


The afterlife of François Le Moyne's *Annunciation* on eighteenth-century Portuguese *azulejos*¹

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Abstract: This article aims to explore how Laurent Cars' 1728 print of the Annunciation, based on François Le Moyne's 1727 painting, influenced eighteenth-century Portuguese *azulejos* depicting the same subject. There are many other known paintings, prints and even ivories, bas-reliefs and stained glass sets based on the same compositions. The influence of Le Moyne and Cars on *azulejo* painting is not new either. However, this is the first systematic survey of all *azulejo* compositions depicting the Annunciation, concluding that at least 34 eighteenth-century *azulejo* panels were inspired by the Le Moyne/Cars composition. After a brief introduction emphasizing the importance of Portuguese *azulejos* and the impact of prints on the circulation of images, the article offers an overview of the iconography of Portuguese Baroque *azulejos*, highlighting the Annunciation episode, its visual models and its main focus – the Annunciation and the Incarnation. This is followed by a study of the copies of Le Moyne's painting, paying particular attention to the *azulejo* versions. The final remarks focus on meaning, and especially on the significance of the dove and the lilies in an Immaculist context, and question the ways in which artists and patrons of the late eighteenth century used prints to convey religious ideas.

Keywords: Iconography; Annunciation; *Azulejo*; Print; Copy.

^{ES} La otra vida de la Anunciación de François Le Moyne en los *azulejos* portugueses del siglo XVIII

Resumen: El objetivo de este artículo es explorar cómo el grabado de la Anunciación de Laurent Cars de 1728, basado en la pintura de François Le Moyne de 1727, influyó en los *azulejos* portugueses del siglo XVIII representando el mismo tema. Se conocen muchas otras pinturas, grabados, marfiles, bajorrelieves y vidrieras basados en las mismas composiciones. La influencia de Le Moyne y Cars en la pintura de *azulejos* tampoco es nueva. Sin embargo, este es el primer estudio sistemático de las representaciones de la Anunciación en *azulejos*, concluyendo que al menos 34 paneles del siglo XVIII se inspiraron en Le Moyne/Cars.

Tras una introducción destacando la importancia de los *azulejos* portugueses y el impacto de los grabados en la circulación de imágenes, el artículo analiza la iconografía de los *azulejos* barrocos portugueses, el episodio de la Anunciación, sus modelos visuales y su enfoque: la Anunciación y la Encarnación. A continuación, se estudian las copias del cuadro de Le Moyne, prestando especial atención al *azulejo*. Las conclusiones se centran en el significado de la paloma y los lirios en un contexto inmaculista e cuestionan el modo en que los artistas y mecenas del siglo XVIII utilizaban los grabados para transmitir ideas religiosas.

Palabras clave: Iconografía; Anunciación; *Azulejo*; Grabado; Copia.

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1. Introduction

Considered lost until a few years ago, the *Annunciation* painted by François Le Moyne in 1727 – and turned into a print, in the following year, by Laurent Cars – was widely copied (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). While Le Moyne's work is well known, the same cannot be said of its numerous reproductions, but they are also highly significant, for prints and copies played a central role in the dissemination of images during the eighteenth century. In Portugal (and Brazil), there are at least 34 eighteenth-century tile panels inspired by Le Moyne's composition, indicating that it became very popular from the 1740s on, and even more so with the rise of the Rococo style. In fact, it ended up replacing all the previous models, putting an end to the pictorial diversity that had characterized former depictions of the Annunciation.

The *azulejos* – painted tin-glazed ceramic tiles – are one of Portugal's most distinctive, original and creative art forms, with a very long history (from the late fifteenth century onwards) and a close connection with other European and extra-European artistic traditions. For more than five centuries, *azulejos* were subject to various changes (cultural, aesthetic, iconographic, practical...), but one of their key features has remained, namely their unique interaction with the architecture, which sets Portuguese tile decorations apart from other similar works.

From the last quarter of the seventeenth century to the end of the following century, Portuguese tile coverings stood out for their narrative potential. Used to cover vast mural surfaces, especially inside temples, they became an optimal vehicle for the dissemination of Biblical stories or the lives of saints, based on iconographic programmes whose complexity varied according to the commissioners and the intended location.

The introduction of digital tools in the field of Art History has brought a new paradigm to the study of tile decorations in Portugal. In the last years, the project *Az Infinitum – Azulejo Indexation and Referencing System*² has allowed for the collec-

tion and systematization of cross-domain visual and textual data, enabling the appearance of "patterns" and research questions that were previously unapparent. The acknowledgement of the impact of Le Moyne's and Cars' *Annunciation* on Portuguese tile decorations is an excellent example of how the digitization of artistic heritage and the use of information systems for data visualization and comparison can contribute to the current research.



Fig. 1. *Annunciation*, by François Lemoyne. 1727. Canvas, 199.4 by 124.5 cm. Winchester College, Winchester.

Credits: The Warden and Scholars of Winchester College.

² Developed by the group Az – Azulejo Research Network, part of ARTIS – the Art History Institute of the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon, in partnership with the National Azulejo Museum. <https://redeazulejo.letas.ulisboa.pt>. The project's principal investigator (PI) is Rosário Salema de Carvalho and its co-PI is Alexandre Pais.



Fig. 2. Annunciation, by Laurent Cars after François Lemoyne. 1727–28. Etching and engraving, 47.8 by 28.9 cm. British Museum, London, Museum no. U,11.41.

Credits: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

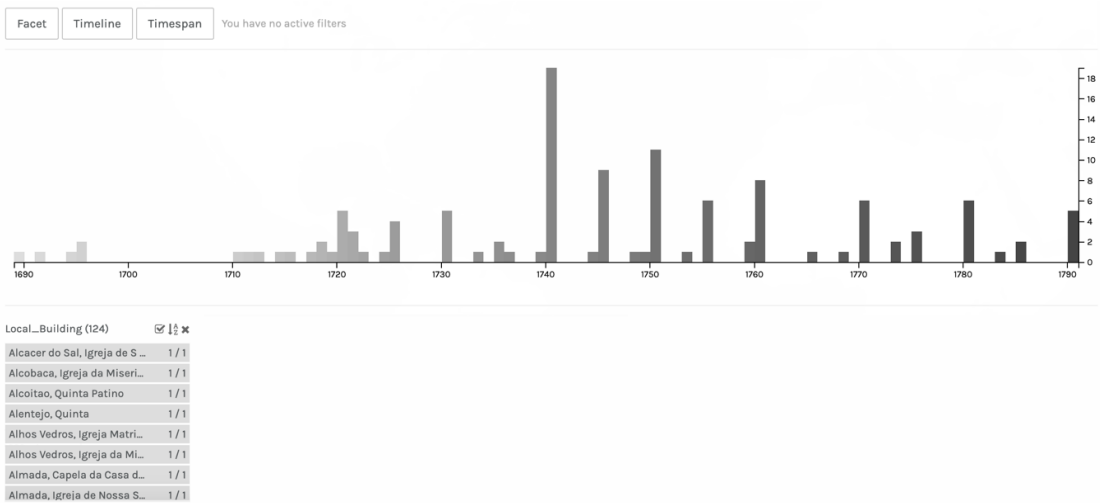


Fig. 3. Timeline with the 124 Annunciation scenes on azulejo distributed between 1689 and 1790 (using Palladio, a visualization tool developed by Stanford's Humanities + Design Lab).

