a pair of portraits showing himself and his sister Winifred. The male portrait was soon ready, based on a preliminary drawing (now in a private collection in Rome) by Pichler himself (Ford 1974a, p. 410), but there were difficulties in selecting a suitable stone for the female portrait. By the time one was at last found the sitter had already left Rome and thus the miniaturist Richard Collins was asked to visit Burton, Constable's family estate, to take a profile sketch, but he was not able to travel and they had to make do with, as Byres wrote, 'a single outline taken from the shadow will be sufficient with the assistance of Maron's Portrait' (a reference to a double portrait of both sister and brother by Anton Maron; Ford 1974a, p. 411). Recent publications by Gabriella Tassinari of casts from intaglios by Giovanni Pichler reveal that posing for him were John and Ann Miller (1770-71), Margaret Stanley (1771), John Corbet, 3rd Baronet of Sundorne (1772-73), John Rous, 6th Baronet and later 1st Earl of Stradbroke, of Henham Hall, Suffolk (1773), and Thomas William Coke of Holkham, Norfolk, later 1st Earl of Leicester (c. 1774), and many others. Tassinari reproduces nearly twenty male and female portraits of inglesi engraved by Pichler during their stay in Italy (Tassinari 2001, pp. 103-13; Tassinari 2005, pp. 10-42, figs. 1-18).

In addition – particularly after Giovanni Pichler's death – the British employed the services of the Florentine Giovanni Antonio Santarelli (1758-1820), whose works included cameo portraits of John Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford (Casarosa 1981, No. 48) and Cardinal York, younger grandson of the exiled James II (Ford 1974c, p. 445), [fig. 10.4] and the Neapolitan Filippo Rega (1761-after 1833). From Rega William Hamilton commissioned portraits of himself and his wife, Emma; several portraits of Emma Hamilton were commissioned from Rega by Augustus John Hervey, 3rd Earl of Bristol, and by Admiral Nelson.

Although influenced by patriotic feelings, it was rather admiration of his outstanding talent that led the rich British to prefer their own compatriot Nathaniel Marchant (1739-1816) to many famed Italians. Marchant, who had arrived in Rome in 1772, was a notable figure even here in the home of a veritable plethora of talented engravers. He was to quit the city only for brief periods over the next sixteen years. Indeed, even some Roman aristocrats acquired his works, being more attracted by the 'young' Marchant than by the 'old' Pichler (though the difference in their ages was in fact but nine years!). Pope Pius VI sat not only to Giovanni Pichler and Johann Baptist Weder (1742-1808) but also to Marchant.

Casts from engraved gems by all members of the Pichler family did much to spread the fame of these contemporary engravers and here too Marchant had no desire to be outdone. As a result, around 1788, not long before his final departure from Rome, Marchant had a series of 105 plaster casts produced from his engraved gems in the studio of Angelo Antonio Amastini (Seidmann 1987a, pp. 8, 9; Kurtz 2000, p. 128) [fig. 10.6]. Moreover, Marchant's works were to form an essential part of the compilatory sets and series of casts produced in Rome in the famous workshops of Bartolomeo and Pietro Paoletti, Giovanni Liberotti, and later Tommaso Cades. Back in his native Britain, Marchant's gems were known long before the artist's return from Italy through the medium of casts issued by James Tassie (Marchant 1792).

With such heightened interest in engraved gems there could not but be further developments in the veritable industry for the production of fakes in Rome, an industry which had made its appearance earlier. A by no means minor role was played in this by the colourful figure of Thomas Jenkins (1722-98): [fig. 10.5] secret agent, banker, painter, dealer in works of art, celebrated connoisseur (including of engraved gems), he organised the secret production of fakes – as was recorded by his contemporary, the sculptor Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823) – amidst the ruins of the Coliseum, fakes which he then sold to his unsuspecting compatriots as ancient originals (Smith J. T. 1929, p. 159). It was indeed common practice to add false signatures by ancient masters to gems both old and new, but Jenkins took things even further: unhindered by any niceties in the way he made his money, he not only practiced deceit in order to enrich himself but he did much to assist others engaged in similarly activities. Michaelis records how one man built himself a house at a cost of 4,000 scudi made from selling on, with Jenkins' aid, a single gem that he had acquired for a song. Over the entrance to his house he had emblazoned the inscription: 'Questa casa è fatta d'una sola pietra' [This house is made from a single stone] (Michaelis 1882, pp. 75-76). When Napoleon occupied Rome Jenkins lost most of his collection, with the exception of the small dactyliotheca he carried with him in a box when he returned to Britain in 1798. He died at Yarmouth, the port of his arrival, having hurt himself in a fall during

Fig. 10.2. Giovanni Pichler
Portraits of Winifred and William Constable. 1771
Glass paste cameos, from the John Chichester-Constable Collection
Courtesty of the Burton Constable Foundation

Fig. 10.3. Giovanni Pichler
Portrait of William Constable, 1771
Pencil drawing
Private collection, Rome

Fig. 10.4. Giovanni Antonio Santarelli
Portrait of Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal York
Onyx cameo 1770s-1780s
Location unknown

Fig. 10.5. Anton Maron
Portrait of Thomas Jenkins. 1791
National Academy of St Luke, Rome

Fig. 10.6. Workshop of Angelo Antonio Amastini
Set with impressions from gems by Nathaniel Marchant. c. 1788
Beazley Archive, University of Oxford

Fig. 10.7. An English interior decorated in the Adam style with cameo medallions

a bad storm, in which the box had caused him serious harm (Ford 1974b, p. 425).

By the early 1760s, the wave of Classicism rippling outward from Rome reached the shores of Britain, the rapidity with which it was absorbed there providing some reason for many authors to place Britain among the forerunners of European Neo-Classicism (Marle 1972; Irwin 1966; Saxl, Wittkower 1969). British soil did indeed seem particularly suited to the new trend: Britain was reaping the benefits of its previous revolutionary advances, with rapid economic growth and the formation of a progressive industrial middle class doing much to bring a new verve to all spheres of public and cultural life. Everything was in place for the veritable flourishing of a national artistic school.

Unlike the learned, 'archaeological' Neo-Classicism of Winckelmann, and indeed of the version promulgated by Jacques-Louis David, which found the source of a new revolutionary approach in Neo-Classical doctrine, Neo-Classicism in Britain – which had already moved on from social revolution and was now embarked on industrial revolution – answered very different requirements. For Britain's still relatively new middle classes, it represented a means of asserting their position in the world of art, from which they had previously remained somewhat aloof. They already occupied leading roles in the economy and in society and they had, therefore, no need to seek in antiquity those examples of civic valour which were to be such an inspiration to French social revolutionaries. The heroic feats of the Ancient Romans were of little interest to the British, whose middle-class rationalist view of the world was impressed rather with the simplicity, clarity and purpose of Neo-Classicism, its strict elegance, nobility and harmony elevating them in their own eyes. Today scholars see in this style an unromantic reaction to the pragmatism of the developing middle-class world, a reaction as natural as Romanticism itself, and Neo-Classicism is thus no longer set in opposition to Romanticism but rather is perceived as being indivisibly linked with it. Taken as a unified whole, therefore, the two movements provide profound expression of the unified nature of the development of British art during the second half of the 18th century. 'The New Classicism,' wrote A. Anikst, 'was suffused with a thirst to revive beauty… This art was more aristocratic than in the previous period, which had passed beneath the banner of democratisation' (Anikst 1974, p. 207).

At the same time, the British aristocracy retained its social and public significance and there was none of the vicious antagonism between the classes that was found France. This aspect of British society, a lack of

sharp divisions between classes, gave an appearance of 'commonality' to aesthetic norms and tastes. Despite striking contrasts in the level and mode of life in different social strata, therefore, there was at least an illusion of stylistic unity, greatly facilitated by the curiously British link between Neo-Classicism and the industrial arts, which were moving rapidly on from individual handcrafting towards cheaper mechanised production that made items considerably more accessible to the middle classes. Britain thus produced an unusual bourgeois-aristocratic art in which refinement and decorativeness existed alongside utilitarianism and practicality, idealisation alongside a taste for realism, standardisation alongside a desire for variety, empiricism and even topicality. The key elements of this new taste rapidly reached the wider public through the catalogues of goods issued by the new artistic industries, by albums of drawings and designs, models, stencils and ornamental motifs, all kinds of handbooks, guidebooks and pamphlets.

It is in those extremely close ties with industrial-scale production of artistic goods that we should seek the reason why attention, when we speak of British Neo-Classicism, is concentrated not on works by leading painters and sculptors such as Gavin Hamilton, Benjamin West or Joseph Nollekens, but on the architectural innovation and ornamental motifs of the Adam brothers, on Sheraton's furniture and Wedgwood's ceramics. Even John Flaxman's contribution was no less significant – perhaps even more so – in the applied than in the fine arts.

Once again, engraved gems were utility items even whilst their decorative function became more pronounced. It became common practice to have several seals, each for different purposes, which might be worn by the most fashionable members of society in bunches suspended from chatelaines or watch chains. Like cameos, intaglios too were now set into expensive mounts and both kinds of gem were increasingly used by jewellers in bracelets, necklaces and earrings. We know, for instance, that in their youth the gem engravers Edward Burch and Nathaniel Marchant worked for the jeweller in London Isaac L'Advocaat, while Marchant also worked with another jeweller in London, one Mr Goom. It became the height of fashion to present gifts of snuffboxes with cameos set into the lid, or at least with miniature paintings *à la camée*. In March 1790, a snuffbox with her own portrait in cameo surrounded by diamonds was presented by Catherine the Great (via the Russian envoy in London, Count Semyon Vorontsov) to Joshua Reynolds as a mark of gratitude for his painting *The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpent* and for the volume of his *Discourses* which he sent her (Vorontsov Archive 1870-98, book 28, p. 113; Hilles 1970, p. 267). This snuffbox – with pastes replacing the diamonds – passed through Christie's in London in 1904, being sold for £95 (Whitley 1928, p. 127). Even London's leading bookbinder of the late 18th century, Roger Payne, set cameos or surrogates into some of his bindings (Lisenkov 1961, p. 235) and cameos might also be set into boxes and cabinet doors.

A variety of Classical ideals and 'formulae' found their way into all spheres of artistic production, embodied in different techniques and materials, translated from the language of one art form to that of another. One relatively simple 'formula' was the image of the Antique gem, an image that was understood as a sign of reverence for Classical ideals and that had thus become established over time as a symbol of 'good taste'. The Antique gem formula was set into buttons and cufflinks, enlarged and then transferred to porcelain and ceramics (Watney 1972, pp. 825-26) [figs. 10.8a and b], to services and marquetry furniture, and even, yet further magnified, appeared on wall coverings and on wall- and ceiling-paintings [fig. 10.7]. Once again, it was not only ancient engraved gems that served as models: at Mount Clare, Roehampton, house of the banker George Clive, built in 1772, there are stucco medallions similar in composition to Marchant's gems *Agrippina Weeping over an Urn*, *Bacchus and Bacchante* and *Dacia* (Seidmann 1987a, p. 76). Such was the dominance of the 'cameo profile' that it came to dictate its laws even to traditional British art forms such as the portrait miniature and to portrait medallions in ceramics, enamel-like glass, wax, ivory and horn.

One name used in Britain to describe Neo-Classicism – The Classical Revival – reflects the very nature of the movement, which did not simply adopt Classical images but stimulated a renewal in the arts and crafts of antiquity. Glyptics had of course been based on ancient models even before this and therefore did not have to go through such a revolutionary transformation as other art forms. Even so, as they were brought into the cultural mainstream they could not but be affected by certain specifically British artistic features.

In search of patronage in other lands, glyptics still found shelter at the courts of absolute monarchs and of princes great and small, or sought to satisfy the demands of travelling aristocrats and the artistic and intellectual elite. In Britain, however, it was the middle classes who were to become the clients for

Fig. 10.8a. Venus and Cupid (after gem)
Print by German J. S. Müller from *Quinty Horatii Flacci Opera*, 1749

Fig. 10.8b. Venus and Cupid
Worcester Mug, mid 18th century
National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

engraved gems. The re-alignment of society played a defining role: there was wide recognition of the social significance of glyptics and its repertoire of subjects was considerably expanded. Aristocratic and royal collectors still tended to acquire their collections largely during their Grand Tour or by commissioning gems from foreign masters, both abroad and home, but the new middle classes emphasised their patriotism by doing everything possible to support home-grown artists.

From the 1760s to near the end of the 18th century, there were very few foreign engravers working long term in Britain. Of the Germans, we can name – in addition to George Michael Moser (1706-1803), who had long been a naturalised citizen – only the German Johann Christofor Labhard II (1741-1814) from Kassel, who worked in London from 1762 to 1779 (Hallo 1934, p. 197). The French medallists H. de Janvry (worked in London 1798-1800) and Lewis (Louis) Pingo (1743-1830; of Italian origin, but born in England), both feature as engravers of stone in the catalogues of two or three exhibitions. Their significance is nothing when set in the context of the veritable battalion of British masters who came to the fore of artistic life during these years, and whose numbers were to grow over the following decades.

During the 18th century it became the custom to place the author's name on gems ('a talented artist could earn more by fine works signed with his own name, than by forging'; Billing 1867, p. 116), thanks to which we know the names of more than 50 engravers working in Britain during the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th. Almost the same number can be culled from dictionaries of artists and sculptors from Nagler (1835-52) to the many editions of Bénézit, from Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists, Coin-, Gem-, and Seal-engravers* (Forrer 1904-30) and other reference works (DNB 1885-1903; Graves 1900, 1905, 1908). The resulting impressive list demonstrates that glyptics had put down firm roots in British soil and that Britain was not only no longer lagging behind continental countries. In fact, Britain was far ahead of Germany and France (E. Babelon's *Histoire de la gravure sur gemmes en France* of 1902 names less than twenty masters active there during this period).

Britain embarked on a lively exchange with the European centre for production of glyptics, Italy, and with other countries, attracting a number of masters but at the same time exporting its own artistic resources. Nathaniel Marchant's years in Rome, which brought him pan-European fame, were succeeded by the long residence in Britain of the Italian Benedetto Pistrucci (1783/84-1855). Edward Burch, although he never quit the shores of Britain, was court engraver to the Polish King Stanislaw II August. The brothers William (1748-1825) and Charles (1749-95) Brown were invited by Louis XVI to come and work in Paris – it was by no means their fault that the Revolution cut short their visit and they spent less than a year there – and for ten years almost the whole of their output was acquired by Catherine II of Russia. Giovanni Pichler's declared intention of travelling to London and even of settling there, although he never did so, is indicative of the country's status within the world

of glyptics (Rollett 1875, p. 18). A number of foreign medallists (who also worked as gem engravers) also visited London for varying lengths of time.

C. Vermeule wrote in *European Art and the Classical Past* that during the Neo-Classical phase of European art 'the medallist and gem engraver ranked as a major rather than a secondary artist' (Vermeule 1964, p. 149), although he pointed out at the same time that was in fact the last period when this was to be the case. Moreover, in Britain a new understanding of the nature of art led to changes in the artist's position within society. The status of artist became prestigious not only for original gem engravers, with even the creators of pastes and casts (as we have seen) occupying a notable place in society. Recall that Tassie's workshop and Wedgwood's showroom – situated not far from each other in London – both served as a kind of artistic club, as a meeting place for poets, artists and writers.

Amongst the highest ranking patrons of glyptics during this period were George III's brother William, Duke of Gloucester, and his sons the Prince of Wales (later George IV) and Augustus, Duke of Sussex, as well as George John, 2nd Earl Spencer, and his wife Lady Lavinia; nor should we forget the 4th Duke of Marlborough). But an important change was taking place in the relationship between gem engravers and their clients: less and less frequently did this take the form of patronage (although that was not totally redundant within the context of the monarchy and flourishing court life), since by the second half of the 18th century most gem engravers had their own independent workshops. One of the first examples was Robert Bateman Wray, whose invoice books provide us with a good idea of his range of prices. Although a good proportion of his output was in the form of heraldic seals it becomes clear that Wray, who was amongst the earliest exhibitors at the Royal Academy shows, introduced purchasers to a totally different set of images and thus played an important role in formation of the new style. Classical subjects appeared in the works of gem engravers such as Edward Burch and others even before they appeared in the larger formats of painting and full-size sculpture.

Archival research by Gertrud Seidmann has revealed that glyptics were an object of interest to The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce almost from the moment of its foundation (Seidmann 1984-85, in 3 parts). The Society's members included leading jewellers and it was thus desirous of doing everything possible to develop the potential of the jewellery market, particularly in the light of the growing demand for rings bearing intaglio seals or cameos.

On 10 March 1759, the Society's Committee of Polite Arts, at the suggestion of Thomas Brand, chairman of the Society and close friend and later heir to Thomas Hollis, influential member of the Society and its Committee, established a prize of 10 guineas for engraving on stone: 'As the art of engraving on Gems is a very antient, useful and curious art, that has always been esteemed yet it is but little practiced in this Nation; it is proposed to give for a Naked Human Figure which shall be best engraven in Intaglio on an Oval Red Cornelian, executed the best with Regard to the Drawing Depth and Freedom of Engraving and excellence of Polish by Persons under the Age of 26 after a Model or Impression appointed by the Society; to be delivered sealed upon or before the last Wednesday in January 1760, 10 Guineas' (quoted in Seidmann 1984-85, part I, p. 813). Judging by the age limit, the organisers intended to encourage already mature professional masters. On 4 July 1759 the Committee rejected the idea of copying a famous gem and suggested that participants reproduce in miniature an ancient statue of Meleager, 'one of the seven most admired antiquities in the world', a plaster cast of which then belonged to the Duke of Richmond [fig. 10.9].

So it was that in January 1760 three sealed crates containing intaglios entered for competition were opened at a session of the Committee chaired by Thomas Brand. Despite the clearly stated conditions, one of the artists had created an intaglio on chalcedony, but the winner was nineteen-year-old Thomas Smith Jr. which forced the Committee henceforth to look again at the age of the participants (Seidmann noted that the talent of this engraver, then only embarking on his career, was to undergo little further development; Seidmann 1984-85, part I, p. 813).

In 1761 the Society announced a new competition. Now there were two prizes: this time the Meleager was to be represented in cameo on onyx, while intaglios had to show the Medici Apollo, accessible to participants, like the Meleager, in the form of a plaster copy in the collection of the Duke of Richmond. The upper age limit for the intaglios was lowered to 24 but that for the cameo engravers was set at 30. In addition, a prize of fifteen guineas was introduced for the making of no less than 20 glass pastes using different recipes, colours and subjects with the aim of being 'an encouragement to manufacture, hand in

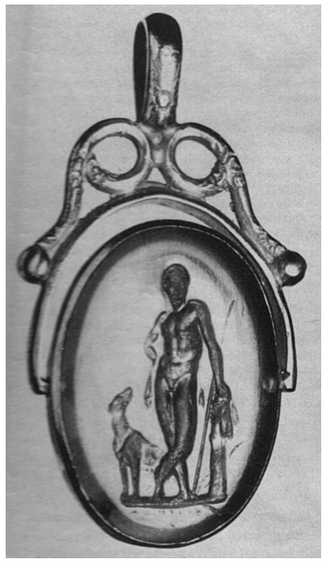


Fig. 10.9. Edward Burch
Meleager (from a copy of an ancient statue in the Duke of Richmond's Gallery). 1759
Glass paste
Location unknown

Fig. 10.10. Edward Burch
Head of the Apollo Belvedere. 1766
(from a Tassie impression)

hand with art' (Seidmann 1984-85, part II, p. 64). It was intended to have a separate prize for successful experimentation in the 'purifying of' onyxes and cornelians, these stones being mainly imported from Germany and being inferior in colour and sheen to the stones of the Orient. At the very end of 1761 the competition rules were amended to establish second prizes for intaglios and cameos, but neither were required: the intaglio of the *Apollo Medici* offered to the Society by Nathaniel Marchant was considered the only piece deserving of reward. The same thing happened the following year when Marchant put forward an intaglio Homer after a bust in the British Museum. In 1762 Marchant's master, Edward Burch, received first prize for his cameo with a head of the Apollo Belvedere Medici, while Samuel More of the Adelphi, who had 'been bred a chymist' (Seidmann 1984-85, part II, p. 65), twice received the prize for glass pastes. Prizes were issued until 1768 (with a break in 1767).

Marchant was to be singled out by the Society with first prizes four times (all for intaglios), Burch three times more (twice for cameos); the jeweller Robert Staples was awarded four second prizes while Nehemia Spicer gained three for his cameos and Lewis Pingo two. Another engraver to receive a prize was John Frewin, while his then 14-year-old pupil William Brown, who took part along with his teacher in the competition for 1763, was disqualified for cheating (Seidmann 1984-85, part II, p. 66). As Seidmann concluded, 'over the ten years, altogether forty-two premiums were offered in gem engraving: for eighteen were gained by seven different artists' (Seidmann 1984-85, part III, p. 150).

During these years a head of the Apollo Belvedere was perceived as the ultimate 'trial piece', the ultimate measure of skill, by many British gem engravers, the cause of much rivalry both within the context of official competitions and in general: Edward Burch Senior took up the subject on numerous occasions and versions were put forward by Marchant (both won The Society for the Encouragement of Arts prize for their renditions), followed by Edward Burch's son, Edward Burch Junior, and Lewis Pingo. King (1866b, p. 447) thought that in this informal competition to produce a head of the Apollo Belvedere all were outdone by William Harris (fl. last quarter of the 18th – early 19th century), who produced such an intaglio c. 1791 (now priv. coll.) [fig. 10.10; fig. 10.11].

Initially – when The Society of Arts offered its first prizes to encourage the production of gems and when gems were accepted for public exhibitions organised by The Society of Artists of Great Britain (1760), The Free Society of Artists (1761), the Royal Academy (1769) and The British Institution (1806) – engravers described themselves as 'sculptors', both

Fig. 10.11. Nathaniel Marchant
Head of the Apollo Belvedere. 1766
(from a Marchant impression)

to elevate their status and to differentiate themselves from 'mere' engravers of seals. Only a short time was to pass, however, before they had so successfully established their new position that they dared to describe themselves more specifically, in competition documents and exhibition catalogues, as 'engraver in gems' or 'engraver in stones', surely a good indicator that glyptics had moved from the periphery to the forefront of artistic life, occupying an equal place amongst the free arts.

From the foundation of The Royal Academy in 1768 to the end of the century its annual exhibitions presented the work of 24 gem engravers (not eleven, as was indicated by Anna Somers Cocks in 1976, p. 375). A survey of the exhibitions organised by The Society of Artists of Great Britain, The Free Society of Artists, The Royal Academy and The British Institution between 1760 and 1860 brings the number of named gem engravers to at least 75. Exhibition catalogues provided artists' addresses, facilitating direct contact between client and artist and thus cutting out the middlemen, the antiquarians and dealers, dependence on whom doomed many talented artists in other lands (particularly Italy) to creative subjection and relative poverty. A topographical survey of these addresses reveals that they were located not far from each other, in the lively 'artistic' regions of London and other towns.

Confirming Vermeule's words regarding the stone engraver's rank as a major artist, we find that gem engravers frequently played an important role in public British artistic life from the start of the 18th century: Charles Christian Reisen, as has already been noted, was a director of Kneller's Academy; Richard Yeo and Christopher Seaton were listed among the first directors of The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, which included John Kirk, Edward Burch, Nathaniel Marchant and William Brown amongst its members; Yeo was also to become a founding member of The Royal Academy; George Michael Moser was not only a founding member but was appointed Keeper; Burch was elected one of the first Associates in 1770 (note that British printmakers were as yet considered unworthy of such an honour!) and for many years performed the duties of Librarian, being considered by contemporaries one of the most educated men of his day. All three are shown in a group portrait of academicians of c. 1773 attributed to Johann Zoffany (Royal Collection), [plate 34] of which a drawn copy was produced by John Sanders completed with numbered figures and a list of the subjects (National Portrait Gallery, London; Fenton 2006, p. 72). The fourth and last gem engraver to join the Academy – in 1771 – was Marchant.

Over just one or two decades, the 1770s and 1780s, the prices for engraved stones increased from 20 or 25 guineas a piece by four or five times or even more and remained at the new level for some time. In his study of the economics of taste during the first decades of the 19th century, Reitlinger noted: '…The collector of the 1830s and 1840s might well have bought Carolingian ivories and 15th-century tapestries for a few pounds apiece. But he would certainly have bought spurious Graeca Roman cameos and intaglios … for anything up to 100 guineas each, and he would have been a very wise man' (Reitlinger 1961-63, II, p. 15).

But we should not idealise the position of British gem engravers, whose activities depended on what competitors were doing, on clients' tastes and the caprices of fashion. Works by the most celebrated masters only rarely found their way into leading British aristocratic dactyliothecae (apart from Edward Burch, the Brown brothers and Marchant, there were very few exceptions) and even more rarely did they reach the 'learned cabinets', which took on an increasingly 'archaeological' character as the 19th century approached. Such collectors still preferred – however frequently they were deceived by unscrupulous dealers – to acquire genuine ancient pieces. Even so, there was a whole new circle of clients and purchasers

Fig. 10.12. Charles Brown
Lion. c. 1787
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 10.13. Charles Brown
Cupid Mounting a Lion. 1787
Sardonyx intaglio (from a cast)
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 141)

now that gems had become a fashionable aspect of Neo-Classical taste. A good indication of just how much the social context within which gems circulated had changed and broadened since the days of Natter can be found in the list of owners of engraved gems attached to Raspe's catalogue of Tassie's casts (Raspe 1791) and the indexes of names in leading works on British art collections (Waagen 1854-57; Michaelis 1882).

The main sphere for the spread of new gems was amongst the 'informed public': the middle classes and gentry, the intelligentsia and members of the art world. In these social groups contemporary cameos and intaglios found use in everyday life, an everyday life which was in many ways already imitative of that of the aristocracy: gems might be utilitarian, serving as desk and pocket seals (the custom of closing letters with a personal seal was only superseded with the appearance of postage stamps in 1840), they might be decorative works or collector's items. Most importantly, engraved gems and all kinds of imitation gems, as part of a collection, were intended to bring the owner closer to Classical art, to instruct him or her in mythology and Ancient History, to ennoble and purify taste. We should note that the casts, prints and drawings which artists imported to Britain for study and improvement were not subject to customs duty (Liscombe 1989, p. 229).

All classicising styles and systems – and British Neo-Classicism was no exception – took a normative approach with a fixed canon of ideals, leading to the production of a vast number of repetitions of commonly recognised and reworked images. Numerous extremely similar gems by different masters made their appearance, but since the engraving of hardstones was extremely labour-intensive, demanding considerable effort, an engraver's prestige was in no way affected if he 'interpreted' the ideas of others. Nor did a multiplicity of replicas reduce the value of the original: on the contrary, the original's fame merely served to raise the price of the replica, and vice versa. Pastes and casts further facilitated the appearance of copies, the repetition of motifs and stereotypes, which led to strange cycle by which gem engravers used casts and pastes as models and their engraved gems were then again reproduced by the various makers of casts. Such direct and reverse links are found between the works of gem engravers and Wedgwood's 'cameos'.

This is not to say, however, that British masters were not frequently capable of compositional innovation, new works usually being marked by the addition to the author's signature of the Latin word 'INVENIT', abbreviated to 'INV' or 'INVT', which appears on works by both leading and lesser artists.

Other variations on a scene sometimes came into being during work on a major piece, since British gem engravers did not always take a direct path from model to gem, creating the final version only after producing 'gem-sketches' in stone. These 'sketches', frequently of some artistic value in themselves, might consist of an anatomical study, as in the case of Burch, or part of the composition, which was more usual for

the Brown brothers [figs. 10.12, 10.13]. Engravers then made one or two, sometimes more, copies from the final work, varying small details, dimensions and the type of stone.

Several features of gem engraving in Britain – some of which made an important contribution to the abundance of engraved gems that appeared during the last quarter of the 18th century – are worthy of particular note here.

Firstly, during this period there was a considerable increase in the import of coloured hardstones from the colonies, providing British gem engravers with relatively cheap material, a benefit not enjoyed by engravers in other countries where there was frequently a deficit of raw materials. British engraved gems thus came in a wide variety of colours and types. Cameos were carved in onyx with greyish-white and greenish-white layers, in two- and three-layer sardonyx and jasper. Meanwhile intaglios were engraved in sard, both pale and dark, in cloudy, milky grey or pale blue chalcedony, transparent rock-crystal, golden topaz, violet amethyst, green emerald, although these were all dominated by varying shades of cornelian, from pale pink to an intense red.

A great influx of European agates and chalcedonies that had already undergone preliminary preparation and were thus considerably easier to engrave came to Britain also from Idar-Oberstein, the European centre for stone-working (Seidmann 1984-85, part II, p. 65). A. Billing provides information about numerous special 'lapidary shops' in London and around the southern coastal towns of Brighton and Hastings (Billing 1867, p. 17). Billing also describes how special tools were used in England, notably a special lathe in which the screw used to attach the chisel or graver on Italian tools was replaced by a leaden plug (Billing 1867, p. 18), complicating work on large stones but simplifying the engraving of small cameos and intaglio seals.

As in other countries, the chief method of training stone engravers in Britain was to have them copy ancient models, but while on the continent the desire to match the art of antiquity was increasingly expressed through a more formal copyist attitude than at any time before, direct copies occupied an insignificant place in the extensive output of British engravers. Moreover, the latter almost never specifically produced fake antique gems. There was in Britain a somewhat freer attitude to Classical prototypes, whether in the creation of engraved gems and coins, of marble statues, busts or reliefs. Engravers frequently took their subjects and motifs not directly from the art of antiquity but second- or even third-hand, turning to the Renaissance, to the 17th century, even to Neo-Classical works from Rome or Paris.

As in large-scale British sculpture, where Neo-Classicism succeeded not to Rococo but to Northern Baroque, engraved gems revealed (particularly during the earlier period) a co-existence of Baroque and Classical features. Like their fellows working on a more monumental scale, gem engravers employed means of expression that had been tried and tested as part of the Baroque experience, even though this was scarcely in accord with Winckelmann's demand for simplicity and clarity. British engravers thus created works which, like the paintings of Reynolds and his followers, are difficult to place in a single stylistic category.

Even once the Baroque was truly a thing of the past, gem engravers followed other Neo-Classical artists in permitting non-Classical elements to appear in their works. Some gems, mainly intaglios, thus take an ancient model as the basis for creation of complex, multi-planar compositions packed with movement, with figures and landscapes, and with a definite play of light and shade. Entirely lacking in that statuary quality so characteristic of the classicising trend, such gems could perhaps better be described as 'painterly'. Here glyptics would seem to have been affected by the notable British tendency for the 'picturesque' [figs. 10.14] expressed in a special theory which pushed wide the bounds of the beautiful and rehabilitated interest in natural surroundings, the 'non-antique ideal' and non-standard taste, and preceded some elements of the Romantic view of the world [figs. 10.15] (Hussey 1967 – unless this mentions gems, cut it). Even in introducing this new manner, however, engravers did not forget the rules governing the use of different materials in their particular sphere, using large, semi-transparent minerals of pale or intense colouring, often with a particular texture, which were suitable for the creation of miniature 'paintings' [figs. 10.16, 10.17].

'Painterly' intaglios were mainly created in the 1770s and 1780s. By the end of this period the Neo-Classical tendency was at last dominating stone-engraving, with fewer 'picture-like' gems being created and engravers turning once more to figures, busts, heads of gods and goddesses, Greek heroes and Roman emperors. Images of women were usually somewhat sentimental, in the spirit of Angelica Kauffmann,

Fig. 10.14. William Barnett
Goddess descending to Embrace the sleeping Endymion. Second half of the 18th century
(from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 10.15. Charles Brown
Orpheus Playing the Lyre Surrounded by Beasts. c. 1791
Cornelian intaglio (from a cast)
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 145)

Fig. 10.16. Charles Brown
Pyrrhus while an infant, before Glaucias, King of Illaria (or The Judgment of Solomon?)
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 10.17. William Whitley
Tityus or Prometheus and the vulture. Second half of the 18th century
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

while male portraits tended to repeat long-established iconographical types. In a few instances they record the appearance of their creators – there was a portrait of Robert Bateman Wray (Gray 1894, No. 417), while Tassie's casts include self-portraits of W. Whitley (Raspe 1791, No. 14474) and William Brown (Raspe 1791, No. 14149), as well as a portrait of Charles Brown by William (Raspe 1791, No. 14148). Multi-figure compositions, mainly on subjects from Classical history and mythology, were now deprived of a sense of space and volume, unfolding frieze-like on a single plane, subordinated to strict rules of symmetry and balance and appealing to the viewer's reason rather than to his or her emotions.

Surely the strongest aspect of British glyptics during the second half of the 18th century was its close link with the national artistic tradition and with contemporary art, manifested above all in the extensive development of the portrait genre. A whole sculptural gallery was created of political and military leaders, members of the nobility and clergy, sailors and doctors, philosophers and scientists, actors and poets, writers and artists. There are some several hundred such gems known today, by both known and anonymous artists. This gallery reflects the numerous nuances and experiments taking place in British painted and sculpted portraiture; there are even direct borrowings, often via printed reproductions. Subjects might be depicted in wigs, more domestically in caps or even bare-headed; they might be in uniform complete with medals and full regalia, or merely somewhat carelessly wear an everyday coat. Portraits might emphasise the sitter's place in society, or by contrast present an idealised image, stylised to reflect the Antique; yet others bore evidence of a desire to show the 'real' person. At times the search for realism might produce results that are today perceived as rather grotesque (for instance portraits of the poet Matthew Prior or the author of the great Dictionary, Samuel Johnson; Raspe 1791, Nos. 14242, 14380). We could compare these very different approaches by looking at portraits of a single figure by different artists, for instance the portraits of Charles James Fox by William Whitley, William Barnett (d. 1804) and Nathaniel Marchant or the even more numerous portraits of David Garrick by Louis Pingo, William Brown, Edward Burch and Nathaniel Marchant.

Any stone-engraver's shop would have ready-made portraits of 'illustrious men', celebrated individuals both British and foreign, which together with series of portrait medallions by Tassie and Wedgwood performed an important educational role.

One very specific group can be formed of casts from engraved portraits of Britons with links to Russia. Amongst these was Lord Cathcart, ambassador to the Russian court 1768-71 and his wife, who died in St Petersburg (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14156, 14157). We might also include here a portrait of the Duchess of Kingston – celebrated adventurer and bigamist who travelled to Russia on three occasions – by William Brown (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14252, 14253) etc.

There was also a notable link between glyptics and that specifically 'British' trend in art, the sporting genre, which led to images on gems of hunting scenes, 'portraits' of thoroughbred horses and pedigree dogs and so on [fig. 10.19]. Main proponent of such works in glyptics was Edward Burch, but lists of engraved gems exhibited at The Royal Academy might figure a 'Portrait of Gentleman' next to 'portraits' of a pointer, a fox terrier or a horse. Further development of the genre came in the work of the Brown brothers and their followers, such engravers turning to works by leading animal painters and sporting artists such as Sawrey Gilpin, George Stubbs and James Northcote – although they used not paintings but engravings from them made by William Woollett, John Murphy and others (Kagan 1960). In gems with a pugilist, a hunter loading his gun or a jockey seated upon his horse for a race, we find reflection of the British national passion for 'sport' of all kinds. The contiguity of glyptics and 'high' art is proved by frequent instances of direct borrowing from painting, graphics and sculpture.

The links between glyptics, art and the modern age, however, were to stretch much further than this [fig. 10.20]. Glyptics also reflected an interest in literature both old and new and in the theatre. Raspe's list of subjects in his catalogue of casts by James Tassie (Raspe 1791) records the Fair Rosamond, heroine of legends and an opera by Addison, begging for her life from the unbending Queen Eleanor (Raspe 1791, No. 15033); the story of the Spartan boy who bore silently the bites of a fox-cub hidden within his jacket, known from translations from ancient authors (Raspe 1791, No. 14842); or Cornelia, mother of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, who, in reply to a request that she show her treasures, said 'I have no treasures save my children'. The last scene was depicted by Edward Burch after a drawing by Benjamin West (Burch 1795, No. 83). One might buy both large and small versions of 'portraits' of Abelard and Heloise, of Shakespeare's Falstaff and Mad Maria from Sterne's Sentimental Journey (this last reproducing a print by William Ryland after a drawing by Angelica Kauffmann; Muthmann 1979, No. 149).

Fig. 10.18 a

Fig. 10.18 b

Fig. 10.18 c

Fig. 10.18 d

Fig. 10.18 e

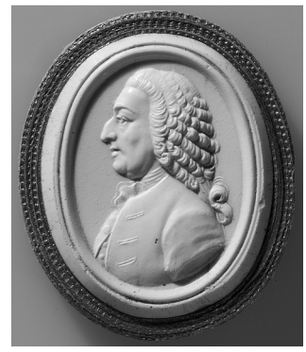


Fig. 10.18 f

Fig. 10.18 g

Fig. 10.18 h

Fig. 10.18 i

Fig. 10.18 j

Fig. 10.18 k

Fig. 10.18 l

Figs. 10.18 a-l
Engraved gems of portrait genre (from Tassie impressions)
Middle and second half of the 18th century

a. John Kirk
Portrait of Elizabeth Claypole, née Cromwell
Cornelian intaglio

b. Robert Batemann Wray
Portrait of Godfrey Kneller, artist
Sardonyx intaglio

c. George Bemfleet
Portrait of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. (After a print by Francesco Bartolozzi.) 1786
Cornelian intaglio

d. Robert Bateman Wray
Portrait of Lord Shaftesbury
Cornelian intaglio

e. Attributed to Law
Portrait of Andrew Marvell, Scotch poet
Cornelian intaglio

f. Anonymous gem engraver
Portrait of William Pitt, 1st Earl Chatham
Cornelian intaglio

g. Robert Bateman Wray
Portrait of Matthew Prior (after the painting by Michael Dahl)
Sard intaglio

h. William Brown
Portrait of Dr William Hunter, celebrated anatomist
Cornelian intaglio

i. Edward Burch
Portrait of James Thomson (after the painting by John Patoun)
Cornelian intaglio

j. William Whitley
Portrait of Charles James Fox (after the painting by Joshua Reynolds)
Cornelian intaglio

k. Modelled by William Barnett
Portrait of Charles James Fox
Agate cameo

l. William Barnett
Portrait of Charles James Fox (after the bust by Joseph Nollekens)
Cornelian intaglio

Fig. 10.19 a

Fig. 10.19 b

Fig. 10.19 c

Fig. 10.19 d

Fig. 10.19 e

Fig. 10.19 f

Fig. 10.19 g

Fig. 10.19 h

Fig. 10.19 i

Fig. 10.19 j

Fig. 10.19 k

Figs 10.19 a-k
Engraved gems of animal and sporting genres (from Tassie impressions)
18th century

a. Sart
Favourite Bolognese dog named “Τρινχαλο”
Cornelian intaglio

b. Charles Brown
Two greyhounds on a chain
Corrnelian intaglio

c. Edward Burch
A Dog named “Modish”
Cornelian intaglio

d. William Brown
Cow and bull
Cornelian-onyx cameo

e. Edward Burch
Anatomical sketch of a hunter (after a print from the painting by Sawry Gilpin)
Cornelian intaglio

f. Attributed to Charles and William Brown
Lion and lioness
Jasper-agate cameo

g. Charles Brown
Horse frightened by a lion (after a print from the painting by George Stubbs)
Cornelian intaglio

h. P.R. Prewin
Two dogs attacking a wild boar
Cornelian intaglio

i. Edward Burch
Lion attacking a horse (after a print from the painting by George Stubbs)
Onyx cameo

j. Anonymous gem engraver
Herd of cows and bulls in a forest
Cornelian intaglio

k. Anonymous gem engraver
Hare-hunting in the English manner
Cornelian intaglio

Fig. 10.20 a

Fig. 10.20 b

Fig. 10.20 c

Fig. 10.20 d

1Fig. 10.20 e

Fig. 10.20 f

Fig. 10.20 g

Fig. 10.20 h

Fig. 10.20 i

Fig. 10.20 j

Fig. 10.20 k

Fig. 10.20 l

Figs. 10.20 a-l
Engraved gems of miscellaneous subjects (from Tassie impressions)
Middle and second half of the 18th century

a. Edward Burch
Cornelia, mother of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus (after Benjamin West). Late 18th century
Cornelian intaglio

b. The Spartan boy clasping a young fox to his breast
Cornelian intaglio

c. William Whitley
Rosamond with the fatal cup in her hand
Cornelian intaglio

d. A head or mask, composed of a likeness of Charles Fox and Lord North: an allusion to the coalition
Cornelian intaglio

e. A Negro on his knees in chains, with the inscription: AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER. 1788
Cornelian intaglio

f. Charles Fox haranguing Parliament with the inscription: VOX POPULI
Cornelian intaglio

g. Mad Maria from Sterne's 'Sentimental Journey' (after a print by William Ryland from a drawing by Angelica Kauffmann)
Cornelian intaglio

h. Hot-air balloon
Cornelian intaglio

i. The Front of the Pantheon on Oxford Street (designed by James Wyatt in 1772; rebuilt in 1792 after a fire)
Cornelian intaglio

j. Admiral's ship in open sea
Cornelian intaglio

k. Off to the Hunt
Cornelian intaglio

l. Shipwrecks
Cornelian intaglio

Fig. 10.21. John Milton
Comedy holding a shield with the inscription: *MILTON ENGRAVER, No. 6. QUEEN STR. GOLDEN SQ.* Late 18th century
Personal seal of the engraver
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 10.22. William Brown
Liberality or Peace sending a Genius with keys to ransom imprisoned debtors.
Seal of the Charitable Society. Late 18th century
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

British gems reflect the world around them, with depictions of sailing ships and hot-air balloons (Raspe 1791, Nos. 15024-15030, 15053), shipwrecks (Raspe 1791, No. 1503), the Speaker in Parliament and the Pantheon on Oxford Street before it was rebuilt in 1792 (Raspe 1791, No. 14189, 15052), a dead game cock which had shown particularly bravery in a cockfight (Raspe 1791, No. 5318), a country girl feeding chickens before a cottage (Raspe 1791, No. 15040), a design for a monument to American Independence (Raspe 1791, No. 14976), the British national flag (Raspe 1791, No. 14964), and so on.

Amongst the additional Tassies sent to the Hermitage is a cast from a gem paying honour to the American flag as it was described in 1776 in *The London Chronicle*.

Meanwhile the fashion for mourning jewellery – born of sentimentalism – gave rise to a demand for engraved gems bearing a *memento mori*, mournful texts or funerary urns (cats. 120-24, 341-44). At the other end of the spectrum, humour and caricature also found their way into the repertoire, influenced by topical satirical prints: even this tiny art form, apparently so far removed from more imposing, public forms, was drawn into the world of British politics and society.

Allegorical and emblematic gems were widespread, their images symbolising Fortune, Victory, Peace, Friendship and Hope [fig. 10.21]. Engravers took as their sources translations and reprints of old iconologies such as the celebrated *Iconologia* of Cesare Ripa, first published in the late 16th / early 17th century, new editions of which were to be found on the bookshelves alongside more contemporary British compilations. Rudolf Erich Raspe (1791, pp. 350, 351), with his strict views on education and enlightenment, was disapproving of the use of a new two-volume Iconology by George Richardson (1778-79), seeing it as a sign of bad taste. He instructed engravers to turn directly to the ancient authors and ancient models, but this did nothing to reduce the number of intaglios overloaded with clumsy allegories. Such pieces were used as seals by individuals and by many of the numerous Societies that were being set up in Britain on almost any pretext (e.g. William Brown's seal for The Charitable Society Instituted at London, for the Delivery of the Industrious Poor from Prison, [fig. 10.22] or that by an unknown gem engraver for The Philanthropic Lodge at Long Melford, Suffolk [fig. 10.23]).

Allegories produced on official commission tended to reflect contemporary history which, when combined with the techniques employed, led to a great similarity

Fig. 10.23. William Brown
Seal of the Philantrophic Society, Lodge of Long Melford, Suffolk
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

to medals. As in previous generations, one artist might frequently combine the production of engraved gems with a career as a medallist.

Thus the path taken by glyptics in Britain during the second half of the 18th and early 19th century differed in many ways from that it took on the continent. It moved beyond the limitations set by the system of genres which still dominated there and it sought not slavish copying but rather a creative reworking of ancient models. In Britain, both engraved gems themselves and casts from them played a defining role in establishing British Neo-Classicism, the catalogues of contemporary exhibitions revealing how some subjects from the Antique appeared first on gems, only to be taken up later in painting and sculpture.

All this allows us to state that the phenomenon which was British glyptics of the second half of the 18th century was unique and brilliant . The development of glyptics was of course partly dependent on changes in the ideological and cultural climate. As Neo-Classicism became entrenched in both artistic practice and perception, there were profound evolutionary processes that inevitably led to modifications in taste: while we observe a turn away from intaglios in the 1760s and 1770s, with the preference increasingly being given to the more picturesque and painterly cameos, in the 1780s and 1790s incised engraving – with its inherent dominance of line – found itself back in favour once again. In both techniques British engravers responded sensitively to current trends and revealed themselves to be extremely receptive to innovation, able to develop a language fitting to the times and the material in hand. They gave their works features unknown in other schools of glyptics – great warmth, grace, sentimentality and romanticism, creating a particular mixture which makes them immediately recognisable and which makes up what Nikolaus Pevsner so neatly described simply as ‘Englishness’.

Plate 34

Richard Yeo
Medalist, gem engraver

Edward Burch
Sculptor, gem engraver, librarian of the Royal Academy

George Micheal Moser
Jeweller, gem engraver, first Keeper of the Royal Academy

Detail from *The Academicians of the Royal Academy* by Johann Zoffany.
Royal Collection. c. 1773

11

The flourishing of a national school

Thanks to this vast creative outpouring from a considerable number of gem engravers linked not only by their British origins but also by a commonality of style that reflected unified artistic principles, we can speak of a flourishing of the national school during the second half of the 18th century. All the leading representatives of this school – Edward Burch, Nathaniel Marchant, William and Charles Brown – were endowed with great artistic powers and an understanding of the questions of the age, as well as a virtuoso mastery of technique that put them on a par with the best contemporary European masters: with Jacques Guay and Roman Vincent Jeffroy in France; the Pichler dynasty, Carlo Costanzi, Giovanni Antonio Santarelli, Filippo Rega in Italy; Gottfried Benjamin Tettelbach and Friedrich Wilhelm Facius in Germany; the Abrachams, father and son, in Austria; Jean Henri and Jean Maria Amable Henri Simon in Belgium; Karl Leberecht and Georg Heinrich König in Russia.

Even this first rank of artists would not have been sufficient, however, if it were not for the large body of masters of secondary rank who stood behind them, men such as William Barnett, George Bemfleet, Thomas Bragg, Richard Dean, Doddington, William Fraser, John Frewin, J. Grew, William Harris, John Kirk, I. Lambert, William Lane, Law, John Milton, Thomas and William Pownall, Robert Priddle, Thompson, J.B. Varley, Thomas Warner, James Wicksteed both elder and younger, William Whitley, S. Williams, Robert Bateman Wray, Richard Yeo and a whole series of others whose works are known today from originals and casts. Those works are not perhaps of international significance but certainly they are of great importance within the context of the national school. And more, the ordinary ranks of lesser craftsmen who stood behind them, those who created the anonymous works which occupy a by no means inconsiderable place within the overall heritage of British glyptics and which form the background that is necessary for the full-blooded existence of any national school.

Publications dealing with the history of Western European glyptics have tended, where they mention even of a few of these names, to refer to them all as contemporaries, with no clear idea of their relation to each other. At best such literature might provide dates of birth and death – which are by no means always available – or the extremely basic information that Charles Brown was younger brother of William Brown, that Marchant studied under Edward Burch, and that the latter was the father of Edward Burch Junior. Yet a closer look reveals that the activity of this veritable galaxy of masters stretches over some 75 or 80 years, a period within which there were several generations of engravers, each of which combined inherited traditions with new features reflecting changing conditions in British life and culture and the spirit of British society.

Three main phases become clear from a closer study of how glyptics developed in this boom period: the first taking in the 1750s and 1760s, the second encompassing the three last decades of the 18th century, and the third – which was perhaps more a sort of inert 'run-on' from the previous outpouring of energy – unfolding in the early 19th century. Such a division can of course only be approximate, but its purpose is to establish the precise place of each artist within the history of British glyptics. The basis of this task lies in information on gem engravers provided in key biographical and other reference works (Nagler

1835-52; Redgrave 1878; DNB 1885-1903; Thieme, Becker 1907-47; Forrer 1904-30; Annual Bibliography 1936-39; Gunnis 1953, Strickland 1969) and of course the summaries of exhibitors at London's major artistic societies (Graves 1901, 1905-6, 1907, 1908).

It is only, however, through a precise or, where that is not possible, a relative dating of the cameos and intaglios that the gem engravers produced that we can provide a reliable characterisation of each of the three phases and establish some sense of creative evolution. In some cases dating is not difficult, where titles and subjects of originals and casts can be identified with works listed in the catalogues of exhibitions organised by the Society of Artists, the Royal Academy and the British Institution. Approximate datings can also be arrived at with the aid of the manuscript catalogue of the Tassie Cabinet in the Hermitage Archive, since casts were produced from works by contemporary British gem engravers more or less as soon as they were made and thus were included immediately in the relevant – dated – part of the catalogue (part I, Nos. 1-6076, was compiled in 1782; part II, Nos. 6077-9064, in 1785; part III, Nos. 9065-12725, in 1786; part IV, Nos. 12726-15050, in 1788). A cut-off date of 1791 for many gems is provided by the printed version of the catalogue (Raspe 1791). With regard to the gems of William and Charles Brown work is greatly facilitated by the large body of documents in Russian archives that deal with the gems provided over the course of some sixteen years from 1786 to 1802, during the first ten of which they were employed almost exclusively by Catherine II (see Kagan 1976, pp. 58-68 and Appendix II). Traditional stylistic and iconographical analysis of portraits and subjects also has an important role to play.

This story of British engravers of the second half of the 18th century requires us to recall some of those who had been active much earlier. For Christopher Seaton – described by Mariette in 1750 as the central figure in the circle of London masters – was still at work in the 1750s and 1760s (he died in 1768); the activity of Robert Bateman Wray, Richard Yeo and John Kirk, who had all come to the fore in the 1740s, continued in the 1770s. Despite Mariette's pessimistic prognosis, based on the low prices charged for engraved gems in Britain at the time, that there was a decline in interest in glyptics, these artists proved to have been standing on the threshold of not a decline but a boom in glyptics in their native land. Not all of them survived in the new era, Seaton, for instance, being hindered by the burden of his outmoded conceptions. An intaglio showing St Helen after a painting by Guido Reni,

Fig. 11.1. Robert Bateman Wray
The Fair Laundress. Mid-18th century
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

which he showed at the first exhibition of the Society of Artists of Great Britain in 1760 (Graves 1907, p. 229), provides evidence of a tendency towards the manner of his teacher, Charles Christian Reisen. Even his adoption of ancient subjects during his last years was not an indication that he had converted to the new 'Classical faith'. We can attribute to him two works in the Hermitage collection, portraits of Alexander Pope (cat. 81) and Isaac Newton (cat. 82).

Robert Bateman Wray (1715-79), a native of Salisbury, was a less straightforward figure. His work combined equal shares of old and new and provides a more just reflection of the nature of British glyptics as a whole in the third quarter of the 18th century. His keen interest in Italian academicism is manifested in such works as *Dying Cleopatra*, deriving from a work by Guido Reni (the Hermitage has a replica of this gem, perhaps by the artist himself, and a copy of it; cats. 88, 89), and in his reproduction of Bernini's head for an antique statue known as The Gypsy (or Zingara; Raspe 1791, No. 14719). At the same time a triple repetition of a head of Antinoe indicates that Wray was capable of careful and fruitful study of the Antique; moreover, in signing his gems he often transliterated it into the Greek alphabet. Except in one or two cases owners of Wray's intaglios (he did not produce cameos) are not indicated in Raspe's catalogue. He worked not only on commission but also directly for sale, creating his own a demand for glyptics on the London art market. Orienting himself towards the less demanding tastes of the inexperienced consumer, Wray took a female head of the so-called *Fair Laundress*, taken from cheap prints, and used it as the basis of a variety of works, [fig. 11.1] now a woman in the character of Flora or Venus, now – by altering the direction of her

Fig. 11.2. Robert Bateman Wray
Bust of Mary Magdalene. Mid -18th century
Chalcedony intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.3. Richard Yeo
Ixion embracing a cloud. 1760s
Intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

gaze up or down or by adding a variously arranged shawl over her head – the Virgin or Mary Magdalene [fig. 11.2] (for a copy of the latter see cat. 90).

Apparently mutually exclusive tendencies also appear side by side in Wray's portraits – this being one of the main spheres of his activities. Images vividly recalling the keen character portraits by Hogarth in painting and Roubiliac in sculpture are set off against a classicising bust of Lord Shaftesbury (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14405, 14406), and this in turn contrasts with a warm and tender portrait of his own wife (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14472, 14473). His outstanding talents are revealed in his posthumous portraits of the artist Godfrey Kneller (which Wray thought to be the most important of all his works), the poet John Milton (en face; Raspe 1791, Nos. 14255, 14288). A profile bust of Milton (Raspe 1791, No. 14290) marked the commencement of a whole series of portraits of illustrious men which included also Newton, Shakespeare, Pope and others (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14316, 14365, 14421).

Wray outlived Seaton, remaining on the scene long enough to become an exhibitor at the Royal Academy, and the work of this prolific artist exerted a significant influence on the development of British glyptics. He not only brought the art form to a wider circle of people, but he established in the canon numerous subjects rooted in the British Enlightenment, many of which were then to appear in the works of Edward Burch, the Brown brothers, James Wicksteed the Elder and Younger, William Lane and others. Moreover, his influence was felt in other art forms – a popular medal dedicated to Milton, for instance, was based on a gem by Wray (Forrer 1904-30, VI, p. 555) and repetitions of his gems appear among Wedgwood's portrait medallions. An album in the British Museum contains 59 contour drawings, among them some by the engraver himself for his own gems, mainly on themes from the Antique, which could be used by other masters (Binyon 1898-1907, Nos. 366-68). Wray's account books in the Society of Antiquaries gives us the prices for stones and for his finished works and include images from which clients might select the motif most particularly to his taste (Somers Cocks 1976, p. 374).

A considerable contribution to the art of stone engraving was made by Richard Yeo (c. 1720-89) and John Kirk (1724-76). Both of them, and particularly Yeo, who from 1775 occupied the post of chief engraver at the Mint, are better known as medallists. Yeo, who began his career in the 1740s, from 1745 attending the St Martin's Lane Academy in order to improve his drawing skills (Vertue 1929-50, III, p. 127), is often said to have started engraving on stone only in the middle of the 1760s. Vertue's Notebooks help us refute such a suggestion, however, for in 1741 he wrote of his satisfaction that Britain was at last acquiring its own masters of glyptics, citing Yeo as an example – 'Mr. Yeo, seal engraver of stone & c. Has cut a head of the Meduse – from the original very well' (Vertue 1929-50, III, p. 107).

Perhaps one reason for the misunderstanding with regard to Yeo is that we know only a few of his works in stone. There are three casts in the Tassie Cabinet: a head of Cromwell on amethyst, a head of Shakespeare on cornelian and an original composition with a figure of Ixion embracing a cloud (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14006, 14410, 1517) [fig. 11.3]. Yet catalogues of exhibitions at The Society of Arts make clear that

he showed no fewer gems than medals. The lists of gems he exhibited in 1763 and 1768 (Graves 1907, pp. 289-90) allow us to add a smaller version of the composition with Ixion, probably somewhat earlier (Raspe 1791, No. 1518). In both versions the figure of Ixion, King of the Lapiths, was a 'quotation' from a famous aquamarine intaglio of the 4th century BC showing Hercules carrying the Cretan Bull, signed by Anteros (ANTEPΩTOC), in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. The Hermitage has an excellent example of Yeo's elegant manner in a cornelian intaglio showing *Diana with a Bow* (cat. 91) [plate 35.1]. Full of lightness and dynamism, of inner fire, this image brings to mind some of Gainsborough's canvases. In the rhythm that unfolds along the diagonal, in the play of light and shade that is reinforced by the stone's natural texture, in the complex whirl of lines, we see echoes of the Rococo of the kind frequently mentioned in descriptions of Gainsborough's painting style.

Yeo was the only one of these early masters to engrave gems in relief – he produced at least two cameos: a portrait of the Duke of Cumberland, repeated in a medal for the Cumberland Society, and a sardonyx *Triumph of Jupiter*, a copy after the Antique (Graves 1907, p. 289).

John Kirk, pupil of the Swiss medallist Jacques Antoine Dassier (1715-59), underwent a rapid stylistic development. He began with a *Head of Susanna* after François Duquesnoy ('Fiamingo'; Raspe 1791, No. 138369), [fig. 11.4] a *Mary Magdalene* after a sculpture by Joseph Wilton, which also lay within the Baroque tradition, and wigged portraits of George II (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14048, 4049). The next stage on this path was represented by his portraits of George III (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14062, 14064) and the London modeller Isaak Gosset, magnificently portrayed in Natter's spirit of compromise (Raspe 1791, 14212); Kirk produced some of his medals from wax models by Gosset. The last stage in his work was marked by the Neo-Classical head of the young Reynolds after a model by John Flaxman (Raspe 1791, No. 14392). Kirk repeated a portrait after a medal of Miss Claypole, daughter of Cromwell (Raspe 1791, No. 14161).

This first great age of the British national school is thus characterised by a combination of different stylistic features, although with a marked tendency towards dominant classicising features. Heads dominate in gems on antique subjects, with only few figure compositions, none of which can be grouped by theme or subject. An emphasis on portraiture, like the close link between glyptics and the art of the medallist, with artists dividing their efforts more or less equally between the two spheres, was inherited from the previous age. Moreover, the works of these artists could be seen by the public not only in the privacy of their workshops but also at exhibition.

The first exhibition of The Society of Artists of Great Britain in 1760 included works by Edward Burch (1730-1814; Graves 1907, p. 43), whose name was to recur on the pages of exhibition catalogues right up to 1808. Burch's long career forms a link uniting the next two stages of British gem engraving [fig. 11.5].

Having spent his youth as a Thames waterman, Burch was already an adult when he decided to become a carver of seals, acquired the necessary tools and taught himself the craft. He learned drawing and modelling at classes at the St Martin's Lane Academy and in the Duke of Richmond's Gallery. At that first exhibition at The Society of Artists, the 30-year-old engraver showed the public his onyx cameo of *St George and the Dragon*, intended to be worn as a Lesser George, but although he was to return repeatedly to religious subjects from both the Old and New Testament his repertoire was henceforth to be dominated by Classical themes, allegories, portraits and sporting subjects. In the 1760s, we recall, his gems were rewarded with prizes on three occasions in the competitions organised by The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts. The engraver's early patron was the Duke of Buccleuch (Seidmann 2000, p. 1) and he was taken up later by the 4th Duke of Marlborough.

In 1769 , the year following after the foundation of the Royal Academy, Burch was accepted as a student in the Academy Schools, becoming an Associate just a year later. In 1771 he presented as his programme work a large sard with a full-length figure of Neptune, his trident resting on an urn adorned with an image of a triton, water pouring forth from the urn (Burch 1795, No. 76) [fig. 11.6]. Behind Neptune are the British flag and a ship's wheel and the gem bears the artist's signature and the date, plus the letters 'RA' for Royal Academy – letters which were henceforth to be present on nearly all his works. Demonstrating all the necessary mastery of line and form and an excellent knowledge of anatomy (having studied under Dr William Hunter), Burch nonetheless revealed a certain lack of subtlety in his expression of the patriotic glorification of Britain as ruler of the waves.

We find a key to the whole of Burch's oeuvre in a cornelian intaglio (Raspe 1791, No. 769) in which he expressed his attitude to the Classical heritage,

Fig. 11.4. John Kirk
Bust of Susanna (after the statue by François Dusquesnoy). Mid-18th century
Intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.5. George Dance
Portrait of Edward Burch. 1793
Pencil drawing
Royal Academy, London

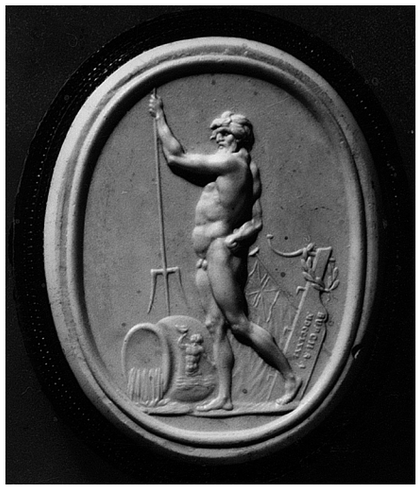


Fig. 11.6. Edward Burch
Neptune striking with his trident an urn with water. Academy programme work. 1771
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.7. Edward Burch
Saturn (Chronos) destroys the Belvedere Torso
Before 1775
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

showing Chronos by the Belvedere Torso (in the Vatican, Rome) placed on a pedestal [fig. 11.7]. Burch seeks – despite the omnipotence of Time – to bring Antiquity to life, to make it not just a matter for museums and for tourists, but something that was an inherent part of contemporary life, accessible to all. His last work, exhibited in 1808, represented his own attempt to 'restore' the Belvedere Torso (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 342). He had already had some experience of such reconstruction in two small almost identical replicas in which he copied an ancient sard fragment bearing a portrait of Antinoos, then in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough, filling in those parts that were missing (Seidmann 1994b, p. 175) [plate 35.2].

Burch's manner altered over time. Producing both relief and concave gems, he gradually liberated himself from the excessive stateliness of his early works, although his mature style remained relatively restrained. He combined direct copies from the Antique with numerous inventions. Inspired by the art of Michelangelo and Titian, for instance, he captured the former's Leda and the Swan and the latter's Sleeping Venus into stone (Raspe 1791, Nos. 1233, 6291).

The Hermitage owns at least four gems by Burch. These include a copy from the celebrated ancient *Dionysian Bull* by Hyllos (cat. 32; original now Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), a gem that was popular in the 18th century thanks to numerous casts and prints. Two intaglios signed by the master derive from the Vatican bust of Sappho as interpreted by Giovanni Pichler (cats. 30, 31). A chalcedony intaglio of a *Sacrifice to Minerva* is a superb example of Burch's own original work (cat. 29). Burch exhibited a cast from this intaglio, or a replica of it (Seidmann 1984-85, part III, p. 150), at The Society of Artists in 1769, but in fact he produced few multi-figure – or even two-figure – compositions, preferring heads and single figures.

In his portraiture Burch gave preference to the historical genre, creating his images in the manner of the era in which the subject lived. His image of Raphael (Burch 1795, No. 8), therefore, is taken from a drawing by Angelica Kauffmann that derives from the artist's self-portrait in *The School of Athens*; his image of Michelangelo (Raspe 1791, No. 14122) comes from a medal by Leone Leoni, and that of Inigo Jones (Raspe 1791, No. 14236) from Van Dyck's drawing for his Iconographia. Burch's portrait of James Thomson (author of The Seasons) is amongst his best works (Raspe 1791, No. 14444).

Burch made an unquestionable contribution to glyptics by introducing themes that had previously been considered unsuitable to the art form and opened the way for a new generation of younger masters to be even more daring. It was he, we recall, who introduced sporting scenes to gem engraving. Prior to this the only motif which might possible be related to the British love of animals appeared in the work of one 'Sart' (fl. first half of the 18th century), who depicted a lap-dog with its name engraved in Greek (Raspe 1791, No. 2206). Taking up the peculiarly British sporting genre, Burch created two kinds of work. First were the 'portraits' of horses, dogs and cows in which the beast's static silhouette is set against a smooth ground, sometimes with its name engraved nearby, perhaps set in a cartouche. The second type derived from celebrated compositions by George Stubbs, *Horse Frightened by a Lion* and *Lion Attacking a Horse* (Raspe 1791, Nos. 13235, 12929), for which he transferred the central groups into stone miniature, albeit without capturing that romantic excitement which had so amazed contemporaries in the originals. He was more concerned with anatomically correct depiction of a horse's points, for instance, and it was no coincidence that Wedgwood chose him to produce a series of wax models for nineteen cameo-sized medallions showing horses, based on Burch's own life studies (Kanter 1968, pp. 160-61). Preserved in the Wedgwood archives are documents dating from 1788 to 1790 relating to payments of small sums made to Burch for this work. It had previously been thought that the models were made by George Stubbs from his own sketches (Mankowitz 1953, p. 62).

Burch's name also inevitably crops up when we look at the sources of complex allegory in British glyptics. He sought to illustrate both abstract concepts and specific aspects of contemporary life through the use of those symbols and emblems which were so readily understood by contemporaries. *Self Government or Conquering Passion* (Raspe 1791, No. 5849) [fig. 11.8] is an allegory for man's restraint of his own passions and was repeated by other engravers, including Whitley (Raspe 1791, No. 5722). An intaglio reproducing Falconet's figure of *Winter* was naturally perceived as the embodiment of 'Affection', 'Attention', 'Care', 'Tenderness' (all of which names are used to describe it by Raspe (1791, No. 8034). In an intaglio entitled *Bengalia*, created in the mid-1780s (Raspe 1791, No. 8034), [fig.11.9] Burch also responded to the colonial theme: the weeping figure of Bengal repeated that of Dacia from a celebrated ancient relief but was here placed beneath an Italian pine, the trophy in the original being replaced by the

Fig. 11.8. Edward Burch
Hercules Taming a Tiger Chained to an Anchor. 1765
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.9. Edward Burch
Conquered Bengalia (after an ancient bas-relief on the arch of Palazzio conservatory in Rome). 1780s
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

outline of an elephant, with an empty cornucopia added to the ground. Raspe's commentary on the Tassie cast from this work is also full of meaning: 'Bengal, characterised by the elephant and a quiver, sitting under a pine tree, bewailing the horrors of the famine which distressed that country some years ago, and which is expressed by a horn of plenty empty, whether emptied by a failure of the crops or by monopolizers?' (see Raspe 1791, p. 472).

It is quite rightly the content of Burch's works that draws our attention and not their artistic skill. He adopted the most general principles of Classical sculpture, giving traditional form to academic ideals and norms to produce gems that are not marked by great individuality of style.

It was through Burch that British glyptics first gained recognition on the continent: he combined his performance of the duties of court engraver of medals and gems to George III with service abroad under Prince Stanislaw Poniatowski, later Stanislaw II August of Poland, himself a great connoisseur and admirer of engraved gems, and his nephew Count Poniatowski, Prince Czartoryski. We know from Raspe's catalogue of Tassie casts (1791), which mentions some one hundred of Burch's gems, that they were also owned by the Duke of York, the Prince of Wales, David Garrick, Joshua Reynolds and Antonio Zucchi, to the French artists Gabriel de Saint-Aubin and Jaques Guay, and to many others, both those of renown and those occupying more a modest position in society.

Burch's fame began to decline at the end of the 1780s, his supreme position being occupied now by his talented pupil Nathaniel Marchant, who had returned from Rome in 1788. Burch received fewer commissions and sales of his gems, once purchased from exhibitions in their dozens, slowed down considerably. Their price fell to just ten guineas (Farington 1978-84, II, p. 458) while Marchant was commanding a hundred or even two hundred guineas for a single portrait. In 1796, for instance, Burch received just two commissions, for an intaglio head of Shakespeare and a seal for Lady Mansfield with a 'portrait' of her favourite cow. His hand had become less firm and his manner now looked somewhat old-fashioned and the diary of the artist Joseph Farington (Farington 1978-84, II, pp. 461, 571, 598) presents a sad picture of the ageing master leaving no stone unturned in his requests for financial aid from the Academy. Having run up debts with the firm of jewellers that provided settings for his gems, Burch scrabbled to bring in some income, setting up a subscription amongst members of the Academy for a series of one hundred casts from his gems (Burch 1795), [fig. 11.10] which were made for him by James Tassie (Tassie-Wilson MS 1778-1826, Letter 60) and made portrait miniatures. In order to help support him the Academy appointed him librarian.

During the last years of his life Burch's sight began to fail, yet he continued to work, creating a number of pieces based on poetical associations; catalogues of exhibitions at the Royal Academy for 1806-8 mark these pieces with quotations from poems (Graves

1905-6, I, pp. 341-42). Sadly we do not today know of any of these gems, or of casts from them. Burch taught his skills to both his sons, but only Edward Junior (fl. 1787-1804) became a gem engraver, mainly copying his father's works.

Nathaniel Marchant (1739-1818) [fig. 11.11] is frequently described as the leading British gem engraver of the age and has even been called the English Giovanni Pichler (Dalton 1915, p. LVIII). Certainly he is the only one to have been thought worthy even in his homeland of a separate monograph and catalogue raisonné of his 158 recorded works, 51 of which survive today (Seidmann 1987a).

In the older literature we find two mutually exclusive descriptions of Marchant's origins, both of which occur with similar frequency. According to one he was born in Sussex in 1739, and to the other, supported by, among others, O.M. Dalton and A. Billing, he was born sixteen years later in 1755, in Germany. From there, such authors suggest, he went to Rome and became acquainted with British connoisseurs, moving to London in 1788 or 1789. This second version was at last disproved by Gertrud Seidmann (1987a) on the basis of established facts in Marchant's biography and his documented early exhibition activity.

We do not know if it was through Burch that Marchant was first introduced to the art of engraving on stone but certainly in 1764, when he had already received a prize from The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts for engraving The Apollo Medici, Marchant gave his home address – and thus his place of study – as 'at Mr Burch Engraver Bedford Street opposite Bedford Row'. Just a year later, both teacher and pupil were rewarded by the Society for a Head of Apollo Belvedere but now it was the pupil who received the higher prize. The Tassie Cabinet included three casts of gems created by Marchant in Burch's studio: a copy of a Renaissance cameo with the head of a Moor, being a rare example of relief engraving in Marchant's oeuvre, a portrait of Emperor Charles V taken from a medal, and a portrait of a man (Raspe 1791, Nos. 13922, 13923, 14606).

It was with a *Head of the Apollo Belvedere* that Marchant began his appearances before the London public in 1765 in the rooms of the Society of Artists (Graves 1907, p. 155) [see fig. 10.10 and 10.11]. His new address – 'at Mr March's, Hosier, without Temple Bar' – was evidence that his apprenticeship to Burch was now over. During these early years before he had established his own distinct manner, he exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1770 a *Head of St Susanna* (from the head of the statue by 'Il Fiamingo'), a subject which had been much in demand since the days of Kirk (although henceforth engravers were to be asked to copy Marchant and not his predecessor) and a Roxana after Charles Lebrun (1772), which unfortunately does not survive even in cast form. He gained particular success with a portrait of David Garrick with a bust of Shakespeare, reminiscent of Gainsborough's painted portrait (the Hermitage has a glass copy, cat. 54). As was pointed out by Seidmann (1987a, p. 7), in the second half of the 1760s and early 1770s Marchant, who had moved once more, was to participate in some seventeen exhibitions, although he frequently showed not the original gems – these having passed directly to the client once they were complete – but wax models from them or 'a frame with impressions'.

It was only when he left for Rome in 1772 that Marchant at last began to develop his own manner, tirelessly copying ancient (and very occasionally Renaissance) monuments, everything from statues, busts and bas-relief to coins, individual motifs on vases, sarcophagi and wall paintings [figs. 11.12 and 11.13]. Commenting on a whole series of works in their monograph on the lure that antiquities had for Europeans between 1500 and the early 1900s, Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny mention paraphrases of them by Marchant and particularly emphasise his role in propagandising ancient art (Haskell, Penny 1981, pp. 139, 186, 190, 194, 206, 270).

Indeed, dozens of the gods and heroes, legendary and historical figures from antiquity which filled the museums, squares, villas and palaces of Rome, Florence and Athens found new life in the miniature surfaces of Marchant's intaglios. Only when a monument required reconstruction of some lost or damaged element did Marchant, following the example of his teacher, allow himself to let his own imagination encroach on this Ancient world.

Even a cursory glance at Marchant's works is sufficient to strike us with the differences between his style and Burch's more corporeal manner, modelled in accordance with all the academic rules. They represented a new stage in Neo-Classical style, a significant contribution to the formation of that international language known from the works of Flaxman, Canova and Thorwaldsen. Here we see pure contour, with line dominating form and giving unity of movement to the figures. Modelling is minimal and softened, the relief somewhat shallow, almost without any sense of volume in figure compositions. Like

Fig. 11.10. *Series of One Hundred Proofs from Gems, Engraved in England, by E. Burch, R.A., Engraver to His Majesty*, London, 1795

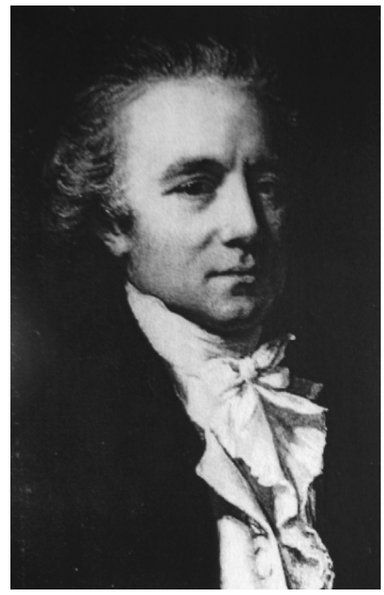


Fig. 11.11. Hugh Douglas Hamilton
Portrait of Nathaniel Marchant. 1779-88
By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum

Fig. 11.12. Nathaniel Marchant
Orestes and Pylades (after an ancient bas-relief). 1785-88
Sard intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.13. Nathaniel Marchant
Heliodorus (after the painting by Raphael in the Vatican). 1772-88
Sardonyx intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Flaxman in his celebrated drawings and etchings, Marchant sometimes seemed to approach the appearance of Greek vase painting. This somewhat cold manner, once established, was henceforth to remain incredibly stable.

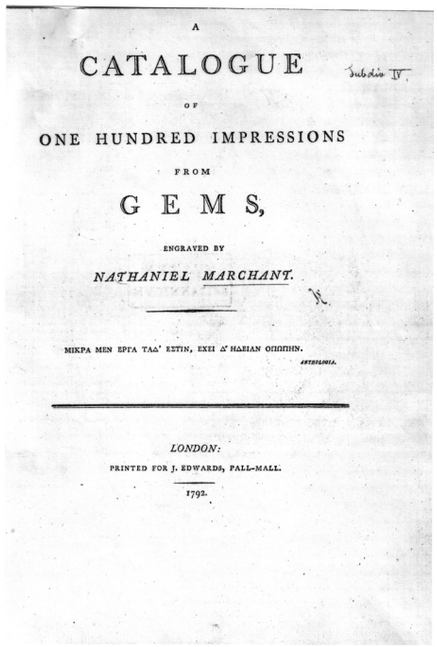
It is important to note two features of Marchant's work that were perceived as faults by contemporaries. The first is the emphatically elongated proportions of all the figures. Whilst admiring the beauty of the engraving, Raspe wrote: 'The figures are much too long and out of proportion; a fault common to young artists who, for the graces of antiquity, neglect the truth of nature…' (Raspe 1791, p. 271). The second was that Marchant employed a magnifying glass in his work which led to an excess of miniature details in the treatment of the hair, smaller aspects of clothing, attributes and utensils, forcing the viewer to take up a magnifying glass himself if he wished to truly appreciate the technical refinement of the master's chisel. Despite this, the prices of his works were high, often matching the level of that most expensive of all European engravers, Giovanni Pichler. Marchant enjoyed great prestige, as is eloquently indicated by an invitation in July 1784 from the director of the Académie Française to take part, along with Jean Marie Amable Henri Simon, Giovanni Pichler and Roman Vincent Jeffroy, in a competition for the place of court gem engraver to the French king, to replace the ageing Jacques Guay (Leturcq 1873, p. 244; Babelon 1902, p. 198). The post was to go to Simon.

The sixteen years that Marchant spent in Rome (most of them on the Via Babuino, a few hundred yards from the Piazza di Spagna; Seidmann 1987a, p. 9) were not totally devoid of contacts with his homeland. Perpetually surrounded by fellow Britons engaged on their travels, he travelled through Italy with them on a number of occasions. He was the friend of British artists and architects then living in the Eternal City such as George Romney or Thomas Harrison (Farington 1978-84, II, p. 451). He met Richard Payne Knight and Charles Townley and produced commissions for them. One important piece from this time is a sard intaglio he engraved for Sir Richard Worsley of General Wolfe, Receiving the News of the Victory as He was Expiring (Seidmann 1987a, No. 127) [fig. 11.14]. Marchant clearly took as his basis for the main group an ancient bas-relief known as Orestes and Pylades found near Tivoli and then in the Rondanini Palace (Marchant owned an intaglio reproducing it; Seidmann 1987a, No. 99). Of course he presented his heroes almost naked. But this sudden

Fig. 11.14. Nathaniel Marchant
General Wolfe receiving the news of victory.
Before 1789
(from a Cades impression)

interest in national history found no continuation in his work. From London his main patrons, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Prince Regent sent stones to be engraved, and he helped the Duke add to his by no means inconsiderable dactyliotheca. For Sir William Hamilton, competing with Filippo Rega, Antonio Berini and Teresa Talani, he produced a portrait of Emma Hart (Scarisbrick 1985d, p. 20; Jenkins, Sloan 1996, No. 113). From 1781 Marchant, like other 'Anglo-Romans' such as the painters Nathaniel Dance and Gavin Hamilton, regularly sent his works back home for exhibition at the Society of Artists and at the Royal Academy.

Of course his contacts moved far beyond this circle of fellow countrymen. He was showered with commissions from the nobility, Italian (the most important being for a portrait of Pope Pius VI – Seidmann 1987a, No. 148) and Russian (notably the envoys to London and Naples, Count Semyon Vorontsov and Count Andrey Razumovsky – Seidmann 1987a, p. 14). In one of Marchant's most celebrated works, his Bust of Achilles (Marchant 1792, No. 53), he reproduced a Classical statue then in the collection of Russian statesman Ivan Ivanovich Shuvalov and since 1850 in the Hermitage (now entitled Head of Ares). Amongst the other owners of gems by Marchant was Frederick August III, Elector of Saxony. For Stanislaw II August of Poland Marchant engraved portraits of Empress Catherine the Great from a painted original in the King's possession (Seidmann 1987a, No. 133).


A

CATALOGUE

OF

ONE HUNDRED IMPRESSIONS

FROM

GEMS,

ENGRAVED BY

NATHANIEL MARCHANT.

ΜΙΚΡΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΡΓΑ ΤΑΩ' ΕΣΤΙΝ, ΕΧΕΙ Δ' ΗΔΕΙΑΝ ΟΠΩΠΗΝ.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. EDWARDS, PALL-MALL.

1792.

