

signs of responding to extra items of imagery in the Apocalypse text. This pictorial appetite, so to speak, is in detail for detail with that of Douce 180 (1774) but represents, I suggest, a similar endeavour. In addition to this intellectual similarity, as with Douce such striking motifs as the flying figure shares with Douce and Paris 10474 power and composition and figure design. Notwithstanding the like qualities, the Angers visualisation of *Revelation* is recognisably to that important coherent Apocalypse centred, in my view, on Lambeth 209 of the many shared variants which constitute the small subgroup to which Burckhardt-Angers belong,⁶² Angers on occasion carries the style of Lambeth 209's illustrations, or significant elements, without any drift or hint of change.

As long ago I envisaged a situation in the development of English Apocalypses, when in a great creative period in the third quarter of the thirteenth century Apocalypse programmes began to cross-fertilise apart from iconographic compromises and I sensed the presence of the stylistic influence of the time Lambeth had given birth to Lisbon and Abingdon.⁶³ It is in that same milieu that we may envisage a single coherent model for the Angers Apocalypse being created, as an Apocalypse cycle was in places from the specific imagery of Lamb-

eth 209 by an alternative textual organisation and by the artistic tendencies that also characterise Douce 180. The Burckhardt-Wildt cuttings reflect something, but by no means the whole, of this process. Although it could be, and often enough has been argued that Bondol independently digested more than one model, it is rather a coincidence that the right ingredients are recognisably all available in England at around the same time. At any rate I would disagree with M.R. James's comment on the Angers tapestries that 'there is little that can serve to fix the exact group to which the MS. model belonged...'⁶⁴

Mainly on grounds of style Patrick de Winter and Nigel Morgan have independently attributed the Burckhardt-Wildt cuttings to Lorraine. They have both suggested that the cuttings may reflect a now lost Apocalypse produced in the workshop of the Bible of William of Devon.⁶⁵ Without entering here into these rather speculative stylistic questions I have attempted to widen the whole scope of the discussion on iconographic grounds. The degree and character of the discrepancies I have pointed out between the Burckhardt-Wildt cuttings and the Angers tapestries argues against any simple identification of Morgan's and de Winter's lost English intermediary with the lost model of the Angers *Apocalypse* postulated in this paper. But it must materially affect our attitude to all aspects of the Burckhardt-Wildt cuttings to realise what very splendid company they keep in the history of the mediaeval illustration of the Apocalypse.

⁶² B.L. Add. MS.22493 and Laurent. Ashburnham 415, for example, and 10 above.

⁶³ See English Apocalypse: II, *passim*.

⁶⁴ In note 11 above, p.70; P. KLEIN: *Endzeiterwartung und Rituelle Bildapokalypsen der Frühgotik und MS Douce 180*, Graz

represents 'eine vereinfachte, "verderbte" Version der Metz-Tradition, ähnlich der Cloisters-Gruppe'. MORGAN, *op. cit.*, p.168, writes: 'No extant English or French Apocalypse known to me has exactly the same sequence of subjects as the cuttings...'

⁶⁵ DE WINTER, *op. cit.*, pp.414-15; Morgan: *op. cit.*, p.169.