2. The iconography of Portuguese Baroque *azulejos*: a brief overview

Based on the most complete inventory of eighteenth-century Portuguese *azulejos* still found in situ, conducted by João Miguel dos Santos Simões and published posthumously in 1979 —with a new updated edition in 2010,³ enriched with data from more recent works, among which partial inventories and MA and PhD dissertations — it was possible to identify more than 1000 buildings with tile coverings and systematize the corresponding data in *Az Infinitum* as part of an MA project.⁴ As a result, it was found that each building, whether secular or religious, could contain more than one tiled space, which elevated the total number of coverings to almost 1500, including various covering types — figurative, patterned, ornamental, etc.⁵ As regards the figurative coverings, 1200 iconographic themes were identified and catalogued using *Iconclass*,⁶ and of these 60% contain Christian iconography.⁷ These religious decorations display a wide thematic range, leading to the attribution of about 160 *Iconclass* codes, but the episodes related to the life of the Virgin and the life of Christ are clearly more frequent. Among them, there is a prevalence of childhood scenes and episodes exclusively related to the life of Mary, highlighting her religious importance. Such a preference is understandable in a predominantly Catholic and immaculist country.⁸

The classification of each individual depiction revealed that the episode of the Annunciation is present in, at least, 124⁹ of around 150 iconographic programmes catalogued as scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Christ (Fig. 3).¹⁰ This discovery prompted the enquiry into how one of the defining moments in the history of Christianity was depicted

since the late seventeenth century and throughout the following century (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5).

2.1. The Annunciation on *azulejo*: an earth-invading sky and Le Moyne's classical serenity

Through the observation and systematic comparison of each tile composition with the aid of *ARIES: ART Image Exploration Space*,¹¹ in order to group together and annotate, in the same work space, all the collected images, two main groups were identified.

The first one is closely linked to a print by Raphael Sadeler II (c.1617), after a design by Hans Rottenhammer (1564–1625). It comprises 14 Annunciations directly inspired by this print and 27 others that, although not identical, also follow the same Baroque composition, featuring a sky that seems to invade the earth (Fig. 6, Fig. 7 and Fig. 9). According to Émile Mâle's analysis, the Triumphal Annunciation abandoned the intimacy, humility and silence of the Middle Ages to adopt, in the 17th century, an image that, through clouds and an abundance of angels, sought to bring heaven and earth together, as if the whole of heaven had participated in this episode, which was no longer a moment without witnesses, but dominated by an ethereal atmosphere.¹² In the Sadeler's print and the *azulejos* that follow, the interior of a room is clearly visible, with its architectural, practical and decorative elements — Gabriel, the angels, the dove of the Holy Spirit and God can be seen entering a real room.

However, this model seems to have grown less popular during the second half of the eighteenth century and was gradually replaced by a second one, inspired by a print created in 1728 by Laurent Cars, based on a painting by François le Moyne from the previous year. This second group comprises 34 compositions following the French model, most of them datable to the second half of the eighteenth century and corresponding to 78% of the Annunciations from this period¹³ (Fig. 8 and Fig. 9) (see Appendix: list of works). Although some decorative elements can still be seen (some of which are directly linked to a medieval tradition), the Cars print seems to be undergoing a new transformation: it is in line with the Triumphal Annunciation, that is, the new iconographic model in which the celestial figures dominate the scene, but the whole composition is much simpler and, to some extent, classical.

In what follows we retrace the history of Le Moyne's lost *Annunciation* and attempt to identify its copies by comparing paintings, prints and ceramic depictions, and highlighting both the survival of some of the image's original elements and the transformation of others. The changes underwent by Le Moyne's composition ended up sacrificing a subtle iconographic theme in favour of a clearer and more direct message, which became the model for the depiction of the Annunciation on *azulejos* throughout the second half for the eighteenth century.

³ João Miguel dos Santos Simões, and Maria Alexandra Trindade Gago da Câmara, *Azulejaria em Portugal no século XVIII* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2010).

⁴ Mariana Americano, "A azulejaria portuguesa do século XVIII: uma abordagem iconográfica" (MA diss., Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa 2021), 60.

⁵ Americano, "A azulejaria portuguesa," 64.

⁶ www.iconclass.org.

⁷ Americano, "A azulejaria portuguesa," 76ff, note 3.

⁸ Rosário Salema de Carvalho, "Faith and Devotion: Reading Ceramic Architectural Programmes from the Baroque Period," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*, (Oxford University Press, 2021). <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.904>. There are many iconographic programmes, also on *azulejo*, in which the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary is the focus of attention and defence. Cf. Luís de Moura Sobral, "Tota pulchra est amica mea. Simbolismo e narração num programa Imaculista de António de Oliveira Bernardes," *Azulejo*, no. 3/7 (1995/1999): 71–90; José Julio García Arranz, "Emblemática inmaculista en la azulejería barroca portuguesa: el programa de la iglesia parroquial das Mercês de Lisboa," in *Emblemática y religión en la Península Ibérica: (Siglo de Oro)*, coord. Ignacio Arellano Ayuso, and Ana Martínez Pereira (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2010), 147–172; or Carme López Calderón, *Grabados de Augsburg para um ciclo emblemático português. Los azulejos de la Iglesia del Convento de Jesús de Setúbal* (Valência: Universitat de València, 2016).

⁹ However, due to different restrictions, among which the access to the churches, only 116 Annunciations were seen to this study.

¹⁰ The present study led to the identification of a few other compositions not mentioned in Americano, "A azulejaria portuguesa".

¹¹ <https://artimageexplorationspace.com/>.

¹² Émile Mâle, *El arte religioso de la Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 2001), 230–233; Louis Réau, *Iconografía del arte cristiano — Iconografía de la Biblia — Nuevo Testamento* (Barcelona: Ed. del Serbal, 2020) 201–202.

¹³ There are 44 known coverings from the second half of the eighteenth century with depictions of the Annunciation.



Fig. 4. *Annunciation*, attributed to Master P.M.P. c. 1720. Glazed tiles, 14 by 14 cm each tile. Sesimbra, Church of Santa Maria do Castelo. Credits: photo by Libório Manuel Silva.



Fig. 5. *Annunciation*, unknown painter. C. 1760. Glazed tiles, 14 by 14 cm each tile. Lisbon, Church of Nossa Senhora da Oliveira. Credits: photo by Jorge Guerra Maio.

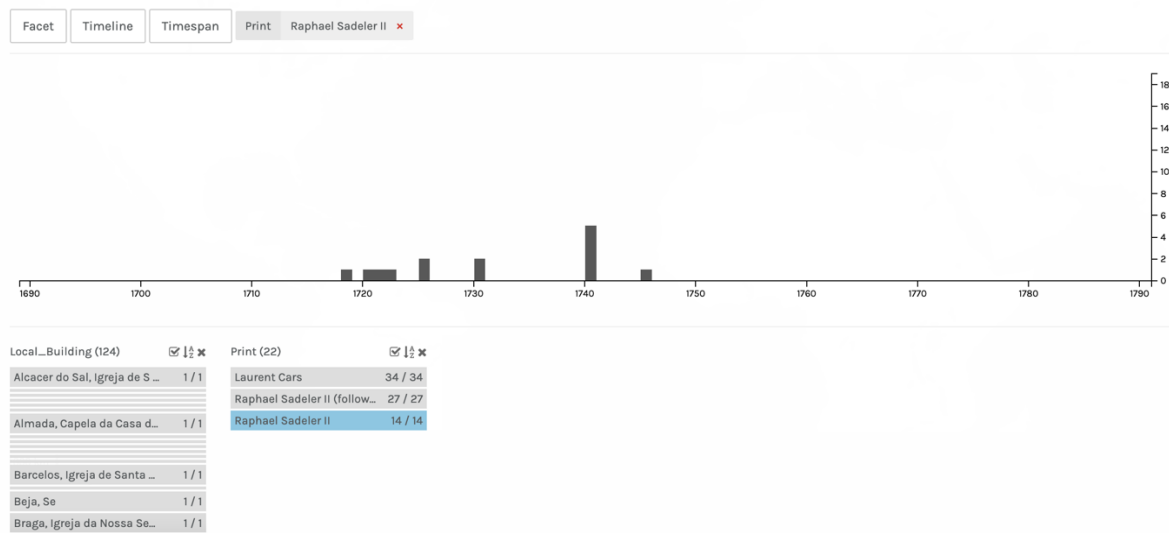


Fig. 6. Timeline with the 14 Annunciation scenes on *azulejo* inspired by Raphael Sadeler II print (using Palladio, a visualization tool developed by Stanford's Humanities + Design Lab).



Fig. 7. Timeline with the 27 Annunciation scenes on *azulejo* similar to Raphael Sadeler II model (using Palladio, a visualization tool developed by Stanford's Humanities + Design Lab).