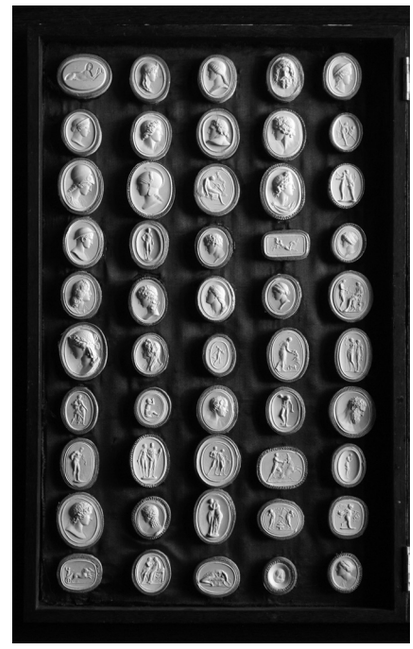


Fig. 11.15. *A Catalogue of one hundred impressions from gems, engraved by N. Marchant*, London, 1792
a) Title page
b) Tray of impressions of Marchant's gems

Goethe seems to have seen (or at least known of the existence of) gems by Marchant in the collection of German artist Jacob Philipp Hackert and he himself owned several casts of Marchant's gems and spoke admiringly of them (Femmel, Heres 1977, p. 166). Joseph Farington (1978-84, II, p. 650, Thursday August 25th 1796) informs us that Marchant was the first British artist to make the acquaintance of Jacques-Louis David and that he vividly recalled their meetings after he returned to his homeland. Marchant's fame undoubtedly contributed to the issue around 1788, just before Marchant left Italy, of sets of casts of his gems ('Seria di Marchant'), available in the Roman studio of Angelo Antonio Amastini, as mentioned above in the previous chapter. It is no exaggeration to say that Marchant's fame predated his return to London.

Settled at 59 Bond Street, Marchant embarked on his second British period. This brought very little that was radically new to his work. One might perhaps note an increase of the percentage of portrait gems (he often showed models for them in wax and terracotta at exhibitions). Marchant had many high-ranking sitters, 'leaders of the nation', and he had access to noble households (Seidmann 1987a, pp. 22, 24, 26), becoming His Majesty's Engraver of Seals and describing himself as 'Sculptor of Gems to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester'. Marchant expressed in allegorical form his patriotic sentiments on the illness of George III in an intaglio, Brittannia Sacrificing to Esculapius (Seidmann 1987a, No. 114). Many details from these last decades of his life can be found in the diary of Joseph Farington (Farington 1978-84), who associated with him on a regular basis and played a significant role in his later career.

In 1791 Marchant was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, but while internal intrigues delayed his election as a full member until 1809 he was accepted into the Academies in Vienna in 1792, Stockholm in 1795 and Copenhagen in 1798. In the year of his election to the Royal Academy, some 58 cast reproductions of Marchant's gems were included in Raspe's catalogue of Tassie gems (Raspe 1791). The following year Marchant himself issued a series of casts from one hundred of his own selected engraved gems, complete with a catalogue which gives the names of his patrons and owners of his works (Marchant 1792; a set of these casts, although without a list, is in the Hermitage) [fig. 11.15]. His initiative found the support of 446 subscribers, some of whom immediately signed up for several sets. The casts were to be of value not only to his contemporaries: they were also used by gem engravers of succeeding generations, not only English engravers of the

Figs. 11.16, 11.17. William Brown
Self-portrait and portrait of Charles Brown. 1783
(from a Tassie impression)

Victorian age, but also Germans, French and Italian engravers, who decades later were using these casts as models for the reproduction of antique statues and heads on their own cameos (Gere 2006).

Marchant had first exhibited his gems at the Royal Academy whilst still living in Rome and he continued to do so almost every year (except for just two occasions) until 1811. In 1797 Marchant was appointed Assistant Chief Engraver at the Mint and remained in this post until his death and his works related to the making of coins and medals could be seen at exhibitions at the British Institution. With the commencement of a new century, Marchant's connections helped him gain the post of Marker of Dice and Engraver at the Stamp Office, for which he was allocated a grace and favour apartment in Somerset House, where he was to end his days. The bas-relief on his tomb at Stoke Poges Church was produced by John Flaxman. We know what Marchant looked like at around the age of 45 thanks to a painting by Douglas Hamilton in Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

The Hermitage has three signed intaglios by Marchant: a chalcedony piece with the head of Isis from the Villa Albani [plate 35.3] and two sard works, a head of Alexander the Great from a fragment of an ancient gem 'completed' by the engraver and a Farnese Hercules after the celebrated sculpture that was ignored by very few engravers in the later 18th century (cats. 47-49). The latter gem, in which the proportions of the figure are distorted by the cabochon form, is inferior to the first two irreproachably executed heads. In addition to the signed Alexander, the Hermitage has another example of the 'restoration' trend by Marchant, Bacchus and Bacchante, of which he produced at least three versions. That in the Hermitage (cat. 50 – Bacchus and Ariadne) has no signature but one of the two signed versions is in the British Museum (Dalton 1915, No. 700). The figure of Bacchus derives from a fragmentary marble bas-relief from Herculaneum (Museo Nazionale, Naples) while that of the Bacchante/Ariadne was reconstructed by the gem engraver himself from the surviving part of a female hand with a vessel and piece of thyrsus. Also in the main Hermitage collection (i.e. not including the Tassie Cabinet and other sets of casts) are five pastes reproducing gems by Marchant (cat. 52-56) and fourteen copies (cats. 57-70), not to mention a bust of the Atalanta by an important Russian engraver, Prokopiy Kuznetsov (1810 – after 1850) (Hermitage Inv. I – 9844). As was often the case with copies of works by Giovanni Pichler, European engravers who copied Marchant frequently transformed the compositions of his semi-transparent cornelian and sard intaglios into two-coloured relief cameos.

In Britain Marchant's name came to the fore once more in the 1990s when the Ashmolean Museum organised an exhibition to mark its acquisition three years previously of an intaglio portrait of Lucius Verus, engraved by Marchant for his patron, Baron, later 1st Earl of Lucan, after a bust in the Palazzo Borghese (now also Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Seidmann 1996g, pp. 4-5).

Next to draw our attention is John Frewin (fl. 1750-75), represented in Tassie's Cabinet by 30 casts. Of these we should particularly note his copies after

Fig. 11.18. Charles and William Brown
Hercules killing the Dragon in the entrance to the Garden of the Hesperides. 1770s
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

ancient gems, cupids in various poses, an *Allegory of Maternal Charity* (Raspe 1791, No. 8079) and – remember Wray here! – several more or less identical female heads transformed (by simply changing the hairstyle or headdress) from Ceres into Ariadne or Omphale. Using a similar purely superficial device Frewin metamorphosed a single naked male figure seen from behind into Perseus – by setting a head of Medusa in his bent arm and placing a sword in that by his side – or Hercules – by replacing these attributes with the lion's skin and a club. Frewin would not be of great interest if there were not good reason to suggest that he was the teacher of William Brown: certainly William gave his address in 1768 as 'At Mr. Frewin's in Porter Street' (Graves 1907, p. 42). The likeness between a number of Brown's earlier cameos and those by Frewin would thus be not a matter of mere chance or imitation but a sign of the teacher/pupil relationship.

William (1748-1825) and Charles (1749-95) [figs. 11.16, 11.17] Brown spent many long years working for the Russian Crown and are less well-known in their native land than Burch and Marchant. As was noted by Dalton back in 1915, they have thus never received their due recognition (Dalton 1915, p. LVIII). By rights the names of the Brown brothers should stand at the very top of any list of British gem engravers for ties to contemporary British art were manifested more fully in their works even than in those of Burch. As for Marchant, considered the pride of the national school, his oeuvre – however paradoxical this may seem – stands apart from it thanks to his 'intra-national' style.

As mentioned in chapter 8, research by Gertrud Seidmann has established the first reference to Brown in documentary sources: the elder brother, William, made a clumsy and childish attempt (at the age of just fourteen) to participate in the competition of The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, but was disqualified for cheating at drawing (Seidmann 1984-85, part II, p. 66). On the other hand we do have evidence of his unusually early creative activity. As early as 1766, at just eighteen, William exhibited *A head of Ganymed* at The Society of Artists, the artist describing himself in the catalogue as 'sculptor'; in 1767 he showed two intaglios there, *Portrait of a Lady and Figure of Mars* (Graves 1907, p. 42). He first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1770, describing himself now as 'gem engraver' (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314). A year later he was joined at the Academy exhibitions as an independent participant by his younger brother Charles (Graves 1905, p. 306) [fig. 11.18]. It was at this time that they set up a joint workshop on Gloucester Street from where, in 1776, they moved to Pall Mall, where they were to remain for two decades, right up to Charles' untimely death. Throughout their collaboration the main role was to be played by William, who, as elder brother, was in charge of the studio.

A market quickly grew up for the Browns' gems and by the middle of the 1780s they were to be found in the possession of more than 30 owners in Britain (including the Prince of Wales, later George IV, who had at least five of their gems) and abroad, to judge from the catalogue of Tassie's Cabinet (Raspe 1791). But their participation in exhibitions at the Royal Academy was broken off in 1786 in connection with the start of what was to be ten years of work for Catherine II of Russia. What had been simple collaboration turned at this point into true co-authorship. The first gems sent to the imperial court at St Petersburg were pieces the Browns had produced much earlier, in the late 1770s: cornelian intaglios *The Rape of Europa* (cat. 160; by William), *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* and *Stag Hunt* (cats. 142, 154; by Charles), and then a *Head of Hygieia* (cat. 171) [plate 35.4]. Henceforth court financial records – today largely in the Russian State Historical Archive in St Petersburg – were to feature the names of 'the English artists, the Browns' with great regularity, in invoices presented by the Browns, records of 'oral' royal edicts and registers of expenditure (Kagan 1965b; Kagan 1976; all currently known archive documents relating to orders and payments for Brown gems are listed in full in Appendix II). Indeed, one might almost see payments 'for engraved gems sent by the artists

Brown' made via 'their correspondent Weitbrecht' as being one of the most regular features of court expenditure during the last years of Catherine's reign. Relevant decrees are sometimes repeated twice in the course of a single season (the frozen northern waters precluded any shipping in the winter months). Johann Jacob Weitbrecht, the bookseller, antiquarian, typographer and commissioner who arranged the purchase and despatch of the Browns' works, was also the man responsible for arranging the making and delivery of the Tassie Cabinet. It is quite possible that it was he who first recommended the London artists to Catherine, although it seems more likely that she herself discovered their existence as she pored over Tassie's casts: the group of casts and pastes which arrived in the Hermitage in 1783 already included some one hundred reproductions of engraved gems by the Browns.

A short break in the Brown brothers' regular relations with Russia came in 1788 when they travelled to France. Their clients had previously included representatives of the very highest French aristocracy (see portraits of the duc de Brissac of c. 1786, cat. 201 and the baron de Breteuil of c. 1787, cat. 247), but now they had received an offer from Louis XVI himself. It was probably at this time that some of their works found their way into several French collections. No great body of information is available about their life in Paris, but we do know that during this brief period they met Jacques Guay and – of the greatest significance – they became familiar with the recently revived genre of history painting.

Driven by the unfolding of revolutionary events in France, the brothers returned to their native land in early 1789 and immediately set about re-establishing their contacts with Russia. In February of that year they sent to St Petersburg fifteen engraved gems, among them masterpieces such as *Neptune with a Trident* (cat. 135) and *Head of Pericles* (cat. 187). Although some of the Brown gems in the Hermitage bear no signatures, a set of casts from them made in Tassie's studio, which probably arrived in St Petersburg before the objects themselves, confirms the authorship of the brothers for cats. 162, 175, 208, 188 and 223.

Works continued to arrive in St Petersburg and from 1791 these included a series of portraits of British monarchs (cats. 266-303). Charles died not long before it was completed, but William continued to work alone, immediately moving to a new workshop (which he was to do twice more). He completed the series of British monarchs and embarked on one of portraits of French monarchs (cats. 304-36). The first eight portraits in this new series arrived during Catherine's lifetime, in October 1796. After her death Paul I, who put an end to all his much-disliked mother's interests and projects, made no new commissions. Works continued to arrive, however, and on 25 November 1800 he gave grudging orders to pay an invoice for 'six cameos… and hereafter commission no more such' (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3916, f. 428). Nonetheless, another twelve portraits arrived from England in 1802 and the new Tsar, Alexander I (who had enjoyed cordial relations with his grandmother) ordered on 19 August that they paid, but this is to be the last known document relating to payments to Brown (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Between 1786 and 1796, the years in which they were working for Russia, the Browns exhibited not a single stone at London exhibitions. William Brown, forced to rely once more on the local market, from 1807 showed his works at The British Institution (Graves 1908, p. 71) and the Royal Academy, where one of his portrait intaglios was to appear even five years after his death (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314). There is information to suggest that in 1810 the Prince of Wales commissioned from him portraits on cornelian of the Duke of Bedford, Earl Moira and Charles Fox, at a price of 25 guineas each (Brown Royal Archives MS 1810; their current location is unknown).

Today the Hermitage has some two hundred gems by the brothers, individually and in collaboration, plus six copies or imitations of their works (see Catalogue, part III), providing a unique opportunity to study the oeuvre of these outstanding gem engravers.

William and Charles themselves saw their joint activity as a single unit, frequently signing gems only with their surname, without initials to indicate precise authorship. It is impossible to characterise the individual manner of the two men, since the few (inconsistent) signs of difference are so dominated by the common stylistic features. It is only when we look at a few thematic groups that we can identify ways in which each took the lead. William, for instance, was more drawn to portraits and Charles to animal and sporting themes. Overall, therefore, the work of the Browns should be perceived as a single artistic phenomenon.

The Browns' surviving body of work is extremely varied in repertoire. There is surely no part of the antique repertoire on which they did not touch, but

they also produced allegories, images of animals and portraits. In their work they were not untouched by the Baroque style, manifested in the inner tension of a half-figure of Neptune which recalls the style of Rubens (cat. 135), in the dynamism which unexpectedly appears in a Classical figure of a bather (cat. 225), and in the theatrical excitement of The Muse of Tragedy (cat. 168), taken to be a portrait of an unidentified contemporary British actress. Gradually, they moved towards smaller gems, not without some reminiscences of Rococo. In keeping with the elegant 18th century – and particularly after a short visit to France in 1788 – they were to be successful in producing numerous images of the inventive and omnipotent god of love who determines the fate of both ordinary people and the gods, such that they were on a number of occasions described as 'engravers of cupids'. Of some 200 gems by the Browns in the Hermitage, more than a dozen show Cupid, firing his arrow (cat. 173), breaking Jupiter's thunderbolt across his knee (cat. 227), taming a panther or a lion (cats. 141, 174, 233), saddling swimming dolphins and hippocampi (cats. 234, 235), playing a lyre or a flute (cats. 228, 233), playing with a butterfly (cats. 229-32) and joining Psyche in a wedding procession (cat. 142), each time confirming anew Virgil's celebrated 'Omnia vincit amor'. But the brothers were developing more towards large compositions treated in painterly manner and filled with emotion, such as Charles' *Orpheus Playing the Lyre Surrounded by Beasts* (cat. 145), or William's *Neptune in a Shell Drawn by Hippocampi* (cat. 164) and *The Rape of Prosperpine* (cat. 163). These later works are the most 'British' of all the Browns' output in containing an unusual interpretation of the taste for the picturesque. To achieve this painterly effect in glyptics the Browns expanded their arsenal of technical and visual devices. They modelled form using both large surfaces and a detailed working up of the whole composition. The application of the finest lines and hatching, like a spider's web, allowed them to convey the metal 'scales' of a shield, the texture of an animal skin, the grassy ground, the leaves of trees bending in the wind. They played with different degrees of surface polish, with gradations of relief and counter-relief from high relief in cameos to deep counter-relief in intaglios, yet they moved with ease to an almost flat engraving technique. They might, with identical skill, fit a profile image or a multi-figure composition into an oval stone, building it up like a frieze or unfolding it back into the depths. To reinforce the sense of space the Browns frequently gave volumetric treatment to the ground or elements of landscape.

The artists' creative personality found fullest expression in gems of the 1770s and 1780s in the spirit of the sporting genre (Kagan [Etkind] 1960). While Burch, in his intaglio *Horse Frightened by a Lion after Stubbs*, merely conscientiously reproduced the beasts' poses, Charles Brown took the same source and yet was able to convey the expressive nature of the scene (cat. 151). In the small Stag Hunt (cat. 154) he managed to retain the tension of Paul de Vos' vast canvases (although at the time these were attributed to Frans Snyders). Yet that same artist is capable of creating, in the intaglio *Deer on the Edge of a Forest* (cat. 153), a mood of elegiac peace. Also deriving from canvases by Stubbs (via prints) are the intaglio *Hunting Dog* (cat. 155) and the cameo *Lion and Lioness* (cat. 265), while the cameo *Tiger* engraved in mottled agate – which allowed the brothers to convey the ripple of muscles in the sleek beast of prey (cat. 207) – had as its source a print by James Murphy after a painting by James Northcote [plate 36.1]. Two almost identical cameo versions of a *Pugilist* (cats. 262, 337) were undoubtedly based in a print by James Gillray. Such a use of prints was typical in the practice of gem engravers when moving beyond the realms of Classical themes.

In the late 1780s and early 1790s the Browns' artistic conceptions once again underwent significant alteration. Their intaglios *Ajax Protecting the Body of Patroclus* (Cades, Impronte Gemmarie MS 1836, No. 82), [fig. 11.19] *Caius Marius at Minturna* (cat. 191) and a series of three gems showing the death of Socrates, [plate 36.2] Seneca and Archimedes (cats. 241-43) represent the very purest Neo-Classical style. The subjects, the poses and gestures, individual details in the composition, all were borrowed from history paintings by French Neo-Classical artists: Jean-François-Pierre Peyron, Germain Jean Drouais, Jacques-Louis David and Gavin Hamilton.

Although the Browns worked extensively on portraits, [fig. 11.20] the Hermitage collection presents only a one-sided view of this area of their activities, being limited mainly to the large series of cameos in greyish-white two-layer onyx showing the British and French monarchs (cats. 266-336). Somewhat ordinary in execution and monotone in colour, they are based on canonical images as established in prints and on medals. Grouped with these two series in terms of style are similarly compilatory portraits of French and British writers and philosophers (cats. 195-200), despite the Browns's claim to have made their own contribution to the iconography. These latter portraits were very much in keeping with the spirit of the Enlightenment.

Fig. 11.19. William Brown
Ajax protecting the body of Patroclus. 1797
(from a Cades impression)

Fig. 11.20. William Brown
Portrait of Henry Angelo, owner of a riding school in London before 1782
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.21. John Milton
a) Eagle tearing the serpent. 1780s
b) Eagle tearing at a hare. 1780s
Cornelian intaglios (from Tassie impressions)

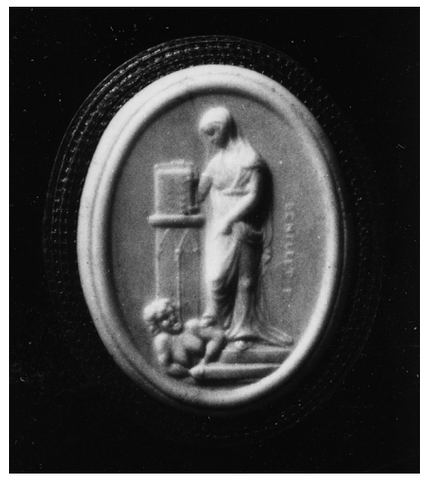


Fig. 11.22. George Bemfleet
Allegorical female figure trampling Envy with the inscription: *TRY ALL LAWS*
c. 1785
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Very different are the Browns' Russian-inspired works, specially commissioned cameos and intaglios in which the artists responded to specific events, such as Russia's victory in the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-91 (Kagan 1965a). In these gems (cats. 150, 255-59) and in others of this group the Browns spoke the language of their age, of symbol and allegory: a curved sword and sickle moon embody Turkey, Minerva, goddess of enlightenment and the arts, stands for the Russian Empress, figures of Victory and Fame, laurel wreaths and shields to denote military success. To make the meaning of such allegories clearer, the masters sometimes made use of the kind of inscriptions found on medals. The Russian theme demanded that the artists take their own, independent approach – they had no models to copy in this instance. Attached to invoices in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow are four watercolour sketches presented as alternatives for two gems (cats. 150 and 254) by William Brown for Catherine to make a choice (Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 106, ff. 19-21). The first allegories contained a relatively abstract image of Catherine but this was soon replaced by one with a specific and known source that was to be used in the final gems, even where the profile image led to inconsistency in direction of gaze or movement. This model, as was noted by Johann Georgi (1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 385]), was a wax medallion by the court medal-maker Karl Leberecht which also served as a source for many other masters producing portraits of the Russian monarch. The Browns' 'Russian' cameos are not the artists' best works in technical terms – their high relief was always inferior to their concave engraving – yet they have a certain sense of presence and monumentality. The allegorical *Victory over the Turkish Fleet* (cat. 150), *Catherine Crowning Prince Potemkin with Laurels* (cat. 256), *Allegory on the Death of Prince Potemkin* (cat. 259) [plate 36.3] and *Catherine II Instructing her Grandsons* (cat. 254) seem to exude the spirit of the age.

As a footnote to the Browns' Russian period we should note that in 1813, by which time all contacts with the Russian court were a thing of the past, William Brown was so impressed by the victory over Napoleon that he exhibited a gem with an allegorical figure of Russia trampling the French standard at the Royal Academy (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314).

The work of a number of other gem engravers was to be of some importance during those last three decades of the 18th century. In the sporting genre, for instance, the Browns had their followers, most important being John Milton (fl. 1760-1815), whose large intaglios showing an eagle with a snake or hare in its claws anticipate the Romantic canvases of Philipp Reynagle [fig. 11.21]. Other disciples in this sphere, however, tended to neglect the specific features of glyptics and the nature of the material itself, introducing excessively complex landscapes within which the figures of beasts and hunters get lost, and straight lines for hedges and fences that clash with the rounded form. These gems are merely miniature reductions of printed engravings.

From 1772 to the end of the 1780s exhibitions at The Society of Arts and The Royal Academy included works by George Bemfleet, who combined engraving on stone with the making of medals and enamels. His skills were best demonstrated in his portraits, in which he sought not merely to convey a likeness but to indicate the sitter's rank and character. Amongst such portraits are those of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (after a print by F. Bartolozzi) and the Bishop of Norwich (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14172, 14332). At the same time he created profoundly realistic images of the comedian John Henderson and of the celebrated actor and dramatist Charles Macklin (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14225, 14273). In the sporting genre greatest fame was enjoyed by a gem showing 'A fine portrait of an English racer stallion' from a model by Joachim Smith (fl. 1758-1803; Raspe 1791, No. 13230). This seems to have been one of the master's earliest works since he put on it only the name of the modeller and did not sign it himself. The emerging Neo-Gothic taste appeared in an allegory showing a female figure of Envy hidden by a veil and stamping her feet as she holds an open book bearing the inscription on the binding 'TRY ALL LAWS'; the pedestal beneath the book is adorned with a pointed arcade (Raspe 1791, No. 14804) [fig. 11.22].

Great hopes were aroused by Richard Dean, who sadly died early but the works he showed at the Royal Academy in 1778-79 were notable for their technical brilliance but contained a large dose of sentimentality. Prototypes for his angels, the Archangel Gabriel and several versions of pretty female heads can easily be discovered in prints by Francesco Bartolozzi after Angelica Kauffmann. Dean's Circassian Woman (Raspe 1791, No. 14747, pl. LVII), [fig. 11.23] repeating a drawing by Kauffmann, was engraved by the Russian artist Gavriil Skorodumov (1755-92), a pupil of Bartolozzi then resident in Britain (Muthmann 1979, Nr. 210). Dean made several replicas of his Circassian Woman, which was also repeated by other artists on numerous occasions.

Fig.11.23. Richard Dean
Head of a "Fair Circassian or Persian" (after Angelica Kauffmann). 1770s
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.24. William Barnett
Calchas sacrificing the hind to Diana instead of Iphigenia. Late 18th - early 19th century
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

In the art of the engravers Law and I. Lambert (both fl. second half of the 18th century), on the other hand, a large place was occupied by gems with male busts and heads, mainly ancient philosophers in profile and en face, in a deliberately archaic manner recalling the style of the German Johann Christian Dorsch (1676-1732). The Hermitage has a large amethyst bust of the pseudo-Seneca signed by Lambert (cat. 42) and four intaglios (one amethyst and three chalcedony, cats. 43-46) very similar to it but without the signature which were attributed to him by Maria Maximova.

Making their debut at the Academy exhibitions in the 1780s and 1790s were William Harris, Thomas Bragg, J. Grew, Robert Priddle, Thomas and William Pownall. The work of all of them was based largely on the achievements of more important masters and frequently included repetitions of motifs from the repertoire of Burch, Marchant, the Browns and Dean.

Of this generation, greatest independence was manifested in portraits by J. Grew (exhibited at the Royal Academy 1788-90), in figured compositions by William Barnett (d. 1824) and William Whitley (exhibited at the Royal Academy 1784-90; C. W. King considered Whitley's Sleeping Venus to be unsurpassed – King 1866b, p. 447), and in the sporting art of John Milton. Many animated images were created by William Harris, court engraver to the Dukes of York and Clarence (Dalton 1915, p. LIX), and the Hermitage has a lovely example of his work, a shawled female head carved in deep red cornelian (cat. 38) [plate 37.1]. Thomas Bragg and Robert Priddle are also represented in the Hermitage collection by just a single work: Bragg's *Diana with a Dog* (cat. 28) [plate 37.2] with its elongated proportions and graceful outline recalls the manner of Marchant, while Priddle's *Leda and the Swan* (cat. 80) [plate 37.3] is a version of Burch's celebrated composition, which he had modelled on a copy of Michelangelo's lost painting.

It was Maria Maximova (1926, p. 29) who identified five Hermitage intaglios with the name of William Pownall (cats. 75-79), after casts of two of them (cats. 75, 76) were discovered in Tassie's Cabinet (Raspe 1791, Nos. 9023, 14725). The remaining three were attributed to Pownall through similarities in manner and material. As a rule, William produced large format repetitions of smaller works by his father (or elder brother) Thomas Pownall. This was part of a general tendency towards enlarging gems to dimensions far too big for them to serve any functional purpose, a tendency that grew noticeably as a result of a general decline in the use of seals and a relatively brief period during which they drew the attention of collectors.

In the first decades of the 19th century British gem engraving existed largely due to inertia, to the continuing impetus provided by the late 18th century, rather than to any new energy. Edward Burch continued to work until 1808, Nathaniel Marchant to 1816; William Brown died in 1825 but his works continued to appear at exhibitions of The British Institution right up to 1830. In the late 1820s the Royal Academy exhibited gems with a typically English selection of subjects by J. Stott: *Shipwreck*, sporting scenes from

drawings by Samuel Howitt (Forrer 1904-30, VIII, pp. 225). Old traditions were kept alive in the works of a younger generation, whose art had taken shape under their influence: James Wicksteed the Younger, Gibbon and others. It is interesting to note that William Barnett worked right up to the end of his life, creating works such as the multi-figure scene of *Calchas' Sacrifice*, in the style of Valerio Belli (Raspe 1791, No. 8185) [fig. 11.24]. In this large octagonal intaglio Belli's elongated proportions and pure drawing are combined with Brownian multi-planar relief, the very finest working up of gradations in the background receding into an elegant, almost ornamental engraving. Similarities in manner and the octagonal form (somewhat rare at the time) allow us to suggest that Barnett be seen as the author of two unsigned intaglios known from Tassie's casts which derive from an additional set sent to St Petersburg by William Tassie in 1806. Here the gem engraver took up the popular subject of the death of General Wolfe in battle near Quebec in 1758, after Benjamin West's celebrated painting of 1771, but he adapted it to create an unusual diptych: West's central and right-hand groups became the basis for the pyramidal composition in one intaglio, while the seated American Indian from the left group features alone in the other [figs. 11.25, 11.26, 11.27].

Even such a brief overview of the work of the leading gem engravers working in London during the last decades of the 18th and first decades of the 19th centuries reveals the intensity of activity in this sphere in Britain. The picture would not be complete, however, without a mention of artists working beyond London. Fragmentary information gathered from Raspe's catalogue (Raspe 1791), Forrer's dictionary of medallists and engravers (Forrer 1904-30) and Strickland's dictionary of Irish artists (Strickland 1969) brings us the names of fifteen or more artists working in Edinburgh and Dublin in the 18th and 19th centuries (sadly, no mention is made at all of glyptics in a monograph intended to illuminate artistic life in towns beyond the capital; Fawcett 1974).

Of the artists working in Edinburgh, William Berry (1730-1783) is worthy of particular mention; he repeated a famous portrait of Mary Stuart from Holyrood and created an image of the Scottish poet William Hamilton (Raspe 1791, Nos. 13992, 14217).

Considered to be chief of all the gem engravers active in Dublin was John Logan (1750-1805), author of an excellent portraits of Dr Henry Quin (Raspe 1791, No. 15784, after a medal by William Mossop), Professor of Physics at Dublin University and, as mentioned in chapter 8, the man who facilitated the development of Tassie's paste, and of the 'celebrated patriot of Ireland' Dr Lucas (from life; Raspe 1791, No. 14269). In the National Museum, Kraków, is an intaglio Toilet of Venus after a canvas by Francesco Albani and signed *ΛΟΓΓΑΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ*, but this non-portrait would seem to be exceptional in his oeuvre.

An unusual phenomenon was the work of the two James Wicksteeds, father and son (both active 1799-1824). Wicksteed the Elder financed a joint-stock publication of a printed anthology of Worlidge's gems (Worlidge 1754-57). The two men worked in Dublin and Bath, always noting the place and date of execution on their gems. In addition to allegorical female figures such as Hope with her anchor leaning on a shield (upon which the client could have his device engraved), female heads in the style of Richard Dean and portraits, they repeated the most celebrated British paintings. Tassie's pastes of their works included compositions by Wicksteed the Elder after George Carter's Apotheosis of Garrick (Raspe 1791, No. 14219) and James Barry's Venus Rising from the Sea (Raspe 1791, No. 6172), [fig 11.28, 28a] mocked by Horace Walpole as 'dragging herself up by a pyramide of her own red hair' (Walpole Correspondence 1937-83, XXIX, p. 298).

Of curious interest are the caricature gems of Wicksteed Senior: one mocks a Mr Twiss, thrown into a sewer and covered with filth from a bucket for his disrespectful comments in Ireland (Raspe 1791, No. 14456); [fig. 11.29] another deals with Ireland's ambiguous position 'suspended' between self-rule and the British crown (Raspe 1791, No. 14973); yet another satirises hasty trips to Scotland to be wed at Gretna Green (Raspe 1791, No. 14880) [fig. 11.30].

Working in Dublin in the late 18th and early 19th century were George Brown (1786-1827) and George McQuestion (fl. 1796-1829). They exhibited their works in the Royal Academy there and the first was appointed engraver to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland while the second had as his pupil John S. De Veau (1796? – after 1837), an engraver of French descent who produced commissions for the British royal family. Some of De Veaux' gems were reproduced using the electrotype technique. Mention is sometimes made of one John Madden, a gifted engraver working in the 1770s and 1780s, but he died early and in poverty (Forrer 1904-30, VIII, p. 16).

During the second half of the 18th century English shell engravers made their appearance, most typically

Fig. 11.25. Benjamin West
The Death of General Wolfe. 1771
Kensington Palace, London

Fig. 11.26. William Barnett (?)
The Death of General Wolfe (from the right side of West's painting). Late 18th century
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.27. William Barnett (?)
Seated Indian (from the left side of West's painting). Late 18th century
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.28. James Wicksteed Senior
Venus rising from the sea, drying her long hair
1771
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.28a. James Barry
The Birth of Venus, 1770
Victoria and Albert Museum,
London

Fig. 11.29. James Wicksteed Sen.
"Mr. Twiss, drowned or sinking in an altar of Cloacina"
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

Fig. 11.30. James Wicksteed Sen.
Cupid selling hearts
Cornelian intaglio (from a Tassie impression)

based in towns beyond London and enjoying some support from the Society of Arts. Initially these artists were female: back in the 1760s one Elizabeth Humphry is listed as participating in the exhibitions of the Free Society of Artists, and in the 1770s we find Ann Whitell of Liverpool taking part in exhibitions at the Royal Academy. The early 19th century brings us the name of Miss A. E. Seaton of Sheffield. Amongst male shell engravers was H. Fownes, who commenced his career in the 18th century and who exhibited with the Royal Academy from 1816 to 1818. This sphere was in general, however, dominated by anonymous pieces, not notable for any variety in their repertoire and far from always of fine execution. It was only with the fashion for engraved shells some 50 years later that there was to be any serious movement on this front in England.

The new generation of British gem engravers which took over from 18th-century masters inherited their high professional skills but demonstrated neither their variety of individual styles nor their freedom in dealing with Classical and contemporary sources. Works by these younger gem engravers are marked by coldness and artificiality, a desire for superficial beauty. Portraits became less individual and more concerned with conveying the sitter's status.

Such processes did but reflect the changes taking place within British art overall. It was to be two or three more decades from the 1800s before glyptics would emerge totally from Neo-Classical constraint and never again would it exist in such a perfect symbiosis with dominant artistic trends. This diversion from the path taken by 'high' art was disastrous for glyptics, now caught in the net of Classicising forms while painting and sculpture moved further and further from the Neo-Classical orientation. National individuality and identity were no longer brilliantly expressed in engraved gems and British glyptics was to enter on a time of crisis.

1. Richard Yeo
Diana with a bow and dog. 1760s
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 91)

2. Edward Burch
Portrait of Antinous (after intaglio fragment from the Marlborough collection). c. 1765
Private collection
Photograph courtesy of the Beazley Archive, Oxford

3. Nathaniel Marchant
Head of Isis. 1775-86
Chalcedony intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 47)

4. William Brown
Head of Hygieia. c. 1776
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 171)

Plate 36

1. William Brown
A Tiger. 1796
Variegated agate cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 207)

2. Charles and William Brown
The Death of Socrates. c. 1791
Chalcedony intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 241)

3. Charles and William Brown
Allegory on the Death of Prince Grigory Potemkin.
1791/92
Onyx cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 259)

1. William Harris
Bust of a woman in a shawl. 1780s-1790s
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage , St Petersburg (cat. 40)

2. Thomas Bragg
Diana and a dog. Last quarter of the 18th century
Sard intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 28)

3. Robert Priddle
Leda and the swan. 1780s-1790s
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 80)

12

Crisis in the national school. The last masters. Late collections

The passing of the Age of Enlightenment meant the disappearance of that social and ideological soil which had proved so fertile for British glyptics. Thanks to a sharp polarisation in society, glyptics once more became the privilege of the narrowest of circles and we can no longer speak of any social role being played by engraved gems. For a while they continued to flourish but 'English art as a school now gave way to the Italian' (Maximova 1926, p. 29). Once again Italian masters took the upper hand in Europe, many of them quitting their native land to settle in Paris, Berlin, Vienna and, most importantly for us, in London.

Both Italian and local engravers had above all to satisfy the requirements of the new Regency Style which once more made engraved gems a vital element of fashionable female attire. This style spread from Napoleonic France (where it is known as the Empire Style) and touched not only Britain but a number of other lands, including Russia. Profile heads of bacchants, muses and nymphs were set into all kinds of feminine jewellery: 'A fashionable woman wears cameos at her waist, cameos on her necklace, a cameo on each of her bracelets, and a cameo on her diadem', wrote a contributor to the *Journal des Dames* in 1805 (cited in Masson 1976, p. 196). After the Prince of Wales' appointment as Regent in 1811 his cameo portrait began to appear on bracelets, earrings, brooches and rings (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 334, pl. 115). The fashion for men's jewellery with such inset engraved gems grew and, as was noted by Vivienne Becker, men dominated in portrait gems in the first third of the 19th century, the fashion for portraits of women arriving only in the Victorian age (Becker 1980 p. 151).

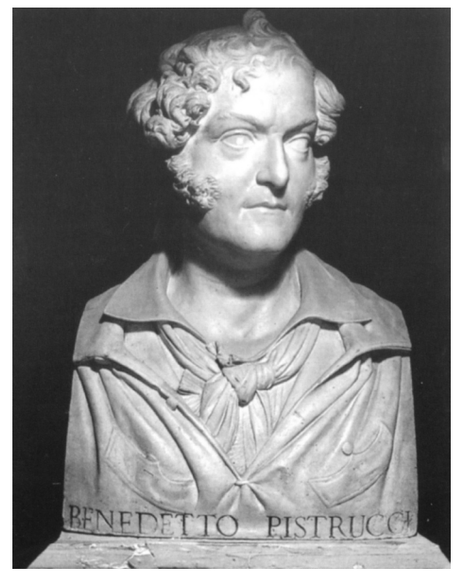


Fig. 12.1. Benedetto Pistrucci
Self-portrait. 1835
Marble
Museo della Zecca, Roma

The dominant figure amongst those Italians who found themselves in Britain is the last artist of pan-European significance to figure in this history of British gem engraving, Benedetto Pistrucci (1783/84-1855) [fig. 12.1]. There is an extensive literature devoted to him – including publications during his lifetime. The greatest contribution to study of his works has been made in recent years by Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1989), and to the study of his English period by James Graham Pollard (1981; 1984) and Michael A. Marsh (1996).

Pistrucci was born in Rome but his family was forced by the whirlwind of political events to move several times during his youth. While still a teenager, with a taste for the arts and for all kinds of mechanisms and tools, he turned to engraving on stone, studying for a short time under the Roman engravers Giuseppe Mango (fl. c. 1790-1810), Giuseppe Cerbara (1770-1856), the celebrated Niccoló Morelli (1771-1838), the latter patronised by Napoleon Bonaparte. Benedetto's skill was manifested very early and he was not yet 20 years old when he commenced his career, working first for cameo dealers but soon progressing to the status of independent artist. Fame in his homeland came after he produced successful commissions for Napoleon's sisters Caroline Murat, Queen of Naples, and Pauline, Princess Borghese, and particularly Elisa Baciocchi, Grand-Duchess of Tuscany, and her daughters. His clients included a Russian then living in Rome, Count Demidov, and at least one Briton, one General Bale. In 1808 Pistrucci suffered a terrible crisis when he nearly went blind but he was able to overcome his affliction and return to work.

Immediately after Italy's liberation from occupation, in late 1814, Angiolo (Angelo) Bonelli, a dealer in 'antiques' who had already employed Pistrucci's talents persuaded the artist to travel with him to Britain. They set off together, travelling via Paris, Pistrucci initially intending to leave his wife and children for just one year. On the way, however, Bonelli and Pistrucci fell out and the artist made his way on to Britain alone, arriving in January 1815. He could not have suspected that he was to remain there for the rest of his life. After numerous misadventures brought about by the perfidious Bonelli, Pistrucci at last succeeded not only in gaining independence from his former employer and earning himself an excellent reputation but in finding himself enjoying the very highest patronage. This was due both his activities as an engraver on stone and to his service at the Royal Mint: it is impossible to separate these two strands in his work, for they were, as Billing noted, intimately connected (Billing 1867, p. 4). The artist frequently embodied his ideas simultaneously in both stone and metal, while his models for the obverse and reverse of coins and medals were often executed in jasper (Marsh 1996, pl. 2).

An important stimulus was given to Pistrucci's career by his cameo Flora (now British Museum, London), [plate 38.1] which he had sold whilst still in Italy to Bonelli for almost nothing; when Bonelli was in London in 1812 the unscrupulous dealer then passed it off to the experienced connoisseur Richard Payne Knight (1751-1824) as a genuine Antique fragment. Bonelli asked a hundred pounds for the gem (sums of 250 and even 500 pounds found in the literature cannot be confirmed). Discovering the deception by accident, Pistrucci showed Payne Knight the mark he usually placed on his works, but it was less this which eventually convinced him of Pistrucci's authorship than the similar cameos which the engraver went on to produce one after the other, each better than the last and far outdoing the subject of contention (for Pistrucci's own full version of the story see Billing 1867, pp. 182-85).

Naturally, even in Britain Pistrucci remained faithful to the Antique theme in his stone engravings. He produced versions of heads of Minerva, Medusa and Bacchus, tragic and comic masks. For a double portrait on sapphire of Emperor Augustus and his wife Livia he was paid 800 guineas (Marsh 1996, p. 34). Figure compositions such as *Amalthea and Infant Zeus*, [plate 38.2] *Leda and the Swan* or *Force Subdued by Love and Beauty*, for which clients paid anything from 50 to 500 guineas, also played a significant role in his engraved oeuvre. To characterise these works, so often suffering from a compilatory approach, we shall quote the words of C. Vermeule:

'Pistrucci's mythological studies suffer from the Neoclassic desire to lard pedantic compositions with painterly figures of sculptural quality. He borrows in canonically correct fashion from Roman copies of fourth-century and later statues, mixing these figures with passages from Pompeian frescoed decorations and Roman mythological sarcophagi. These are the faults of Canova's marbled classicism, weaknesses exaggerated by spiritual emptiness and near-sentimentality in many works of Thorwaldsen. Pistrucci handles this in admirable fashion in his chosen media' (Vermeule 1964, p. 150).

But in his portraits Pistrucci was matched by very few contemporaries in his ability to transfer a likeness captured in a drawing – or more frequently directly in a wax model – onto stone without any loss of the original spontaneity. In the older literature we find suggestions that his depiction of hair was unnatural, but today such criticisms seem unjust (the same critical barbs were aimed at Pistrucci's work for the Royal Mint).

In a short period of time Pistrucci produced portrait cameos of the Duke of York, Sir Joseph Banks, William Wellesley-Pole (3rd Earl of Mornington and 1st Baron Maryborough), William Richard Hamilton,

Fig. 12.2. Benedetto or Helen (Elena) Pistrucci
Portrait of baby girl (Archibald Billing's daughter). 1860s
Sardonyx cameo
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Fig. 12.3. Raphael Pistrucci
Portrait of Arthur Wellesley the 1st Duke Wellington
Shell cameo. c. 1850
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

the Duke of Wellington and many others. The year after his arrival he engraved a portrait of George III on red jasper (Royal Mint collection, London) and, most successfully, from 1817 to 1820 he worked on a portrait of the Prince Regent (later George IV) on onyx (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) [plate 38.3]. Wellesley-Pole, Master of the Mint, decided to use the gem of George III for the new sovereigns that were about to be introduced. Thomas Wyon Junior (1792-1817), Chief Engraver at the Mint, placed it on the front of the new coin. For the reverse Pistrucci suggested *St George Slaying the Dragon*, which he had produced at Lady Spenser's request for Lord Spenser (see chapter 3). Pistrucci then started work at the Royal Mint in order to work on modifications for the obverse and reverse of the new coins. Provided with apartments on the territory of the Mint itself, his time occupied with producing models for coins and commemorative medals (spending the time from 1817 to 1849 engaged on The Waterloo Medal), he had little opportunity to produce engravings on stone.

From 1817, after the death of Thomas Wyon Junior, Pistrucci worked at the Mint in continual collaboration – and competition – with the former's nephew, William Wyon (1795-1851). It was only in 1828 that their relative roles were at last defined, with Wyon being appointed Chief Engraver and Pistrucci Chief Medallist. At last Pistrucci found himself with more time for working on stone. From the mid-1830s we should place among his best works (in terms of their fine carving and animated image) the portraits made from life of Princess Victoria in three-layered onyx. In 1838, to mark her ascension to the throne, he engraved on the portrait's reverse another portrait of her as Queen. This new portrait was repeated on the obverse of the gold coronation medal. The Queen was to pose for Pistrucci on several more occasions, both at Windsor and in Brighton (Marsh 1996, p. 40; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1989, Nos. 120-21, 125-26).

Over the 40 years he spent in London, Pistrucci made several visits to Paris and also Rome, to which his wife and numerous children had returned in 1824. During one such visit in 1839 the Vatican offered him the post of Chief Engraver of the Papal Mint, which he would have accepted if it were not for what he considered an insufficient salary. From his next trip to Rome he brought back to London two of his daughters, Elena (1822-86) [fig. 12.2] and Maria Eliza (1824-81), who showed some talent, under their father's instruction, in the engraving of stone and shell (see Christie's, London, 14 February 1961, Nos. 130-38). Like their father, they produced private commissions and in 1847-48 showed their works at exhibitions of The British Institution. Both received prizes from The Art Union Society of London. A cameo on shell with a portrait of the Duke Wellington dating from around 1850 (Victoria & Albert Museum, London), is attributed to one of Pistrucci's sons, Raphael (1818-99), who had been born in London and who lived with his father [fig. 12.3].

Pistrucci, a hard worker throughout his life, was to have a long career. During the last decades he enriched his oeuvre with numerous cameos – which he had always preferred to intaglios, although according to Billing he was similarly skilled in the latter (Billing 1867, p. 99). Pistrucci was paid well for his works: for instance we know that from Lord Lauderdale he

received 350 guineas for insignia of the Irish Order of St Andrew. The greater body of Pistrucci's engraved gems would today seem to be scattered amongst major museum collections. Some are set into rich mounts and are still worn as jewellery.

In 1849 the master and his daughters and son settled in Old Windsor. His last home was a little house set in marvellous gardens, Flora Lodge, in the village of Englefield Green, not far from Windsor. By the time he died, aged 72, Pistrucci had received diplomas from the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, the Accademia in Bologna, the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, the Royal Academy of Arts at Copenhagen and the Institut de France, and had been elected in 1842 a member of the extremely select Athenaeum Club. A street in his native Rome is named after him and the hundredth anniversary of his death was marked by an exhibition there in the Palazzo Braschi (Pistrucci 1955-56). In England, medals were issued in his honour in 1993 and on the anniversary of his death in 1995.

After the death of their father both daughters Elisa and Elena returned to Italy where they continued to work, mainly as shell-engravers. The universal exhibition of 1862 in London included *The Death of Adonis* by Maria Elisa Pistrucci [fig. 12.4].

But Pistrucci taught not only his own children. In 1825 a 25-year-old Bavarian master, Karl Friedrich Voigt (1800-74), who had already received significant training, came to further his studies under him at the Royal Mint. Voigt worked side by side with Pistrucci in London for nearly two years, stating afterwards that 'My stay with him was of great advantage for me. It was in his office that I made my first work in stone' (quoted in Marsh 1996, p. 29). Leaving London in 1826, travelling to Paris, Milan and Rome before settling in Italy, Voigt studied a little more under Giuseppe Girometti and had a successful career as both maker of medals and engraver on stone; in this latter profession he gained fame and the support of Thorwaldsen. He produced a gilded bronze medallic plaque with a portrait of Pistrucci (Royal Mint collection, London). Another visiting Italian, also both a gem engraver and a maker of medals, Giuseppe Caputi (dates unknown), created a cameo showing St George, possibly intended as the symbol of an Order, that belonged to the Duke of Cambridge (Righetti 1952, p. 62; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1985, p. 60). In 1815 Caputi showed intaglios at the Royal Academy bearing portraits of Alexander I of Russia and George III of England (Graves 1905, p. 47).

British gem engravers who showed their gems – mostly intaglios intended for use as seals – at exhibition in London during the first half of the 19th century were W. R. Best, A. Carpenter, J. Clifford, George Clint and his sons Scipio and Raphael, S. Golghan, C. Jones, Mrs Johnson, J. Parry Senior and Junior, V. Patten, J. Renton, F. A. Smith, G. E. Warner, Thomas Warner, William Warner, J. T. Williams and John Wilson of London; George Brown, Th. Brown, Th. Flavelle and R. Mosley of Dublin, and J. Nicholson of Dorking. The latter's work can be seen in three portrait cameos of 1845 adorning a bracelet that passed at auction at Christie's (Bury 1991, p. 230). We also find the names of W. C. Firsh and J. Warner amongst those exhibiting their works but catalogues do not make clear what technique they worked in, whether cameo or intaglio. There are no known works today by any of the named masters even in the form of casts and they seem to have left little trace. Nonetheless, we know that the general level of skill continued its persistent decline and there was less and less individuality of style. 'The cameo or intaglio that in 1830 would have brought £1000 in 1850 could hardly be given away' (Osborne 1912, p. VII).

High relief cameos were shown by the English gem engraver Brett at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Although even Forrer could not provide us with a first name for the engraver, recent literature informs us that he had his studio on Tysoe Street, off Wilmington Square in London (Armstrong 1976, p. 35). His *Norma* on moonstone [fig. 12.5] can barely be differentiated in manner from *Bellona, Omphale* [fig. 12.6] and other cameos on onyx by the Italian master Luigi Isler (Billing 1867, p. 123; Christie's, London, 14 February 1961, Nos. 118-25, 127), then working in England and taking advantage of the dominance of the souvenir style both there and in his native land. Forrer particularly noted a portrait by Isler of Robert Ready, famous electrotypist of the British Museum (Forrer 1904-30, VII, p. 473). Working in the same spirit was Pietro Girometti (1780-1859), the son of the celebrated Roman engraver Giuseppe Girometti, who came to Britain in the mid-19th century. We find mention in the literature that Pietro died in England in 1850 (e.g. Forrer 1904-30, II, p. 274) but this is an error.

Our knowledge of artistic practice in the sphere of glyptics during the second half of the 19th century is extremely limited. Continuing to work in this period were the English gem engraver Henry Hayler (exhibited at the Royal Academy 1852-58), the Scotsman Murdock (author of a portrait of Sir Walter

Fig. 12.4. Marie Eliza Pistrucci
Death of Adonis. Mid 19th century
Sardonyx cameo
© Christie's Images Ltd 1961

Fig. 12.5. Brett
Head of Norma. Mid-19th century
Sardonyx cameo
Location unknown

Fig. 12.6. Luigi Isler
Bust of Omphale. Mid 19th century
Sardonyx cameo
© Christie's Images Ltd 1961

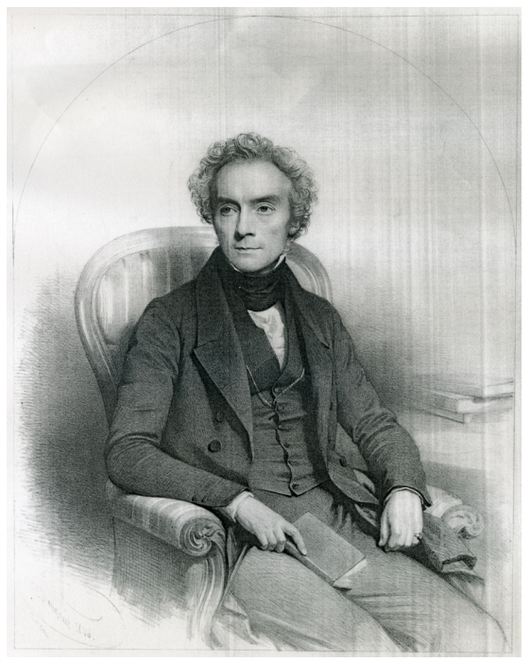


Fig. 12.7. Charles Baugniet
Portrait of Archibald Billing. 1846
Lithograph
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Scott formerly in the collection of Ralph Esmerian, sold at Phillips in London), the Irishmen Thomas Forster (1782-1869) and William Forster (died 1911). Cameos were engraved by a close friend of Pistrucci's, Archibald Billing (1791-1881) [fig. 12.7]. He reproduced his touching portrait of his young daughter, a repetition of a cameo by Elena Pistrucci (Marsh 1996, pl. 31) on the pages of his book *The Science of Gems, Jewels, Coins and Medals* (Billing 1867, p. 76) [fig. 12.8]. The book brought him greater fame than his own artistic activities. The value of his book, which is in many ways hopelessly out of date, lies in the author's own attitude to glyptics, which he sees as a form of sculpture, thus perceiving its main merit to lie in the quality of the engraving and not the material. He was one of the first to recognise an independent rather than imitative stage in the evolution of the art form in modern glyptics. 'A talented artist could earn more by fine works signed with his own name, than by forging antiques', he wrote (Billing 1867, p. 116) and lamented that while in his day 'every respectable gem engraver has a clear comprehension of painting and sculpture, you will find scarcely any painter or sculptor who knows the difference between *pietra dura* and shell, unless he has been in Rome…' (Billing 1867, p. 122). Billing himself sought to convince the president of the Royal Academy of the need to spread greater knowledge of gems but discovered that the president's own knowledge (the president in question probably being Sir Charles Lock Eastlake) was limited to a few boxes with casts of intaglios that he had brought back from his Grand Tour.

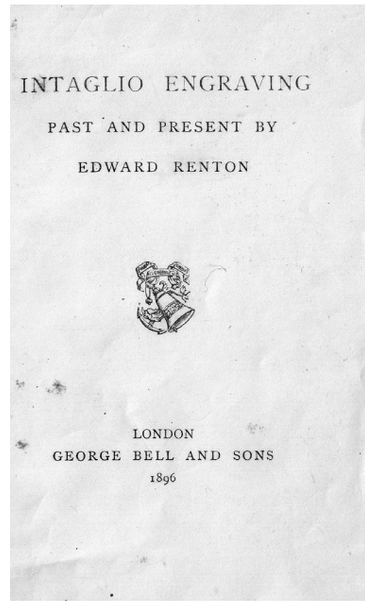
Nearly half of Billing's book is taken up by an appendix, an 'Autobiography of Benedetto Pistrucci', which reveals in its manner the gem engraver's desire to imitate Benvenuto Cellini in this genre (Billing 1867, pp. 135-211).

Another gem engraver was Edward Renton (exhibited at the Royal Academy 1834-41), who followed in the footsteps of his own grandfather, father and two uncles. His specialisation was intaglio seals, mainly of a heraldic nature of the kind that continued to enjoy some demand. He was also known for his books, *Heraldry in England* (1884) and *Intaglio Engraving. Past and Present* (Renton 1896) [fig. 12.9]. He saw as his direct predecessors in England Henry Weigall, Thomas Bragg and J. Grew. He himself provided heraldic seals to the royal family (the seal of Queen Victoria was carved by him on a white stone presented to her by the Russian Tsar Nicholas I; Renton 1896, p. 32) [fig. 12.10]. In his book he described contemporary Britain as 'the recognized centre of heraldic engraving and no longer is the better class of seal engraving on stone sent to Continental artists for execution'. Despite that, however, Renton was forced to admit that 'the fickle and arbitrary goddess, "Fashion", commenced to frown, where she had hitherto smiled, on the art of intaglio engravings.' With the appearance of postage stamps the personal seal became 'a thing of the past and was thenceforth regarded more as a toy and a luxury rather than a necessary' (Renton 1896, pp. 28, 30). In the wake of Billing, he wrote of the decline of glyptics that had followed the boom of the previous century, lamenting that one could now rarely meet a master skilled in the both relief and concave engraving (Renton 1896, p. 18).

At the Universal Exhibition of 1862 the London firm of Lambert & Rawings demonstrated a new kind of gem, known as the 'reverse intaglio', which could be used for pendants, brooches and solitaires (Bury 1991, p. 231, pls. 116, 117). Because they were produced by one Charles Cook the form is said to have been invented in England. This was probably so, but this is likely to have been a case not of 'invention' but rather of the revival of an apparently forgotten technique known since the 16th century. In order to create these 'reverse intaglios' the back of a transparent stone such as rock crystal was engraved with an image and the engraved area then painted (recall those heraldic signet rings with seals that belonged in the 1570s to Thomas Gresham, founder of the Royal Exchange, see chapter 3). Looking through the highly polished slightly convex front of the stone one saw – somewhat enlarged – a polychrome image of a dog or horse (e.g. examples in the Museum of London), or even a reproduction of a favourite print (British Museum, Hull Grundy Gift).

Also producing 'reverse engravings' was another member of the Cook family, Thomas, a seal-engraver of Clerkenwell, who in turn taught the technique to Thomas Bean. The latter set up a small firm, inherited by his son Edmund and then his grandson Edgar, which continued in existence until the latter's death in 1954. In the late 1870s they were also produced by Ernest William Pradier, an engraver of French birth living in England. When he died, his son Ernest Marius moved production to Dunstable and from there to Luton. Both the Beans and the Pradiers supplied their goods to fashionable jewellers and 'reverse intaglios' were set into works by Hancock, by Harvey & Gore and by Tiffany. Until the end of the 19th century they could be purchased from Wilson & Gill on Regent Street (Bury 1991, p. 231). In 1889-90 Miss Alice Sholfield showed her cameos at Art and Craft Exhibitions (Bury 1991, p. 230).

Fig. 12.8. Archibald Billing
Cameo portrait of his daughter Caroline (after a cameo by Elena Pistrucci). Before 1867
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London


INTAGLIO ENGRAVING

PAST AND PRESENT BY

EDWARD RENTON

LONDON
GEORGE BELL AND SONS
1896

Fig. 12.9. Edward Renton, *Intaglio engraving: past and present*, London 1896
Title page

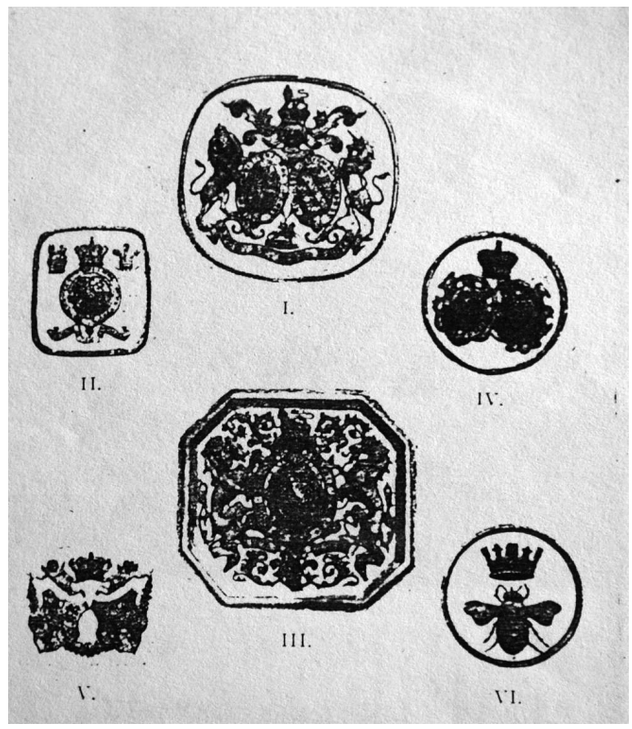


Fig. 12.10. Seals belonging to a member of the royal family, from Edward Renton, *Intaglio engraving: past and present*, London 1896

Fig. 12.11. Bust of Aphrodite (?). Italy. c. 1860
Sardonyx cameo after Roman marble bust from the Villa Albani (?) (from the Hull Grundy gems)
Fortunato Castellani setting in archaeological style
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

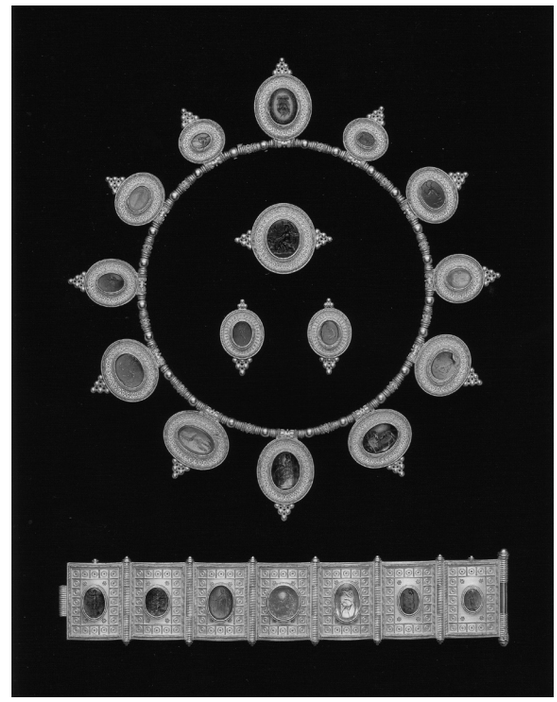


Fig. 12.12. Carlo Giuliano
Parure in archaeological style, c. 1870
Private collection, Japan

There must of course have been many other engravers, their names not recorded, who laboured in dependence on jewellers and jewellery firms. Serving as a superb illustration of this are intaglio portraits of George IV on cornelian and Siberian amethyst in the Royal Collection, which have the name of the celebrated firm of Rundell, Bridge & Rundell engraved not on the setting but on the stone itself (Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, Nos 271, 274).

Artists satisfying the 'archaeological revival' (a post-Regency / post-Empire nostalgic trend), producing Egyptian scarabs, Etruscan and Roman gems, had no right to place their signatures on their works. Born out of Italian jewellery in the late 1820s and 1830s, the fashionable new trend was closely linked with the activities of Pio Fortunato Castellani [fig. 12.11] and Carlo Giuliano [fig. 12.12]. But the fashion rapidly crossed borders, reaching England, and for many years it subordinated glyptics – once again in mode, now for purely decorative purposes – to its own requirements. One important factor that contributed to the revival of interest in glyptics, in the wake of Neo-Classicism, Regency style and the archaeological revival, was the distant influence of the French Revolution, which switched the search for the ideal from Antiquity towards national values of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. After the victory at Waterloo, symbols of wealth and power reappeared in jewellery, among them diadems and tiaras and whole parures (composed of necklaces, earrings, bracelets and brooches etc) of the kind used in royal circles and among the highest aristocracy. Now their decorative elements, competing with identifiably imperial motifs, diamonds and precious stones, were frequently cameos and intaglios. The ornamentation of such objects in the 'archaeological' and 'romantic' revivals were to be replaced by other 'historic' revivals that replaced each other in quick succession – Neo-Greek, Neo-Renaissance, Neo-Gothic and so on. During the age of Eclecticism variations on these different trends existed more or less side by side.

Even back in 1815 Louis XVIII had sent to England 24 cameos from the royal collection that had been displaced to the Cabinet de Médailles of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris as a result of the Revolution. By order of Napoleon of 1808 they had been removed and set by the jeweller Etienne Nitot, along with other pieces, into a pearl parure for

Empress Josephine (Reinach 1895b, p. 91; Babelon 1897, pp. CLXIX-CLXXII). They were never to return to France.

Around 1820 Lady Georgina, second wife of John Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford, came into possession of the bandeau known as the Cameo Tiara, which once belonged to Caroline Murat, Queen of Naples (now amongst the family jewellery at the Mansion House of Woburn Abbey, see Scarisbrick 2000, p. 56; Draper 1985, ill. 5).

At the Great Exhibition of 1851, in the great Crystal Palace, visitors were offered the chance to judge an attempt to revive the long forgotten combined jewellery technique known as *commesso* (which had been rare even at its height, in the 15th to 17th centuries). The object (now in the Victoria & Albert Museum) was described by the exhibition's organisers to be 'polychromatique cameos with metal and enamel ornaments'. There was a profile portrait of the young Queen Victoria engraved on shell, based on a print by C. E. Wagstaff after a full-length painting by the American Thomas Sully of 1838 [plate 39.1]. The dress, 'Gothic' crown and other accoutrements, executed in enamel on gold, were ornamented with diamonds, emeralds and other precious stones. It is important to recall, however, that this complicated, colourful and extremely expensive technique was the work not of an English craftsman but of the Frenchman Paul Victor Lebas (fl. 1851-76) under the mark of the Parisian firm of Félix Dafrique (Bury 1978, p. 2; Gere 2006, p. 127). Lebas' signature also appears on a profile portrait of Queen Victoria on sardonyx, produced in 1855 and based on the portrait on English coinage of 1841 (Gere et al 1984, No. 904). Another Frenchman who produced a cameo portrait of Victoria was one Anjenout (Christie's, London, 22 October 1974, lot 117).

The most striking British example of this use of engraved gems is 'The Devonshire Parure' (a detailed study of which has been made by Diana Scarisbrick; Scarisbrick 1979a, 1979d, 1986, 2003) [plate 39.2].

The Parure consists of seven objects – comb, bandeau, coronet, diadem, necklace, stomacher and bracelet – and was commissioned from the jewellery firm of C. F. Hancock for the wife of the 2nd Earl Granville on the occasion of the couple's presence at the coronation of Tsar Alexander II in Moscow on 26 August 1856 (Old Style – European date 7 September). The Earl's uncle, the 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858), who had already witnessed the great ceremony and imposing nature of Russian coronations when Nicholas I ascended the throne in 1825, provided some 88 cameos and intaglios dating from antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and Empire periods, and even Sasanian gems from his celebrated family collection. The Parure was made in a style described variously in the literature as 'Historicist', 'Romantic revival', 'Renaissance revival' or even 'Holbein-style'. Set in different shades of gold covered with coloured transparent and opaque enamels and hundreds of diamonds and rubies set to form complex patterns, the engraved gems inevitably lost independent aesthetic value. They play a purely decorative role in this pseudo-Renaissance diadem or crown with its late Gothic elements. Authors frequently cite parallels between this Parure and mediaeval reliquaries and those 'cameo' cups, caskets and platters which formed so important a part of 17th-century Kunstkammers or chambers of curiosities; this 'strange' or 'barbaric' method showing engraved gems was not uncommon amongst the owners of such exotic pieces.

The Devonshire Parure is surely unmatched. No other such piece can have found its fame spreading so far beyond the narrow circle of people who actually saw it. In the 19th century alone, we should note that soon after the Parure had been used for its intended purpose at the coronation of the Russian Tsar it was worn by Countess Granville for a State Ball at Buckingham Palace and an engraved gem fell out of the diadem (although it was found immediately). A year later the Parure was put on exhibition at the Mechanics Institution in Manchester (Hancock 1857) and over the next few years Londoners had three opportunities to see it: at the Royal Archaeological Institute (King 1861-62, part 1, p. 307), in 1862 at the International Exhibition (where it was noted by an international jury) and at the South Kensington Museum, as the Victoria & Albert Museum was then known (Robinson 1863).

The Parure's history also included other events not intended for the public. The making of casts from the engraved gems of which it was made, both intaglios and cameos, was entrusted to a celebrated master in such matters, the Italian Tommaso Cades. There is another curious tale from Edward Renton in his book on intaglios relating how 'he received in 1885 an invitation from Devonshire House to view the engraved gems, but was disappointed to find that they were not openly displayed, but consigned to the comparative obscurity of the "strong room"' (Renton 1896, p. 25). After publication of his book, the gems in the Devonshire Parure were studied by Adolph Furtwängler, leading German scholar of antiquities

and the age's leading authority on glyptics. In 1908 the whole of the Devonshire collection of gems was, under the watchful eyes of its owners, transferred to the Gold Ornament Room of the British Museum for the making of wax impressions, study, and the addition of settings by leading English jewellers (Strong MS 1909).

Taking place against this majestic background there were very different but profound processes. One manifestation of the growing polarisation of society was the drastic alteration in the relationship between glyptics and 'gem-works'. They ceased to complement each other harmoniously as they had in the previous century. Increasingly in circulation were cheap artificial gems made for those with only modest social ambitions.

The sphere dominated in the previous century and in the first half of the 19th by the factories of Wedgwood and Tassie was now taken over by their followers, who continued to produce ceramic and glass likenesses of engraved gems, but technological progress make possible ever new means of imitation. Appearing on the shelves of haberdashery shops were modestly-priced cameo-like medallions made of metal, like the 'Berlin' iron jewellery put out by the Gleiwitz Manufactory (Hintze 1928) and cameos fabricated from all kinds of plastic material and even resin.

Also to be found were two-layered cameos made of pieces of the same or different stone glued together and often carved with very high relief (cat. 131), and two-layered glass intaglios with red foil or paint between the layers to create a likeness to cornelian (cat. 129).

A notable phenomenon in this sphere was the creation of sulphide glass. Originally inspired by real cameos, they soon moved to adopt forms that were totally alien to glyptics and very specific to glass, merely preserving the basic principle of the cameo in consisting of contrasting layers. These 'sulphides' were based on the 'crystallo-ceramic' technique, by which a porcelain-like relief was set into a clear crystal plaque (Hughes 1949a, p. 1304; Pazaurek, Philippovich 1976, p. 285), and on the production of cameo glass (also known as verre doublé), which had its roots in antiquity. Pioneers in England of the first technique, invented in the middle of the 18th century by Bohemian glass-makers, were by the potter brothers Job (1759-1813) and George (c. 1758-1823) Ridgway in partnership with James Ebington, who started using it in 1792. Their Cauldon factory

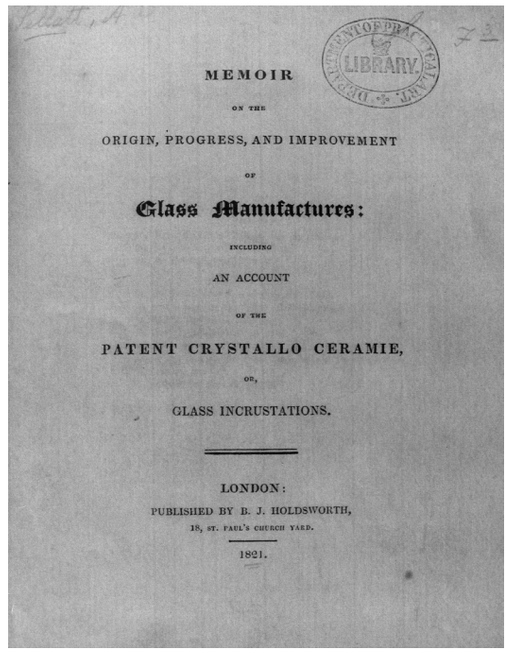


Fig. 12.13. Apsley Pellatt, *Memoir on the origins, progress and improvement of Glass Manufactures: including an account of the Patent crystallo ceramie, or glass incrustations*, London, 1821
Title page

existed until 1854, after which it passed into the hands of Joseph Clementson. Most active in this sphere was Apsley Pellatt (1791-1863) [plate 40.1]. Having started, like his predecessors, by casting the relief, he soon mastered the art of pressing, receiving British and foreign patents for his technique in 1819 and 1831 and indeed writing a whole book on it (Pellatt 1821, 1849) [fig. 12.13]. His factory in Staines, where he lived from 1843, produced many portrait works, borrowing the iconography of Wedgwood medallions [fig. 12.14] and complementing it with a more up-to-date repertoire, as well as producing glass pastes, including some from the works of Giovanni and Luigi Pichler (Becker 1980, p. 153). The introduction of 'cameo glass', a double layer of glass which can be cut away to form a two-coloured design, was linked with the Northwood family. The first experiment by John Northwood I (1836-1902) produced a glass cameo of *Perseus and Andromeda*, engraved in 1860 in relief on opaque white glass. In 1876 he successfully reproduced in glass the famous Portland Vase, the first occasion on which the reproduction had used the material of the original: it had previously been reproduced in Wedgwood material from a model by James Tassie (Viles 1968; Goldstein et al 1982, p. 43). John Northwood II (1870-1960) produced plates

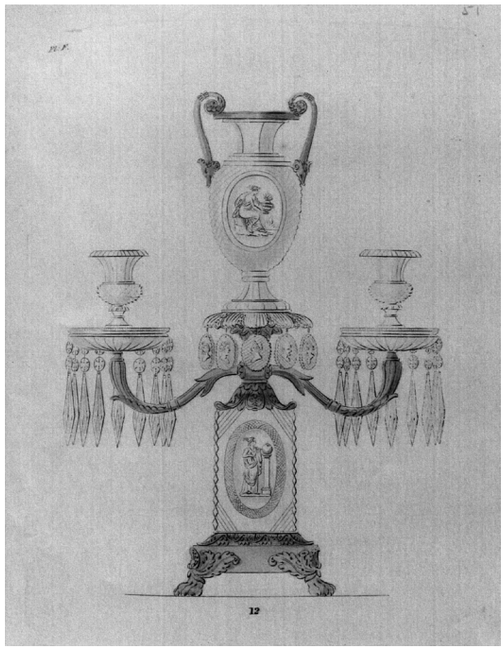


Fig. 12.14. Apsley Pellatt
Design for a candelabra with sulphide cameo incrustations. 1820

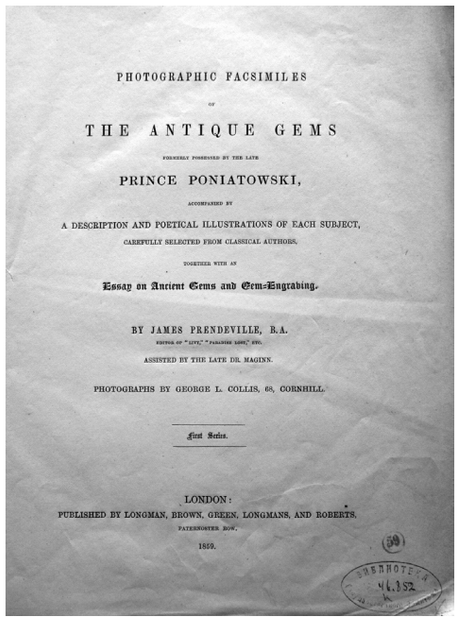
and bowls with cameo-like portrait medallions of Shakespeare, Newton and Flaxman set into the bottom. Similar portraits, along with those of Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort and the Duke of Wellington, were produced on glass paperweights by the firm of William Rid of London and by two Birmingham companies, Lloyd & Summerfield and F. B. C. Osler (Hughes 1949a, p. 1305). The same technique was used to great effect in the late 19th century by Thomas (1849-1926) and George (1850-1925) Woodall, both of whom worked for the firm of Thomas Webb & Sons in Stourbridge, and thanks to one Edwin Grice it was used by the Stourbridge glass firm of Stevens & Williams (Goldstein et al 1982, pp. 48, 60). In England cameo carving of glass was practised by J. Hodgetts (1858-1933), James Benjamin Hill (1850-1928), Benjamin Fenn, Joseph Locke (who in 1883 left for America) and the French medallist and gem engraver Alphonse Eugène Lechewrel (Beard 1954).

It was partly thanks to the flooding of the market with all kinds of imitation gems that there was a change in the situation on the antique market, particularly when compared with the previous century and even the early 19th. C. W. King (1866a, p. 181) rightly noted that the production of imitations at home and abroad was combined with a decline in knowledge amongst even the most informed connoisseurs (who nonetheless perceived themselves to be extremely erudite!). Moreover, 'What had happened was what always happens when a sane taste has degenerated into a mere collecting mania' (Osborne 1912, p. VI).

Britain was to be the setting of one of the most shocking of all gem- falsification scandals, the sale on 29 April 1839 at Christie's in London of an auction of the infamous collection of Prince Poniatowski.

Prince Stanislaw Poniatowski (1754-1833) had spent the first part of his life travelling between Austria, France, Italy, Germany, Russia and, of course, Poland, where he had vast landed estates. He had received a brilliant education, including eight months at Cambridge in 1771. From 1791 he was at last settled in Italy (although he was to make short trips abroad), first in Rome, where he built several villas, and then in Florence. On the death of his uncle, the last King of Poland, Stanislaw August (1732-98) he inherited the latter's dactyliotheca, consisting of genuine ancient works and pieces by celebrated 18th-century masters. Over a number of years he added other acquisitions to this basic nucleus. We know that in 1826, when he was selling one of his villas, he also sold some of the gems to the Englishman Richard Sykes 'of York' (Neverov 1981b, p. 179; Seidmann 1999b, p. 263ff). Describing the collection a few years later, the celebrated antiquarian Ennio Quirino Visconti nonetheless called it one of the richest dactyliothecae in Europe (Visconti 1827-31).

In 1831, just two years before his death, Poniatowski published a catalogue of his collection, compiled not without his involvement. It listed some 2601 items, of which just 20 were cameos and the rest were intaglios. Undoubtedly the collection included authentic pieces, some of them inherited from King Stanislaw August, some acquired by Poniatowski himself. We could mention, for instance, a bust of Io by Dioscurides or a female portrait by Gnaios. The main body, however, consisted of 1737 large gems of homogeneous type illustrating ancient mythology, history and epic tales, all bearing the signatures of Pyrgoteles, Polycletes, Apollonides and Dioscurides, ancient masters represented by only a handful of items even in the world's most outstanding collections, and of other 'Antique' gem engravers previously unknown. This was bound to attract a certain amount of negative attention (Rochette 1831, p. 33; Tölken 1832, p. 316). But by the time the sale was held, six years after Poniatowski's death, none remembered these critical



PHOTOGRAPHIC FACSIMILES

OF

THE ANTIQUE GEMS

FORMERLY POSSESSED BY THE LATE

PRINCE PONIATOWSKI,

ACCOMPANIED BY

A DESCRIPTION AND POETICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF EACH SUBJECT,

CAREFULLY SELECTED FROM CLASSICAL AUTHORS,

TOGETHER WITH AN

Essay on Ancient Gems and Gem-Engraving.

BY JAMES PRENDEVILLE, B.A.

EDITOR OF "LIVY," "PARADISE LOST," ETC.

ASSISTED BY THE LATE DR. MAGINN.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GEORGE L. COLLIS, 65, CORNHILL.

First Series.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, AND ROBERTS,

PATERNOSTER ROW.

1859.

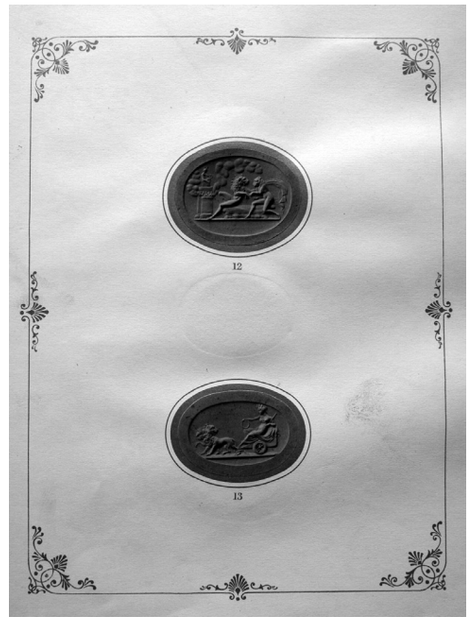


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Fig. 12.15. James Prendeville, Photographic Facsimiles of the Antique Gems Formerly Possessed by the Late Prince Poniatowski, London, 1857-59
a) Title page
b) Plate

responses and in any case the catalogue itself was already a bibliographical rarity.

Ever since the sale, scholars of glyptics (Neverov, Seidmann, Rudoe, Platz-Horster) have sought to resolve the mystery of the Poniatowski collection. It has come to be thought that the Prince himself, secretly moved by some unclear motives, commissioned these series of gems from contemporary Italian gem engravers and had false signatures applied to others. In our context, however, the interest lies less in the how and the why than in the resonance of the scandal that blew up. The whirlwind of events at the auction and in its wake were untangled and described by the French Classical scholar Solomon Reinach, with the assistance of a connoisseur of engraved gems and benefactor of Harrow School Mr Cecil Torr (1847-1918), who had in 1887 written a small history of the School's collection; and by Furtwängler 1900, III, p. 431, who had access in London to the most reliable sources (Reinach 1895a; Reinach 1895b, p. 151; Busiri Vici 1971, pp. 313, 323).