MICHAEL McCARTHY

Philothée-François Duflos (c.1710-1746): three unpublished drawings

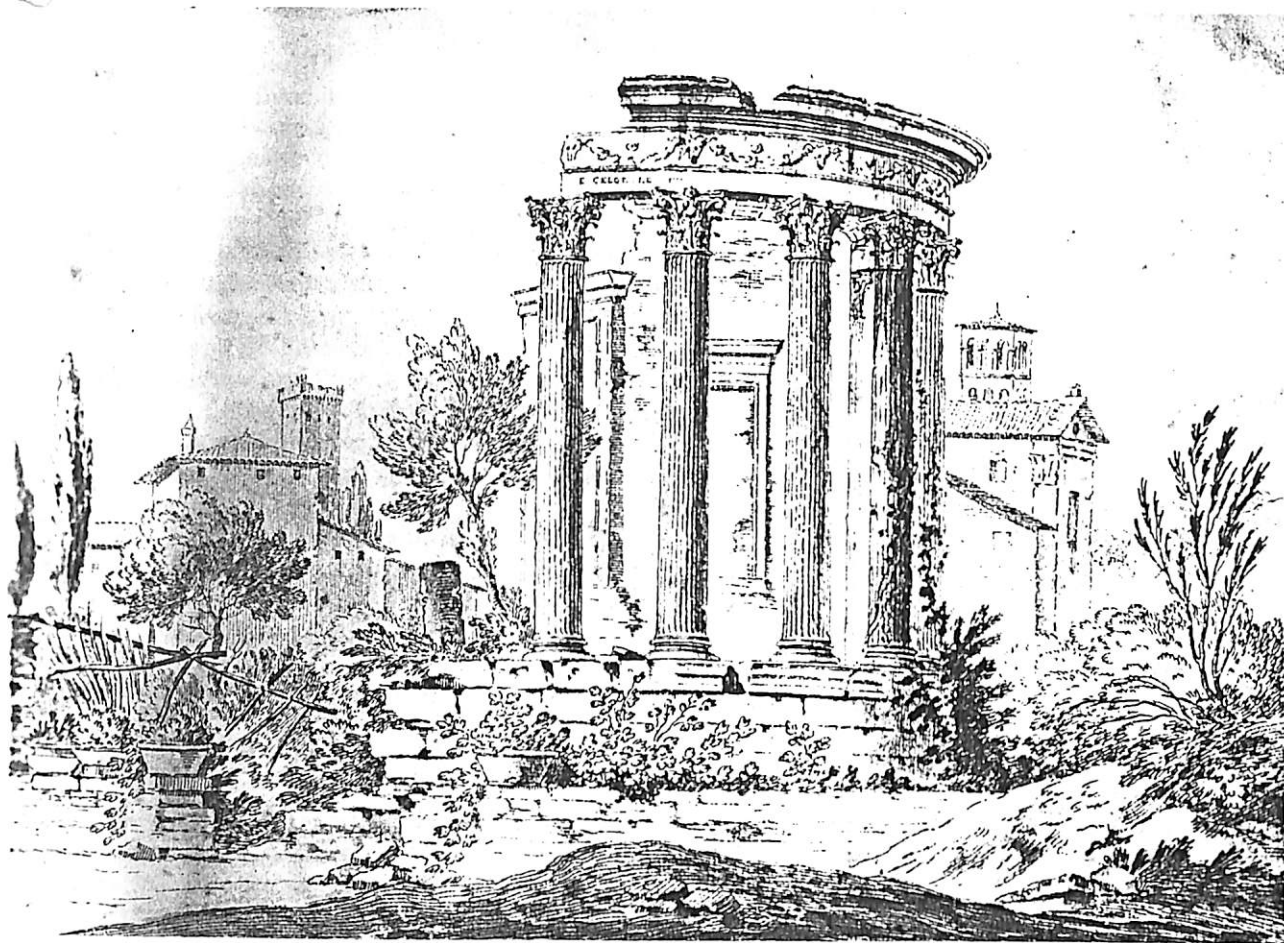
Philothée-François Duflos recurs constantly in his work devoted to the early career of Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Surprisingly, however, he has been little known to Piranesi, Duflos contributed the largest number of drawings to the collection of views of Rome collected by Fausto Amidei in 1748, *Varie vedute di Roma*

antica e moderna disegnati e intagliati da celebri autori.¹ The two artists had also engraved plates after the drawings of Giuseppe Zocchi for the latter's *Vedute delle ville di Firenze*, published in 1744;² and as late as 1763 we find them associated as contributors to Ridolfino Venuti's *Accurata e succinta descrizione topografica delle antichità di Roma*.³