Fig. 8. Timeline with the 34 Annunciation scenes on *azulejo* inspired by Laurent Cars print (using Palladio, a visualization tool developed by Stanford's Humanities + Design Lab).



Fig. 9. Graph showing places where Annunciations scenes on *azulejo* are located, in relation with the prints by Raphael Sadeler II, the similar model, and Laurent Cars (using Palladio, a visualization tool developed by Stanford's Humanities + Design Lab).

3. François Le Moyne's lost *Annunciation*

In 1727, François le Moyne painted an *Annunciation* (Fig. 1) that was certainly commissioned by the then headmaster of Winchester College, Dr. John Burton (1690–1774). The painting was to be hung above the chapel's main altar and, according to the college's records for the year 1729, cost 80 guineas.¹⁴ Greatly admired during the eighteenth century,¹⁵ the *Annunciation* was taken down in 1864, during a decorative campaign which involved the refurbishment of the main altar. However, it remained in the college, in different locations, and was “rediscovered” and publicized by Christopher Rowell in 2011.¹⁶

A few textual descriptions indicating that Le Moyne had painted an *Annunciation* destined for Great Britain were known among art historians, especially in France – in the words of Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774): “L’Ange annonçant à la Sainte Vierge le mystère de l’incarnation; gravée par Laurent Cars. Ce tableau a été fait pour l’Angleterre”¹⁷. However, no trace of this painting had been found.¹⁸

Only a series of copies were known, along with a print by Laurent Cars created in 1728 (Fig. 2) and dedicated to the Duke of Antin, who was considered “(...) the official arbiter of taste in Louis XV’s France”.¹⁹ The duke was the patron of Le Moyne, of whom Cars had been a disciple. As was recognized by various scholars, the dissemination and success of Le Moyne’s composition are due, above all, to Cars’ print, advertised in the *Mercure de France* in April 1728 (pp. 783–784).²⁰

4. The print as a popular dissemination vehicle: from the *Annunciation* to the *Incarnation*

As far as iconography of *Annunciation* is concerned, from the 11th century onwards artists began to question the exact conditions under which the *Incarnation* took place. According to the Gospels, after the Angelic Salutation, Gabriel responds to Mary’s question, “How shall this be done, because I know not man?” by explaining that “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee.” (Luke 1: 34–35). The solution was to integrate the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove surrounded by rays of light. In other words, the Holy Spirit is present in the *Annunciation* when the artist wishes to also emphasise the mystery of the *Incarnation*.²¹

Apart from Cars’ print, based on Le Moyne’s painting, we know many others which were certainly copied from his work. They are faithful to the original composition, but there is a gradual loss in the figures’ delicacy, especially in the faces of the Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel. In addition, there are slight changes that shed some light on the moment that the artists wanted to emphasise – the *Annunciation* / the *Incarnation* – or both.

¹⁴ Christopher Rowell, “François Lemoyne’s ‘Annunciation’ (1727) rediscovered at Winchester College,” *Burlington Magazine* 154, no. 1308 (March 2012): 177–181.

¹⁵ Please see the poem “The Annunciation in Winchester-College-Chapel, by Le Moine” published in *The London Magazine or, Gentleman’s monthly intelligencer...*, 2 (1733): 207–208 (<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015020077486>). To a more comprehensive history of the Lemoyne’s *Annunciation* reception please see Richard Foster, “Objects in focus: Lemoyne’s *Annunciation* Returns,” *Winchester College Collections* (2021–22): 8–10.

¹⁶ Rowell, “François Lemoyne’s,” 177–181. However, as Richard Foster points out, the school magazine *Wykehamist*, published a first article that is the first one after more than a century. Cf. Foster, “Objects in focus,” 8; and Arthur Morgan, “A Salutation,” *The Wykehamist*, no.1398 (February 1999): 12–13.

¹⁷ Charles-Philippe de Chennevières-Pointel, and Anatole de Montaiglon, eds.: *Abecedario de P. J. Mariette: et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*, tome III (Paris, 1851–62), 133.

¹⁸ Jean-Luc Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne and his generation, 1688–1737* (Paris: Arthema, 1984), 107–08, no.66.

¹⁹ Rowell, “François Lemoyne’s,” 179.

²⁰ Rowell, “François Lemoyne’s,” 177.

²¹ Réau, *Iconografia del arte cristiano*, 193–194.

One of the first copies, a mirror image of Cars' print, contains a reference to Le Moyne — "F. le Moine Pinx". It was created by Philipp Andreas Kilian (1714–1759) and included in the work *Picturae Chalcographicae Historiam Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, published in Augsburg in 1758.²² The Rococo frame's upper section bears a cartouche identifying the scene as an Angelic Salutation.

Another copy, also a mirror image, retaining both the reference to the original authorship — "F. le mayne Pinx" — and the semicircular upper edge of the original print, was created by Innocente Alessandri (1741–1803) and published in Venice by Josef Wagner (1706–1786) at an unknown date, but certainly from the 1770s onwards.²³ Below the image, the dedication to the Duke of Antin was replaced by the angelic salutation: "Salve, nec inde timor, gratia tu plena Maria / Concipies salva Virginitate Deum".

Among the several copies that were located, the one by Jacopo (ou Giacomo) de Leonardis (1723–before 1782), published in a Missal (Venice 1757, and in other editions) stands out because it shows the dove of the Holy Spirit. It is also worth mentioning the one included in the *Missale Romanum* (...), published by the Plantin Press, in Antwerp, in 1765. It is the only known item associated to a missal found in Portugal, in the collection of the Aveiro / Santa Joana Museum, but with an ownership mark from the Aveiro Cathedral.²⁴ Unfortunately, the author of the work's illustrations remains unknown. Still in the same museum, the print with the inventory number 212/Hg, with no known date or authorship, exhibits the same composition. Moreover, it bears a very close resemblance, down to the outline of the upper edge, to another copy located by Luc Noppen in the archives of Ursuline Monastery of Quebec.²⁵

We do not know how this composition reached Portugal, but there is record of several other prints from the 1740s and 1750s depicting the Annunciation but calling it Incarnation (see Appendix: list of works). In these images, the rays of light are strongly emphasized and form a cone around the Virgin, who is thereby blessed with the Holy Spirit. Equally noteworthy is the reference contained in the captions of the Portuguese prints to the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, in Coimbra. The order was reformed under the patronage of the Virgin Mary and the Mystery of the Incarnation, accorded by a special apostolic grace issued by Pope Benedict XIV and dated 8 July 1741.²⁶

There are also other versions published by different European presses,²⁷ but even the most recent items bear the title Annunciation and not Incarnation. In any case, the memory of the original composition seems to have faded completely as these prints were integrated in devotional books and copied by other artists.

A further copy of Cars' print was also found in Portugal, signed by one of the most renowned engravers of the Portuguese Enlightenment period, Joaquim Carneiro da Silva (1732–1818), and included in the *Breviarium Romanum* published by the Royal Press in 1786 (Fig. 10).²⁸ The composition is an inverted copy of the original, and hence similar to Le Moyne's painting. The only significant difference is in the archangel's hand, which holds a lily.

5. Painted copies of Le Moyne's Annunciation

Various paintings copying Le Moyne's *Annunciation* have been identified by scholars studying his work. Some of these copies are thought to have been created in the painter's own studio, as the one currently found in the Church of Saint-Sulpice, in Paris²⁹ (see Appendix: list of works), in which a flower has been added above the basket with the cloth, next to the Virgin, replacing the sheet of paper on the floor. More important, however, is the clear inclusion of the dove of the Holy Spirit, hovering over the archangel's head. The dove's beak sends out the luminous rays that envelope the Virgin — a solution that we find again in Portuguese tile coverings and which is repeated in many other paintings. In fact, the present investigation enabled the identification of many other paintings and works inspired by Le Moyne's composition (see the 55 paintings included in the appendix: list of works),³⁰ with some variations that are also found on Portuguese *azulejos*, as will be seen below, although not as freely:

de Coimbra, por especial graça da Sé Apostólica de 8 de Julho de 1743.