At the auction, which continued for eleven days, many gems were acquired by the 5th Lord Monson, who died two years later, leading to the reappearance of this part of the collection at Christie's in June 1851 (Reinach 1895b, p. 154). The main body, some 1140 intaglios, were acquired for the sum of £12,000 by Colonel John Tyrrell who, all unsuspecting, then put casts of his new acquisitions on display. He intended also to publish the gems, probably in order to sell them on for even more than the £65,000 he was immediately offered. But when Nathaniel Ogle, the antiquary he brought in to write the catalogue and its introduction, took a closer look at the gems, his preliminary survey (Ogle 1840) and introductory essay to the catalogue opened the eyes of the public to the extent of the deception (Ogle 1842). Tyrrell sought to have the whole print run destroyed but the scandal had already reached the press and over the course of the next two years accusations and incriminations were tossed to and fro. Tyrrell had the last word, publishing in March 1842, with the aid of his friend one Mr Holcroft and without revealing his own name, a pamphlet entitled *Remarks Exposing the Unworthy Motives and Fallacious Opinions of the Writer of the Critiques on the Poniatowski Gems* (Tyrrell 1842). Even this, however, did not have the desired effect, and museums, amongst them the British Museum, refused to acquire the gems.

Judging by the information provided by Cecil Torr, Tyrrell nonetheless managed to sell the greater part of the 'Poniatowski gems', to one Colonel Rickerts and it was probably in this context that an *Explanatory Catalogue of the Proof Impressions of the Antique*

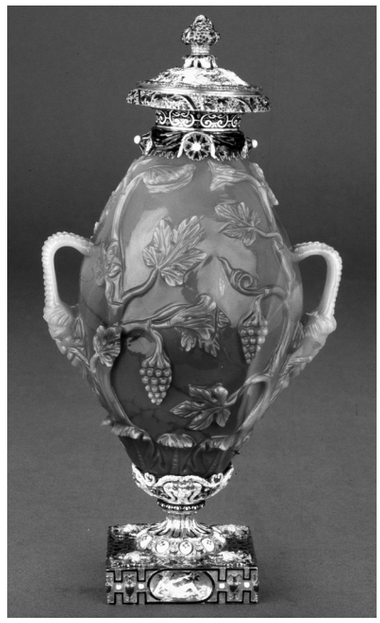


Fig. 12.16. The 'Cellini' Vase. 1820-1830
Agate
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Gems Possessed by the Late Prince Poniatowski and now in the Possession of John Tyrrell, Esq. was published in 1841 (Prendeville 1841) [fig. 12.15]. James Prendeville even produced a luxury two-volume publication of the collection, admittedly after Tyrrell's death (Prendeville 1857-59). Dedicated to Prince Albert, it opened with Tyrrell's own thoughts on his engraved gems. The distribution agents in Britain were Willis and Sotheran, who offered subscribers both volumes for just five guineas instead of the advertised 21 guineas. The print run of just 75 copies announced by Prendeville and Dr Maginn (the second publisher who, like his client, did not live to see publication), was thought by Reinach to be vastly understated, particularly when we bear in mind that this catalogue was still freely available at the end of the 19th century. These two rich tomes are of considerable historical value not so much for their description of the catalogue as for the fact that represent some of the earliest use of photographic reproductions of engraved gems. The quality of the photographic work was highly praised in the press: 'These photographic facsimiles have been executed by Mr. Collis… They may be designated as some of the greatest triumphs of the photographic art' (cited in Reinach 1895b, pp. 153-54). It should be stated that this innovation in the reproduction of engraved gems was most timely for in 1840 Tommaso Cades had died and the activities of his workshop in Rome, producing series of casts, had come to an end.

When all these events were taking place, people still had vivid memories of Pistrucci's *Flora*. These two episodes together were sufficient to arouse an exaggerated distrust of collectors and scepticism towards scholars. The prices for engraved gems fell to just two or three pounds each.

Even so, the production of fakes continued to grow, seeking new means of deception. It was by no means always possible to identify such pieces and the risk of acquiring a fake, a duplicate or a gem with a false signature applied grew rather than diminished. It was only very recently, that the agate 'Cellini Vase' in the British Museum – previously attributed to the Late Roman Period – was shown to be a fake [fig. 12.16]. It is a (not entirely faithful) copy of a lost gem known from drawings in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, The vase too belonged to the 6th Duke of Devonshire and was kept at his London home. Tait suggests (Tait 1997, pp. 118-23) that the copy was made in a London workshop in the 1830s. Some fakes – often coarse copies of ancient gems – remained in circulation for decades, to be acquired by trusting purchasers. Moreover, the originals themselves were on occasion destroyed by the copyists in order to prevent accusations of plagiarism. There were plenty of cases in which pastes were made supposedly reproducing a now lost original, which in fact had never existed. The 'distressing' of new gems – a practice known from antiquity – was widely practised (Middleton 1891, p. 101). C. W. King admitted that in 'the numerous collections sold in London during the last ten years, and which I have examined, scarcely one stone in twenty presents all the required proofs of indubitable antiquity' (King 1866b, p. 190).

In parallel with these trends, there were also strong stimuli for the import and production of relatively cheap products. In the 1860s and 1880s, jewellery with cameos carved in coral, shell or lava of different colours (from cream to green, brown and black), produced in Italy, particularly in and around Naples, became extremely popular in Britain. There is no reason to linger here on a long history of this craft – a history full of colourful and notable episodes that did much to define its particular aesthetics.

The mass production of these pieces, the persistence of the same motifs – repeated so often that the engraver had no need to keep returning to the original model – could not but lead to a decline in quality. This in turn

was both the result and cause of a progressive disregard for true artistic quality amongst those for whom such shell-carvings were intended, thus ensuring that the whole sphere of production was caught in a vicious circle. The true material of glyptics was replaced, with hard precious and semi-precious stones of the kind that had once defined the very essence of the art ceding the position they had come to occupy over thousands of years.

Britons travelling through Europe tended to pose in Rome for shell-carvers of somewhat greater skill, just as they had once streamed into the studio of Giovanni Pichler. Often they ordered their memorial portraits on the basis of miniatures or daguerrotypes.

There were a number of recognised masters of this art. In 1841, during a visit to Italy with his parents, the young John Ruskin ordered his portrait 'in pink shell' from the Roman engraver Constantine Roesler France, [fig. 12.17] whose work had been recommended to him. He wrote: 'We bought according to custom some coquillage of Gods and Graces; but the cameo cutters were also skilled in mortal portraiture and papa and mama stile expectant of my future greatness resolved to have me carved in cameo…' (Dearden 1960, pp. 191-92). Amongst the most famous cameo-carvers in Italy were Tommaso Saulini (1793-1864) and his son and pupil Luigi (1796-1846), both of whom worked in both shell and stone. They introduced a Romantic note into their art, which was otherwise stylistically dependent on Berthel Thorwaldsen and John Gibson (Gibson even supplied Luigi with drawings, including some of his masterpiece, *The Toilet of Nausicaa*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) [fig. 12.18]. Here we see a reflection of the increased links between glyptics and sculpture and medals in various lands. Thanks to the long residence in Rome of these sculptors, gem engravers turned their attention away from ancient statues towards contemporary – including north European – sculpture (Rudoe 1996, pp. 210-12).

The Saulinis had particularly close links with England. Two cameos on shell were commissioned from Tommaso around 1830 by the British sculptor Joseph Gott after busts of his relative and patron Benjamin Gott and his wife (Carr 1975, p. 173). Later Tommaso produced a cameo, *The Finding of Moses*, after a statue by Benjamin Edward Spence.

At the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace of 1851 the public's attention was drawn by cameos by Saulini, some using motifs from Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican and one even based on a work that

Fig. 12.17. Constantin Roesler France
Portrait of John Ruskin. 1841
Shell cameo
Private collection, England

was causing a sensation in the American section of the exhibition, a statue called *Greek Slave* by Hiram Powers, which he had modelled in Rome in 1849-50 (Gere et al 1984, No. 28; Rudoe 2002, [7]; Gere 2006, p. 127). Sadly the exhibition catalogue incorrectly gave the artist's name as Thomas Savalini (Ritchie 1974, p. 200; Bury 1991, p. 225). At the International Exhibition of 1862 the public would have seen a stand with 20 cameos that Tommaso Saulini sent from Rome, one of the best of which was *Roma* engraved on sardonyx, version of which on shell were available on sale (Gere et al 1984, No. 917). Luigi Saulini even came to London to organise this stand, which was awarded a medal by the exhibition jury. Later both the Saulinis were to produce portraits of Queen Victoria [plate 41.1] and Prince Albert (there is a portrait of the Prince Consort signed by one of them in a private collection in St Petersburg) [plate 41.2]. They were also commissioned to engrave paired profiles of the royal couple (based on a medal by William Wyon) for all four levels of the women's Royal Order of Victoria & Albert founded in 1862 (for more on which see chapter 3). Tommaso engraved the first models in onyx and when he died, Victoria expressed her regrets and asked that a master be found who could complete an unfulfilled commission for copies of them on shell: naturally, Luigi took up the task (Carr 1975, p. 177).

Among the commissions for portraits that the Saulinis received from the English were those from George Townsend, Canon of Durham (by Tommaso), and

Fig. 12.18. Luigi Saulini
The Toilet of Nausicaa (after John Gibson). c. 1860
Onyx cameo
Metropolitan Museum, New York

Archbishop E. W. Benson (by Luigi – a pencil sketch for this work survives). His gems were exhibited in 1865 in Dublin (Ritchie 1974, p. 200; Bury 1991, p. 225). For the assertion found in some reference works (e.g. Thieme, Becker 1907-47, XXIX, p. 492) that Luigi spent any considerable time in England, no confirmation can be found (Carr 1975, p. 180). A recent monograph published in Italy devoted to the work of Tommaso and Luigi Saulini also deals with their links with England (Dickmann de Petra, Barberini 2006).

In search of income, Italian shell-engravers of all qualities migrated in large quantities to countries in northern Europe, a large number of them settling initially in France. Britain too had its attraction, with a good source of shells of all kinds from the colonies – mostly India, Madagascar – and from the Japanese Islands, that were then exported to other lands on the continent. In England the taste for shell cameos developed in the 1840s and continued to the end of the 1880s. In 1847 Francati and Santa-Maria, dealers in shells from Naples who had a monopoly on the trade in London, sent across the Channel more than 100,000 pieces of unworked raw material to a value of nearly 10,000 pounds and finished products to a value of nearly 50,000 pounds (Hughes 1949b, p. 250). For the British aristocracy, shell cameos were engraved by Gaspare Nicolini, pupil of the Italian Leonardo Bongiorno (Ritchie 1974, p. 200) and in 1867 some time was spent working there by a pupil of L. Perrotti, the Neapolitan Giovanni Stella (born 1839), who was on his way home after a stay in France. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries another Italian, Raphael Dinelli (d. 1904) also came to work in the British capital. Amongst the English carving on shell we find Miss C. Chamberlain exhibiting at the start of the 19th century, and Charlotte Greenhill of Bromley at the end (Graves 1901).

For more than half a century, from the 1850s to the early 1900s, the cameo-cutter James Ronca (1826-1910), born in London to an Italian-Swiss family, worked first in Chelsea and then in the heart of the capital itself. His first teacher was an Italian with the name ‘Chelly’, but he was soon replaced by Benedetto Pistrucci. Ronca took drawing lessons from Benedetto’s brother Filippo, who had settled in London in 1834. First he mastered engraving on shell, turning many years later to work on stone (Rudoe 2006, p. 130). From 1865 to 1871 he exhibited at The Royal Academy, showing portraits and cameos on subjects inspired by Shakespeare and Tennyson. It is possible that his models were Parian ware sculptures (Rudoe 1996, pp. 212, 213; Rudoe 2006, p. 133). Taking up where Luigi Saulini left off, he added to the medals of the women’s Royal Order, although this was discontinued after Victoria’s death. He produced other commissions for the court, including for the wife of the future Edward VII, Princess Alexandra (his excellent portrait of her on shell, which has sadly lost some of the ground, is dated 1870 and is now in the British Museum) [fig. 12.19]. His repetitions on shell of works by contemporary

sculptors achieved some renown: for instance in 1864 The Art Union awarded him a prize for the cameo *Dancing Girl Reposing*, after William Calder Marshall, while in 1871 he received an award from The Society of Arts for cameo-cutting (Rudoe 2006, p. 136). Photographs record the five stages of working a cameo on shell by James Ronca (Portrait of Sir John Everett Millais, on Cassis Rufa shell), these published in the art press twice during his lifetime (Marsh 1887, p. 148; Thompson 1898, p. 277) [fig. 12.20]. There was even some question of introducing the teaching of shell-carving at the National Art Training School (South Kensington School of Art, later The Royal College of Art) and Ronca was chosen for the task, but the class was never organised as the fashion for cameos disappeared almost entirely. Nonetheless, Ronca continued to teach and The Society of Arts gave a prize – apparently one of the last of this kind in its history – to 'a young lady who had been taught by Ronca' (Rudoe 2006, p. 143). Works by Ronca and his desk and tools are now in the British Museum, with more cameos in the Victoria & Albert Museum and in the possession of his heirs [fig. 12.21].

Ladies' jewellery with shell-cameos was again much in demand in the Victorian era, which in turn did much to alter the subjects and style of such pieces. Classical motifs were now pushed into the background, being replaced with allegorical scenes, with biblical and literary subjects, with 'flying chariots ascending to heaven through fluffy clouds', dancing nymphs and cherubim (Becker 1980, p. 160). Moreover these cameos, overstuffed with decorative elements, grew in dimension to the extent that they seemed more suitable for hanging on the wall than on a woman's breast. The Hermitage has a number of examples of British engraved shells of hypertrophied dimension: *Allegory of Night, Allegory of Day and Night* (cats. 117, 118). At first such items were given traditional twisted gold wire frames, but later fine engraving came to be combined with highly-valued settings in Graeco-Etruscan style, adorned with filigree and quite frequently set with precious stones or pearls. There were, of course, settings in less tasteful manner and indeed the escalation of 'poor taste' was characteristic of British art of the late Victorian age. In the face of all this it must be admitted that Victorian engraved shells in sentimental-affected style remain attractive today in their poeticism, founded on naïve symbolism, and they are indubitably superior to the far more banal Italian products.

Portraits of women show them wearing brooches set with such shell cameos. A good example is the small cameo on the dress of Fanny Holman Hunt, wife of the Pre-Raphaelite painter William Holman Hunt, in his portrait of her made in 1865 (Gere, Munn 1989, p. 64) [fig. 12.22]. The head of a cherub, wings pressed close in the manner of early Gothic images, is utterly in keeping with the image of the woman and the style of the painter [fig. 12.23]. Couples from mythology such as Cupid and Psyche, dancing female figures from Herculaneum, heads of Socrates and Plato, even owls and gryphons might make their appearance, a pair of earrings. In 1830 *The Lady's Magazine* depicted many women wearing cameo earrings (Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 331). Sometimes the engravers of shells reproduced cameos or intaglios made by celebrated engravers in stone, such as the Charles Brown's *Bust of Mars* (Somers Cocks 1976, pl. 22h) and *Mars and Bellona* (cat. 157).

Portrait engraved shells were particularly popular, thanks to the peculiarly British taste for portraiture in general. In the early 1860s by The Society for the Encouragement of Arts even took steps to 'stimulate progress' on this front (Rudoe 2002, [14]) . Engravers sought maximum likeness as these engraved portraits became an affordable alternative to more expensive painted miniatures and it was only with the development of photography that such pieces lost their commemorative function. In the reign of Victoria, the general increase in attention to women was reflected in the large number of female portraits produced. It seems that even Victoria herself took lessons in cameo carving (Becker 1980, p. 151). In the last third of the 19th century a particular role in the patronage of shell-carving was played by Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne (1848-1939), fourth daughter of Queen Victoria (Hughes 1949b, p. 251). But by the end of the 1880s the fashion was beginning to die away. A discussion unfolded on the pages of the *Journal of the Society of Arts* regarding the need to provide special support for an art form that involved so many craftsmen who were now finding themselves without a means of earning a living (Marsh 1887, p. 154). To conclude this subject, we will cite the words of the archaeologist and anthropologist Arthur Evans to a gathering of the Royal Society of Arts in February 1912, with regard to Victorian shell cameos: 'They were not very beautiful, and the decadence from hard beautiful agate to shell was a great disadvantage, but nevertheless it was the reflection of an old and excellent tradition' (cited in Thomas 1912, p. 369).

Jet jewellery – including cameos – was a particular phenomenon in the Victorian age. After the Great Exhibition of 1851 it drew particular attention and local manufactories started to receive important

Fig. 12.19. James Ronca
Portrait of Alexandra, Princess of Wales. 1870
Shell cameo
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

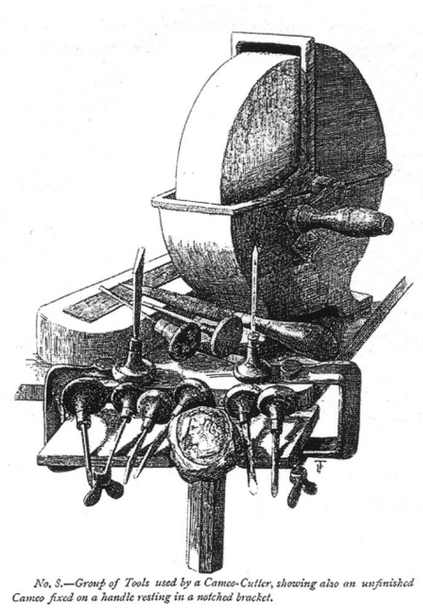


Fig. 12.21. James Ronca's lathe for cutting shell cameos
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

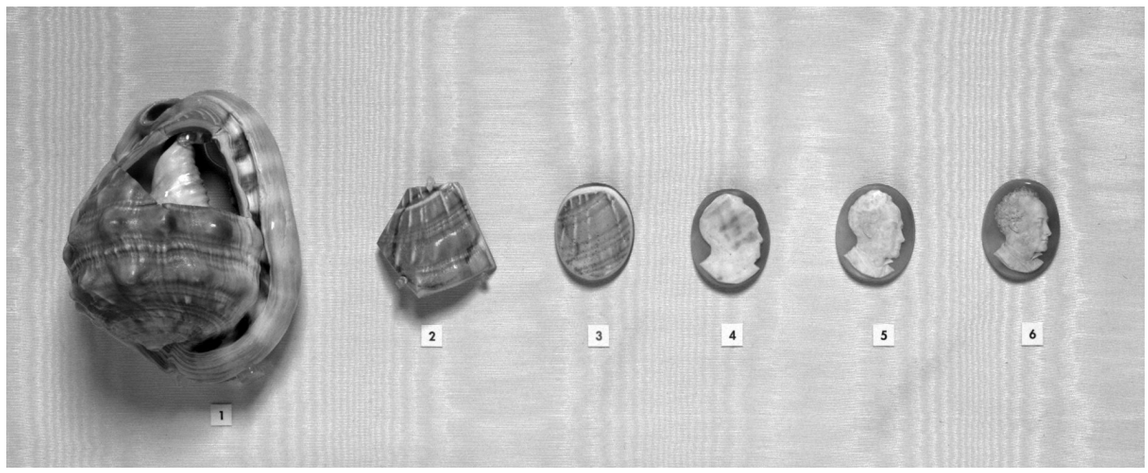


Fig. 12.20. James Ronca
Stages of work on the shell cameo portrait of John Everett Millais. 1880s
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

commissions from the crowned heads of Europe. In England itself the fashion intensified in the wake of the death of Prince Albert in 1861, when mourning attire dictated a preference for black textiles and accessories by the Queen and members of her court, and fashion and etiquette did much to further the expansion of the jet industry (Ritchie 1970, pp. 70-95, 132-33; Muller 1987). During the early period a number of workshops in Whitby on the western shores of England enjoyed particular fame: established by Isaak Greenbury, Charles Bryan, John Spidi, James Ainsley and William Wright, they were continued by these men's heirs, with demand declining only at the very end of the century.

In the sphere of collecting, the 19th century – with the exception of the short collapse brought about by the scandal with the Poniatowski gems – there was considerably less disaffection with glyptics than on the continent. The last of the aristocratic dactyliothecae were still being formed through purchases from old continental – mainly Italian – collections.

That of Richard Grenville, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776-1839), took shape in the late 1820s, incorporating examples of Greek, Etruscan, Roman and Post-Classical gems from the collections of the Braschi family in Rome and of Monsignor Capace Latro, Archbishop of Taranto (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XIX). Admittedly the Duke was not in possession of his gems for long – in 1834, when his tastes moved drastically away from Neo-Classicism towards Romantic art, he sold the lot for just £1,000 to the architect Sir John Soane, whose house was transformed into a museum, filled to bursting with the widest possible variety of works of art (Thornton, Dorey 1992).

The path of some of the Poniatowski gems (around 70 items) led to Arthur Wellesley, 2nd Duke of Wellington (1807-84). His tastes were more Neo-Classical and mainly through acquisitions at auction he regularly and quite deliberately added to the post-Classical gems in his own dactyliotheca. Amongst his purchases were gems engraved in Britain between 1750 and the 1850s and his large collection (consisting of some 14,000 items) included works by Luigi Pichler, Antonio Berini, Nicola Morelli and the English engravers Burch, the Brown brothers, Marchant, Charles Bacon and William Fraser. An exhibition at Phillips on New Bond Street in London revealed that the Duke's collecting activities were rather an 'amusement than expression of dynastic pride or connoisseurship' (Becker 1977; Scarisbrick 1977; Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XIX).

It was at more or less the same time that Spencer Compton, 2nd Marquess of Northampton (1790-1851) became the owner of a collection of antique pastes reproduced by Tommaso Cades (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XIX). Published in London in the middle of the 19th century was a catalogue of the collections of ancient and later rings and jewellery belonging to Lady Londesborough (Croker 1853), at its core the collection formed by George Isaaks (Scarisbrick 1984, I, p. 19).

As before, the British aristocracy sat for famous engravers when they travelled to Italy: Lady Elizabeth Forster (1759-1824), step-mother of the 6th Duke of Devonshire, posed for Giuseppe Girometti (Scarisbrick 1983, p. 28) and her example was followed by many others (Righetti 1952). There was even a special guide published in English describing the studios of different sculptors and providing recommendations on gem- and shell-engravers (Le Grice 1841).

During the Regency period and the reign of George IV, acquisitions and commissions – many from the firm of Rundell, Bridge & Rundell – added considerably to the Royal Collection. George is recognised today as 'the first enthusiastic gem-collector of the royal family' (Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, p. 21). He spared no expense on rings with cameos and intaglios, new badges for the Order of the Garter and large items of jewellery decorated with engraved gems, sometimes in Neo-Gothic style.

New collections, however, were usurping the place formerly occupied by the great aristocratic collections. They were formed by businessmen and bankers, by scholars and doctors, artists and clergymen (Scarisbrick 1984-88, I, p. 18). Members of these social groups in British society eagerly made their acquisitions of glyptics when they found themselves in Rome, in the studios and stalls on the Piazza di Spagna, at the markets on the Piazza Navona and the Piazza Barberini, as they walked to the Villa Massimo by the city walls, or even on their walks beyond the walls, in the neighbouring gardens and vineyards. There they could still be purchased from local inhabitants, from peripatetic sellers of antiquities, and even in tobacco stalls, to which the gems were brought by peasants. They returned to England not only with casts made by Paoletti, Liberotti and Cades, arranged in handsome cases containing several drawers or made to look like richly bound books to be fitted into a library, but also with a small box of original gems (Tyszkiewicz 1898; Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XIX).

Fig. 12.22. William Holman Hunt
Portrait of Fanny Holman Hunt. 1865
Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio

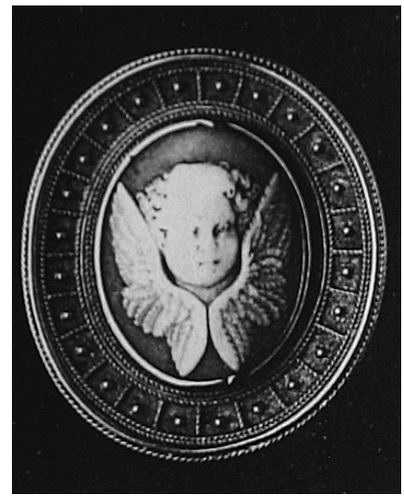


Fig. 12.23. *Amorino*
Shell cameo in gold brooch in the archaeological style. c. 1860
Holman Hunt family

Fig. 12.24. Portrait of Greville John Chester. c. 1870s-80s
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

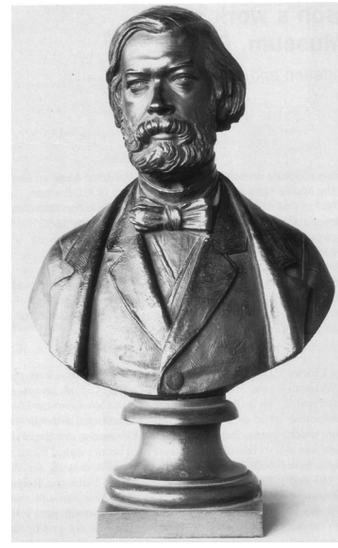


Fig. 12.25. Charles Marochetti
Bust of John Charles Robinson
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Meanwhile there was no slacking in consistent attempts to discover the remains of ancient civilisation and the traditional forms of collecting were replaced in the 1820s to 1850s with a new scholarly and archaeological approach based on material gained from excavations. It was linked with the names of British émigrés who had settled in Italy – Rev. John Hamilton Gray and his wife Elizabeth Caroline Gray, Sir Henry Russell and General Ramsay, who not only visited sites but also took part in excavations. Whereas aristocrats were people of 'taste' and high purchasing power, these were energetic people of moderate means, endowed with a good deal of scepticism, particularly with regard to objects of uncertain origin. 'Non credo' was their motto (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XIX). In Rome, the Grays purchased a group of Early Christian gems that was later dispersed at auction in 1887. It is possible that some of those gems were in fact not authentic (Spier 2007, p. 7).

In this same category were the Reverends George Frederick Nott (1767-1841) and Edmund Waterton (1830-87). The first was a canon of Winchester Cathedral and a fellow of All Souls College in Oxford who arrived in Rome in 1817 to recuperate after an accident during restoration work and spent some eight years there. Pride of his collection were his Greek scarabs, a cameo attributed to Sostratos and a group of Early Christian gems. These were split up after an auction at Sotheby's on 9 June 1842, but we gain some impression of them from surviving casts (Spier 1997, p. 39). Waterton, who had travelled extensively and was Papal Privy Chamberlain to Pius IX, not only put together a collection of gems (at the core of which, as with the collection of Lady Londesborough, were gems once belonging to George Isaak) but provided his own description of it, preserved today in manuscript form, the 'Dactyliotheca Watertoniana'. This is today, along with many of his gems, in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. Waterton was also an extremely active member of the Society of Antiquaries, taking part in their discussions of an exhibition of engraved gems organised by the Institute of Archaeology in June 1861 (Waterton 1861).

A new and important source for the acquisition of gems was found in travels to the Near East. Each year Rev. Greville J. Chester (1830-92) [fig. 12.24] brought back gems from Syria and Palestine for himself and Sir August Wollaston Franks (1826-97), which were later to find their way in the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam and the Ashmolean (his activities are currently being studied in depth by Gertrud Seidmann). Egyptian scarabs, Near-Eastern seals, Greek, Hellenistic and Roman engraved gems might also find their way into the hands of admirers through military and diplomatic channels, and of course frequently through auctions. One supplier was a Major Macdonald, who sold gems brought back from Cyrene at Christie's in London on 20 April 1857; Lieutenant-Colonel H.H. Godwin Austen also sold his acquisitions made during his service in the Punjab and Afghanistan through Sotheby's. Auctions also featured gems from excavations on Cyprus made by General Lawrence Cesnola and Commander Barbetti (the latter's collection included Phoenician finds from the necropolises of Sardinia).

Appearing at international exhibitions were many continental cabinets large and small, as well as collections of finger rings and jewellery set with engraved gems. This too contributed to the establishment in Britain of new dactyliothecae, as well as to the expansion of existing ones. Amongst the foreign owners seeking (for various reasons) to part with their valuables in London were figures of high rank (and many of no renown at all). In the middle and second half of the 19th century engraved gems auctioned in London included those belonging to members of the Bonaparte family – Lucien Bonaparte and Caroline Murat (after the scattering of the Napoleon Museum in 1844), to a merchant from Smyrna H. P. Borell (1852) and the Florentine dealer Ferdinando Marsigli (1856). In 1854 Christie's in London sold the Webb collection, put together in Paris at the start of the century, and incorporating many good Oriental gems. C. W. King took advantage of this sale to add to his own dactyliotheca (King 1866a, p. 370; King 1866b, p. 199).

In 1859, the collection of Sybilla Mertens-Schaffhausen ([Ulrichs] 1846), consisting of 1,876 engraved gems, was brought to London from Bonn. Its foundations had been laid 20 years before and it included above all some 100 gems acquired by Mertens-Schaffhausen in Italy as well as other acquisitions made in Germany and France, and most importantly the celebrated Cabinet of the Nuremberg patrician Paulus von Praun (d. 1616). Von Praun's Cabinet, composed of more than a thousand gems, had been assembled in the 16th and early 17th centuries in Rome and Nuremberg (King 1872, II, pp. 40, 41; Robinson 1863, p. 565) and then in other places in Germany and France. The British Museum declined to purchase them, even though the price was quite moderate (King 1866a, p. 245), but some found their way there eventually through the experienced dealer George Eastwood and Castellani

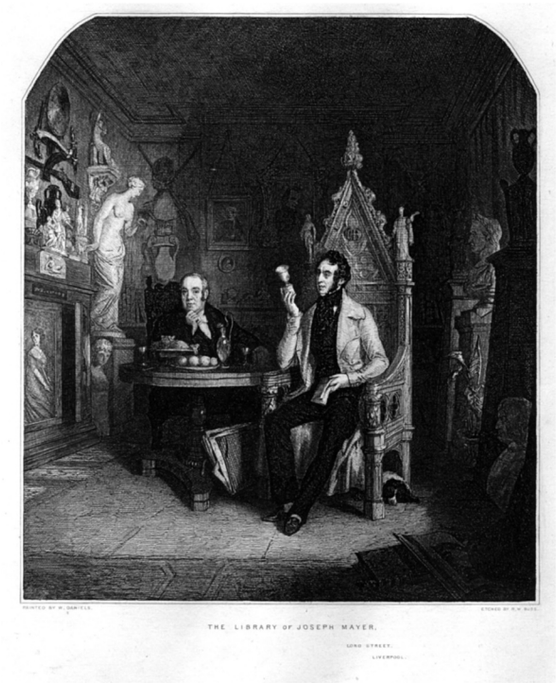


Fig. 12.26. Joseph Mayer in his library. Print after the painting by William Daniels
Mid 19th century
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

(Seidmann 1987b, p. 880). The greater part also passed through Eastwood's hands to come into the possession of the celebrated collector Rev. Gregory Rhodes (d. 1882). Some went to France and Italy but many of the gems found a new home in British collections.

In 1861, 564 gems belonging to a collector from Hannover, Matthew Uzielli, were put up for sale; he had been guided in his energetic collecting activities by John Charles Robinson, [fig. 12.25] founder of the sculpture department at the South Kensington Museum, who also compiled the sale catalogue of the collection after the owner's death (Robinson 1860). Many of the gems also passed to George Eastwood, and from him into the Pulsky Cabinet and then on to the Mexican collector and connoisseur Rosarena (Boardman 1968a, p. 54). Both of these collections were sold in Paris.

Amongst collections which made their way to Britain were the Classical and post-Classical gems of the Parisian collector Bram Hertz, some 2,022 gems, amongst them a good number that had formerly belonged to Prince Poniatowski (King 1872, II, pp. 39, 42), and some 115 scarabs, mainly Etruscan. In 1856 Joseph Mayer of Liverpool (1803-86) [fig. 12.26] sought to purchase the collection in its entirety but was unable to, managing to acquire the greater part only three years later, with the assistance of his friends, at a sale held in 1859 (Henig 1999a, p. 50). (Others who managed to acquire some of the Hertz gems included F. McClean, Matthew Uzielli, one Wilkinson – who later left his collection to Harrow School – J. C. Robinson and the Duke of Northumberland, Scott 2003, p. 326.) Mayer had acquired some gems probably in 1839 after the death of the leading collector Henry Philip Hope of Deepdene. Over half a century of collecting Mayer thus put together nearly 1,000 pieces, including many Classical, Gnostic and Sasanian gems. Worthy of particular mention was a portrait of Emperor Leopold II engraved on diamond, shown at the Great Exhibition in 1851. Mayer also owned 18th-century engraved gems with the signatures of Giovanni Pichler, Burch, Marchant and Giuseppe Girometti. As a friend of the archaeologist and scholar Thomas Wright (1810-77), Mayer invested considerable sums in excavations at Wroxeter which were to produce a number of important finds of engraved gems (Wright 1863). Mayer was particularly interested in Napoleonic memorabilia. In 1855 he organised an exhibition in Liverpool Town Hall of drawings, miniatures, cameos and other works of art formerly belonging to the family of Napoleon and then in the possession of a local man, John Mather. Mayer himself was author of the catalogue (Mayer 1855). Of the cameos,

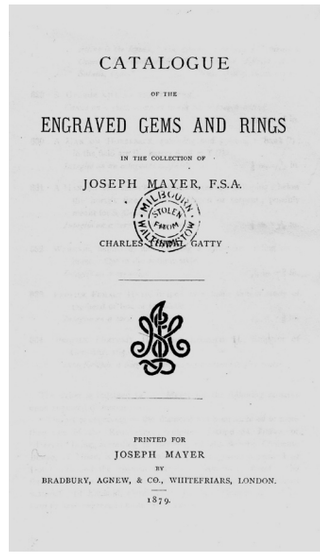
those attracting most public interest were portraits of Marie-Louise and Napoleon himself (one of the portraits of Napoleon was the work of Pistrucci) and Josephine's own parure consisting of a tiara, brooch, bracelets and necklace, rings, etc, all set with onyx cameos by Girometti depicting Romulus and Remus, busts of Roman emperors and famous Roman citizens and the heads of mythological figures. In 1867 Mayer presented part of his collection to his native city and it was then catalogued in 1879 by Charles Tindall Gatty (Gatty 1879) [fig. 12.27]. Another group of Mayer's gems came into the possession of Frank McClean. The remains of his collection was sold at Sotheby's in 1887. Henig characterised Mayer's attitude to engraved gems as 'neoclassical dilettantism', but admitted that it was Mayer who facilitated the integration of gems into the study of archaeology (Henig 1999a, p. 50).

In 1874, the Paris collector J. F. Leturcq, author of a work on Jacques Guay (Leturcq 1873), engraver and teacher of Mme de Pompadour, put a number of works up for sale in London, among them several of Guay's works (Sotheby's, London, 17 June 1874).

It was in 1878 that the most significant British scholarly collection of the time was founded, that of James Carnegie, 9th Earl of Southesk (1827-1905), at Kinnaird Castle. It consisted of some 500 gems, everything from Assyrian to contemporary pieces. It consisted as many Eastern cylinders – Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian – as Classical gems. It was catalogued for the first time just three years after his death by his daughter, Lady Helena Carnegie (Carnegie 1908), [fig. 12.28] using her father's notes, and was sold by Spink in the early 1950s (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XX). Electrotype copies of many of the cylinder seals were made by Story-Maskelyne and today are of great value since almost none of them were reproduced in the main sets of casts (Boardman 2002b, p. 225).

At the very end of the 19th century, on 29 June 1898, Christie's sold the collection of gems of Alfred Morrison, assembled by him at 6 Carlton House Terrace, the catalogue of which provides a good illustration of the history of collecting in Britain in the second half of the 19th century since it included pieces from collections then being thrown onto the London art market. That same year came the publication of 50 gems from the collection of John Postle Heseltine (Heseltine 1899).

Famous in its time was the Beugnot collection of engraved gems. It was first sold in 1840 but then passed to and fro, from hand to hand. Its best gems


CATALOGUE

OF THE

ENGRAVED GEMS AND RINGS

IN THE COLLECTION OF

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A.

CHARLES TINDALL GATTY

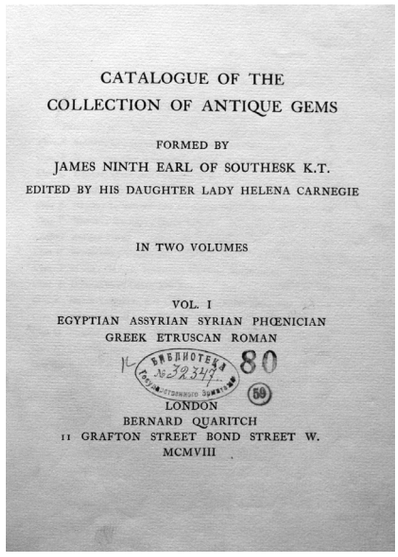
PRINTED FOR
JOSEPH MAYER
BY
BRADBURY, AGNEW, & CO., WHITEFRIARS, LONDON.
1879.

Fig. 12.27. C. T. Gatty, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Rings in the Collection of Joseph Mayer*, London, 1879
Title page

entered the Ionides collection no later than 1900, when the latter was still being formed in Brighton, and remained there until the death of the elder Ionides, Constantine Alexander (Boardman 1968b, p. 55). Ionides, of Greek nationality, was a benefactor of the Victoria & Albert Museum, where a room still bears his name today.

In the context of these numerous sales, it is worthy mentioning here that whether at auction or through private sale, the range of prices for gems was radically transformed in just a short period, from already extremely modest sums to absolute pittances which barely made worthwhile the cost of transportation and payment of middle men (and indeed sometimes did not even cover those costs). The market was flooded. As an example, Pistrucci's sapphire gem with portraits of Augustus and Livia – for which he had been paid 800 guineas – reached just £30 at the sale of the Hertz collection.

Most of these names can be found in the descriptions of British collections which Diana Scarisbrick included in her catalogue of gems in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Scarisbrick 1994a). More can be added on the basis of the older literature, such as the surveys of British collections by Waterton (1861), Robinson (1863) and King (1872), and by recent publications on the history of museum collections. There are too


CATALOGUE OF THE
COLLECTION OF ANTIQUE GEMS

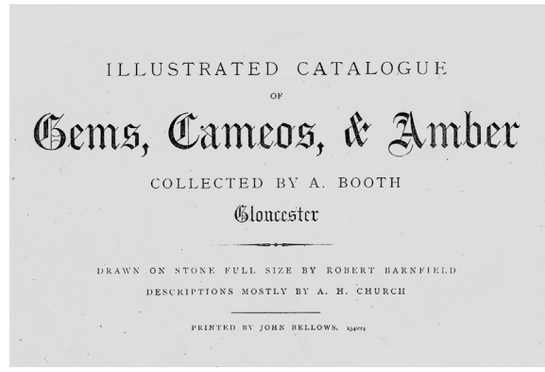
FORMED BY
JAMES NINTH EARL OF SOUTHESK K.T.
EDITED BY HIS DAUGHTER LADY HELENA CARNEGIE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I
EGYPTIAN ASSYRIAN SYRIAN PHŒNICIAN
GREEK ETRUSCAN ROMAN

LONDON
BERNARD QUARITCH
11 GRAFTON STREET BOND STREET W.
MCMVIII

Fig. 12.28. H. Carnegie, *Catalogue of the collection of Antique Gems Formed by James, Ninth Earl of Southesk*, edited by his daughter, 2 vols., London, 1908
Title page


ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE
OF
Gems, Cameos, & Amber
COLLECTED BY A. BOOTH
Gloucester

DRAWN ON STONE FULL SIZE BY ROBERT BARNFIELD
DESCRIPTIONS MOSTLY BY A. H. CHURCH

PRINTED BY JOHN BELLOWS.

Fig. 12.29. A. H. Church, *Illustrated Catalogue of Gems, Cameos & Amber Collected by A. Booth. Drawn on Stone Full Size by Robert Barnfield*, Gloucester. 1885
Title page

many such names for inclusion in this context and I shall mention but a few. One Mr Bale, for instance, of London, who acquired only intaglios at auction, including items sold with the cabinets of Uzielli and Dr Nott (Waterton 1861, p. 304; King 1866a, p. 245; King 1872, II, p. 42). John Charles Robinson himself (Robinson 1863, p. 555; Davenport 1900, p. 61). The jeweller John Brogden, who until his death in 1884 had his workshop at 16 Henrietta Street near Covent Garden. Another jeweller, this time of Russian origin, one Bööcke, who had settled in London and made his name as a diamond setter; he was said to have great perspicacity in identifying the authenticity of ancient gems (his collection consisted of 150 gems and passed to Louis Fould and then, soon after the latter's death, was split up at auction in Paris; King 1872, II, p. 39). Outside London itself, we should mention Sir Francis Cook (1817-1901) at Richmond, whose collection, inherited by his son Wyndham Frederick Cook (d. 1925) included 'one or two remarkably fine antiques of large size, and an exquisite onyx cup' (Davenport 1900, p. 61; the collection was sold in 1925). Mr Haywood Hawkins of Bignor Park, Sussex, was owner of a hundred or so gems, notable amongst which were a fifteen-figure Classical cameo showing *The Apotheosis of Augustus*, which (if it is indeed authentic) can be compared with the cameos of the same title in Paris and Vienna (Robinson 1863, p. 563), and a portrait of Elizabeth I. John Rushout, 3rd Baron Northwick (1770-1859), whose estate was near Cheltenham (Waagen 1854-57, III, p. 211; Bradbury, Penny 2002, pp. 488-89), founded the Northwick Park Collection of antiquities, which at one time included the celebrated Felix Gem formerly in the Arundel collection (see chapter 4) now in the Ashmolean. The Hon. Richard Griffin Neville, 3rd Lord Braybrooke (1783-1858), assembled 'with much erudition' at Audley End a rich collection of rings with inset engraved gems and put together a catalogue illustrated with woodcuts by Utting, although his death put an end to the project and it was never published (King 1872, I, p. 39). A small cabinet of excellent antique and Renaissance gems, some of them set in jewellery mounts, was put together by C. Price of Radnorshire, and this he gave to his nephew the MP Richard Price, who in the early 1860s presented them to one Mrs Stackhouse (Waterton 1861, p. 303). In Gloucester was the collection of Abraham Booth, including many gems by contemporary engravers on stone, opal and shell, particularly works by William Schmidt, C. Tassinari and G. Bartolotti. A catalogue of this collection, illustrated with lithographs by Robert Barnfield, was complied by A.H. Church (Booth 1885) [fig. 12.29]. In a catalogue of the art collection of Sir William Holburne (1793-1874) at Bath, privately published in 1887 by W. Chaffers (see Seidmann 1996a, p. 73), a large section was occupied by a hundred or so gems of the Classical and post-Classical periods, acquired

by the founder of the Holburne Museum (Seidmann 1996a).

This colourful picture of private collecting of engraved gems during this period should not, however, mislead the reader: this was a time of decline both in glyptics itself and in interest in the art form. Despite the abundance of available information, we should recall that this was a time of increased communication, of relatively easy travel, and of course of numerous publications of all kinds. In spite of that, however, engraved gems continued to circulate on the British art market up to the end of the 19th century.

An important feature of this time was the outburst of museum activity, the establishment of national and university collections. Indeed, the 19th century was marked by a notable tendency for more and more works to be assembled in public museums.

Over the course of the 19th century a number of collections found their way into the British Museum: the Cabinets of Charles Townley (1815) and Richard Payne Knight (1824) and the gems of Abbot James Hamilton (1856). Hamilton had arrived in Rome in 1841 and started buying there – and in Egypt, Syria and Constantinople, to which he travelled – all the best items being thrown upon the art market (Dalton 1901, p. XV). Amongst his possessions were Early Christian gems (Spier 1997, p. 39; Spier 2007, p. 6) of which, despite their rarity, he owned 26 examples. The Museum gained some 70 scarabs from the necropolis of Tharros in Sardinia from Commander Barbetti (1856), and then in 1865 and 1872 gems – ancient, mediaeval and Christian – belonging to Alessandro Castellani (1823-83). In 1866 the British Museum acquired for 1,200,000 francs (France had refused them at the lower sum of 800,000) the dactyliotheca of Duc Casimire de Blacas d'Aulps (1815-66). This has been put together in Italy by the Duke's father Pierre Louis (1771-1839), a prominent statesman at the court of Louis XVIII, and it was not surprising therefore that its nucleus was formed by gems from old collections such as that of the Strozzi family, as well as works by many leading 18th-century masters. Amongst the nearly 1,000 gems in the de Blacas collection were works by many leading European masters of the 18th century. In the 1830s and 1840s some 300 casts from the de Blacas gems were put on sale by the Rome workshop of Tommaso Cades (Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1996, p. 187). In 1866 came the gems of the former British Vice-Consul at Corfu, James Woodhouse. Professor Ruskin presented his works in 1870, laying the basis of the Graeco-Mycenean section which was to be considerably enriched over the next 40 years. In 1890 the Museum gained 170 Classical and post-Classical gems formerly belonging to Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle (1684-1758), sold for 1,250 guineas by the 9th Earl; in 1897 came an ancient ring with engraved gems from Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (Walters 1926, p. XI); a little later came the gems of James Woodhouse, British Consul at Corfu, and the Viennese collector Joseph Barth (Schneider 1900).

Until the early 1860s, all engraved gems in the British Museum, both old and 'new', were kept as a single collection in The Department of Antiquities. The very earliest manuscript catalogue was compiled around 1830 but a reorganisation in 1861 led to them being transferred to The Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, where they were exhibited in the Gold Ornament Room along with coins and medals (Rudoe 2003, p. 139). The printed catalogue of 2,349 engraved gems which presented the first attempt to create a basic classification of the collection (Smith A. H. 1888) was typical of the hypercritical attitude of the time. Gems of dubious authenticity were set apart in a separate section, but a small number of good post-Classical gems also found themselves there.

Founded in 1852 as a result of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the South Kensington (later Victoria & Albert) Museum started to acquire engraved gems very early on, but gems were divided between the Departments of Sculpture and Metalwork and were never seen as an independent collection. Over the years the museum gained valuable pieces of engraved mother-of-pearl, rock crystal and all kinds of semi-precious stones. Amongst its acquisitions in its first half century were an Etruscan amethyst scarab of the 5th century BC, a Venetian cameo, *The Annunciation*, and a *Virgin and Child Enthroned* of German or Netherlandish work, both of the latter from the 13th century, and notable works such as engraved portraits of Philip II of Spain by Jacopo da Trezzo and of Elizabeth I (a sieve portrait, on which see chapter 2). Also acquired at this time were *Venus Anadyomene* by William or Charles Brown (Cullen, Jopek, Trusted 2007, No. 271 274, 278, 279, 286). James Ronca's shells demonstrating progress on a portrait of Millais, presented to the Bethnal Green Museum, were transferred to the South Kensington Museum in 1874. In parallel the Museum also put together a collection of casts and impressions from engraved gems, including a full set of James Tassie's Cabinet of Casts acquired in 1870 (today accessible to all on a dedicated website of the Beazley Archive, Oxford).

Fig. 12.30. Charles William King
Trinity College, Cambridge

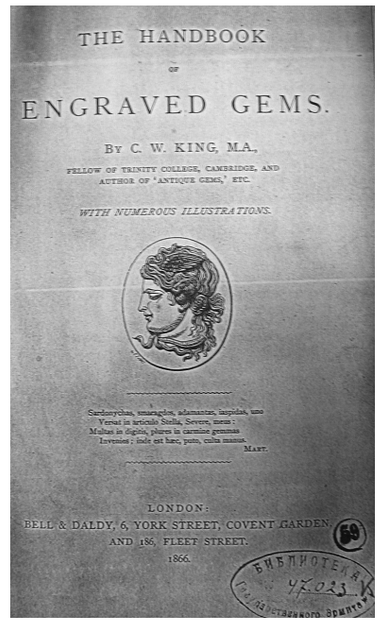

THE HANDBOOK
OF
ENGRAVED GEMS.
By C. W. KING, M.A.,
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND AUTHOR OF 'ANTIQUE GEMS,' ETC.
WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.
Sandapyga, anaglypta, adamantes, impubis, una
Versat in arctâlo Stella, Severe, meos :
Multat in digitis, plures in carmine gemmas
Invenies ; inde est hæc, puto, culta manus.
MART.
LONDON:
BELL & DALDY, 6, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN
AND 186, FLEET STREET.
1866.

Fig. 12.31. C. W. King, *The Handbook of engraved gems*, London, 1866
Title page

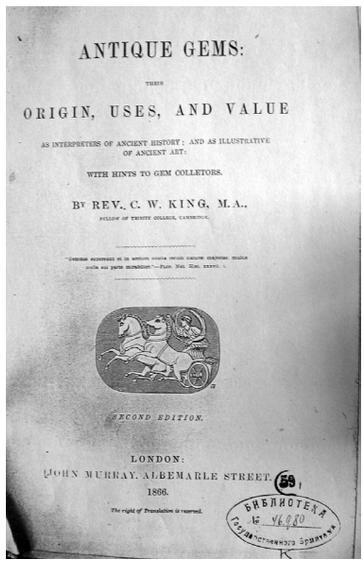

ANTIQUE GEMS:
THEIR
ORIGIN, USES, AND VALUE
AS INTERPRETERS OF ANCIENT HISTORY; AND AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ANCIENT ART:
WITH HINTS TO GEM COLLETORS.
By REV. C. W. KING, M.A.,
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
SECOND EDITION.
LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1866.
The right of Translation is reserved.

Fig. 12.32. C.W. King, *Antique Gems: Their Origin, Uses and Value as Interpreters of Ancient History*…,
London, 2nd edn., 1866
Title page

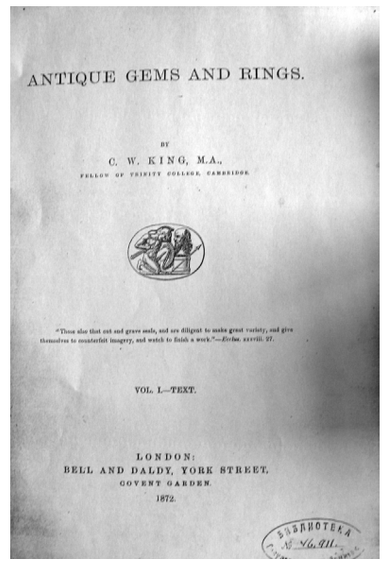

ANTIQUE GEMS AND RINGS.
BY
C. W. KING, M.A.,
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
VOL. I.—TEXT.
LONDON:
BELL AND DALDY, YORK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.
1872.

Fig. 12.33. C.W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, 2 vols., London, 1872
Title page

Major gem collections were being assembled in the second half of the 19th century outside London, for instance in Cambridge. A central figure here was Charles William King (1818-88), [fig. 12.30] from 1842 Fellow and from 1857 Senior Fellow of Trinity College. He owned some 350 gems which he had acquired between 1845 and 1877 in Italy and at auctions in London, which he himself catalogued in pamphlet form (its manuscript is dated 'February 28th 1878'). He sold his collection to John Taylor Johnston, President of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, who in 1881 presented it to the Metropolitan. King's catalogue was reproduced almost without alteration in the catalogue published to mark this event (Johnston Collection 1890).

But this was just one part of King's passion for gems. He left an even greater mark in the form of publications, as author of *Antique Gems. Their Origins, Uses and Value* (1860 2nd edn. 1866), *The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Medieval* (1864), *A Handbook of Engraved Gems* (1866, 2nd edn. 1885), the two-volume *Antique Gems and Rings* (1872), [figs. 12.31, 12.32, 12.33] a whole series of descriptions of collections and articles which appeared between the early 1860s and the late 1880s. Mainly aimed, with the exception of a few scholarly articles, at the amateur and collector, his popular (although far from superficial) works differ from similar 19th-century publications in providing a vast body of material that is useful today in any study of the different aspects of glyptics. It is satisfying that King – connoisseur, collector and popularising scholar – is given his due in Martin Henig's Corpus (Henig 1974, I, p. 21).

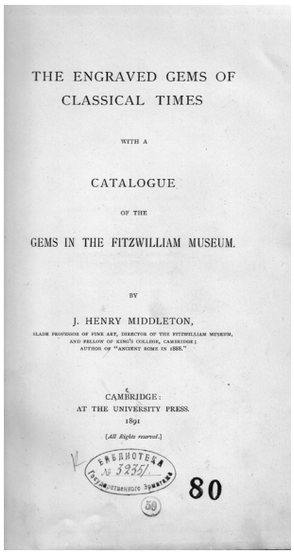
King was involved in everything related to glyptics at Cambridge. Outstanding monuments of Classical Antiquity, including the magnificent gem found during excavations in Greece *Lady at her Toilet* signed by Dexamenos, were to be found in the possession of Lieutenant-Colonel William Martin Leake (1777-1860), [fig. 12.34] celebrated military topographer and numismatist. He had gathered them during his service in the Eastern Mediterranean, his travels in Italy and through purchases on the London market. In 1864, in accordance with Leake's will, the Fitzwilliam Museum acquired (with financial help from the University) some 134 of Leake's gems, and other collections, from his widow for the sum of £5,000 ('the actual value of the whole Leake collection was probably double of the sum paid for it', wrote the Museum's director, J. H. Middleton; Middleton 1891, p. X). In 1870 King compiled a catalogue, classified and numbered according to the cases in which the gems were displayed. Later the arrangement was revised by Middleton, this being reflected in a new catalogue (Middleton 1891), which corrected some errors in King's publication (due partly to King's increasing short-sightedness). The acquisition of the Leake gems lay the basis for the Fitzwilliam's own dactyliotheca.

Between 1871 and 1891 a collection of engraved gems was being assembled by another fellow at Cambridge University, the Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis (1836-91), [fig. 12.35] fellow and Librarian of Corpus Christi College. This was formed during his travels (Naples, Kerch, Constantinople, Smyrna), at auctions (with their very low prices) and through more expensive purchases from friends living and travelling abroad. King was Lewis' main consultant, acting as intermediary in his contacts with the Paris firms of Hoffmann and Roldin & Feuardent (the latter had an office in London to which it sent gems from the French capital) and he was the first to publish many of Lewis' gems (Spier, Vassilika 1995, p. 89). The collection included examples of Etruscan, Graeco-Roman, Gnostic and Early Christian gems (although there were also some fakes). Lewis' attitude to the acquisition of gems was that of the antiquarian, seeking in them illustrations to ancient history and myths and to the Early Christian period. His wife and biographer Agnes Smith-Lewis has left us a vivid picture of this temperamental collector, whose pockets were always stuffed with gems (Smith-Lewis 1892). Lewis bequeathed the collection to the Fitzwilliam on condition that they be kept at his college, and indeed they were to remain there for a century, almost inaccessible to viewers. The first catalogue was compiled after the collector's death (Middleton 1891) [fig 12.36] and they were catalogued once more in recent times (Henig 1975). Only when it was at last placed on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum could this collection be seen by the wider public (Vassilika 1991, p. 10; Spier, Vassilika 1995, pp. 90, 91).

In the last decades of the century the Fitzwilliam continued to add to its collection both through purchases and gifts, among them the collection of Disney Professor of Archaeology, Rev. Churchill Babington (1821-89), which also included important Early Christian monuments. Middleton, director of the Fitzwilliam, himself made gifts to his institution.
In those same years towards the end of the 19th century the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford was under the curatorship of John Henry Parker, who spent much time in Rome each winter and whose acquisitions there appear in the Ashmolean's inventory simply as 'purchased by the Ashmolean' (Henig, MacGregor 2004, p. 9). Through a number

Fig. 12.34. *Lady at her Toilet*, formerly in the Leake collection
5th century BC
Sapphire chalcedony scaraboid

Fig. 12.35. Samuel Savage Lewis
1880s



THE ENGRAVED GEMS OF
CLASSICAL TIMES

WITH A

CATALOGUE

OF THE

GEMS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM.

BY

J. HENRY MIDDLETON,

SLADE PROFESSOR OF FINE ART, DIRECTOR OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM,
AND FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
AUTHOR OF "ANCIENT ROME IN 1885."

CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
1891

[*All Rights reserved.*]

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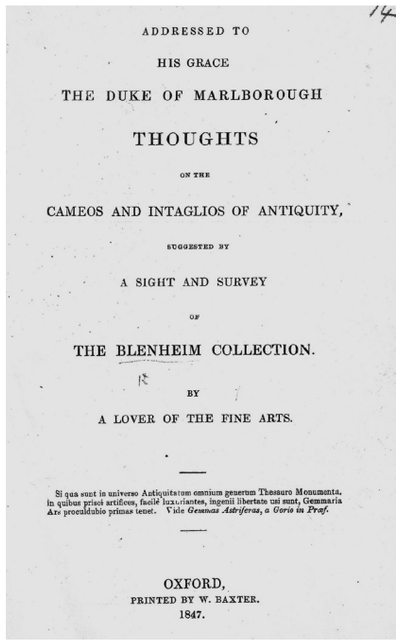
Fig. 12.36. J. H. Middleton, *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times. With a Catalogue of the Gems in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, 1891
Title page

Fig. 12.37. Charles Drury Edward Fortnum
1889



ADDRESSED TO

HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

THOUGHTS

ON THE

CAMEOS AND INTAGLIOS OF ANTIQUITY,

SUGGESTED BY

A SIGHT AND SURVEY

OF

THE BLENHEIM COLLECTION.

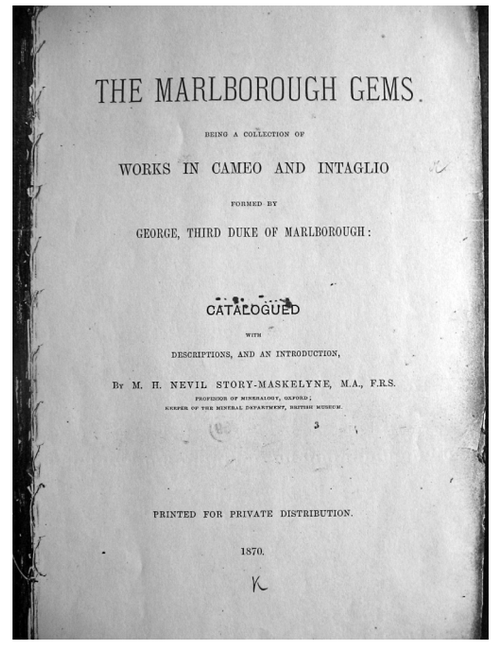
BY

A LOVER OF THE FINE ARTS.

Si quæ sunt in universo Antiquitatum omnium generum Thesauro Monumenta, in quibus prisci artifices, facilè luxuriantes, ingenii libertate usi sunt, Gemmaria Ars proculdubio primas tenet. Vide *Gemmas Astriferas, a Gorio in Præf.*

OXFORD,
PRINTED BY W. BAXTER.
1847.

Fig. 12.38. V. Thomas, *Thoughts on the Cameos and Intaglios of Antiquity, suggested by a sight and survey of the Blenheim Collection by a Lover of the Fine Arts*, Oxford, 1847
Title page



THE MARLBOROUGH GEMS.

BEING A COLLECTION OF

WORKS IN CAMEO AND INTAGLIO

FORMED BY

GEORGE, THIRD DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH:

CATALOGUED

WITH

DESCRIPTIONS, AND AN INTRODUCTION,

By M. H. NEVIL STORY-MASKELYNE, M.A., F.R.S.

PROFESSOR OF MINERALOGY, OXFORD;
KEEPER OF THE MINERAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE DISTRIBUTION.

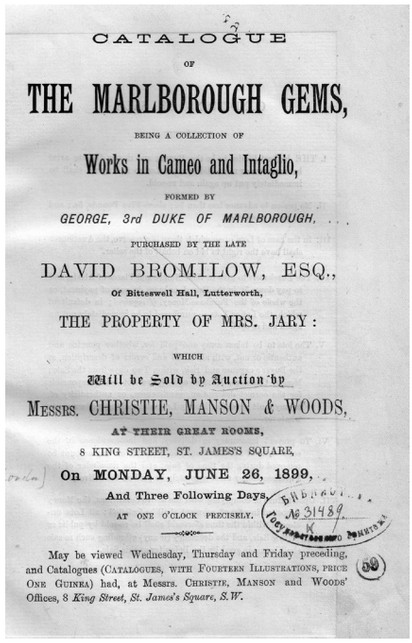
1870.

Fig. 12.39. M. H. N. Story-Maskelyne, *The Marlborough Gems: Being a collection of works in cameo and intaglio formed by George, Third Duke of Marlborough*, privately printed, 1870
Title page

of gifts in the 1880s and early 1890s, the Ashmolean gained some of the seals and gems of Charles Drury Edward Fortnum (1817-99), [fig. 12.37] the rest of them coming in 1897. His extensive and extremely high quality collection was the largest in Britain after those in the Victoria & Albert Museum and the British Museum (Scarisbrick 1978a, 1999). This passionate, self-taught collector had made acquisitions during his travels, visits to archaeological sites and markets, and through a network of connections with dealers, through careful tracking of auctions in London, Paris and other centres, and through numerous gifts from friends and relatives. His wife shared his interests and in 1872 the couple made available some of the most valuable items for exhibition at the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A Loan Exhibition 1872), including 33 gems, some of them still with their original settings (Scarisbrick 1999, p. 236). In Rome, Egypt and Turkey Fortnum put together a 'Dactyliotheca Christiana', which he proceeded to publish in a series of articles (Fortnum 1869, 1871, 1880). With the undisputed authority of the true expert, Fortnum gained free access to the dactyliotheca of the British royal family, on which he then published an article (Fortnum 1877). For a number of royal jubilees Fortnum himself presented Queen Victoria with precious items for the Royal Collection (see chapter 3; Fortnum 1883, 1887).

Many gems from other collections, including some extremely famous examples, left British shores. Some crossed the sea to the continent, others, in the wake of King's gems, went across the ocean to the United States of America. Such was the fate of the dactyliotheca of the Duke of Marlborough, which over the course of the 18th century had absorbed the celebrated gems of Arundel, Chesterfield and Bessborough. In 1845 the two-volume study of the Marlborough collection by J. Bryant and V. Cole (Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91) was republished and two years later the Oxford clergyman Vaughan Thomas, who had had access to the ducal collection, wrote *Thoughts on the Cameos and Intaglios of Antiquity*, *Suggested by a Sight and Survey of the Blenheim Collection by a Lover of the Fine Arts* (Thomas 1847; Seidmann 1997b, p. 275) [fig. 12.38].

In 1870, Nevil Story-Maskelyne (1823-1911), Professor of Mineralogy at Oxford University 1856-95 and Keeper of the Mineralogical Collection at the British Museum, compiled at the request of the 7th Duke of Marlborough a full catalogue of the



CATALOGUE

OF

THE MARLBOROUGH GEMS,

BEING A COLLECTION OF

Works in Cameo and Intaglio,

FORMED BY

GEORGE, 3rd DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, ...

PURCHASED BY THE LATE

DAVID BROMILOW, ESQ.,

Of Bitteswell Hall, Lutterworth,

THE PROPERTY OF MRS. JARY:

WHICH

Will be Sold by Auction by

MESSRS. CHRISTIE, MANSON & WOODS,

AT THEIR GREAT ROOMS,

8 KING STREET, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,

On MONDAY, JUNE 26, 1899,

And Three Following Days,

AT ONE O'CLOCK PRECISELY.

May be viewed Wednesday, Thursday and Friday preceding, and Catalogues (CATALOGUES, WITH FOURTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS, PRICE ONE GUINEA) had, at Messrs. CHRISTIE, MANSON and WOODS' Offices, 8 *King Street, St. James's Square, S.W.*

Fig. 12.40. *Catalogue of the Marlborough Gems, being a collection of works in cameo and intaglio*…, Sale catalogue, Christie, Manson & Woods, 26 June 1899
Hermitage, St Petersburg

Marlborough collection, which then had some 739 cameos and intaglios from different periods (Story-Maskelyne 1870; Morton 1987) [fig. 12.39]. Five years later, on 28 June 1875, that collection was acquired en bloc via Christie, Manson and Woods for £36,750 by Manchester businessman David Bromilow (the auction catalogue was simply an abbreviated version of Story-Maskelyne's earlier work), but that did not prevent the collection from eventually being split up. Almost 25 years later, on 26 June 1899, [fig. 12.40] Bromilow's daughter, Mrs Jary, again turned to Christie's for help and sold the famous collection, which was thus split up and scattered, for £34,827. *Portraits of an Emperor and Empress as Jupiter Ammon and Isis* was acquired by the British Museum for £3,000, but 108 Marlborough gems went sight unseen to Henry Walters, and these are now in The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (in 1927 these were joined by the intaglio with an athlete signed 'GNAIOS', so much desired by Horace Walpole; see chapter 6; Scarisbrick 1981, p. 49). The multi-figure Marlborough Cameo, in which the ancient master Tryphon depicted the marriage of Cupid and Psyche, is now amongst the treasures of Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Some pieces went to the Metropolitan Museum. In 1929 a good number of gems from the celebrated collection was said to have been acquired by Moshe Oved, owner of the celebrated shop Cameo Corner, but cannot now be identified. Other purchasers included Edward Warren, John Evans, J. P. Hesseltine and C. Ionides (Scarisbrick 1996, p. 45). In the study of this collection we owe much to Story-Maskelyne, who used new technical means to produce copies of all his gems before the sale, as wax casts, and cameos as electrotypes, giving each one a number in accordance with the catalogue [fig. 12.41]. This has made it considerably easier to identify the scattered gems – the catalogue descriptions are too brief to have been sufficient basis for such identifications. This extremely important complex of copies, reorganised by Sir John Boardman in the Beazley Archive at Oxford (today there are some 2,200 superb quality electrotypes from ancient gems in Oxford) essentially reconstructs the Marlborough collection almost as it was originally. (We should note that in the mid-1780s copies were made of the gems then belonging to Catherine II in a special laboratory by the chemist Georg König and the court engraver Carl Leberecht, using glass, each of them identified in accordance with the inventory of gems.) The electrotype method of reproducing gems, coins and small antiquities was developed in 1837 but found commercial use only in 1865. Despite its huge potential, this method of reproduction was not practised in later years (Boardman 2002b, p. 200).

Story-Maskelyne also assembled his own Cabinet which included gems from the former Praun collection, but mainly consisted of gems he had gathered during his many travels either for their own sake or as 'illustrating antique material' (King 1872, II, p. 41). We know that in 1864 he was 'fascinated by gems during a journey to Russia' (Seidmann 1997b, p. 276), although when admiring the celebrated *Flying Crane* by Dexamenos of Chios in the Hermitage he paid more attention to the carving technique than to this masterpiece's artistic merits (Boardman 2002b, pp. 218-19).

John Boardman (2002b, p. 222) also mentions a collection of gems put together by the Egyptologist Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875), formed during a trip in 1844 through the once wealthy Roman province of Dalmatia. These are now at Harrow School and were published in 1991 by S. H. Middleton.

Overall the picture of glyptics in Britain grew less and less optimistic. New aesthetic values almost totally excluded glyptics from artistic life. We cannot blame art historians for not noticing that there was still at the

Fig. 12.41. Tray of electrotypes of gems
Courtesy of the Beazley Archive, Oxford
c. 1880

end of the 19th century a lively tradition of engraving on stone. The few to mention this were Ernst Babelon in his work on French glyptics (Babelon 1902), and in more recent times Judy Rudoe (1996, 2006) and Charlotte Gere (1976, 2006). The value of this rich heritage of the past was no longer appreciated by the wider public and cameos were pitilessly removed from brooches, earrings and rings, tossed aside to be replaced by new fashions. Without even the slightest pretension to functionality, intaglios – which had always been used decorative purposes much more rarely than cameos – survived in even fewer numbers. This process of decline was not national but was a global process, stretching across the whole of Europe.

Characteristic products of the Age of Enlightenment such as treatises on glyptics in Latin or French have remained deep in the past, along with descriptions of private collections of gems (some of which remained only in manuscript form), catalogues of casts from gems published by manufacturers or by the engravers themselves as a form of advertisement. In the 19th-century, with its tendency to accumulate and spread copious information, such publications were replaced by survey volumes in which gems were ranked along with coins and medals (Walsh 1828; Billing 1867). It is hard not to notice that the information on engraving techniques, mineralogy, history and the subjects of glyptics was frequently repeated from one book into the next with only minimal changes. More innovation was revealed in the illustrations as new means of reproduction emerged in the middle of the century. Prints and lithographs were replaced by black-and-white or tinted reproductions of gems based on photographs. While cameos were capture in straightforward manner, intaglios were photographed in cast form (see Hancock 1857; Prendeville 1857-59), a practice which became the norm not only because of the limitations of photography but also because the engraving of intaglios was always intended – in composition and inscription – to be made visible through a cast (impression). It is only in recent years that the latest developments in lighting and photography have made it possible to successfully record the intaglios themselves, although they are still always shown alongside a cast both at exhibitions and in reproductions.

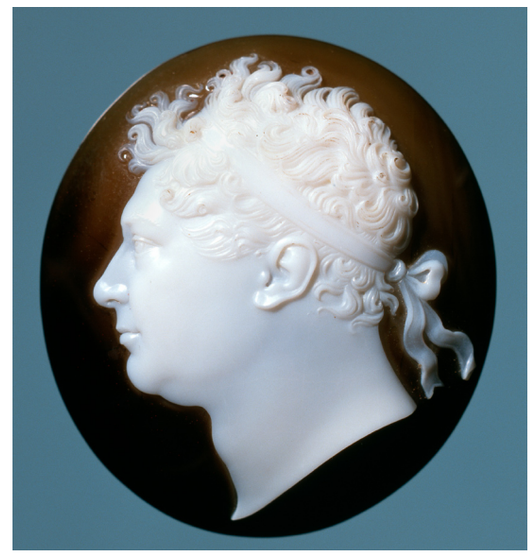
The first exhibitions of glyptics were held in the second half of the 19th century (King 1861-62; Robinson 1863), then museum displays (Smith A. H., Murray 1888; Middleton 1891). General catalogues were published and numerous scholarly articles made their appearance (e.g. those by Fortnum and King). Archaeological materials published in the periodical press increasingly brought engraved gems

into the national and international scholarly domain (Wright 1844, 1863; King 1864a). Everywhere, the dominant method was fact-based, seeking to arrange accumulated knowledge according to a specific system or order, above all one of chronology, whereas divisions according to artistic type, school or region were only just starting to be introduced.

No longer seeing modern gems proudly displayed at exhibitions of the Royal Academy or the British Institution, the London public during the second half of the 19th century still had two opportunities to see large historical complexes of engraved gems. The first was in 1861-62, when, on the initiative of The Royal Archaeological Institute, a large part of the royal collection of engraved gems at Windsor Palace was put on display; others also offered their gems on loan, including the 7th Duke of Marlborough (King 1861-62; Seidmann 1997b, p. 276), the Duke of Devonshire and other nobles and commoners. At a sitting of the Archaeological Institute devoted to the exhibition Count Clarac said that whereas there were then in Europe more than 3,000 ancient statues (counting only those that were more than two feet high), there were in various private collections no less than 50,000 ancient gems. A paper presented by Edmund Waterton listed the names of many English collectors and noted that the exhibition had been seen by some 5,000 visitors (Waterton 1861, pp. 292, 293). A year later, at the South Kensington Museum a vast exhibition was organised of works from the mediaeval, Renaissance and modern periods. With some 9,000 exhibits from 500 collections, the exhibition included several hundred gems from Windsor, the Cabinet of the Duke of Devonshire – still at Chatsworth today – and other, smaller collections. Despite this, the introduction to the section '*Antique and other Engraved Gems*' of the accompanying catalogue (which sadly appeared only after the exhibition had opened) included the most justifiable remark that 'There is, perhaps, at the present moment, no class of works of art, certainly none of equal importance, so little understood or cared for as this…' (Robinson 1863, p. 557). The truth of those words was to increase over the next decades.

1. Benedetto Pistrucci
Flora. Sardonyx cameo. c. 1809
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

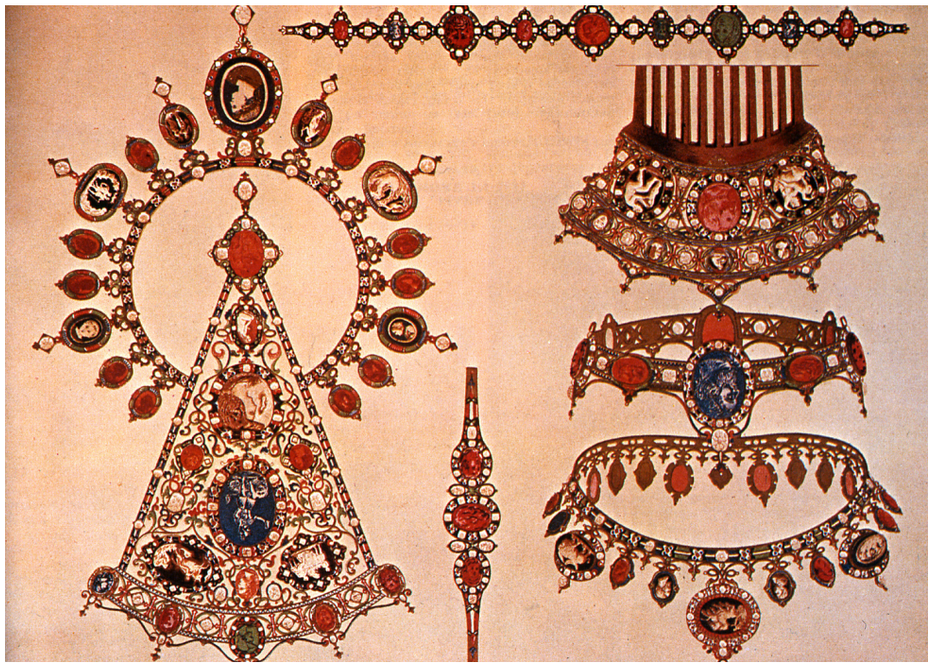
2. Benedetto Pistrucci
Amalthea and the infant Zeus. 1890s
Agate cameo in a gold brooch
Photograph courtesy of Hancocks & Co., London



3. Benedetto Pistrucci
Portrait of George IV. 1817-20
Onyx cameo
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Plate 39

1. Paul Victor Lebas
Portrait of Queen Victoria (after the print by C. E. Wagstaff from a painting by Thomas Sully). 1851
Shell, gold and precious stones commesso
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London



2. The Devonshire Parure
Chromolitograph. 1862
Private collection

1a and b. Apsley Pellatt
a. Portrait of William Pitt the Younger. Early 19th century
Dish with cristallo-ceramie medallion by Leonard James Abington
b. Portrait of George IV. c. 1821
Sulpide glass

Plate 41

1. Tommaso Saulini
Portrait of Queen Victoria. c. 1840
Shell cameo
Private collection, Rome

2. Luigi Saulini
Portrait of Albert, Prince Consort. c. 1844
Shell cameo
Private collection, St Petersburg

Conclusion

The end of the road

Even the most recent works on the history of glyptics are unlikely to include a section devoted to the 20th century, but should we be surprised, having seen that (with the exception of French glyptics) even the previous century, at least its second half, usually escapes authors' attention? If the 20th century is mentioned at all it is simply to mutter about the utter decline into which this ancient art had fallen, illustrated with a few examples of its pitiful reflection in the form of souvenir reproduction in Italy of older models in carved shell or of industrialised production of engraved stones at Idar-Oberstein that are very far from truly artistic hardstone gems. These publications do indeed reflect the true situation, presenting an objective picture, containing a surprising paradox: this art form, its works more resistant to the destructive effects of time than any other kind of art, has not itself survived the trial of time itself and has become one of the few 'lost' arts in the history of world culture. 'Knowledge that there are such things as antique intaglios and knowledge of what they are, well-nigh died in the public mind. Only the student, the archaeologist, and the lover whose faith nothing could shake, remained, and to these fell, and still falls, the harvest to be reaped in a field where the grain is rich and the reapers are few. The forgers soon dropped their now unprofitable craft and died; no new ones took their places' (Osborne 1912, p. VII).

We have nonetheless at our disposal a significant body of information about all stages in this last period and on all aspects of British glyptics, although insufficient time has passed for us to have become distant enough to truly assess it. This information, therefore – facts derived from the literature and other sources, including the author's own personal observations – are set out in a single concluding chapter. This conclusion also names the engravers belonging to – or claiming to belong to – the British school of gem engraving and follows the path taken by British collections inside the country and beyond its shores; it summarises the information about the involvement of British glyptics (including non-British items in British collections) in exhibitions and looks at the contribution made by British scholars in the study of Classical, oriental and European glyptics.

Because of the specific nature of this period it seems that the conclusion should, in contrast with previous chapters that began with the situation in respect to gem engraving and related forms of artistic activity and concluded with a survey of collections, commence with the continuing growth of museum collections and the circulation of gems that began to slow and die away but which has never come to an end. These processes of inertia have no chronological borders and references to British collectors whose names appeared in the 19th century are found still at the turn of the century, in Solomon Reinach's commentaries on old printed albums in the anthology he published in Paris in 1895 (Reinach 1895b) and in Adolph Furtwängler's *Die antiken Gemmen*, published in Berlin (Furtwängler 1900).

The chronicle of important events opens with an exhibition of Ancient Greek art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903-4, at which there was a special section devoted to glyptics (Greek Art 1904). Gems were provided by Nevil Story-Maskelyne and 'cultivated Edwardian gentlemen Charles Newton-Robinson and Wyndham Cook' (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XX). Actively involved in organisation of the exhibition

was Arthur Evans (1851-1941), [fig. 13.1] who showed gems from his own rich collection. This, his first collection, was assembled on his travels through the Balkans and was rich in Greek pieces, but he sold it shortly afterwards in Paris (Evans 1905). Evans was also forced to part with his second collection in order to finance excavations at Knossos, and the gems went to America, but he bequeathed the third – containing finds made on Crete and on the Greek mainland – to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, where he had been curator 1884-1904.

In July 1910 Christie's sold the large collection of the late Baron John Henry Schroder (1825-1910), on behalf of his nephew. Born in Hamburg, Schroder came from a major banking family with interests in London and was naturalised in 1864. His collection included 135 cameos and intaglios of different periods, among them Classical gems and modern examples signed by Valerio Belli, Pichler and Rega. Some of the gems had provenances in the collections of Pope Paul II, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Bessborough, the Duke of Marlborough, Medina and Prince Poniatowski. Some of the gems were acquired by other members of the family and thus returned to the Schroder collection.

Engraved gems – including other antiquities – were enthusiastically collected from the 1880s until his death in 1928 by Edward Perry Warren of Boston, [fig. 13.2] where he ran a successful family business. The gems were acquired through different means, but amongst the earliest was a group of gems formerly in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough, among them the celebrated Marlborough Cameo showing The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche by Tryphon. Some of the gems were presented, some sold to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Warren deserves his mention here, however, because he spent considerable time with the most valuable of his acquisitions in England, at Lewes House near the Sussex coast, where he studied them together with his learned Classicist friend and collaborator John Marshall (Boardman 1999b, p. 41; Sox 1991). The catalogue of his gems, compiled with assistance from both men by leading British Classical scholar John Davidson Beazley (1885-1970) [fig. 13.3] was published in Oxford in 1920 (Beazley 1920). Although Beazley's chief interest was Greek vase-painting, this publication differs from many similar catalogues in its precise and expressive descriptions of such tiny objects, as was rightly noted by John Boardman (Boardman 1999a, p. 219). Beazley's catalogue, moreover, set 'standards for the treatment of its material no less rigorous than he applied to ceramic decoration' (Boardman, Vollenweider 1978 p. 11). Amongst the most important pieces in Warren's possession was a male portrait signed by Dexamenos (5th century BC), described by Boardman as 'perhaps the finest of all Greek gems' (Boardman 1999a, p. 219) [plate 42.1]. Beazley also brought Warren in to assist with cataloguing the gems left by Nevil Story-Maskelyne.