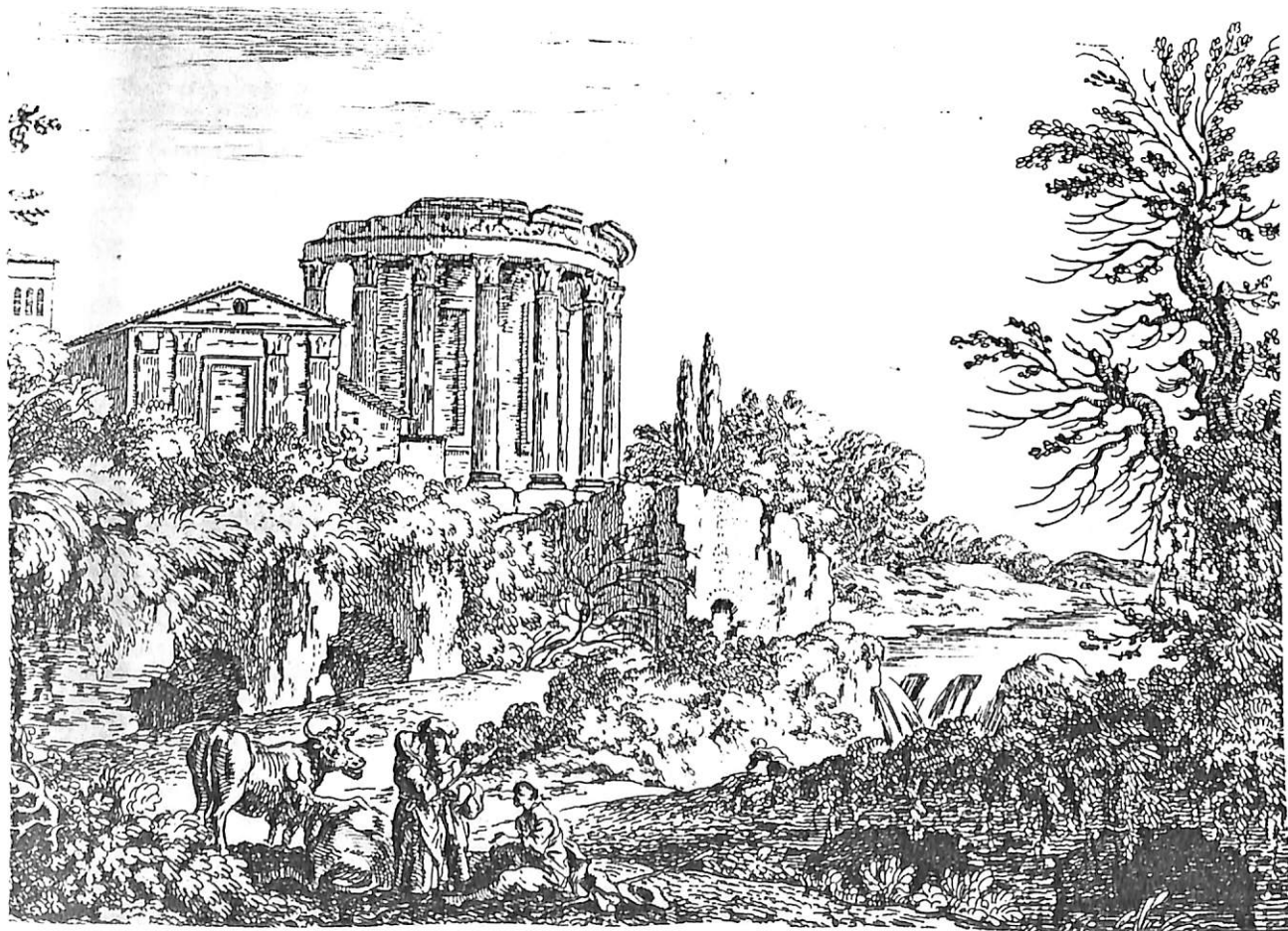
¹ Because it contains a larger number of plates than other compilations of *vedute*, which originated in a publication of 1741 by Giovanni Battista Piranesi. For its complicated history the reader is referred to the *Recherches* for item 88, *Piranesi et les français*, Académie de France à Rome, pp.182-83. Nine signed plates by Duflos, and fourteen by Giovanni Battista Piranesi and his circle, London [1967], pp.22-23. Of forty-eight plates, Paolo Anesi eight, Jean-Laurent LeGeay four, Charles Bellicard three.