²⁷ Foster, "Objects in focus," 10, mentions two more "(...) by an unknown engraver, published in John Fleetwood, *The Life of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (London, 1766 and later editions), plate facing p. 4; (...) by Jacques-Firmin Beauvarlet (1731–1797), published Paris, 1760s–1780s (...)."

²⁸ Camila Santiago, "Usos e impactos de impressos europeus na configuração do universo pictórico mineiro (1777–1830)" (PhD diss., Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2009) 237; Miguel Figueira de Faria, *A Idade do Papel: Arte, Política e Sociedade no Tempo das Luzes. Volume 1: A Vida de Joaquim Carneiro da Silva (1732–1818)* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 2021).

²⁹ Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne*, 108, note 15; Rowell, "François Lemoyne's," 177, note 11; Mark Byford, *The Annunciation. A Pilgrim's Quest* (Winchester: Winchester University Press, 2018), 30–39.

³⁰ There is a folder with reproductions of several other copies of Le Moyne's *Annunciation*, in painting (but also in ivory and stained glass) at the Musée du Louvre, Service d'Étude et de Documentation du Département des Peintures, France XVIIIe, François Lemoyne, Box Sujet Religieux. We are sincerely grateful to Laetitia Perez and Aude Gobet for allowing us to access this information. The remaining paintings were identified with the aid of *POP: la plateforme ouverte du patrimoine*, <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr>. The painting of the Museum of the Cathedral of Quito, in Ecuador, was located through the *Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art* (PESSCA), item 2863B, cf. <https://colonialart.org/archives/subjects/virgin-mary/life-of-the-virgin/annunciation-of-the-virgin#c2863a-2863b>.

²² This print is mentioned in Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne*, 108, note 15.

²³ Virtuelles Kupferstichkabinett, Anton Ulrich-Museum, Herzog August Bibliothek, museum number IAlessandri AB 2.1 <http://kk.haum-bs.de/?id=alessandri-i-ab2-0001>. Charles Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes: ... précédé de considérations sur l'histoire de la gravure*..., Tome 1, (Paris: P. Janet, 1854–1890), 19.

²⁴ Isabel Pereira, Maria da Graça Pericão and Maria Lucinda Tavares dos Santos, *Livro Antigo Museu de Aveiro* (Aveiro: MC/IMC/Museu de Aveiro, 1999) 79–80. The print's inventory number is 86/LA.

²⁵ Luc Noppen, *Notre-Dame-des-Victoires à la Place Royale* (Québec: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, 1974) 22–24.

²⁶ Ernesto Soares, *Inventário da coleção de registos de santos* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1955) 170 (nos. 02463 and 02466). Inscription: *Protectora da Reforma dos Cônegos Regulares de St.º. Agostinho da Congregação de Santa Cruz*



Fig. 10. *Annunciation*, by Joaquim Carneiro da Silva. Etching and engraving. In *Breviarium Romanum* (Olisipone: In Typographia Regia, 1786).

the dove of the Holy Spirit, the archangel holding a lily on his right hand or both solutions.

In Portugal, a painting from the 1730s–1740s ascribed to André Gonçalves adorns the main chapel of the Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, in Seixal (Fig. 11).³¹ It is largely faithful to Le Moyne's composition, with a few minor changes, namely on the sandals worn by the archangel and the lily, held in his right hand. The paper on the floor was eliminated and the pavement no longer extends to the background, which seems to open into a very faded landscape. Finally, the colours chosen by André Gonçalves for the draperies worn by the

two main figures and the surrounding elements are substantially different from Le Moyne's: the latter's skilful combination of primary colours was replaced by colder, greenish-yellow hues.

6. The Annunciation on *azulejo* and the iconographic differences

The first tile coverings inspired by Le Moyne's composition appeared during the 1740s, and the oldest one accurately dated is from 1745 (See Appendix: list of works). Unfortunately, of the 34 coverings that were identified (including five in Brazil), only four have been dated/documentated with some certainty: 1745 (Church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, in A-Dos-Cunhados); 1770–73 (nave of the Church of Misericórdia, in Alhos Vedros) (Fig. 12 and Fig. 13); 1783 (main chapel of the Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, in Vila Viçosa); and

³¹ Susana Isidro, "O laboratório de André Gonçalves e os programas de pintura no barroco quinto-joanino," (MA diss., Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2015) <https://repositorio.ul.pt/handle/10451/18374>.



Fig. 11. *Anunciação*, by André Gonçalves. 1730-1740. Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Seixal, Portugal.

1790 (Church of Santa Maria da Graça, in Setúbal). The dates of the remaining 30 coverings are mere estimates, based on the decorative motifs found on the frames.³² However, the profusion of near-identical Annunciations is revealing of the popularity of this composition during the second half of the 18th century, especially in a Rococo context.

François Le Moyne sought to reduce the *Annunciation* to its essential features: The Virgin is surprised, while reading and meditating on Isaiah's prophecy (*Ecce Virgo concipiet*),³³ by the Archangel

Gabriel, who bursts into the scene from above. In a highly dynamic attitude, striking an unbalanced yet stable pose, he leaves behind him a heap of clouds, which isolate the scene from everyday reality. The clouds are pierced by discreet rays of light and three cherubs, following the light's oblique direction. Despite its apparent restraint, the composition indicates that the heavens participated and witnessed the Annunciation and the Incarnation. The Virgin, with her hands on her bosom, appears to be uttering the words *Ecce ancilla Domini*, which precede the mystery of the Incarnation. The familiar domestic objects often found in Medieval depictions of this theme have disappeared, except for the basket with the white cloth.

Apart from a few minor alterations in the characterization of the figures – regarding, for instance, the

³² We also used as reference the dates proposed by Simões, and Câmara, *Azulejaria em Portugal*.

³³ In line with the description found in sources such as Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura, su Antigüedad, y grandezas* (Sevilla: Simon Faxardo, 1649), libro tercero, 497.



Fig. 12. *Annunciation*, unknown painter. 1773. Glazed tiles, 14 by 14 cm each tile. Alhos Vedros, Church of Misericórdia.



Fig. 13. *Annunciation*, details, unknown painter. 1773. Glazed tiles, 14 by 14 cm each tile. Alhos Vedros, Church of Misericórdia.

position of the Virgin's hands³⁴ — the main differences between the painting/print and the tile decorations were due to the change to a new format, sometimes smaller and sometimes much larger. Tile painters were often forced to adapt their sources of inspiration to the available space, removing elements or adding new ones to fill the pictorial surface.

When the covering is too narrow and the scene reduced to a minimum, the sheet of paper on the pavement or the basket with the cloth tend to disappear (and sometimes the basket acquires a different form). In most examples, however, the original composition is narrower in comparison to the tile

coverings, whose compositions are usually more horizontal, in order to be applied to wainscots or wider mural surfaces. The solutions found in these cases include drawing the Virgin apart from the archangel and extending the platform on which she is kneeling, sometimes across the entire composition (along with the pavement, whose design is also modified), so as to increase the distance separating her from the desk; or adding further platforms and stairs, stools, columns, pillars, walls dividing the space, draperies, beds (with or without a canopy), flowerpots, winged faces and various clouds. Some coverings include cartouches with words form the Gospel, and in more complex cases the side sections are filled with landscapes, as in the Church of Mártires, in Estremoz (c. 1750), the Chapel of Santa Ana, in Pinhal de Óbidos (c. 1755) or the Chapel of Misericórdia, in Salvaterra

³⁴ Alhos Vedros, Olinda, Beja, Messejana (the most distant model, also as regards the archangel), Mafra.

de Magos (c. 1770). One of the most complex examples is that of the Church of Misericórdia, in Alhos Vedros, where the composition is divided by architectural elements into three sections: a space with a canopied bed and a stool, on the left; a garden, on the centre; and a landscape dominated by a tree, on the right (Fig. 12).

Before analysing the meaning of some of these elements, it is worth considering two motifs that are absent from the original painting/print, namely the dove of the Holy Spirit and the lily held by the archangel. These motifs have no impact on the compositional layout, but they introduce a significant shift in the meaning of this depiction of the Annunciation.