When Beazley took up this collection, put together by the celebrated mineralogist who served as Professor of Mineralogy 1856-95 at Oxford University and at the British Museum in London, it had initially been inherited by Story-Maskelyne's daughter but was then in the hands of his son-in-law, W. E. Arnold Forster. When it was put up for sale Sotheby's, London, on 25 July 1921, the collection was shown along with several gems that had once belonged to the Duke of Marlborough, whose famous dactyliotheca had been described by Story-Maskelyne half a century earlier. Story-Maskelyne's rich collection of impressions and casts taken from ancient gems in numerous museum and private collections also included some electrotypes taken from the best wax casts (Boardman 1999a, p. 218), which allows us today to reconstruct the Marlborough collection of gems (Boardman 2008b). Numerous references to Beazley's authoritative opinion crop up (as J.D.B.) in the catalogue of the Beverley Gems at Alnwick Castle compiled by Alfred E. Knight and published privately that same year, 1921 (Knight 1921).

Since the days of Sir Arthur Evans to the present day the Ashmolean Museum had been the main centre for the display of engraved gems, for the study of archaeological and other material and for the production of new generations of scholars of glyptics (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. X; Seidmann 1983-84, p. 17). Amongst the donors to the Museum were three members of an outstanding family: Sir Arthur Evans himself, who presented some 320 gems at different times, his father Sir John Evans (1823-1908) [fig. 13.4] and sister Dame Joan Evans (1893-1977) [fig. 13.5]. The latter inherited the collections of both father and brother, and added some valuable items, using them to illustrate her books *English Jewellery from the 5th Century AD to 1800* (Evans, 1921) and *A History of Jewellery. 1100-1870* (Evans 1951). In turn she bequeathed her collection of jewellery to the Victoria & Albert Museum.

The first acquisition of oriental gems in the 20th century consisted of those transferred in 1932 from the Bodleian Library, which had gained them in three groups in 1875 (seven oriental gems from John Bardoe

Fig. 13.1. Arthur Evans. c. 1878

Fig. 13.2. Edward Perry Warren.
Early 1930s

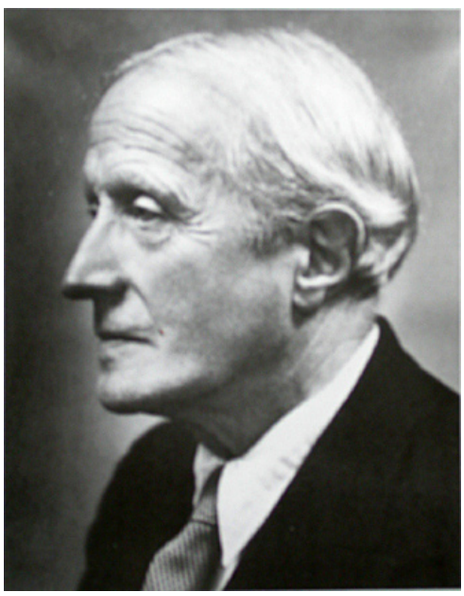


Fig. 13.3. John Davidson Beazley
c.1985
The Beazley Archive, Oxford

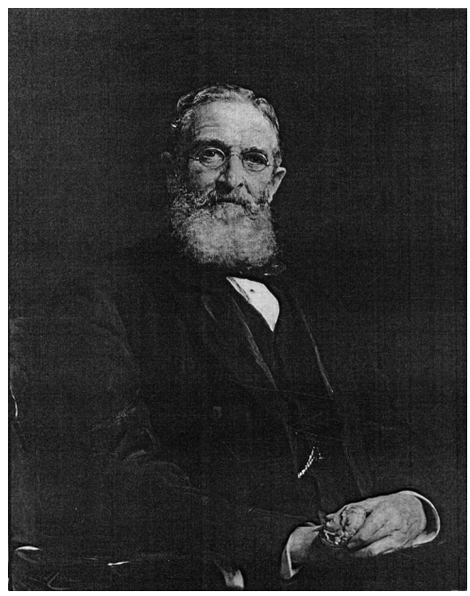


Fig. 13.4. John Evans with a cameo
1895
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Elliott), 1876 and 1888 (fifteen gems from Captain Charles Warren). Fifteen more came from Sir (John) Oliver Wardrop (1864-1948), from 1895 to 1902 Vice Consul at Kerch.

The Museum's particular pride was the intaglio agate of Odysseus with the Palladium signed by the ancient master Felix, acquired at Christie's in London on 7 December 1965, remarkable not only for its artistic merits but for its own rich history. The sale catalogue made use of the description by the former owner E. C. Spencer-Churchill (1876-1964), who had inherited in his youth the Northwick Park Collection in Gloucestershire, from which three more gems came in that same year, 1965. In 1988 Richard Hattatt (1910-92), a collector mainly of Classical and post-Classical brooches, offered on longterm loan to the Ashmolean a selection of 100 exhibits which, on his death four years later, passed into the Museum's possession.

Amongst the Ashmolean's most recent acquisitions is an intaglio portrait of Lucius Verus by Nathaniel Marchant, [fig. 13.6] deriving from a marble bust of the emperor in the Louvre which was on display during the engraver's time in the Villa Borghese in Rome. Once in the Ashmolean it joined a marble version of the same bust (Seidmann 1996g, pp. 4-5) and an intaglio by Burch after the Hermitage's statue of Winter by Etienne-Maurice Falconet that had once belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who used it as his personal seal (Seidmann 2002) [fig. 13.7].

In Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum commenced the new century in 1903 with an acquisition that represented the first addition to its gem collection since the arrival of the gems of Colonel Leake in 1864. Through Frank McClean it purchased part of the extensive collection of Joseph Mayer, rich in ancient and in later engraved gems. There were several other small and episodic subsequent gifts and purchases before two significant additions were made to the Fitzwilliam in the 1930s. In 1933 it gained the gem collection of A. de Pass and in 1937 the highly select collection assembled, despite very modest resources, by the artists Charles Ricketts (1866-1931) and Charles Shannon (1863-1937), [fig. 13.8] who had taken advantage of the rapid decline in market prices (All for Art 1979) [fig. 13.9].

After the Second World War the Fitzwilliam Museum's acquisitions were mainly of oriental engraved gems until 1977, when it gained a collection of 317 Ancient and European engraved gems. Between 1981 and 1983 the Museum was given 252 gems from different

Fig. 13.5. Dame Joan Evans. 1962
Courtesy of the Beazley Archive, Oxford

periods, mainly intaglios, deriving from the collection of Sir Henry Wellcome (1853-1936; Nicholls 1983). In 1988 the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine transferred to the Fitzwilliam full sets of casts by Tassie, Cades and Paoletti and two sets of the Dactyliotheca of Philipp Daniel Lippert (one of which passed to the Beazley Archive in Oxford together with many more boxes of casts. Seidmann 1989).

Important milestones in the history of the British Museum's collection of engraved gems should be noted. Two groups of gems were covered in catalogues of Greek, Etruscan and Roman finger rings and jewellery, published at the start of the century (Marshall 1907, 1911). Until 1919 all engraved gems continued – regardless of date – to form part of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, where they were on display in the Gold Ornament Room. Then the Classical and post-Classical gems were divided between two other departments. Gems of the ancient world were the responsibility of Henry Beauchamp Walters (1867-1944), from 1925 official keeper.

In 1912, Ormonde Maddock Dalton (1866-1945) [fig. 13.10] began work on the first specialist catalogue of post-Classical gems (Dalton 1915) [fig. 13.11]. Dalton was for many years Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and before the First World War he produced

Fig. 13.6. Nathaniel Marchant
Portrait of Lucius Verus. 1783
Sard intaglio
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Fig. 13.7. Edward Burch
Tenderness (after Falconet's sculpture "Winter")
Chalcedony intaglio
After a cast (seal of Joshua Reynolds)
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Fig. 13.8. William Rottenstein, 1897
Portrait of Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon
Lithograph

Fig. 13.9. Dioskourides
Hermes. 1st century AD
Cornelian intaglio (from the collection of Ricketts and Shannon)
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

a preliminary publication of some mediaeval and later gems in the British Museum (Dalton 1913). He also managed to tour Italy to study modern glyptics. Overcoming obstacles put in his way by the directors of Italian museums, he was able to study collections in Florence and Naples, which included the remains of the Medici and Farnese gems.

In 1927 several signed gems, including William Brown's *Head of Minerva*, entered the British Museum as part of the Mill Stephenson collection of seal-dies, mainly composed of heraldic seals with coats-of-arms and monograms from the 18th and 19th centuries. The catalogue of this collection was to be published after the Second World War (Tonnochy 1952). The War brought losses to the post-Classical section of the collection in the British Museum. During the Blitz, a direct hit on the Museum destroyed some 40 works by 18th-century gem engravers, including Burch and Marchant.

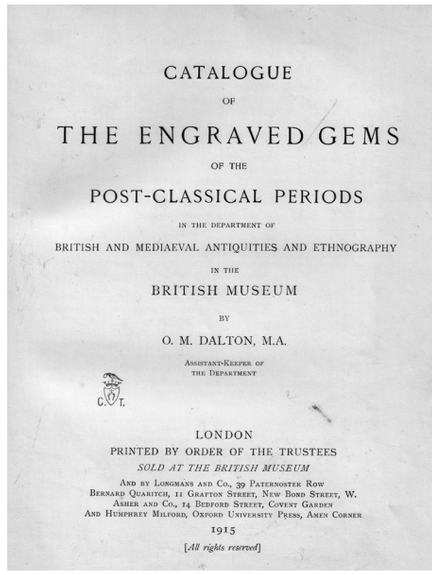
Serving to compensate in some way for those losses was perhaps one of the most outstanding events in the recent history of glyptics in Britain: this was the gift in 1978 of the Hull Grundy collection, which included 40 intaglios and 145 cameos (Tait, Gere 1978) [plate 43.1]. Mrs Anne Hull Grundy (1926-84), moved from her native Germany to Britain in the early 1930s with her family, which had made a fortune in the toy business [fig. 13.12]. She spent the last 25 years of her life bedridden, conducting negotiations for the purchase of items for her collection by letter or phone from her home in Hampshire. Despite their continuing decline in fashion, engraved gems were her particular passion and she collected them most purposefully between the 1940s and 1980s. She said that she gained more from this miniature world than from sculpture and painting. Her collection included Renaissance gems (her favourite cameo was a 16th-century engraved shell with a Bacchanalia scene) and Baroque gems, but the main body was formed of works by European masters of the 18th and 19th centuries, both Continental – Natter, Hecker, Walter, Filippo Rega, Morelli, Berini, Beltrami, Calabresi etc – and British – Burch, Marchant, Brown, Bemfleet, Yeo, de Veaux, Adams – the majority of them signed [fig. 13.13]. Nor did she neglect 'substitute cameos and intaglios' in porcelain, ceramics, glass, paste and resin. In 1976 the gems were put on display to the public at Kenwood House and then, in the wake of the gift to the British Museum in 1978, in consultation with Mrs Hull Grundy herself, a temporary show of the best objects from her collection was put on at the British Museum in May 1980. The conditions of the gift included the publication of a specialist catalogue and the permanent display of this marvellous complex, which led to the publication of a two-volume catalogue of the full collection at the British Museum, the gems entries by C. Gere (Gere et al 1984). In 1994 a full re-exhibition of this part of the Museum was undertaken by the keeper, Judy Rudoe.

Of the British Museum's later acquisitions we should particularly note one small cameo *Venus and Mars in Vulcan's Net*, carved with virtuoso skill on a seven-layer sardonyx by the Roman master Domenico Calabresi for Prince Anatoly Demidov (1812-69), for which he paid £700 [plate 42.3]. After the sale of Demidov's collection in 1863 it passed through several French and British collections and by the end of the century was valued at just a few guineas. On the eve of the First World War the gem was in the USA, after the Second World War in Portugal; it returned to the London art market once more in 1981 and was acquired for the British Museum (Gere 1991a). In 1994 the British Museum received a group of portrait cameos on shell by James Ronca as a gift from Olga, wife of Ronca's grandson (Rudoe 1996, p. 213; Rudoe 2006, p. 133).

Over the course of the 20th century the Victoria & Albert Museum considerably extended its collection. With the aid of sponsors it acquired a celebrated ancient cameo from the Arundel collection. It also gained an impressive collection of engraved mother-of-pearl items, including whole series of pieces on the subject of Christ's Passion, which probably once adorned domestic altars or crucifixes. Most of the earlier, medieval, carvings were produced in the Netherlands or Germany, later works – from the end of the 19th century, were brought to Europe from Palestine. The Renaissance collection gained engraved crystal pieces by Valerio Belli and Giovanni Bernardi, the 18th- and 19th-century collections works by Natter, Burch, Girometti and Giovanni Dies. Nearly all of these were presented in the recent re-exposition of the sculpture displays and the accompanying new catalogue (Cullen, Jopek, Trusted 2007, cats. 260-62, 276-77, 282-85, 293). The engraved gems in jewellery mounts amongst the Museum's jewellery had been published some years earlier (Somers Cocks 1976).

In 1912 the London Museum came into being and it was here that the greater part of the Cheapside Hoard – a complex of Elizabethan and Jacobean jewellery recently uncovered during building work and containing glyptics and jewellery of the 16th and 17th centuries – was to be housed. It also included

Fig. 13.10. Ormonde Maddock Dalton
c. 1940



CATALOGUE

OF

THE ENGRAVED GEMS

OF THE

POST-CLASSICAL PERIODS

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF

BRITISH AND MEDIAEVAL ANTIQUITIES AND ETHNOGRAPHY

IN THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

O. M. DALTON, M.A.

ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF
THE DEPARTMENT

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Fig. 13.11. O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems of the Post-classical Periods in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography in the British Museum*, London, 1915
Title page

Fig. 13.12. Anne Hull Grundy
Photograph by Eileen Tweedy

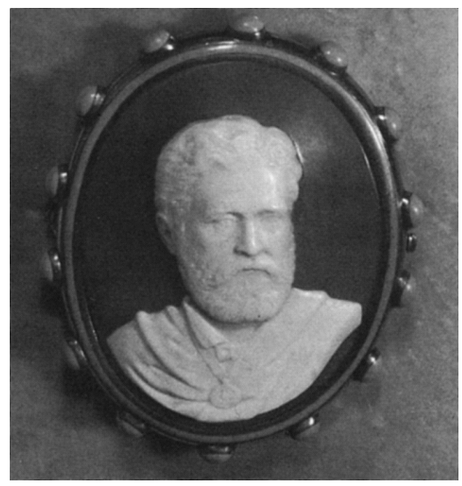


Fig. 13.13. George Gammon Adams
Self-Portrait (?) c. 1880
Shell cameo (from the Hull Grundy gems)
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

a fragment of an early commesso (Cheapside Hoard 1928, No. A 14019, p. XII), only a very few examples of which survive today, which should be dated to the 15th century. In 1975 the London Museum was merged with the Guildhall Museum founded in 1828 to form the Museum of London. Today it is also home to portrait cameos on shell (Murdoch 1991). Although on the eve of the new millennium several Classical and Renaissance cameos and rings were stolen, later to emerge on the antiquarian market (*The Art Newspaper*, May 1997, p. 3).

By the end of the 1930s the decline in interest in gems outside museums was reaching a critical point. Several of the Marlborough gems sold for miserly sums in the Henry Oppenheimer sale at Christie's, London, on 22-23 July 1936.

The War and the cataclysms of the 20th century and, more specifically, the growing chasm between glyptics and other art forms as the latter moved ever further away from the Classical orientation, and of course the evolution – or more precisely revolution – in fashion, would seem to have finally and irrevocably put glyptics in the realms of 'forgotten arts'. The 2,800 guineas paid on 15 July 1969 at Christie's in London for 'the pride of the Marlborough collection', the Augustus cameo which is now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne (Scarisbrick 1994a, p. XX), was amazing not only for the low value set upon one of the greatest masterpieces of glyptics, but in its manifestation once more of the tendency for gems once in British possession to be scattered across the world. The coming of the new millennium brought a new outflow of engraved gems from Britain, which continues to play its traditional role as intermediary on the international art market. Now gems leave British shores for Japan, to which, for instance, went the greater part of the rich (and rare in modern times) collection of gem expert and bibliophile Ralph (Rafael) Esmerian, sold at S. J. Phillips at 139 New Bond Street in 2002.

And yet, even as collections were being broken up and scattered, close study and increasing knowledge were facilitating more precise dating and establishing new methods of determining the authenticity of Classical pieces. The post-Classical phase was also drawing increased attention. In terms of status, therefore, gems were once more enjoying something of a revival.

Several significant groups of gems came up for auction in London and engraved gems also cropped up singly and in groups. Thus in 1961 Christie's presented cameos by 19th-century masters: Brett, Luigi Isler, Luigi and Tommaso Saulini, Benedetto Pistrucci and his daughters.

In London in 1968 an exhibition was held of the Ionides collection on the premises of S. J. Phillips in London. Formed by two generations of the family – Constantine Alexander Ionides (1833-1900) and Alexander Constantine Ionides (1862-1931) [plate 42.1, 42.2, 42.3]. This collection had drawn the attention of scholars even during its earlier years in Brighton. Ten years before it was put up for sale, a catalogue of the Classical gems in the collection was published (Boardman 1968b). Boardman indicated the provenances of the gems and among the names of previous owners we find notable figures of the Renaissance such as Fulvio Orsini 18th-century Marlborough and 19th-century collectors of the like of Arthur Evans and Charles Newton-Robinson (1853-1913), whose collections were put up for sale in 1905 and 1909. In 1978 the Ionides collection was sold by its then owner, to whom it had passed by inheritance, Lady Adam Gordon.

Appearing at sale in the 1970s were the collections of Joseph Bard (Sotheby's, London, 11 July 1977), Arthur Richard Wellesley, 2nd Duke of Wellington (Scarisbrick 1977, 1978a; for more on his collection see chapter 12) [plate 43.2] and the learned diplomat Colonel Ralph Harari (1893-1969; Boardman, Scarisbrick 1977). Like the Ionides collection, Harari's collection had previously been put on exhibition by S. J. Phillips (Rings 1988). Harari's collection incorporated marvellous examples of Classical and post-Classical gems set into rings, some of them with documented provenances in the dactyliothecae of Paulus von Praun, Bram Hertz, Gregory Rhodes, the Earl of Southesk and Count Lindsey, in the French collections of Ernest Guilhou, Crignon de Montigny, Baron Pichon and Baron Roger de Sivri. In included a chalcedony intaglio with a portrait of James II, gems with the signature of Dioscurides and Nathaniel Marchant.

In 1980 (19 March), Christie's London held a sale that included jewellery and gems belonging to the Ramsden family that had derived from the 18th-century collection of the Marquess of Rockingham (1730-82). Amongst these were works by Gnaios and Lorenz Natter, a ring with a portrait of the Marchioness on cornelian and another with her monogram on chalcedony (Scarisbrick 1980b). On 20 May 1982 sixty intaglios, mainly Graeco-Roman, some set into signet rings, as well as one cameo on

Fig. 13.14. William Schmidt
Late 19th - early 20th century

Fig. 13.15. William Schmidt
Minerva. Early 20th century
Labradorite cameo
Geological Museum, London

shell engraved after a gem by Luigi Pichler, were sold for quite moderate prices at Christie's. This was a collection that had been assembled by the diplomat and historian Sir Harold MacMichael (1882-1969), in Palestine during the first half of the 1940s and then on Malta and in Sicily, as well as in London, where in 1937 he had acquired a number of rings from the Guilhou collection. Engraved gems figured in later sales (e.g. Christie's, 8 June 1982, 12-13 December 1983, 14 May 1985, 2 November 1989, 3 July 1996 etc).

Despite a dearth of clients and numerous other problems, some engravers continued to cultivate in Britain an art form that had otherwise all but disappeared. In 1872 the German William (Wilhelm) Schmidt (1845-1938), [fig. 13.14] born in Idar on the Nahe, arrived in London from Paris. There he had studied engraving on stone in the workshop of his elder cousin Louis Purper run by the cameo-cutter Arsène and taken evening classes in drawing in the school of Jules-Clément Levasseur. Schmidt was an engraver of cameos from 'classical subjects and Renaissance portraits', described by Gertrud Seidmann as 'the last Neo-classical gem engraver' (Seidmann 1988a; 1994a). She attributes to him the sad admission that 'When my apprenticeship was finished, stone cameos were no longer fashionable' (Seidmann 1988a, p. 13). Nonetheless he found an outlet for his talents (with the exception of a brief period 1886-88), sharing a studio on Hatton Garden until 1915 with his brother Louis Schmidt, who supplied stones suitable for the engraving of cameos, including labradorite and opal, for the working of which William had perfected the process. Schmidt worked for London's leading jewellers, among them John Brogden, who used cameos for all kind of adornments in keeping with the various 'historicist' styles that succeeded each other. Schmidt produced, for instance, green nephrite 'silhouette' cameos 'in the manner of Lalique'. Soon after the First World War, however, he emigrated with his family to America. In Britain, we recall, the collection of Abraham Booth of Gloucester was particularly rich in his works (Booth 1885). A large group of works by Schmidt are today in the Geological Museum in London, [fig. 13.15] amongst which, in addition to cameos and intaglios, we should note his busts *en ronde bosse* made of particularly hard kinds of stone, some 15 cm in height, showing St George, Britannia, a Moor and others. He received prizes and medals for such works (Seidmann 1988a, p. 16).

Still working in the early 20th century was Alfred Warner (d. 1912), a descendant of a gem engraver family who had made his name in the second half of the previous century.
Participants in the exhibition at the Royal Academy in

1916 included the shell-engraver Cecil Hamilton (1885-1976), who had studied under his father Thomas, who had worked for Fabergé. Another notable figure was Alfred Lyndhurst Pocock (1881- 1962) [fig. 13.16] who had been educated both at Regent Street Polytechnic and at the School of the Royal Academy. A sculptor in stone, he took part in creation of a monument to Queen Victoria to stand before Buckingham Palace. From 1905 he worked extensively for the royal family, frequently producing sculptures in the round in semi-precious stones, and supplying commissions through Fabergé's London shop on 38 Dover Street for curious figures of various beasts (such as 'a seated rodent' of opal or a fish with ruby eyes) and human figures embodying general concepts (e.g. *Night*, of lapis-lazuli Cavey 1992, pp. 127, 136). Edward VII's wife Queen Alexandra commissioned works from the main Fabergé workshop in St Petersburg, but preferred to see the preliminary idea and thus Pocock created wax models for the idea that, on confirmation, was then turned into reality in the Russian capital. This would seem to explain why none of the finished items bear his signature. In all, Pocock made some 200 pieces for Fabergé, for the queen producing figures of animals in English coloured stones. The collaboration between the English sculptor and Fabergé was ended first by his call up in the First World War and then finally by the Russian Revolution. On his return to civilian life the artist set out to master new techniques in the working of stone, and to revive ancient techniques. In Paris he learned the 'French technique', a kind of etching (Cavey 1992, p. 135) that he used to engrave in stone from his own models. He acquired a wide range of material from the mineralogist James Gregory, being later supplied by Winifred and Percy Bottley's celebrated mineral shop in Chelsea. Pocock also produced traditional cameos and intaglios, on which he placed his signature (Cavey 1992, pp. 132, 134). Many of Pocock's works are to be found in the collection at Sandringham, Norfolk. At the Victoria & Albert Museum, the permanent collection includes an opal head of an American Indian engraved by him, which perhaps allows us to link his name with, or see some influence in, similar heads of American Indians in the Hermitage, both relatively recent acquisitions. One of these, engraved on opal and set into an Art Deco brooch, is attributed to the London jewellery firm of Mürrle, Bennet & Co. (cat. 73); the other, without a setting, in red jasper, also a recent acquisition (cat. 74).

Portrait intaglios and cameos in a number of museums and private collections bear the signature of Pocock's friend and colleague Cecil Thomas (1883-1976), [fig. 13.17] who was educated at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London but who studied stone engraving under his father George Thomas and under William Schmidt. A member of The Royal Society of Arts, on 16 February 1912 he gave a lecture on the subject of gem engraving in which he presented an overview of the changes in technique and practice by engravers at different historical stages, touching also on the problems of the present and possible future of the art form in Britain. 'We cannot expect our Government to aid the art as is done in France', he said, linking his hopes for a revival with private patronage, the organisation of special schools and the activities of The Society of Arts and The Goldsmith's Art Council (Thomas 1912, p. 368). Chairing the session of the RSA and an active participant in the succeeding was Sir Arthur Evans. He agreed that glyptics 'was almost inclined to despair' but that while intaglios had little chance of a renaissance he saw greater hope for the cameo, which would be revived at some point, he felt, by changing fashions in female jewellery. Citing the lessons of history he declared that hope for the future of glyptics lay in uniting the training of gem engravers and coin-makers and medallists. Thomas' lecture was immediately published (Thomas 1912) and Thomas was awarded an RSA Silver Medal [plate 43.3].

Together Pocock and Thomas conceived the idea of creating a special School of Glyptography and they sought pupils to whom they might pass on their skills and their love of the art form. Thomas's long-awaited pupil was to be Nik (Nicolas, Nikos) Kielty Lambrinides (1937-2003) [fig. 13.18], son of an Irish father and a Greek mother. His mother taught him a love of different minerals and encouraged him to take up gem engraving, carving and sculpture, which he studied at Chelsea Polytechnic. Kielty Lambrinides travelled extensively, seeking to understand the nature of minerals and the engraving of stones, as well as the language, philosophy and religion of the lands in which he lived. On his return to London he was awarded a diploma in Gemmology and set up a studio in Hammersmith. He was particularly successful in the production of portraits but he also gave lectures and taught courses in London and Athens, as well as working as a restorer of old ivories and gems. In the early 1970s he exhibited his works at the Festival of the Royal Society of Miniature Painters, Sculptors and Engravers, of which he was a member, and at the Geological Museum in London [see plate 44.1].

Cecil Thomas bequeathed to Nik Kielty Lambrinides his lathe and his tools, his books, stones, working notes, and entrusted him with the task of setting up an international school of glyptography. Meanwhile,

Fig. 13.16. Portrait of Alfred Lyndhurst Pocock. Mid 20th century

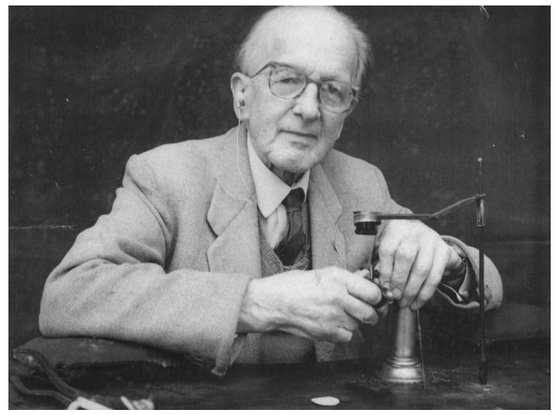


Fig. 13.17. Cecil Thomas. 1950s
Photograph courtesy of Helen Serras-Herman

Fig. 13.18. Nik Kielty Lambrinides and Helen Serras-Herman. 1970s
Photograph courtesy of Helen Serras-Herman

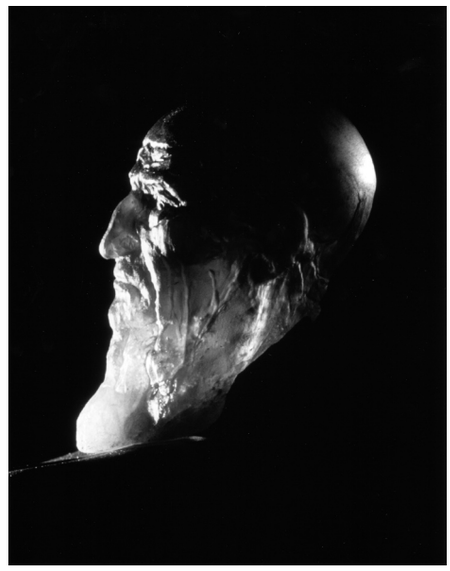


Fig. 13.19. Helen Serras-Herman
Portrait of Leonardo da Vinci. 1991
Smoky and rock crystal quartz sculpture
Photograph by Alex Jamison; courtesy of Helen Serras-Herman

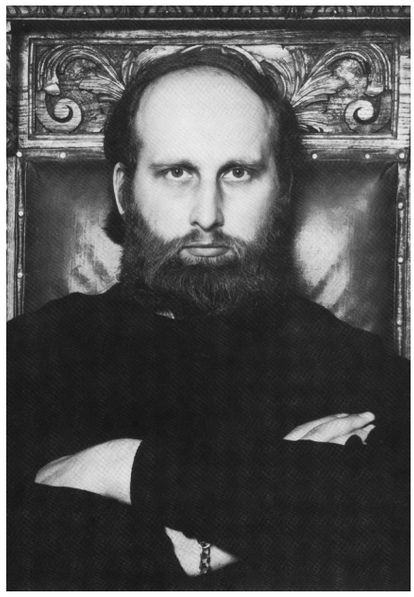


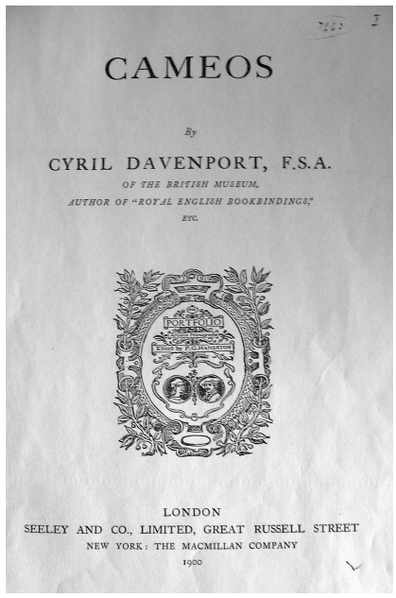
Fig. 13.20. Peter Zaltsman. 1985
Photograph by Valery Plotnikov

Fig. 13.21. Peter Zaltsman
Castle Howard. 1998
Shell cameo, gilded bronze
Reproduced by kind permission of Peter Zaltsman

Kielty Lambrinides was in regular correspondence with Beth Benton Sutherland, pupil of the American gem engraver Ottavio Negri (who had a studio in New York) and author of a popular book on glyptics (Sutherland 1965), from whom he gained much important advice about practical engraving. In 1976 Lambrinides took part with a group of British artists working in different techniques in an exhibition at the Victoria & Albert Museum, *Man-Made: Artist-craftsmen at Work*. Each artist not only displayed his or her own work but selected a masterpiece of that type from the Museum's own collection. Lambrinides, representing Glyptic Art, chose an Italian amethyst cameo (Lambrinides 1976).

In the early 1980s Lambrinides – by now the sole surviving representative of the English school of glyptography – set off for Greece to at last establish the school of which his predecessors had dreamed. At first his Lapidary School in Crete, with a Glyptography Centre in Athens, attracted many people from all over the world, but the only person to complete the five-year course was Helen Serras-Herman, who thus gained the title Master Glyptographer [fig. 13.18].

Born in New York, at five years old she moved with her parents to their native Greece. She studied drawing, painting and art history in Athens from 1973 to 1976 and then spent six years studying sculpture at the Hochschule der Kunste in West Berlin, graduating in 1982. The following year Serras took her first lessons from Kielty Lambrinides and despite her international origins she sees herself as continuing the British tradition. In 1986 she became a Fellow of the Gemmological Association of Great Britain and in 1988 she returned to the USA, where she set up her Glyptography Center II (the Roman numeral indicating the succession from the centre in Athens) in Maryland, known as The Gem Art Center [plate 44.2-3]. She moved in 2005 to South Arizona, where she continues to exhibit and teach. In her own studio she displays both hardstones in the traditional manner (seal, deep intaglio, gem portraits carved as cameos or in the round) and works which reflect a search for innovative forms [fig. 13.19]. These latter represent an attempt to combine glyptics and elements of monumental sculpture. Serras-Herman is, moreover, an outstanding – and today extremely rare – example of someone who is not only of a practical gem engraver but also a theoretician and historian. She does much to spread the word about gems and glyptics, organising special seminars on the history of glyptography. In the USA she is the initiator, founder and president of various gemmological, mineralogical and lapidary societies. It is Helen Serras-Herman who has provided most information on 20th-century masters and the alphabetical and chronological table of British stone-engraving from the 14th to the 20th



CAMEOS

By

CYRIL DAVENPORT, F.S.A.

OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AUTHOR OF "ROYAL ENGLISH BOOKBINDINGS,"

ETC.

LONDON

SEELEY AND CO., LIMITED, GREAT RUSSELL STREET

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1900

Fig. 13.22. C. J. H. Davenport, *Cameos*, Portfolio Artistic Monographs No. 41, London-New York, 1900
Title page

Fig. 13.23. Leonard Forrer. 1930s
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

centuries that forms Appendix III of this book was compiled jointly with her (in 1991 she presented her research on the 20th-century masters of the English school at the International Gemmological Symposium in Los Angeles). Moroever, she sees herself very much as part of the British school and thus her name too appears in the table.

In Britain itself, the tradition is continued by another foreign-born gem engraver, Peter Zaltsman (born in Leningrad – today St Petersburg – in 1952), who lives and works in London. Competitions and prizes offered by The Goldsmiths' Company and by Cartier in the 1990s, which once more revived the nomination for engraving on stone and on shell and it is in the latter sphere that Zaltsman has enjoyed greatest success. Having taken up an art form which seemed to have run its course, he has given it a new resonance [fig. 13.20].

Having graduated from the architectural faculty of St Petersburg's Academy of Arts, Zaltsman soon abandoned his first career choice to devote himself to the hobby that went on to become a driving force. He started by studying engraved shells in the Hermitage, particularly the early, mainly narrative engraved shells by French and German masters of the 15th to 17th centuries that have very little in common with the later revivals. Despite the fact that 19th-century shell-carvings are frequently of poor quality, even here Zaltsman found elements of interest, particularly in the practice of engraving not on small pieces of shell but on whole shells, a practice he was later to take up himself. His own works are not a nostalgic return to some forgotten past: they are utterly modern works, bringing together traditional carving devices and a very contemporary understanding of form [fig. 13.21]. He has no fear of unexpected changes in colour, the 'incorrect' arrangement of the different layers or what seem to be faults in the shell. In the past, engravers discarded parts of the shell with different texture or internal structure, selecting only the smaller, more unified and more easily worked sections. With a virtuoso mastery of his tools, he forces even the ragged edges of cockle shells to 'work' within the overall image, enriching it with totally new effects. The fragile and capricious material, once symbol of the Rococo style, acquires a classical perfection in his hands. The professional architect makes himself increasingly felt in the spirit of Zaltsman's works as he seeks an original form of setting for each, or a significant and perhaps symbolic union of shell and other materials. He devotes much of his output to historical works, contemporary, literary and theatrical portraits, and here we see a witty approach to the search for new forms composed of two shells of Easter eggs (e.g. that with a portrait of Henry VIII in the whitish-brown layers on their

outer sides and his six wives in the bluish layer within). He also creates narrative and allegorical figurative compositions and continues his series, begun while he was still in Russia, of architectural landscapes showing St Petersburg and its environs, old Russian towns and churches. The atmosphere in these landscapes is absolutely unique and they seem to be not cameos but plaques. Zaltsman manifests the same subtle perception in his views of London, Westminster Abbey and St Paul's [plate 45.2], the Royal Opera House in Covent Garden, Piccadilly Circus [plate 45.1] and Castle Howard in Yorkshire [fig. 13.21].

An essay in a monograph on the work of Peter Zaltsman published in Russia in 1990 concluded with the following words: 'Peter Zaltsman is young: he is under forty. There is every reason to believe that he still has many new, significant and surprising things in store for our artistic culture' (Kagan 1990a, p. 12). Citing these words, Diana Scarisbrick, writing in a larger publication issued in Britain, noted that such 'optimism has been justified by the extraordinary way in which he has responded to the atmosphere of London….' (Scarisbrick 1998, p. 7). In the entry on post-mediaeval glyptics in the multi-volume Grove Dictionary of Art Zaltsman is the sole example of a contemporary engraver (Seidmann 1996d, p. 265).

Today, Sir Peter Zaltsman is indeed alone in his sphere in Britain. There is no other artist that can be mentioned alongside him. But here the saying 'One man – no man' does not ring true: while one artist continues the art form, that art form still lives.

When we look at the study of glyptics and the spread of knowledge, it becomes immediately clear that Britain is in many aspects in the forefront of learning, with increasing exhibition and museum activity. Moreover, as was stressed in the introduction, Britain's contribution has not been solely to the study of British glyptics but to the study of Classical and post-Classical glyptics as a whole, throughout its existence (noting, of course, that oriental stone engraving remains almost beyond our remit here).

As we look back, we see that characteristic products of the Age of Enlightenment such as treatises on glyptics in Latin or French and printed anthologies of engraved gems have remained deep in the past, along with descriptions of private collections of gems (some of which remained only in manuscript form), catalogues of gems (mainly auction catalogues) and of casts from gems published by manufacturers or by the engravers themselves as a form of advertisement.

In the 19th-century, with its tendency to accumulate and spread copious information, such publications were replaced by survey volumes in which gems were ranked along with coins and medals (Walsh 1828; Billing 1867). It is hard not to notice that the information on engraving techniques, mineralogy, history and the subjects of glyptics was frequently repeated from one book into the next with only minimal changes. More innovation was revealed in the illustrations as new means of reproduction emerged in the middle of the century. Prints and lithographs were replaced by black-and-white or tinted reproductions of gems based on photographs. While cameos were capture in straightforward manner, intaglios were photographed in cast form (see Hancock 1857; Prendeville 1857-59), a practice which became the norm not only because of the limitations of photography but also because the engraving of intaglios was always intended – in composition and inscription – to be made visible through a cast (impression). It is only in recent years that the latest developments in lighting and photography have made it possible to successfully record the intaglios themselves, although they are still always shown alongside a cast both at exhibitions and in reproductions.

The first exhibitions of glyptics were held in the second half of the 19th century (King 1861-62; Robinson 1863), then museum displays (Smith A. H., Murray 1888; Middleton 1891). General catalogues were published and numerous scholarly articles made their appearance (e.g. those by Fortnum and King). Archaeological materials published in the periodical press increasingly brought engraved gems into the national and international scholarly domain (Wright 1844, 1863; King 1864a). Everywhere, the dominant method was fact-based, seeking to arrange accumulated knowledge according to a specific system or order, above all one of chronology, whereas divisions according to artistic type, school or region were only just starting to be introduced.

By the start of the 20th century in Britain and elsewhere a transition had taken place, with emphasis moving away from the connoisseur towards more scholarly and popular information. Auction catalogues of private collections, so vital throughout the 19th century, were of ever decreasing significance, their place being taken over the 20th century by a growing body of articles in specialist periodicals looking both at the facts and at theory. These in turn led to the publication of

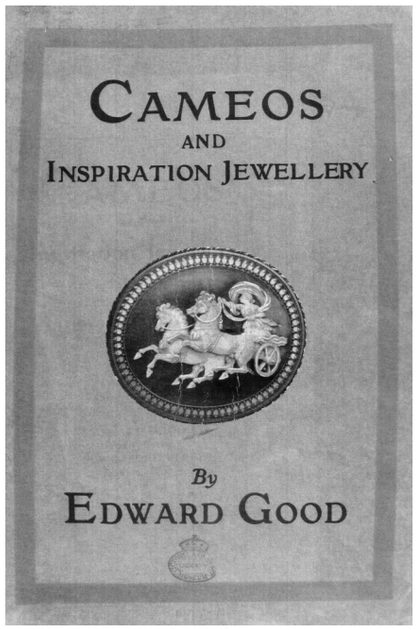


Fig. 13.24. Edward Good, *Cameo and Inspiration Jewellery*, London, 1914

Fig. 13.24a. The Earl of Ilchester

Fig. 13.25. Advertisement for Cameo Corner

monographs on the subject and catalogues raisonnés.

The 20th century began with the appearance of a book, *Cameos*, in the series of the *Portfolio Artistic Monographs*, evidence of a new twist in preferences between the two kinds of engraved gem (Davenport 1900) [fig. 13.22]. The author addressed it – like the articles he published the following year (Davenport 1901a, 1901b) to gem collectors. Although the text was very much a product of the 19th century, the book for the first time in Britain reproduced cameos in colour. The following year, the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute particularly remarked the appearance of the book (1905, pp. 713-19) and a special reprint was undertaken for the Library of Congress. Three numbers of *The Connoisseur* (Clifford Smith 1902-3) considerably extended knowledge of the dactyliotheca at Windsor Castle, first published by Fortnum (1877). Of central significance during this early period were the publication of dictionaries of exhibitors at the main London exhibitions in the 18th and 19th centuries (Graves 1901, 1905-6, 1907, 1908) and of the first volumes of Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists, Coin-, Gem-, and Seal-engravers…* (Forrer 1904-30) [fig. 13.23]. Forrer's volumes appeared over the course of some 26 years with enviable regularity. Leonard Forrer (1869-1953), of Swiss birth, made his name in England as a numismatist and founder member of the British Numismatic Society. He included in his dictionary all the basic information he had scrupulously collected on all the different categories of engravers but sadly the index to the volumes issued in relatively recent times (Martin 1987) covers only the medallists and coin-engravers.

A small and elegant book, *Cameos and Inspiration Jewellery* (Good 1914), [fig. 13.24] another work that recalled publications of the late 19th century in spirit, was richly illustrated with colour reproductions and informed collectors of current prices, warning them of the domination of fakes on the contemporary market, setting out an important thesis on the deep-rooted link between glyptics and jewellery. Numerous reviews of the book appeared, one of them even prophesying a 'fourth renaissance' of the art of the cameo (after Antiquity, the Renaissance and the 18th century). Books and catalogues dealing with jewellery, finger rings and seals began to multiply, their authors not omitting to look at examples of glyptics (Bloom 1906; Marshall 1907; Clifford Smith 1908; Dalton 1912b). In the realms of specialised works, Dalton's catalogue of post-Classical engraved gems in the British Museum (Dalton 1915), already been mentioned above, set out the story of European glyptics in the introduction, including its great periods in the Renaissance and the 18th century. By its very existence, Dalton's work confirmed the study of 'modern engraved stones' as an independent discipline, despite the tendency at that time to see post-Classical gems as, at best, the product of mere imitation and habit, as an almost involuntary continuation of Ancient traditions, and at worst as a superfluous appendix to the Department of Antiquities.

Interrupted by the First World War, scholarly publication resumed to some extent in the 1920s, as manifested in a truly fundamental catalogue of ancient engraved gems in the British Museum (Walters 1926). The link between glyptics and jewellery was touched on again in the works of Joan Evans (1921) and C. Oman (1930a). An article by the Earl of Ilchester in *The Connoisseur* laid the basis for studies of the historiography of portrait cameos of Elizabeth I (Ilchester 1922) [fig. 13.24a].

Little new was brought to the overall picture during the ten years before the Second World War and the ten years after, the war itself only exacerbating the general decline in interest in the subject. In 1951 the first edition of Joan Evans' *A History of Jewellery* made its appearance (Evans 1951), in which a significant space was set aside for engraved gems, among them items from the author's own collection. Stagnation continued to make itself felt on the art market and in the summer of 1978 rising rents at last forced the closure of the celebrated London antiquarian shop, Cameo Corner, on Museum Street just beside the British Museum. This had been a place where specialists could meet and exhibitions be held [fig. 13.25].

There was, however, a noticeable revival taking place in the scholarly sphere from the late 1960s, a revival which continued to grow in intensity. It began with the much admired works of Sir John Boardman, a number of whose works on English themes have already been listed in the Introduction. Here I should mention those on the subject of ancient glyptics: *Island Gems: A Study of Greek Seals in the Geometric and Early Archaic Periods* (1963), *Archaic Greek Gems* (1968a), *Three Greek Gem Masters* (1969a), *Near Eastern and Archaic Greek Gems in Budapest* (1969b), *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (1970a) and *A Greek Cylinder Seal and Necklace in London* (1970b), complemented by catalogues of gems from private collections: the Ionides Collection (1968b), the Harari rings (jointly with Diana Scarisbrick: Boardman, Scarisbrick

1977) and de Jong gems (1979). Despite his own ever growing circle of interests, Boardman has further distinguished himself in the study of Classical gems over the last two decades (1991; 1997; 1999a and b). BAR and the Beazley Archive published his catalogue *Classical Phoenician Scarabs* (Boardman 2003). The catalogues *Intaglios and Rings: Greek, Etruscan and Eastern, From a Private Collection* (Boardman 1975) and *A Collection of Classical and Eastern Intaglios, Rings and Cameos* (Wagner, Boardman 2003) brought important parts of an anonymous private collection, formed 1921-70, into the scholarly arena. (On the basis of the first of these, the Greek, Etruscan and Eastern rings, previously largely unknown, were acquired almost en masse by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu.) Professor Boardman is also one of the editors of the BAR series *Studies in the History of Collections* and is responsible for themes related to glyptics in their two other series, *Studies in Classical Archaeology* and *Studies in Gems and Jewellery*, both published with the Beazley Archive.

Oxford also saw the publication of the monograph *Hellenistic Engraved Gems* (Plantzos 1999). Donna Kurtz, Professor of Classical Art at Oxford and Beazley Archivist, is the editor of a number of anthologies and author of works such as *The Reception of Classical Art in England* (Kurtz 2000) and *The Reception of Classical Art: An Introduction* (Kurtz 2004), drawing particular attention to engraved gems and pastes. Kurtz's use of electronic online resources to allow maximum accessibility of the material had led to her being described as one of the pioneers of museum computerisation. When speaking of the productive collaboration between scholars and publishers in Oxford, we must pay all due respect to the Head Photographer at the Institute of Archaeology there, Robert L. Wilkins, whose name not only appears on the title pages of many books and catalogues alongside that of the author of the text, but whose opinion is cited – sometimes as co-author – in numerous works.

Martin Henig compiled a catalogue of the Content family collection of cameos, mainly Classical (Henig 1990), for Derek J. Content of Houlton, Maine (USA). In the 1980s he assembled a group of authors to compile a catalogue of engraved gems in the Fitzwilliam Museum, which appeared in the mid-1990s (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994). It encompasses Classical gems and the very large body of post-Classical gems, and included a vital survey of information regarding British collections of engraved gems by Diana Scarisbrick. *Il Valore dei gioielli*, two numbers of which (Scarisbrick 1984-88) summarised prices of jewellery at the main London auctions in the 1980s, with superbly illustrated sections on hardstone cameos and intaglios, as well as cameos on shell and coral. Despite the sporadic and very localised nature of this market today, such publications established the then current range of values. Considerable success was enjoyed by Scarisbrick's exhibition of glyptics from Alexander the Great to Napoleon III from museums and private collections (including those in Japan), organised in Tokyo in the autumn of 2008. It did much to promote further interest in this area of the European cultural heritage that is little known in the East.

Those publications by Gertrud Seidmann which deal directly with the subject of this book have been dealt with in the Introduction, but she is also the author of other – extremely varied – studies that are of great relevance. She has looked at the history and function of portrait cameos (Seidmann 1991; 1993), the attribution of a sapphire portrait of Elizabeth Charlotte, Princess Palatine (Liselotte of Pfalz) from the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe (1990a, b), engraved gems from the Museo Civico Archeologico in Padua (1988b), one of the mysteries of the Poniatowski gems (1999b), the discovery of a seal that had belonged to Gabriele D'Annunzio (Seidmann 1998). She was commissioned to produce entries for the Grove Dictionary of Art covering post-mediaeval gem engraving in Europe between 1400 and 1800, collections of engraved gems and leading masters from the continental schools such as Dorsch, Guay and the Pichlers (Seidmann 1996d). Also remarkable are her lectures to The Society of Antiquaries and The Society of Jewellery Historians, and at the Ashmolean Museum, and her untiring work to promote glyptics to art lovers and collectors. Her 80th birthday was marked in Oxford with an exhibition and publication of an impressive volume of Festschriften (Seidmann 1999a), although this was most devoted to Classical rather than post-Classical glyptics. The Festschriften provides a full list of Seidmann's publications since 1979, including a list of her reviews of books and exhibitions that reads like a calendar of almost every important event in the world of glyptics in Europe.

Hugh Tait at the British Museum conducted a profound analysis of the early French and German engraved shells in 1968 in a catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest and in 1976 he included engraved gems in the exhibition *Jewellery Through 7000 Years* (Tait 1976). In 1997 Dominique Collon of the British

Museum published an anthology of essays, *7,000 Years of Seals*, encompassing the extensive body of gemstones from the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome, Islam, the Far East and Modern Europe. This anthology was based on materials from a conference, *Seals of the World*, held at the British Museum in 1992. That same year G. Masson looked at 'Two Thousand Years of Cameo Jewels' (Masson 1976). Diana Scarisbrick and Gerald Taylor studied glyptics in the exhibition catalogue *Finger Rings from Ancient Egypt to the Present Day* at the Ashmolean Museum (Taylor, Scarisbrick 1978). Engraved gems were also set in the context of jewellery in Yvonne Hackenbroch's *Renaissance Jewellery* (Hackenbroch 1979) and Enseignes (Hackenbroch 1996), in Vivienne Becker's *Antique and 20th-Century Jewellery* (1980), in the summary catalogue of the Victoria & Albert Museum's Jewellery Gallery compiled by Shirley Bury (1982).

In the 1990s Judy Rudoe looked at the questions of fake gems in the Renaissance and in the 18th and early 19th centuries (1992). Even when she turned her attention to late 19th-century jewellery she also touched on certain aspects of glyptics (Rudoe 2002). Shelia Middleton (Oxford) has published Evan's acquisitions of gems in Dalmatia (Middleton, 1991), now at Harrow School and in Oxford, the collecion in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter (Middleton, 1998), and the White and Wright collections of mainly oriental and classical gems (Middleton 2001, 2005). Jeffrey Spier, author of articles on British collections (Spier, Vassilika 1995, Spier 1999) as well as studies of Classical, Early Christian and Byzantine glyptics and amulets (Spier 1991, 1993, 1997, 2007), catalogued the engraved stones and finger rings in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Spier 1992) and the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon (Spier 2001). Marilyn Perry made her contribution with the study of the celebrated Grimani collection of the Renaissance period (Perry 1993). Margaret Sax developed the nomenclature of quartz minerals used in glyptics (Sax 1996), while Dora Thornton wrote a new study of the gems of Valerio Belli in the British Museum (Thornton 1998). In 2001 the two-volume catalogue of gems appeared: *Die Magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum* (Michel, 2001). A recent work, addressed to collectors and amateurs without any pretensions to great scholarly achievement but extremely well illustrated, has looked at 19th-century cameos (Rowan 2004). The achievements of the authors listed here and in the Introduction – and indeed of others whose names I have not mentioned – present a convincing picture of a school of learning which has perhaps no equal anywhere else in the world today in the sphere of glyptics.

Increased exhibition activity over the second half of the 20th century resulted in a number of already familiar specialised exhibitions looking at engraved gems, such as those of gems in Birmingham in 1960 and of pastes and casts in Edinburgh and London in 1986 and 1995, and those devoted to English collections: Ionides (Boardman 1968b), Wellington (Scarisbrick 1977), Harari (Boardman, Scarisbrick 1977), Wellcome (Nicholls 1983) and Content (Henig 1990), and the Devonshire Parure (1979). No less important are the exhibitions on a variety of subjects that have incorporated engraved gems and casts, the most important of these including *George III, Collector & Patron* at The Queen's Gallery (George III 1974-75), *2,500 Years of Rings* at S. J. Phillips (Rings 1988), *Princely Magnificence: Court Jewels of the Renaissance, 1500-1630* at the Victoria & Albert Museum (Princely Magnificence 1980-81), *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight. 1751-1824* (Clarke, Penny 1982) and *Elias Ashmole. 1617-1692* (Hunter 1983) at the Ashmolean Museum. *The Treasure Houses of Britain. Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* at the National Gallery of Arts, Washington (Treasure Houses of Britain 1985), *Treasures for the Nation* at the British Museum (Treasures for the Nation 1988-89), *Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel* at the Ashmolean Museum (Arundel 1985-86), *Fake? The Art of Deception at the British Museum* (Rudoe 1990), *Henry VIII. A European Court in England* at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (Henry VIII 1991), *Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots. History and Myth* at the International Silver and Jewellery Fair in London (Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots 1991), *Treasures and Trinkets* at the Museum of London (Treasures and Trinkets 1991), *A King's Purchase: King George III and the Collection of Consul Smith* at the Queen's Gallery in 1994, *Grand Tour* at Tate Gallery (1996 London), *Vases & Volcanoes. Sir William Hamilton and his Collection* at the British Museum (Jenkins, Sloan 1996), *Art on the Line, 1780-1836* at The Courtauld Institute (Art on the Line 2001-2), *Tiaras,* Victoria and Albert Museum (Tiaras 2002), *Royal Treasures: A Golden Jubilee Celebration* at The Queen's Gallery (Royal Treasures 2002), *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* at the British Museum (Enlightenment 2003), *George III & Queen Charlotte, Patronage, Collecting & Court Taste* at the Queen's Gallery (George III & Queen Charlotte 2004), and many more.

The very first exhibition to be held in the new Hermitage Rooms at Somerset House in London, devoted to Catherine the Great's passion for collecting (2000-1 London), drew the public's attention with a small room totally devoted to engraved gems, which also included casts by Tassie and the cabinets in which gems and casts were kept in the Imperial Hermitage. It seemed to us symptomatic that in selecting the European gems for the exhibition, the borrower placed particular accent on the British material. Gems by William and Charles Brown also featured in another exhibition in the Hermitage Rooms, *The Triumph of Eros* (2006). It is thus as a sign of the times that I perceive the proposal to publish this volume from BAR and the Beazley Archive, publishers who have in recent years devoted considerable attention to glyptics.

1. Dexamenos
Head of a bearded man. Mid-5th century BC
Mottled jasper (from the Warren collection at Lewes House)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

2. Hercules saved from the Giants Albion and Bergion
Cornelian intaglio signet with the Greek letters *KROMOU* (from the collection of the 2nd Duke Wellington; formerly Poniatowski Collection). 19th century
Sold S. J. Phillips, June 1977

3. Ganymede offering a cup to the eagle
Garnet intaglio. 1st century BC
Formerly in the Ionides Collection (now Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)
Photograph courtesy of the Beazley Archive, Oxford

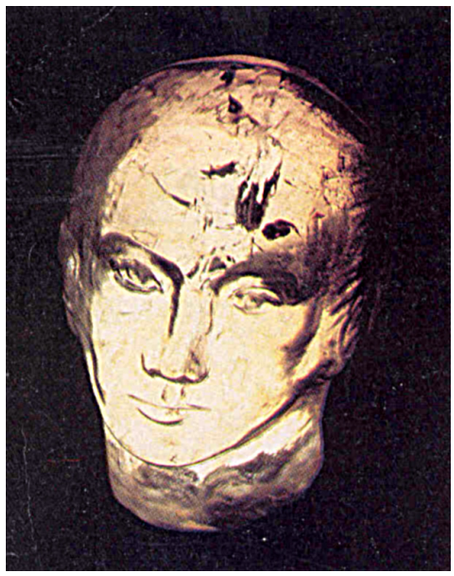
4. Elephant goring a fish
Sardonyx cameo (from the Ionides collection).
1st century BC/AB
Formerly in the Marlborough collection (now private collection)

Plate 43

1a. Domenico Calabresi
Vulcan's Forge, c. mid-19th century
Sardonyx cameo. (After a relief by Bertel Thorwaldsen)
From Hull Grundy collection, British Museum, London.
By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

1b. Domenico Calabresi
Venus and Mars in Vulcan's net c. mid-19th century
Sardonyx cameo.
British Museum, London
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

3. Cecil Thomas
Portrait of the King of Siam. 1910
Onyx cameo
Photograph courtesy of Helen Serras-Herman



1. Nik Kielty Lambrinides
Portrait Head, 1970s
Smoky quartz sculpture
Photograph courtesy of Helen Serras-Herman

2. Helen Serras-Herman
Seal: Satyr and Maenad
Champagne topaz intaglio. 2004
Photograph by M. J. Colella; courtesy of Helen Serras-Herman

3. Helen Serras-Herman
Venus. c. 2000
Rutilated quartz sculpture
Photograph by M. J. Colella; courtesy of Helen Serras-Herman

Plate 45

1. Peter Zaltsman
Piccadilly Circus 1997
Shell cameo, gilded bronze
Reproduced by kind permission of Peter Zaltsman

2. Peter Zaltsman
a) Portait of Christopher Wren
b) St Paul Cathedral
Shell cameo, 2001
Reproduced by kind permission of Peter Zaltsman

Afterword

To summarise everything that has been said on these pages, it remains only to reiterate that this book represents the first attempt – in any language – to bring together analysis of surviving works, study of the literature and available archive material in a monograph study of the art of engraving on hardstones in Britain over nearly two thousand years. It traces the development of artistic practice and the evolution of leading masters. Analysis of individual monuments in the catalogue of British gems in the Hermitage has often helped to refine approximate or extremely general dating, to establish dates often to within five or ten years. Works have been set within the context of specific artistic phenomena or trends, their links with other arts established, authors identified.

Study has been made of printed publications relating to gems produced in Britain and, where relevant, abroad; glyptics and printmaking are closely tied, with certain common features – indeed, the techniques of both are described by a single word, engraving. Glyptics also has common elements with the decorative arts and it was vital to look at how the original intaglios and cameos changed in function, how they, along with imitations and casts, were used as amulets, seals, emblematical images, medals and insignia, as jewellery, as souvenirs and even as a source of knowledge. The rich history of British collections too has come under scrutiny and of course the way that glyptics has been studied in Britain itself. Naturally, I looked closely at objects in the Hermitage Museum's own rich collection of British gems, many of which found their way there as a result of developments in Anglo-Russian relations, particularly intense in the 18th century. Study has revealed information throwing new light on the perceptions of those relations that is relevant to both British and Russian cultural history.

Arranging the study chronologically, using the accepted scholarly division into periods, I have looked at British gem engraving at each stage in its history in its dialectical mutual relationship with, on the one hand, socio-economic conditions, mood and art, and on the other with the general path taken in the development of Western European glyptics, determined by laws specific to it alone. This has allowed me to set glyptics within the context of the British cultural school whilst revealing the dependence of changes in its status and aesthetic authority on the uneven rhythm of the development of European glyptics, its rise and its decline, determined by the strengthening or weakening of the Classical orientation in each era. This makes more comprehensible the particular attention paid to British glyptics during the second half of the 18th century, the period marked by an extremely interesting artistic phenomenon born from the coincidence of a progressive stage in the country's own historical development, a flourishing of national culture with a European-wide boom in the art of gem engraving on stone. The fruits of this and other periods in the history of British glyptics are of such artistic significance that they provide us with evidence of the nation's sculptural sense that is as convincing as the very best works of 'large' sculpture.

Clearly, situated far from British collections and archives, this author has no pretensions to an all-encompassing knowledge of the themes under discussion and the way they are set forth. I am fully

conscious that some sections are uneven in terms of the material covered, the amount of detail they include. Yet I am also aware that a study which depends directly on the surviving sources cannot be free of distortion, of one-sidedness or over-emphasis in the treatment of individual parts. Critics will no doubt find in this book many omissions and inaccuracies, even glaring errors. There can be no doubt that further study of art, history and culture will uncover new works and new facts which will extend and make more precise the picture set forth here, allowing us to adjust the placing of the necessary accents, but they will do little to change the essential nature of the whole, for the information gathered here is sufficient to set forth the inner logic of the process under study.

Catalogue of the British engraved gems in The State Hermitage Museum

Part I. 14th to 17th centuries
Part II. 18th to 20th centuries
Part III. Charles and William Brown

Notes on the Catalogue

1. Material in this catalogue is divided into three sections. The first two consist of gems arranged in alphabetical order by artist's name, regardless of whether the attribution is confirmed by signatures or documents or by other reasoning. Anonymous engraved gems of British work are listed together at the end of each of the first two sections. After the original and anonymous gems, in some cases, come imitations and original gems in different materials and techniques (see 2), as well as copies in stone or shell. Within each of these groups, works are listed according to subject divisions (the Classical repertoire, portraits, allegories, religious themes, animal motifs, inscriptions), in chronological order where possible. The third and largest part of the catalogue is composed of gems created by the brothers Charles and William Brown both independently and in collaboration, concluding with two series of cameos with portraits of British and French monarchs.

2. Some old pastes, casts and imitation gems, with or without mounts, which have for historical reasons been included in the main body of the Hermitage collection of post-Classical engraved gems are also included in this catalogue. Casts and pastes from thousands of engraved gems are also kept in the Hermitage but these are not included in the main inventory, forming a supplementary study collection. Here we find numerous pieces providing information of vital importance to the subject in hand. There is the Cabinet of James Tassie, some 16,000 reproductions of gems and 16,000 glass pastes, of which more than one and a half thousand are reproductions of gems from the British school, as well as the Cabinets of Casts by Philipp Daniel Lippert and Tommaso Cades, series by Pietro and Bartolomeo Paoletti, Giovanni Liberotti, sets of casts from gems by Nathaniel Marchant. Although the Hermitage does not have any of the sets of casts from gems by Edward Burch or any of the compilatory sets issued in Rome by Angelo Antonio Agostini, we do have full information about them.

   Tassie casts are referred to by their number in the consolidated printed catalogue in English and French (Raspe 1791). On some occasions reference to a gem in the five-volume French language manuscript catalogue (Raspe-Tassie MS 1783-88) sent to Catherine the Great accompanying each group of casts provided also throws light on the dating of a gem. In such cases the number according to this manuscript is given after a forward slash following the number in Raspe 1791. The first part of the manuscript, in two volumes (numbers 1 to 6076) was completed by October 1782, the second part, or First Supplement (volume III; numbers 6077 to 9064) by August 1785; the Third Part or Second Supplement (volume IV; numbers 9065 to 12725) by September 1786, and Fourth Part or Third Supplement (volume V; numbers 12726 to 15050) in 1788. The casts themselves arrived in Russia in groups in 1783, 1786, 1787 and 1793.

   The full cabinet of casts produced by Tommaso Cades (*Impronte Gemmarie*) has no

accompanying printed catalogue. Numbers are given in accordance with a set in the Hermitage (volume/number within volume), which more or less accords with the numbering of similar sets, but in the absence of an accompanying catalogue, descriptions, where relevant, are given according to a manuscript catalogue in Heidelberg (Cades, Impronte gemmarie MS 1836).

3. Catalogue entries are compiled according to the following format:

Engraver's name and dates, or workshop and period of activity.

Gem title (both sides of two-sided gems are described as 'a' and 'b') and date.

Signatures and inscriptions (cited in full). Text on intaglios is cited not in reverse (as they appear on the gem) but as they would be read properly, for instance on an impression or cast.

Technique, material (including colour), dimension in millimetres including mount (height then width; the mount itself described only where it is of artistic or functional significance). Inventory number.

Provenance. Where the gem is not documented its date of arrival in the Hermitage is calculated on the basis of its first appearance in the relevant inventory. The first inventory of gems was completed in 1794 (Hermitage Inventory MS 1), with additions being made until 1796; the second inventory of gems was compiled in the 1830s, the third in the 1850s; the fourth and current inventory was begun in the 1920s. Please note that references to Leningrad and Petrograd are to the names by which St Petersburg was known during certain periods: Leningrad 1924-91; Petrograd 1914-24.

Manuscript sources (in those instances where the dating and origin of the gem is confirmed by archive documents or other manuscript material).
Literature.
Exhibitions.
Casts and pastes from the gem.
Brief commentary.

Note: Since intaglios are notoriously difficult to photograph so as to bring out their true quality, most are illustrated here through plaster casts.

Part I. 14th to 17th centuries

Attributed to Richard Atsill (fl. Late 1530s-1580s) or Julien de Fontenay (fl. 1590s-1611)

1. Elizabeth I. c. 1575/90

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (white with brown relief against a dark brown ground), gold. 62 x 48. Inv. No. K - 1020

Provenance: gem collection of the Ducs d'Orléans, Paris; 1787 purchased by Catherine II with the d'Orléans collection.

Literature: Orléans Description 1780-84, II, pl. 74; Orléans Catalogue 1786, p. 154, No. 1355; King 1866a, pp. 175-76; King 1872, I, p. 451; Fortnum 1877, p. 8; O'Donoghue 1894, p. 100, No. 6; Reinach 1895, p. 145, No. 74, pl. 151; Dalton 1915, p. L; Ilchester 1922, p. 70; Eichler, Kris 1927, p. 175; Strong 1963, p. 131, No. 11; Scott 1973, pp. 18, 19 (mistakenly indicates that it was from the collection of Pierre Crozat); Kagan 1973a, No. 55; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 13; Kagan 1980, p. 32; Kagan 1981, p. 188; Scarisbrick 1986, p. 250; Gere 1991b, p. 132; Seidmann 1993, p. 95, figs. 6, 13; Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, No. 231.

Exhibitions: 1972 Leningrad, No. 515; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 127; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 127; 2000 Paris, No. 223/39; 2001 St Petersburg, No. 487/82.

Of five engraved portraits of Elizabeth in the Hermitage which were unquestionably made during her lifetime

1. Portrait of Elizabeth I, c. 1575/90
Sardonyx cameo
Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothéque Nationale de France, Paris

(cats. 1-5) this is the most outstanding in both size and the skill of the carving. It is particularly close to a cameo in Paris (Babelon 1897, No. 967). We note the identical robe and jewellery, the wearing of a cameo (Lesser George) on the Queen's breast below the ruff. Both cameos, rare cases of the depiction of a cameo within a cameo, can be placed alongside painted portraits of Elizabeth in which she wears the same insignia. Roy Strong places these 'Garter Portraits' in the period starting 1575 (Strong 1963, p. 62), providing a guide in dating the Hermitage cameo.

After numerous fruitless attempts from the 17th century onwards to attribute the Elizabeth cameos to leading Italian Renaissance artists Valerio Belli (1468-1546; Evelyn 1697, p. 240; Walpole 1862, pp.

188, 189), Matteo del Nassaro (1515-47/48) and Luca Penni (1500-56; King 1872, I, p. 328), two hypotheses emerged in the literature. According to one, the creator of these gems was Richard Atsill (Astill, Astyll, Atzell etc), who began working during the reign of Henry VIII (Fortnum 1877, p. 19; Clifford Smith 1902-3, part 3, p. 241; Tonnochy 1935a, p. 277). The second, maintained largely by French authors (Mariette 1750, I, p. 136; Chabouillet 1858, p. 71; Babelon 1897, p. 140; Lhuillier 1887, p. 11) and some British colleagues (Davenport 1900, p. 54), attribute the best of them to the Frenchman Julien de Fontenay, who is thought to have been sent to the court of Elizabeth by Henri IV of France specifically to produce portraits of her. Whilst in chronological terms the latter seems most likely to this author, in the absence of any documentary confirmation both alternatives remain working theories.

Workshop of Richard Atsill or Julien de Fontenay

2. Elizabeth I. c. 1575/90

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with pale-brown against a dark brown ground), gold. 31 x 29. Inv. No. K - 827

Provenance: collection of Pierre Crozat, Paris; from 1741 gem collection of the Duc d'Orléans, Paris; 1787 purchased by Catherine II with the Orléans collection.

Literature: Mariette 1741, p. 78, No. 1226; Mariette 1750, I, p. 156; Giulianelli 1753, p. 55; Orléans Catalogue 1786, pp. 154-55, No. 1356; King 1866b, p. 268; King 1872, 1, p. 451; Strong 1963, p. 151, No. 15; Scott 1973, pp. 18-19 (mistakenly reproduces cat. 4); Kagan 1980, p. 37.

Exhibitions: 1996 Amsterdam, No. 152; 1998 Florence, No. 119; 2000-1 London, No. 161; 2001 St Petersburg, No. 412/230; 2003-4 Moscow, No. 124.

The existence of multiple examples of such pieces lead us to attribute this cameo and cats. 3-5 to the workshop of Richard Atsill or Julien de Fontenay. We must presume that such a workshop existed during Elizabeth's reign: here cameos would have been engraved according to set models and then passed on to court jewellers. The catalogues of the engraved gems of both Pierre Crozat and the Duc d'Orléans describe this cameo as having a precious mount with enamel and four rubies, but this was lost before it reached its last owner. A similar engraved portrait of Elizabeth in the Melvil Gutman collection (Lesley 1968, No. 44, with a dating of 1582-88), which has retained its precious setting, provides support for a dating suggested by the style of the Hermitage piece. In terms of iconography the latter is also close to another cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Babelon 1897, No. 968).

3. Elizabeth I. c. 1575/90

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with brown against a dark brown ground), gold. 20 x 17. Inv. No. K - 1148

Provenance: 1792 with the collection of de Saint-Morys, Paris, brought in its entirety to St Petersburg by the antiquarian Alfonso Miliotti and sold to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Miliotti Saint-Morys MS s.d., II, f. 18 v. ('Buste d'Elisabeth reine Angleterre, agat'onix de 2. couches').

Literature: Strong 1963, p. 161, No. 22; Kagan 1980, p. 33; Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, No. 230.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 13988).

Traditionally identified with a portrait cameo of Elizabeth I brought from France to the Russian capital by antiquarian Alphonse Miliotti in 1792 as part of the collection of de Saint-Morys, Conseiller to the French Parliament.

Turn of the head and length of the bust are identical to cat. 1, but the inclusion of the Garter insignia and the nature of the jewellery on the breast make this cameo closer to analogous works in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Babelon 1897, No. 966) and the Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Strong 1963, p. 129, No. 5). The latter, known as The Barbor Jewel, has preserved its Tudor mount.

4. Elizabeth I. c. 1575/90

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with brown against a dark brown ground), gold. 29 x 21. Inv. No. K - 6395

Provenance: 1928 transferred to the Cabinet of West European Glyptics from the Modern Applied

Art Sector, as 'Portrait of a Woman in 16th-century Costume'; previous history unknown.

Literature: Strong 1963, p. 161, No. 21; Kagan 1980, p. 33.

Exhibitions: 1990 Chelyabinsk, No. 79.

In terms of its iconography, this piece is close to cats. 1 and 3, but it lacks the Garter insignia and the pendant on the breast recalls that seen on a cameo in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (Strong 1963, p. 129, No. 4).

5. Elizabeth I. Early 17th century (?)

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (pale brown relief against a semi-transparent white ground'; thickening of the stone around the outline of the bust on the reverse), gold. 41 x 31. Inv. No. K - 1018

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Kagan 1980, p. 35, note 27.

Such a use of non-contrasting stones was not typical for the Tudor period and this cameo was long thought to be of 18th-century work, one inventory even attributing it to the Brown brothers. Such an attribution can, however, be refuted through a simple comparison with the image of Elizabeth on a signed cameo by the Browns in their series of *Portraits of English Monarchs* (cat. 288). The thickening on the reverse of the stone also tends to support the earlier date. In iconographical terms the cameo, which includes the Lesser George cameo insignia on the Queen's breast, is so close to one attributed to Richard Atsill or Julien de Fontenay (cat. 1) that it can be seen as a somewhat later repetition.

In the style of Nicholas Hilliard (1547-1619)

6. Elizabeth I. c. 1565

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (white with brown relief against a dark brown ground), gold. 38 x 29. Inv. No. K - 974

Provenance: until 1577 belonged to King Erik XIV of Sweden; from 1772 in the collection of the Count von Lodron, Stockholm and Vienna; from 1806 in the collection of Jean-Baptiste Mallia, Vienna; 1813 bequeathed to Tsar Alexander I with the Mallia collection.

Manuscript Sources: Mallia MS 1813, ff. 27, 32, 33.

Literature: Précis historique 1806, pp. 61-65; Strong 1963, p. 161, No. 20; Kagan 1980, pp. 32, 35.

Exhibitions: 1996 Amsterdam, No. 152; 1998 Florence, No. 119; 1998-99 Stockholm, No. 269; 1999 St Petersburg, No. 34.

This particular cameo is closest of all to one in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Eichler, Kris 1927, No. 409). In both pieces a long scarf drops from the back of her head, relating them to a number of painted portraits showing the Queen with just the same headdress (Strong 1963, pp. 60-63, Nos. 26, 28, 33).

In the most recent publication of the cameo in Vienna (Distelberger 2002, No. 134), likeness was noted between elements in the hairstyle and the jewellery on the Queen's breast, as well as general stylistic links to medals and jewellery attributed to Nicholas Hilliard. Distelberger also saw in the Hermitage cameo a reflection of many details seen in Hilliard's miniatures, as well as an adherence to the artistic principles set out in Hilliard's treatise, 'The Art of Limning' (c. 1600, first published 1912), from which we know that Elizabeth posed directly for the artist. E. Auerbarch (1961, pp. 179-80) and Y. Hackenbroch (1979, p. 295, pl. 790 a-c) both suggested that Hilliard may have been the author of the Phoenix Jewel and the Phoenix Medal, both with profile portraits of Elizabeth I.

The fascinating history of the Hermitage cameo was set out in the *Anthologie littéraire et universelle* (Précis historique 1806). It was presented by Elizabeth I to one of the most persistent candidates for her hand, Erik the son of Gustav I of Sweden, from 1560 King Erik XIV. Despite being rejected, Erik never parted with the precious gift, retaining it even after he was overthrown by his brothers in 1568 and imprisoned. When he died in 1577, presumably by poisoning, he was buried in Västerås Cathedral with the cameo, hung on a gold chain. In 1772 Gustav III transferred Erik's body to the royal burial-vault at Upsala, during which the cameo was discovered. It soon found its way into the collection of Austria's representative at the Swedish court, Count von Lodron, passing then (for the not inconsiderable sum of 110 ducats) into the hands of Jean-Baptiste Mallia, adviser at the Russian Embassy in Vienna, who in turn bequeathed his engraved gems – in the wake of the defeat of

Napoleon – to the Russian Emperor Alexander I. If this information is indeed correct, then the cameo should be recognised as the earliest of all the engraved portraits of the English Queen in this catalogue.

Thomas Rawlins (c. 1620 – 1670)

7. Charles I. c. 1649

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with dark brown against a brown ground), gold. 25 x 22. Inv. No. K - 986

Provenance: collection of Pierre Crozat, Paris; from 1741 gem collection of the Duc d'Orléans, Paris; 1787 purchased by Catherine II with the Orléans collection.

Literature: Mariette 1741, p. 60, No. 942; Orléans Catalogue 1786, p. 110, No. 1039; Scott 1973, p. 18; Kagan 1973a, No. 67; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 17; Kagan 1981, p. 183, pl. I, 1; Scarisbrick 1986, p. 247; Scarisbrick 1993, p. 179; Seidmann 1996d, p. 261.

Exhibitions: 1972 Leningrad, No. 519; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 130; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 130; 2000 Paris, No. 183/90; 2001 St Petersburg, No. 414/232; 2003-4 Moscow, No. 128.

In iconography and manner of execution the cameo is close to medals and posthumous badges of Charles I produced by court medal-maker Thomas Rawlins in 1649 and clearly influenced by Van Dyck's portraits (Hawkins 1885, I, Nos. 340, 341, 355). We know from documentary sources that Rawlins also engraved on stone, allowing us to suggest his authorship of this cameo. Whilst in the Crozat collection the cameo retained its original mount in the form of a signet ring with black enamel, confirming that it served a commemorative purpose. There are a number of analogous pieces, also now considered to be the work of Rawlins: British Museum, London (Dalton 1915, No. 388), collection of the Dukes of Devonshire, Chatsworth (Scarisbrick 1986, No. 4).

Attributed to John Roettiers (1631-1703) or Thomas Rawlins

8. Charles II. After 1662

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with dark brown against a dark brown ground), gold. 24 x 21. Inv. No. K – 808

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Kagan 1981, p. 183, pl. I, 3.

This cameo derives from the pattern crown of Charles II produced in 1662 by John and Joseph Roettiers (Nathanson 1975, p. 36, No. 40) and demonstrates the new impersonal *à l'antique* manner which replaced the Van Dyckian style of the previous portrait (cat. 7). The high quality of the gem is fully in keeping with the portrait of Charles I, but an alternative attribution is supported by facts in the biographies of Roettiers and Rawlins: the first worked in England from 1660, serving the English court, while the second went to Paris after the execution of Charles I, where he was unavoidably influenced by the French school, manifested in his works after the Restoration when he returned to Britain and continued his service to the Crown as head of the Mint. D. Scarisbrick has written on such cameo portraits of Charles II created by Rawlins during these years (Scarisbrick 1993, p. 179). See also Raspe 1791, Nos. 14019-22.

Thomas Simon (1618-85)

9. a) Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford
9. b) Archbishop William Laud
1641-45

Two-sided cameo. Five-layer sardonyx (lower, middle and upper layers dark brown with white layers between them), gold. 15 x 14. Inv. No. K - 1019

Provenance: 19th century.

Literature: Kagan 2001, pp. 14-20; Kagan 2004, pp. 149-55.

Until very recently we knew neither the engraver's name nor the identity of the subjects, despite the strongly individual features. The basis for this author's identification lies in portraits on commemorative medals for the Earl of Strafford and William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, both loyal advisers to Charles I who were beheaded by Order of Parliament. These medals were created soon after their deaths on the scaffold by Thomas Simon (Allen 1939, p. 53, pl. IX, 5, 17; Nathanson 1975, p. 45). The medals, and thus the cameos, derive in iconographic terms from painted originals by Van Dyck. For the first medal Simon used a hasty sketch (Allen 1939, pl. VIII) he took directly from a 1636 portrait of Strafford engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar in 1640. Simon probably saw or

9. Thomas Simon
Sketch from Van Dyck's portrait
of Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of
Stafford. c. 1640.

9. Thomas Simon. Gold medallion with portrait
of Stafford from Tassie paste. 1641
Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford

9. Thomas Simon
Medal of Thomas Wentworth. 1st Earl of
Stafford. 1641
Print.

9. Thomas Simon.
Medal of William Laud. 1645
Archbishop of Canterbury (from lead cast)

even had before him the portrait of Laud, begun several years later by Van Dyck and known today in several versions and copies, only through Hollar's print.

Such is the structure of the five-layer sardonyx that the engraver was able to make equal use on both obverse and reverse of the white layers (left matt) and the dark-brown contrasting layers (polished), but the thinness of these layers also determined a relative coarseness of manner and the somewhat flat relief (the reverse is even slightly convex). Traces of the engraver's confident chisel work are visible in the modelling of the faces.