² Plates 26 and 27 were engraved by Duflos after drawings by Zocchi, the first in Rome, and the second in Florence.

³ Most of the plates attributable to Duflos in these volumes are copies of those which appeared in the publication of Fausto Amidei cited in note 1 above. For the importance of Ridolfino Venuti see AUGUSTA MONFERINI: 'L'ambiente di Ridolfino Venuti', in A. BETTAGNO (ed.): *Piranesi tra Venezia e l'Europa*, Florence [1983], pp.35-44.



Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli, by P.-F. Duflos. 1740. Pen and water-colour, 37 by 23.8 cm. (Collection F. H. M. Fitzroy-Newdegate, Arbury Hall,



Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli, by P.-F. Duflos. 1748, etching. (Collection F. H. M. Fitzroy-Newdegate, Arbury Hall, Warwickshire).

Since Duflos lived in the Académie de France from 1737 until his departure for Lyon in 1745,⁴ one is justified in supposing a personal acquaintance between the French artist and Piranesi. A comparison of their etchings, however, makes it clear that they had in common only their subject-matter and their publishers. Their styles are quite separate, and neither showed the slightest sign of being deflected from his course by the example of the other.

Duflos's style was firmly rooted in the tradition of French engraving of *vedute*, practised most notably in the preceding century by Stefano della Bella and Israel Silvestre.⁵ Indeed all three artists were responsible for all the engravings in Ridolfino Venuti's *Antiqua numismata maximi moduli aurea, ex Museo Alex. Card. Albani in Vatican. Bibliothecam translata*, published in two volumes at the Calcografia Camerale in Rome in 1739.⁶ Fifteen of the plates in these splendid volumes are by Duflos. Such early and enthusiastic patronage should suffice to dispel any notion that in his later work of 1763 Venuti made use of Duflos's plates simply as cheap illustrations, for which he would not have to pay the dead artist. Rather, an intelligent appreciation of Duflos's qualities led Venuti to choose this artist newly arrived in Rome precisely because of the consonance of his work with the etchings of the earlier masters. Duflos clearly perceived himself, and was perceived in the highest circles of Roman scholarship and patronage, as continuing a strong and specifically French mode of *vedutismo*. This is also the consensus of modern criticism.⁷

In the same year of 1739 a further four etchings, three after his own designs, were contributed by Duflos to an important volume published to celebrate the beginnings of the Calcografia Camerale – Giovanni Domenico Campiglia's *Il secondo libro del nuovo teatro delle fabbriche e edifici fatte fare in Roma e fuori di Roma dalla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Clemente XII*.⁸ Since G. D. Campiglia had been appointed first Soprintendente of the Calcografia, it is evident that Duflos's style had rapidly won acceptance in Rome.

Duflos was conspicuous by his absence from the exhibition, *Piranèse et les français* (1976), and from the volume of proceedings of the related symposium, edited by Georges Brunel and published under the same title in 1978. The intention of this article is to facilitate the much needed

study of his work⁹ by publishing three drawings attributable to him, one from the collection of the National Galleries of Scotland, and two from the private collection of F. H. Fitzroy-Newdegate at Arbury Hall in Warwickshire.¹⁰ An outline of his life and critical reputation among contemporaries precedes discussion of his drawings.