In both Le Moyne's painting and Cars' print, the Holy Spirit takes the form of a series of discreet luminous rays, originating somewhere outside the composition, which seem to fall first on the archangel and only afterwards on the Virgin. The mystery of the Incarnation, frequently depicted along

with the Annunciation through the inclusion of the Holy Spirit, is hereby present, but in a discreet way. Although some of the later prints accentuate the luminous rays – and, as already seen, the items from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, in Coimbra, bear the inscription “Nossa Senhora da Encarnação” (Our Lady of the Incarnation) – none include the dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit. Such inclusion is only found in some of the aforementioned paintings and, above all, in the *azulejo* works, of which 14 compositions are surmounted by the dove, on the centre, amplifying the luminous rays and thereby rendering the allusion to the Incarnation absolutely explicit. Indeed, if there were any doubts as to the emphasis placed by the painters on the Holy Spirit, it is enough to observe their depiction of the dove: surrounded by luminous ellipses, amid clouds, it is the source of the well-marked rays that fall on the different scenes (Fig. 14 and Fig. 15). In a model that is repeated four times, the dove is enclosed by a luminous ellipse and aims



Fig. 14. *Annunciation*, unknown painter. c. 1740–50. Glazed tiles, 14 by 14 cm each tile. Ramalhal, Church of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda. Credits: photo by Father Paolo Ciampoli.



Fig. 15. *Annunciation*, unknown painter. Final of the 18th century. Glazed tiles, 14 by 14 cm each tile. Beja, Former Chapel of Nossa Senhora do Rosário. Credits: photo by Libório Manuel Silva.

its rays directly at the Virgin Mary, ignoring the archangel, placed at a distance (Church of São Pedro, Pedrógão, c. 1750; Dona Rosa Palace, Lisbon, c. 1760 (Fig. 16); Church of Misericórdia, Alhos Vedros, 1770–73 (Fig. 12); Church of Santa Maria da Graça, Setúbal, 1790, and further variations in Brazil).

The archangel, in turn, is sometimes depicted with a lily in his right hand. The lily evokes the Virgin's purity, which is often represented by three flowers, alluding to her triple virginity (before, during and after childbirth). However, only one of the flowers should be in bloom, symbolizing her virginity prior to the conception.³⁵ The lily is present in 11 tile decorations and becomes more frequent towards the end of the century, but each flower is different from all the others (Fig. 15). The painting ascribed to André Gonçalves and the print by Carneiro da Silva already contained this element, also visible in other paintings found in France, and the possibility of an iconographic contamination remains an open issue, since there are no credible data to support a direct influence among the artists and the media with which they worked or among the commissioners, who might have suggested the

sources of inspiration. Still regarding the archangel, it is interesting to note that he is often depicted, on the tile coverings, wearing sandals (nine) (Fig. 15).

Apart from the varying placement of the print's elements, according to the spatial requirements, there is also the addition of new motifs, all of which codified by a Medieval visual and pictorial tradition. Among them, it is worth mentioning the flowerpot, found in seven compositions, along with two others in Brazil. Of these nine images, five share the same general configuration: the flowerpot is placed on the centre of a scene in perspective, in front of what appears to be a garden with a fountain and a grove of trees. The left side is occupied by a bed and the opposite side by the angel and the desk with a book. The geometric perspective suggests that this is the work of the same workshop, given the similarity of compositions (Fig. 13 and Fig. 16). Two other sections show the flowerpot in the same position, but not in perspective, and in two others the flowerpot is placed behind the Virgin Mary.

The number of winged faces is also highly variable. The coverings from Pedrógão, Lisbon's Dona Rosa Palace, the Church of Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Almada) and the Church of Santa Maria da Graça (Setúbal) include winged children, whereas those of the Mother Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário, in Cachoeira (Brazil) and the Church of Misericórdia,

³⁵ According to Francisco Pacheco, it also symbolizes the elevation of the Virgin from a humbler status to the highest of all – that of Queen of Heaven and Mother of God. Cf. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, 499, note 27.



Fig. 16. *Annunciation*, unknown painter. c. 1760. Glazed tiles, 14 by 14 cm each tile. Lisbon, Palace Dona Rosa. Credits: photo by Libório Manuel Silva.

in Alhos Vedros, feature adult angels (Fig. 12). The clouds are also very different, grouped together in various configurations and taking up a significant amount of space in the larger compositions.

A door is clearly visible in two of the compositions, and those of the Church of Vale do Guizo and Vila Viçosa exhibit a cartouche on the pavement containing passages from the Gospel. Also noteworthy is the canopy on the bed and the draperies, whose lower ends are tied together to form a sack. Some scholars see this motif as a further allusion to the Incarnation.³⁶

7. Conclusions

The use of prints by tile painters is a well-known practice, frequently mentioned in the literature on Portuguese *azulejos* at least since the mid-20th century. There are currently no doubts as to the importance of prints for the artists both as sources of inspiration and as a central resource for the study of iconography, as they were a crucial vehicle for the dissemination of visual motifs and ideas/concepts.

The recurrence of similar compositions, based on the same print, is a common feature of eighteenth-century Portuguese tile coverings, even within the same workshop. And the longevity of these compositions has also been acknowledged, with some painters resorting to prints from much earlier periods. What remains rare and has not yet been investigated with the methodology proposed in this article is the identification of prints that were constantly used throughout a long time interval,

covering different artistic periods, whose different styles are well visible on the frames.

It is clear from the data we have presented that the compositional model introduced in Le Moyne's painting and disseminated by Cars' print (but whose arrival in Portugal has yet to be explained) became extremely popular from the 1740s on – and especially in a Rococo context – surpassing all the previous models and, in a way, putting an end to the variety that used to characterize earlier depictions of the *Annunciation*. However, these findings must be interpreted with caution.

While it is true that Le Moyne's composition was largely preserved, it was nonetheless subjected to various alterations, revealing the active way in which painters used prints and the freedom with which they added or removed elements. Apart from the adjustments needed to fill compositions larger than that of the print, many of the new elements seem to have been added more out of content-related than formal concerns – namely the dove of the Holy Spirit, the flowerpot, the columns or the pilasters. As Richard Foster propose for the painted copies,

These alterations are perhaps best explained by the requirement that Lemoyne's original painting must be suitable for a Protestant setting. He therefore deliberately omitted some elements that might be expected from a Catholic altarpiece, and which were introduced to other versions.³⁷

If the basket with the cloth in the original composition evokes a Medieval iconographic tradition, the presence of the bed and the columns is an explicit reference to

³⁶ Susan Koslow, "The Curtain-Sack: A Newly Discovered Incarnation Motif in Rogier van der Weyden's Columba Annunciation," *Artibus et Historiae* 7, no. 13 (1986): 9–33.

³⁷ Foster, "Objects in focus," 11–12.

that same tradition, which Portuguese painters were certainly familiar with. The tile compositions, on the other hand, with their “new” motifs, appear intent on emphasizing the mystery of the Incarnation as well as the purity of the Virgin through the lily. The latter can be linked to a visual discourse in favour of the Immaculate Conception, which is present in many other azulejo programmes.³⁸ From an iconographic perspective, the aim of the commissioners (and the painters) was to convey a clear and unequivocal message, and this need might explain the deviations from the original model. In fact, each programme was defined based on the space to which it was destined, both in terms of its architectural and decorative integration and in iconographic terms, regarding the concept or the idea to be conveyed.³⁹ This creative process, which is in a way unique, might also help explain the changes that were made to the original composition. However, to confirm this hypothesis, it would be necessary to study each individual programme.

In any case, none of these considerations account for the unique success of Le Moyne’s model. Why did this particular composition become so popular? Because it provided a more effective response to the iconographic needs of the time, or to the general predilection for French culture? But, in that case, why the inclusion of elements such as the clouds and the angels, which bring the image closer to the Baroque visual tradition, and away from the French canon, usually more sober and restrained? The tile decorations from the second half of the eighteenth century are very different from those of the first half of the century. From the second quarter onwards, the tilers started playing an increasingly important role in the commissioning process. This change, along with a certain simplification of the pictorial style and the valorization of easel painters, resulted in drawing tile painters away from the decision-making circles⁴⁰. Moreover, according to recent studies, the painters were “forced”, in order to meet market demands and increase the value of their work, to give up their individuality (which was already restricted) and join forces in painters’ societies, one of which is known to have been active from December 1764 to July 1769⁴¹. Might this change have had an impact on the circulation of models among painters?⁴² Or were the printed models imposed by the commissioners? Despite the existing research, the issues of how the prints circulated and through what channels still require urgent scholarly attention.