We might find an explanation of the unusually small (even for a signet ring) dimensions of the cameo in some secretive purpose (e.g. a sign that they were supporters of Charles I during the Commonwealth). Another notable feature is that the portraits lie at an angle of 90º to one another: that on the obverse runs the length of the stone, that on the reverse runs across the width. It is hard to say whether this was dictated by some particular feature in the portraits or the structure of the stone, or whether it conceals some symbolic meaning.

12. W. and M. van de Passe
Portrait of Latimer. 1620
Print

10. Oliver Cromwell. c. 1658

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with brown against a brown ground with a broad white vein), gold. 25 x 22. Inv. No. K - 1013

Provenance: collection of Pierre Crozat, Paris; from 1741 gem collection of the Duc d'Orléans, Paris; 1787 purchased by Catherine II with the Orléans collection.

Literature: Mariette 1741, p. 60, No. 943; Orléans Catalogue 1786, p. 110, No. 1040; Millin 1826, p. 214; Kagan 1973a, No. 68; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 26; Kagan 1981, p. 183, pl. I, 5; Seidmann 1984-85, part 1, p. 814, note 6; Seidmann 1996d, p. 261; Heuzé 2003, p. 206, No. 5c.

Exhibitions: 1972 Leningrad, No. 519; 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 7; 2000 Paris, No. 184/91; 2001 St Petersburg, No. 415/233; 2003-4 Moscow, No. 129.

In this cameo Simon repeated an image he placed on half-crown coins for 1656 and crowns for 1658, neither of which entered circulation (Nathanson 1975, p. 28, fig. 28). Long before Rawlins, therefore, he moved beyond the imposing formality of the Baroque portrait (a manner he had until recently upheld as Cromwell's personal engraver, in medals commemorating Cromwell's various achievements) to depict his hero using the format of the Roman portrait. After Cromwell's death such coins and medals were set into rings and medallions and circulated amongst his close followers and today there are analogous cameos in the collection of the Dukes of Devonshire, Chatsworth (Scarisbrick 1986, No. 36), the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Babelon 1897, Nos. 970, 971) and the Staatliche Münzsammlung, (Gebhart 1925, p. 174, Abb. 238; Weber 1992, Nos. 244-45).

Although Simon certainly had opportunities to take the Lord Protector's likeness from the life, here his basis was well-known miniatures by Samuel Cooper. Simon's sketchbook includes a sketch from this and drawings tracing the further development from Cooper's work to the Roman profile portrait of the cameo (Allen 1939, pp. 26-27).

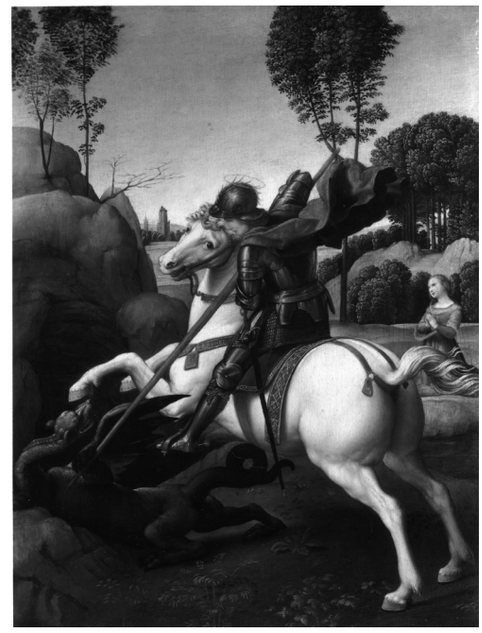
Attributed to Francis Walwyn (fl. First half of the 17th century)

11. Seal of Charles I. 1628/29

Monogram: C R beneath a crown

Intaglio. Diamond (220 carat; rectangular with faceting), gold, silver (mounted in a seal with a

13. Raphael
St George and the Dragon. 1505
Louvre, Paris



13. Raphael
St George and the Dragon. 1505-6
National Gallery of Art, Washington

carved handle; the silver nest decorated with chased ornament). 11 x 10. Inv. No. I - 10399

Provenance: first third of the 19th century.

Michel Duchamp suggested to this author during to a visit to the Hermitage in the late 1980s that the seal belonged to Charles I. Such a hypothesis makes it possible to tentatively attribute the gem to the court engraver of seals Francis Walwyn, who gained fame for his diamond seals of Charles I and Henrietta Maria (Fortnum 1877, p. 26).

Anonymous Gem Engravers

12. Portrait of a Bearded Man. High Latimer? Mid-16th century

Intaglio. Dark almandine, gold. 19 x 16. Inv. No. I - 5308

Provenance: before 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Pâte. Buste de cardinal Galles, du temps de Henry VIII' (Hermitage Inventory MS 1, C-29, No. 22).

It is not possible to confirm the identification of both sitter and material as given in the first inventory of Hermitage gems. There is, however, a resemblance with known images of Bishop Hugh Latimer (1485?-1555). Moreover, if we compare the gem with a print by Willem and Magdalene van de Passe included in the *Herwologia* (1620) and taken from a painted portrait of the bishop in the deanery at Canterbury (Strong 1969a, p. 189, pls. 371, 373), similarities in costume can be added to physiognomical likeness, with notable differences only in the form of the hat.

13. St George and the Dragon. Late 14th century

Intaglio. Pale sapphire. 16 x 13. Inv. No. I - 12513

Provenance: collection of the Princes Yusupov, St Petersburg; 1919-24 Yusupov Palace Museum, Petrograd; 1925 transferred to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Yusupov MS 1925-28, f. 8, No. 4793

Unlike the group of cameos showing St George and the Dragon doing battle with the dragon (cats. 14-26), each of them in some way connected with the Order of the Garter, this intaglio was used as a personal seal. The engraving of seals on sapphire was a practice that arrived in Britain from France, where it was used for portrait and other genres

between the 12th and early 15th centuries, and then died out.

There is documentary evidence that in 1351 payment was made to master Richard of Grimsby for the making of a sapphire seal showing a rider (Kingsford 1940, p. 169), allowing us to place the Hermitage engraved sapphire in the circle of such monuments for the first time. Since St George wears the costume of an ordinary citizen rather than the more customary armour, it has long been thought possible that the image doubled as a portrait of the owner.

14. St George and the Dragon. Late 16th – 17th century

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with brown against a grey ground with a whitish sheen), gold. 30 x 24. Inv. No. K - 671

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Kagan 1981, pp. 190, 196, pl. II, 2.

Exhibitions: 2003-4 Moscow, No. 125.

Like several other cameos (cats. 15-23) in the Hermitage's large group with the same subject, this piece was almost certainly used as the insignia of the Order of the Garter, the 'Lesser George'. Unlike the 'Great George' – a large jewellery pendant attached to the chain of the Order and worn only during official ceremonies – the 'Lesser George' might be worn by Knights of the Order every day. The Order's device (Honi soit qui mal y pense) was sometimes engraved directly on the stone but was more usually incised in the cameo's precious mount. None of the 'Lesser Georges' in the Hermitage retain their original mounts.

Cameos with St George employed both compositional schemes which had developed in Byzantine art and were thereafter repeated in the most varied art forms, finding most perfect expression in Raphael's paintings showing the Cappadocian saint (National Gallery of Art, Washington; Louvre, Paris). Although gem engravers did not move far beyond the established schemes they felt some freedom in conveying the rider's pose, attire and attributes as well as the complex foreshortening of both horse and dragon.

Amongst all cameos of this type, this is the closest to Raphael's *St George* in Washington, showing the hero doing battle with the dragon and as patron of the Order of the Garter. His weapon is the spear in his hands, thrust – unlike in the painting – directly into the dragon's open jaw (his sword, which takes the place of a broken spear in the Louvre version, here hangs untouched by his side). Reproducing almost without alteration the main group in the Washington painting, the engraver was forced by the specific nature of the art form, to omit the surrounding landscape, but he also introduced something of his own into the small space of the cameo: as he resists the hero's efforts the dragon pushes his paws hard against the white edging of the image that encloses it within an oval, thus giving the composition a sense of movement and energy.

Together with the 'Lesser Georges' in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (Tonnochy 1935, No. 15) and the collection of the Dukes of Beaufort (Christie's, London, 21 November 1989, No. 125), both of which have mounts in the form of a medallion with a miniature version of Raphael's painting in Washington on the reverse, this cameo and cats. 15-17 provide eloquent evidence of the strong link in England between Raphael's painting and cameo insignia.

15. St George and the Dragon. Second half of the 16th century

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with various shades of brown against a dark brown ground), gold. 41 x 31. Inv. No. K - 652

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 7, fig. 8; Kagan 1981, p. 190, pl. II, 3.

Exhibitions: 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 128; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 128.

Earliest of the Hermitage's 'Lesser Georges', this cameo is the most outstanding in terms of artistic quality. It sets the dynamic scene harmoniously within the oval, offering an extremely skilled depiction of detail and making striking use of the stone's natural polychrome qualities through the very finest gradations of relief. The plumes on George's helmet, the fluttering cloak and the rhythmic pattern created by the horse's front hooves and the tails of both horse and dragon create a certain dynamism and yet a decorative quality. This gem is a reverse repetition of Raphael's iconographic scheme as used in the Washington painting and the composition faces right.

The cameo is very close to a cast in Tassie's cabinet (Raspe 1791, No. 13912).

16. St George and the Dragon. 17th century

Greek inscription scratched into the reverse: AMΘYΘ

Cameo. Two-layer sardonyx (white relief against a dark brown ground). 35 x 30. Inv. No. K - 692

Provenance: early 19th century.

Literature: Kagan 1981, p. 196, note 86.

Like cat. 15, this gem is a reverse repetition of Raphael's iconographic scheme as used in the Washington painting and the composition faces right. Here the engraver slightly altered the angle from which the group is shown, removing the plumes from the warrior's tall helmet and leaving no room for any compositional flourishes. Of particular note in this cameo are the convex edge to the stone, forming a broad border, and the fact that the white border, which is usually left unbroken, is disturbed to the right by the dragon's twisting neck and the horse's hooves.

17. St George and the Dragon. 17th century

Cameo. Two-layer sardonyx (white relief against a dark brown ground). 23 x 20. Inv. No. K - 716

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Kagan 1981, p. 196, note 85.

Like cats. 15 and 16, this gem is a reverse repetition of Raphael's iconographic scheme as used in the Washington painting and the composition faces right. The cameo is engraved in very low, flat relief. Moreover, part of the border has been lost to the right and the ground has been polished in the area of loss, suggesting that it is possible that the cameo was reworked on some occasion.

18. St George and the Dragon. 17th century

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with brown against a dark brown ground). 25 x 19. Inv. No. K - 1141

Provenance: early 19th century.

St George faces left once more and is of traditional appearance, but the dragon is shown as a large snake with a twisted tail, the end of which has probably been lost. Engraved in the upper and lower parts of the cameo are two deep vertical grooves which seem at first glance to pierce through all the thickness. We cannot exclude the possibility that they were used to attach the ends of a gold spear (now lost) thrust into the dragon's tail.

The image of St George doing battle with the dragon as a snake derives from the very earliest depictions of the subject.

19. St George and the Dragon. 17th century

On the reverse a heart engraved in relief, with an incised inscription: MVTVO SACRIFICIO

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with brown against a brown ground). 33 x 23. Inv. No. K - 668

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Kagan 1981, p. 196, note 96.

The composition is turned to the right and combines features of the compositional schemes of the two versions of Raphael's composition in Washington and Paris. It is notable in that a fragment of broken spear driven right through the dragon's head projects from his jaw, while St George has exchanged his broken spear for a sword, which he holds in his lowered arm, thrust backwards. Another new motif is the cloak fluttering out behind the rider in a large loop.

The cameo is similar to a cast in the Tassie Cabinet (Raspe 1791, No. 13913).

20. St George and the Dragon. 17th century

Inscription running around the chamfered and slightly concave edge: HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with pale brown against a dark brown ground). 26 x 23. Inv. No. K - 6348

Provenance: collection of the Princes Yusupov, St Petersburg; 1919-24 Yusupov Palace Museum, Petrograd; 1925 transferred to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Yusupov MS 1925-28, f. 10, No. 4705.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 8, fig. 7; Kagan 1981, p. 188, pl. II, 1.

Exhibitions: 1996-97 New Haven-Toledo-St Louis, No. 129; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 129; 2001-2 Moscow–St Petersburg, No. 216.

The composition of this cameo is closer to the Louvre version of Raphael's St George, which is also thought to have historic links with England (Lynch 1962, pp. 201-2). The dragon, above which the saint has raised his sword, occupies all the space between the horse's legs. The cloak motif, forming a loop behind the warrior's back, is even more developed. But of particular importance is the fact that the cameo represents a rare example of the Order's device being engraved directly into the stone, the chamfered edge of which, outlined with a white border, is made to look like a garter with a clasp. A similar cameo was in the collection of the 2nd Duke of Wellington before it was broken up (Wellington 1953, pl. XIX a; another precedent is found in Tonnochy 1935, No. 13).

21. St George and the Dragon. 17th century

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with brown against a brown ground). 30 x 25. Inv. No. K - 767

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Kagan 1981, p. 196, note 85.

Exhibitions: 2003-4 Moscow, No. 126.

This cameo preserves the overall outline and attributes of cat. 20, even repeating the form of the cloak and the saint protecting himself with his shield, but there is a small difference in the line of the ground, which is markedly more noticeable, blending into the border. It seems likely that both cameos were engraved in the same workshop from the same model.

22. St George and the Dragon. 17th century

Cameo. Two-layer sardonyx (white relief against a dark brown, almost black, ground). 24 x 21. Inv. No. K - 717

Provenance: 19th century.

Such cameos of average quality and relatively small size, without the white border which was typical of the *intaglio rilevato* scheme that was more or less standard in the 16th and 17th centuries, were probably produced during the Civil War and served rather as signs of loyalty to the monarchy than membership of the Order. This particularly example is notable in that St George strikes at the dragon with his sword held in both hands, while his cloak flutters boldly behind him like a banner.

23. St George and the Dragon. 17th century

Cameo. Three-layer onyx (relief in white with brown against a dark green, almost black, ground). 31 x 25. Inv. No. K - 670

Provenance: 19th century.

It is noteworthy that the holy warrior has raised his sword against the dragon with the horse turned left and the body of the dragon turned to right. The rider protects himself with his shield which bears a cross.

24. a St George and the Dragon
24. b Princess and a Ewe Before the Dragon's Cave (Allegory of Humility)
Late 16th century

Two-sided cameo. Four-layer sardonyx (upper layer of various shades of brown, middle layer pale brown, lower layers white opaque and greyish semi-transparent), gold (mount on revolving bearings). 64 x 57. Inv. No. K - 682

Provenance: gem collection of the Ducs d'Orléans, Paris; 1787 purchased by Catherine II with the d'Orléans collection.

Literature: Orléans Catalogue 1786, p. 168, No. 1459 ('Au reverse le type de Sainte Marguerite); Kagan 1981, p. 188, pl. II, 4; Scarisbrick 1994, p. 186; Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, No. 207.

Exhibitions: 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 7; 2000 Paris, No. 215/31; 2001 St Petersburg, No. 488/73.

Horse, rider and part of the framing oval border are engraved from the dark brown layer, the dragon and the rest of the image from the middle pale brown layers. The white layer forms the background to the composition on the front, which repeats the main features of cat. 23 except that the cross on the shield is replaced with a mascaron. Engraved into the semi-transparent lower layer on the reverse is a scene with

FIGURE XXI. Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, *William of Orange as St George*, 1576.

25a. Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder
St George and the Dragon. 1620
Print

25b. Luna Cameo. 3rd century
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

the legendary princess who tamed a dragon and turned it into a peaceful sheep, thus embodying the victory of Christianity over paganism but here probably intended to symbolise the dominance of the Church of England.

25. a St George and the Dragon
Around the edge in the border (taking the form of a garter with a clasp) the motto of the Order of the Garter: HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
25. b Diana Lucifera in a Chariot Drawn by Bulls
Device inscribed on the ribbon: VIS. CEDIT. AMORE
England or Holland. 17th century

Two-sided cameo. Five-layer sardonyx (upper, middle and lower layers in brown, the middle layer dark brown), gold (mount with revolving bearings). 50 x 62. Inv. No. K - 88

Provenance: collection of the Electors Palatine, Heidelberg (?); from 1685 collection of Princess Palatine Elizabeth-Charlotte (Madame), Châteaux de Saint-Cloud and Marly, near Paris; from 1722 gem collection of the Ducs d'Orléans, Paris; 1787 purchased by Catherine II with the d'Orléans collection.

Literature: Description 1727, No. 7, p. 13 ('Cérès cherchant la torche à la main sa fille Proserpine. Le revers est beaucoup plus moderne'); Orléans Catalogue 1786, pp. 162-63, No. 1413 (also as Ceres); Kagan 1973a, Nos. 69 a, b; Kagan 1981, p. 188, pl. II, 5; Seidmann 1991a, p. 27; Scarisbrick 1999, p. 186.

Exhibitions: 1996-97 Heidelberg, No. 395; 2000 Paris, No. 91/41; 2001 St Petersburg, No. 180/83; 2003-4 Moscow, No. 127.

Combining religious and mythological subjects, this cameo obviously has some deep, if not fully clear, significance, reinforced by the inscriptions it bears. St George and the device around the edge clearly link it with the Order of the Garter. A distant compositional prototype for such a scene is found in a print produced in 1576, some hundred years before the cameo, by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder. This print shows William of Orange I in the role of the Cappadocian saint defeating the 'Spanish dragon' (i.e. the Spanish occupiers of the Netherlands).

The chivalrous ideals embodied in the hero of that print – created under the stylistic influence of Burgundian 'pageantry' and 'romance' – like those of innocence and patience personified by the princess, retained significant throughout later developments of the subject in English art and literature, from Edmund Spenser's allegorical poem *The Faerie Queene* of

1590 to the numerous reminiscences of the Baroque age (Kipling 1977, pp. 160-62).

The prototype for Diana (or Hecuba) speeding along in her chariot pulled by two bulls should be sought in Classical glyptics (there is a particular type of cameo most strikingly represented by the Luna Cameo which belonged to Rubens in the 17th century and is now in the British Museum) and on ancient coins (such as sesterces from the time of Caracalla).

Early authors thought that the front and back of this cameo were engraved at different times and that the inscriptions were the work of a 'new hand' but such a view cannot be supported. Both sides are of equal artistic quality and are undoubtedly united by a common concept. Its Baroque manner of execution relates the Hermitage cameo to another two-sided cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, although there the images are arranged vertically in contrast to the horizontal arrangement of our gem. A. L. Millin asserted that the Paris cameo was produced in England (Millin 1808, p. 350), but E. Babelon inclined towards the Netherlands as the place of production, linking the allegorical subject with the deposing of James II by William of Orange (later William III of England; Babelon 1897, No. 622). Even if we extend the latter interpretation to the Hermitage cameo, it seems to us that the correct origin for both gems is England, as there are no known Dutch glyptics from this time with which it could be fruitfully compared.

Gertrud Seidmann (1991a) suggested that the Hermitage cameo may have served as the insignia of the Order of the Garter for Karl Ludwig, Elector Palatine. It may be because it was not seen as a work of art that it was not listed amongst the engraved gems in the *Thesaurus ex thesauro Palatino selectus* compiled by Lorenz Beger, keeper of the Palatine treasures, in 1685, a year after the death of Karl II, Elector of the Pfalz, last owner of the Castle of Heidelberg before it was destroyed by the French.

Anonymous Craftsmen (cameo imitations)

26. St George and the Dragon. 17th century

Cameo. Multi-layer glass paste (white relief against a brown ground beneath which are visible several fine white and brown layers). 29 x 25. Inv. No. K - 672

Provenance: late 18th century.

St George holds a sword in his lowered hand. The decorative scheme formed by the tails and legs of both horse and dragon give the composition something of a heraldic appearance, particularly in the lower part.

27. Peter the Great. 1698

Plaster, gold, tortoiseshell (?), rock crystal; portrait set in a gold ring; reverse of bezel covered with painted white and blue enamel with a rosette in the middle; along the edges of the hoop an ornamental pattern in black enamel. 13 x 12. Inv. No. K - 1177

Provenance: from 1806 in the collection of Jean-Baptiste Mallia, Vienna; 1813 bequeathed to Tsar Alexander I with the Mallia collection.

Manuscript Sources: Mallia MS 1813, f. 10v, '352. Pierre le Grand portrait en écaille, c'est un Pesitot, le seule peut-être qui existe. Il a été fait, lorsque ce Souveroin etoit en Hollande. Le portrait me coûte 200 fl. et la Boete 300, en sont 500 fl. ou prix de 8 fl. le Ducat. Je ne peux m'en défaire au prix au moint de 100 à 150 Ducats.'

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 19.

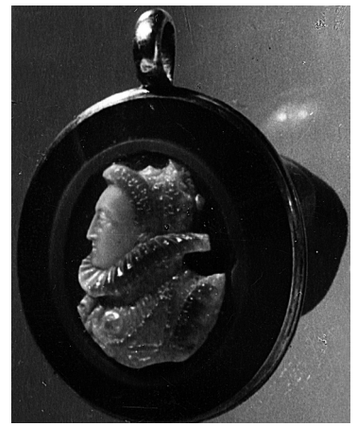
This cameo-like portrait of Peter I was undoubtedly produced during his lifetime. Close study revealed that the miniature relief on a tortoiseshell (?) plaque is not of solid gold as was previously thought but made of plaster and covered with a gold amalgam or gold leaf. The portrait is covered with a plaque of rock crystal faceted along the edges, inside which are numerous salty excretions from the plaster. Mallia, former owner of this ring, thought it had been produced during Peter's visit to Holland in the course of his first foreign trip, undertaken 1697-98 and known as The Great Embassy. Maria Maximova, however, saw it as the work of an English jeweller and linked it with his visit – as part of that same Embassy – to Britain. In iconographical terms the image of the young Peter certainly derives from his appearance in painted portraits by Godfrey Kneller. Moreover, a similar rosette appears on an English-made signet ring with enamelling belonging to the Duke of St Albans published by Diana Scarisbrick (1994b, pl. XVII), providing additional support for such an attribution.

This little-known commemorative piece has never previously been published.

Catalogue
Part I. 14th to 17th centuries

Cat. 1. K-1020

Cat. 2. K-827



Cat. 3. K-1148

Cat. 4. K-6395

Cat. 5. K-1018

Cat. 6. K-974

Cat. 7. K-986

Cat. 8. K-808

Cat. 9a. K-1019

Cat. 9b. K1019

Cat. 10. K-1013

Cat. 11. I-10399

Cat. 12. I-5308

Cat. 13. I-12513

Cat. 14. K-671

Cat. 15. K-652

Cat. 16. K-692

Cat. 17. K-716

Cat. 18. K-1141

Cat. 19. K-688

Cat. 20. K-6348

Cat. 21. K-767

Cat. 22. K-717

Cat. 23. K-670

Cat. 24a. K-628

Cat. 24b. K-628

Cat. 25a. K-88

Cat. 25b. K-88

Cat. 26. K-672

Cat. 27. K-1177

Cat. 27. K-1177

1. Richard Atsill or Julien de Fontenay
Portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1575/90
Sardonyx Cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 1)

2. In the style of Nicholas Hillard
Portrait of Elizabeth I. c. 1565
Sardonyx cameo
Hermitage, St. Petersburg (cat. 6)

3. Portrait of a bearded man (Hugh Latimer?)
Almandine intaglio
Hermitage, St. Petersburg (cat. 12)

4. Portrait of young Peter the Great. c. 1698
Gold enamel ring with cameo plaster imitation
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 27)

Part II. 18th to 20th centuries

Thomas Bragg (fl. late 18th – early 19th century)

28. Diana with a dog. Last quarter of the 18th century

Signed to left: BRAGG INV^{t}

Intaglio. Sard, gold. 24 x 19. Inv. No. I - 3695

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 23; Kagan 1996c, p. 235, pl. 3e; Kagan 2000a, p. 186, pl. XI, d.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29; 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 7.

Superb Neo-Classical gem in which Diana's deliberately elongated figure and the soft movements and gestures allow us to suggest that the little known engraver Thomas Bragg was a follower of Nathaniel Marchant. From this gem, it would seem that Bragg's work was more 'English' than that of Marchant: the latter's manner tends to be somewhat cold and frequently lacking in any sense of national expression.

Edward Burch (1730-1814)

29. Sacrifice to Minerva. c. 1769

Signed below on the pedestal: BURCH F.

Intaglio. Chalcedony, gold. 25 x 22. Inv. No. I - 3956

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 233; Seidmann 1999-2000, p. 2; Clifford 2000-1, p. 119.

Exhibitions: 1769 London (Graves 1907, p. 43); 1926 Leningrad, p. 29; 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 7; 2000-1 London, No. 174.

Casts and Pastes: Burch (1795, No. 63); Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 66/336).

In the catalogue of casts from his gems (Burch 1795), Burch indicated that this intaglio, after a drawing by Angelica Kauffmann, was already in the possession of the Russian Empress. Identified it herself with goddess of wisdom. In a private collection in Britain is a two-layer glass paste cameo set into a brooch, made from this intaglio or from some lost replica, in form more like a rectangle with rounded corners (Seidmann 1984-85, part III, p. 150).

30. Head of Sappho. c. 1786

Signed below: BURCH

Intaglio. Sard with a grey sheen, gold. 23 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3958

Provenance: collection of Stanislaw August, King of Poland; 1798 acquired at auction of his property.

Literature: Batoski 1902, No. 121; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 232; Neverov 1981b, pp. 171, 182, No. 30.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 7.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 10211).

Repeats a gem by Giovanni Pichler (Rollett 1874, p. 37, No. 208), which in turn derives from an ancient bust in the Vatican. After Burch, Pichler's intaglio was copied in Britain by William and Charles Brown (cat. 190; Raspe 1791, Nos. 10209, 10210, 10212, 10215), William Barnett (Raspe 1791, Nos. 10217, 10218), twice by William Lain (Raspe 1791, Nos. 10208, 10214), by Edward Burch Junior (Raspe 1791, No. 10207). The elder Burch turned to the subject twice more: an author's repetition of the intaglio on cornelian in the Hermitage (cat. 31) and Burch 1795, No. 9. Closest to Burch's images of Sappho is an intaglio on the subject by Nathaniel Marchant (Lippold 1922, pl. CLV.85).

31. Head of Sappho. c. 1786

Signed below: BURCH

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 21 x 18. Inv. No. I - 12465

Provenance: collection of Stanislaw August, King of Poland; 1798 acquired at the auction of his property by Prince Nikolay Yusupov, St Petersburg; collection of the Princes Yusupov, St Petersburg; 1919-24 Yusupov Palace Museum, Petrograd; 1925 transferred to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Yusupov MS 1925-28, f. 6, No. 4584.

Literature: Batoski 1902, No. 122; Neverov 1981 b, pp. 171, 182, No. 31.

An almost identical author's repetition of cat. 30, the only small difference being in the location of the inscription.

32. Dionysian Bull. c. 1782

Signed below: BURCH

Intaglio. Dark red cornelian, gold. 19 x 23. Inv. No. I - 3957

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 234; Kagan 1996c, p. 235, pl. 3k; Kagan 2000a, pp. 186, 189, ill. XI, l.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29; 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 7; 2000-1 London, No. 175.

Copy of an ancient chalcedony gem by Hyllos (Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), popular in the 18th century thanks to numerous casts and engravings (Mariette 1750, II, tab. 42; Stosch 1760, pl. 40; Bracci 1784-86, II, tab. 80; Raspe 1791, No. 13078). Burch returned to the motif on several occasions, being author of at least two similar gems (Burch 1795, Nos. 92, 96), one of which would seem to have been reproduced in a Tassie cast (Raspe 1791, No. 13106).

Edward Burch (imitations)

33. Head of Demosthenes. Early 1780s
Pair to cat. 34

Signed to right: BURCH F.

Cameo. White enamel-like paste with a greyish tinge, brass (mount with ornamental frame and two brackets each with seven small openings, the upper bracket soldered, the lower on a catch, suggesting that this may have been the centrepiece and fastening for a bracelet). 26 x 20. Inv. No. K - 6617

Provenance: 1932 transferred from Pavlovsk Palace Museum, near St Petersburg, described as a cameo on white agate with a bust of Cicero.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 9988/3785); Burch (1795, No. 42).

Like its pair, this paste was probably created in the workshop of James Tassie. The location of the original, engraved in topaz for one 'Mr. Sargent' (Raspe 1791, No. 9988), is unknown. The portrait derives from an ancient bust in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, and was known to Burch from a plaster cast, as he himself wrote in his description of selected casts of his own gems. We know of similar gems by Charles and William Brown (cat. 188, Raspe 1791, Nos. 9991, 9993, 9995), Nathaniel Marchant (Raspe 1791, No. 9999) and Robert Benjamin Wray (Raspe 1791, No. 9997). An analogous gem with the signature 'J. Wicksteed' and dated 1819 is in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Scarisbrick explains the interest in Demosthenes at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries in terms of the oratory skills

of Charles James Fox and William Pitt; a medallion portrait of Demosthenes by James Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 9996) formed the annual prize at the University of Glasgow for those who came 'nearest to perfection in this art' (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, No. 629).

See also cat. 37.

34. Portrait of Isaac Newton. Early 1780s
Pair to cat. 33

Signed below: B.F.

Cameo. White enamel-like paste with greyish tinge, brass (same mount as for cat. 33). 26 x 20. Inv. No. K - 6616

Provenance: 1932 transferred from Pavlovsk Palace Museum as a cameo on agate with a bust of Augustus.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 14325/5767).

Reproduces a cornelian intaglio by Burch which belonged in the 18th century to Stanislaw August, King of Poland. A form taken from the original intaglio served for making not only such enamel imitations but also lead plaques. One of these, then belonging to Dr Stanley Bousfield, is reproduced in Forrer's dictionary, where it is mistakenly attributed to Marchant (Forrer 1904-30, VIII, p. 25). Marchant did indeed produce a portrait of the celebrated scholar but it was in a totally different spirit (see Seidmann 1987, No. 122). Thanks to Tassie's casts we know of another intaglio portrait of Newton by Burch similar to that in the Hermitage (Raspe 1791, No. 14328). See also cats. 82, 102.

Edward Burch (copies)

35. Bust of Antinous with a spear. Last quarter of the 18th century

Intaglio. Dark-green (almost black) stone, gold. 37 x 34. Inv. No. I - 9666

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Kagan 2002, p. 142, fig. 5 c.

Exhibitions: 1999 Paris, No. 192; 2000-1 Tivoli, No. 126.

35. Antonio Franchesco Gori
'Dactyliatheca Smithiana' Venetiis, 1767
Plate LXXXII

Repeats a posthumous portrait of Hadrian's favourite engraved on black sard (Story-Maskelyne 1870, No. 500; Boardman et al. 2009, No. 753). The fragmentary original (which has serious losses in the lower part) is now in private hands. It was already damaged when it was acquired with three more engraved gems c. 1761 by the Duke of Marlborough from the Venetian antiquarian and engraver Antonio Maria Zanetti for £600. The Ancient master probably deliberately selected a black stone as a symbol of death (Furtwängler 1900, pl. LXV, 50).

Edward Burch, engraver to the Duke of Marlborough, reproduced the original in two intaglios, on both occasions filling in the missing lower part (Seidmann 1994b, pp. 175-78). One of these was copied by the engraver of this gem, probably that reproduced by Burch in his casts of selected gems, which would explain how it became so well known (Burch 1795, No. 32; Boardman et al. 2009, No. 754). By using a dark stone the engraver reinforced the similarity to the Classical gem.

36. Bust of Antinous with a spear. Last quarter of the 18th century

Cameo. Agatonyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 40 x 36. Inv. No. K - 5093

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Kagan 2002, p. 146, fig. 5 d.

Exhibitions: 1999 Paris, No. 193; 2000-1 Tivoli, No. 123.

A mirror image of cat. 35, although Antinous' head is dropped slightly lower and the spear is shorter. The engraver probably used a cast of Burch's intaglio as his model.

37. Head of Demosthenes. Early 19th century

Cameo. Two-layer agate (white relief against a grey ground). 27 x 21. Inv. No. K - 6603

Provenance: 1919 from the collection of Agathon Fabergé.

Burch's original chalcedony intaglio, engraved for the Duke of Buccleugh, is today known only from a Tassie cast (Raspe 1791, No. 9990). Tassie's Cabinet lists two more intaglio portraits of Demosthenes by Burch (Raspe 1791, No. 9988, 9989). See also cat. 33.

William Harris (fl. last quarter of the 18th and early 19th century)

38. Bust of a young woman in a shawl. 1780s – 1790s

Signed below: HARRIS

Intaglio. Dark red cornelian, gold. 26 x 21. Inv. No. I - 3964

Provenance: 1873 from the collection of L. A. Perovsky, St Petersburg.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 229.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29; 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 7.

In its depiction of a fine veil covering the head and falling over the neck and shoulders, with locks of hair visible beneath, this intaglio reveals the hand of a skilled master. So poetic an image of a young woman may have been intended as a portrait.

Attributed to William Harris

39. Head of Hercules. Late 18th – early 19th century

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gilt (mounted as a seal with carved handle, possibly of English work). 24 x 22. Inv. No. I - 9990

Provenance: before 1830.

Attributed to Harris on the basis of similarities to a signed intaglio known from a cast by Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/446), the intaglio derives from one side of a two-sided Renaissance cameo presented by Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to Pope Clement VII, who then presented it to the Piccolomini family, after which it found its way to the collection of the Duke of Marlborough and then the British Museum (Dalton 1915, No. 110; Boardman 2009, No. 324). Whilst Dalton describes the subject as 'Head of Omphale' and Cades as a 'Head of Iola', it seems to this author that both the intaglio and its cast should be identified as a head of Hercules.

Similar seal mounts by Jacob Petit can be seen on a sheet of designs in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Scarisbrick 1993, p. 334, fig. 37).

William Harris (imitation)

40. Head of a woman. Last quarter of the 18th – early 19th century

Signed below beneath the truncation of the bust: HARRIS; scratched into the back: IBI

Intaglio. Violet glass paste. 24 x 19. Inv. No. I - 9952

Provenance: 19th century.

It has not been possible to find record of such a glass paste in any of the known series of casts and pastes, nor indeed of the unknown original.

Attributed to Luigi Isler (fl. Britain late 18th – early 19th century)

41. Bust of a bacchante. Early 19th century

Scratched into the back: IS; also: 162

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a dark grey ground), gold (mounted in a brooch chased with vegetable ornament). 49 x 39. Inv. No. K - 6716

Provenance: 1982 acquired through the Hermitage Purchasing Commission.

Literature: Kagan 1999b, p. 267, ill. I, 4.

Exhibitions: 1983 Leningrad, No. 72.

Attributed to Luigi Isler, an Italian engraver working in Britain (at 5 Oval Road, see Billing 1867, p. 222), not only because of the initials on the reverse but also on the basis of stylistic parallels with known signed works that he created there (Billing 1867, No. 170; Christie's, London, 14 February 1961, lots 118-25).

I. Lambert (fl. second half of the 18th century)

42. Bust of the Pseudo-Seneca. 2nd half of the 18th century

Signed on the truncation of the bust: I. LAMBERT

Intaglio. Amethyst of varying intensity of colour, gold. 47 x 41. Inv. No. I - 3970

Provenance: late 18th century.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 33.

Attributed to I. Lambert

43. Bust of Socrates. 2nd half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Chalcedony, gold (mount with movable shank). 51 x 45. Inv. No. I - 4066

Provenance: late 18th century.

Reveals clear stylistic affinities with the Hermitage's signed intaglio (cat. 42).

44. Bust of Democritus. 2nd half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Pale grey chalcedony, gold. 37 x 30. Inv. No. I - 4262

Provenance: late 18th century.

Reveals clear stylistic affinities with the Hermitage's signed intaglio (cat. 42).

45. Bust of Epicurus. 2nd half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Milky opaque chalcedony, gold (mount with movable shank). 38 x 32. Inv. No. I - 4261

Provenance: late 18th century.

Reveals clear stylistic affinities with the Hermitage's signed intaglio (cat. 42). In the Hermitage inventory of engraved gems the bust was thought to possibly show St Paul and was considered to be a pair with cat. 46.

46. Bust of a Philosopher. 2nd half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Four-sided amethyst with rounded corners, faceted on the reverse, gold (mount with movable shank). 38 x 32. Inv. No. I - 4265

Provenance: late 18th century.

Reveals clear stylistic affinities with the Hermitage's signed intaglio (cat. 42). In the Hermitage inventory of engraved gems the bust was thought to possibly show St Peter and was considered to be a pair with cat. 45.

Nathaniel Marchant (1739-1816)

47. Head of Isis. 1775-86

Signed to right along the edge: MARCHANT

Intaglio. Chalcedony, gold (mounted in a gold medallion decorated with black enamel geometrical ornament). 32 x 24. Inv. No. I - 4126/22

Provenance: late 18th century collection of Stanislaw August, King of Poland; 19th century private collection of Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna, forming a link in a necklace of engraved gems; 1861 transferred to the Hermitage.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 238 ('from a caryatid from the Villa Albani'); Seidmann 1987, No. 68, fig. 75 ('Isis, c. 1775-1786').

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29 ('Albani Caryatid'); 1996 London, No. 178; 1997 Rome, No. 178.

Casts and Pastes: Marchant 1792, No. III ('From the head of statue in the collection of Charles Townley, Esq. The Modius and the earrings, in the original, are not copied in the intaglios'); Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 66/590; 'Cariatide, testa della statua di Villa Albani').

Commissioned by Stanislaw Poniatowski, the

47. Townley Caryatid. c. 161-71 AD
Drawing. Attributed to V. Dolcibene.
c. 1785
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

intaglio was produced by Marchant in Rome. The dating suggested by Seidmann (1987) accords with the Prince's first visit to Rome, which coincided with the eleven years Marchant spent there, 1775-86. Marchant's source was the head of a statue of Isis found during excavations in 1585-90 and kept at the Villa Peretti Montalto-Negroni until 1784, when it was amongst works acquired by Thomas Jenkins. In the summer of 1786, by which time the sculpture had been in 'restoration' for six months, it was acquired by Charles Townley and is now in the British Museum. No other work so clearly reveals the engraver's graphic manner: the working up of the hair arranged in so complex a style upon the head and bound with a ribbon at the neck, like the purity of the contour, reach a perfection unmatched elsewhere.

48. The Farnese Hercules. First half of the 1780s

Signed below: MARCHANT

Intaglio. Dark brown sard (cabochon), gold. 27 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3982

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Seidmann 1987, p. 53; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1995a, p. 491.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 5875/7069).

Like its replica on flat sard in a private collection in the USA (Marchant 1792, No. XXXV; Seidmann 1987, No. 56, fig. 64), the intaglio reproduces the celebrated Farnese Hercules (Museo Nazionale, Naples). In both gems the engraver omitted the club on which the hero famously leans and which was included in most of the numerous versions by other engravers. This is not one of the master's best works: the cabochon form makes the figure of Hercules too squat, while the head is pushed up very close to the upper edge.

49. Head of Alexander the Great. Early 1780s

Signed to right: MARCHANT

Intaglio. Sard. 31 x 25. Inv. No. I - 3981

Provenance: collection of Algernon Percy (from 1790 1st Earl Beverly), Alnwick Castle; 1786 acquired by Catherine II with part of Percy's collection.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 235 ('Head of Antinous ?'); Seidmann 1987, p. 41, No. 7 ('Alexander'), fig. 16.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29 ('Head of Antinous'); 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 137; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 137; 2000-1 London, No. 177.

Casts and Pastes: Marchant 1792, No. LXII ('Alexander. From a fragment in Intaglio, on a Cornelian, in the cabinet of the Earl of Beverley. The copy has supplied the deficiency which is in the original'); Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 66/370; 'Alessandro Magno. Copia de medaglia Greca').

From the very first inventory of engraved gems in the Hermitage the intaglio was thought to be a portrait of Antinous, as which it was published by Maria Maximova (1926 Leningrad). In Dukelskaya et al

49. Profile of a Greek Youth or a Goddess
Fragment of cornelian intaglio (from a cast)
Alnwick Castle, UK

1979 the identification was thrown into doubt since it reveals no similarities with two versions of portraits of Antinous by Marchant known from casts (Marchant 1792, Nos. LXXX, LXXXI), the first inspired by a bust at the Villa Mondragone near Frascati (now Louvre, Paris) and the second by a bas-relief at the Villa Albani (now Villa Torlonia) in Rome. In fact, Marchant included the intaglio in the catalogue of casts of his selected gems as a 'Head of Alexander', indicating that he engraved it for Algernon Percy from a cornelian Greek fragment in Percy's own collection. The catalogue of gems at Alnwick Castle compiled after they passed into the hands of the Duke of Northumberland lists the fragment as 'Profile of a Greek Youth or Goddess' (Knight 1921, No. 97). Since this original fragment contains nothing to indicate the name or even the sex of the subject, the engraver must have invented the missing parts, but we cannot say if it was Marchant or Percy who identified there Alexander's features. We can be sure, however, that the engraver had at his disposal an image of the great commander when making his reconstruction.

Gertrud Seidmann dates the Hermitage gem to 'before 1789', i.e. immediately after the engraver returned to London from Rome, where he had spent sixteen years, but we should bear in mind that the Hermitage's 'Head of Alexander the Great' formed part of the Percy collection which had already been acquired by Catherine II in 1786. Thus the date should be more correctly set at before 1786, or even the early 1780s, when, as Seidmann herself writes, the client himself was in Rome (Seidmann 1987, p. 51). It was possibly during that visit to Rome that Percy acquired the original fragment.

In Rome Marchant engraved two more heads of Alexander after sculptural originals (Marchant 1792, nos. LX, LXI). In its turn the Hermitage version was repeated by his contemporary, the English engraver William Harris, who placed his own name upon the diadem (Raspe 1791, No. 598).

Attributed to Nathaniel Marchant

50. Bacchus and Ariadne. c. 1783

Intaglio. Sardonyx with dark and pale spots, gold. Diameter 28. Inv. No. I - 9333

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Fersman 1961, p. 192, ill. I, 12; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 258; Seidmann 1987, p. 45; Kagan 1996c, p. 243, pl. 3d; Kagan 2000a, pp. 186, 189, pl. XI.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29, ill. II, 2; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 134; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 134; 2000-1 London, No. 178.

Despite the lack of a signature and the round format this is undoubtedly an author's replica of a signed oval sardonyx intaglio, a cast of which Marchant sent from Rome to London in 1783 to the exhibition at the Royal Academy (Graves 1905, V, p. 181). Raspe's description of the Tassie cast notes the intaglio's marvellous carving but reproaches the engraver for the extreme elongation of the figures (Raspe 1791, No. 4349). In 1792 the signed gem belonged to G. H. Foot (Marchant 1792, No. XXV) but its present location is unknown (Seidmann 1987, No. 26). Another signed replica, on sard, has been in the British Museum since 1799, having arrived as part of the Cracherode Bequest (Dalton 1915, No. 700, pl. XXV), before which it belonged to the celebrated collector Matthew Duane. As a member of the Polite Arts Committee of the Society of Arts, it was Duane who first noted the talented young engraver (Seidmann 1987, p. 45).

The figure of Bacchus derives from a much damaged marble bas-relief from Herculaneum which once

adorned the Palazzo Farnese (now Museo Nazionale, Naples; Reinach 1909-12, III, p. 70, 4). Marchant reconstructed the lost figure of a nymph or Ariadne from the surviving parts of the thyrsus and the hand holding a vessel, although it is now thought that the figures on the bas-relief looked somewhat different.

The Hermitage gem differs from the signed versions in format, in some details such as the placing of the thyrsus in the bacchante's hand or the different way that Bacchus' sandals are tied, and in the more graphic style.

51. Odysseus. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Brown sard, gold. 29 x 21. Inv. No. I - 3983

Provenance: collection of D. P. Tatishchev, Vienna; 1846 bequeathed to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Tatishchev MS 1846, f. 24, '29. Ulysses on sardonyx, work of Marchant'.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29.

Attributed to Marchant in the description of the Tatishchev collection, an attribution which is not contradicted by the style in which, as with the Farnese Hercules (cat. 48), the hero's elongated figure is slightly off the central axis and is balanced by the outstretched hand.

Nathaniel Marchant (imitations)

52. Antilochus telling Achilles of the death of Patroclus. Late 18th century

Signed on the pedestal: MARCHANT. F. ROME

Intaglio. Green paste, gold (mounted in a seal, probably of English work). 34 x 25. Inv. No. I - 11731

Provenance: to 1919 Arkady Rudanovsky collection, Petrograd; 1923 Rudanovsky emigrated to Paris, passing his collection to the Danish businessman, Erik Plum, resident in St Petersburg; his property nationalised, bringing the works to the Hermitage (originally in the Modern Applied Art Department before being transferred in 1928 to the Cabinet of Engraved Gems).

Reproduces a cornelian intaglio executed by Marchant in Rome between 1772 and 1781 (Marchant 1792, No.

50. Bacchus
Print after a marble bas-relief from Herculaneum
Now Museo Nationale, Naples

LIV; Seidmann 1987, No. 2 'The Grief of Achilles Upon the Death of Patroclus'). That intaglio derived from a fragmentary Renaissance cameo then thought to be ancient (Winckelmann 1767, II, No. 129) which was in the possession of Cardinal Albani. From Albani it passed to the Contessa Cheroffini and then to one Monsignor Ferretti from whom, we learn from E. Babelon (1902, pp. 156-57) Murat sought in vain to acquire it (after several further changes of owner the cameo found its way into the Boston Museum of Fine Arts). Marchant filled in the missing parts of the cameo on the basis of a sculptural prototype, an ancient marble relief at the Palazzo Mattei in Rome, *Achilles' Lament*.

First owner of Marchant's gem was Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, who bequeathed his collection (which included four more works by Marchant) to the British Museum in 1799 (Dalton 1915, No. 817), but it was to be destroyed during bombing of London on 10 May 1941. Marchant's work was disseminated in the 18th century in the form of casts (Amastini MS 1788, B V/2; Raspe 1791, No. 9238; Cades, Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/434) and was frequently copied in both concave (see cats. 65-67) and relief (cats. 68, 69) techniques. The Renaissance cameo was repeated and 'reconstructed' also by the Florentine engraver Felice Antonio Maria Barnabé and by the Frenchman Louis Siries, who worked in Florence. The Roman master

52. Antilochus Telling Achilles of the Death of Patroclus (fragment of a Renaissance cameo) (from a cast)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Niccolo Amastini followed Marchant's intaglio in his own cameo, produced in the early 19th century.

53. Antilochus telling Achilles of the death of Patroclus. Early 19th century

Cameo. Two-layer paste (white relief against a black ground), copper. 29 x 23. Inv. No. K - 4783

Crude reproduction of a free copy of Marchant's original (for information on which see cat. 52): the drawing is simplified and the decoration on the altar replaced with a triangular pediment.

54. Two Women seated on a bed. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Glass paste glued onto an agate plaque with a pale spot in the upper part. 24 x 20. Inv. No. I - 9362
Provenance: 19th century.

The original gem bearing the signature MARCHANT (Marchant 1792 , No. XLVII; Seidmann 1987, No. 27) is lost but is known from casts by Amastini (Amastini MS 1788, B VIII/4 'Venere ed Elena') and Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 7233, 'Two betrothed lovers'). It derived from the main group in a wall painting discovered in 1605 on the Esquiline Hill in Rome and known after its first owner as the 'Aldobrandini Wedding' (now Vatican Library). Seidmann suggested that there was a second author's repetition since that in the series of casts issued by Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/445) bears a slightly different signature: MARCHANT F. The paste has no signature.

55. David Garrick with a bust of Shakespeare. Late 18th century

Signed to right: MARCHANT F; inscription above: QUO ME RAPIS TUI PLENUM ?

Intaglio. Dark brown glass, gold. 23 x 19. Inv. No. I - 9646

Provenance: 19th century.

Probably produced at the manufactory of James Tassie.

The original intaglio (priv. coll., USA) was executed between 1769 and 1773 and Seidmann has suggested that it was inspired by a lost painting of 1766 by Gainsborough, known from a mezzotint by Valentine Green: there too a bust of Shakespeare stands on a pedestal beside the actor (Seidmann 1987, No. 137). The intaglio would seem to have been commissioned from Marchant by a great admirer of Garrick, the Rev. Evan Lloyd, but Seidmann leaves open the possibility that the gem originally belonged to Garrick himself and suggests that it later belonged to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn. A sulphur cast of it was sent by the engraver from Rome and exhibited in 1773 at The Society of Artists and the following year the intaglio was first reproduced by Tassie (Tassie 1775, No. 2822); Tassie's catalogue names the then owner as Mr Gomm, a London jeweller, with whom Marchant was linked at the outset of his career. The gem also gained popularity thanks to casts included in later series (Tassie: Raspe 1791, No. 14000; Cades: Impronte gemmarie 1836, 66/347). A portrait medallion of Garrick modelled from this portrait by William Hackwood for the Wedgwood factory was one of their best selling items (Reilly, Savage 1973, p. 159). Marchant also repeated the head of Garrick without the bust of Shakespeare in an à l'antique intaglio (Raspe 1791, No. 14002; Seidmann 1987, No. 136).

56. Head of Juno. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Greenish-blue paste, gold. 24 x 19. Inv. No. I. 9720

Provenance: 19th century.

Repeats a signed intaglio of 1772-88 (i.e. made during Marchant's stay in Rome) which derives from a colossal head of Juno from the Villa Ludovisi (Marchant 1792, No. V; Seidmann 1987, No. 70). In the 18th century Marchant's original gem belonged to William Burn; in 1854 it figured at an auction; it was acquired by the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris. It was probably a sulphur cast of this signed intaglio which was shown at the Royal Academy in 1783 (Graves 1905-6, V, p. 181). The intaglio was also reproduced in casts by Amastini (Amastini MS 1788, A IV/24) and Cades (Impromte gemmarie, 66/379).

See also cats. 57, 58, 339.

Nathaniel Marchant (copies)

57. Head of Juno. Late 18th century

Cameo. Agatonyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 30 x 22. Inv. No. K - 5331

Provenance: first third of the 19th century.

See cat. 56.

58. Head of Juno. Late 18th century

Cameo. Sardonyx (white relief against a pale brown ground), gold. 26 x 18. Inv. No. K - 6565

Provenance: collection of the Princes Yusupov, St Petersburg; 1919-24 Yusupov Palace Museum, Petrograd; 1925 transferred to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Yusupov MS 1925-28, f. 10, No. 4692.

See cat. 56.

59. Bust of Minerva. Late 18th century

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (white and pale brown relief against a pale brown ground; a white spot in the middle of the stone), gold. 33 x 23. Inv. No. K - 389

Provenance: late 18th century.

Repetition of a signed intaglio (Marchant 1792, No. XI; Seidmann 1987, No. 85) created c. 1787 in Rome on a commission from Charles Long, later Lord Farnborough. This was taken from an ancient marble head of Athene from the Palazzo Giustiniani (now Vatican Museums). Some idea can be gained of Marchant's lost gem from casts by Amastini (Amastini MS 1788, A VII/3) and Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 66/367). The cameo was engraved in high relief and made skilful use of a stone of most unusual structure.

60. Dancing Faun with cymbals. Early 19th century

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a pale grey ground with white spots), copper (mounted in a ring). 24 x 19. Inv. No. K - 6576

Provenance: collection of the Princes Yusupov, St Petersburg; 1919-24 Yusupov Palace Museum, Petrograd; 1925 transferred to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Yusupov MS 1925-28, f. 9, No. 4654.

Repeats a cornelian intaglio of c. 1764 deriving from an ancient statue of a *Clapping Faun* in the Uffizi, Florence; the intaglio originally belonged to C. J. Clavering (Marchant 1792, No. XXXIV; Seidmann 1987, No. 51). Exhibiting a cast of the intaglio at The Society of Artists in 1764-65, the engraver was rewarded with 20 guineas (Seidmann 1984-85, part 2, p. 66). He displayed the intaglio itself at The Society of Artists in 1765 (Graves 1907, p. 155). Today that gem survives in the form of casts by Amastini (Amastini MS 1788, B V/6), Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 4775) and Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 66/406).

61. Cupid playing with a dog. Early 19th century

Intaglio. Dark almandine (cabochon), gold. Diameter 16. Inv. No. I - 9338

Provenance: before 1830.

Literature: Seidmann 1987, p. 48

Surviving today only in the form of a cast by Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/439), Marchant's oval original, dated to 'before 1788' (Seidmann 1987, No. 39), served as a model for two round intaglios in the Hermitage (see also cat. 62). Symbolising loyalty and fidelity, such gems were very much in keeping with society's sentimental mood and they were much copied. With their small dimensions they could easily be set into rings or used as seals. During those same years the Italian engraver Alessandro Cades was also taken with the subject and his gem is known from a cast by his son Tommaso (Cades, Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/321).

62. Cupid playing with a dog. 19th century

Intaglio. Cornelian, gold (mounted in a ring; clasps of interwoven gold wires). Diameter 11. Inv. No. I - 11386

Provenance: 1913 transferred to the Hermitage from the personal effects of Emperor Nicholas I and Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna.

See cat. 61.

63. Victoria Navalis. Late 18th century

Cameo. Red cornelian, gold. 29 x 28. Inv. No. K - 5412

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 66 ('winged goddess' by Brown).

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 7689).

Reverse copy of a lost original intaglio produced by Marchant during his stay in Rome 1772-88 for Admiral Augustus William, 5th Baronet Cunningham (Marchant 1792, No. LXXXVIII; Seidmann 1987, No. 110), taken from an ancient statue from the bows of a galley found at Cornazano, in the Museo Pio-Clementino in the Vatican. The signed intaglio is known from casts by Amastini (Amastini MS 1788, B IV/2 'Iside'), Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 7688) and Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/436).

On the basis of a note in the inventory of engraved gems begun during Catherine II's lifetime, the cameo was for many years attributed to William and Charles Brown and was exhibited as such in Moscow in 1956.

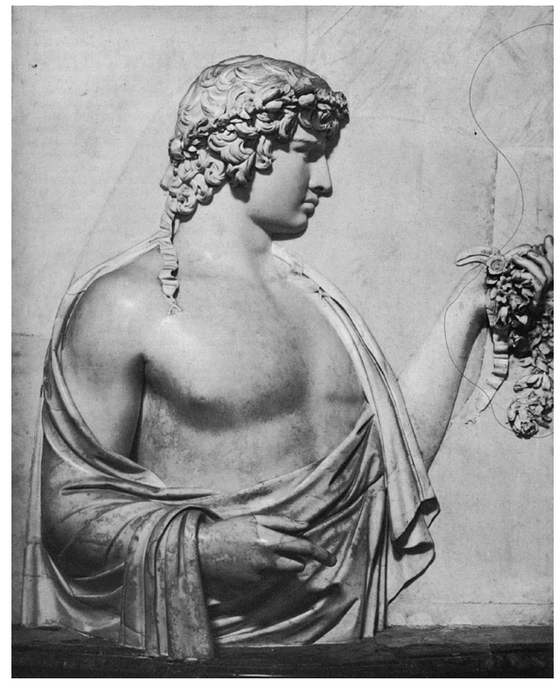
64. Head of Antinous. Late 18th century

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (white relief with grey against a dark grey ground), gold. 27 x 23. Inv. No. K – 6552

Provenance: 19th century.

Literature: Kagan 2002b, p. 479.

The original, carved by Marchant in yellow sard in Rome in the period 1772-74 from a bas-relief at the Villa Albani (Marchant 1792, No. LXXXI; Lippold 1922, pl. CLVIII.7; Seidmann 1987, No. 10), was



64. Antinous
Bas-relief at the Villa Albani (now Villa Torlonia)

commissioned by George, 4th Duke of Marlborough (included in the Newton-Robinson Sale, Christie's, London, 22 June 1909). The sulphur cast was exhibited in 1774 at The Society of Artists (Graves 1907, p. 155). Marchant's intaglio, and an autograph version of it, were reproduced by Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 11731, 11732). The second cast was in 1826 reproduced as a came at the Ekaterinburg Imperial Grinding factory (Kagan 1994, p. 83). A similar intaglio bearing Pichler's signature on the reverse is now in the Royal Collection at Windsor (Aschengreen Piacenti, Boardman et al 2008, No. 266).

65. Antilochus telling Achilles of the death of Patroclus. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Pale chalcedony, slightly convex, gold. 30 x 23. Inv. No. I - 9310

Provenance: late 18th century.

For information on Marchant's original see cat. 52.

66. Antilochus telling Achilles of the death of Patroclus. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Dark brown sardonyx with a pale band below, gold. 23 x 17. Inv. No. I - 9311

Provenance: late 18th century.

For information on Marchant's original see cat. 52.

67. Antilochus telling Achilles of the death of Patroclus. Late 18th – early 19th century

Intaglio. Chalcedony-sapphirine with a greenish tinge. 31 x 43. Inv. No. I - 9368

Provenance: collection of V. I. Myatlev, St Petersburg; 1887 acquired with the Myatlev collection.

The composition has been stretched out along the horizontal and the drawing has become quite emphatically linear in a manner characteristic of late 18th-century and early 19th-century Neo-Classical glyptics. It is missing the altar of the original (for information on which see cat. 52) and there are alterations to the figures in the middle ground: the soldier has a shield and spear, the woman supports with both hands a shield standing on the ground. To the left part of the scene a figure of another soldier has been added, full-length, with a shield and spear.

For information on Marchant's original see cat. 52.

68. Antilochus telling Achilles of the death of Patroclus. Late 18th century

Cameo. Agatonyx (white image against a bluish-grey ground). 35 x 26. Inv. No. K - 4581

Provenance: Late 18th century.

This cameo is a very close repetition of Marchant's original, for information on which see cat. 52.

69. Achilles' Lament. Late 18th century

Cameo. Three-layer agate, the lower layer with a large grain (white relief with pink against a pale, semi-transparent ground), gold. 29 x 25. Inv. No. K - 4785

Provenance: 18th century.

Only the figure of Achilles is taken from Marchant's composition (for information on which see cat. 52). In front of him is a pedestal with an amphora while a female figure behind the pedestal holds a cloak (?) in her raised left hand.

70. Portrait of Mrs Elizabeth Hartley
By Richard Houston after the painting by Hugh Douglas Hamilton. 1774
Mezzotinto

70. Mrs Elizabeth Hartley. Third quarter of the 18th century

Intaglio. Cornelian, gold (setting in the form of a seal, probably of English work). 29 x 24. Inv. No. I - 11388

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 259.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 32; 1938 Leningrad, p. 40 ('Portrait of an unknown woman'); 1972 Leningrad, No. 522.

Elizabeth Hartley (1751-1834) was a dramatic actress who enjoyed her first success in 1769 and played at Covent Garden Theatre from 1772. Tassie's casts include three identical portraits of her (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14662-14664), one with an imitation Greek signature and two with the signatures of Nathaniel Marchant and Richard Dean, all of which, like the Hermitage intaglio, derive from a single source, probably a print. We know that the actress sat for Joshua Reynolds, Gavin Hamilton, Angelica Kauffmann and other artists in her tragic roles. Commenting on Marchant's lost work, Seidmann (1987, No. 139) noted that it was closest to the portrait by the Irish artist Hugh

Douglas Hamilton engraved by R. Houston in 1774 (O'Donoghue 1908-25, II, p. 456, No. 2).

Circle of Nathaniel Marchant

71. Bust of the so-called Ariadne. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Pale-grey, semi-transparent chalcedony, gold. 35 x 24. Inv. No. I - 10012

Provenance: before 1830.

Literature: Seidmann 1987, pp. 42, 86.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29.

Reproduces a colossal ancient marble head from the Museo Capitolino in Rome which probably depicts Bacchus rather than Ariadne. Maximova (1926 Leningrad) saw in the Hermitage gem an author's copy of Marchant's signed original, produced during his stay in Rome from a gem by Giovanni Pichler (Rollett 1874, p. 30, No. 37). The original belonged to Thomas William Coke but is now lost (Marchant 1792, No. XXVI; Seidmann 1987, No. 14). At the same time Seidmann noted many common features between the Hermitage gem and the 'Baccante dall' antico' in a series of casts bequeathed by Luigi Pichler to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and linked it with the 'Scolare di Marchand. Una Baccante incavo, Carniola' in the list of gems belonging to the artist Philipp Hackert (Femmel, Heres 1977, p. 218, No. 37). Seidman suggested that this 'pupil of Marchant' was a young Italian engraver, possibly Neapolitan, who was well acquainted with the famous master.

Similar gems were produced by Charles Brown (cat. 140), William Brown (cat. 176), William Barnett (Raspe 1791, No. 4334), Joachim Smith (Raspe 1791, No. 4336), Burch (Raspe 1791, No. 4338) and George Bemfleet (Raspe 1791, No. 4342).

Humphrey Palmer (fl. 1760-78) (imitation of a Renaissance Gem)

72. Sacrifice to Bacchus (imitation of a Renaissance gem). Between 1775 and 1778

Mark stamped into the mass on the slightly convex reverse: PALMER; beneath it a number: 100

Intaglio. Ceramic basalt mass. 17 x 14. Inv. No. I - 12751

Provenance: 1981 acquired through the Hermitage Purchasing Commission.

Literature: Kagan 1983, p. 20, ill. p. 8; Kagan 1999b, p. 271.

Exhibitions: 1983 Leningrad, No. 73.

Humphrey Palmer, owner of a ceramics factory at Hanley, Staffordshire, and a follower of Wedgwood, worked on his own from 1760 to 1768 and then with a partner, John Neale. Like Wedgwood and another of his followers, Jean Voyez, Palmer imitated original gems using a basalt material he developed independently in 1769.

In this intaglio he reproduced a Renaissance gem from the former French royal collection (now Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Mariette 1750, II, pl. 43), probably using a cast as his model.

The mark on the intaglio is used on Palmer's goods produced 1760-78 but since Palmer was an imitator and not an innovator, the piece itself could not have appeared before 1769, the date of Wedgwood's first ceramic intaglios, nor indeed before the appearance of Tassie's cast from the Renaissance gem, which appears in his first catalogue in 1775 (Tassie 1775, No. 175). The number beneath the mark suggests that Palmer had some manuscript or even printed catalogue or pricelist for his works, although no mention of this is found in the literature.

Attributed to Alfred Lyndhurst Pocock (1881 – late 1960s)

73. Head of an American Indian. 1910s – 1920s

Cameo. Petrified wood, black opal, gold with pinkish-yellow enamel, silver, diamonds. 23 x 23. Inv. No. K - 6731

Provenance: 1986 acquired through the Hermitage Purchasing Commission.

Literature: Kagan 1999b, p. 268, ill. I, 7.

Exhibitions: 1987 Leningrad, No. 57.

The head with its colourful headdress is carved into a piece of petrified wood, inset into part of which is an iridescent black opal with dark blue lights. Attached to a round base covered with enamel and guilloche ornament and 'sunrays', the whole set into an Art Deco brooch. The Art Deco style is strongly expressed in the contrasting combination of different precious materials, the characteristic use of opal and the geometric frame. Similar adornments were created, for instance, in the period 1910-16 by the London firm of Mürrle, Bennet & Co. (see Becker 1980, p. 262, fig. 20.20).

See cat. 74.

74. Head of an American Indian. 1920s

Cameo. Red jasper with white stripes. 15 x 10. Inv. No. K - 6637

Provenance: collection of Academic G. G. Lemmlein, Moscow; 1964 bequeathed to the Hermitage.

Literature: Kagan 1999b, p. 268.

The striped upper part of the stone was used to create the feathers in the headdress. Like cat. 73, this was probably intended to be set into a brooch or other decorative item.

William Pownall (fl. third quarter of the 18th century)

75. Head of Medusa. c. 1788

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold (mount with movable shank). 44 x 37. Inv. No. I - 9993

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 9023/14063; 'Engraved by Wm. Pownall').

Repetition of a gem by the ancient master Sosocles which belonged in the 18th century to the 4th Early of Carlisle, entering the British Museum as part of his collection in 1890 (Maffei 1707-9, part II, tav. 69: Stosch 1724, pl. 65; Natter 1754, pl. XIII; Worlidge 1768, I, pl. 43; Reinach 1895, pl. 137, 65; Dalton 1915, No. 792 'early XVIII c.') and which was copied by numerous 18th-century masters, including William Brown (cat. 180). Raspe's record of Pownall's authorship for this and several other gems has made it possible to attribute a number of pieces in the Hermitage to him on stylistic grounds (cats. 77, 78, 79). All are large format, highly polished both front and back, with profile images (almost half-length) of ancient goddesses.

76. Bust of Flora. c. 1788

Intaglio. Dark green jasper, gold (mount with movable shank). 41 x 32. Inv. No. I - 9919

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 14725/14955; 'Engraved by Wm. Pownall').

The authorship of Pownall was established on the basis of Raspe's catalogue of Tassie casts.

Attributed to William Pownall

77. Bust of Flora. 1780s – 1790s

Intaglio. Green jasper with yellow and red patches, gold (mount with movable shank). 47 x 37. Inv. No. I - 9918

Provenance: late 18th century.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29.

Attributed to William Pownall by Maria Maximova (1926 Leningrad) on the basis of style (see cats. 75, 76 and Raspe 1791, Nos. 14722, 14725-14727).

78. Bust of a bacchante. 1780s – 1790s

Intaglio. Four-layer sardonyx (carving cuts through the upper brown layer down through paler grey and white to the lower, almost black, layer), gold. 58 x 48. Inv. No. I - 10042

Provenance: early 19th century.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29.

Attributed to William Pownall by Maria Maximova (1926 Leningrad) on the basis of style (see cats. 75, 76 and Raspe 1791, Nos. 14726, 14787).

80. Print after Leda and Swan
An anonymous copy of a lost cartoon attributed to Michelangelo (1540-60)

79. Head of a young woman. 1780s – 1790s

Intaglio. Sard, gold (setting in the form of a carved medallion with a loop, ornamented in four places with blue enamel). 45 x 39. Inv. No. I - 9921

Provenance: collection of D. P. Tatishchev, Vienna; 1846 bequeathed to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Tatishchev MS 1846 (impossible to identify which one precisely).

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 29.

Attributed to William Pownall by Maria Maximova (1926 Leningrad) on the basis of style (see cats. 75, 76).

Robert Priddle (fl. last quarter of the 18th century)

80. Leda and the Swan. 1780s – 1790s

Signed below: PRIDDLE F

Intaglio. Red cornelian. 21 x 28. Inv. No. I - 12725

Provenance: collection of Academic G. G. Lemmlein, Moscow; 1964 bequeathed to the Hermitage.

Literature: Forrer 1904-30, IV, p. 690; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 230; Kagan 1999b, p. 267.

Exhibitions: 1977 Leningrad, No. 404.

Derives from a gem by Edward Burch the Elder (Lippold 1922, pl. CXXXVII; Seidmann 1999-2000, p. 1) which would seem in its turn to have been inspired by a print by Cornelis Bos (c. 1510-1566) from a lost cartoon by Michelangelo or from an anonymous copy of it painted 1540-60 and now in the National Gallery in London (NG 1868).

Attributed to Christopher Seaton (? - 1768)

81. Portrait of Alexander Pope. First half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold. 21 x 18. Inv. No. I - 4038

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 18.

Reveals some echoes of a medal by Jacques-Antoine Dassier of 1741, itself in turn dependent on a print by Jonathan Richardson produced, according to the inscription, ‘Amicitia causa’ (For Friendship’s Sake) in 1737 as the title-page to an edition of Pope’s letters.

Maximova (1926 Leningrad) suggested Seaton's authorship, citing Mariette's note that he had produced such a portrait (Mariette 1750, I, p. 148). For other engraved portraits of Pope, including those by William Pownall and Robert Bateman Wray (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14360, 14364-14365) see Wimsatt 1965, pp. 196-99, pl. 48.

82. Portrait of Isaac Newton. Second quarter of the 18th century

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 20 x 17. Inv. No. I - 4042

Literature: Büsching 1764, p. 220; Bernoulli 1780, p. 284; Nau 1966, p. 153; Kagan 1981, p. 192, pl. III, 4.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 18; 2000-1 London, No. 170.

This type of profile portrait of Newton without his wig, in contemporary dress and with a comet in the background appeared in glyptics during the first half of the 18th century. This is one of the earliest examples. Small in size, marked by archaic and simplified engraving (the curling locks of hair are arranged in a schematic pattern, the folds of drapery conveyed with the aid of notches), such pieces were a characteristic product of British glyptics during this age of transition from Baroque to Neo-Classicism. For both makers and owners of such gems content was more important than any artistic merit.

Attributed to Seaton on the basis of Mariette's note that he was paid 25 guineas by Newton for just such a portrait (Mariette 1750, I, p. 148).

It is possible that this intaglio derived from the collection of Lorenz Natter, which was acquired by Catherine II after his death in 1763 for her son, Grand Duke Paul Petrovich but which entered her Hermitage collection in 1764.

See also cat. 102.

Attributed to Claus Smart (died 1739)

83. The Family of the Emperor Darius in submission before Alexander the Great and Hephaestion (Alexander's Mercy). Early 18th century

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold. 21 x 24. Inv. No. I - 4369

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 18.

The multi-figure composition derives from a painting of 1660 by Charles Le Brun in the series of *The Conquests of Alexander the Great* (*The Queen of Persia at the Feet of Alexander*, Château de Versailles), engraved by Robert Edelynk. The Hermitage intaglio has a much reduced number of figures and is strongly schematic, particularly in the depiction of the tent and the flanking trees. Engravers of glyptics turned to this subject on numerous occasions. Tassie's Cabinet has a cast from a signed intaglio by Smart on this subject, slightly smaller but of more detailed and careful execution (Raspe 1791, No. 9731; see also Nos. 9729, 9730, 9732). Another two intaglios (one set into the lid of a snuffbox) are in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, Nos. 730, 731).

84. William Shakespeare. 1730s

Intaglio. Chalcedony, gold. 19 x 16. Inv. No. I - 4008
Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 18.

Attributed by Maria Maximova.

Iconographically close to an engraved frontispiece portrait in the first edition of Shakespeare's plays, printed in London in 1623, an image thought to offer a good likeness of the playwright during the last years of his life.

Workshop of James Tassie (fl. 1780s – 1790s) (imitations of classical engraved gems)

85. The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche (imitation of a Classical gem). Late 18th century

Cameo. White enamel-like paste, silver, silk (mounted in a medallion with two hinges, decorated with beading). 42 x 52. Inv. No. K - 6290

Provenance: 19th century.

This paste reproduces the an ancient cameo by Tryphon, which belonged in the 17th century to Thomas Howard, 21st Earl of Arundel and by the 18th century to the Duke of Marlborough (Stosch

1724, No. 70; Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91, I, pl. 50; Raspe 1791, No. 7199, pl. XLII; Reinach 1895, pls. 112, 137; Boardman 2009, no. 1). The original (now Boston Museum of Fine Arts) gained wide fame through the large number of copies made in a wide variety of materials.

The high quality of the material indicates that this paste was produced in Tassie's workshop.

See cats. 86, 92.

86. The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche. Late 18th century

Cameo. Two-layer paste (white relief against a black ground), silver (setting in the form of a medallion with a loop). 39 x 49. Inv. No. K - 1493

Provenance: first half of the 19th century.

On the original see cat. 85.

Thompson (fl. second half of the 18th century) (copy)

87. Bust of the Virgin. 1770s

Cameo. Three-layer onyx (yellowish-brown relief against a pale grey semi-transparent ground). 21 x 19. Inv. No. K - 775

Provenance: first third of the 19th century.

Literature: Kagan 2002b, p. 485.

The relief is a very close repetition of an English engraver of the surname Thompson (unknown first name), reproduced in Tassie's casts (Raspe 1791, No. 13866). In 1826, 1830 and 1833 cameo repetitions of Tassie's cast were made at the Ekaterinburg Grinding Factory (Kagan 1994, Nos 88, 116, 153).

Attributed to Robert Bateman Wray (1715-79)

88. Dying Cleopatra. Third quarter of the 18th century

Intaglio. Chalcedonyx (the engraving cuts through the upper white layer to reveal the lower grey layer), gold. 29 x 24. Inv. No. I - 9967

Provenance: before 1796.

A repetition, perhaps by the engraver himself, of an intaglio by Wray known from a Tassie cast (Raspe 1791, No. 9860). Other engravers later turned to the motif, among them Burch and the Brown brothers (Raspe 1791, Nos. 9861-9869), but the material here and the way it is used are most characteristic of the period of Wray's activities.

Robert Bateman Wray (copies)

89. Dying Cleopatra. Third quarter of the 18th century

Cameo. Agatonyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 24 x 21. Inv. No. K - 5291

Provenance: collection of V. I. Myatlev, St Petersburg; 1887 acquired with the Myatlev collection.

Cats. 88 and 89 provide us with an interesting illustration of how one and the same engraver turned to the same subject in different techniques, both convex and relief.

90. Mary Magdalene. Late 18th century

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 24 x 17. Inv. No. K - 1709

Provenance: first third of the 19th century.

Literature: Kagan 2002b, p. 488.

Smaller repetition of an intaglio by Wray (Raspe 1791, No. 14705). In 1836 and 1842 Tassie's cast was repeated as a cameo at the Ekaterinburg Imperial Grinding Factory (Kagan 1994, Nos 184, 210). The current Hermitage inventory of engraved gems lists it as 'Head of a Veiled Woman'.

Richard Yeo (c. 1720 – 1799)

91. Diana with a bow, arrow and dog. c. 1760

Signed to right: Yeo

Intaglio. Cornelian, gold. 31 x 25. Inv. No. I - 4288

Provenance: collection of V. I. Myatlev, St Petersburg; 1887 acquired with the Myatlev collection.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 231.

Exhibitions: 1760 London (Graves 1907, p. 289); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28.

A feature of this gem, as of a number of British gems from this period, is the painterly rather than sculptural treatment of the image. It is revealed in the filling of the whole surface with engraving, involving the very finest gradations of depth and counter-relief. The most skilled application of this manner was to be found in the works of Charles and William Brown.

Anonymous Gem Engravers

92. The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Chalcedony, gold. 18 x 24. Inv. No. I - 9316

Provenance: late 18th century.

On the original see cat. 85.

93. Mars and Venus. 1890s

Cameo. Two-layer shell (yellowish relief against a brown ground), pale metal (mount in the form of a brooch). 5.5 x 4.1. Inv. No. K - 6692

Provenance: 1978, gift of E. V. Filippova, Moscow.

A late example of engraved shell from the end of the 19th century, this work is not of particularly high artistic level. There is another example of this subject (Clements 1998, p. 75; in reverse, with a mount by Tiffany). Such a compositional scheme, with paired busts of mythological characters rising above the clouds, was often used by shell-carvers, particularly the Italians who came to Britain in the last decade of the 19th century to satisfy the great market for such products amongst less demanding clients.

94. a Bust of Mars
94. b Bust of Bellona
Mid-18th century

Two-sided cameo. Cornelian (in the form of a shield with a hole pierced in the upper part of the stone), gold. 43 x 34. Inv. No. K - 184

Provenance: late 18th century.

This two-sided cameo is traditionally thought to be English work, an attribution in keeping with the style of both sides and the use of single-colour semi-transparent stone.

95. Woman Reading (Clio or Cornelia). Late 18th – early 19th century

Cameo. Three-layer shell (white relief, with a brown spot on the ground line, against a pale brown ground, white in places), gold (mounted in a brooch). 49 x 40. Inv. No. K - 6778

Provenance: 2002 acquired through the Hermitage Purchasing Commission.

In the run up to the Victorian period British shell-engraving – shells were imported from the colonies and many Italian engravers were enticed to work in London – often produced pieces in keeping with the very highest demands of taste. One such piece is this cameo, remarkable for a particularly Neo-Classical refinement comparable to that found in Wedgwood's cameos.

Each of the suggested titles has a long tradition. The figure of a Greek woman seated with an open book or scroll in her hands, such as is often found on ancient vases, repeats an early 18th-century sardonyx intaglio which arrived in the Hermitage in 1787 with the collection of the Duc d'Orléans, but which was already widely known from engraved publications by L. de Gravelle (1732-37, I, 64 'Liseuse?') and P. J. Mariette (1750, I, p. 67 'Cornélie') and from series of casts by Philipp Daniel Lippert (Nr. 762, 'Clio') and James Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 3482, 'Cornélie'). S. Reinach also described it: 'Prétendue Cornélie, mère des Gracques' (Reinach 1895, p. 142, pl. 128, 18). There were also similar gems with a lyre on the pedestal, in which case the subject tends to be identified as Clio, Muse of History (see Raspe 1791, Nos. 3470, 3471).

96. William Shakespeare. Mid-18th century

Intaglio. Cornelian, gold. 24 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3681

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Kagan 1981, p. 192, pl. III, 2.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 18.

There was typical image of Shakespeare that was widespread on engraved gems in the middle and

second half of the 18th century. Such pieces were produced by Richard Yeo, William Barnett, Robert Bateman Wray, Thomas Pownall and others (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14408-14425). An engraved portrait by Burch belonged to Stanislaw Poniatowski and similar gems are now in the British Museum (Dalton 1915, Nos. 1107, 1108) and the Fitzwilliam Museum (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, No. 641). Goethe used one such intaglio (not reproduced by Tassie) as a personal seal, seen on his letters in the period 1778-84 (Femmel, Heres 1977, p. 11), and the traces of another are found on letters from John Keats to his sister (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, p. 306). Wedgwood's factory produced similar portrait medallions in different sizes from models produced by William Hackwood (Reilly, Savage 1973, p. 303). This portrait type is closer to the bust of Shakespeare by Peter Scheemakers in Westminster Abbey which prompted numerous reproductions.

See cat. 97.

97. William Shakespeare. Mid-18th century

Intaglio. Dark red cornelian, gold. 19 x 16. Inv. No. I – 5311

Provenance: no later than 1830.

The same portrait type as cat. 96 but carelessly executed and of much inferior artistic quality.

98. Charles I. First half of the 18th century

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (white relief with brown against a dark brown ground), gold. 17 x 15. Inv. No. K - 1685

Provenance: late 18th century.

Literature: Kagan 1981, p. 183, pl. I, 2.

Unlike the posthumous memorial engraved portraits of Charles I in Baroque style, deriving from portraits by Van Dyck (cat. 7), this small cameo is very much a Neo-Classical work. It was undoubtedly made to be set into a ring.

99. Oliver Cromwell. Mid-18th century

Intaglio. Cornelian, gold. 21 x 19. Inv. No. I - 3636

Provenance: collection of Princess Ekaterina Dashkova; early 1790s presented by Dashkova to Catherine II.

Manuscript Sources: Dashkova MS, f. 1.

Literature: Neverov 1989, p. 47; Neverov 1990, p. 65; Neverov 1997, p. 39.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 19; 1996 Amsterdam, No. 160; 2000-1 London, No. 169; 2003 Moscow, p. 87, No. 279.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 14013/5618).