Philothée-François Duflos was born in Paris at 1710, one of the youngest of the thirteen children of Claude Duflos (1665-1727), known principally as an engraver for Charles Le Brun. His eldest brother, Cl. Duflos le Jeune (1700-86), was an engraver for Boussier while a second brother, Simon-Nicolas Duflos, set up as an engraver in Lyon after his father's death, and maintained frequent contact with that city after he had returned to work in Paris in 1752. His younger brother, Pierre, also an engraver, who practised in Holland for several years after his training by Bernard Picart.¹¹

Philothée-François was trained as a painter and awarded the *Prix de Rome* in 1729.¹² However, he did not go to Rome until 1737, and it is doubtful that he practised as a painter in the intervening eight years, since his principal recorded activity once he arrived in Rome was in engraving, lay in copying the works of Raphael and other masters.¹³ It is probable therefore that the period from 1729 to 1737 was spent assisting his brothers in engraving workshops. This would account for the technical mastery of engraving he displayed on his arrival in Rome, and it also would account for his consistent style. The first part of Mariette's description of the work of Duflos père is a perfect characterisation of the work of Philothée-François Duflos:

une extrême propreté dans la conduite de la gravure, une netteté, un arrangement de tailles égales entre elles et bien une attention toute singulière à terminer ses ouvrages et donner une couleur douce et agréable.¹⁴

As we have noted, this style of etching was welcomed in Rome, and the prints of Duflos are to be found in the most prestigious publications of the years following his arrival in the city. The majority of the plates are after his own designs, and these are never of large dimensions. However, he also engraved three large plates after the drawings of Francesco Rastagni for the sumptuous volume published under the aegis of Pope Benedict XIV in 1743:

⁴ I am most grateful to Mme Olivier Michel for showing me the entries for Duflos in the *Status Animarum Parochiae S. Mariae in Via Lata* in the Archivio del Vicariato di Roma, and to the authorities of the Archivio for their kind help. 1737 is the first year in which he is listed among the residents of the Palazzo Mancini, and 1744 the last year.

⁵ WERNER OECHSLIN has pointed to the importance of this tradition in his stimulating essay, "Le groupe des 'Piranésiens' français (1740-1750): un renouveau artistique dans la culture romaine", in G. BRUNEL (ed.): *Piranèse et les français*, Académie de France à Rome [1978], pp.363-94.

⁶ Pope Clement XII acquired the stock of the De' Rossi printing-works in 1738 and thus inaugurated the Calcografia Camerale.

⁷ P. MURRAY: *Piranesi and the Grandeur of Ancient Rome*, London [1971], pp.32-33; J. WILTON-ELY: *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, London [1978], p.12.

⁸ For this publication, see L. SCALABRONI: *Giuseppe Vasi*, Rome [1981], p.45. Duflos engraved plate 22 after a drawing by Gregorini and plates 23, 24 and 29 after his own drawings.

⁹ See G. EROUART: *L'Architecture au pinceau: Jean-Laurent Legeay, un Piranézien français dans l'Europe des lumières*, Paris [1982], p.48, note 31.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Captain Fitzroy-Newdegate of Arbury Hall for permission to study and publish these drawings and related documents from the Newdegate Papers in the Warwick County Record Office, and to Mr Farr and his colleagues at the Record Office for their kind help. Duncan Bull kindly discussed the

Edinburgh drawing with me and secured permission from the Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland for publication.

¹¹ Information on the Duflos family is derived from P. PELLOT: 'Les graveurs; leur œuvre et leur famille', *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts et des Lettres*, 29^e Session [1905], pp.383-95. Only two baptismal certificates of thirteen children have survived, and that of Philothée-François is not extant. It is known that the last child of Claude Duflos and his wife, a daughter, engraver Ignace Antoine, was born in 1711 and christened Pierre. Pellet not mention our artist, and the date of his birth remains unclear.