In like manner, it has yet to be ascertained how this composition reached the tile (and oil) painters’ workshops. In the case of Joaquim Carneiro da Silva, the

link was certainly his connection to the Plantin press, in Antwerp. The other links, however, are much more complex and almost impossible to reconstruct. We do not even know for certain whether the print circulating among Lisbon’s workshops was the original by Laurent Cars or one of various later copies.⁴³

Looking at the issue from a wider perspective, it is clear that the problem of the various versions of Le Moyne’s painting remains unsolved, as noted by Christopher Wright.⁴⁴ The different formats, the varying scales and the inversions of a series of “copies”, whose number has grown in the last years, make it very hard to chart the visual and circulation route of these images. In fact, since other paintings also include both the dove of the Holy Spirit and the lily, it might be questioned whether the source of inspiration for the tile coverings was indeed a print. For although the *azulejos* clearly evoke Le Moyne’s painting and Cars’ print, as well as later copies, they are very similar amongst themselves, giving rise to a network that is much more complex than the traditional one-to-one approach of conventional copy analyses might suggest.⁴⁵

Anyway, the contamination to which the image, in its tiled version, was subjected by the other iconographic traditions shows that the same composition can last a long time and remain “up to date” – note that Le Moyne’s painting dates back to 1727. In fact, as is often the case with tile coverings, what the painters look for is not so much novel figures or narratives as an update of the visual language of the frames, also achieved in the period under analysis.

The real change lies in these simulated architectural frames, with blue and white or polychrome Rococo shell-shaped motifs. They create a stark contrast with the figurative scenes, which went on being painted either in blue and white, perpetuating the memory of the colour scheme that dominated the first half of the century, or in manganese and white.

The close dialogue between the frames and the surrounding architectural space is one of the most distinctive features of Portuguese tile decorations. By “belonging” to a specific space, each iconographic programme acquires a specific form and mode of visualization. As the artists make use of the freedom to change the original models by adding, removing or relocating certain elements, compositions based on the same visual source give rise to very different tile coverings, and a further effect of this transformation is visible on the frames: even when following similar models, they are also adapted to the surrounding space, taking on very different shapes. This capacity for illusion is another of the *azulejo*’s plastic qualities. However, it can only be brought to light by an in-depth, long-term study of eighteenth-century

³⁸ García Arranz, ““Emblemática inmaculista,” 147–172.

³⁹ On these issues, see Celso Mangucci, “História da azulejaria portuguesa, iconografia e retórica,” (PhD diss., Universidade de Évora, 2020) <http://hdl.handle.net/10174/28727>; Carvalho, “Faith and Devotion.”

⁴⁰ On this issue, see Rosário Salema de Carvalho, and Celso Mangucci, “Quem faz o quê: a produção de azulejos na época moderna (séculos XVI a XVIII),” *ARTis ON*, no. 6 (2018): 8–24; Mangucci, “História da azulejaria.”

⁴¹ Rui Manuel Mesquita Mendes, “Companhias de azulejadores e de pintores de azulejos activas em Lisboa entre 1757 e 1773: novos contributos para o estudo da produção de azulejos no período pombalino,” *ARTis ON*, no. 6 (2018): 45–59.

⁴² Mangucci, “História da azulejaria,” 252.

⁴³ Which ended up by eliminating the reference to Le Moyne’s authorship, and thereby the connection to the French context in which the model emerged.

⁴⁴ Christopher Wright, *The Schorr collection: Catalogue of Old Master and Nineteenth-Century Paintings* (London: Marylebone & General Fine Art, 2014), 149.

⁴⁵ On the subject of copies, see the recent studies by Aaron M. Hyman, *Rubens in Repeat: The Logic of the Copy in Colonial Latin America* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2021); and Stephanie Porras, *The First Vital Images: Maerten de Vos, Antwerp Print, and the Early Modern Globe* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2023).

ceramic decorations and related issues, including the contamination and circulation of images.

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Appendix | List of works

Prints [19]

- [1] *Annunciation*, by Laurent Cars after François Lemoyne. 1727–28. Etching and engraving, 47.8 by 28.9 cm.
- [2] *Incarnation*, by A. Thevenard. 1741. (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 11136 Grv).
- [3] *Incarnation*, by unknown author. 1741–1742.⁴⁶
- [4] *Incarnation*, by A. Thevenard (engraver). 1742. Guilherme Francisco Lourenço Debie (retouch). 1745. Etching and engraving, 20.2 by 31 cm (Museu de Aveiro / Santa Joana, Inv. 50/Hg).
- [5] *Salutatio Angelica*, by Johann Andreas Pfeffel (1674–1748), Augsburg, c. 1747.⁴⁷
- [6] *Incarnation*, by Guilherme Francisco Lourenço Debie. 1751.⁴⁸
- [7] *Annunciation*, by Jacopo (ou Giacomo) de Leonardis, published in *Missale Romanum Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum* (...), Venetiis: Apud Nicolaum Pezzana, 1757.
- [8] *Annunciation*, by Philipp Andreas Kilian, published in *Picturae Chalcographicae Historiam Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Augsburg, 1758.⁴⁹
- [9] *Annunciation*, published in *Missale Romanum ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, S. Pii jussu editum, Clementis VIII et Urbani Papae octavi auctoritate recognitum, et novis Missis ex indulto apostolico huc usque concessis auctum*. Antuerp. Officina Plantiniana, 1765.
- [10] *The Annunciation, The Life of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, by John Fleetwood, published in London, 1766 and later editions, plate facing p. 4.⁵⁰
- [11] *Annunciation*, by Charles Grignon. c. 1763–1767. Etching and engraving, 26.5 by 15.5 cm (In W. Rider: *The Christian's family Bible*) (British Museum, London. Museum number 1978,U.233).
- [12] *Annunciation*, by Jacques-Firmin Beauvarlet (1731–1797), published in Paris, 1760s–1780s.⁵¹
- [13] *Annunciation*, by Innocente Alessandri (engraver) and Josef Wagner (publisher), published in Venice, 1770's.
- [14] *Annunciation*, by unknown author. In P. Wright: *The New and Complete Family Prayer Book*, 1785.
- [15] *Annunciation*, by Joaquim Carneiro da Silva. Etching and engraving. In *Breviarium Romanum*, Lisboa: Tipografia Régia, 1786.
- [16] *Annunciation*, by Abraham Hunter. 1790–1793. Etching and engraving, 42 by 25.5 cm (In M. Brown: *Osterwald's Bible*, Newcastle)

(British Museum, London. Museum number 1872,1012.510).

- [17] *Annunciation*, by unknown author. 18th century. Etching, 14.25 by 8.3 cm (British Museum, London. Museum number 1875,0710.5049).
- [18] *Annunciation*, by unknown author. Etching and engraving, 19.5 by 27 cm (Museu de Aveiro / Santa Joana, Inv. 212/Hg).
- [19] *Annunciation*, by unknown author. (Archive of the Ursuline monastery. Quebec).⁵²

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- [1] *Life class*, by Charles-Joseph Natoire. 1746. Black chalk, carbon black ink and watercolour washes on white laid paper, 45.4 by 32.3 cm. (Courtauld Gallery, London).