Cromwell is shown as a Roman commander, wearing armour beneath a cloak and with a laurel wreath upon his head. In the manuscript inventory of her collection which she herself compiled, discovered in the Hermitage Archive and published by Oleg Neverov, Princess Dashkova noted: 'Cromwell m'a été donné, je n'en sais pas le prix'. Suggesting that the gift came from one of Dashkova's numerous English friends, Neverov noted: 'a portrait of the leader of the English revolution was very suitable to the collection of a woman who considered herself to be the mainspring of the dynastic coup d'état of 1762 [which brought Catherine the Great to power], known in the 18th century as "the glorious revolution" because of its bloodless nature and wide support amongst society. The portrait of Cromwell, which Dashkova in turn presented to Catherine, would serve her as a reminder of their joint participation in those events' (Neverov 1989).

There is a similar intaglio amongst Tassie's casts (Raspe 1791, No. 14802)

100. John Milton. First half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Chalcedony, gold. 27 x 24. Inv. No. I - 9568

Provenance: collection of V. I. Myatlev, St Petersburg; 1887 acquired with the Myatlev collection.

Iconographically close to casts by Tassie (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14291-14293), this intaglio is more archaic in execution. Listed in the current Hermitage inventory of engraved gems as 'Portrait of a Man'. There was an intaglio-seal with a portrait of Milton in the collection of Thomas Hollis, celebrated champion of republican ideals and renowned collector (Blackburne 1780, p. 164). A similar gem is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, No. 862 a).

See also cat. 101.

101. John Milton. First half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Agatonyx, gold. 23 x 17. Inv. No. I - 4037

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Kagan 1981, p. 192, pl. III, 3.

In type close to a medal by John Sigismund Tanner of 1737 which was later used by Wedgwood to produce a portrait medallion of Milton (Reilly, Savage 1973, pp. 242-45).

102. Isaac Newton. First half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Cornelian. 27 x 21. Inv. No. I - 12735

Provenance: collection of Academic G. G. Lemmlein, Moscow; 1964 bequeathed to the Hermitage.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 237.

Exhibitions: 1977 Leningrad, No. 402.

Derives in iconography from the same type as cat. 82. Such intaglios were produced in large quantities throughout the 18th century (Raspe 1791, Nos. 14312-14327), their makers including celebrated engravers such as Burch, Joseph Cave and Robert Bateman Wray. Similar portraits are to be found in the British Museum (Dalton 1915, No. 1105), the Fitzwilliam Museum (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, No. 644) and the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. Casts by James Tassie after an engraved portrait of Newton belonging to Professor John Anderson were, according to Raspe, awarded as the annual prize to the best student of Natural Philosophy at the University of Glasgow (Raspe 1791, No. 14314). In 1773 Wedgwood began production of medallions showing Newton from a model by William Hackwood, itself based on the same portrait type, the source for which is thought to be a medal bearing the signature 'L.B.' (Reilly, Savage 1973, p. 258).

103. Edward Young(?). First half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Variegated jasper, gold. 23 x 20. Inv. No. I - 4006

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 18.

This portrait of the author of 'Night Thoughts' was perhaps by the same hand as an engraved portrait of Lord Graham (Raspe 1791, No. 14213), very similar in manner of execution. Maximova (1926 Leningrad) saw the Hermitage portrait as 'the most interesting in a group of works from the early English school, but in style and manner of engraving standing closer to the 17th century than to works of the 18th century'.

104. Lord Chesterfield. Mid-18th century

Cameo. Agatonyx. 16 x 12. Inv. No. K - 801

Provenance: before 1794.

Like Wedgwood's portrait medallions of Philip, Lord Chesterfield, this cameo derives from a medal by Jacques-Antoine Dassier dating from 1743 (Reilly, Savage 1973, pp. 101, 102).

105. Lord Chesterfield. c. 1769

Cameo. Agatonyx. 17 x 14. Inv. No. K - 1154

Provenance: before 1794.

In date and treatment of the image this portrait is similar to that by Gainsborough (1769, Chevening Estate; Kerslake 1977, I, No. 141), in which Chesterfield is shown in a velvet coat with the ribbon and star of the Order of the Garter.

106. William Pitt the Elder. c. 1760

Cameo. Agatonyx. 14 x 12. Inv. No. K - 1678

Provenance: before 1794.

The identification of the sitter is traditional. Certainly the image is close iconographically to a portrait of Pitt on a medal by Thomas Pingo of 1760

107. George III as a young man. Third quarter of the 18th century

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian. 17 x 13. Inv. No. I - 12734

Provenance: collection of Academic G. G. Lemmlein, Moscow; 1964 bequeathed to the Hermitage.

108. George III in a tricorn. Third quarter of the 18th century

Intaglio. Agatonyx. 27 x 24. Inv. No. I - 4050

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 32.

Thought to be Frederick II of Prussia in old Hermitage inventories, the identity of the sitter was correctly established by Maria Maximova (1926 Leningrad).

109. Queen Charlotte, Consort of George III, en face. Early 1760s

Intaglio. Dark red cornelian. 26 x 22. Inv. No. I - 4056

Provenance: possibly from the collection of Lorenz Natter, acquired after his death in 1763 by Catherine II for Grand Duke Paul.

Literature: Büsching 1764, p. 220; Bernoulli 1780, p. 284; Nau 1966, p. 151.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 32; 1938 Leningrad, p. 40.

A portrait of Queen Charlotte features amongst the gems Natter left after his death, in the list cited by Bernoulli (1780). Although there is not sufficient basis to conclude that Natter himself was its author, we cannot exclude such a possibility: as assistant engraver at the Royal Mint, it was he who produced coronation medals of George III and Queen Charlotte (Nau 1966, Nos. 155-57).

110. Unknown man (David Garrick?). Second half of the 18th century

Cameo. Agatonyx. 33 x 24. Inv. No. K - 6672

Provenance: collection of Academic G. G. Lemmlein, Moscow; 1964 bequeathed to the Hermitage.

Exhibitions: 1977 Leningrad, No. 403.

Compare the portrait of Garrick on Wedgwood's medallion (Rellly, Savage 1973 p. 159).

111. Henrietta Ives. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Dark brown sard, gold (mounted in a ring). 21 x 17. Inv. No. I - 3670

Provenance: before 1796.

Henrietta Ives was a singer at the Covent Garden Theatre in London. She performed solo and in the chorus for just one season, from November 1795 to July 1796. The identification of the sitter is and was first suggested in the inventory of engraved gems compiled in the reign of Catherine II (Hermitage Inventory MS 1).

112. Unknown woman. Second half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Pale sard, gold (mounted in a ring). 15 x 13. Inv. No. I - 9563

Provenance: late 18th century.

Traditionally thought to be British work, which is confirmed by an analysis of style.

113. Unknown man. Second half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Pale sard, gold. 21 x 18. Inv. No. I - 3682

Provenance: late 18th century.

Despite the distinctive appearance it has not proved possible to identify the sitter and we can only point out the marked similarity to the features of the painter George Stubbs.

114. Charles James Fox. 1790s

Intaglio. Red cornelian. gold. 34 x 29. Inv. No. I - 4041

Provenance: Late 18th century.

Literature: Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 135 ('attributed to Carl Leberecht').

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 32.

Reproduces the marble bust of Fox by Joseph Nollekens of 1791. One of Nollekens' busts is in the Hermitage, another is in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Intended for Earl Fitzwilliam, the original bust was acquired by Catherine II soon after Fox made a speech in Parliament to persuade the government not to take military action against Russia. A bronze copy of the bust, made after it arrived in Russia, was set up by Catherine in the Cameron Gallery at Catherine's favourite summer residence at Tsarskoe Selo, surrounded by wise men of antiquity such as Demosthenes and Cicero.

This large cornelian intaglio is sometimes attributed to Catherine's court medal-maker and engraver Carl Leberecht but no documentary support for such a suggestion has been found. It was attributed to a British master by Maximova (1926 Leningrad). Amongst the additional casts sent to the Hermitage by William Tassie we find a cast from a similar intaglio (bearing on the reverse the number 422). Unlike the Hermitage intaglio it shows Fox three-quarter face not in profile.

115. Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington (?). 1815-1835

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold. 21 x 17. Inv. No. I - 9562

Provenance: first third of the 19th century.

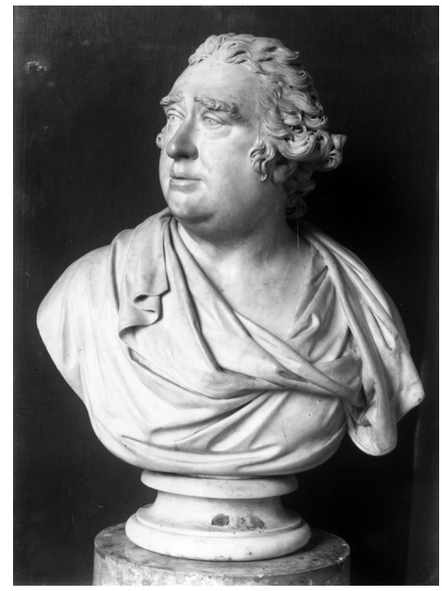
Portrait à l'antique, formerly unidentified, deriving iconographically from the obverse of a commemorative medal for the Duke of Wellington produced in 1810 by the seventeen-year-old Thomas Wyon Junior, whose Classical tastes were refined (as was noted by Forrer 1904-30, IV, p. 641) under the influence of Nathaniel Marchant and were that same year awarded the Gold Medal of The Society of Arts. This medal was in turn inspired by a bust of the Duke by Joseph Nollekens.

There are other known engraved intaglio portraits of Wellington, mainly on cornelian, by Luigi Pichler (Fitzwilliam Museum; Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, No. 810), Giuseppe Cerbara (formerly in the Rothschild Collection) and Carlo Amatucci. In the Hermitage work, however, despite the lack of a signature, we clearly see the hand not of an Italian but a British gem. Portraits of the Duke were exhibited at The Royal Academy between 1812 and 1835 by several British engravers: William Brown, James Wicksteed, John Dutton and John Wilson. Particularly close to the Hermitage work is a portrait by John S. De Veau on the obverse of a two-sided intaglio from the Hull Grundy Collection now in the British Museum (Gere et al 1984, No. 847).

116. Allegory of Hope. First half of the 19th century

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a dark grey ground with small white spots), low quality gold. 24 x 22. Inv. No. K - 5514

Provenance: mid-19th century.



114. Joseph Nollekens
Marble bust of Charles Fox. 1791
Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

The engraver took a figure of Polyhymnia on a gem by Giovanni Pichler for his personification of Hope; Pichler's gem derives in turn from an image of the same Muse on the celebrated Sarcophagus of the Muses formerly in the Borghese collection (Louvre, Paris). The rock on which the Muse leans has been replaced with an anchor, associated with waiting and hope.

Similar embodiments of this allegory are often found on the intaglio-seal marks on letters in the second half of the 18th century. Tassie's Cabinet has a cast from one such intaglio (Raspe 1791, No. 8103, pl. XLVII) and there is a similar ceramic paste in the Fitzwilliam Museum; made at the Wedgwood factory, this figured under No. 1777 in Wedgwood's catalogue of decorative items (Henig, Scarisbrick, Whiting 1994, No. 862).

117. Allegory of Night. 1860s

Cameo. Two-layer shell (white relief against a pale brown ground), gold (mounted in a brooch with a twisted wire surround). 76 x 58. Inv. No. K - 6729

Provenance: 1985 acquired through the Hermitage Purchasing Commission.

Literature: Kagan 1999b, p. 273.

Exhibitions: 1986 Leningrad, No. 62; 1996 St Petersburg, No. 132.

Night sits with veiled head bowed, a wreath of poppies in the hand resting on her raised knee. Large cameos of allegorical or symbolic content treated in such sentimental and poetic manner were particularly characteristic of shell-engraving in Britain during the Victorian age.

See also cat. 118.

118. Allegory of Day and Night. 1860s

Cameo. Two-layer shell (white relief against a pale brown ground), gold (mounted in an openwork brooch with Russian import marks). 61 x 67. Inv. No. K - 6722

Provenance: 1987 acquired through the Hermitage Purchasing Commission.

Literature: Kagan 1999b, p. 273, ill. IV, 5.

Exhibitions: 1986 Leningrad, No. 67; 1996 St Petersburg, No. 131.

Heads of Flora, goddess of flowers, and the goddess of Night rise up above the clouds; beneath the former is the sun, signifying Day, and beneath the other an owl with wings spread wide. Different versions of such a composition are often found on engraved shells. As with the previous gem (cat. 117) the easily-read symbols of the changing phases of the day serve as a more profound symbol of the start and end of life itself. Finely carved with pure drawing and careful working up of the details, the cameo is particularly valuable for its contemporary setting. A close analogy is a cameo of the same name set into a parure in the Museum of London (Murdoch 1991, pp. 47, 139, figs. 5, 11, No. 336). We should note that such a compositional scheme was often used for paired images of Mars and Venus, Alexander the Great and Roxana and others, only the symbols and attributes changing to indicate their identities.

119. St George and the Dragon. early 18th century

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (relief in white with pale brown veins against a grey semi-transparent ground). 36 x 28. Inv. No. K - 2168

Provenance: late 18th century.

Like cats. 15-17, this gem is a reverse repetition of Raphael's iconographic scheme as used in the Washington painting and the composition faces right.

As with the previous cameo, this piece shows signs of restoration: the lower part of the horse's front left leg has been replaced but the replacement of a missing area in the upper part of the face has also been lost. Unlike the previous examples, this cameo is engraved not in the contrasting sardonyx that was usual for the Order insignia, but in a stone with mother-of-pearl-like layers. In all probability the cameo never actually served as a 'Lesser George' but formed part of the decoration of some liturgical or ritual object. The damage may have been caused in the process of removal from such an object.

120. Funerary Urn. c. 1771

Cameo. Two-layer jasper (brown relief against a yellowish ground), low quality gold (mounted in a ring which has the words: 'David Currie Esqr Ob: 15 Jan. 1771 Aet 76' engraved on the reverse of the bezel). 17 x 14. Inv. No. K - 4821

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 8.

British mourning rings with urns (cats. 120-24, 340-43) became widespread in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. They often incorporated commemorative inscriptions and the date of death, or even an address to the departed. As long as the fashion lasted jewellers tended to have a small store of such gems in stock to satisfy the tastes of different clients. Their great similarity suggests the existence of a workshop in London specialising in their production. An analogous piece was published by Battke (1938, No. 116).

121. Funerary Urn with swags around the body. Last quarter of the 18th century

Initials on the cartouche on the urn: CW / RW

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a pale grey ground), gold. 19 x 15. Inv. No. K - 4818

Provenance: before 1794.

The urns on the four cameos (cats. 120-24) – shaped like a censer, with a lid and a ribbon draped around the body – are so extremely close in form that we might

suggest they came from a single workshop producing such pieces.

122. Funerary Urn with swags around the body. Last quarter of the 18th century

Cameo. Two-layer agate (white relief against a pinkish ground), gold. 16 x 13. Inv. No. K - 4820

Provenance: late 18th or early 19th century.

123. Funerary Urn with swags around the body. Last quarter of the 18th century

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 17 x 14. Inv. No. K - 5468

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 8.

124. Funerary Urn with swags around the body. Last quarter of the 18th century

Cameo. Two-layer agate (brown relief against a yellowish ground), gold. 16 x 14. Inv. No. K - 4819

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1998 St Petersburg, Supplement, p. 8.

125. Cockerel and Hen. Second half of the 18th century

Device inscribed at the top: GRATIS

Intaglio-seal. Black jasper of rectangular form set into a gold ring. 11 x 13. Inv. No. I - 9497

Provenance: before 1830.

Seals with devices were popular in the 18th century (Raspe 1791, Nos. 5321, 14893).

See also cat. 126.

126. Cockerel and Hen. Second half of the 18th century

Device inscribed at the top: GRATIS

Intaglio-seal. Rock crystal or pale yellow topaz, faceted on the reverse, silver. 24 x 21. Inv. No. I - 10651

Provenance: second half of the 19th century.

This piece is unusual for its inclusion of a vegetable motif.

See cat. 125.

127. Inscription 'HAPPY'. Late 18th – early 19th century

Intaglio-seal. Pale cornelian, gold (mounted in an openwork bell-shaped seal). 11 x 15. Inv. No. I - 12314

Provenance: collection of the Princes Yusupov, St Petersburg; 1919-24 Yusupov Palace Museum, Petrograd; 1925 transferred to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Yusupov MS 1925-28, f. 2, No. 4430.

Exhibitions: 2001-2 Moscow-St Petersburg, No. 221 (14).

A link from a chain composed of 28 intaglio-seals belonging to Tatyana Vasilevna Yusupova, née Engelhardt, later Princess Potemkina and lastly wife of the celebrated collector Prince Nikolay Yusupov. Yusupova was a great admirer of seals with devices and any kinds of emblem, of which she had a large collection.

128. Inscription 'ABSENT BUT NOT FORGOTTEN'. Early 19th century

Intaglio-seal. Amethyst, faceted on the reverse. 11 x 13. Inv. No. I - 12105

Provenance: Nikolay Romanchenko collection, St Petersburg/Leningrad; 1925 transferred to the Hermitage.

Anonymous Craftsmen (imitation engraved gems)

129. Head of Medusa. Second half of the 19th century – early 20th century

Cameo. Lilac double glass, silver (mounted in a medallion with a loop, with a ridged edge in pseudo-Gothic style). 56 x 44. Inv. No. K - 6697

Provenance: collection of E. V. Filippova, Moscow; 1978 presented by Filippova to the Hermitage.

131. Portrait of George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales. c. 1787
Wedgwood jasper medallion, modelled by John Charles Lochée

Literature: Kagan 1999b, p. 272.

Exhibitions: 1989 Leningrad, p. 56, No. 380; 1996 St Petersburg, No. 133.

The technique for producing such ‘cameos’, with two layers of tinted glass stuck together, allowed for very high relief. Moreover, the ground could be highly polished before the parts were glued. Quite striking in effect, these pieces were intended for clients of only moderate means. The mount was probably made in Birmingham.

130. Oliver Cromwell. First half of the 18th century

Intaglio. Double transparent glass with red paint between the layers (mounted in a signet ring of which only the bezel survives, with chased ornamentation in the form of incisions and woven ornament along the edge). 24 x 19. Inv. No. I - 12748

Provenance: 1960 presented to the Hermitage by donor wishing to remain anonymous.

This portrait type is close to that in Wedgwood’s medallion which shows Cromwell as Lord Protector, almost en face; an ivory portrait identical to Wedgwood’s medallion and attributed to Van der Hagen after the bust by Michael Rysbrack, was sold at Sotheby’s, London, 17 November 1970 (Reilly, Savage 1973, p. 116).

131. George, Prince of Wales (later George IV), in Admiral’s uniform. c. 1787

Cameo. Porcelain (white biscuit) on an enamelled lilac guilloché ground, under convex glass. 34 x 25. Inv. No. K - 5484
Provenance: before 1830

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 52.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 14078).

The catalogue of Tassie’s Cabinet indicates that the portrait was taken from a model by John Charles Lochée of c. 1787 (Raspe 1791, No. 14078).

Catalogue

Part II. 18th to 20th centuries

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Cat. 32. I-3957

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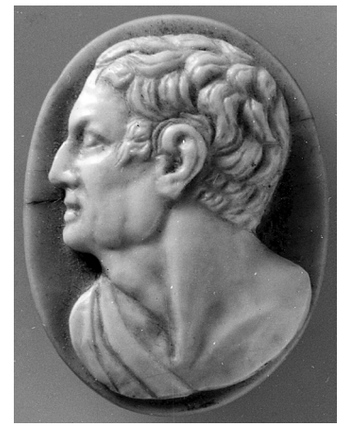

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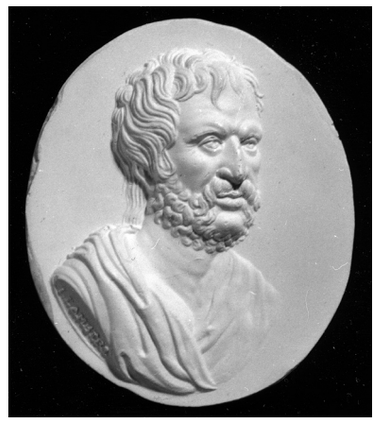

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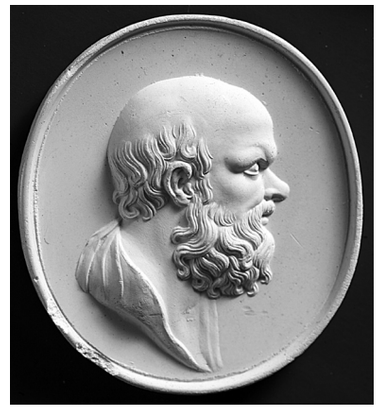

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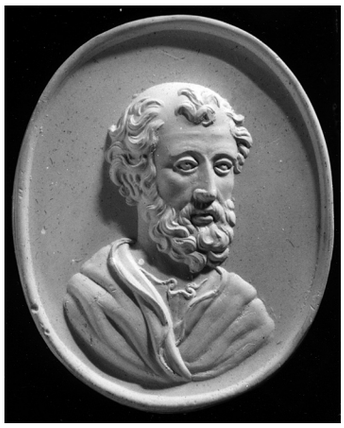

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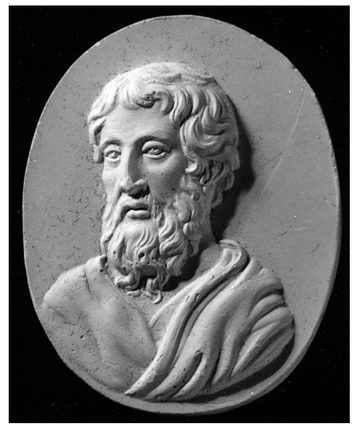

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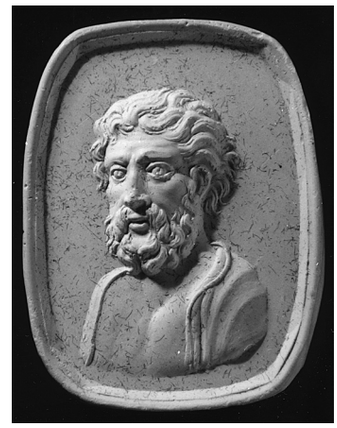

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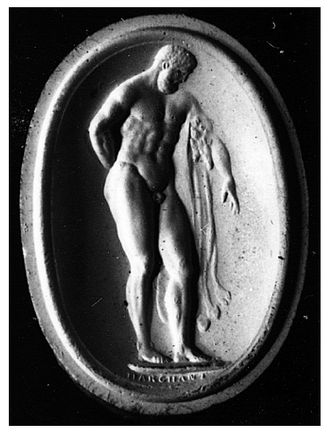

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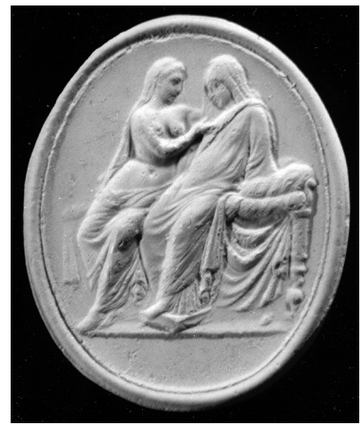

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Cat. 56. I-9720

Cat. 57. K-5331

Cat. 58. K-6565

Cat. 59. K-389

Cat. 60. K-6576

Cat. 61. I-9338

Cat. 62. I-11386

Cat. 63. K-5412

Cat. 64. K-6552

Cat. 65. I-9310

Cat. 66. I-9311

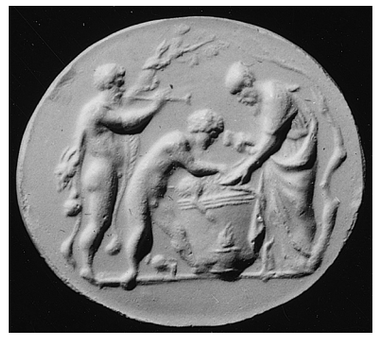
Cat. 67. I-9368

Cat. 68. K-4581

Cat. 69. K-4785

Cat. 70. I-11388

Cat. 71. I-10012



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Cat. 73. K-6731

Cat. 74. K-6637

Cat. 75. I-9993

Cat. 76. I-9919

Cat. 77. I-9918

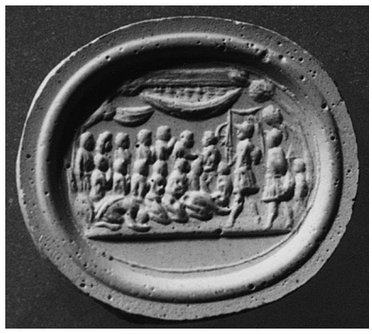
Cat. 78. I-10042

Cat. 79. I-9921

Cat. 80. I-12725

Cat. 81. I-4038

Cat. 82. I-4042



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Cat. 84. I-4008

Cat. 85. K-6290

Cat. 86. K-1493

Cat. 87. K-775

Cat. 88. I-9967

Cat. 89. K-5291

Cat. 90. K-1709

Cat. 91. I-4288

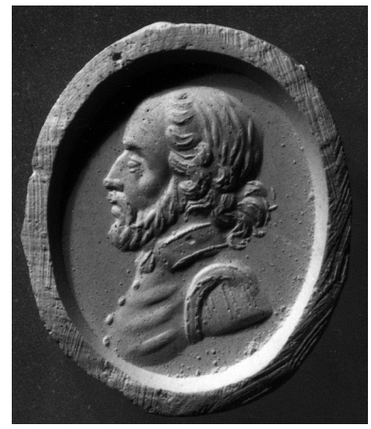
Cat. 92. I-9316

Cat. 93. K-6692

Cat. 94a. K-184

Cat. 94b. K-184

Cat. 95. K-6778



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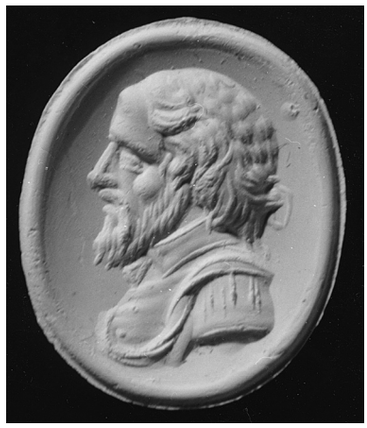

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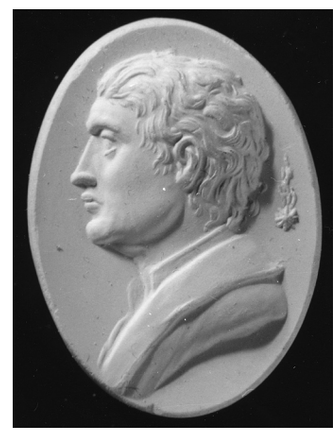
Cat. 98. K-1685

Cat. 99. I-3636

Cat. 100. I-9568

Cat. 101. I-4037



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Cat. 103. I-4006

Cat. 104. K-801

Cat. 105. K-1154

Cat. 106. K-1678

Cat. 107. I-12734

Cat. 108. I-4050

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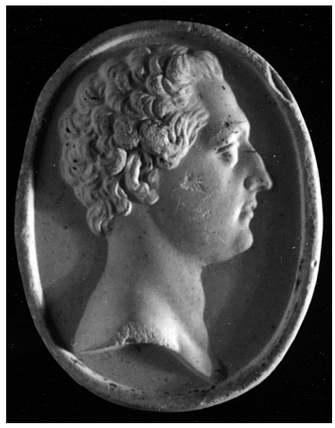
Cat. 112. I-9563

Cat. 113. I-3682

Cat. 114. I-4041



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Cat. 119. K-2168

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Cat. 120. K-4821

Cat. 121. K-4818

Cat. 122. K-4820

Cat. 123. K-4819

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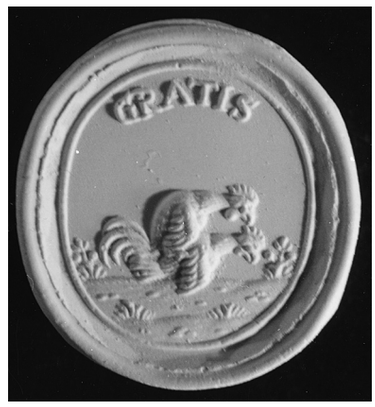
Cat. 125. I-9497



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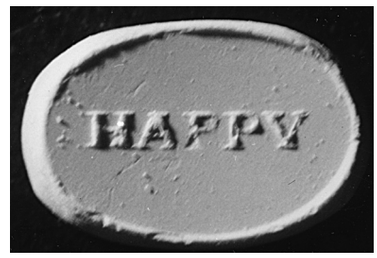

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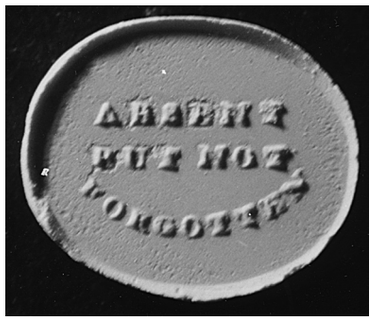


Cat. 128. I-12105

Cat. 129. K-6697

Cat. 130. I-12748

Cat. 131. K-5484

1. Edward Burch
Dionysian Bull. 1782
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St. Petersburg (cat. 32)

2. Attributed to Nathaniel Marchant
Bacchus and Ariadne. c. 1783
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 50)

3. After Nathaniel Marchant
Mrs Elizabeth Hartley.
Third quarter of 18th century
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St. Petersburg (cat. 70)

4. Charles James Fox, 1790s
Cornelian intaglio
Hermiatge, St Petersburg (cat. 114)

Plate 48

1. Woman reading (Clio or Cornelia)
Late 18th early 19th century
Shell cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 95)

2. Allegory of night
1860s
Shell cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 117)

3. Attributed to Alfred Lindhurst Pocock
Head of an American Indian. 1910s - 1920s
Petrified wood and black opal cameo in the brooch Art Deco
Firm Murrle, Bennet & Co (?)
Hermitage, St. Petersburg (cat. 73)

Part III. Charles and William Brown

Note: Quotations from manuscript sources derive largely from the correspondence regarding payment of accounts for engraved gems supplied by the Browns directly to Empress Catherine II. The Browns presented their accounts in English to the bookseller and antiquarian, Johann Jacob Weitbrecht, who acted as supplier to the Russian court. He in turn provided French translations of those accounts and passed on the bill – including his own commission – directly to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, i.e. the office of the court, sometimes entering into correspondence on the subject with Catherine's Secretary of State, the senator and memoirist Alexander Vasilievich Khrapovitsky.

All known archive documents relating to the history of Catherine's acquisition of the Browns' gems are reproduced at the end of this book (Appendix II).

Charles Brown (1749-95)

132. Head of Jupiter in a diadem. c. 1794

Signed below: C. BROWN F.

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 29 x 24. Inv. No. K - 1791

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'A head of Jupiter. Cameo Agate-onyx – £36' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Jupiter' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 65; 1976 Leningrad, No. 78.

Derives from a type widespread in Classical and post-Classical glyptics, on both intaglios and cameos, the Jupiter Capitolinus (see Beger 1685, p. 5, tab. III; Mariette 1750, II, pl. 2; Reinach 1895, pl. 98). On such gems Jupiter's laurel wreath is often replaced with a diadem, as here.

133. Bust of Minerva. c. 1791

Signed below: C. BROWN

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold. 34 x 27. Inv. No. I - 3945

Provenance: 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Cornaline: la tête de Minerve' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, f. 109).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII; Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 12.

One of a group of nine gems supplied at a price of £611.

Copy of a gem in the former French royal collection (Raspe 1791, No. 1661, pl. XXV; Mariette 1750, II, 2, pl. 4; Reinach 1895, pl. 98), now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

134. Bust of Minerva. c. 1793

Signed to left: C. BROWN INV^{t}

Cameo. Three-layer agate (relief in different shades of brown with white, against a white ground). 27 x 22. [Inv. No. E 5227 of console onto which mounted]

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Minerve' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 29 August 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 500; Gambs MS 1809, f. 44).

One of a group of eight gems supplied at a price of £374.

In the Hermitage Archives is a directive from Academician H. K. E. Köhler, head of the First Department of the Hermitage and Keeper of engraved gems, to give this cameo, among others, to Petersburg cabinet-maker Heinrich Gambs for use in decorating a marble-topped mahogany console (Gambs MS 1809) which had been commissioned for the Hermitage. Cameos allocated for this purpose seem to have been selected particularly for their decorative qualities. The console today stands on display in the Hermitage.

135. Neptune with a trident. c. 1773

Signed top right: C. BROWN. INV

Intaglio. Yellow cornelian, gold. 35 x 31. Inv. No. I - 3941

Provenance: 1789.

Manuscript Sources: 'Neptune – £150' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2 February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

Literature: Knight 1828, p. 83; Wagner 1836, pl. [5]; Biehler 1860, p. 84 ('Copy from Pamphilos'); Lippold 1922, pl. CII.7 (without the engraver's name).

Exhibitions: 1773 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306); 1926 Leningrad, pp. 26, 28; 1971 Leningrad, p. 12, fig. 14; 1976 Leningrad, No. 6.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 2538/803); Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/455).

This head of Neptune derives from an intaglio by Edward Burch (Raspe 1791, No. 2532), of which Charles Brown produced two free copies (Raspe 1791, Nos. 2529, 2535). In turn Brown's composition was repeated by William Fraser and Wise (Raspe 1791, Nos. 15179, 15180) and by Robert Priddle (Forrer 1904-30, IV, p. 690). The intaglio was also reproduced on a plaque produced by the Gleiwitz Factory (Hintze 1928, p. 102, pl. 13, No. 5; without reference to the source).

136. Apollo in a chariot. c. 1782

Signed to right: C. BROWN

Intaglio. Octagonal red cornelian, gold. 30 x 42. Inv. No. I - 3739

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'A large-sized octagonal Cornelian engraved with Phoebus – £75' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 28 January 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 16).

Literature: Biehler 1860, p. 84; Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1782 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306); 1976 Leningrad, No. 8.

Charles Brown repeated this composition in oval format, reducing the number of horses to two and thus, according to Raspe (1791, p. 217), breaking the tradition by which only Apollo and his horses all together 'are symbols of the four different appearences of the sun, and sometimes of the four seasons' (Raspe 1791, No. 3097: 'A most beautiful and magnificent engraving'). See also cat. 156.

137. Apollo and Diana. c. 1791

Signed below: C.BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 34 x 29. Inv. No. I - 3943

Provenance: 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Cornaline: Apollon et Diana' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10).

Literature: Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 9.

One of a group of nine gems supplied at a price of £611.

Copy of a cameo which belonged in the 18th century to Sir Edward Walpole (d. 1784) (Raspe 1791, No. 2018, pl. XXVIII). The paired profile format (*capita jugata*) derives from Hellenistic sources and is found on ancient coins, where the subjects are usually rulers and their wives. It is possible that the cameo used as a model was just such a 'mythicised' double portrait of actual historical figures.

Antonov read the entry in the invoice from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty (RSHA, Fund 468, opis' 43, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10) as 'Apollo et Daphnée', but the female image has none of the normal features of an image of Daphne and such an identification, probably based on an error in reading the manuscript text, must be incorrect.

138. Head of Bacchus with a thyrsus and chalice. c. 1787

Signed bottom left: BROWN

Intaglio. Dark yellow cornelian, gold. 22 x 19. Inv. No. I - 3705

Provenance: 1787.

Manuscript Sources: 'Tête de Bacchus, en bague – £40' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1787; Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 73).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 31.

Repeated by Charles Brown in the same size and larger on five more occasions (Raspe 1791, Nos. 4232-4235, 4237). One repetition was in the early 19th century in the Musée de Minéralogie in Paris (Drée 1811, p. 165, No. 27), another was in the collection of the 2nd Duke of Wellington (Scarisbrick 1977, No. 412). See also cat. 139.

139. Head of Bacchus with a Thyrsus and Chalice. c. 1791

Possibly pair to William Brown's intaglio *Head of Ariadne*, cat. 176

Signed below: C. BROWN.[F]

Intaglio. Convex pale brown sard, gold. 31 x 25. Inv. No. I - 3948

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'Tête de Bachus – £36' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 27 November 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119).

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 103; Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 30.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 4251/15405).

Enlarged repetition of intaglio cat. 138.

140. Head of Ariadne. Before 1791

Signed to left: C. BROWN

Intaglio. Convex yellow cornelian, gold. 34 x 29. Inv. No. I - 3942

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 32.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15253).

Copy of an intaglio by Giovanni Pichler (Rollett 1874, p. 30, No. 37), which in turn derives from a marble bust of Bacchus in the Museo Capitolino, Rome. The same type occurs in an intaglio by Charles Brown (Raspe 1791, No. 4332). Similar intaglios were produced by Nathaniel Marchant, Edward Burch, William Barnett and other British engravers. The same type is found in an intaglio by William Brown, *Head of Ariadne with a Thyrsus* (cat. 176).

141. Cupid mounting a lion. c. 1787

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Three-layer sardonyx (the lower layers brown and white, the image engraved in the upper yellow

layer), gold. 19 x 25. Inv. No. I - 4276

Provenance: 1787.

Manuscript Sources: 'Cupidon montant un Lion, en bague – £40' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1787; Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 73).

Literature: Kagan 1960, p. 35.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 22.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 6703/13736).

Charles Brown's authorship of this piece is noted in Raspe's manuscript catalogue of Tassie pastes (Raspe-Tassie MS 1783-88, No. 13736). It was possibly inspired by the central part of a multi-figure cameo by Alessandro Cesati, signed only with the Renaissance artist's first name and therefore included by error amongst the Classical gems published in Stosch's *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* (Stosch 1724, No. VI). Charles depicted a lion in a similar pose but without the Cupid in another intaglio known only from a Tassie paste (Raspe 1791, No. 12872), which probably served essentially as a preparatory work for the gem in the Hermitage.

142. The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche. c. 1783

Signed to right: C. BROWN

Intaglio. Dark yellow cornelian. 29 x 41. Inv. No. I - 3950

Provenance: 1786.

Manuscript Sources: 'Une Cornaline, le mariage de Cupidon et de Psyché, avec l'impression, montées en bracelets en or – £100' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1786; Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3901, f. 322).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII; Kagan 1965b, pp. 102-3; Kagan 2002b, p. 451; Boardman et. al. 2009, p.34.

Exhibitions: 1783 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 28; 2006-7 London, No. 142.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 7204/7390); Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/465).

A free copy (without the figure of Cupid to the left) of an ancient cameo by Tryphon, which belonged in the 17th century to Thomas Howard, 21st Earl of Arundel and by the 18th century to the Duke of Marlborough (Stosch 1724, No. 70; Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91, I, pl. 50; Raspe 1791, No. 7199, pl. XLII; Reinach 1895, pls. 112, 137; Boardman 2009, no. 1). The original (now Boston Museum of Fine Arts) gained wide fame through the large number of copies made in a wide variety of materials. Brown's composition was repeated in relief on the lid of a jasper snuffbox made 1844-47 at the Ekaterinburg Grinding Factory (Kagan 1994, No. 232; Kagan 2002, No. 202).

143. Bust of Mars. c. 1781

Signed to left: C. BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 33 x 29. Inv. No. I - 3947

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Literature: Knight 1828, p. 5; Prozorovsky 1884, appendix II, p. 167; Dalton 1915, p. LVIII.

Exhibitions: 1781 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 16.

Charles Brown repeated this gem on at least three more occasions (Raspe 1791, No. 15424; intaglio seal in the Victoria & Albert Museum, Somers Cocks 1976, pl. 22h in the Duke of St Alban collection). A later agate cameo copy of this intaglio (clearly made from a cast) adorns a 19th-century comb in the State History Museum, Moscow (Postnikova-Loseva et al 1985, No. 132).

144. Mars and Bellona. c. 1784

Signed to right: C. BROWN INV[t]

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold. 40 x 35. Inv. No. I - 3946

Provenance: 1787.

Manuscript Sources: 'Mars & Bellone, monté en or – £150' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1787; Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 73).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII; Forrer 1904-30, VII, p. 129; Kagan 1965b, p. 103; Biryukova et al 1974, p. 223, No. 127; Industrial Art 1978, Vol. 5, No. 85; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 221; Kornilov, Solodova 1983, p. 9, fig. 2; Saved for Humanity 1985, No. 209; Arts Décoratifs 1986, No. 223.

Exhibitions: 1784 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 17; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 131; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 131; 2000-1 London, No. 180; 2005-6 Ontario-Montreal, No. 118.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 7281/7410).

Exhibited at The Royal Academy in 1784 under the title 'Mars and Venus', which was how Raspe listed it in his catalogue of Tassie casts and how it was entered in the Hermitage's inventories of engraved gems. Other authors such as Dalton, Forrer and Maximova (1926 Leningrad) also used this title but Weitbrecht's account, essentially a translation of the Brown brothers' own account, lists it as 'Mars and Bellona'. A variant of the composition by Charles Brown belonged in the 18th century to the Prince of Wales (later George IV; Raspe 1791, No. 7282 'Mars and Venus').

Taking the Hellenistic double profile scheme (*capita jugata*) as his starting point, Brown nonetheless sought his own variation on the format, as is indicated by his inclusion of the abbreviated word 'INVENIT' (invented) in the signature. His success is notable in this work, notable for its mass of detail, its free treatment of 'quotations' from the repertoire of Classical glyptics, for the easy transition from deep counter-relief to the finest engraving to create a rich play of light and shade and for its amazing purity of line. One of the finest examples of British Neo-Classical glyptics, *Mars and Bellona* was well-known in its day, casts of it being used by other engravers to produce repetitions such as a cameo on shell (cat. 157) or a cameo on onyx by W. Schmidt (in the late 19th century in the collection of A. Booth of Gloucester; Booth 1885, No. 2).

145. Orpheus Playing the Lyre Surrounded by Beasts. c. 1791

Signed below: C. BROWN. INV^{t}

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 28 x 37. Inv. No. I - 3722

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'An oval d.o. [Cornaline] engraved with figure of Orpheus lamenting the loss of Euridice – £60' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, enclosed with Weitbrecht's letter of 4 March 1791 to Khrapovitsky; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 16).

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 102, fig. 3; Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 46.

One of those gems in which Charles Brown took a mythological subject to create a multi-planar composition filled with movement, crammed with landscape details and rich in a play of light and shade and emotional expression. This tiny 'painting', set skilfully into the stone's oval format, is totally without the statuary quality so characteristic of the classicising trend in late 18th-century glyptics, practised also by both Charles and William. Charles seems to have reflected here a rather more Romantic view of the world.

146. Leander. c. 1795

Signed to left: BROWN

Intaglio. Yellow cornelian, gold. 32 x 26. Inv. No. I - 3715

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: 'Leandre' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 12 September 1795; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 300).

Literature: Knight 1828, p. 54; Kagan 1965b, pp. 101-2, fig. 2.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 47.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £532 10 shillings for the lot.

There are two repetitions of this intaglio (Raspe 1791, Nos. 8787, 8788, the latter bearing Charles Brown's signature). All three pieces derive from a type of Classical glyptics showing the Nereid Galene, personification of the sea's purity and calm (Agostini 1657-69, parte I, tav. 99; Maffei 1707-9, parte I, tav.

82; Gori 1731-32, I, tav. 85; Reinach 1895, pls. 40, 41). Charles Brown, however, chose to treat the type as an image of Leander a young man of Abydos who, in Greek mythology, fell in love with Hero, priestess of Aphrodite at Sestos on the other side of the Hellespont. Guided by a light placed by Hero, Leander swam across the water every night to meet her, but one night the light failed and he was drowned. In keeping with this interpretation of the image, therefore, Brown introduced a rare intensity and emotion to produce one of his best works. The subject might equally be interpreted as Selene, the Moon, setting since it is often shown with a crescent moon.

147. Bust of Paris. c. 1785

Signed to left: C. BROWN. IN

Intaglio. Dark red cornelian, gold. 31 x 24. Inv. No. I - 3944

Provenance: 1787.

Manuscript Sources: 'Tête de Paris, en bague – £40' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1787; Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 73).

Literature: Lippold 1922, pl. CLIX.9; Fersman 1961, p. 192, ill. I.9; Kagan 1965b, p. 103.

Exhibitions: 1785 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306); 1976 Leningrad, No. 48.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15511); Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/454; 'Testa d'Achille').

Charles Brown, indicating his own contribution by including the abbreviated word 'invenit' in his signature, added attributes to this typically somewhat generalised image (compare e.g. *Head of Bacchus with a Thyrsus and Chalice*, cat. 138 and 139) of Paris which are not immediately recognisable: Cades thus included this intaglio in his series of casts as a head of Paris' sworn enemy, Achilles. Brown repeated the intaglio (Raspe 1791, No. 9122).

148. Bust of Hannibal. c. 1789

Signed to right: C. BROWN

Intaglio. Greyish-brown four-layer agate, gold. 38 x 29. Inv. No. I - 3955

Provenance: February 1789.

Manuscript Sources: 'Tete de Hannibal – £75' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2 February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 52.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15529).

Repeated by the Brown brothers twice more on a lesser scale and employing different techniques: as an intaglio (Raspe 1791, No. 9600) and a cameo (cat. 149). The image derives from a common type of late Renaissance gem inspired by a medal reproduced in Fulvio Orsini's *Illustrium imagines* (1570, tav. 63). During the second half of the 18th century such works were to be found in Britain in the Royal Collection (Gori 1767, tav. LI), in the possession of the Duke of Marlborough (Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91, II, p. 20; Reinach 1895, pl. 114, 20; Boardman 2009, no. 454) and Sir Edward Walpole (Raspe 1791, No. 9599). Tassie's Cabinet includes a cast from a similar intaglio engraved by a British contemporary of the Browns, Thomas Warner (Raspe 1791, No. 9601).

149. Bust of Hannibal. 1785/95

Cameo. Red jasper, gold. 24 x 19. Inv. No. K - 1844

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 101.

Traditionally attributed to Charles Brown. Similar to his intaglio of the same subject (cat. 148).

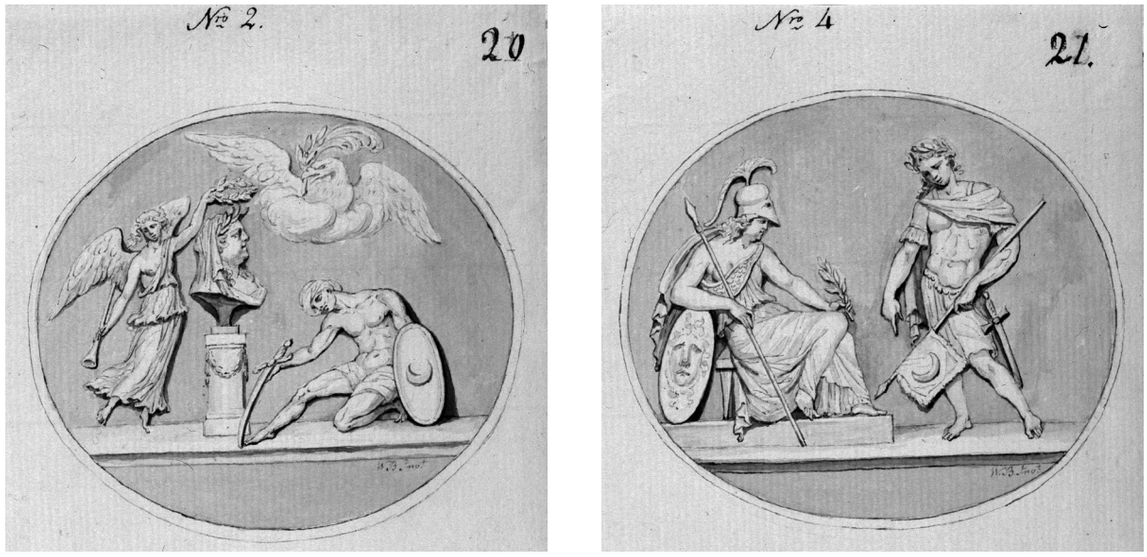
150. Allegory of Victory over the Turkish Fleet. 1790

Pair to the joint cameo *Catherine II Instructing her Grandsons*, cat. 254

Signed below along the earth: C.BROWN F^{t}

Cameo. Two-layer sardonyx (white relief against a dark brown ground with a dark blue sheen), gold (wide profiled mount with a loop at the top). 53 x 68. Inv. No. K - 1104

Provenance: March 1791.



150. William and Charles Brown watercolour sketches for catalogue 150.

Manuscript Sources: 'J'ai eû l'honneur il y a quelque temps de presenter à Votre Excellence deux dessins de Mrs Brown, qu'ils etoient intentionnés d'executer en camées, et maintenant ils viennent de m'ècrire qu'ils les ont déjà commencés. Ils me disent encore qu'à l'aide d'une empreinte que je leur ai remise du portrait de Sa Majesté Impériale gravé par Mr Leberecht, ils se flattent d'attraper la ressemblance non seulment dans le numéro 2, mais même dans le numéro 1 ou ce portrait sera très petit. S'ils reussissent à cela, cette pièce deviendra une des plus belles dans son genre. Ils comptent achever l'une et l'autre vers la fin de cette année.

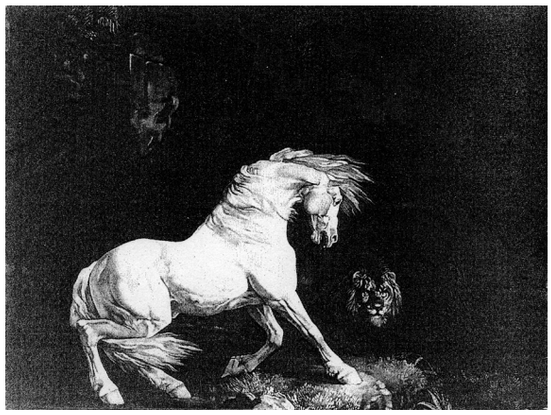
'En même temps ils m'ont envoyé les deux autres desseins cijoints les numéros 3 et 4 dont ils s'occuperont quelque jour en cas les premiers plairont' (from a letter from Weitbrecht of 15 January 1790 to Khrapovitsky; Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 106, ff. 19-21); 'A large-sized agate onyx engraved with an Emblematical subject representing the conquered Turk resigning his sword to Her Imperial Majesty – £200' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, enclosed with Weitbrecht's letter of 4 March 1791 to Khrapovitsky; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 16).

Literature: Georgi 1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 384]; Kagan 1965b, p. 106; Kagan 1965a, p. 421, fig. 55; Antonov 1978, pp. 841, 842; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 227; Kornilov, Solodova 1983, p. 10, fig. 3 (mistakenly described as a joint work by the two brothers); Clifford 2000-1, p. 119.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 27; 1976 Leningrad, No. 116; 1956 Moscow, p. 65 (with incorrect Inv. No. K – 1151); 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 135; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 135; 1997 Moscow, No. 72; 2000-1 London, No. 184; 2005-6 Ontario-Montreal, No. 65.

Commemorating Russia's victory over Turkey in the war of 1787-91, this cameo forms a pair to another allegorical cameo, a joint work by the brothers, *Catherine II Instructing her Grandsons*. A kneeling Turk lays his weapons at the foot of a pedestal on which stands a bust of Catherine, which is being crowned with laurels by a figure of Glory. From above the Turk's head flies an eagle bearing a palm, symbol of Peace.

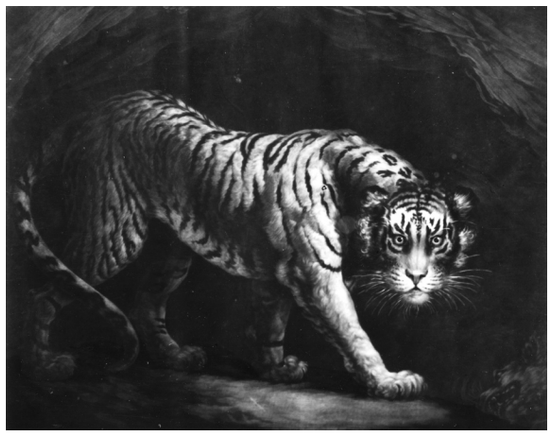
Watercolour sketches for both cameos, bearing the signature of William Brown, were sent to Catherine in late 1789 (Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 106, ff. 19-21; the drawing for this cameo is No. 2; Antonov 1978). From Weitbrecht's letter to Khrapovitsky of 15 January 1790 it is clear he had received two more sketches from the Browns, variations on the same cameo. Moreover, work had already begun on both cameos in accordance with the sketches received



151. George Stubbs
Horse Frightened by a Lion. 1770
After a mezzotint by George Townley Stubbs

155. George Stubbs
The Spanish Pointer. 1768
After a print by William Woollett

154. Pauwel de Vos
Stag Hunt. 1630s
Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg



207. James Northcote
Tiger. 1790
After a print by James Murphy

earlier. The ‘empreinte’ used by the Browns to create a likeness of Catherine was a wax portrait by the court medal-maker and engraver Karl Leberecht (see cat. 256). (In his description of the Hermitage in 1794 Johann Georgi mentioned that the Browns had received such a wax portrait.)

As foreseen, the cameo was completed by late 1790.

151. Horse frightened by a lion. c. 1774

Signed below: C.BROWN F.

Intaglio. Pale yellow cornelian, gold. 29 x 35. Inv. No. I - 3953

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: ‘A yellow cornelian engraved with a horse frightened by a lion – £45’ (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, enclosed with Weitbrecht’s letter of 4 March 1791 to Khrapovitsky; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 16).

Literature: Kagan 1960, p. 37; Kagan 1965b, p. 102, fig. 8; Kanter 1968, p. 159, fig. 7; Antonov 1978, p. 842; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 225.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 64; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 133; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 133; 2000-1 London, No. 182; 2005-6 Ontario-Montreal, No. 119.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 13234/5359).

Deriving from George Stubbs’ painting *White Horse Frightened by a Lion* (1770, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool), of which there were two versions reproduced in numerous other works of art, gaining particular fame through the wide circulation of British prints. Stubbs himself produced a model of it for the production of ceramic plaques by Wedgwood.

Its first appearance in British glyptics took the form of a cameo by the Brown’s older contemporary, Edward Burch (Raspe 1791, No. 13235), and Charles Brown, who had something of a taste for the sporting genre, depicted the subject at least twice. The first was an intaglio exhibited at The Royal Academy in London in 1774 (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306) but is known today only from a Tassie cast (Raspe 1791, No. 15855). Comparison with the surviving Hermitage intaglio reveals that the latter is smaller but considerably more expressive, with much greater sharpness in the details.

Raspe suggested that Charles Brown took a print by William Woollett as the basis for his image (Raspe 1791, p. 701) and this was repeated in later publications but is not confirmed by more recent study of prints reproducing Stubbs’ original. This reveals a mezzotint by the painter’s son, George Townley Stubbs, to be a more likely source.

152. Reclining lions. c. 1776

Intaglio. Chalcedonyx (the image carved in the white onyx layer), gold. 24 x 31. Inv. No. I - 9448

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Exhibitions: 1776 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306); 1976 Leningrad, No. 65.

Attributed to Charles Brown by Maria Maximova on the inventory card, with reference to two similar intaglios, the first of which bears his signature (Raspe 1791, Nos. 12792, 12795). The lion in the foreground is taken from a print by John Murphy. A similar gem was produced by William Barnett (Raspe 1791, No. 12793).

153. Deer on the edge of a forest. c. 1785

Signed along the earth: C. BROWN

Intaglio. Pale yellow sard, gold. 36 x 30. Inv. No. I - 3954

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Kagan 1960, p. 39.

Exhibitions: 1785 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306; 1926 Leningrad, p. 281; 1976 Leningrad, No. 68.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 12974).

Charles engraved two more intaglios showing part of this composition, without the doe or the landscape (Raspe 1791, Nos. 12975, 12976). It was traditionally thought that the composition was taken from a print by Johann Elias Ridinger, but it is closer in mood to a group of deer in a painting by Robert Adam of c. 1765 at Kedlestone.

154. Stag hunt. c. 1778

Signed along the earth: C. BROWN. INV[t]

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 30 x 38. Inv. No. I - 3725

Provenance: 1789.

Manuscript Sources: 'Chasse au Cerf – £125' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2 February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

Literature: Fersman 1961, p. 192, ill. 1.8; Kagan 1960, p. 39; Lisenkov 1964, p. 235, fig. 153.3; Voronikhina 1983, p. 28.

Exhibitions: 1778 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 306); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28, ill. II.8; 1976 Leningrad, No. 67.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 2238/5279).

Inspired by a number of similar compositions by Frans Snyders or by one of the numerous variations painted by his followers, such as Pauwel de Vos. Charles also engraved a rock crystal intaglio showing just that part of the composition with the stag chased by a dog (Raspe 1791, No. 2240).

155. Hunting dog. c. 1793

Signed along the ground: BROWN

Intaglio. Yellow cornelian, gold. 22 x 29. Inv. No. I - 3726

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Un Chien' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

Literature: Knight 1828, p. 68; Kagan 1960, p. 37.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 66; 2000-1 London, No. 189.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

Taken from William Woollett's print after Stubbs' *Spanish Pointer*, the image was repeated twice more by Charles Brown (Raspe 1791, Nos. 2193, 2195): the first, an intaglio (the composition a reverse of this), bears his signature, which suggests that it was he who was author of the Hermitage intaglio (copy: see cat. 158).

Charles Brown (copies)

156. Apollo in his chariot. 1860s

Cameo. Two-layer shell (white relief against a pale brown ground). 44 x 55. Inv. No. K - 6665

Provenance: collection of Academician G. G. Lemmlein, Moscow; 1964 bequeathed to the Hermitage.

Exhibitions: 1989 Leningrad, No. 378.

Repeats an intaglio by Charles Brown (see Raspe 1791, No. 3097), of which there is an author's replica in the Hermitage (cat. 136).

157. Mars and Bellona. 19th century

Cameo. Two-layer shell (white relief against a pale brown ground), yellow metal. 49 x 35. Inv. No. K - 6712

Provenance: 1981, gift from I. M. Davidovich (Sverdlovsk/Ekaterinburg).

Exhibitions: 1983 Leningrad, No. 67; 1989 Leningrad, No. 379.

Simplified repetition of Charles Brown's intaglio (cat. 144).

158. Hunting dog. Late 18th – early 19th century

Cameo. Two-layer sardonyx (white relief against a pinkish ground), gold. 22 x 27. Inv. No. K - 3377

Provenance: first third of the 19th century.

On the original, see cat. 155. There are differences not only in the technique (cameo as opposed to intaglio) but also in that the cameo is surrounded by a white relief frame and the whole of the background is worked with small incisions.

William Brown (1748-1825)

159. Mask of Jupiter Serapis with the modius above and lightning below. c. 1796

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Convex yellow cornelian, gold. 29 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3732

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Masque de Jupiter' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 2.

One of a group of thirteen gems valued at £453.

160. The Rape of Europa. c. 1783

Signed to left: BROW INV^{t}

Intaglio. Red cornelian with a white band at the bottom, gold. 26 x 35. Inv. No. I - 3731

Provenance: before September 1786.

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 102; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 224.

Exhibitions: 1783 London (Graves 1905-6, Vol. I, p. 314); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 3; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 138; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 138; 2000-1 London, No. 179.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 1170/9497).

Although not mentioned in surviving accounts, William Brown's authorship is mentioned in Raspe's manuscript catalogue of Tassie's casts (Raspe-Tassie MS 1783-88, part 3, completed September 1786, No. 9497).

William Brown followed the traditional interpretation of the subject and selected a stone with a white vein in the lower part from which he could carve the white crests of waves (see e.g. intaglios with the same subject, Richter 1968-71, II, No. 261; by the Browns' Italian contemporary Antonio Berini, Lippold 1922, pl. CXLV.19). Raspe describes the gem as an outstanding example of the modern glyptics in the collection of the Russian Empress: 'the stone themselves seemed to come in aid of his genius, and enabled him to produce a work which in its kind is truly unique'; Raspe 1791, p. 103).

161. Hebe with an Eagle. c. 1774

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 32 x 20. Inv. No. I - 10355

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Exhibitions: 1774 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 5.

Traditional attribution to William Brown.

162. Bust of Minerva. c. 1781

Cameo. Cornelian-onyx (red relief against a white ground with pinkish hue), gold. 32 x 24. Inv. No. K - 1846

Provenance: 1789.

Manuscript Sources: 'Tête de Minerve – £200' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2 February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

Exhibitions: 1781 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1976 Leningrad, No. 81.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15150; 'Engraved by Brown').

163. The Rape of Proserpine. c. 1772

Signed along the earth: BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 30 x 37. Inv. No. I - 3727

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'The Rape of Proserpine on Intag.o – £90' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'L'Enlevement de Proserpine' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Literature: Rollett 1875, p. 349; Lippold 1922, pl. CI.6 (without the engraver's name).

Exhibitions: 1772 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 15.

Casts and Pastes: Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/458).

William's authorship of this intaglio is indicated by the listing in Graves 1905. William also produced a repetition of it on a lesser scale and without the figure of Cupid (Raspe 1791, No. 1508), seen here illuminating the path to the underworld with a torch. The centre foreground is occupied by the main group: the strongly foreshortened figure of Pluto in his chariot, bearing Proserpine away in his powerful arms. She looks back to Ceres, receding into the distance in the left of the composition; mother and daughter stretch out their arms towards each other in despair. This is one of the most dynamic of all the Browns' gems, and one of their most densely filled compositions.

164. Neptune in a shell drawn by hippocampi. c. 1771

Signed to left: W. BROWN INV^{t}

Intaglio. Pale red, slightly convex cornelian, gold. 29 x 32. Inv. No. I - 3742

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Literature: Fersman 1961, p. 192, ill. 1.8; Lisenkov 1964, p. 235, fig. 133.4; Kagan 1965b, p. 102, fig. 4; Dalton 1915, p. LVIII.

Exhibitions: 1771 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28, ill. II.5; 1976 Leningrad, No. 7.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 2566/819).

This intaglio shows clear elements of Baroque style which may perhaps be the result of the use of a particular visual source – the reverse of a medal showing Louis XIV of 1763 (Antoine Aury, Rondot 1864, pl. XXXV.3) – which he may have seen during his visit to Paris in 1788.

165. Bust of Diana. c. 1771

Signed to right: W. BROWN INV^{t}

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 26 x 23. Inv. No. I - 3699

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Literature: Kagan 2002b, p. 417.

Exhibitions: 1771 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1976 Leningrad, No. 10.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 2109/629).

Repeated by William on a smaller scale (Raspe 1791, No. 2112), the image also appeared in half-length images of Diana with her bow by the Browns (Raspe 1791, Nos. 2113-2115) which are in turn very close to an intaglio by John Frewin (Raspe 1791, No. 15161), who would seem to have been their teacher. The Hermitage intaglio was copied in cameo versions after Tassie's cast in 1821, 1824 and 1842, at the Ekaterinburg Grinding Factory (Kgan 1994, ,Nos 65, 219, Appendix No. 33).

166. The Muse Erato. Before 1782

Signed below: BROWN ^{F}

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 22 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3934

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'La Muse Erato – £18. N.B. Cette pièce est d'après l'antique' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 27 November 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119).

Literature: Biehler 1860, p. 84; Antonov 1978, p. 842; Gere et al 1984, p. 124; Kagan 2002b, p. 428.

Exhibitions: 1779 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1976 Leningrad, No. 39 ('Terpsichore with a Lyre').

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 3460/1079; 'Terpsichore').

Copy of a gem which was in the 18th century in the collection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Florence (Agostini 1657-69, parte I, tav. 144; Maffei 1707-9, parte II, tav. 51; Gori 1731-32, I, tav. 44; Reinach 1895, pl. 22). Repeated twice by William Brown on a smaller scale (Raspe 1791, No. 3461 and cat. 167). In 1822 Tassie's cast was copied in cameo at the Ekaterinburg Grinding Factory (Kagan 1994, No.

75). We have revived the work's original title, based on the Browns' own account: for many years it was described using the identification 'Terpsichore' given in Raspe's catalogue of Tassie casts.

167. The Muse Erato. Before 1782

Signed below: BROWN [F]

Intaglio. Yellow cornelian, gold. 22 x 19. Inv. No. I - 3734

Provenance: 1787.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nimphe dansante' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1787; Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 73).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 40 ('Terpsichore with a Lyre').

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 3462/1081).

One of a group of three gems 'cachet en or & perles' which were supplied for £45.

Reduced replica of cat. 166.

168. The Muse of Tragedy. Before 1772

Signed on the pedestal: BROWN

Intaglio. Slightly convex red cornelian, gold. 28 x 21. Inv. No. I - 3728

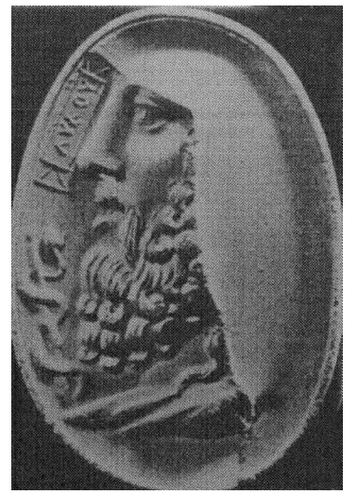
Provenance: 1790.

Manuscript Sources: 'A red Cornelian engr.d with the Muse Melpomena – £33' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 8 October 1790; Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 107, f. 136).

Literature: Fersman 1961, p. 192, ill. 1.4; Lisenkov 1964, p. 235, ill. II, fig. 133; Antonov 1978, p. 841.

Exhibitions: 1772 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1926 Leningrad, pp. 26, 28, ill. II.4; 1976 Leningrad, No. 38.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 9591/14154).



170. Aulos (?)
Head of Asclepius. Fragment of sard intaglio. 1st century AD.
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Repeats an intaglio by William created in 1771 (Raspe 1791, No. 9590, 'Didona') but with the addition of a mask on the pedestal.

169. Tragic Mask. 1794/95

Signed to left: BROWN

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 24 x 30. Inv. No. K - 1778

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 64; 1976 Leningrad, No. 94.

Copy of a Classical cameo formerly in the collection of the duc d'Orléans (Orléans Description 1780-84, I, pl. 52; Reinach 1895, pl. 125; Kagan, Neverov 2000b, No. 164/71) which entered the Hermitage in 1787. William Brown repeated the mask in an intaglio (Dalton 1915, No. 898, p. XXIII).

170. Head of Asclepius. 1785/95

Pair to cat. 172

Signed to right: BROWN

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a grey ground). 30 x 23. Inv. No. K - 421

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 83.

The image of the god of Health and Medicine derives from an ancient intaglio bearing the signature of the engraver AYLOS, (whose name was often taken to indicate that of the owner). In the 18th century this fragmentary gem was in the Strozzi collection in Florence but in 1866 arrived in the British Museum as part of the collection of the Duke of Blacas (Walters 1926, No. 1686, pl. XXII). Brown suggested his own reconstruction of the missing part of the head which differs from that seen in engravings of the gem (Stosch 1724, pl. 18; Gori 1731-32, II, pl. VII).

171. Head of Hygieia. c. 1778 or before 1785

Signed below: W. BROWN INV^{T}

Intaglio. Yellow cornelian, gold. 31 x 27, Inv. No. I - 3698

Provenance: 1787.

Manuscript Sources: 'La Déesse Hygée, en or & diamans – £120' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1787; Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 73).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 220.

Exhibitions: 1778 or 1785 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1976 Leningrad, No. 14; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 132; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 132; 2000-1 London, No. 181.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 4116/6740).

A head of Hygieia was shown by William Brown at The Royal Academy in London in 1778 (No. 18) and a gem of the same name appeared there seven years later in 1785 (No. 362). In view of the more profoundly Neo-Classical style of the Hermitage gem the later date seems more likely, a suggestion further supported by the date of its arrival in Russia. The mount of gold and diamonds described by Weitbrecht was removed after the gem was received and it now has a simple smooth mount of the kind usual for intaglios from Catherine's collection. A decade later the engraver repeated the same head without the caduceus for a cameo now in the Hermitage (cat. 172).

172. Head of Hygieia. 1785/95

Pair to cat. 170

Signed to left: BROWN
Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 29 x 23. Inv. No. K - 1776

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 65; 1976 Leningrad, No. 82.

Attributed to William Brown on the basis of similarities to a signed intaglio cat. 171.

173. Cupid with his bow. 1790

Signed to right: BROWN

Cameo. Cornelian-onyx (white relief against a yellow ground with dark blue sheen), gold. 18 x 22. Inv. No. K - 1775

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 66; 1976 Leningrad, No. 86; 2005-6 London, No. 50.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15382; 'Engraved by W. Brown').

It would be strange if there were not, among more than a dozen gems with images of Cupid by the Browns in the Hermitage, one in which he holds his main attribute, the bow. Here he is down on one knee, having just released an arrow into the heart of some unseen victim and his eyes follow the arrow's trajectory. The left hand stretched forward and upwards still holds the bow, but his right hand has already dropped back.

174. Cupid with a thyrsus astride a panther. 1790

Signed below: BROWN INV^{t}

Intaglio. Pale yellow cornelian, gold. 21 x 25. Inv. No. I - 3745

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 23.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15389).

Repetition of an intaglio by William Brown (Raspe 1791, No. 6727), deriving from a widespread gem type showing young Dionysus riding a panther (Lippold 1922, pl. CVII.5).

175. Psyche with a quiver and arrow. Before 1789

Intaglio. Octagonal hyacinth, gold. 20 x 16. Inv. No. I - 10347

Provenance: 1789.

Manuscript Sources: 'Psyché, sur Hyacinthe – £50' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2 February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 27.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15409; 'Engraved by Wm. Brown').

176. Head of Ariadne with a thyrsus. 1789 (?)

Possibly pair to Charles Brown's intaglio *Head of Bacchus with a Thyrsus and Chalice*, cat. 139

Intaglio. Slightly convex brown sard, gold. 28 x 23. Inv. No. I - 10011

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Repeats an intaglio by the same author (Raspe 1791, No. 4343) which derives, with some differences such as the addition of the thyrsus, to a *Head of Ariadne* by Giovanni Pichler (Rollett 1874, p. 30, No. 371), also copied without alteration by Charles Brown (cat. 140).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 33.

177. Bust of Ariadne. c. 1791

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN

Cameo. Three-layer convex onyx (white with green relief against a green ground). 41 x 30. Inv. No. K - 596

Provenance: 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Sardonyx à trois couches: la tête d'Ariadne – £50' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10).

Literature: Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 91 ('Bust of a bacchante').

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15244; 'Engraved by W. Brown').

This rare type of white and green onyx was frequently used by William and Charles Brown.

178. Bust of a Bacchante with a tambourine. 1788

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold. 15 x 14. Inv. No. Zh – 2608 [Antiquities Department]

Provenance: 1792 with the collection of de Saint-Morys, Paris, brought in its entirety to St Petersburg by the antiquarian Alfonso Miliotti and sold to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Miliotti Saint-Morys MS s.d., II, pl. 17 ('Bacchante').

Literature: Miliotti 1803, pl. 61.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 35.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 5006/13499; 'Engraved by Wm. Brown').

The intaglio may have reached the celebrated collection of Saint-Morys, Conseiller to the French Parliament, during William Brown's stay in Paris at the invitation of Louis XVI in 1788. An author's repetition of the gem was in the collection of engraved gems belonging to the 2nd Duke of Wellington (Scarisbrick 1977, No. 209).

179. Satyr and Nymph. c. 1780

Signed to right: BROWN INV^{t}

Intaglio. Slightly convex red cornelian, gold. 28 x 23. Inv. No. I - 3749

Provenance: 1789.

Manuscript Sources: 'Satyr et Nymphe – £60' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2

February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

Exhibitions: 1780 London ('a bacchante supported by a satyr', Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1976 Leningrad, No. 37.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 5190/13519).

Tassie's casts include a version of this composition (Raspe 1791, No. 5189; the Browns are named as owners not makers).

180. Head of Medusa. c. 1796

Signed below: BROWN

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 25 x 20. Inv. No. K - 1779

Provenance: June 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Une tête de Méduse d'après l'Antique – £27' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 66; 1976 Leningrad, No. 95.

There is an intaglio version of this cameo in the History Museum in Moscow (Raspe 1791, No. 15503; Zakharov 1928, No. 355). A copy of a Classical gem with the signature 'CΩCOKΛE'. For information on the original see cat. 75.

181. Head of Hercules. c. 1789 (?)

Signed bottom left: BROWN

Intaglio. Pale grey chalcedony, gold. 21 x 18. Inv. No. I - 3938

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 42.

The image was repeated on two more occasions by William Brown (Raspe 1791, No. 15320 and an intaglio in the National Museum in Krakow, Fredro-Boniecka 1940-48, p. 60, 'Brown, William').

182. Hercules with a cithara. c. 1796

Signed to left: BROWN

Cameo. Octagonal three-layer onyx (white with green relief against a green ground). 25 x 14. Inv. No. K - 1786 Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Un jeune Hercule avec lyre – £60' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Literature: Kagan 1973a, No. 81.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1956 Moscow, p.65; 1976 Leningrad, No. 97.

Copy of an ancient gem by Skylax (Stosch 1724, pl. 59; Reinach 1895, pl. 136) which was formerly in the collection of M. le baron Roger de Sevry, sold in Paris in 1904.

183. Hercules with his club and a chalice. c. 1796

Signed to left: BROWN

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (relief in white with yellow spots against a grey ground), gold. 39 x 23. Inv. No. K - 1788

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Hercules *bibax*; - sur cette célèbre figure Mrs Brown citent le livre de Spence *On the Works of Poets and Artists* – £75 St.' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1956 Moscow, p. 66; 1976 Leningrad, p. 66, No. 98.

Copy of a Classical gem with the signature AΔMΩN which was in the 18th century in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough (Stosch 1724, pl. 1; Worlidge 1768, II, pl. 76; Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91, I, pl. 32; Reinach 1895, pl. 110,32; Boardman 2009, no. 667). The reference in Weitbrecht's account is to Joseph Spence's celebrated work, illustrated with many works of Antiquity, *Polymetis* (Spence 1747).

184. Hercules and Omphale. c. 1776

Signed to left: BROWN

Intaglio. Convex pale grey chalcedony with a white onyx band to left, gold. 29 x 23. Inv. No. I - 3939

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: 'Hercule et Omphale' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 12 September 1795; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 300).

Exhibitions: 1776 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 44.

Literature: Kagan 2002b, p. 444.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £532 10 shillings for the lot.

William repeated the image on another intaglio (Raspe 1791, No. 6024), which was repeated in 1842 as a cameo at the Ekaterinburg Grinding Factory (Kagan 1994, No. 207).

185. Head of Omphale. 1779

Intaglio. Pale yellow cornelian, gold. 27 x 23. Inv. No. I - 9307

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Exhibitions: 1779 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1976 Leningrad, No. 43.

William Brown repeated the image on another intaglio (Raspe 1791, No. 6065), a signed mirror-image of this piece (Raspe 1791, No. 6065; for a glass cast of it see cat. 210). Similar heads were also produced by Thomas Bragg (Raspe 1791, No. 15345) and John Frewin (Raspe 1791, No. 15346).

186. Grecian Wedding

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Yellow sard, gold. 21 x 27. Inv. No. I - 3729

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Grecian Marriage Inta.o Oriental Agate – £30' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Un mariage grec' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1777 London ('A Roman marriage', Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1976 Leningrad, No. 29.

This intaglio was repeated on several occasions (Raspe 1791, Nos. 7230-7232, the first of these by William Brown; Knight 1921, No. 63) and there was a version of the composition without one of the female figures reproduced by Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/460, 'Peleo e Fetide'). All of these derive from ancient gems after a marble relief in the Villa Doria Pamphilj in Rome.

187. Head of Pericles. Late 1788

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to right: ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ

Intaglio. Red cornelian. 30 x 24. Inv. No. I - 3711

Provenance: 1789.

Manuscript Sources: 'Tête de Pericles – £50' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2 February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

Literature: Prozorovsky 1884, appendix II, p. 167.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 49.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 10110/14220; 'Engraved by Wm. Brown').

Raspe notes that the intaglio was engraved in late 1788, after the brothers returned from their stay in Paris. They had produced a preliminary version before their departure for Paris, but this lacked the figure of Victoria and the ram's head on the helmet (Raspe 1791, No. 10109, pl. LIII). Both versions reproduce a Classical marble bust of Pericles which belonged in the 18th century to Charles Townley and is now in the British Museum. The British Museum also has an intaglio similar to that in the Hermitage, commissioned from the Browns by Townley himself – the only contemporary gem in his celebrated collection (Rudoe 2003, p. 138).

188. Head of Demosthenes. c. 1775

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white image against a grey ground), gold. 23 x 19. Inv. No. K - 5037

Provenance: 1789.

Manuscript Sources: 'Tête de Demosthène – £30' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2 February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

Exhibitions: 1775 London, Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314; 1976 Leningrad, No. 103.

Repeats a gem by Giovanni Pichler (Rollett 1874, p. 37, No. 208) which in turn derives from a classical bust in the Museo Nazionale, Naples. William and Charles Brown produced similar heads of the Greek philosopher (Raspe 1791, Nos. 9991, 9993, 9995) as did Marchant (Raspe 1791, No. 9999), Wray (Raspe 1791, No. 9998) and Burch (Raspe 1791, No. 9988; for a paste of this see cat. 33).

189. Head of Alexander the Great with ammon horns. c. 1796

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Yellow cornelian, gold. 34 x 29. Inv. No. I - 3710

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Alexandre' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 50.

One of a group of thirteen gems valued at £453.

Copy of a coin of Lysimachus (c. 323-281 BC), King of Thrace, or one of the many gems which repeat it (Furtwängler 1896, No. 8917; Babelon 1897, pl. XXI, Nos. 222, 224). William can clearly be identified as the author since his brother died in 1795.

190. Head of Sappho with the lyre. c. 1786

Signed to right: BPΩYN

Intaglio. Yellow cornelian, gold. 23 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3713

Provenance: 1789.

Manuscript Sources: 'Tête de Sapho – £30' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2 February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

189. Tetradrachma (obverse)
Lycimachus 323-281 BC
Head of Alexander the Great. Silver

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 53.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 10209).

Repeated by William Brown, as an intaglio without the lyre (Raspe 1791, No. 10212) and as a cameo (Raspe 1791, No. 10215). The image was based on an intaglio by Giovanni Pichler (Rollett 1874, p. 37, No. 208) which derived in its turn from an Antique marble bust in the Vatican. Similar intaglios were produced by the British engravers Edward Burch (see cats. 30, 31 and Dalton 1915, No. 1132), Nathaniel Marchant (Seidmann 1987, No. 101), William Barnett (Raspe 1791, No. 10216) and William Lane (Raspe 1791, No. 10214).

191. Caius Marius at Minturna. c. 1796

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Octagonal pale red cornelian, gold. 38 x 45. Inv. No. I - 3940

Provenance: June 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Cajus Marius au moment qu'un soldat cimbrien alluat le tuer par ordre de Sulla; il fut intimidé par l'air imposant du héros, qui lui demanda: Connois-tu, Marius? – £120' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 102.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 58; 2000-1 London, No. 192.