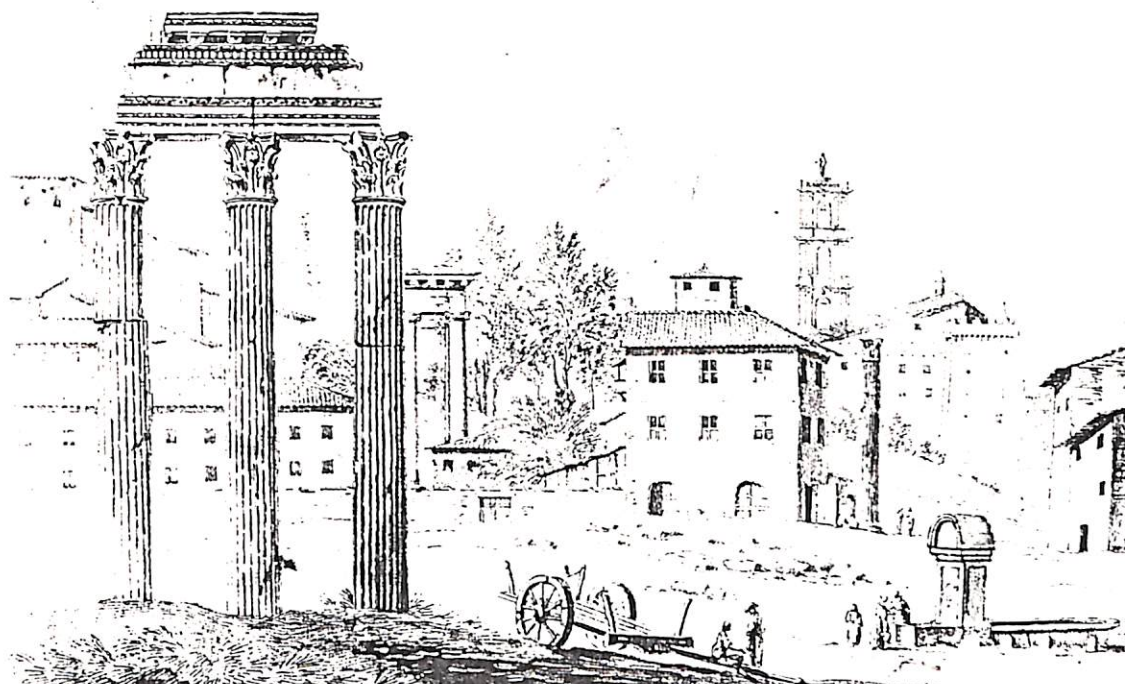
¹² THIEME-BECKER, Vol. X [1914].

¹³ The only recorded painting of the Roman years, apart from a copy of an altar-piece for the Carmelite Church in Caprarola, unless one is to accept the authenticity of the *Self portrait* in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. This is an improbable attribution, though I am aware that its status has been questioned in two recent catalogues, *Pittura francesi nelle collezioni fiorentine*, Florence [1977], p.48, item 15, and *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo generale*, Florence [1980], p.862, item A314. The painting has also been accepted as authentic by SILVIA MALONI TRKULJA: 'La Collezione Pazzi (Autoritratti per gli Uffizi)', *Paragone*, 29 [1978], p.1. However, the problems connected with the Pazzi Collection, of which the painting forms a part, give convincing reasons for scepticism as to the authenticity of the attribution, inherited from Pazzi.