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[Dated and/or signed or documented]

- [1] *The Annunciation*. 1725–1727. Oil on canvas. 310 by 190 cm. Church of Saint-Sulpice, Paris, France.⁵³ [LILY on the ground and DOVE]
- [2] *Anunciação*, by André Gonçalves. 1730–1740. Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Seixal, Portugal.
- [3] *L'Annonciation*. After 1738. Oil on canvas. 240 by 160 cm. Cathedral of Saint-Etienne, Cahors (Occitanie), France. (POP palissy_IM46000032). [DOVE]
- [4] Copy by Charles-François Hutin. 1745. (belongs to M. Hollville in Daours, France, e certamente proveniente de um convento de Abberville).⁵⁴
- [5] *Annunciation*, by Mathias Jehl. 1752. Church of Wahlbach, France.⁵⁵ [DOVE and LILY]
- [6] Copy "listed in the Salon of Toulouse", in 1761, with the number 22.⁵⁶
- [7] *Annunciation*, by Louis-Augustin Wolf. 1765. Church of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Québec, Canada.⁵⁷ [DOVE]
- [8] *L'Annonciation*. 1769. Church of Sainte-Marthe, Sainte-Marthe (Eure, Normandie), France. (POP memoire_ AP52P00523). [DOVE]
- [9] *Annunciation*. 1776. Église de l'Islet-sur-Mer, Québec, Canada.⁵⁸
- [10] *L'Annonciation*. 1784 attr. Oil on canvas. 800 by 850 cm. Church of Saint-Barthélemy, Le Pin-la-Garenne (Orne, Normandie), France. (POP memoire_ AP61W01343, AP61W01344, AP61W01347, AP61W01349, AP61W01350, AP61W01351 and palissy_PM61000546).
- [11] *L'Annonciation*, by Jean-Baptiste Despax. 18th century. Convent of the Carmes Déchaussées, Church of Saint-Exupère (former chapel of the convent), Toulouse (Haute-Garonne, Occitanie), France. (POP memoire_ AP58P01092). [DOVE]

⁵² Noppen, *Notre-Dame-des-Victoires*, 22–24.

⁵³ Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne*, 108.

⁵⁴ Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne*, 108; and Musée du Louvre.

⁵⁵ Service d'Étude et de Documentation.

⁵⁶ Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne*, 108; and Wright, *The Schorr collection*, 148.

⁵⁷ Service d'Étude et de Documentation; and Noppen, *Notre-Dame-des-Victoires*, 24.

⁵⁸ Service d'Étude et de Documentation.

⁴⁶ Soares, *Inventário*, 170.

⁴⁷ Foster, "Objects in focus," 10.

⁴⁸ Soares, *Inventário*, 170.

⁴⁹ Foster, "Objects in focus," 10.

⁵⁰ Foster, "Objects in focus," 10

⁵¹ Foster, "Objects in focus," 10.

and LILY, but with differences in the archangel and Mary positions]

- [12] *L'Annonciation*, by Jean-Baptiste Despax. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 150 by 120 cm. Parish Church of Carbonne, Carbonne (Haute-Garonne, Occitanie), France. (POP memoire_ AP59N00095, AP59N00166 and palissy_ PM31000088).
- [13] 18th century. Church of Saint-Etienne, Le Mas-d'Azil (Ariège, Occitanie), France. (POP memoire_ AP60N00003 and AP60P00386). [DOVE?]
- [14] *Annunciation*, by Rheinard. 1842. Oil on canvas. 225 by 121 cm. Church of Saint Etienne à Launois-sur-Vence, Ardennes.⁵⁹ [DOVE]
- [15] *Annunciation*, by Fidèle-Maria Patritti. 1852. Oil on canvas. 205 by 160 cm. Montblanc (Val-de-Chalvagne, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur), France. (POP memoire_ IVR93_20110404084NUC2A and palissy_IM04001969). [DOVE and LILY]
- [16] *L'Annonciation*, by Florent Mège. 19th century. Church of Notre-Dame, *Saint-André-les-Alpes* (Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur), France. (POP memoire_ IVR93_20060402396XE). [DOVE and LILY]
- [18th century | organized by place]**
- [17] Studio copy. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Algiers (unfinished).⁶⁰
- [18] *Salutatio Angelica*, by unknown author. 18th century. Oil on canvas. Museo de la Catedral, Quito, Ecuador. [DOVE and LILY]
- [19] Cathedral of Saint-Pierre de Beauvais, Beauvais (Oise, Hauts-de-France), France.⁶¹ [DOVE]
- [20] *L'Annonciation*, by Boucher (signed). 18th century. Oil on canvas. Parish Church of Bitry, Bitry (Nièvre, Bourgogne-Franche-Comté), France. (POP memoire_ AP58W00901 and palissy_PM58001183).
- [21] Chapel of Castle of Vezouzière, Bouère (Mayenne, Pays de la Loire), France.⁶²
- [22] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Church of Bray, Bray (Eure, Normandie), France. (POP memoire_ AP59N00080). [DOVE]
- [23] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. H 300 cm. Church of Saint-Sulpice, right transept, Fougères (Ille-et-Vilaine, Bretagne), France. (POP memoire_ AP35W00296, AP80L056175, OA035_20203502111, OA035_20203502113 and palissy_PM35000213). [DOVE]
- [24] Church of Fouilleuse (Oise, Picardie), France.⁶³ [LILY and DOVE + God the father]
- [25] Chapel of Franquetôt, near Le Havre, France.⁶⁴
- [26] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Church of Saint-Martin, Garges-de-Gonesse (Val de l'Oise, Île-de-France), France (POP memoire_ AP95W00586).⁶⁵
- [27] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 230 by 130 cm. Cathedral of Saint-Julien, former sacristy, Les Mans (Sarthe, Pays de la Loire), France. (POP memoire_MHR52_20227200038 and palissy_PM72000587).
- [28] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. Church of Saint-Jacques, Lunéville (Meurthe-et-Moselle, Grand Est), France. (POP palissy_ PM54002058) [DOVE but with differences in the archangel position]
- [29] *L'Annonciation*. Oil on canvas. 120 by 100cm. Church in Maine-et-Loire.⁶⁶
- [30] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 400 by 200 cm. Church of Saint-Marcel, choir, Mollans-sur-Ouvèze (Drôme, Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes), France. (POP palissy_PM26000151).⁶⁷
- [31] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 118 by 61 cm. Parish Church of Saint-Georges, choir, Moulins (Calvados, Normandie), France. (POP palissy_IM14001049)
- [32] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 160 by 135 cm. Parish Church of Neuville-sur-Authou, Neuville-sur-Authou (Eure, Normandie), France. (POP memoire_ AP61P01406 and palissy_PM27001220).
- [33] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 160 by 116 cm. Church of Saint-Etienne, Ormoy-la-Rivière (Essonne, Île-de-France), France. (POP memoire_ AP91W02513 and palissy_ PM91001270).
- [34] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 210 by 166 cm. Parish Church of Paluel, Paluel (Seine-Maritime, Normandie), France. (POP memoire_ AP76W02252 and palissy_PM76003905).
- [35] *Annunciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 205 by 55 cm. Priory Saint-Aubin, Parish Church, Pincé (Sarthe, Pays de la Loire), France. (POP palissy_ IM72000253). [DOVE]
- [36] Abbey of Pontigny, choir screen, Pontigny (Yonne, Bourgogne-Franche-Comté), France.⁶⁸
- [37] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 149 by 105 cm. Former presbytery, Rilhac-Xaintrie (Corrèze, Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France. (POP palissy_PM19001351). [LILY]
- [38] *Annunciation*. 18th / 19th century. Oil on canvas. 184 by 126 cm. Church of Nativité, Rochefort-sur-Brévon (Côte-d'Or, Bourgogne-Franche-Comté), France. (POP memoire_OA021_20222101117 and palissy_PM21004444).
- [39] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 278 by 174 cm. Church of Saint-Hilaire, Saint-Hilaire (Aude, Occitanie), France. (POP palissy_ PM11001416).
- [40] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. Church of Saint-Pierre, Saintes (Charente-Maritime, Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France. (POP memoire_ AP17W00948 and palissy_PM17000484).
- [41] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 180 by 130 cm. Church of Saint-Firmin, Saint-Firmin-des-Prés (Loir-et-Cher, Centre-Val de Loire), France. (POP palissy_PM41001344) [LILY]
- [42] *Annunciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. Benedictine abbey of Saint-Maixent, choir,

⁵⁹ Service d'Étude et de Documentation.

⁶⁰ Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne*, 108.

⁶¹ Service d'Étude et de Documentation.

⁶² Service d'Étude et de Documentation.