Weitbrecht's description of the subject is a free treatment of a fragment from Plutarch's life of the Roman politician Gaius Marius. The characteristic Neo-Classical structure of the composition was clearly influenced by a painting by Germain-Jean Drouais of 1786 (*Marius Imprisoned at Minturna*; Louvre, Paris), which the artist may have seen during his stay in Paris in 1788.

William can clearly be identified as the author since his brother died in 1795.

192. Bust of Galba. c. 1796

Signed left in a frame: BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 30 x 25. Inv. No. I - 3951

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Galba' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 59.

One of a group of thirteen gems valued at £453.

William can clearly be identified as the author since his brother died in 1795.

193. Bust of Trajan. c. 1796

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Convex yellow cornelian, gold. 25 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3937

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Trajan' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 60.

One of a group of thirteen gems valued at £453.

The iconography of this piece derives from a portrait type widespread in the Renaissance, when this image of the 'optimus princeps' – as it was known in Antiquity – was particularly popular.

William can clearly be identified as the author since his brother died in 1795.

194. Bust of Antoninus Pius. c. 1796

Signed in a frame to left: BROWN

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold. 39 x 30. Inv. No. I - 3952

Provenance: October 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Antoninus Pius' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Literature: Prozorovsky 1884, appendix II, p. 167.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 61.

Casts and Pastes: Cades (Impronte gemmarie 1836, 67/459).

One of a group of thirteen gems valued at £453.

Based on a marble bust formerly in the Farnese collection (now Museo Nazionale, Naples), the head was repeated on an iron medal produced at the Gleiwitz Factory which named William Brown as author (Hintze 1928, p. 102, pl. 13, No. 7) (indeed, Charles had died in 1795). The work was twice reproduced in cameo, in 1819 and 1837, at the Ekaterinburg Grinding Factory (Kagan 1994, Nos 24, 25, 185).

195. Francis Bacon. 1798/1800

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: FRANCISCVS BACON

Cameo. Red cornelian, gold. 43 x 37. Inv. No. K - 781

Provenance: November 1800.

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 102.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1938 Leningrad, p. 40; 1976 Leningrad, No. 122.

One of six cameo portraits, in the same style and using the same material, of English and French writers and

philosophers (cats. 195-200), for which a total of 1812 roubles and 34 kopeks was paid.

Engraved in high relief on highly polished red cornelian, all derive from standard images of their subjects and can easily be identified even without the inscriptions (although 'historical' costumes are used only for Bacon and Shakespeare). Overall the series is somewhat monotonous in appearance.

William can clearly be identified as the author since his brother died in 1795.

196. William Shakespeare. 1798/1800

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN; inscription to left and right: GYLIELMVS SHAKESPEAR

Cameo. Red cornelian, gold. 39 x 32. Inv. No. K - 787

Provenance: November 1800.

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 102.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 123.

One of six cameo portraits, in the same style and using the same material, of English and French writers and philosophers (cats. 195-200), for which a total of 1812 roubles and 34 kopeks was paid.

William can clearly be identified as the author since his brother died in 1795.

Another portrait of Shakespeare by William Brown was exhibited in 1807 at The British Institute (Graves 1908, p. 71), part of a series of five onyx cameos showing celebrated Englishmen. That series included, in addition to Shakespeare, Pope, Locke, Milton and Newton.

197. Alexander Pope. 1798/1800

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left and right: ALEXANDER POPE

Cameo. Red cornelian, gold. 37 x 31. Inv. No. K - 783

Provenance: November 1800.

Literature: Georgi 1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 386]; Kagan 1965b, p. 106.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 124.

One of six cameo portraits, in the same style and using the same material, of English and French writers and philosophers (cats. 195-200), for which a total of 1812 roubles and 34 kopeks was paid.

William can clearly be identified as the author since his brother died in 1795.

There is a cameo portrait of Pope by the Brown brothers in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Kris 1932, No. 106, pl. 35).

198. John Locke. 1798/1800

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: IOANES LOCKE

Cameo. Red cornelian, gold. 42 x 35. Inv. No. K - 784

Provenance: November 1800.

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 102.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1938 Leningrad, p. 40; 1976 Leningrad, No. 125.

One of six cameo portraits, in the same style and using the same material, of English and French writers and philosophers (cats. 195-200), for which a total of 1812 roubles and 34 kopeks was paid.

William can clearly be identified as the author since his brother died in 1795.

199. Pierre Corneille. 1798/1800

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left and right: PIERRE CORNEILLE

Cameo. Red cornelian, gold. 40 x 32. Inv. No. K - 785

Provenance: November 1800.

Literature: Gebhart 1925, p. 174; Stegman 1939, Nos. 33-34, p. 971; Kagan 1965b, p. 102.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1938 Leningrad, p. 40; 1976 Leningrad, No. 126.

One of six cameo portraits, in the same style and using the same material, of English and French writers and

philosophers (cats. 195-200), for which a total of 1812 roubles and 34 kopeks was paid.

William can clearly be identified as the author since his brother died in 1795.

200. Voltaire. 1798/1800

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: F.M.A.VOLTAIRE

Cameo. Red cornelian, gold. 48 x 34. Inv. No. K - 786

Provenance: November 1800.

Literature: Georgi 1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 386]; Gebhart 1925, p. 174; Stegman 1939, Nos. 33-34, p. 971; Kagan 1965b, pp. 102-6.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1938 Leningrad, p. 40; 1976 Leningrad, No. 127; 1978 Leningrad, No. 16.

One of six cameo portraits, in the same style and using the same material, of English and French writers and philosophers (cats. 195-200), for which a total of 1812 roubles and 34 kopeks was paid.

201. Louis Joseph Timoléon de Cossé, Duc de Brissac. c. 1786

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN

Intaglio. Pale yellow cornelian, gold. 31 x 26. Inv. No. I - 12658

Provenance: 1932 transferred from Pavlovsk Palace Museum, former imperial summer residence, near St Petersburg.

Exhibitions: 1972 Leningrad, No. 501, fig. on p. 124; 1976 Leningrad, No. 77.

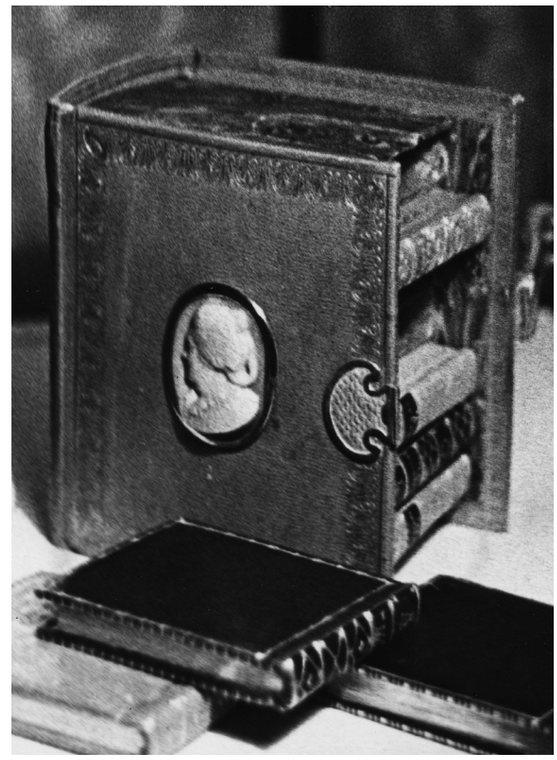
Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 14146/12662; 'Engraved by Wm. Brown').

William Brown repeated the same image in a double portrait of the Duc and Duchesse de Brissac (Raspe 1791, No. 14147).

202. Empress Catherine II. c. 1794

Signed on the truncation of the bust: BROWN

Cameo. Agate (pale brown relief against a slightly darker ground), gold. Set into the lid of a morocco leather gold-stamped case for notebooks for each day of the week (the paper in the notebooks is tinted and has the watermark GM 1809). 45 x 35. Inv. No. K – 6636



202. Empress Catherine II: Portrait cameo by the Brown brothers, set in case of Alexander I's notebooks, c. 1810
Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

Provenance: 1964 transferred from the Numismatics Department of the State Hermitage.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 121; 1997 Moscow, No. 77.

The Russian Empress is shown in middle age, dressed in everyday wear (a morning dress with a soft collar), without any idealisation. The case to which the gem is attached dates from the reign of Catherine's grandson Alexander I and has a large gold lock in the form of bird's claws. The different coloured morocco bindings of the notebooks are stamped in gold with the names of the days in French and planetary symbols.

203. Allegory of Peace. c. 1795

Signed to left: BROWN

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a grey ground with white and yellow spots). 40 x 51. Inv. No. K - 1782

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: 'Un grand Sardonyx: La Paix avec ses attributs; Mr. Brown dit la dessus dans sa lettre: "J'ai tâché de traiter cet emblème d'une manière toute nouvelle, en plaçant sous ses ailes les attributs du Commerce, des Arts et des Richesses"' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 12 September 1795; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 300).

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 103.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, pp. 27-28; 1956 Moscow, p. 65 ('Winged Aphrodite'); 1976 Leningrad, No. 118; 2006 Moscow, No. 65.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £532 10 shillings for the lot.

Pax, personification of Peace, rises up above a chariot pulled to the left by two doves, her tunic fluttering, an ear of corn (?) in her hands. The goddess's wings shelter two flying putti, one holding a caduceus and a lyre, the other a cornucopia. Such symbolism was probably a reference to international events during the last years of Catherine's reign – the second and third divisions of Poland (divided between Austria, Prussia and Russia), which considerably enlarged the territory of the Russian Empire.

Compare cat. 258.

204. Falconet's Monument to Peter the Great: The Bronze Horseman. c. 1783

Signed bottom right: BROWN

Intaglio. Rock crystal with faceted edge, gold. 46 x 38. Inv. No. I - 3648

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Kagan 1965a, p. 422, fig. 36.

Exhibitions: 1783 London (Graves 1905-6, I, p. 314); 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 69; 1977 Norwich, p. 40, No. 143 (photo); 1997 Moscow, No. 70; 2006-7 St Petersburg, No. 42.

204. Etienne-Maurice Falconet
Monument to Peter the Great, 1782
(The Bronze Horseman in St Petersburg).

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 13935/8860; 'Engraved by Wm. Brown').

Etienne-Maurice Falconet's equestrian statue of Peter the Great, erected by Catherine the Great in St Petersburg in 1782, has become famous by the name given it in Alexander Pushkin's narrative poem, *The Bronze Horseman*. Judging from certain elements which were altered to give them greater symbolic significance – such as the placing of the snake beneath the horse's tail and hoof – the engraver's model was an early print produced before completion of the monument, certainly before those alterations were made at the request of the Empress herself.

The intaglio is a rare instance of the use of rock crystal for a Neo-Classical gem. It is indeed the sole example amongst all the 200 cameos and intaglios by the Browns in the Hermitage. This perhaps explains why, although the gem was correctly described when it was entered in the Hermitage's first inventory, later inventories (including that in current use) mistakenly identify the material as glass.

205. Horse's head. c. 1786

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 21 x 17. Inv. No. I - 3935

Provenance: 1792 with the collection of de Saint-Morys, Paris, brought in its entirety to St Petersburg by the antiquarian Alfonso Miliotti and sold to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Miliotti Saint-Morys MS s.d., II, Catalogue on unnumbered pages at the end, f. [18] ('Bust d'un cheval très beau travail sur cornaline).

Literature: Kagan 1960, p. 36.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 63.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 13192/12386).

Copy of a Classical gem (Winckelmann 1760, p. 543, No. 1) which is now in the Antike Sammlung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. William Brown repeated the image (Raspe 1791, No. 13187).

206. Cow and Bull. c. 1791

Signed below along the earth: BROWN

Cameo. Agate with jasper (pale brown spotted relief against a red ground), gold. 22 x 25. Inv. No. K - 4583

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 111.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15711; 'Engraved by W. Brown').

The animals' poses repeat those seen in an ancient intaglio formerly in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough (Marlborough Gems c. 1780-91, II, pl. 35; Reinach 1895, pl. 116,35; Boardman 2009, no. 197).

207. Tiger. c. 1796
(see p. 328)

Signed below: BROWN

Cameo. Two-layer agate (relief in pink with red spots against a red ground), gold. 19 x 24. Inv. No. K - 1785

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Un tigre – pierre tâchetée – £30' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Literature: Kagan 1960, p. 37; Kagan 1973a, No. 88; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 223; Belitskaya 1983, p. 51.

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 65; 1976 Leningrad, No. 108; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 142; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 142; 2000-1 London, No. 191.

Weitbrecht's account lists this among a group of gems executed 'après l'Antique'. A comparison with an engraving by the Browns' contemporary, John Murphy, after a painting by James Northcote makes clear, however, that it was this which served as William's direct source. Without seeking to achieve any naturalistic representation of the creeping tiger's striped fur, Brown was nonetheless able to create a sense of variegation in the surface.

208. Reclining Lioness. c. 1789

Cameo. Two-layer sardonyx (brown relief against a pale ground), gold. 15 x 28. Inv. No. K - 3406

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 106.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15164; 'Engraved by W. Brown').

209. Reclining Lioness. c. 1789

Signed below: BROWN

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with yellow spots against a brown ground with pale blue sheen), gold. 17 x 29. Inv. No. K - 3376

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 105.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15165; 'Engraved by W. Brown').

William Brown (imitations)

210. Head of Omphale. Late 18th century

Signed to left: BROWN F.

Intaglio. Yellow glass paste, gold. 22 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3716

Provenance: 19th century.

The original intaglio by William Brown belonged in the late 18th century to a Mr. Gattiker (Raspe 1791, No. 6065). There is a piece by Brown in the Hermitage showing a similar head of Omphale but in reverse (cat. 185).

211. Henry VII. c. 1795

Workshop of James Tassie, London

Signed below: W. B.; top and left the inscription: HENRICUS VII REX

Cameo. Glass paste (white relief against a bluish ground), copper (brooch mount, the twisted wire around it lost). 37 x 30. Inv. No. K - 6765

Provenance: 1992 acquired through the Hermitage Expert Purchasing Commission.

Exhibitions: 1997 St Petersburg, No. 198.

An almost literal repetition of the Hermitage's cameo by William Brown in the series Portraits of English Kings (cat. 284). On the basis of the nature and colour of the material we can be reasonably certain that the paste was produced in the workshop of James Tassie. The ring is interesting in illustrating how imitation 'cameos' were used for inexpensive jewellery, a notable phenomenon from the end of the 18th century.

William Brown (copy)

212. The Three Graces. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Sardonyx, gold. 26 x 20. Inv. No. I - 9306

Provenance: late 18th century.

Copy of an original by Wiliam Brown (Raspe 1791, No. 6432).

Charles and William Brown (in collaboration)

213. Head of Jupiter with a diadem. c. 1795

Signed bottom left: BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 20 x 17. Inv. No. I - 3733

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: 'Jupiter – Cornaline' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 12 September 1795; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 300).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 1.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £532 10 shillings for the lot.

Derives from a type widespread in ancient and post-Classical glyptics (both intaglios and cameos) of the Jupiter Capitolinus (see Beger 1685, p. 5, tab. III; Mariette 1750, II, pl. 2; Reinach 1895, pl. 98). On such gems the laurel wreath on Jupiter's head is often replaced with a diadem, as here.

214. Head of Jupiter with a laurel wreath. c. 1789 (?)

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a spotted grey ground), gold. 34 x 27. Inv. No. K - 1847

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 79.

Traditionally attributed to the Brown brothers, this is a free copy of an ancient gem by Aspasios (Stosch 1724, pl. 14, Gori 1731-32, II, pl. 3; Reinach 1895, pls. 48, 133), a fragment of which is now in the Museo Archeologico, Florence.

215. The Rape of Ganymede. c. 1789 (?)

Cameo. Variegated pink agate, gold. 24 x 20. Inv. No. K - 1845

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 80

219. Benjamin Green after George Stubbs
Phaethon. 1770
Mezzotint
By kind permission of The Trustees of the British Museum

Traditionally attributed to the Brown brothers, this is a copy of a fragment of an ancient cameo with additions in gold and enamel in the form of a shell or the bell of a flower, made when it was in the collection of the Duc d'Orléans (Orléans Description 1780-84, I, pl. 11; Reinach 1895, pl. 123; Kagan, Neverov 2000b, No. 158/65). That original gem – acquired by Catherine II with the Orléans collection in 1787 – derived from a lost Hellenistic painting, possibly that which served as the subject for an epigram by Straton (Anthologia Palatina XII, 221; see Neverov 1988, No. 52)

216. The Rape of Europa. c. 1794

Signed bottom right: BROWN

Intaglio. Octagonal blood jasper, gold. 17 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3723

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Jupiter & Europa. Inta.o Green jasper – £22 10' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Jupiter et Europe' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 4.

Unlike the intaglio by William Brown on this subject (cat. 160) in which the bull has already abducted Europa and is carrying her away across the waves, here we see the very moment of abduction. The bull tramples flowers scattered in fright by the girls on the beach while Europa stretches her arms towards her mother beseechingly.

217. Cephalus and Procris. c. 1789 (?)

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 28 x 31. Inv. No. I - 10360

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 11.

Traditional identification of both subject and author.

218. Minerva leaning on a column. c. 1793

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Pale grey chalcedony, gold. 25 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3737

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Figure de Minerve' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 13.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

219. Phaethon. Late 18th century

Intaglio. Pale grey chalcedony, gold. 26 x 32. Inv. No. I - 9318

Provenance: 1780s.

Although all Hermitage inventories of engraved gems give the subject as Achilles, this gem is undoubtedly a copy of an intaglio thought to be by Charles Brown (Cades, Impronte Gemmarie MS, 67/460, 'Trega in puna corsa'), possibly influenced by Stubbs' painting, *Phaeton* (location unknown). Stubbs' original became popular through a mezzotint by Benjamin Green (1770) and Wedgwood plaques modelled by Stubbs himself in the 1780s.

The only significant difference between Brown's intaglio and Stubbs' painting is that Phaethon is here shown seated rather than standing.

220. Two Masks. c. 1788

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: ΔPAMA

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 22 x 17. Inv. No. I - 3714

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 41.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15236/13364).

221. Bust of Bacchus. c. 1794

Signed to right: BROWN

Cameo. Sardonyx (white relief against a brown ground with dark blue sheen), gold. 31 x 24. Inv. No. K - 1783

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Young Bachus, Inta.o Oriental Sarde – £22 10' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Un jeune Bachus' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 64; 1976 Leningrad, No. 90.

Copy of an intaglio by Giovanni Pichler (Rollett 1874, p. 32, No. 84) which derives from an ancient statue in the Vatican once thought to depict Genius but now more generally known as the Eros Centocelle after the place where it was discovered by British artist and archaeologist Gavin Hamilton.

222. Head of a Bacchante. c. 1795

Signed top right: BROWN

Cameo. Rectangular three-layer onyx (white relief with green against a green ground), gold. 18 x 18. Inv. No. K - 602

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: 'Prêtresse de Bachus; jaspe à trois couches' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 12 September 1795; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 300).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 92.

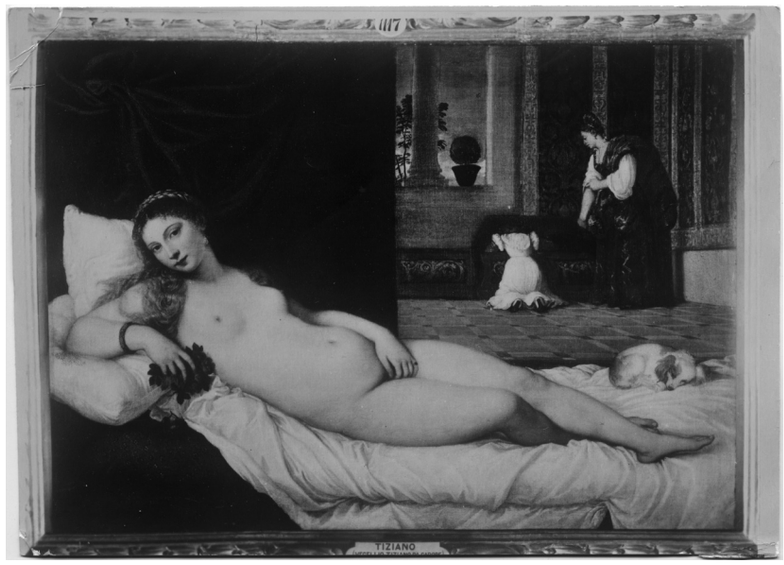
One of a group of nine gems priced at £532 10 shillings for the lot.

223. Bust of a Bacchante with a thyrsus. c. 1789

Intaglio. Pale grey chalcedony, gold. 17 x 13. Inv. No. I - 10028

Provenance: 1789 entered the Hermitage; probably presented by Catherine II to a person or persons unknown; 19th century collection of V. I. Myatlev, St Petersburg; 1887 acquired with the Myatlev collection.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 34.



226. Titian
Venus of Urbino, Italy. 1538
Uffizi, Florence

Derives from a type of relatively common ancient gem (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLI, 19, 21, 22).

224. Bacchante Chasing a Satyr. c. 1785

Intaglio. Dark brown sard, gold (mount with chased ornament). 35 x 38. Inv. No. I - 10343

Provenance: 1792 with the collection of de Saint-Morys, Paris, brought in its entirety to St Petersburg by the antiquarian Alfonso Miliotti and sold to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Miliotti Saint-Morys MS s.d., I, pl. 71 (‘Sardoine de Mr. Miliotty… gravure de Brown sans nom’)

Literature: Miliotti 1803, pl. 75.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 36.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 4864/6876; ‘Sardoine de Mr. Miliotti, gravure de Brown sans nom’).

225. Venus bathing. 1785/95

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Pale yellow cornelian, gold. 27 x 21. Inv. No. I - 4076

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, pp. 26, 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 19.

Variation of a type of gem common in antiquity (see Gravelle 1732-37, I, pl. 61; Reinach 1895, pl. 76) deriving from a statuary type known from a marble in the Vatican. The same subject attracted the attention of Giovanni Pichler (Rollett 1874, p. 38, No. 252) but in the Browns’ interpretation we see much greater freedom in treatment of the original.

226. Venus sleeping. Before 1782

Signed bottom right: BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 19 x 23. Inv. No. I - 4075

Provenance: 1789 entered the Hermitage; probably presented by Catherine II to a person or persons unknown; 19th century collection of V. I. Myatlev, St Petersburg; 1887 acquired with the Myatlev collection.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 18.

Copy of an intaglio by Giovanni Pichler (Raspe 1791, No. 6285; Rollett 1874, p. 38, No. 262) reproducing

Titian's celebrated *Venus of Urbino* (Uffizi, Florence). Like the bacchante with a thyrsus (cat. 223), the gem left and then re-entered the Hermitage.

227. Cupid breaking Zeus's thunderbolt. c. 1794

Signed to left: BROWN

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a grey ground). 30 x 17. Inv. No. K - 252

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Cupid breaking the Thunder Bolt a Cameo Oriental Sard – £30 (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Cupidon' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 65; 1976 Leningrad, No. 87 (a provenance from the de Saint-Morys collection is mistakenly given); 2006-7 London, No. 51.

Based on ancient gems (such as Gori 1731-32, II, pl. 16; Reinach 1895, pl. 51). The Browns also produced a variation on this composition (Raspe 1791, No. 6637).

By breaking this mighty thunderbolt over his knee – a feat of which only Jupiter, the Thunderer, god of the skies, should apparently be capable – Cupid shows how love can easily and playfully frustrate the threatening intent of the supreme God of Olympus.

228. Cupid with a lyre and gryphon. c. 1788

Signed to right: BPΩYN

Intaglio. Octagonal pale red cornelian, gold. 16 x 18. Inv. No. I - 4074

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 24.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe, No. 6901/13762).

229. Cupid with a lyre and butterfly. c. 1785

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 27 x 19. Inv. No. I - 3743

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 25.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 6898/7303).

Inspired by ancient gems such as one in the collection of Baron Philipp von Stosch (Winckelmann 1760, Klasse II, No. 789).

230. Cupid playing with a butterfly. c. 1791

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Dark red cornelian, gold. 21 x 19. Inv. No. I - 3744

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'Cupidon jouant avec un papillon – £30' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 27 November 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119).

Literature: Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 26.

The Browns produced a version of this composition on a larger scale in pale cornelian (Raspe 1791, No. 7062).

231. Cupid with a Butterfly. 1789/1790

Signed to left: BROWN

Cameo. Multi-layer sardonyx (brown relief against a pale brown ground). 25 x 20. Inv. No. K - 1781

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 66; 1976 Leningrad, No. 88.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15412).

Derives from ancient gems (such as Gravelle 1732-37, I, pl. 27; Reinach 1895, pl. 75).

Tassie's cabinet includes a cast from another copy of this and cat. 232, also by the Browns (Raspe 1791, No. 7062).

232. Cupid with a butterfly. 1789/1790

Signed to left: BROWN

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (yellow relief and lower layer against a white ground). 26 x 20. Inv. No. K - 1784

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 89.

See cat. 231.

233. Cupid playing the flute, with a lion. c. 1787

Cameo. Sardonyx (white relief against a reddish ground). 21 x 23. Inv. No. K - 1848

Provenance: 1787.

Manuscript Sources: 'Cupidon & un Lion, en bague – £60' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1787; Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 73).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 85; 2006-7 London, No. 52.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 6714/13739).

The lion quietly raises his paw, tamed by the music which Cupid is drawing from his flute. Once again this scene is intended to show the omnipotence of love, which can tame even the wildest forces. Although this gem lacks the master's usual signature, its authorship is confirmed by documents (cited above).

234. Cupid on a dolphin. c. 1790

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 20 x 27. Inv. No. I - 3741

Provenance: 1790.

Manuscript Sources: 'A red Cornelian eng.d with a Cupid playing with a Dolphin – £20' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 8 October 1790; Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 107, f. 136).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII; Antonov 1978, p. 841.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 21.

The Browns produced an intaglio repetition of this composition in cornelian (Raspe 1791, No. 6825).

235. Cupid on a hippocampus. c. 1786

Signed below: BROWN INV^{t}

Intaglio. Two-layer sardonyx (white lower layer, the image carved in the yellow layer), gold. 20 x 26. Inv. No. I - 3740

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 20.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 6798/ 10990).

There is another cameo on the same subject by the Browns in the Hermitage (cat. 236). Both gems are based on a common type of classical gem (Gori 1731-32, I, pl. 77.6; Reinach 1895, pl. 57).

236. Cupid on a hippocampus. 1789/1790

Signed below: BROWN

Cameo. Jasper with onyx (pale brown relief against a dark brown ground). 19 x 25. Inv. No. K - 1780

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 66; 1976 Leningrad, No. 84.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 15396).

See cat. 235.

237. Hercules and Antiope. c. 1790

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 33 x 27. Inv. No. I - 3724

Provenance: 1790.

Manuscript Sources: 'A red Cornelian engraved with Hercules who after his combat with Antiope holds out his arm for her to repose herself – £60' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 8 October 1790;

Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 107, f. 136).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII; Antonov 1978, p. 841.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 45 ('Hercules and Hippolyta'; the date of acquisition and subject incorrectly given).

In the first inventory of engraved gems in the Hermitage the subject was identified as 'Hercules and Omphale' while Dalton called it 'Theseus Standing by a Wounded Amazon'. This author now revives the original subject on the basis of archive documents.

238. Bust of Omphale. c. 1790

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a green ground), gold. 36 x 29. Inv. No. K - 1787

Provenance: 1790.

Manuscript Sources: 'A Jasper Onyx. The head of Omphale, a Cameo – £60' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 8 October 1790; Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 107, f. 136).

Literature: Antonov 1978, p. 841.

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 64; 1976 Leningrad, No. 99.

239. Head of Priam. 1785/95

Cameo. Two-layer sardonyx (white relief against a grey ground). 31 x 24. Inv. No. K - 1840

Provenance: before 1796.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 100.

Traditional attribution to the Brown brothers. This is a free copy of a cornelian classical gem bearing the signature of the ancient master Aetion, which was in 1606 acquired in England by Claude Fabri de Peiresc (Gassendi 1706, p. 95) and later entered the collection of the Duke of Devonshire (Devonshire 1730, pl. 2 (4); Raspe - Tassie 1791, No. 9106). A paste from this gem was to be found in the collection of Baron Philip von Stosch (Stosch 1724, pl. 3; Reinach 1895, pl. 132).

240. Socrates and Alcibiades. c. 1794

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Dark sard, gold. 36 x 27. Inv. No. I - 4073

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Socrates Admonishing his pupil Alcibiades Int.o Oriental Sarde – £75' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Socrate et Alcibiade' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 54.

Both poses and gestures reveal the distant influence of French history painting.

241. Death of Socrates. c. 1791

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Chalcedony-sapphirine, gold. 23 x 31. Inv. No. I - 4072

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'Socrate, il tient le poison à la main, parlant à ses amis desolés qui l'entourent – £44' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 27 November 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII; Kagan 1965b, p. 102, fig. 5; Antonov 1978, p. 842; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 222.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 55; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 140; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 140; 2000-1 London, No. 183.

Part of a 'triptych' of three intaglios by the Browns, with *The Murder of Archimedes* and *The Death of Seneca* (cats. 242, 243), produced at around the same time and dispatched to Russia in the autumn of 1791. In choice of subjects and manner of excecution all

three pieces are typical of the Browns' work in the late 1780s and early 1790s, when Neo-Classical tendencies came to dominate. *The Death of Socrates* was clearly influenced by paintings on the same subject by Jean-François Peyron and Jacques-Louis David which were shown at the Salon in Paris in 1787. The Browns may have seen the paintings during their stay in Paris in 1788, on the eve of the French Revolution, or may have become acquainted with them later through prints. The figure of Socrates is borrowed from David's picture, with the famous gesture of the left hand holding the cup containing hemlock and the hand of Criton his knee, but the bed is placed, as in Peyron's painting, end on to the viewer, considerably foreshortened, allowing the engravers to arrange the group in pyramidal form. The Browns turned to the image of Socrates once more in 1794 in *Socrates and Alcibiades* (cat. 240).

242. Murder of Archimedes. c. 1791

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Pale grey chalcedony, gold. 22 x 18. Inv. No. I - 3748

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'Archimede, il fût tué à 1a prise de Syracuse tandis qu'il s'occupait à des calculs mathematiques – £30' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 27 November 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119).

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 102; Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 57.

See cats. 241, 243.

243. Death of Seneca. c. 1791

Signed below: BROWN

Intaglio. Dark yellow cornelian, gold. 20 x 23. Inv. No. 3936

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'Seneque, il est au bain dictant ses dernieres paroles à un ami – £30' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 27 November 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119).

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 102; Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 56.
See cats. 241, 242.

The figure of Seneca seated on the edge of the bath derives from a Classical marble statue in the Villa Borghese in Rome.

244. Bust of Pyrrhus. c. 1787

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to right: ΠΥΡΡΟΣ

Intaglio. Brown sard, gold. 51 x 33. Inv. No. I - 3712

Provenance: June 1787.

Manuscript Sources: 'La tête de Pyrrhus en cachet d'or' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1787; Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 73).

Literature: Prozorovsky 1884, appendix II, p. 167.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 51.

One of three gems set into gold seals, priced at £70 for the group.

A free copy of a 16th-century gem formerly in the French royal collection (Mariette 1750, II, No. 85; Reinach 1895, pl. 105), now Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. On 12 September 1795 the Browns sent another image of Pyrrhus via Weitbrecht, 'Pyrrhus – Agate orientale' (Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 300), although its location today is not known.

245. Bust of the so-called Maecenas. 1789 (?)

Signed to right: BROWN

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold. 30 x 32. Inv. No. K - 1777

Provenance: before 1794 (?).

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 65 ('Head of an Wise Old Man'); 1976 Leningrad, No. 103 ('Bust of Cicero').

Derives from an amethyst intaglio in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, one of many repetitions of a lost Classical stone by Dioscurides which was thought to show Maecenas (Stosch 1724, pl. 27; Mariette 1750, II, 49; Raspe 1791, No. 10723; Reinach 1895, pl. 134), although in the literature it is sometimes referred to as a bust of Cicero or the Athenian law-giver Solon.

246. George III. Before 1782

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold (mounted as a seal with a handle posibly of English work). 28 x 23. Inv. No. I - 9560

Provenance: before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1938 Leningrad, p. 40; 1976 Leningrad, No. 72.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 14063/5646; 'Engraved by Brown').

For further engraved portraits of George III by William and Charles Brown, see Dalton 1915, No. 393, pl. XVI; Scarisbrick 1977, No. 307.

Dated on the basis of Raspe's catalogue (Raspe 1791).

247. Louis-August le Tonnelier, Baron de Breteuil. 1787 (?)

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 30 x 26. Inv. No. I - 4048

Provenance: 1792 with the collection of de Saint-Morys, Paris, brought in its entirety to St Petersburg by the antiquarian Alfonso Miliotti and sold to the Hermitage.

Manuscript Sources: Miliotti Saint-Morys MS s.d., II, pl. 58 ('Quintilien').

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 76.

The sitter was identified and the gem attributed to the Browns on a basis of a cast with a portrait of the Baron de Breteuil, French diplomat and statesman (Raspe 1791, No. 14142).

248. Louis XVI. c. 1793

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN; inscription below: K. LEWIS XVI

Intaglio. Octagonal pale red cornelian, gold. 23 x 20. Inv. No. I - 3675

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait du Roi de France' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1938 Leningrad, p.40; 1976 Leningrad, No. 73.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

The bust was repeated in chalcedony (cat. 250).

249. Marie-Antoinette. c. 1794

Pair to Louis XVI, cat. 250

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN; inscription below: Q.M. ANTONIETTA

Intaglio. Chalcedony-sapphirine, gold. 21 x 16. Inv. No. I - 4007

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'The portraits of the late King and Queen of France on Calcidons – £45' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Marie Antoinette' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Literature: Rollett 1875, p. 349; Kris 1932, p. 41.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1938 Leningrad, p. 40; 1976 Leningrad, No. 75.

250. Louis XVI. c. 1794

Pair to Marie-Antoinette, cat. 249

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN; inscription below: K. LEWIS XVI

Intaglio. Chalcedony-sapphirine, gold. 20 x 16. Inv. No. I – 4000

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'The portraits of the late King and Queen of France on Calcidons – £45' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Louis XVI' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Literature: Rollett 1875, p. 349; Kris 1932, p. 41.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1938 Leningrad, p. 40; 1976 Leningrad, No. 74.

These paired portraits of Louis XVI and his wife, Marie-Antoinette, would seem to have been specially commissioned by Catherine. Certainly they were made immediately after the execution of the royal couple, news of which led the Empress to order three days of mourning in St Petersburg. The pair was priced by the Browns at £45.

See cat. 248.

251. Catherine II in a helmet with a laurel wreath

Signed to right: BROWN

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a yellowish ground), gold. 22 x 19. Inv. No. K - 1151

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Sa Majesté Imple' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

Literature: Georgi 1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 384]; Dalton 1915, p. LVIII; Gebhart 1925, p. 174; Kagan 1965a, p. 422, fig. 41; Kagan 1965b, p. 106; Antonov 1978, p. 841, note 2, 842.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p.27; 1956 Moscow, p. 66; 1976 Leningrad, No. 120.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

Georgi indicates that the Browns had at their disposal

252.

a 'wax medallion' by the court medal-maker and engraver Carl Leberecht. Weitbrecht informed Khrapovitsky on 15 January 1790 that he had sent the Browns a cast from Leberecht's cameo (see cat. 150).

252. Allegory of Catherine II's Prosperity and Love of Peace. 1790

Signed to right: BROWN INV^{t}

Intaglio. Golden topaz with faceted reverse, gold. 35 x 40. Inv. No. I - 3680

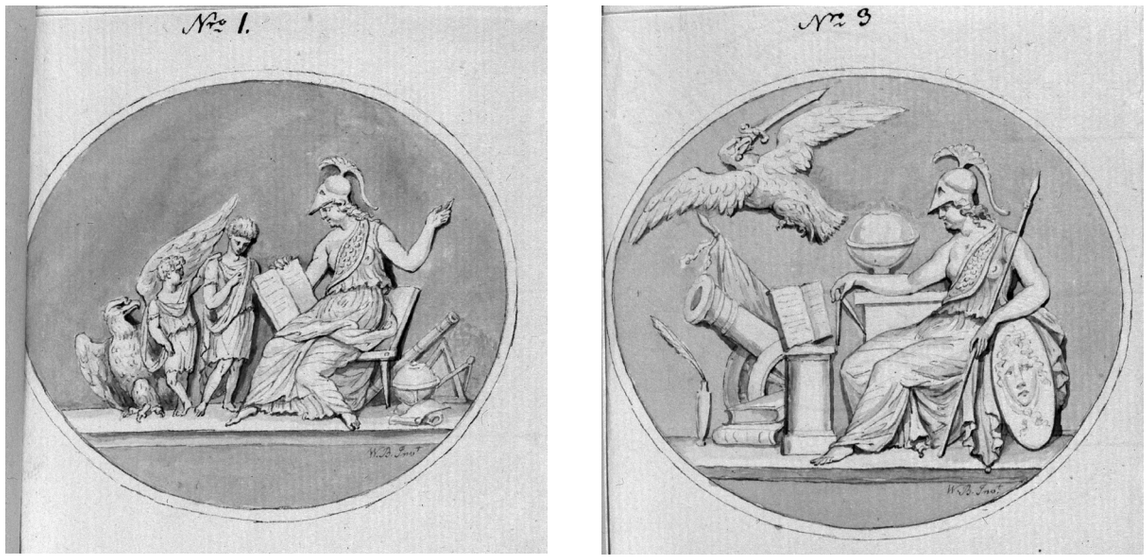
Provenance: 1790.

Manuscript Sources: 'A Topaz engraved with an allegorical subject: Peace seated upon riches holding a medallion upon which is the portrait of the Empress. Attended by a figure of Esculapius who holds in his hand an elevated torch to express Health – £90' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 8 October 1790; Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 107, f. 136).

Literature: Kagan 1965a, p. 422, fig. 40; Kagan 1965b, p. 102; Antonov 1978, p. 841.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 70; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 139; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 139; 1997 Moscow, No. 71.

In 1789 the Browns produced a composition on golden topaz with an allegory on the recovery of George III (Raspe 1791, No. 15071), which in turn served as model for their medal on the same subject. In producing their work for Catherine, they replaced the image of the King in a cartouche with one of



254. Charles Brown watercolour sketch for catalogue 254

Catherine II. Asclepius appears as in the original gem but in place of the allegorical figure of Britannia comes the goddess of Peace with a caduceus in her right hand and a cornucopia at her feet. Antonov's discovery of the original description of this intaglio in the archives made it possible to correctly identify Pax, previously described in museum inventories as Hygieia, daughter of Asclepius. The gem had thus always been thought to be an allegory on the Empress's recovery after an illness. Such an identification indicates that the gem was probably intended to commemorate the Peace of Verel with Sweden, concluded on 3 August 1790.

253. Allegory of Marriage. c. 1793

Signed below: BROWN; inscription on the pediment of the temple: YMHN

Intaglio. Pale red cornelian, gold. 48 x 42. Inv. No. I - 3628

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Mariage au temple d'Hymen' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 29 August 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 500).

Literature: Kagan 1965b, p. 422, fig. 39.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 71; 1977 Norwich, p. 40, No. 143 (photo); 1997 Moscow, No. 76; 2000-1 London, No. 188.

One of a group of eight gems priced at £374 for the lot.

Marking the marriage on 28 September 1793 of Catherine II's eldest grandson, Grand Duke Alexander Pavlovich (later Alexander I) and Princess Louisa-Maria-Augusta of Baden-Baden, who took the Russian name Elizaveta Alekseevna.

254. Catherine II Instructing her Grandsons. 1789-91

Pair to a cameo by Charles Brown, *Allegory of Victory over the Turkish Fleet*, cat. 150

Signed to right: BROWN

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (white relief against a grey ground), gold (broad profiled mount with a loop). 54 x 66. Inv. No. K - 1124

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'Ils se flattent d'attrapper la ressamblance non seulment dans le numéro 2, mais même dans le numéro 1 ou ce portrait sera très petit. S'ils reussisent à cela, cette pièce deviendra une des plus belles dans son genre' (letter from Weitbrecht to Khrapovitsky, 15 January 1790; Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 106, ff. 19-21); Weitbrecht referred to the cameo in his notes on the account for the pair, presented by W. & C. Brown on 28 January 1791: 'Le compagnon de cette pièce [i.e. cat. 150] sera un très beau groupe, representant Sa Majesté Imperiale en Minerve, les deux jeunes Princes auprès d'Elle avec l'aigle de Russie qui etend ses ailes sur eux. On y travaille depuis deux ans; elle sera achevée au mois de mai' (Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 16); 'L'Education des Princes. Sa Majesté Imperiale en Minerve, entourée de divers emblêmes des Sciences. Les deux Princes devant Elle, et l'aigle de la Russie qui les couvre de son aile. £200. N.B.: Cette belle pièce est encore remarquable par la singulière beauté de l'onyx' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 27 November 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119).

Literature: Georgi 1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 385]; Kagan 1965a, p. 422, fig. 34; Kagan 1965b, p. 106; Antonov 1978, p. 841, note 2; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 228.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 27; 1956 Moscow, p. 66; 1976 Leningrad, No. 119); 1977 Norwich, p. 40, No. 143 (photo); 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 136; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 136; 1997 Moscow, No. 73; 2000-1 London, No. 185; 2005-6 Ontario-Montreal, No. 66.

Empress Catherine herself took an active and serious part in educating her grandsons Alexander (later Alexander I) and Constantine, developing their programme of work, writing literary and historical compositions for them. Here the Browns reflected in allegorical form this important aspect of her life. Catherine sits before her grandsons (Alexander is closest to her) attired as Minerva, an open book in her hand and various attributes of learning at her feet – a globe, quadrant and telescope. Above the heads of the young princes an eagle spreads its wings.

At the end of 1789 the Browns sent via Weitbrecht two watercolour sketches for this cameo to enable Catherine to express a preference (Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 106, ff. 19-24, figs. 1, 2) before they started work. On 15 January 1791 Weitbrecht informed Khrapovitsky that work was continuing and that despite the small size of the cameo the engravers had managed to convey a likeness of the Empress. Despite the suggestion that work would be finished by May, in fact the cameo was despatched only in November.

255. Allegory on the taking of Ochakov. 1790/91

Signed below: BROWN; inscription on the reverse in a laurel wreath: OCZAKOW DEC. 6. 1788

Cameo. Two-layer sardonyx (white relief against a pinkish-grey ground), 44 x 27. Inv. No. K - 1073

Provenance: 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Agate-onyx: La Victoire conservant la memoire des succès des armées russes' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10).

Literature: Georgi 1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 385]; Kagan 1965a, p. 421, fig. 58; Kagan 1965b, p. 106; Antonov 1978, p. 842, note 5.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 27; 1956 Moscow, p. 64 ('Winged Victory'); 1976 Leningrad, No. 112.

One of a group of nine gems supplied at a price of £611.

Commemorating the taking of the fortress of Ochakov on the Danube during Russia's war with Turkey. Ochakov was besieged in June 1788 by Russian troops under the command of Fieldmarshal Grigory Potemkin and was taken by storm on 6 December. This cameo shows Victoria, winged goddess of victory, trampling a Turkish sword and recording her success on a shield.

256. Catherine II crowning Prince Potemkin with laurels. 1790/92

Signed along the earth: BROWN; inscription on the shield: OCZAKOW

Cameo. Three-layer sardonyx (relief in white with brown against a pale brown ground), gold (barley-sugar mount set into a glazed medallion with broad profiled frame and loop). 25 x 26. Inv. No. K - 1125

Provenance: August 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Sardonyx à trois couches: Sa Majesté Imperiale recompensant le Chef de ses armées, qui a mis à ses pieds un Sabre et un croissant' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10).

Literature: Georgi 1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 385]; Potemkin 1811, pp. 85-86; Fersman 1961, p. 192, ill. I.8; Kagan 1965a, p. 422, fig. 42; Kagan 1965b, p. 106, fig. 6; Kagan 1973a, No. 86; Antonov 1978, p. 841, note 2; Dukelskaya et al 1979, No. 226; Henig 1990, p. 120.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 27; 1971 Leningrad, fig. 15; 1976 Leningrad, No. 113; 1996-97 New Haven–Toledo–St Louis, No. 141; 1998 St Petersburg, No. 141; 1997 Moscow, No. 74; 2000-1 London, No. 186; 2005-6 Ontario-Montreal, No. 68; 2009-10 Tokyo etc.

One of a group of nine gems supplied at a price of £611.

Here Catherine II, accompanied by an eagle symbolising her strength and power, crowns with laurels Prince Grigory Potemkin (1739-91) – statesman, Fieldmarshal and secret husband of Catherine. He is attired as a Roman commander and in turn lays at the Empress's feet a sickle moon and a curved sabre, symbols of the Ottoman Turks so recently defeated by him. Work would seem to have begun on this cameo not immediately after the taking of Ochakov (see cat. 255) on 6 December 1788, as would seem to be suggested by the inscription on the shield, but somewhat later, to mark the triumphal return to St Petersburg of the Russian army's commander-in-chief in September 1789. Amongst the other rewards heaped upon him were 'a wreath with emerald laurels studded with large diamonds, at a price of one hundred and fifty thousand roubles'. This allows us to see the cameo not as an allegorical image but as a depiction of a real event. The carving demanded much time, however, and the gem was completed only in 1792, by which time Potemin, was dead. When they despatched the cameo to Russia, therefore, the Browns included also another cameo commemorating Potemkin's death (cat. 259).

257. Allegory of the Russian victory over Turkey. 1790/91

Signed top right: BROWN; inscription on the shield: RUSSIA

Cameo. Octagonal three-layer onyx narrowing towards the top (relief in white with green against a green ground). 47 x 21. Inv. No. K - 1089

Provenance: c. 1792.

Literature: Georgi 1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 385]; Kagan 1965a, p. 421, fig. 57; Antonov 1978, p. 842, note 5 (wrongly identified); Seidmann 1993, pp. 98-99, figs. 6, 17.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 27; 1956 Moscow, p. 64; 1976 Leningrad, No. 114; 1976 Leningrad, No. 114; 1996 Amsterdam, No. 160; 1999 St Petersburg, No. 46.

Commemorating Russia's decisive victory in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-91, this allegorical cameo presents Catherine II as Minerva, wearing a helmet with a laurel wreath and holding a shield. Her somewhat corpulent figure has a sense of pomp and monumentality. The curving sabre and sickle moon by her feet embody defeated Turkey.

258. Goddess of Peace with a caduceus and a cornucopia. 1790/91

Signed to left: BROWN

Cameo. Two-layer sardonyx (white relief against a brown ground with a dark grey sheen). 36 x 30. Inv. No. K - 5510

Provenance: November 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'Une figure emblematique de la Paix – £90' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 27 November 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119).

Literature: Antonov 1978, p. 842.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 27; 1956 Moscow, p. 64, 1976 Leningrad, No. 117.

Pax holds a palm in her right hand and in her left the caduceus, symbol of trade, with a horn of plenty at her feet. A more developed allegory of Peace appears in a cameo by William Brown of 1795 in which he added a lyre, emblem of the arts (cat. 203).

259. Allegory on the Death of Prince Grigory Potemkin. 1791/92

Signed on the urn edge: BROWN; inscription along the edge: PRINCE POTEMKINE OB OCT 16 A D

1791 AETAT 52

Cameo. Three-layer onyx (relief in whitish-yellow with green against a green ground). 36 x 32. Inv. No. K - 1789

Provenance: 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Jaspre-onyx à trois couches. Une urne' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10).

Literature: Georgi 1794, p. 518 [1996 edn., p. 385]; Khrapovitsky 1874, pp. 406-7; Maximova 1921, p. 53; Kagan 1965a, p. 422, fig. 45; Kagan 1965b, p. 106; Antonov 1978, p. 842, note 5.

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 27; 1956 Moscow, p. 66; 1976 Leningrad, No. 115; 1976 Leningrad, No. 115; 1997 Moscow, No. 75; 1999 St Petersburg, No. 47; 2000-1 London, No. 187.

One of a group of nine gems supplied at a price of £611.

Potemkin's initial on the body of the funerary urn is wrapped round with a snake biting its tail, symbol of eternity. The cameo was produced and sent to Petersburg in time for the first anniversary of Catherine's favourite (and secret husband) on 16 August 1792. It was presented to Catherine on that day and Khrapovitsky recorded in his diary: 'Presented engraved gems from England sent by the Browns. Well received, they were admired and the urn with an emblem on the death of Prince Potemkin of Tauride engraved in stone was received "sans aucune sensation"'.

260. Amphora. 1789 (?)

Signed on the foot: BROWN

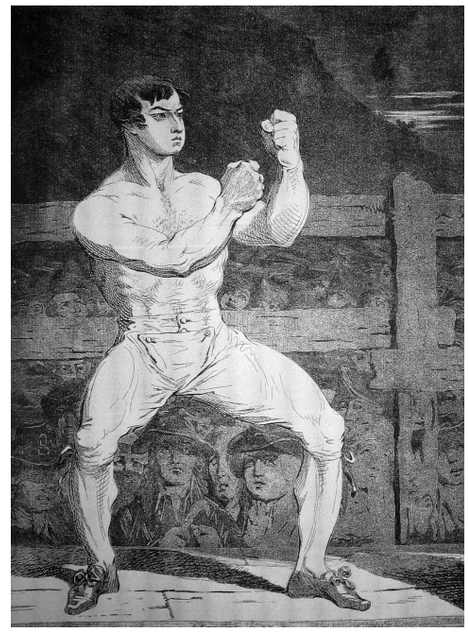
Cameo. Octagonal three-layer onyx (white relief with yellow and green veins against a green ground). 28 x 24. Inv. No. K - 1790

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Exhibitions: 1956 Moscow, p. 65; 1976 Leningrad, No. 93; 1985-86 Omsk, No. 57; 1989 Minsk, No. 66.

261. St George and the Dragon. c. 1793

Cameo. Hollowed out convex pale almandine. 36 x 30. Inv. No. K - 693



262. James Gillray, The Boxer Daniel Mendoza meeting another celebrated pugilist, Richard Humphrey, 1788
Etching and aquatint techniques

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'St George, – grenat oriental' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

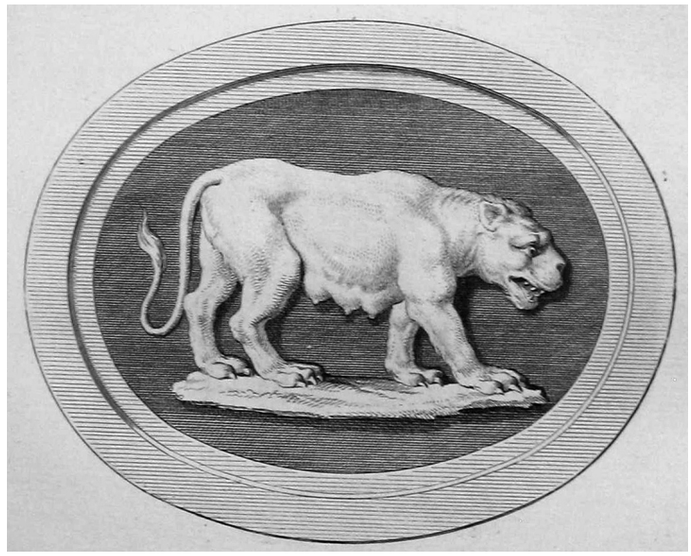
Literature: Kagan 1973a, No. 40 (mistakenly identified as Venice, 16th century); Kagan 1981, p. 191, note 99; Scarisbrick 1994b, p. 257.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

This unsigned cameo is so unusual for the Browns in terms of both material and technique that it was traditionally thought to be Italian 16th-century work and was even given to the Venetian school, since Venice was the centre which most often produced gems engraved on single-colour transparent cabochon stones with the back hollowed out. It has been attributed to the Browns on the basis of archive documents.

262. Pugilist. 1789 (?)

Cameo. Octagonal three-layer sardonyx (white relief with pink against a brown ground). 28 x 18. Inv. No. K - 5166



265. De la Chau, Le Blond ‘Description de principles pierres gravées du Cabinet d’Orléans’. T.II Paris 1784. Pl. 56.
Print by A. de Saint Anbin after design by Nocola Cochin

Provenance: October 1789 (?).

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, No. 104.

The attribution to the Browns is based on a reference in the inventory of engraved gems compiled during the reign of Catherine II.

The cameo derives from a print by James Gillray in which, using the etching and aquatint techniques, the boxer Daniel Mendoza is shown on the eve of his decisive meeting of 5 June 1788 with another celebrated pugilist, Richard Humphrey (the print issued by L. Lewis, 24 April 1788). There was a whole group of prints, including mezzotint works, in this genre, so popular and important in England, showing a boxer in fighting pose against a landscape background with spectators around. Nonetheless, it is only in Gillray’s print that the pose fully coincides with that on the gem attributed to the Browns.

See also cat. 337.

263. Reclining Panther with a thyrsus and mask. c. 1786

Signed below: BROWN INV^{t}

Intaglio. Red cornelian, gold. 18 x 25. Inv. No. I - 3750

Provenance: 1789.

Manuscript Sources: ‘Tigre de Bacchus – £37’ (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 2 February 1789; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 17).

Literature: Dalton 1915, p. LVIII.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 62.

Casts and Pastes: Tassie (Raspe 1791, No. 4436/10428).

264. Panther. c. 1785

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a grey ground). 28 x 35. Inv. No. K - 1842

Provenance: before 1794.

Literature: Kagan 1960, p. 36.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 109.

Traditional attribution to the Browns.

Copy of a Classical cameo now in the Hermitage, which came from the collection of the Duc d’Orléans (Orléans Description 1780-84, II, pl. 56; Reinach 1895, pl. 130, panthère: une lione passant).

265. Lion and Lioness. c. 1793

Cameo. Cornelian-onyx (pink relief against a pale brown ground). 25 x 31. Inv. No. K - 1841
Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Grouppe de lions – cornaline – onyx' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 107; 2000-1 London, No. 190.

Literature: Kagan 1960, p. 37; Hermitage 1994, II, p. 531, fig. 457.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

Traditional attribution to the Browns, based on a print painting by George Stubbs.

Charles and William Brown Portraits of English Monarchs. 1791-96

Literature: Kagan 1965b, pp. 105-6; Antonov 1978, p. 842

Exhibitions: 1926 Leningrad, p. 28; 1976 Leningrad, Nos. 128-65.

A series of 38 cameo portraits of Monarchs of England from William the Conqueror to members of the then ruling family, created in parallel with other works between 1791 and 1796. Each portrait bears the engraver's name and an inscription with the name and greater part of the title of the ruler. In creating these compilatory images, based on the established 'portraits' on prints and medals, William and Charles nonetheless departed in many details from the standard iconography. In the margin of an account from the brothers to Weitbrecht which included the first two portraits and which Weitbrecht enclosed when he wrote on 4 March 1791 to Khrapovitsky, Weitbrecht noted: 'Mrs Brown se proposent de continue cette collection de portraits des Rois et des Reines d'Angleterre, et de porter sur chaqun d'eux egalement quelque emblême qui peut avoir rapport à leur histoire' (Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 16). This emblematic concept remained unexecuted, however: only the very first portrait, that of William the Conqueror (cat. 128), has an emblem, a sword. In a note to the account Weitbrecht presented to the Cabinet of Her Imperial Majesty in November that same year (Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119), he wrote: 'Mrs Brown m'enverront bientôt une continution des portraits des Rois d'Angleterre.' Starting with the next dispatch in August 1792 the portraits of English Kings were henceforth to arrive regularly.

The diary of Johann Wilhelm Keibel, jeweller at the Russian imperial court, records that he set the cameos of this series in gold in 1842 (Keibel MS 1840, ff. 11-12).

266. William I the Conqueror (1028-1087; reigned from 1066)

Signed to left: C. BROWN F^{t}; inscription to right: GVLIELMVS I

Chalcedonyx. 34 x 31. Inv. No. K - 860

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'An agate onyx engraved with Portrait of William I, King of England – £36' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 28 January 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 16); Weitbrecht noted in the margins of the account: 'Sur la pierre de Guillaume le Conquerant on a mis les lauriers et l'epée, emblêmes de ses conquétes'.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 128.

267. William II (William Rufus) (1056/60-1100; reigned from 1087)

Signed to right: BROWN F^{t}; inscription to left: GVLIELMVS II

Sardonyx (white relief against a brown ground with a white sheen). 35 x 27. Inv. No. K - 841

Provenance: 1791.

Manuscript Sources: 'D.o. engraved with the Portrait of William II – £36' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 28 January 1791; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 16); 'Sur celle de Guillaume II on voit la flèche dont il fût tué étant à la chasse dans la Nouvelle Forest' (Weitbrecht's note in the margin of the Browns' account).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 129.

268. Henry I (1068-1135; reigned from 1100)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: HENRICVS REX

Chalcedonyx. 35 x 27. Inv. No. K - 858

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: '6 Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 29 August 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 500).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 130.

One of a group of eight gems priced at £374 for the lot.

269. Stephen (c. 1096-1154; reigned from 1135)

Signed to right: C. BROWN F^{t}; inscription to left: STEPHANVS

Chalcedonyx. 38 x 29. Inv. No. K - 864

Provenance: 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Stephen' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 131.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £611 for the lot.

270. Henry II (1133-89; reigned from 1154)

Signed to right: C. BROWN F^{t}; inscription to left: HENRICVS II

Chalcedonyx. 34 x 28. Inv. No. K - 846

Provenance: 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Henry II' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 132.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £611 for the lot.

271. Richard I (Richard the Lionheart) (1157-99; reigned from 1189)

Signed below: C. BROWN FEC^{t}; inscription above: RICHARDVS I REX

Chalcedonyx. 36 x 27. Inv. No. K - 837

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: '6 Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 29 August 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 500).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 133.

One of a group of eight gems priced at £374 for the lot.

272. John (1167-1216; reigned from 1199)

Signed below: C.BROWN F^{t}; inscription above: IOANNES REX

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 27. Inv. No. K - 842

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: '6 Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 29 August 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 500).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 134.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £374 for the lot.

273. Henry III (1207-72; reigned from 1216)

Signed below: C. BROWN FEC^{t}; inscription above: HENRICVS III REX

Chalcedonyx. 32 x 25. Inv. No. K - 867

Provenance: 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Henry III' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 135.

One of a group of nine gems supplied at a price of £611.

274. Edward I (1239-1307; reigned from 1272)

Signed below: C. BROWN FT; inscription above: EDWARDVS REX

Chalcedonyx. 36 x 28. Inv. No. K - 845

Provenance: 1792.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Edward I' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 15 August 1792; Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 136.

One of a group of nine gems supplied at a price of £611.

275. Edward II (1284-1327; reigned from 1307)

Signed below: C. BROWN F^{t}; inscription above: EDWARDVS II REX

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 26. Inv. No. K - 838

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: '6 Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 29 August 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 500).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 137.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £374 for the lot.

276. Edward III (1312-77; reigned from 1327)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left and above: EDWARDVS III REX

Chalcedonyx. 39 x 31. Inv. No. K - 875

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: '6 Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 29 August 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 500).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 138.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £374 for the lot.

277. Richard II (1367-1400; reigned 1377-99)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: RICHARDVS II REX

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 31. Inv. No. K - 902

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: '6 Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 29 August 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 500).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 139.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £374 for the lot.

278. Henry IV (1366-1413; reigned from 1399)

Signed below: C. BROWN F; inscription above: HENRICVS IV REX

Chalcedonyx. 32 x 29. Inv. No. K - 843

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre. Savoir Henry IV' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 140.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

279. Henry V (1387-1422; reigned from 1413)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: HENRICVS V REX

Chalcedonyx. 35 x 25. Inv. No. K - 847

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre. Savoir… Henry V' (account from Weitbrecht to the

Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 141.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

280. Henry VI (1421-71; reigned 1422-61 and 1470-71)

Signed below: C. BROWN; inscription to left and above: HENRICVS VI REX

Chalcedonyx. 36 x 27. Inv. No. K - 840

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre. Savoir… Henry VI' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 142.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

281. Edward IV (1442-83; reigned 1461-70 and 1471-83)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: EDVARDVS IV REX

Chalcedonyx. 33 x 24. Inv. No. K - 849

Provenance: 1793.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre. Savoir… Edward IV' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 5 November 1793; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 143.

One of ten gems supplied by the Browns for an overall sum of £323 5 shillings.

282. Edward V (1470 - c. 1783; reigned April-June 1483)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left and above: EDWARDVS V REX

Chalcedonyx. 32 x 23. Inv. No. K - 868

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nine Royal portraits. Cameos – £324' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Neuf portraits des Souverains d'Angleterre… Edward V' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 144.

One of a group of nine cameo portraits priced at £324 for the lot.

283. Richard III (1452-85; reigned from 1483)

Signed below: C.BROWN F; inscription above: RICHARDVS III REX

Chalcedonyx. 43 x 30. Inv. No. K - 836

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nine Royal portraits. Cameos – £324' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Neuf portraits des Souverains d'Angleterre… Richard III ' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 145.

One of a group of nine cameo portraits priced at £324 for the lot.

284. Henry VII (1457-1509; reigned from 1485)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left and above: HENRICVS VII REX

Chalcedonyx. 31 x 23. Inv. No. K - 866

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nine Royal portraits. Cameos – £324' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Neuf portraits des Souverains d'Angleterre… Henry VII' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 146.

One of a group of nine cameo portraits priced at £324 for the lot.

See cat. 211.

285. Henry VIII (1491-1547; reigned from 1509)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left and above: HENRICVS VIII REX

Chalcedonyx. 33 x 26. Inv. No. K - 859

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nine Royal portraits. Cameos – £324' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Neuf portraits des Souverains d'Angleterre… Henry VIII' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 147.

One of a group of nine cameo portraits priced at £324 for the lot.

286. Edward VI (1537-53; reigned from 1547)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left and right: EDWARDVS VI REX

Chalcedonyx. 33 x 24. Inv. No. K - 869

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nine Royal portraits. Cameos – £324' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Neuf portraits des Souverains d'Angleterre… Edward VI' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 148.

One of a group of nine cameo portraits priced at £324 for the lot.

287. Mary (1516-58; reigned from 1553)

Signed below: C.BROWN F; inscription above: MARIA REGINA

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 29. Inv. No. K - 854

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nine Royal portraits. Cameos – £324' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Neuf portraits des Souverains d'Angleterre… Marie' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 149.

One of a group of nine cameo portraits priced at £324 for the lot.

288. Elizabeth I (1533-1603; reigned from 1558)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left and above: ELIZABETHA REGINA

Chalcedonyx. 46 x 33. Inv. No. K - 791

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nine Royal portraits. Cameos – £324' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Neuf portraits des Souverains d'Angleterre… Elisabeth' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 150.

One of a group of nine cameo portraits priced at £324 for the lot.

289. James I (1566-1625; reigned from 1603)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to right: IACOBVS REX

Chalcedonyx. 35 x 30. Inv. No. K - 850

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nine Royal portraits. Cameos – £324' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Neuf portraits des Souverains d'Angleterre…

Jacques' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 151.

One of a group of nine cameo portraits priced at £324 for the lot.

290. Charles I (1600-49; reigned from 1625)

Signed below: C.BROWN F; inscription above: CAROLVS I REX

Chalcedonyx. 35 x 27. Inv. No. K - 839

Provenance: 1794.

Manuscript Sources: 'Nine Royal portraits. Cameos – £324' (account from W. & C. Brown to Weitbrecht, 21 September 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512); 'Neuf portraits des Souverains d'Angleterre… Charles I' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in October 1794; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 152.

One of a group of nine cameo portraits priced at £324 for the lot.

291. Charles II (1630-85; reigned from 1660)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: CAROLVS II REX

Chalcedonyx. 33 x 25. Inv. No. K - 855

Provenance: July 1795.

Manuscript Sources: Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, ff. 89-90.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 153.

One of a group of gems valued at £360.

292. James II (1633-1701; reigned 1685-88)

Signed below: BROWN, inscription above: IACOBVS II REX

Chalcedonyx. 34 x 25. Inv. No. K - 853

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, ff. 89-90.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 154.

One of a group of gems valued at £360.

293. William III (1650-1702; reigned from 1689) and Mary II (1662-94; reigned from 1689)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to top and right: GULIELMVS ET MARIA

Sardonyx. 30 x 26. Inv. No. K - 862

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, ff. 89-90.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 155.

One of a group of gems valued at £360.

294. Anne (1665-1714; reigned from 1702)

Signed to left: BROWN, inscription to right: ANNA REGINA

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 31. Inv. No. K - 857

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, ff. 89-90.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 156.

One of a group of gems valued at £360.

295. George I (1660-1727; reigned from 1714)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: GEORGIVS I REX

Chalcedonyx. 36 x 25. Inv. No. K - 844

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait[s] de George Ier' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 12 September 1795; Oral Edicts MS 1787-

98, *delo* 4030, f. 300).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 157.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £532 10 shillings for the lot.

296. George II (1683-1760; reigned from 1727)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: GEORGIVS II REX

Chalcedonyx. 33 x 27. Inv. No. K - 848

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait[s] de … George 2d' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 12 September 1795; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 300).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 158.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £532 10 shillings for the lot.

297. George III (1738-1820; reigned from 1760)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: GEORGIVS III REX

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 28. Inv. No. K - 865

Provenance: 1795.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait[s] de … George 3me' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 12 September 1795; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 300).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 159.

One of a group of nine gems priced at £532 10 shillings for the lot.

298. Queen Charlotte (1744-1818; married George III in 1761)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left: CAROLETTA M. B. REGINA

Chalcedonyx. 38 x 25. Inv. No. K - 852

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'La Reine Charlotte' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 160.

One of a group of six portrait gems priced at £216 for the lot.

299. Princess Charlotte (1796-1817)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left and above: CAROLETTA A.M. PRINCIP. REGINA

Chalcedonyx. 30 x 25. Inv. No. K - 863

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'La Princesse Royale' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 161.

One of a group of six portrait gems priced at £216 for the lot.

300. George Frederick, Prince of Wales (1762-1830; from 1811 Regent, from 1820 George IV)

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN; inscription to left and below: GEORGIVS AVG FRED WALLIAE PRIN

Chalcedonyx. 39 x 26. Inv. No. K - 870

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Le Prince de Wallis' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 162.

One of a group of six portrait gems priced at £216 for the lot.

301. Caroline, Princess of Wales (1768-1821; married George Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1795)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left and right:

CAROLINA. A. WALLIAE. PRIN

Chalcedonyx. 36 x 28. Inv. No. K - 856

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'La Princesse de Wallis' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 163.

One of a group of six portrait gems priced at £216 for the lot.

302. Frederick Augustus, Duke of York (1763-1827)

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN; inscription to right: FREDERICVS. EBOR. DVX

Chalcedonyx. 34 x 28. Inv. No. K - 851

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Le Duc de York' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 164.

One of a group of six portrait gems priced at £216 for the lot.

303. Frederica, Duchess of York (1767-1820)

Signed on the shoulder edge: BROWN; inscription to left: FREDERICA. CAR. EBOR. DVCISSA

Sardonyx. 32 x 24. Inv. No. K - 861

Provenance: June 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'La Duchesse de York' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, presented in June 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 165.

One of a group of six portrait gems priced at £216 for the lot.

William Brown
Portraits of the Kings of France. 1796-1802

Literature: Pylyaev 1896, p. 281; Uspensky 1913, I, p. 129 (cats. 312-17); Kagan 1965b, p. 106

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, Nos. 166-97.

Commissioned by Catherine II, the series was begun by William Brown in 1796, by which time his brother Charles was already dead. After Catherine's death in that year, payment for those works which continued to be delivered to Russia was made until the autumn of 1798 (Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 445). In 1800, ordering the payment via Weitbrecht of another 'six cameos for the Hermitage collection' (not portraits of French kings), Catherine's son Paul I wrote in his own hand on the account 'and not order any more in future!' (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3916, f. 428). A final payment was made to William by Alexander I (who succeeded his father in 1801), time for 'twelve onyx cameos showing different French kings' (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415]. But the series thus remained incomplete, with 32 portraits covering the period from Pharamond to Louix VIII, then a gap between Childeric III and Charles III. In 1985 the Hermitage partially filled this gap with a cameo portrait of Louis II (cat. 324), clearly from this same series, acquired from a private individual in Moscow. It would seem, therefore, that one or two groups of portraits, perhaps despatched by William Brown before he learned of Paul's order not to purchase any more gems, were either returned by the Cabinet of His Majesty or sold off.

Like the series of English monarchs, the portraits of French kings were set in gold in 1842 by the court jeweller Johann Wilhelm Keibel (Keibel MS 1840, ff. 12r, 13).

M. I. Pylyaev recorded that in the 1890s the whole series, in the form of a necklace of 32 medallions, was laid out in a case in the Cameo Hall of the New Hermitage.

304. Pharamond (? – 428; reigned from 420)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to right: FARAMOND

Chalcedonyx. 34 x 27. Inv. No. K - 900

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: ‘Pharamond’ (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 166.

One of a group of thirteen gems (eight of French kings) valued at £453.

305. Clodion (? - 447; reigned from 428)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: CLODION

Sardonyx. 35 x 24. Inv. No. K - 889

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: ‘Clodion’ (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 167.

One of a group of thirteen gems (eight of French kings) valued at £453.

306. Merovée (? – 457; reigned from 448)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: MEROVÉE

Sardonyx. 42 x 39. Inv. No. K - 882

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: ‘Merovée’ (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 168.

One of a group of thirteen gems (eight of French kings) valued at £453.

307. Childeric I (436–81; reigned from 457)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription to left: CHILDERIC

Chalcedonyx. 38 x 27. Inv. No. K - 895

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: ‘Childeric’ (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 169.

One of a group of thirteen gems (eight of French kings) valued at £453.

308. Clovis I (465–511; reigned from 481)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription above: CLOVIS

Chalcedonyx. 36 x 30. Inv. No. K - 898

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: ‘Clovis’ (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 170.

One of a group of thirteen gems (eight of French kings) valued at £453.

309. Childebert I (?-558; reigned from 511)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: CHILDEBERT I

Chalcedonyx. 35 x 29. Inv. No. K - 890

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: ‘Childebert’ (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 171.

One of a group of thirteen gems (eight of French kings) valued at £453.

310. Clotaire I (497-561; reigned from 558)

Signed below the neck: BROWN; inscription above: CLOTAIRE I

Chalcedonyx. 35 x 27. Inv. No. K - 888

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: ‘Clotaire’ (account from

Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 172.

One of a group of thirteen gems (eight of French kings) valued at £453.

311. Charibert (521-67; reigned from 561)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription above: CHEREBERT

Chalcedonyx. 35 x 30. Inv. No. K - 887

Provenance: 1796.

Manuscript Sources: 'Cherebert' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 21 October 1796; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 173.

One of a group of thirteen gems (eight of French kings) valued at £453.

312. Chilperic I (539-84; reigned from 561)

Inscription to left: CHILPERIC

Chalcedonyx. 33 x 24. Inv. No. K - 897

Provenance: 1797.

Manuscript Sources: (Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4033, f. 643).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 174.

One of a group six gems valued (including Weitbrecht's commission) at £189.

313. Clotaire II (584–629; reigned from 584)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: CLOTAIR II

Chalcedonyx. 39 x 30. Inv. No. K - 901

Provenance: 1797.

Manuscript Sources: (Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4033, f. 643).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 175.

One of a group six gems valued (including Weitbrecht's commission) at £189.

314. Dagobert I (603–39; reigned from 629)

Signed below: BROWN; inscription above: DAGOBERT I

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 28. Inv. No. K - 883

Provenance: 1797.

Manuscript Sources: (Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4033, f. 643).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 176.

One of a group six gems valued (including Weitbrecht's commission) at £189.

315. Clovis II (635-57; reigned from 639)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: CLOVIS II

Chalcedonyx. 34 x 28. Inv. No. K - 892

Provenance: 1797.

Manuscript Sources: (Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4033, f. 643).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 177.

One of a group six gems valued (including Weitbrecht's commission) at £189.

316. Clotaire III (652-70; reigned from 657)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: CLOTAIRE III

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 28. Inv. No. K - 881

Provenance: 1797.

Manuscript Sources: (Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4033, f. 643).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 178.

One of a group six gems valued (including Weitbrecht's

commission) at £189.

317. Childeric II (653-73; reigned from 670)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: CHILDERIC II

Chalcedonyx. 34 x 29. Inv. No. K - 903

Provenance: 1797.

Manuscript Sources: (Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4033, f. 643).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 179.

One of a group six gems valued (including Weitbrecht's commission) at £189.

318. Thierry III (654-90; reigned from 673)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: THIERRY I *

Chalcedonyx. 31 x 27. Inv. No. K - 896

Provenance: 1798.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Thierry 1er' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 18 August 1798; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 447).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 180.

One of six portraits of French kings ('de la Suite des Rois de France') priced at £180 for the lot.

NB The order of the French dynasty in use did not accord with that now accepted. Thus William Brown's Thierry I accords with Thiery III.

319. Clovis III (680-95; reigned from 690)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: CLOVIS III

Chalcedonyx. 31 x 23. Inv. No. K - 899

Provenance: 1798.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Clovis 3me' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 18 August 1798; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 447).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 181.

One of six portraits of French kings ('de la Suite des Rois de France') priced at £180 for the lot.

320. Childebert III (683-711; reigned from 695)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: CHILDEBERT II *

Chalcedonyx. 33 x 28. Inv. No. K - 894

Provenance: 1798.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Childebert 2d' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 18 August 1798; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 447).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 182.

One of six portraits of French kings ('de la Suite des Rois de France') priced at £180 for the lot.

NB The order of the French dynasty in use did not accord with that now accepted. Thus William Brown's Childebert II accords with Childebert III.

321. Dagobert III (699-715; reigned from 711)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: DAGOBERT II *

Chalcedonyx. 33 x 25. Inv. No. K - 904

Provenance: 1798.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Dagobert 2d' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 18 August 1798; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 447).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 183.

One of six portraits of French kings ('de la Suite des Rois de France') priced at £180 for the lot.

NB The order of the French dynasty in use did not accord with that now accepted. Thus William Brown's Dagobert II accords with Dagobert III.

* The order of reign and dynastic indicators differ from that now accepted.

322. Chilperic II (670-720; reigned from 715)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: CHILPERIC II

Chalcedonyx. 36 x 30. Inv. No. K - 874

Provenance: 1798.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Chilperic 2d' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 18 August 1798; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 447).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 184.

One of six portraits of French kings ('de la Suite des Rois de France') priced at £180 for the lot.

323. Thierry IV (713-37; reigned from 721)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: THIERRY II *

Chalcedonyx. 28 x 24. Inv. No. K - 893

Provenance: 1798.

Manuscript Sources: 'Portrait de Thierry 2d' (account from Weitbrecht to the Cabinet of Her Majesty, 18 August 1798; Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 447).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 185.

One of six portraits of French kings ('de la Suite des Rois de France') priced at £180 for the lot.

NB The order of the French dynasty in use did not accord with that now accepted. Thus William Brown's Thierry II accords with Thiery IV.

324. Louis II (846-79; reigned from 877)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: LOUIS II

Chalcedonyx. 32 x 29. Inv. No. K - 6725

Provenance: 1985 acquired through the Hermitage Expert Purchasing Commission.

Literature: Kagan 1999b, p. 267.

Exhibitions: 1986 Leningrad, No. 60.

325. Raoul (?–936; reigned from 923)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: RAOUL

Chalcedonyx. 36 x 29. Inv. No. K - 880

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 186.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

326. Louis IV (921–54; reigned from 936)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: LOUIS IV

Chalcedonyx. 36 x 28. Inv. No. K - 884

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 187.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

327. Lothaire (941-86; reigned from 954)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: LOTHAIRE

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 29. Inv. No. K - 886

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 188.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which

Emperor Alexander paid £404.

328. Louis V (967-87; reigned from 986)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: LOUIS V

Chalcedonyx, 45 x 37. Inv. No. K - 872

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 189.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

329. Hugues Capet (941-96; reigned from 987)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: HUGUES CAPET

Chalcedonyx. 44 x 35. Inv. No. K - 871

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 190.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

330. Robert II (970-1031; reigned from 996)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: ROBERT

Chalcedonyx. 37 x 24. Inv. No. K - 885

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 191.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

331. Henri I (1008-60; reigned from 1031)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: HENRY I

Chalcedonyx. 38 x 29. Inv. No. K - 891

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 192.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

332. Philippe I (1052-1108; reigned from 1060)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: PHILIPPE I

Chalcedonyx. 39 x 31. Inv. No. K - 876

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 193.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

333. Louis VI (1081-1137; reigned from 1108)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: LOUIS VI

Chalcedonyx. 38 x 32. Inv. No. K - 877

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 194.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which

Emperor Alexander paid £404.

334. Louis VII (1120-80; reigned from 1137)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: LOUS VII

Chalcedonyx. 43 x 33. Inv. No. K - 873

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 195.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

335. Philippe II (1165-1223; reigned from 1180)

Signed to left: BROWN; inscription to right: PHILIPPE II

Chalcedonyx. 49 x 35. Inv. No. K - 878

Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 196.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

336. Louis VIII (1187-1226; reigned from 1223)

Signed to right: BROWN; inscription to left: LOUIS VIII

Chalcedonyx. 41 x 32. Inv. No. K - 879

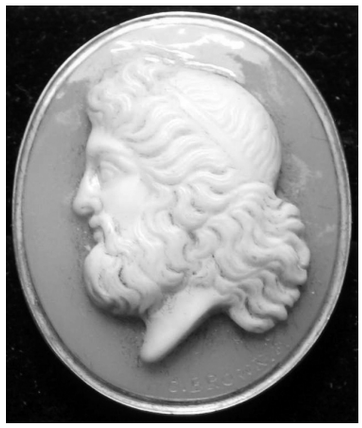
Provenance: 1802.

Manuscript Sources: edict of Alexander I, 19 [30] August 1802 (Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415).

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 197.

One of a group of twelve onyx cameos for which Emperor Alexander paid £404.