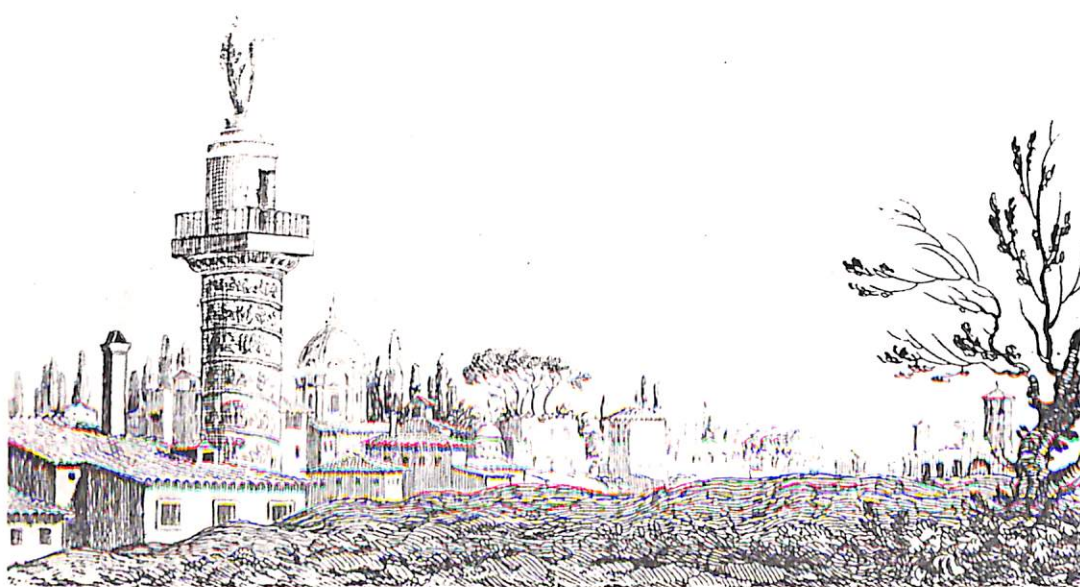
¹⁴ Quoted from PELLOT, *op. cit.* at note 11 above, p.387.



47. Mr Duflos, by Pier Leone Ghezzi. Signed and dated 14th May 1744. Pen and ink. (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



48. View of the Campo Vaccino, by P.-F. Duflos. Signed and dated 1740. Pen and water-colour, 38.2 by 24.6 cm. (Collection F. H. M. Fitzroy-Newdegate, Arbury Hall, Warwickshire).



One may suppose that it was the drawing's fidelity to structural realities that led Sir Roger Newdigate, a diligent student of the architecture of the ancients, to purchase it. It is even possible that he brought the drawing with him for comparative purposes on his first visit to the temple on 5th April 1740.²⁵ His notebook contains the following observations, which he illustrated by a slight sketch of the plan of the temple and of the elevation of the window:

The capitals of the Pillars have something very particular in them.

The Roof of the Portico adorned with . . .

There is a window on the side which diminishes at the Top.

The doorcase of marble seems too high for the width and for the temple.

There are but ten pillars remaining.

The Door lessens at the top as well as the window.

The whole brick excepting the window whose marble was antient.²⁶

This drawing was not used by Duflos, so far as we know, for a published etching, and its dimensions lead one to suppose that it was rather the preparatory drawing for a painting. The temple does appear as Plate 15 in the posthumous publication, *Prospettive diverse* . . . (Fig.46). But here full justice is done to its dramatic setting, and pastoral staffage animates the foreground.²⁷

Unlike the drawing of the temple at Tivoli, the second drawing at Arbury Hall is signed and dated below the staffage of the foreground *Duflos fecit Roma 1740*.²⁸ It is a *View of the Campo Vaccino*, with the three columns of the Temple of Jupiter Stator shown in detail in the left foreground (Fig.48). Sir Roger Newdigate bought it, for four scudi, on 5th June 1740.²⁹

Again it was undoubtedly his architectural studies that led the young patron to purchase this detailed rendering of the famous monument. He noted in his diary, '3 Pillars called Jupiter Stators, a standard of ye Corinthian order'.³⁰ A more lengthy note in his book of observations demonstrates the manner in which he combined personal inspection of the antiquities with close attention to his guide-book:

Temple of Jupiter Stator vulgarly so call'd but believed by Nardini to be part of the portico which was built over the He argues that these 3 columns have the architecture frieze and cornice very richly adorned on the side which looks towards the forum & quite ruff on the opposite & they are adorned on the side of the Palatine.³¹

The drawing also was probably preparatory to a painting, and it does not appear in the published etchings of Duflos, though there are two other views of the Campo Vaccino in the suite dated 1748: Plate 10, which is untitled, and

Plate 23, *Veduta di Campo Vaccino*. Sir Roger Newdigate acquired a pre-publication example of the first of these views from a different angle, to which he added inscription in pencil, 'Temple of Concord at ye foot of Capitoline hill with ye vast bason of white marble call'd Masfoso's cup'.