⁶³ Service d'Étude et de Documentation.

⁶⁴ Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne*, 108.

⁶⁵ Service d'Étude et de Documentation.

⁶⁶ Reproduced in Guy Le Goff, *Autour de la Nativité dans la Peinture des Collections Angevines* (Angers: L'Association culturelle, 1989), 44.

⁶⁷ Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne*, 108.

⁶⁸ Rowell, "François Lemoyne's," 177.

Saint-Maixent-l'École (Deux-Sèvres, Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France. (POP memoire_ AP79W00315 and palissy_PM79000244).

- [43] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Parish Church of Trilbardou, Trilbardou (Seine-et-Marne, Île-de-France), France. (POP memoire_ AP77W01879).
- [44] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Croix (provenance: abbey of Grandseve, Bouillac), Verdun-sur-Garonne (Tarn-et-Garonne, Occitanie), France. (POP palissy_PM82000244).⁶⁹ [DOVE, but with differences in the archangel position]
- [45] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 165 by 133 cm. Church of Sainte-Trinité, Vernou-sur-Brenne (Indre-et-Loire, Centre-Val de Loire), France. (POP memoire_OA037123700367 and palissy_PM37001483). [DOVE]
- [46] Cathedral of Saint-Louis, Versailles (Yvelines, Île-de-France), France.⁷⁰
- [47] *L'Annonciation*. F. G. (signed). 18th century. Oil on canvas. 140 by 95 cm. Church of Saint-Pierre, Villemurlin (Loiret, Centre-Val de Loire), France. (POP memoire_ AP45W01379 and palissy_PM45001174). [DOVE and LILY]
- [48] *The Annunciation*. 18th century. Oil on canvas. 81.2 by 65.5 cm. (Schorr collection, United Kingdom).⁷¹

[19th century | organized by place]

- [49] *Annonciation*. 18th / 19th century. Oil on canvas. Church of Notre-Dame, Fontguenand (Indre, Centre-Val de Loire), France. (POP memoire_ OA036_20203600391 and palissy_PM36000440).
- [50] *Annonciation*. 18th / 19th century. Oil on canvas. 138 by 75 cm. Chapel of Saint-Michel de Lochrist, north wall, Le Conquet (Finistère, Bretagne), France. (POP palissy_PM29004580).
- [51] *L'Annonciation*. 19th century. Church of Sainte-Léocadie, Caunettes-en-Val (Aude, Occitanie), France. (POP memoire_ OA011_20191100091).
- [52] *Annonciation*. 19th century. Oil on canvas. 98 by 79 cm. Parish Church of Saint Marc, Chassagne-Montrachet (Côte-d'Or, Bourgogne-Franche-Comté), France. (POP palissy_IM21001705)
- [53] *Annonciation*. 19th century. Oil on canvas. 151 cm. Parish Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Guerquesalles (Orne, Normandie), France. (POP palissy_IM61000876). [DOVE]
- [54] *L'Annonciation*. 19th century. Oil on canvas. Church of Saint-Pierre, Mornac-sur-Seudre (Charente-Maritime, Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France. (POP palissy_PM17001466).
- [55] *L'Annonciation*. 19th century. Oil on canvas. 200 by 150 cm. Church of Notre-Dame-des-Fontaines, Pontrieux (Côtes-d'Armor, Bretagne), France. (POP memoire_ AP22W03971 and palissy_PM22004270).

Bas-Relief [1]

- [1] *L'Annonciation*. 18th century. Church of Nativité de Notre-Dame, Lavillete (Oise, Hauts-de-France), France. (POP memoire_ OA060_20206000318).

Ivory [1]

- [1] *L'Annonciation*. Holy water font, by Lefebvre or Lefebvre. 4 Nov. 1779 (Musée de Dieppe. Inv. 886.6.1).⁷²

Stained glass [1]

- [1] Angel, by Atelier Billard. 1840. Chapel of cemetery of Père Lachaise, Paris.⁷³

Azulejos

[34] [with the identification of the dove and lily]

- [1] c. 1740. Private chapel in a building at Largo D. José I, no. 32, Estremoz, Portugal (Museum Berardo Estremoz).
- [2] c. 1740. Church of Nossa Senhora do Monte, Lisboa, Portugal. [DOVE and LILY]
- [3] c. 1740. Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte, Convent of Nossa Senhora da Saudação, Montemor-o-Novo, Portugal. [DOVE]
- [4] 1745. Church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, A-dos-Cunhados, Portugal. [LILY]
- [5] c. 1745. Parish Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Cachoeira, **Brazil**. [DOVE]
- [6] c. 1740-1750. Church of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda, Ramalhal, Portugal. [DOVE]
- [7] c. 1740-1750. Franciscan Convent, Olinda, **Brazil**.
- [8] c. 1749. Church of São Lourenço, Chapel of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, Alhos Vedros, Portugal.
- [9] c. 1750. Church of Nossa Senhora dos Mártires, Estremoz, Portugal.
- [10] c. 1750. Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Seixal, Portugal. [DOVE]
- [11] c. 1752. Church of Nossa Senhora do Monte, Vale do Guizo, Portugal. [LILY]
- [12] c. 1750-1760. Church of Nossa Senhora da Assunção, Messejana, Portugal.
- [13] c. 1740-1755. Church of São Pedro, Pedrógão (Vidigueira), Portugal. [DOVE]
- [14] 1759. Convent of Nossa Senhora das Neves, Capela de Santa Ana, Olinda, **Brazil**.
- [15] c. 1760. Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Palace Dona Rosa, Lisboa, Portugal. [DOVE]
- [16] c. 1760. Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Pena, Rio de Janeiro, **Brazil**. [DOVE]
- [17] c. 1760-1770. Church of Santo António, Vendas Novas, Portugal. [DOVE and LILY]
- [18] c. 1770. Chapel of Santa Ana, Pinhal de Óbidos, Portugal.
- [19] c. 1770. Chapel of Misericórdia, Salvaterra de Magos, Portugal. [DOVE]
- [20] c. 1770. Chapel of Nossa Senhora das Salvas, Sines, Portugal.
- [21] 1770-73. Church of Misericórdia, Alhos Vedros, Portugal. [DOVE and LILY]

⁶⁹ Service d'Étude et de Documentation.

⁷⁰ Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne*, 108.

⁷¹ Rowell, "François Lemoyne's, 177.

⁷² Reproduced in Ambroise Milet, *Catalogue du musée de Dieppe* (Dieppe: chez les libraires et au musée, 1904), 150-151; and Ambroise Milet, *Ivoires et ivoiriers de Dieppe: étude historique* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1906) 40.

⁷³ Service d'Étude et de Documentation.

- [22] c. 1773. Chapel of Nossa Senhora do Rosário, annexed to the Parish Church of São Tiago, Lisboa, Portugal.
- [23] c. 1770-1775. Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Purificação, Sirol, Portugal. [LILY]
- [24] c.1770-1780. Church of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, Almada, Portugal. [DOVE and LILY]
- [25] c. 1770-1780. Estate of Mosteiro, cloister, Junqueira, (Vila do Conde) Portugal. [LILY]
- [26] c. 1775-1780. Chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo, Venda do Pinheiro, Portugal. [DOVE]
- [27] c. 1780. Convent Nossa Senhora da Graça, Lisboa, Portugal. [DOVE]
- [28] c. 1780. Chapel of Santo António do Vale and Nossa Senhora da Assunção (Rua do Vale de Santo António), Lisboa, Portugal. [DOVE and LILY]
- [29] c. 1780. Parish Church of Vimieiro / Church of Nossa Senhora da Encarnação do Sobral, Vimieiro, Portugal. [LILY]
- [30] 18th century, last quarter (before 1781). Church Nossa Senhora da Purificação, Santo Amaro, **Brazil**. [DOVE]
- [31] 1783. Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Vila Viçosa, Portugal.
- [32] c. 1785. Church of the Convent of Nossa Senhora das Mercês, Évora, Portugal.
- [33] 18th century, final. Capela de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Beja, Portugal. [DOVE and LILY]
- [34] c. 1790. Church of Santa Maria da Graça, Setúbal, Portugal. [DOVE]