Part III. Charles and William Brown



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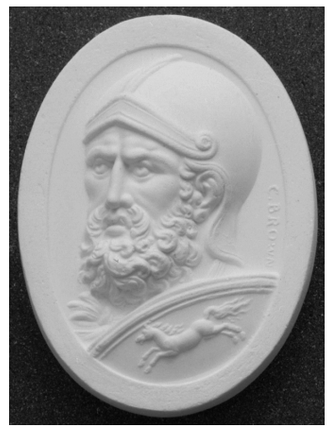

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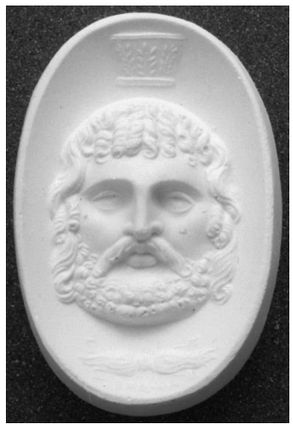

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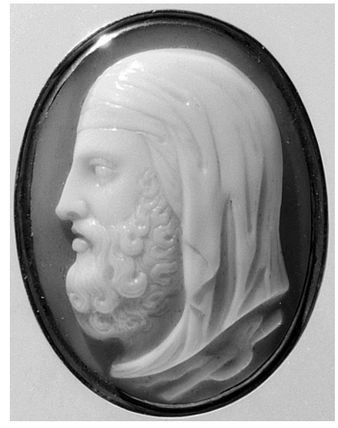

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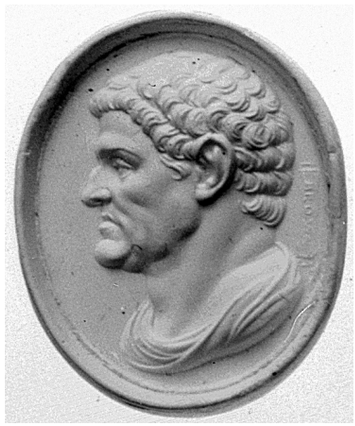

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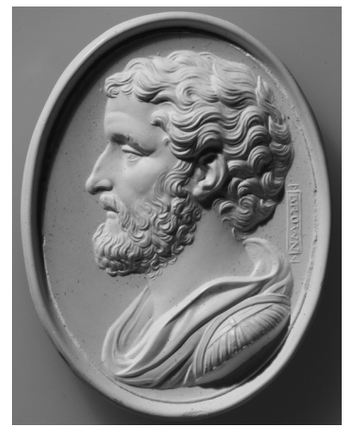

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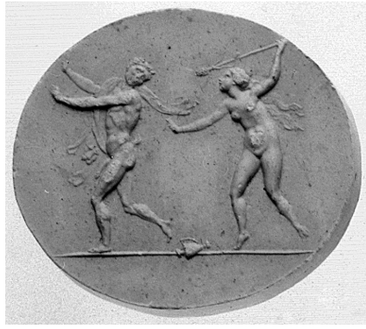

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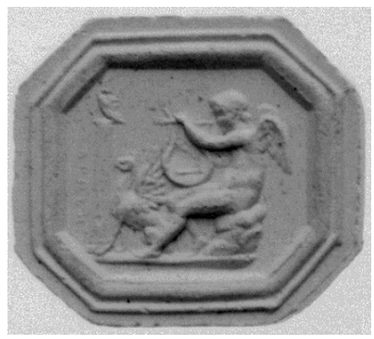

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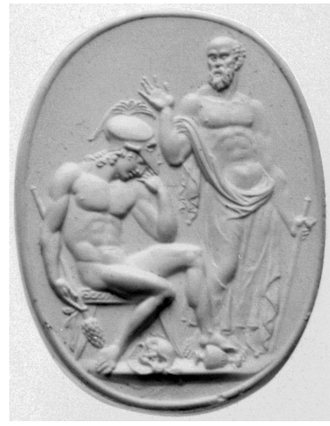

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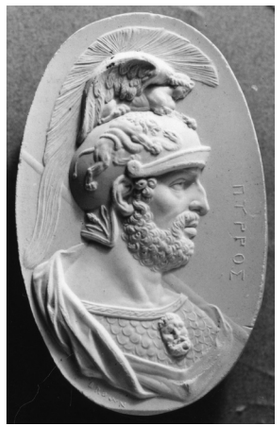

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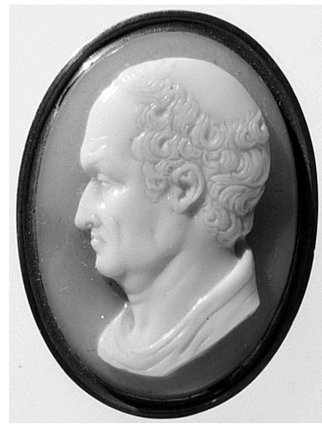

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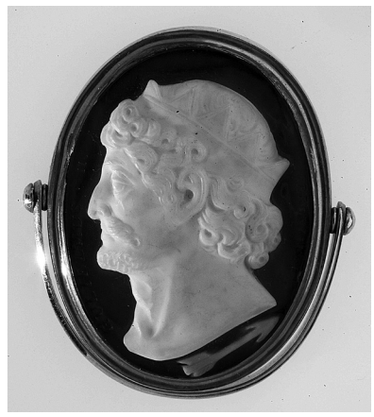

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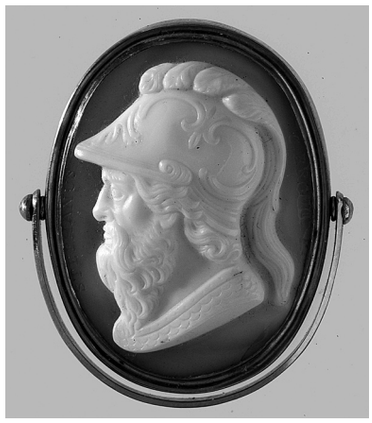

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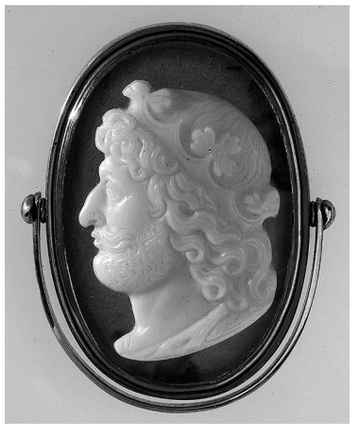

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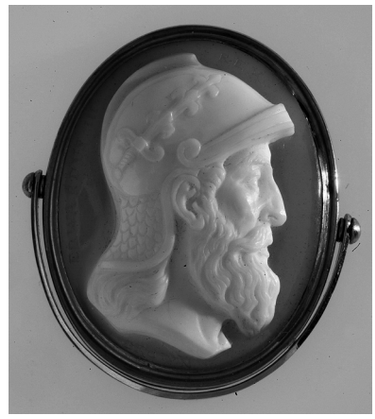

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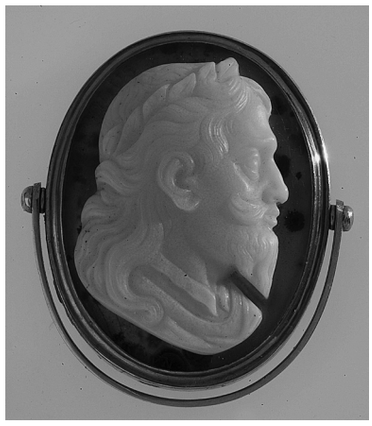

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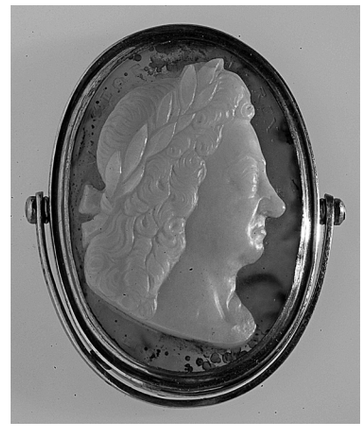

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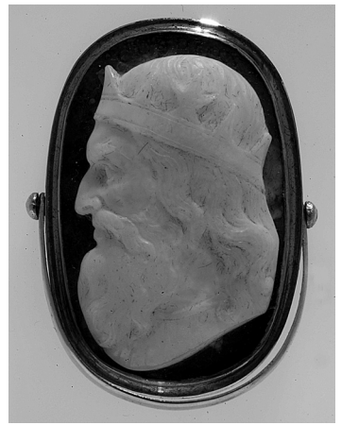

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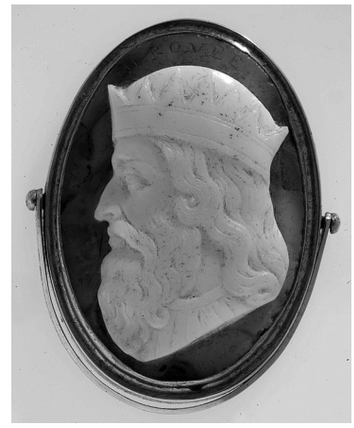

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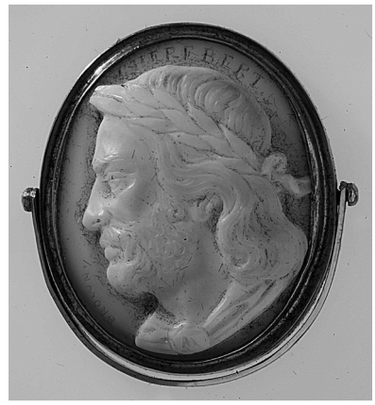

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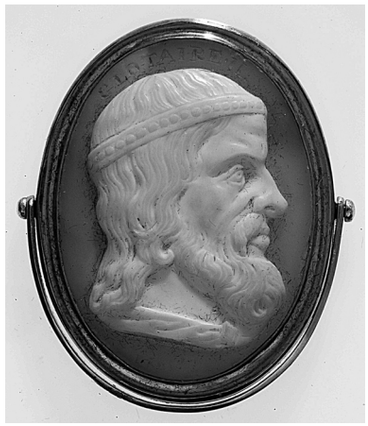

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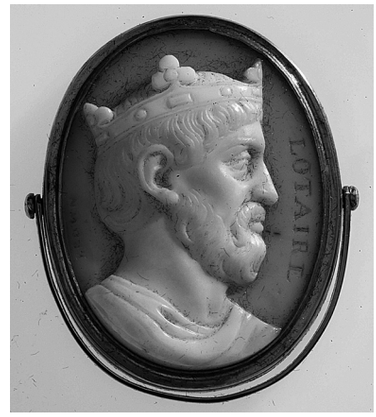


Cat. 327. K-886

Cat. 328. K-872

Cat. 329. K-871

Cat. 330. K-885

Cat. 331. K-891

Cat. 332. K-876

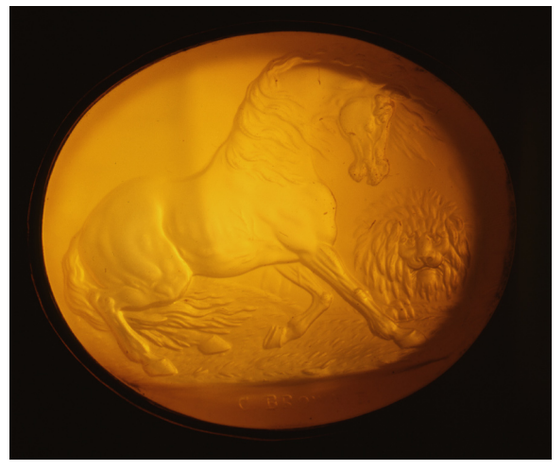
Cat. 333. K-877

Cat. 334. K-873

Cat. 335. K-878

Cat. 336. K-879

1. Charles Brown
Mars and Bellona. c. 1784
Cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St. Petersburg (cat. 144)



2. Charles Brown
Horse frightened by lion. c. 1774
Yellow cornelian intaglio
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 151)

3. William Brown
Caius Marius at Minturna. c. 1796
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 191)

4. William Brown
Rape of Europe
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 160)

Plate 50

1. Charles and William Brown
Catherine II instructing her grandsons. 1789-91
Onyx cameo
Hermitage, St. Petersburg (cat. 254)

2. Charles and William Brown
Allegory of the Russian victory over Turkey.
1790/91
Onyx cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 257)

3. Charles and William Brown
Catherine II crowning Prince Potemkin with laurels.
1790/92
Sardonyx cameo
Hermitage, St Petersburg (cat. 256)

Part IV. Addenda: Gems discovered or attributed shortly before publication

Attributed to William (1748-1825) and Charles (1749-95) Brown

337. Pugilist. Late 1780s (?)

Cameo. Octagonal three-layer sardonyx (white and pink relief against a brown ground), gold. 26 x 15. Inv. No. K - 6296

Provenance: 19th century.

This cameo is a perfect analogy to cat. 262, traditionally seen as a joint work by both Brown brothers and should thus be similarly attributed to them. For commentary, see cat 262.

338. Hunting Dog. 1790s

Cameo. Chalcedonyx (white relief against a greyish-blue ground), gold. 18 x 21. inv. K – 3379

Provenance: Before 1794.

Exhibitions: 1976 Leningrad, No. 110.

Attribution proposed by M. Maximova.

Nathaniel Marchant (1739-1816) (copy)

339. Head of Juno. Late 18th century

Cameo. Agatonyx (white relief against an almost black), gold. 38 x 29. Inv. No. K - 4554

Provenance: 19th century.

A fine work that complements a small group of convex and concave gems in the Hermitage repeating a signed intaglio by Marchant. Marchant's original was produced during his stay in Rome and was a reproduction of a colossal Antique head of Juno then in the Villa Ludovisi (see cats. 56-58).

Attributed to Lorenz Natter (1705-63)

340. Jupiter Serapis on a Throne with an Eagle on the Back and Cerberus at the Foot. Early 1740s

Intaglio. Pale Ceylon sapphire (87.75). 40 x 23. Inv. No. I - 12753

Provenance: 1987 acquired via the Purchasing Commission.

Literature: Kagan 1999b, p. 266.

The intaglio can not only be tentatively attributed to Lorenz Natter but can be dated to the first years of his stay in England. Our basis for this is its closeness to a gem of the same name in the collection of William Bentinck (1704-74), eldest son of the 1st Earl Portland by his second marriage, carved on chaldecony-sapphirine. Natter could not have seen that gem before his arrival in Britain but he was to include a printed reproduction of it in his published treatise (Natter 1754, p. 52, pl. XXXIII). Using his own preliminary sketch of the gem and the print by Ignatio Fougeron, Natter made serious adjustments to the image of the

supreme divinity and his corresponding attributes. In his commentary to the relative table in his book, he noted that he had made a much larger replica of a similar gem on amethyst from a print in the Dactyliotheca Zanettiana (Gori 1750, pl. XXXII) but that gem does not seem to have survived (Nau 1965, p. 64, No. 2).

Deep carving with fine gradations of counter-relief on a large unevenly-shaped two-sided sapphire – a very hard stone – is rarely found in 18th-century glyptics. Here it successfully conveys the somewhat archaic style of the Antique original (Furtwängler 1900, pl. XLIVIII), with its later reminiscences.

Anonymous Gem Engravers

341. Funerary Urn in the Form of a Krater. Second half of the 18th century

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (relief in the large-grain layer, almost white with a slight greyish bloom, the background greyish-pink with a dark spot to left), gold. 25 x 21. Inv. No. K - 4816

Provenance: Before 1794.

For cameos showing funerary urns, intended for use in mourning rings, see cats. 120-24.

342. Funerary Urn in the Form of an Amphora. Last quarter of the 18th century

Cameo. Sardonyx (relief and border in dark brown against a white ground, the edges of the stone bevelled), gold (mount with a movable hoop). 20 x 12. Inv. No. K - 4823

Provenance: Before 1794.

343. Funerary Urn in the Form of an Amphora. Second half of the 18th century

Cameo. Two-layer onyx (pale grey relief against an almost black ground). 20 x 17. Inv. No. K – 4817

Provenance: Before 1794.

344. Funerary Urn Adorned with a Garland and with a Lid. Second half of the 18th century

Cameo. Sardonyx (dark brown relief against a pale brown ground), gold, 22 diamonds (2 carat). 21 x 18. Inv. No. E – 6152

Set into a ring, with an inscription inside the hoop: Rememberance of my Loss: Death Divides – Eternity Re-joins

Provenance: Early 19th century.

Literature: Kostyuk 1999, p. 95.

Part of the permanent display in the Gallery of Objets de Vertu (the Special Collection) of the Hermitage.

Part IV. Addenda: Gems discovered or attributed shortly before publication

Cat. 337. K-6296

Cat. 338. K-3379

Cat. 339. K-4554

Cat. 340. I-12753

Cat. 341. K-4816

Cat. 342. K-4823

Cat. 343. K-4817

Cat. 344. E-6152

Appendices

Notes:

French language documents are given in the original, Russian language documents in translation into English.

The original English invoices have not always survived, in which case we rely on French or Russian internal court documents.

Original dates are given, with their Old Style dates (according to the Julian Calendar in use in Russia) or New Style dates (according to the Gregorian Calendar in use in Britain from 1752) in square brackets.

Many of the letters were written not in St Petersburg itself but during the court's residence at Tsarskoe Selo, Catherine II's favourite summer residence outside St Petersburg

Names mentioned in the archive documents in Appendices I and II

Catherine II (1729-96)
Born Princess Sophia Frederika Augusta of Anhalt Zerbst, in 1744 she married the heir to the Russian throne, the future Peter III (died 1762); Russian Empress Catherine II (Catherine the Great) 1762-96

Paul I (1754-1801)
Son of Catherine II; Emperor of Russia 1796-1801
Alexander I (1777-1825)
Son of Paul I; Emperor of Russia 1801-25

Barts
Court Broker

Count Alexander Andreevich **Bezborodko** (1747-99)
Diplomat; Hofmeister to the Russian Court in the reign of Catherine II; Chancellor in the reign of Paul I

Cazalet and Co.
British credit company in St Petersburg

General Mikhail Ivanovich **Donaurov** (1758-1817)
Under Catherine In Charge of the Cabinet of His Majesty 1797-99

Andrey **Fock**
Court Broker

Nikifor Ivanovich **Kaygorodov** (1763 – after 1810)
1790-91 Head of the Chancellery of the Ministry of the Court; 1796-97 Head of the Cabinet of His Majesty

Alexander Vasilevich **Khrapovitsky** (1749-1801)
Secretary of State 1782-93, one of Catherine II's closest advisers; from 1793 senator. Diarist

Count Adam Vasilevich **Olsufyev** (1721-84)
Head of the Cabinet of Her Majesty 1758-84

Vasily Stepanovich **Popov** (1743-1822)
Head of the Cabinet of Her Majesty 1793-96

Stepan Fyodorovich **Strekalov** (1728-1805)
Head of the Cabinet of Her Majesty 1784-93
Baron Richard [A. R.] **Sutherland** (1739-91)

Court Banker, of a Scottish shipbuilding family; resident of Watson, Sutherland & Co. in St Petersburg

Thomson
Credit Company in London
Thomson, Peters, Bonnard and Co.
British credit company in St Petersburg

Johann Jacob **Weitbrecht** (1744-1803)
Court bookseller and typographer during the reign of Catherine II, supplier of works of art and dealer to the Court.

Appendix I

Archive documents relating to payment for a cabinet of pastes from engraved gems supplied to the Russian Court by James and William Tassie

29 October [NS 9 November] 1781
Edict from Catherine II to Adam Olsufyev
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3896, f. 194)
In Russian

Edict to Our Cabinet

Adam Vasilevich,

To the bookseller Weitbrecht for the invoice for two commissioned collections of pastes from engraved gems, to the sum of 3-thousand roubles in addition to the already issued one thousand roubles, to be issued according to the letter from Major General Bezborodko the remaining 2 000 roubles.

Catherine
October 29 1781
St. Petersburg

12 April 1783
James Tassie, Invoice to Johann Weitbrecht
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3898, f. 204)

London 12th April 1783

Mr. Weitbrecht of St. Petersbourgh

To James Tassie

To a Collection of Pastes, Intaglios & Cameos in imitation of the original Gems with impressions in gilt papter borders In all to the number of 12152	£ 2310 ”–
To a Cabinet of the most beautiful wood carved and inlaid ornamented & near 100 Bas-reliefs in white Enamel in metal-gilt-frames & other brass work containing 200 Drawers, packing & porterage	£ 294 ”–
To Mr Raspe for a scientific arrangement Of the collection & writing a Description in two vol.: in the French Language	£ 105 ”–
	£ 2709

James Tassie

29 May [NS 9 June] 1783
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3898, f. 202)

Payé à Monsieur Sutherland suivant son compte ci-joint et celui de Mr. Tassie à Londres	R. 16041 – 11
Au Même Mr Sutherland pour l'assurance et autres fraix à Londres, suivant son compte ci-joint	R. 345 – 4
Au même pour frét jusqu'à Cronstadt	R. 41 " –
Petit fraix à la douane, transport d'ici à Sarskoe Selo, au menuisier, aux officiers – de la douane qui ont accompagné là sept caisses	R. 25 "
La provision de R. 164. 77– 15 a 6	R. 988 – 50
	R. 17465 – 65

À St. Peterbourg
29 Mai 1783
J.J.Weitbrecht

5 [NS 16] June 1783
Edict from Catherine II to Adam Olsufyev
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3898, f. 201)
In Russian

Decree to Our Cabinet

Adam Vasilevich,

For the purchase for Our court of various objects from the bookseller Weitbrecht we hereby decree the payment to him from the Cabinet of eleven thousand four hundred and sixty five roubles 65 kopeks according to the invoice hereby attached

Catherine
At Tsarskoe Selo
June 5 1783

15 September 1786
James Tassie, Invoice to Johann Weitbrecht
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3901, f. 320)

London 15th Septr 1786

Mr. Weitbrecht of St. Petersbourgh

To James Tassie of Leicester Fields

To 7322 Intaglios & Cameos in Pastes & Impressions in white Enamel, all in gilt paper borders	£ 1087.15
An Elegant Cabinet, containing 200 Drawers inlaid & ornamented, with Bas-reliefs in metal-gilt-frames	£ 125 "–
5 Vases & 2 Obelisks, the Vases barbed & gilt with Tripod stand, the whole ornamented, with Impressions	£ 95 "–
To Mr Raspe for arranging & writing the Description & binding in Red Moron Gilt	£ 78. 5
To Insurance & Shipping Charges	£ 46.15
	£ 1432.15

James Tassie

October 1786
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3901, f. 321)

Compte du Cabinet de Pâtes de M^{r} Tassie

7322 Pâtes avec leurs bordures en carton dorée	£ 1087.15
Le Cabinet avec 200 tiroirs, les ornements, basreliefs, bronzes	£ 125”–
5 Vases et deux Obelisques,	£ 95”–
À Mr Raspe pour le Catalogue, la relieure en maroquine, etc	£ 78.5
L’assurance	£ 46.15
	Sterl. £ 1432”– 15
Petits fraix & commissions à Londres & jusqu’à bord du vaisseau	£ 71.18. 9.
	Sterl. £ 1504. 7.9

Sterl. £ 1504. 7. 9 sont R. 9327. - 80

Droits de Sund & frèt de Lond.à St. Pet.	123”–
Commission	472. – 50.
Poste de lettres	13. – 30
Au menuisier	3”–
	R. 9939”–

1786 Oct.
James Tassie

9 [NS 20] November 1786
Edict From Catherine II
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3901, f. 311)
In Russian

Decree to Our Cabinet

According to the invoices hereby attached, presented by the bookseller Weitbrecht for paintings and other objects commissioned by him at Our command, pay to him from the Cabinet seventeen thousand eight hundred and fifty seven roubles and forty kopeks.

Catherine
St. P-Burg. November 9 1786

21 May 1787
James Tassie, Invoice to Johann Weitbrecht
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 71, 72)

London 21st May 1787

Mr. Weitbrecht of St. Petersbourgh
Bought of James Tassie

12725* Enamel Impressions in paper gilt Border	£ 1368. 6
An Elegant Mahogany Cabinet containing 200 Drawers ornamented with Bas-reliefs in Metal gilt frames	£ 118”–
Transcribing the Catalogue & binding in red Morron gilt	£ 30.10
Insurance & shipping charges	£ 50.10
	£ 1572. 6

James Tassie

* This is not the quanity of pieces sent, but a reference to the number of the last paste sent according to Raspe’s manuscript catalogue.

June 1787
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 71)

Compte du Cabinet de pierres gravées en Email blanc

12725* pieces, avec le bureau, les ornements, le catalogue de Mr. Raspe, Assurance etc. suivant la facture originale ci-jointe	£ 1572.3
Commissions & fraix & à Londres & jusqu'à bord du vaisseau	£ 61" -
	Sterl. £ 1633. 69
Sterl. £ 1633. 6 sont R. 10289. - 80	
Droits de Sund & frèt de Londres à St. Petersbourg	125 "-
Commission	312. - 45
Post de lettres	13. - 75
	R. 10741" -

1787 Juin
James Tassie

* This is not the quanity of pieces sent, but a reference to the number of the last paste sent according to Raspe's manuscript catalogue.

23 July [NS 3 August] 1787
Edict from Catherine II, via her Secretary, Count Alexander Bezborodko, to Stepan Strekalov
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4021, f. 75)
In Russian

Dear Stepan Fyodorovich,

Her Imperial Majesty has been so kind as to order that the Cabinet with antiques and cameos brought to the court banker Sutherland be taken from Customs without payment of duty and shown to Her Majesty.

In informing Your Excellency of this Her Majesty's Will, I remain as always with utmost respect Your Excellency's obedient servant.

Count A. Bezborodko

At Tsarskoe Selo.
July 23 1787

6 [NS 17] December 1787
Edict from Catherine II
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 199)
In Russian

By oral edict declared through State Counsellor Strekalov, pay from petty cash a cheque to the banker Sutherland to London for Weitbrecht for the Cabinet with antiki [engraved gems – J.K.] commissioned by him to the sum of thirty two thousand –
fifteen thousand roubles …….15 000 roubles.

27 January [NS 7 February] 1788
Edict from Catherine I
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3903, f. 67)
In Russian

By oral decree declared through State Counsellor Strekalov, pay from petty cash a cheque to the banker Sutherland to London for Weitbrecht for the Cabinet with antiki [engraved gems – J.K.] commissioned by him to the sum of thirty two thousand –
To the already issued fifteen thousand roubles the remaining seventeen thousand roubles ……17 000 roubles.

26 October [NS 6 November] 1788
Edict from Catherine II
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-1798, *delo* 4022, f. 212)
In Russian

To the bookseller Weitbrecht for an additional collection of pastes, according to a letter from State Counsellor Khrapovitsky, pay the sum of five thousand five hundred and sixty two roubles.

24 September 1793
James Tassie, Invoice to Johann Weitbrecht
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 701)

London 24th Septr 1793

Mr. Weitbrecht of St. Petersbourgh

Bought of James & William Tassie

1010 Cameos & Intaglios	£ 160.17. 6
Gilt Borders	£ 4. 4. 2
1010 Impressions in Sulphur	£ 16.16. 8
A Catalogue	£ 2. 2.
Insurance on	£ 5.19. 8
Comission	£ 7."–
Packing boxes cotton & shipping	£ 10. 6
	£ 191.11.6
[Note in Weitbrecht's handwriting:]	
Le bureau	£ 3. 3.6
Fraix à Londre à St. Petersbourg	£ 10"–
et Comission	£ 11"–
	£ 215"–

James Tassie

4 [NS 15] November 1793
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, ff. 698-699)

1010 Pâtes	suivant la facture	
1010 Soufres	ci-joint de Mr. Tassie	£ 191. 6. 6
Le bureau		£ 3. 3. 6
Fraix à Londre et ici		
Comission		£ 20 "–"
	Sterling	£ 215 "–"

S. Petersbourg
4 Nov. J.J. Weitbrecht

15 [NS 26] December 1793
Edict from Catherine II
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 697)
In Russian

Her Imperial Majesty has decreed, according to the attached invoice for cameos, casts and books ordered from London, to pay the bookseller Weitbrecht two hundred and forty one pounds sterling and five shillings.

Vasily Popov
December 15 1793

St. Petersburg

13 [NS 24] June 1796
Edict from Catherine II
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 478)
In Russian

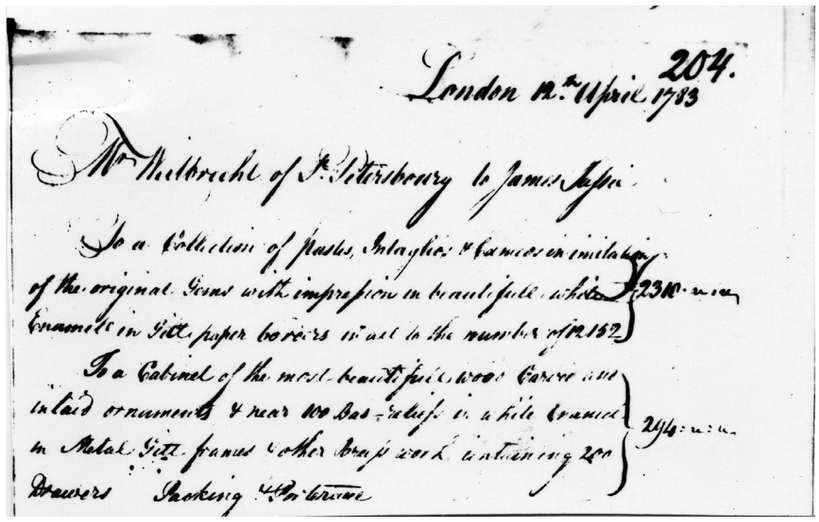
Her Imperial Majesty has decreed the payment from the Cabinet to the bookseller Weitbrecht, for antiki [engraved gems – J.K.] and pastes sent from England and presented to Her Majesty, in the attached list, of six hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

Vasily Popov
June 13 1796

Selo Tsarskoe

2 October 1806
Supplement from William Tassie
(Book of Acquisitions MS 1804-35, f. 1)

22. Supplément de la grande collection de Pâtes de verre, descrite par Raspe, consistant en 4062 Pâtes de verre



James Tassie, Invoice to Johann Weitbrecht
12 April 1793
Russian State Historical Archive

Appendix II

Archive documents relating to payment for gems supplied to the Russian Court by Charles and William Brown

October 1786
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3901, f. 322)

Compte des pierres gravées de
M^{rs} W^{m} & Charles Browne

	Sterling £
Une Cornaline, le mariage de Cupidon et de Psyché, avec l'impression, montées en bracelets et en or	100 " –
Deux Onyx, montées en or	60 " –
Deux Cornalines, montées en or	50 " –
Sterl. £	210 " –
Sterl. £ 210 à R° 6.20	R° 1302 " –
Commission	75 " 10
	R° 1377 " 10

1786 Oct.
J.J.Weitbrecht

9 [NS 20] November 1786
Edict from Catherine II
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3901, f. 311)
In Russian

Edict to Our Cabinet

Pay from the Cabinet, according to the invoices hereby attached, presented by the bookseller Weitbrecht for paintings and other things ordered by him at our command, seventeen thousand eight hundred and fifty seven roubles and forty kopeks.

Catherine
S.P.-Burg. November 9 1786

June 1787
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 73)

Compte de diverses Pierres gravées fines
de M[rs] W[m] & Ch[s] Brown

		Sterl. Liv. £
Cupidon & un Lion, monté en bague		60 “–
Nimphe dansante	Cachet	
Cupidon & Psyché	en or	45 “ –
Dessein pour des Armes	& perles	
Tête de Bacchus, en bague		40 “ –
Tête de Paris, en bague		40 “ –
Hercule et Iole, en cachet		60 “ –
Mars & Bellone, monté en or		150 “ –
La Déesse Hygée, en or & diamans		120 “ –
Cupidon montant un Lion, en bague		40 “ –
La Tête de Pyrrhus	en	
Figure d’Hercule	cachet	70 “ –
Dessein pour des Armes	d’or	
	Sterl. £	625 “ –

Sterl. £ 625 sont R° 3937 “ 50

Droits de Sund & fraix 32 “ 50

R° 3970

1787 Juin
J.J.Weitbrecht

23 October [NS 3 November] 1787
Edict from Catherine II
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3902, f. 66)

Fourni par J.J.Weitbrecht depuis Novembre 1786
jusqu’en Août 1787
Diverses Pierres Gravées fine suivant la specification £ 3970 “–

[in Russian:] Pay
Catherine
St. P-burg.
October 23 1787

2 [NS 13] February 1789
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4203, f. 17)

De M[rs] Brown

	£
No. 1 Chasse au Cerf	125 “ –
2 .Tête de Minerve	200 “ –
3. Neptune	150 “ –
4. Tête de Hannibal	75 “ –
5, 6, 7. Trois pièces dans un cache	75 “ –
8. Tête de Demosthène t	30 “ –
9. Psyché, sur Hyacinthe	50 “ –
10. Tête de Sapho	30 “ –
11. Tigre de Bacchus	37 “ –
12. Satyr et Nymphe	60 “ –
13. Tête de Meduse	50 “ –
14. Tête de Pericles	60 “ –
15. un Tigre, sur onyx	50 “ –
Sterl. £	982 “ –

à St Pétersbourg le 2 Fevrier 1789
J. J. Weitbrecht

3 [NS 14] February 1789
Edict from Catherine II, via her secretary, Alexander Khrapovitsky, to Stepan Strekalov
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 16)
In Russian

Dear Stepan Fyodorovich,
For engraved gems sent by the artists Brown, Her Imperial Majesty decrees payment from the Cabinet to their correspondent Weitbrecht his note from London to the sum of nine hundred and eighty two pounds sterling, according to the content of the note hereby attached.
With utmost respect and unswerving loyalty, your Excellency’s most obedient servant

Alexander Khrapovitsky
February 3 1789

8 [NS 19] October 1789
Edict from Catherine II, via her secretary Alexander Khrapovitsky, to Stepan Strekalov
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4023, f. 282)
In Russian

Dear Stepan Fyodorovich,

For engraved gems by the artists Brown, Her Imperial Majesty has decreed that Your Excellency, at the Cabinet's expense take from baron Sutherland a promissory note for London to the sum of nine hundred and fifty two pounds sterling and give it to their correspondent Weitbrecht.
With sincere and unswerving respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant

Alexander Khrapovitsky
October 8 1789

15 [NS 26] January 1790
From a letter from Johann Weitbrecht to Alexander Khrapovitsky, secretary to Catherine II
(Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 106, f.19-21)

'J'ai eû l'honneur il y a quelque temps de presenter à Votre Excellence deux dessins de Mrs Brown, qu'ils etoient intentionnés d'executer en camées, et maintenant ils viennent de m'écrire qu'ils les ont déjà commencés. Ils me disent encore qu'à l'aide d'une empreinte que je leur ai remise du portrait de Sa Majesté Imperiale gravé par Mr Leberecht, ils se flattent d'attrapper la ressemblance non seulement dans le numéro 2, mais même dans le numéro 1 ou ce portrait sera très petit. S'ils reussissent à cela, cette pièce deviendra une des plus belles dans son genre. Ils comptent achever l'une et l'autre vers la fin de cette année.
En même temps ils m'ont envoyé les deux autres desseins cijoints les numéros 3 et 4 dont ils s'occuperont quelque jour en cas que les premiers plairont.'

8 October [OS 27 September] 1790
William and Charles Brown, Invoice to Iohann Weitbrecht
(Khrapovitsky MSS 1790, *delo* 107, f. 136)

London Oct. 8 1790

Mr. Weitbrecht
To Will^{m} & Cha^{s} Brown

A topaz engraved with an allegorical subject: Peace seated upon riches holding a medallion upon which is the portrait of the Empress. attended by a figure of Esculapius who holds n his hand an elevated torch to express Health	£ 90 "–
A Jasper Onyx. The head of Omphale, a Cameo	£ 60 "–
A red Cornelian engraved with Hercules who after his combat with Antiope holds out his arm for her to repose herself	£ 60 "–
A red Cornelian eng.d with a Dancing Nimph	£ 33 "–
A red Cornelian eng.d with the Muse Melpomene	£ 33 "–
A red Cornelian eng.d with a Cupid playing with a Dolphin	£ 20 "–
	£ 296 "–

Wm. & Chas Brown

27 November [NS 8 December] 1790
Edict from Catherine II, via her secretary Alexander Khrapovitsky, to Stepan Strekalov
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4024, f. 416)
In Russian

Dear Stepan Fyodorovich,

For payment for engraved gems the work of the artists Brown Her Imperial Majesty has decreed that Your Excellency, at the Cabinet's expense take from baron Sutherland a promissory note for London to the sum of three hundred and twenty pounds sterling and give it to their correspondent Weitbrecht.
With sincere and unswerving respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant

Alexander Khrapovitsky
November 27 1790

30 November [NS 11 December] 1790
Files of the Court Bankers' Office
(Court Bankers MS 1790-91, *delo* 9, f. 143)
In Russian

To the Cabinet of Her Imperial Majesty from the Office of the Court Banker Baron Sutherland it has been ordered to supply a promissory note to London for payment to the artists Brown of three hundred and twenty pounds sterling to the address of their correspondent Weitbrecht. For receipt of this promissory note send an invoice in Russian currency.

November 30 1790

Court Counsellor

Nikofor Kaygorodov

3 [NS 14] December 1790
Edict
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4024, f. 417)
In Russian

As a result of Her Imperial Majesty's Oral Edict, declared in a letter from Full Counsellor of State and Knight Alexander Vasilevich Khrapovitsky of the 27th day of last November, a promissory note has to London been taken from the Court Banker Baron Sutherland for the sum of three hundred and twenty pounds sterling to pay for engraved gems the work of the artists Brown and given to be delivered on to them to their correspondent Weitbrecht on 3 December 1790.

[noted on the letter]
Reçu une lettre de change de trois cent vingt livres sterling du Baron Sutherland pour A.H. Sutherland à Londre

À St. Petersbourg
3 December 1790
J.J. Weitbrecht

28 January 1791
William and Charles Brown. Invoice to Iohann Weibrecht
(Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 16)

London Tuesday Jan. 28 1791

Mr. Weitbrecht
To Will^{m} & Cha^{s} Brown

Cameos: A large-sized agate onyx engraved with an Emblematical subject representing the conquered Turk resigning his sword to Her Imperial Majesty [Note added by Weitbrecht: 'Le compagnon de cette pièce sera un très beau groupe, representant Sa Majesté Imperiale en Minerve, les deux jeunes Princes auprèsd'Elle avec l'aigle de Russie qui etend ses ailes sur eux. On y travaille depuis deux ans; elle sera achevée au mois de Mai']	£ 200 "–
An agate onyx engraved with the Portrait of William I, King of England	£ 36 "–
[Note added by Weitbrecht: 'Sur la pierre de Guillaume le Conquerant on a mis les lauriers et l'epée, emblêmes des ses conquétes. Sur celle de Guillaume II on voit la flèche dont il fût tué étant à la chasse dans la Nouvelle Forest. Mrs Brown se proposent de continuer cette collection de portraits des Rois et des Reines d'Angleterre, et de porter sur chaqun d'eux egalement quelque emblême qui peut avoir rapport à leur histoire.']	£ 36 "–
Intaglies: A large-sized octagonal Cornelian engraved with Phoebus	£ 75 "–
An oval d.o. engraved with figure of Orpheus lamenting the loss of Euridice	£ 60 "–
A yellow Cornelian engraved with a horse frightened by a lion	£ 45"–
	£ 452"–

W. & Ch. Brown

7 [NS 18] March 1791
Edict from Catherine II, via her secretary Alexander Khrapovitsky, to Stepan Strekalov
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4025, f. 89)
In Russian

Dear Stepan Fyodorovich,

For payment for engraved gems the work of the artists Brown Her Imperial Majesty has decreed that Your Excellency, at the Cabinet's expense take from baron Sutherland a promissory note for London to the sum of four hundred and ninety seven pounds sterling and give it to their correspondent Weitbrecht.
With sincere and unswerving respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant

Alexander Khrapovitsky
7 March 1791

11 [NS 22] March 1791
Files of the Court Bankers' Office
(Court Bankers MS 1790-91, *delo* 10, f. 36)
In Russian

To the Cabinet of Her Imperial Majesty from the Office of the Court Banker Baron Sutherland it has been ordered to supply a promissory note to London for payment to the artists Brown of 497 pounds sterling to the address of their correspondent Weitbrecht. For receipt of this promissory note send an invoice in Russian currency.

March 11 1791
Court Counsellor
Nikofor Kaygorodov

November 1791
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 306, f. 119)

De M[rs] Brown

1. L'Education des Princes. Sa Majesté Imperiale en Minerve, entourée de divers emblêmes des Sciences. Les deux Princes devant Elle, et l'aigle de la Russie qui les couvre de son aile *N.B. Cette belle pièce est encore Remarquable par la singulière beauté de l'onyx*	£ 200 "–
2. Une figure emblematique de la Paix	£ 90 "–
3. Tête de Bachus	£ 36 "–
4. Cupidon jouant avec un papillon	£ 30 "–
5. Socrate, il tient le poisson à la main, parlant à ses amis desolés qui l'entourent	£ 44 "–
6.Seneque, il est au bain dictant ses dernieres paroles à un ami	£ 30 "–
7. Archimed, il fût tué a la prise de Syracuse tandis qu'il s'occupait à des calculs mathematiques	£ 30 "–
8. La Muse Erato *N.B. Cette pièce est d'après l'antique* *Note: Mrs Brown m'enverront bientôt une continution des portraits des Rois d'Angleterre*	£ 18 "–
	£ 479

J.J.Weitbrecht

27 November [NS 8 December] 1791
Edict from Catherine II, via her secretary, Alexander Khrapovitsky, to Stepan Strekalov
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4025, f. 471-472)
In Russian

Dear Stepan Fyodorovich,
For payment for engraved gems sent here by the artists Brown, Her Imperial Majesty decrees that Your Excellency take at the Cabinet's expense a promissory note to London for the sum of five hundred and thirty four pounds sterling, and give it to their correspondent Weitbrecht.
With utmost respect and unswerving loyalty, your Excellency's most obedient servant

Alexander Khrapovitsky
November 27 1791

[noted on the letter:]
Promissory note in the name of Mr Weitbrecht

for 534 pounds sterling at 29 ¾ roubles	4307 90
Rate at 1 hundredth	43 07
Commission in London a ½ hundredth	21 53
Brokerage ¼	10 76
roubl.	4383 26
My commission 1 hundredth	43 83
roubl.	4427 09

Sankt-Peterburg
December 2 1791
A. R. Sutherland

15 [NS 26] August 1792
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Khrapovitsky MSS 1791-92, *delo* 331, ff. 109-10)

Je viens de recevoir les pierres gravées ci-joints qui a Mrs Brown desire presenter à Sa Majesté Imperiale

7 camées: 1. Sardonyx à trois couches: Sa Majesté Imperiale recompensant le Chef de Ses armées, qui a mis à Ses pieds un sabre et un croissant 2. Jaspe-onix à trois couches. Une urne 3. Agate-onix: La Victoire conservant la memoire des succés des armées russes 4 –7. 4 portrats de Rois Angleterre: savoir Stephen, Henry II, Henry III, Edward I 2 intaglies: 8. Cornaline: la tête de Minerve 9. Cornaline: Apollon et Diana Camee; 10. Sardonyx à trois couches: la tête d'Ariadne	£ 611 "–
	£ 50 "–
	£ 661 "–
Fraix, assurance, commission	£ 39 "–
Sterling	£ 700 "–

J.J. Weitbrecht

16 [NS 27] August 1792
Edict from Catherine II, via her secretary, Alexander Khrapovitsky, to Stepan Strekalov
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4026, f. 337-340)
In Russian

Dear Stepan Fyodorovich,

For payment for engraved gems sent by the Browns, Her Imperial Majesty decrees the issue at the Cabinet's expense to their correspondent Weitbrecht a promissory note to London for the sum of seven hundred pounds sterling, and over and above that to pay to Weitbrecht from the Cabinet one thousand four hundred and sixty roubles fifty kopeks according to the attached invoice.
With utmost respect and unswerving loyalty, your Excellency's most obedient servant

Alexander Khrapovitsky

August 16 1792

[noted on the letter:]
1792 August 20 given from the Cabinet of Her Imperial Majesty to the manager of the court printing house and bookseller Weitbrecht a promissory note to London for seven hundred pounds sterling, received through Hof-Broker Barts from the English merchants here Cazalet and Company for delivery in London to the artists Brown for engraved gems

J.J. Weitbrecht

29 August [NS 9 September] 1793
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 500)

De Mrs Brown

	Sterl.
6 Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre	
1 Minerve,	
1 Mariage au temple d'Hymen	
Ces 8 pièces suivant la facture	£ 374 " –
originale ci-jointe	
fraix, comission	£ 26 " –
Sterl .	£ 400 " –

À St. Pétersbourg 29 Août 1793
J. J. Weitbrecht

29 August [NS 9 September] 1793
Edict from Catherine II, via her secretary, Alexander Khrapovitsky, to Stepan Strekalov
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 496)
In Russian

Dear Stepan Fyodorovich,

For payment for engraved gems sent by the Browns, Her Imperial Majesty decrees the issue at the Cabinet's expense to their correspondent Weitbrecht a promissory note to London for the sum of four hundred pounds sterling, and over and above that to pay to Weitbrecht without further delay from the Cabinet eight hundred pounds sterling and two thousand six hundred and ninety three roubles sixty nine kopeks according to the attached invoices.
With utmost respect and unswerving loyalty, your Excellency's most obedient servant

Alexander Khrapovitsky

August 29 1793

5 [NS 16] November 1793
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 711)

De Mrs Brown

4 Portraits des Rois d'Angleterre
Savoir Henri IV, Henri V, Henri VI et
Eduard IV
1 Portrait de sa Majesté Imple
1 Figure de Minerve
1 St George, -- grenat oriental
1 Grouppe de lions – cornaline–onyx
1 un Chien
1 Portrait du Roi de France

10 pièces suivant la facture		
de Mrs Brown	St. £	323 " 5
	fraix, comission	26 " 15
		£ 350 " –

à St. Pétersbourg
5e Nov. 1793
J. J. Weitbrecht

20 [NS 31] December 1793
Edict from Catherine II
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4027, f. 710)
In Russian

Her Imperial Majesty has commanded on the basis of the invoice attached to pay to the bookseller Weitbrecht three hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

Vasily Popov

December 20 1793

21 September 1794
William and Charles Brown, Invoice to Johann Weitbrecht
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 512)

London Sept,t 21. 1794
Mr. J. J. Weitbrecht
To Will.m & Cha.s Brown

	£
Nine Royal portraits, Cameos	324 “
The Rape of Proserpine an Intag.o	90 “
Socrates Admonishing his pupil Alcibiades Inta.o, oriental Sarde	75 “
The portraits of the late King and Queen of France on Calcidons	45 “
Young Bachus Inta.o Oriental Sarde	22 10
Jupiter & Europa Inta.o Green jasper	22 10
Grecian Marriage Inta.o Oriental Agate	30 “
Cupid breaking the Thunder Bolts a Cameo Oriental Sard	30 “
A head of Minerva Cameo large Oriental Sarde of three Stratas	90 “
A head of Jupiter Cameo Agate Ony.x	36 “
	£ 765

W & C Brown

October 1794
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 510-511)
De Mrs Brown

9. Neuf portraits des Souverains
d’Angleterre
Elisabeth, Marie, Henri VII et VIII,
Charles I,
Richard III, Eduard V et VI, Jacques
10. l’Enlevement de Proserpine
11. Socrate et Alcibiade
12, 13. Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette
14. Un jeune Bachus
15. Jupiter et Europe
16. Un mariage grec
17, 18, 19. Cupidon, Minerve, Jupiter

Suivant la facture ci-jointe	St	£ 765
assurance.		31
		796
fraix, post, commission		40
Sterling		£ 836

1794 Oct.
J.J.Weitbrecht

[Attached a translation into Russian:]

9. Nine portraits of the English Sovereigns, to whit: Queens Elisabeth and Mary, Kings Henry VII and VIII, Charles I, Richard III, Edward V and VI and James
10. The Rape of Propserine
11. Socrates and Alcibiades
12 and 13. Louis XVI and Maria Antoinette
14. Young Bacchus
15. Jupiter and Europa
16. Greek Wedding
17, 18, 19. Cupid, Minerva and Jupiter

All these under the attached invoice at a price of pounds sterling	765
For insurance	31
Pounds sterling	796
For commission and other expenses	40
Pounds sterling	836

25 October 1794
J.J. Weitbrecht

25 October [NS 5 November] 1794
Edict from Catherine II
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4028, f. 509)
In Russian

Her Imperial Majesty has decreed the payment to the bookseller Weitbrecht for antiki [engraved gems – J.K.] commissioned by him according to the attached list the sum of eight hundred and ninety one pounds sterling.

Vasily Popov
October 25 1794

29 July [NS 9 August] 1795
Edict from Catherine II
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 89-90)
In Russian

Her Imperial Majesty has decreed the payment according to the attached list to the bookseller Weitbrecht for engraved gems commissioned from England the sum of three hundred and sixty pounds sterling.

Vasily Popov
Selo Tsarskoe
July 29 1795

[noted on the letter:]
In the Cabinet of Her Imperial Majesty to the Chief-Broker Fock to sign according to the present rate three hundred and sixty pounds sterling in English and silver coin.

July 31 1795

Head of the Chancellery
Nikofor Kaygorodov

360 pounds at the present rate	28 pence
Via the rate	3085. 71
In silver roubles	2145. 50

Andrey Fock

12 [NS 23] September 1795
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 300, 301)

De M[rs] Brown
à Londres, Sept. 12 1795

1. Un grand Sardonyx : la Paix avec ses attributs;
   Mr. Brown dit là-dessus dans sa lettre: "J'ai tâché
   de traiter cet emblème d'une manière toute nouvelle,
   en plaçant sous ses ailes les attributs du Commerce,
   des Arts et des Richesses"
2, 3, 4. Portraits de George Ier, 2d & 3me
5. Prêtresse de Bachus; jaspe à trois couches.
6. Pyrrhus – Agate oriental.
7. Hercule & Omphale — d° — d°
8. Leandre — d° — d°
9. Jupiter – Cornaline.

Suivant la facture ci-jointe	£ 532 " 10
Et la note de l'assurance et fraix à Londres	20 " 10. 3
	553 " 20. 3
fraix, comission	26 " 19. 9
Sterling	£ 580 " 00

J..J.Weitbrecht

[noted on the letter:]
Par ordre et pour compte du Cabinet Impérial reçu de Monsieur Fock la somme de Cinq Cent Quatre Vingt Liivres sterling, en lettres de change sur Mrs. Thomson Peters Bonar & Thomson à Londres,

Fait à St Petersbourg 22 Octobre 1795

J.J. Weitbrecht

22 October [NS 2 November] 1795
Edict from Catherine II
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4030, f. 298-299)
In Russian

Her Imperial Majesty has decreed the payment according to the attached list to the bookseller Weitbrecht for nine engraved gems the sum of five hundred and eighty pounds sterling.

Vasily Popov
October 22 1795

[noted on the letter:]
Issued a promissory note to London at a rate of 28 ½ pence

To Thomson Peters Bonnard and Co to Mr Weitbrecht

580 pounds sterling	4 884“ – 21
Rate:	4. 8. 84.
	4 933. 05
In Dutch gold	1 090 “ –

23 Oct 1795
Andrey Fock

13 [NS 26] June 1796
Edict from Catherine II
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 478, 481)
In Russian

Her Imperial Majesty has decreed the payment from the Cabinet to the bookseller Weitbrecht for antiki [engraved gems – J.K.] and pastes sent from England and presented to Her Majesty according to the attached list figuring at six hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

Vasily Popov
June 13 1796
Selo Tsarskoe

[noted on the letter:]
D’après les ordres du Cabinet Imperial, reçu de Monsieur

Fock la somme de Six Cent Cinquante Livres sterling en Lettres de change sur Londres.

Fait à St Petersbourg
17 Juin 1796
J.J. Weitbrecht

17 [NS 28] June 1796
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 479-480)

De Mr Brown

Portraits:

N° 1. la Reine Charlotte 2. la Princess Royale 3. le Prince de Wallis 4. la Princesse de Wallis 5. le Duc de York 6. la Duchess de York	£ 216
Intaglio N° 7. Cajus Marius au moment qu’un soldate cimbrien alloit le tuer par ordre de Sulla; il fut intimidé par l’air imposant du héros, qui lui demanda: Connois-tu Marius?	£ 120 “
Camées d’après l’Antique N° 8. Hercules bibax ; - sur cette célèbre figure Mrs Brown citent le livre de Spence On the Works of Poets and Artists	75 “–
N° 9. Un jeune Hercule avec lyre	60 “–
10. Un tigre – pierre tâchetée	30 “–
11. Une tête de Méduse d’après l’Antique	27 “–
Onze pierres suivant la facture ci-jointe	£ 528 “ –
Suite des Rois d’Angleterre en pâtes retouchées au burin	62 “ –
Assurance, police, etc	25 “ 10
Certificat du Consul de Russie à Londres	1 “ –
Commission, fraix, post de lettres	£ 32 “ –
Sterl. £	650

1796 17 June
J.J. Weitbrecht

21 October [NS 1 November] 1796
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 787)

De Mr Brown

8 Portraits de Rois de France, savoir:

1. Pharamond
2. Clodion
3. Merovée
4. Childeric
5. Clovis
6. Childebert
7. Clotaire
8. Cherebert

5 Têtes copiées d'après l'Antique, par Mrs Brown

1. Antoninus Pius
2. Alexandre
3. Galba
4. Trajan
5. Masque de Jupiter

Suivant la facture ci-jointe	Sterl	£ 453 " –
Assurance, Police		22 " 18
certificat du Consul de Russie		1 " 1
Droits & fraix à Londres		1 " 9
Commission, fraix, poste de lettres		23 " 12
	Sterl	£ 484 " –
Une antique tête romaine.		16 " –
	Sterl.	£ 500

J. J. Weitbrecht
à St Petersbourg 21 October 1796

21 October [NS 2 November] 1796
Imperial Edicts
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4031, f. 786)
In Russian

Her Imperial Majesty has decreed the payment according to the attached list from the Cabinet to the bookseller Weitbrecht for engraved gems presented to Her Majesty the sum of five hundred pounds sterling.

Vasily Popov
October 21 1796
St. Petersburg

16 [NS 27] August 1797
Edict from Paul I
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4033, f. 643)
In Russian

His Imperial Majesty has decreed the payment from the Cabinet to the bookseller Weitbrecht to be delivered in London to the artists Brown for six portraits of French kings sent from there, and with commission, one hundred and eighty nine pounds sterling.

General Mikhail Donaurov
August 16 1797

21 April 1798
William Brown, Invoice to Johann Weibrecht
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 446-47)

London April 21 1798

Mr. Weitbrecht
To Willm Brown

	£	S	P
To six portraits of the King of France, engraved in cameos at 230 each	180	"	"

William Brown

18 [NS 29] August 1798
Johann Weitbrecht, Invoice to the Ministry of the Court
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 447)

Compte sur six portraits de la Suite des Rois de France, gravées en Onyx par Mr. Brown à Londres
savoir :

Thierry I^{er}
Thierry 2^{d}
Chilperic 2^{d}
Clovis 3^{me}
Childebert 2^{d}
Dagobert 2^{d}

6 Pièces suivant la facture ci-jointe de Mr. Brown	Sterling	£ 180 " –
Assurance		4 " 76 " 6
Fraix, post des lettres, comissionc		5 " 12 " 6
	Sterl.	£ 190 " – " –

J. J. Weitbrecht
À St Petersbourg 18 Août 1798

20 [NS 31] August 1798
Edict from Paul I
(Oral Edicts MS 1787-98, *delo* 4034, f. 445)
In Russian

His Imperial Majesty has, according to the invoice for 190 pounds sterling presented by the bookseller Weitbrecht and hereby attached, for cameos representing portraits of the French Kings sent from England from the artists Brown, ordered the payment of this money from the Cabinet.

General Mikhail Donaurov
August 20 1798

25 November [NS 6 December] 1800
Edict from Paul I
(Personal Edicts MS 1787-1802, *delo* 3916, f. 428)
In Russian

Edict to the Cabinet

For six cameos for the Hermitage collection through the bookseller Weitbrecht commissioned by his order, pay one thousand and eight hundred and twelve roubles and thirty four kopeks from Our Cabinet and hereafter commission no more such.

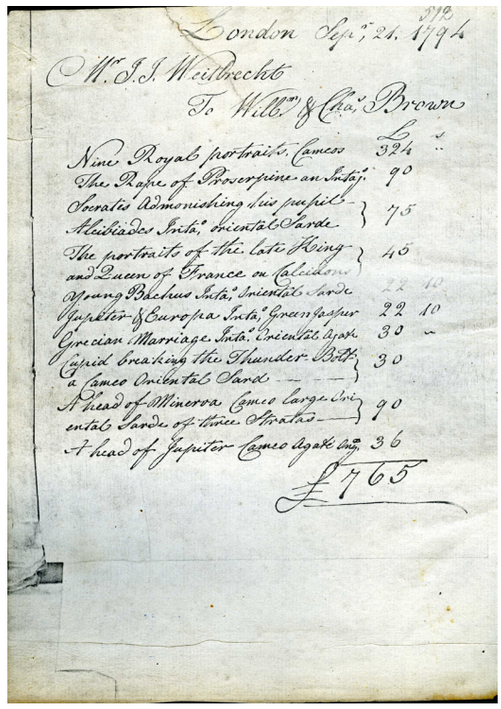
Paul
November 25 1800

19 [NS 30] August 1802
Edict from Alexander I
(Personal Edicts MS 1781-1802, *delo* 3919, f. 415)
In Russian

Edict to the Cabinet

From petty cash pay to the bookseller Weitbrecht for the 12 onyx cameos he presented to us showing various French kings, made in London by the artist Brown and belonging to the collection ordered by the Sovereign Empress Catherine Alexeevna of blessed memory, for 441 pounds sterling, paper bonds to the sum of 3172 r. 88 k.

Alexander
August 19 1802



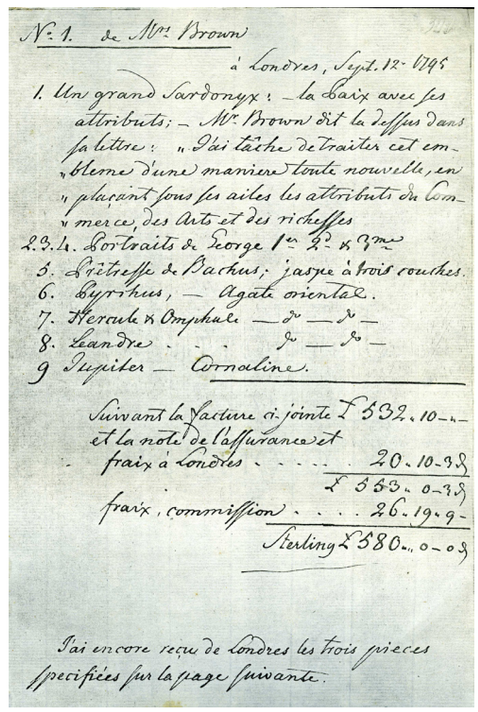
London Sept.r 24. 1794

Mr. J. J. Weitbrecht

To Will.m & Chas. Brown

	£	s.	d.
Nine Royal portraits Cameos	324		
The Rape of Proserpine an Intag.o	90		
Socrates admonishing his pupils Alcibiades Intag.o oriental Sarde	75		
The portraits of the late King and Queen of France on Calcidony	45		
Young Bachus Intag.o Oriental Sarde	22	10	
Jupiter & Europa Intag.o Green Jasper	22	10	
Grecian Marriage Intag.o Oriental Agate	30		
Cupid breaking the Thunder-Bolt a Cameo Oriental Sarde	30		
A head of Minerva Cameo large Oriental Sarde of three Stratas	90		
A head of Jupiter Cameo Agate ditto	36		
	£765		

1. William and Charles Brown to Johann Weitbrecht
24 September 1794
Russian State Archive



N.o 1. de M.rs Brown

à Londres, Sept. 12. 1795

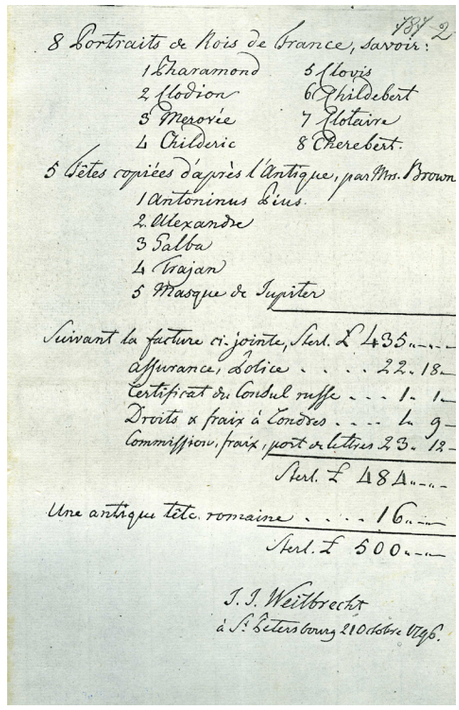
1. Un grand Sardonyx: — la Paix avec ses attributs; — M.rs Brown dit la dessus dans sa lettre: „J'ai tâche de traiter cet emblème d'une maniere toute nouvelle, en „plaçant sous ses ailes les attributs du Commerce, des Arts et des richesses
2.3.4. Portraits de George 1.er 2.e & 3.me
5. Prêtresse de Bachus; jaspe à trois couches.
6. Cyrrhus, — Agate orientale.
7. Hercule & Omphale — d.o — d.o —
8. Leandre . . . d.o — d.o —
9 Jupiter — Cornaline.

Suivant la facture ci-jointe £ 332. 10. —
et la note de l'assurance et
frais à Londres . . . . . 20. 10. 3 d.
£ 353. 0. 3 d.
frais, commission . . . . 26. 19. 9 —
Sterling £ 380. 0. 0 d.

J'ai encore reçu de Londres les trois pieces specifiées sur la page suivante.

2. Johann Weitbrecht to the Ministry of the Court
12 September 1795
Russian State Historical Archive

Plate 52



8 Portraits de Rois de France, savoir: 1787 2

1 Pharamond
2 Clodion
3 Merovée
4 Childeric
5 Clovis
6 Childebert
7 Clotaire
8 Cherebert.

5 Têtes copiées d'après l'Antique, par Mr. Brown

1 Antoninus Pius.
2. Alexandre
3 Galba
4 Trajan
5 Masque de Jupiter

Suivant la facture ci-jointe, Sterl. £ 435..-..-
assurance, Lobrie 22.-18-
Certificat du Consul russe . . . 1.-1-
Droits & frais à Londres . . . 4.-9-
Commission, frais, port de lettres 23.-12-
Sterl. £ 484..-..-

Une antique tête romaine . . . . 16..-
Sterl. £ 500..-..-

J. J. Weitbrecht
à St. Petersbourg 21 Octobre 1796.

3. Johann Weitbrecht to the Ministry of the Court
21 October 1796
Russian State Historical Archive

Table of British gem engravers and imitators

Masters of the English School
14th – 21st centuries

Dr. Julia O. Kagan and Helen Serras-Herman

Master of the English School

A list of Masters is printed on pages 431-436. The chart is available on the CD.

History of the table

This table is the combined effort of two originally independent researchers. Dr. Julia Kagan's was completed by 1994 in a vertically alphabetical and horizontally chronological system. Dr Kagan is Curator of the Classical Gems at the State Hermitage Museum, in St. Petersburg, where an extensive collection of engraved gems by English masters is housed. Helen Serras-Herman's was compiled from 1988 to 1994 and assembled in a horizontally alphabetical and vertically chronological system showing genealogical, apprenticeship and succession connections between the artists. Helen presented part of this research, "The 20th century Masters of the English School", at the 1991 International Gemological Symposium in Los Angeles. Helen is a master gem sculptor living and working in the United States of America and the apprentice of the late Nik Kielty Lambrinides who was the last master of the English School.

Following a meeting in 1994 in Washington, D.C. during the International Symposium on Engraved Gems: Survivals & Revivals, at the National Gallery of Art sponsored by the Center for the Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, they realised that they both had created the same scholarly research table, they decided to collaborate closely and create one single table. Thus, from 1995 to 1997 the two were combined into one table, employing Helen's format, and entering all additional information from Julia.

Helen Serras-Herman (left) and Julia Kagan (right) in Annapolis, Maryland, March 1997
Photo by Andrew Herman

In February of 2008 the two resumed work. In the meantime, Julia had collected several updates, changes and additions, but in order to do any changes and send files, the 1997 table had to be re-entered in a computer file, as the original was done on a typewriter, then cut, pasted and copied onto a large sheet.

The names in the new table are displayed in alphabetical order from left to right as closely as possible, unless otherwise interrupted by genealogical or apprenticeship order, and a by few recent additions, which were impossible to enter into the correct

alphabetical sequence. The 228 names of gemstone engravers and a few that focused on imitation materials, such as paste (glass) and ceramic, follow a timeline with as much information as we have for the artists, country of origin, dates of birth or death, family relations, apprenticeship connections, materials that they worked in, actual signed engraved gems and exhibits that they have participated in. Some foreign masters are included, such as the Russian Fabergé or the American Beth Benton Sutherland, as they had a direct connection with an English master, and possibly influenced or were influenced by their English peers.

This table is a "labour of love" and homage to all those artists who have preceded us. Hopefully today we have better records of our work, so that not only our name on a single stone survives, but our entire body of work, which may be a source of inspiration to other artists in the future, as the English School of Glyptic Masters has been for us.

The authors

Helen Serras-Herman is a gem sculptor with over 24 years of experience in unique gem sculpture and jewelry art. Her award-winning, one-of-a-kind, distinctive artwork on gemstones has been featured in many trade magazines and books.

Born in New York City, lived in Athens, Greece, and studied Sculpture (MFA) in Berlin, Germany. A graduate gemologist (FGA) and apprentice to the last master of the English school of Glyptic Arts, Helen has devoted 26 years to working with gems. A *National Lapidary Hall of Fame 2003 Inductee*, after 18 years in Maryland, Helen and her husband moved to Rio Rico, in Southern Arizona.

Dr. Julia O. Kagan has been a curator of the postclassical gems at the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia, since 1959.

In addition to scholarly articles and publications, mostly on English and Russian glyptic art, she is the author of *Western European Cameos in the Hermitage Collection* [1973], and the exhibition catalogues *Engraved Gems by William and Charles Brown* [1976] and *Cameos of the Ural Stone-Carvers* [1984]. Her doctoral thesis, *Glyptic Art in Britain: An Experience in Monograph Investigation* was defended in 1982. Since 1990 she has been an honorary fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

British gem engravers and imitators
14th - 21st centuries

Alphabetical listing

Artist	Century	Column on chart
Adams, George Gammon	1850-1900	9
Anderson, F.	1850-1900	1
Atsill, Richard	16th	1
Bacon, Charles	1850-1900	4
Band	end 18th - beg. 19th	1
Barnett, William	1775-1800	1
Barker, J.W.	1900-1925	5
Bean, Edgar	1925-1975	2
Bean, Edmund	1900-1925	2
Bean, Richard	end 18th - beg. 19th	2
Bean, Thomas	1850-1900	2
Bedford	1750-1775	1
Bennet, G.F.	1825-1850	3
Bennet, John	16th	3
Bennet, S.	end 18th - beg. 19th	3
Bentley, Joseph Clayton	1825-1850	4
Bemfleet, George	1775-1800	2
Berger, Michael	16th	5
Berry, William	1700-1750	1
Best, W.R.	1800-1825	1
Billing, Archibald	1850-1900	5
Bragg, Thomas	1800-1825	4
Brett	1850-1900	6
Briot, Nicholas	16th	4
Brown, Charles	1750-1775	2
Brown, George	1775-1800	3
Brown, Thomas	1800-1825	3
Brown, William	1750-1775	3
Browne, William	end 18th - beg. 19th	5
Burch, RA Edward, Sr.	1700-1750	4
Burch, Edward, Jr.	1775-1800	4
Caddelle, Hugh	1775-1800	5
Capucci (or Caputi) Giuseppe	1800-1825	5

Carpenter, Aaron	1750-1775	6
Cave, Joseph	1750-1775	5
Chamberlain, C., Miss	1850-1900	7
Chelli	1850-1900	21
Clark, George	1700-1750	5
Claus	1700-1750	18
Clifford, Y.	1825-1850	1
Clint, F.R.	1800-1825	8
Clint, George	end 18th - beg. 19th	6
Clint, Raphael	1800-1825	7
Clint, Scipio	1800-1825	6
Coleman, A.	1825-1850	5
Cook, Charles	1850-1900	3
Crane, J.	1775-1800	6
Crouch, Daniel Newton	1800-1825	15
Cuisset, F.F.	1825-1850	6
Cuitt, George	1825-1850	2
Dassier, James Antony	17th	7
Dean, Richard	1775-1800	6
Dinelli, Raphael	1775-1800	8
Doddington	1800-1825	9
Domewood, John	15th	1
Dutton, John	1800-1825	2
Esmond, John	15th	3
Fabergé, Peter Carl	1850-1900	17
Fish (or Firsh), W.C.	1800-1825	10
Flavelle (or Flawell), Thomas	1825-1850	7
Flecher, Samuel	end 18th - beg. 19th	13
Fontenay, Julien de	16th	6
Forster, Thomas	16th	9
Forster, Thomas	1825-1850	9
Forster, William	1900-1925	9
Fownes, H.	1800-1825	11
Fraser, William	1750-1775	7
Freese, T.W.	1825-1850	10
Frewin, John	1700-1750	3
Frewin, R	1700-1750	2
Frey, Hyacinth (Jacinto)	1750-1775	8
Gardet, George	1900-1925	10
Gibbon	end 18th - beg. 19th	7
Gifford, J.	1825-1850	11
Golghan, S.	1825-1850	17
Gosset, Matthew	17th	3
Greenhill, Charlotta	1800-1825	17
Grew, J.	end 18th - beg. 19th	8
Hamilton, Cecil	1900-1925	11
Harris, Henry	17th	10
Harris, William	1775-1800	10
Hay, E.	1800-1825	16
Hayler, Henry	1850-1900	8
Hill	end 18th - beg. 19th	9
Hills, John	1750-1775	9
Holland	end 18th - beg. 19th	10
Holloway, Thomas	1775-1800	11

Humphry, Elizabeth	1775-1800	9
Isler, Luigi	end 18th - beg. 19th	11
Isler (daughter)	1850-1900	11
Jackson	17th	12
Janvry, H. de	end 18th - beg. 19th	12
Johnson, Mrs.	1825-1850	18
Jones, C.	1800-1825	12
Jones, R.P., Mrs	1775-1800	12
Jony	1800-1825	13
Kirk, A.	1700-1750	6
Kirk, John	1700-1750	7
Krikou, Alexandra	1975- present	18
Labhard, Johann Christian	1700-1750	8
Laing, Henry, Sr.	end 18th - beg. 19th	14
Laing, Henry, Jr.	1800-1825	14
Lane, William	end 18th - beg. 19th	15
Lambert	end 18th - beg. 19th	16
Lambrinides, Nik Kielty	1975-2000	19
Law	1775-1800	13
Le Marchant	17th–	13
Lochee, John	1750-1775	10
Logan, John	end 18th - beg. 19th	17
Lyth, Joe	1925-1975	5
Madden, John	1775-1800	14
Manson	end 18th - beg. 19th	19
Marchant, Nathaniel	1750-1775	4
Mayne, John de	16th -	11
McQuestion, George	end 18th - beg. 19th	18
Milton, John	1775-1800	15
More, Samuel	1750-1775	11
Moring, T.	1825-1850	12
Moser, George Michael	1700-1750	9
Mosley, Robert	1825-1850	13
Mossop (or Nossop), William	1775-1800	17
Murdock	1800-1825	18
Negri, Ottavio	1850-1900	13
Natter, Lorenz	1700-1750	11
Nicholson, John	1825-1850	14
Nicolini, Gasparo	1850-1900	14
Ochs, Rudolph Johann	1700-1750	12
Patten, William Vandyke	1825-1850	15
Peart(e) (or Pearl), Charles	1750-1775	12
Parry, J., Sr.	1800-1825	19
Parry, J., Jr.	1825-1850	19
Peel, Robert	1775-1800	19
Pellatt, Apsley	1800-1825	20
Phillips, J.S.	1825-1850	16
Phillips, Peregrine, Sr.	1750-1775	16
Phillips, Peregrine, Jr.	1775-1800	16
Pingo, John	1750-1775	14
Pingo, Lewis	1750-1775	15
Pistrucci, Benedetto	1800-1825	21
Pistrucci, Elena	1825-1850	20
Pistrucci, Elisa	1825-1850	21

Pistrucci, Raphael	1825-1850	22
Pocock, Alfred Lyndhurst	1900-1925	17
Pocock, Lexton	1925-1975	17
Pownall, Thomas	1750-1775	18
Pownall, William	1775-1800	18
Pradier, Ernest Marius	1900-1925	26
Pradier, Ernest William	1850-1900	26
Prewin, P.R.	1700-1750	13
Price, George	1775-1800	20
Pridle, Robert	end 18th - beg. 19th	20
Rawlins, Thomas	17th	4
Reisen, Charles Christian	1700-1750	19
Reisen, Christian	17th	19
Renton, Edward	1850-1900	27
Renton, J.	1800-1825	27
Richard of Grimsby	14th	1
Robertson, J.	1825-1850	23
Rome, H.F.	1800-1825	24
Ronca, James	1850-1900	20
Rouw, Peter, Sr.	1775-1800	23
Rouw, Peter, Jr.	end 18th - beg. 19th	23
Rottiers, Jean (John)	17th	21
Sart	17th	22
Schmidt	1900-1925	21
Seaton, A.E.	1750-1775	20
Seaton, Christopher	1750-1775	19
Seitz	1925-1975	21
Serras-Herman, Helen	1975- present	19
Sharp, W.	end 18th - beg. 19th	4
Sholfield, Alice, Miss	1850-1900	22
Simon, Thomas	17th	5
Smart	1700-1750	20
Smith, F.A.	1825-1850	24
Smith, Joachim	1775-1800	22
Smith, Thomas	1750-1775	22
Smith, T.	end 18th - beg. 19th	22
Spicer (or Spiger), Nenemiah	1750-1775	21
Standish, Henry	1750-1775	23
Stanley	16th	13
Staples, Robert	1750-1775	24
Stella, Giovanni	1850-1900	23
Stonehouse, William	1850-1900	24
Stott, J.	1825-1850	25
Stuart	1750-1775	25
Stykes	17th	23
Sutherland, Beth Benton	1925-1975	13
Tetlow	1750-1775	26
Thomas, Cecil	1900-1925	19
Thomas, Percy	1900-1925	18
Thomas, George	1850-1900	19
Thomkins, W.	end 18th - beg. 19th	25
Thomson (or Thompson)	1750-1775	27
Thronus, Jacobus	16th	22

Valentine, N.	1800-1825	26
Varley, J.B.	end 18th - beg. 19th	26
Veaux, John de	end 18th - beg. 19th	27
Vere, A.	1750-1775	30
Vernon, William Handy	end 18th - beg. 19th	28
Voight, Carl Friedrich	1850-1900	25
Walther (or Walter)	1775-1800	26
Walwyn (or Walwin), Francis	17th	26
Warwick, John	1800-1825	28
Warner	1775-1800	29
Warner, Alfred E.	1900-1925	29
Warner, Edwin George	1900-1925	31
Warner, G.E.	1850-1900	31
Warner, Thomas	end 18th - beg. 19th	29
Warner, William	1850-1900	29
Warner, William R.	1900-1925	30
Weatherhead, G.	1850-1900	32
Weigall, Henry, Sr.	1850-1900	33
Weigall, Henry, Jr,	1900-1925	33
Whitell, Ann	1750-1775	28
Whitfield	1800-1825	31
Whitley (or Wheatly)	1775-1800	30
Whitton, (or Witton), E.	1775-1800	31
Wickstead, James, Sr.	end 18th - beg. 19th	30
Wickstead, James, Jr.	1800-1825	30
Williams, J.T.	1800-1825	32
Williams, S.	1775-1800	32
Wilson, John	end 18th - beg. 19th	31
Wise	end 18th - beg. 19th	32
Wray, Robert	1700-1750	26
Yeo, Richard	1700-1750	28
Zaltsman, Peter	1975- Present	17

Ceramic, glass carvers
Master artist in England
Irish Master
Scottish Master
Shell engraver
Related Master from different country / school

Britsh gem imitators (paste, glass, ceramic) 18th-20th centuries

Adams, William (1746-1801) (ceramic gems)
Bentley, Thomas 1730-80), partner of Wedgwood (ceramic gems)
Clementson, Joseph, act. after 1854 (crystallo-ceramie gems)
Coade, Eleanor (1733-1821) (ceramic mass gems)
Ebington, James, partner of the Ridgway brothers (crystallo-ceramie ware)
Grice, Edwin, act. late 18th - early 19th c. (cameo glass)
Henning, John (1771-1851), Glasgow, Edinburgh and London (plaster and wax gems)
Henning, John Jr., act. mid-19th c. (plaster and wax gems)
Hill, James Benjamin (1850-1928) (cameo glass)
Hodgetts, J. (1858-1933) (cameo glass)
Laing, Henry, Sr.(1741-1820), modeller, assistant of James Tassie
Laing, Henry Jr. (1803-83), modeller, his son, pupil of William Tassie
Lechewrel, Alphonse Eugenée (French medallist and gem-engraver) (cameo glass)
Lock, Joseph, 1883 emigrated to USA (cameo glass)
Neal, James, collaborated with Henry Palmer
Northwood, John I (1836-1902) (cameo glass)
Northwood, John II (1870-1960) (cameo glass)
Osler, F. C.,Birmingham, early 19th c. (glass pastes)
Palmer, Henry Humphrey, act. 1760s-1770s (ceramic gems), collaborated with James Neal
Pellatt, Apsley (1791-1863) (crystallo-ceramie ware)
Ridgway, Job, act. 1792-1854 (crystallo-ceramie ware)
Ridgway, George, brother, act. 1792-1854 (crystallo-ceramie ware)
Spode, Josiah (1743-97) (ceramic gems)
Story-Maskelyne, Nevil (1823-1911) (electrotypes)
Tassie, David (1775-1800)
Tassie, James (1735-1799) (glass pastes)
Tassie, William (nephew) (1777-1860), SA 1777, RA 1824-56 (glass pastes)
Vernon, William Handy (1795-1880), worked with James Tassie, partner of John Wilson
Voyez, Jean (John) (1735-1800) (ceramic gems)
Wedgwood, Josiah (1730-95) (ceramic gems)
Wood, Enoch (1759-1840) (ceramic gems)
Woodall, Thomas (1849-1926) (crystallo-ceramie ware)
Woodall, George (1850-1925), brother (crystallo-ceramie ware)

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Notes:

- Not all the books included in this bibliography are referred to directly in the text. Their inclusion is part of an attempt to make this bibliography of maximum use to all those interested in the subject.
- Only exhibitions at which Hermitage items in the catalogue were exhibited are referred to under the traditional abbreviation of date (of exhibition) and place, with date of publication in the full entry. These same exhibition catalogues, and all others, have standard abbreviations under title/author and date when referred to as literature.
- In some cases references are made to editions of books which are not the most commonly available in Britain. This is determined by the author's use of many publications in the versions most readily found in libraries in Russia. Where possible, indications have been made of the original or more common editions.

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found in catalogue
found in text

To avoid confusion we have transcribed the Russian terms *opis'* [inventory], *chast'* [part] and *delo* [file – plural *dela*] rather than providing an approximate but potentially confusing translation. References to pages within manuscript sources, however, use the English f. or ff. for folio rather than the Russian l. for *list.* Archives use both *delo* [d.] and *yedinitsa khraneniya* [yed. khr.] to indicate files, often inconsistently, but this bibliography unifies this to *delo* in all cases.

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