Plate 3 of the posthumous suite of etchings, titled *Veduta del Monte Palatino, e parte della Colonna Trajana* (Fig.49), based on a drawing in the National Gallery of Scotland, the largest of these drawings, executed in the same pink and brown washes (Fig.50).³² The landscape and foreground staffage in the drawing have been suppressed in the print, and there are some other changes in the buildings shown. However, the schematic character of the etched foreground, comparable to those in the Arbuthnot drawings, argues for the autograph status of the print, confirmed by its early date; for the same print, with letterpress, is Tab. LXI, page 122 of Ridolfino Venturi's *Antiqua Numismata*, published in 1739. It served also, with elaborate letterpress ranged to each side of an armorial shield, as the title-page to Duflos's first collection of etchings, dedicated to the Duc d'Aignan and signed by the artist, *Diverse vedute di Roma*.³³ The precise date of the suite is not known, but since it is most likely the collection referred to by Gabburri in his manuscript of 1739, the drawing in Edinburgh may be dated between 1737 and 1739, and it therefore precedes the drawings at Arbury Hall.

The unusual angle from which Duflos chose to depict Trajan's Column is a further demonstration of his freedom from the conventions of Roman *vedute* renderings. The drawing is also marked by his characteristic fidelity to topographical realities of the site at that date shared by his young patron, Sir Roger Newdigate, who wrote of the monument:

Colonna Trajana

The relief not so bold as that of Antoninus.

The base on which the statue stands consists of three blocks.

The square at top is fourteen feet.

Each stone is just five feet high, eight stairs cut in each. Each step seven inches one quarter, one hundred and eighty steps to the Base.

The breadth (rather length) of one stair is two feet six inches.

The thickness of the outer wall is two feet five inches. Of the middle (i.e. the pillar) near three feet.

To the bottom of the base is twenty-four steps.

Two to the outside base.

About twenty-two feet below the ground.³⁴

²⁵ Warwick CRO 136B/3017-2.

²⁶ Warwick CRO 136A/(576),15.

²⁷ The pre-publication copy of this etching acquired by Sir Roger Newdigate shows a low wall to the left of the scene rather than vegetation, but otherwise conforms to the version printed in 1748. Sir Roger inscribed the lower border in pencil, 'Temple of ye Tiburtine Sibyl at Tivoli'.

²⁸ Ink heightened with pink wash, 38.2 by 24.6 cm (15.1 by 9.7 inches); the drawings are currently unframed, but are, with other Italian drawings from the grand tour, exhibited under glass in the front hall at Arbury. They were framed as pendants when I first noted them fifteen years ago.

²⁹ Warwick CRO 136B/6262.

³⁰ Warwick CRO 136B/3018.

³¹ Warwick CRO 136A/(577),7.

³² Reference D 980. The drawing, 41.8 by 26.9 cm (16½ by 10½ in), inscribed *Duflos* in pencil in the lower right corner, but not in the hand of the artist. Duncan Bull informs me that the drawing was bequeathed to the Scottish Academy in 1879 by David Laing and was transferred to the British Museum in 1910. The earlier provenance is not known.

³³ M. ROUX and E. POGNON: *Inventaire des fonds français: graveurs du XVIII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [1955], p.96. Philothée-François Duflos, consistent in his signature, a feature noted also in the engraved work of his brother, Claude-Augustin.

³⁴ Warwick CRO 136A/(578),30.

